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Newport: City of Democracy

A Report by ResPublica for Newport City Council

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Contents

8

6

10

9

7

5

4

2

1

3

11
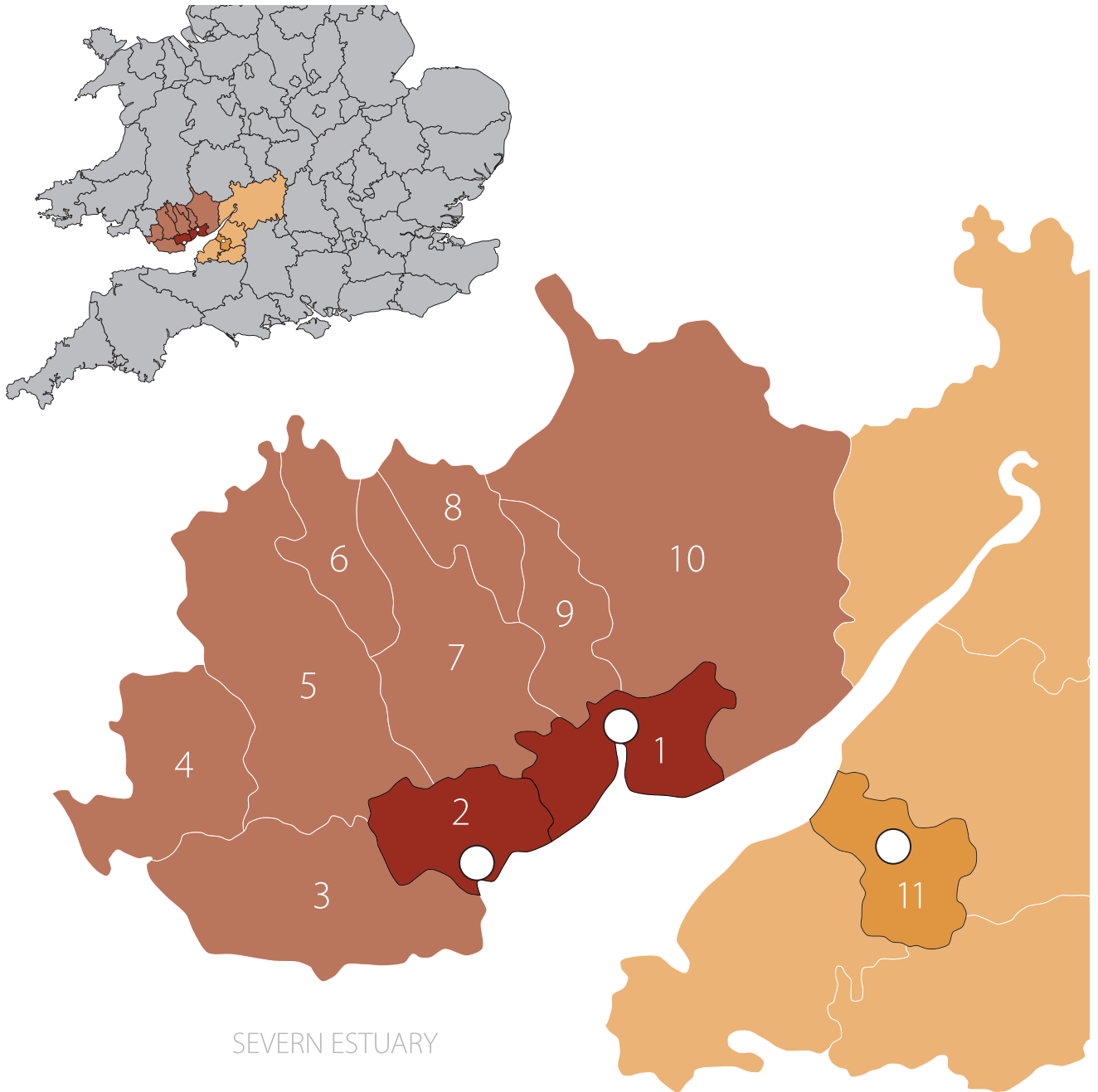
1. Newport

2. Cardiff

3. Vale of Glamorgan

4. Bridgend

5. Rhondda Cynon Taf

6. Merthyr Tydfil

7. Caerphilly

8. Blaenau Gwent

9. Torfaen

10. Monmouthshire

11. Bristol

Executive Summary

"A 'Festival of Democracy' would be an ideal way to introduce the public to the concepts of 21st century democracy, to debate and test them in a controlled environment"

ResPublica was commissioned by Newport Council to explore the cultural re-invention of the city and how a new city brand can achieve this.

Place branding can play an important role in place-making, helping to articulate a sense of unique and authentic difference that can make a city stand out in an increasingly competitive world. This report sets out the case for a city brand that builds on Newport's historical, industrial and cultural legacy to shape a new vision for the future. At the centre of this vision is the idea of 'Democracy', a concept that speaks to the city's rich political history, its association with the Chartist movement and its legacy as 'home of the vote'.

Newport as a 'City of Democracy' is a distinctive brand proposition that could be transformative. More than a superficial marketing exercise; it is something that has depth and meaning, something that can embody Newport's ambitions, and re-position the city in relation to local, national and potentially international networks. It could allow a number of related activities – festivals to celebrate political history, democratic models of shared ownership, and new methods of participating in local decision making - to connect citizens and communities; shape public services; and drive economic development.

'City of Democracy' captures a sense of Newport's cultural identity which, we argue, can play a significant role in place-making.

This type of cultural led development has been attributed, by some academics and urbanists, to whole city regeneration and in some places the emergence of a new cultural and 'creative class' (Florida, 2002). The development of cultural events and institutions to attract visitors and investors has been a central feature of urban planning in many metropolitan cities in the UK and internationally.

Democracy is a tangible concept which, in its broadest sense, can encapsulate the social and economic interactions of particular citizens and communities that come to define a sense of place. And place, as the Brexit result reminds us, is a decisive determinant of outcomes, be they health, education or income. Newport as 'City of Democracy' offers the promise of a shared future that can counter the effects of fragmented communities and refashion a mutual understanding of economics, politics and an enfranchised society.

The effects of globalisation and particularly the impact of automation, out-sourcing and off-shoring has contributed to the hollowing out of many middle skilled jobs in Newport and other post industrial cities, leading to divergent employment, skills and income distributions. The City of Democracy brand could help shape a place-based response to globalisation offering the prospect of a more equitable future. This could, for example, build on the anchoring role of the University of South Wales in widening participation and further

raising overall skills levels to meet the requirements of the new economy.

Democracy is an ideal to aspire to, which, to be realised, requires citizens to be autonomous, capable, and invested with the information they need to participate in society. *Effective* democracy requires better use of the powers and resources available to society. The question for a *representative* democracy is how good its systems and rules are at representing the views of the people and whether there are more effective means of allowing a wider group of citizens to participate in the process of government.

The principles of localism and place-making, that are beginning to take root in Wales and around the UK, provide a real opportunity for communities to develop and transmit an unmistakable offer that can capture and build on their unique cultural heritage while forging the possibilities for a new but genuine future. Newport's city brand can enable communities to build on their local heritage and assets, and, anchored by a deep sense of civic ownership, help shape a new and locally distinct settlement. This could provide a major rebalancing of investment and economic growth.

A deep and fully realised understanding of the role of democracy could not only help Newport drive a place-making agenda but also transform local democracy itself.

Newport's legacy

Newport's story is intertwined with the history of Britain's economic and political development. As one of the first places in the world to industrialise, it was also instrumental in the development of the Labour movement and the right to vote – the armed uprising in 1839 by the Chartists being the last of significant size on British soil. The effect of subsequent de-industrialisation, experienced by many western economies, has not been without its problems, some of which persist today. Yet, the city has adapted better than most.

Newport has recovered from a period of economic decline to become an important base for employers from a range of sectors in the nascent Cardiff City-Region. It is well connected via the Great Western Main Line and M4 to Cardiff, Bristol and London. Its population is better-educated than the Welsh average, with 35% of working age adults having a higher level of qualification (Level 4 or above – the equivalent of one year of university), and its workforce is more productive (productivity per worker, at £43,920, is almost equal to Cardiff's at £44,350). Recent regeneration projects, primarily in the city centre, have also helped to transform the city's profile.

However, Newport still needs to overcome certain challenges. It must tackle high unemployment and high levels of deprivation, concentrated in some areas of the city and which threaten to hold back future growth. To fully realise its potential Newport will need to create a more balanced economy, one that is less dependent on the public sector and large employers. It must secure its position linking South Wales to the West of England, grow its emerging digital cluster, and diversify its economy.

Newport as 'City of Democracy' can build on its political heritage to help promote the principles of inclusive growth, to ensure that future steps to attract business and investment can enable Newport to become an attractive place to live and work, where people can afford a good standard of living and play an active role in the wellbeing of the city.

City branding

Whether it's to boost tourism or to help create a general sense of civic pride, city branding has become an important part of place-making for many cities around the world. Responding to their own challenges, other cities have successfully used city branding to provide a focus and a strategy for life in the city. 'I love NY' is the first and perhaps most famous of city brands but Glasgow is also celebrated for its long running campaign which in its current form is branded 'People Make Glasgow'. City brands are typically targeted at a wide audience of potential residents, investors, and culture producers. They often act as an

'umbrella' for various city sub-brands, such as destination management and inward investment, and when most effective they are strongly integrated with city marketing agencies and partner organisations.

Those cities that have succeeded in city branding have moved beyond early attempts at simplistic exercises in logo creation and 'sloganeering'. The lessons are that city branding is more likely to succeed where strategies are consistent and long term; where partners and the various agencies of city marketing are coordinated and integrated; and where the brand functions as the primary over-arching platform for all city messaging and promotion, to which other sub-brands are strongly connected but clearly subservient.

We argue that if Newport is to embark on such a strategy, to re-vision and rebrand its social and economic future, then the concept of 'City of Democracy' can help achieve this by connecting with and renewing its cultural heritage. As a potential brand it is something familiar and known, an idea that has depth and which is in its own way uniquely and authentically associated with the city. It can speak directly to Newport's history as well as its connectivity to a global debate about the future of democracy. In this way, the brand can become more than an empty slogan. It can function as a platform for ideas that could once again make Newport a leader in the development of a new democracy.

Delivering a 'City of Democracy'

Making the concept of a 'City of Democracy' real and authentic could involve drawing on the links between cities and democracy in the past, and creating new ways of governing and representing Newport's people in the future. Historically, the republics of ancient Athens and Rome, and the medieval Hanseatic League alliance, remind us of a time when cities were in many ways stronger than nations. Today, cities are again taking on an increased role in governing all over the world, for example through the *Global Parliament of Mayors*. Cities are responding to global crises and the impacts of a global economy which

nations are ill-suited to deal with, and new democratic technologies enable their citizens to play an active role.

In Newport, the democratic context of the city is changing. The vote to leave the EU, the creation of the Cardiff City Region, devolution to the Welsh Government, and low turnout in council elections; these are all issues that combine to raise a complex of new questions.

The implications of 'democracy' span many areas. Economically, the legacy of co-operatives and friendly societies provide a way in which people could gain power through shared ownership. In the future, new fiscal powers for the region could enable prosperity to be better shared. With increasing growth, the displacing of lower-income families and small businesses must be managed to avoid disempowering communities without land assets. The skills system must also enable the council to actively help those 'left-behind' and who need help to participate in economic and political life.

To better represent citizens, Newport should stay involved with discussions on the future of the voting system in local elections and introduce new democratic tools, starting with small scale trials. These could include collaborative policy-making, virtual currency rewards, responsive notification of council decisions, and direct forms of democracy. These tools, some of which were developed by the EU-funded *D-cent* project, are already used in cities around the world such as Reykjavik, Helsinki, and Madrid. The Newport Citizen's Panel offers an idea test-bed to trial these new methods of involving citizens in decision-making.

A Festival of Democracy

A 'Festival of Democracy' would be an ideal way to introduce the public to the concepts of 21st century democracy, to debate and test them in a controlled environment. Festivals are increasingly regarded as an important element of urban regeneration globally and can be good value-for-money, often generating local

economic benefits, and leaving a lasting legacy. Newport is already looking to build upon its successful Food Festival and Chartist Festival, and a one-off or recurring Festival of Democracy would both draw in the city's communities and prominently promote the city to a wider audience.

All members of the local community, including heritage groups, schools, colleges, businesses and wider stakeholders can be involved in the design, organisation and delivery of an inaugural Festival of Democracy in November 2017, to coincide with the anniversary of the Chartist uprising. This could take place across a number of city venues, including locations associated with the Chartists. The festival will explore all facets of democracy and appeal to all members of the community, including those less likely to engage, with varied content that is both entertaining and intellectually challenging.

We suggest that this could include a TEDx event as part of the festival programme which will provide a platform for local speakers to address a global audience; public debates and competitions; and the trial of a collaborative policy-making tool to draft a 'declaration' to be released at the end of the festival. Alongside this we would envisage the conventional attractions of food, drink, music and performance as well as other carnival elements such as street events and historical re-enactments.

We propose that this should be an event organised in partnership with community groups, individual citizens and local business who will volunteer their time and services to staging such a festival. However, once a detailed budget has been prepared, identifying all elements of a festival programme, we anticipate that Newport City Council would need to fund at least half the required costs with the remainder coming from Welsh Government, the EU (where permissible) and private sponsors.

Outline recommendations

1. A branding strategy for City of Democracy should be agreed with all stakeholders and partners

2. Measures to support co-op and mutual ownership for established and new local businesses should be implemented

3. Newport should remain engaged with ongoing devolution discussions with Cardiff Capital Region around fiscal devolution, and to prioritise its digital cluster in growth discussions

4. Newport should closely track the influx of more affluent arrivals and the potential displacement of lower-income families and small businesses in the city and support Welsh Assembly Government efforts to pass Assets of Community Value legislation, with the aim of identifying such assets.

5. Newport should examine how community hubs can work with Jobcentre Plus, Families First and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) to deliver labour market interventions, including data-sharing from DWP.

6. Bring together employers and the University of South Wales to provide skills that will adequately prepare citizens for the disruptive effects of globalisation and automation

7. Explore incorporating the 'Newport Story' into the school curriculum

8. Use the Citizen's Panel to trial a range of new, collaborative digital democracy tools

9. Participate in discussions around electoral reform

10. Create a 'Festival of Democracy', drawing on both historic and modern contexts, generating debate and pioneering real-world uses of new democratic tools.

1. Introduction

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"Newport as a 'City of Democracy' is more than a city marketing exercise; it is something that has depth and meaning not only in the past but presently and in the future."

This report for Newport City Council sets out a 21st century vision for the city, one that builds on the city's historical, industrial and cultural legacy to help shape a modern future, which promises a new direction for social, economic and democratic renewal. At the centre of this new vision is the idea of 'Democracy', a concept that speaks to the city's association with the Chartist movement and its legacy as 'home of the vote'. We present the case that this core idea can be transformative, to help enliven, engage and build communities.

Newport as a 'City of Democracy' is more than a city marketing exercise; it is something that has depth and meaning not only in the past but today, and in the future.

This said, we also believe that it can work as an effective branding platform that can help to capture Newport's ambitions, and which can help re-position the city in relation to local, national and potentially international networks. As part of this overarching proposition we have developed a number of related themes and activities that can co-evolve, to not only help democracy drive a place-making agenda but also transform local democracy itself.

NEWPORT
CITY COUNCIL

CYNGOR DINAS
CASNEWYDD

2. About Newport

"Newport was the site of the last large-scale armed insurrection in Britain, the Newport Rising of 1839 led by the Chartists…a mass working class movement who sought political reforms"

Newport's story is intertwined with the history of Britain's economic and political development. It is a significant role that is perhaps now underappreciated. As one of the first places to industrialise, it has also been at the forefront of a deindustrialisation process, experienced by many western economies. This has not been without its problems, some of which persist, but Newport has adapted better than other places. It now has a range of large employers, with a promising digital cluster, and excellent connections to South Wales and Western England that have helped it adjust to changing economic circumstances. The causes which Newport's Chartist movement fought for have become in large part an everyday reality for people in Britain and in democracies around the world. Building on this legacy can help to promote the principles of inclusive growth, to ensure that future steps to attract business and investment can enable Newport to become an attractive place to live and work, where people can afford a good standard of living and play an active role in the wellbeing of the city.

2.1 The Past – the rise of an industrial city

Newport, situated on the river Usk and at the confluence of the River Severn, has been a port since medieval times, gaining its first charter in 1314. However, it was during the 19th century when the port became the focus of coal mined from the eastern valleys of South Wales that Newport grew to become the largest exporter of coal in Wales.

The period between the late 19th and early 20th century was a boom time for Newport when the population was expanding rapidly. New docks were constructed including Alexandra South Dock which opened in 1892 and was at that time the largest masonry dock in the world. The expansion of iron and steel works in and around Newport also contributed to its expanding economy with the opening of Lysaght's Orb Works in 1898 employing 3,000 staff. Newport was at this time a major focus of international trade with 8 consuls and 14 vice-consuls.

Urban expansion took in Pillgwenlly and Lliswerry to the south of the river which eventually necessitated a new crossing of the Usk, provided by the Newport Transporter Bridge completed in 1906. Further extensions to the South Dock were followed in 1907 and 1914. However, the port had gone into decline even before the great depression, with falling coal production and competition from Cardiff, and in 1930 the Town Dock was filled in.

Yet Newport remained an important manufacturing and engineering centre and experienced something of a post-war resurgence with the help of a broad

industrial base including foundries, engineering works, and a market town that served much of Monmouthshire. The city attaining full cathedral status in 1949, the opening of the modern integrated Llanwern steelworks in 1962 secured new jobs in the industry, while the construction of the Severn Bridge and local sections of the M4 motorway in the late 1960s, made Newport the best-connected place in Wales. The recessions of the 1980s and 1990s nevertheless hit the community hard, with the decline of the steel and coal industries causing a significant loss of employment. The financial crisis of 2008 did not help, but the fragile economy did see recovery through a successful inward investment programme and an emergent high tech sector.

Newport has proven to be highly resilient to structural shocks. The city has acquired a range of new public sector employers and administration centres, including: the headquarters of the Office for National Statistics; the headquarters of the United Kingdom Intellectual Property Office (formerly known as the Patent Office); the headquarters of Wales and West Utilities; the shared-service centre for HM Prison Service; the Passport Office for much of the south and west of the UK; and the Wales headquarters of the Charity Commission and British Red Cross. In addition, large private sector employers have been attracted to the city such as Admiral Insurance, Lloyds Bank, the headquarters of insurance comparison site Gocompare, Airbus, Tata Steel, Panasonic, International Rectifier and SPTS. A Richard Rogers-designed Inmos microprocessor factory has also helped to establish Newport as a presence for emergent technology companies.

In addition, and alongside its industrial legacy, Newport also has a proud cultural and political history at the forefront of working class political movements. It was the site of the last large-scale armed insurrection in Britain, the Newport Rising of 1839 led by the Chartists.

The Chartists were a mass working class movement with a particularly strong hold in the South Wales Valleys. They sought political reforms, through a People's Charter, including 'a vote for every man twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and not undergoing punishment for a crime'. The Chartists sought change through constitutional means including public meetings, demonstrations and petitions, although several outbreaks of physical resistance and violence erupted in different parts of the country. In 1839 a large scale armed rebellion marched on Newport to liberate fellow Chartists who were reported to have been taken prisoner there. This resulted in the largest civilian massacre committed by the British government in the 19th century, with over 20 demonstrators killed when troops opened fire on them.

Newport was also the place where the Miner's Federation of Great Britain was founded in 1889 and it has a strong association with the suffragettes. All this clearly identifies the city as an instrumental place in the development of the labour movement and the right to vote.

2.2 The Present – post-industrial Newport, how the city is performing

Newport was granted city status in 2002 and is the third largest city in Wales with a population of approximately 150,000 people, projected to grow to 170,000 by 2036. The city forms part of the Cardiff-Newport metropolitan area, with a population of 1,097,000. It is also situated between the two cities of Cardiff and Bristol, forming a pivotal role as part of the three Great Western Cities (GWCs), with a combined population of almost 1.8 million.
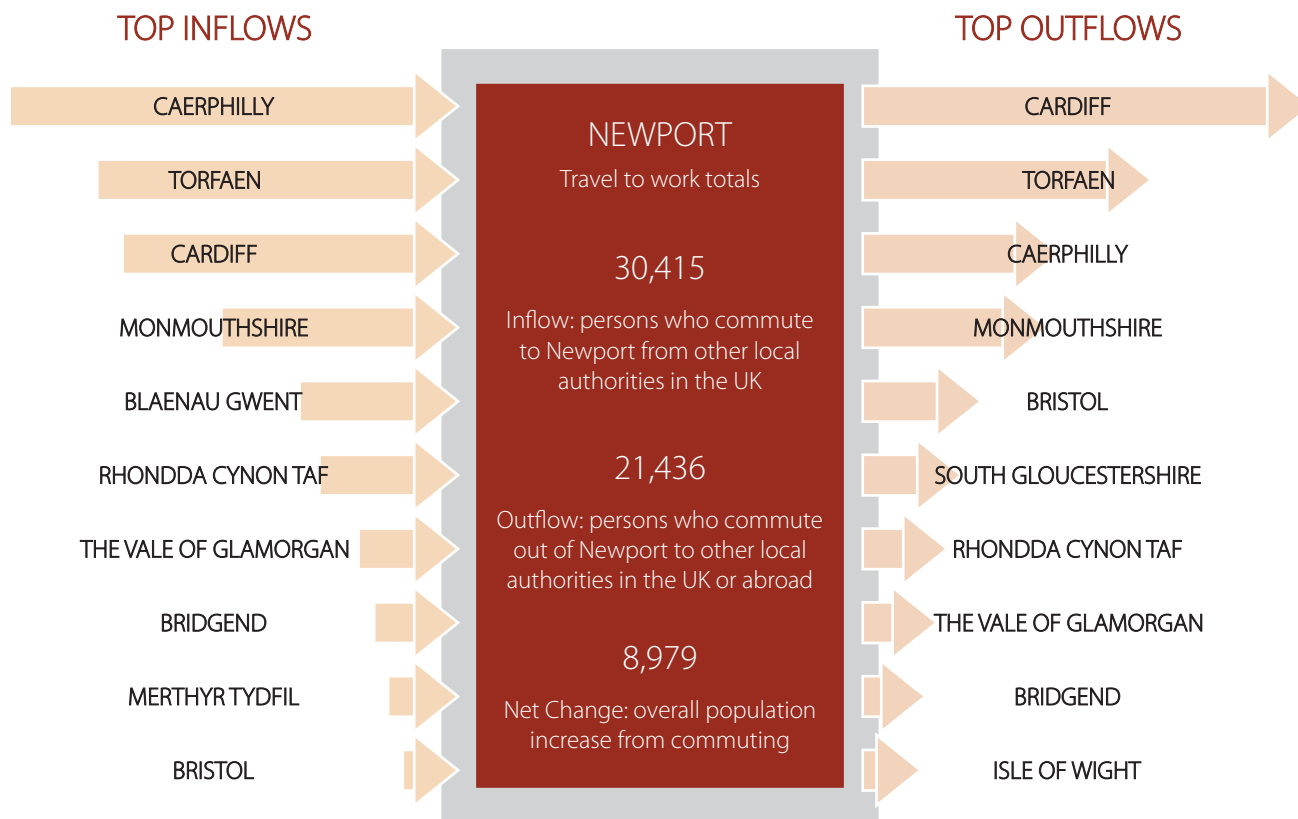
The City of Newport functions as a significant employment centre supporting nearly 69,000 jobs, with a job density figure for of 0.81 jobs per working age person which is higher than the Wales and UK average.[1] It is therefore also an important commuter city with a Travel to Work Area that incorporates much of south Monmouthshire. It has a net inflow of approximately 9,000 workers, with the largest proportion of commuters travelling in from Caerphilly, Torfaen, Cardiff and Monmouthshire.[2] The city also provides an important connecting role across the Great South West conurbation with a larger number of Newport residents commuting out to Cardiff (the largest travel to work destination) and Bristol than currently travel in from those areas.

The resident population is educated to a higher level than the Welsh average, with over 35% of working age adults having Level 4 qualifications or above, and contains a higher proportion of managers, directors and senior officials than Cardiff, Bristol and the English and Welsh averages.[3] This suggests that the city has already started to transition from a predominantly working class industrial economy into something more diverse and productive, one that is increasingly attractive to an aspiring and high achieving workforce. The city consistently ranks above the Welsh average for City Centre Competitiveness (Huggins, 2013)[4] and consequently it is a major contributor to the Welsh economy, generating a total GVA of £4.74bn, with a GVA per worker of £43,920 almost equalling that of the capital, Cardiff at £44,350.[5]

In terms of business formation the city has a broad range of sectors of which the larger employment sectors include Production, Wholesale, Retail, Transport, Hotels and Food, Finance and Insurance Services, and Professional, Scientific and Technical activities. Heavy industry and manufacturing remains an important sector for the city, although employing fewer than in the past – the rolling mill is still active at Corus Llanwern steelworks and at the mouth of the River Usk, the Sims Metal Management plant hosts the world's largest industrial shredder for scrap metal with access by road, rail and sea. Tourism and the visitor economy have become increasingly important. Newport hosted the Ryder Cup in 2010 (when visitor numbers peaked at

TRAVEL TO WORK FLOWS - NEWPORT

TOP INFLOWS

CAERPHILLY

TORFAEN

CARDIFF

MONMOUTHSHIRE

BLAENAU GWENT

RHONDDA CYNON TAF

THE VALE OF GLAMORGAN

BRIDGEND

MERTHYR TYDFIL

BRISTOL

NEWPORT
Travel to work totals

30,415

Inflow: persons who commute
to Newport from other local
authorities in the UK

21,436

Outflow: persons who commute
out of Newport to other local
authorities in the UK or abroad

8,979

Net Change: overall population
increase from commuting

TOP OUTFLOWS

CARDIFF

TORFAEN

CAERPHILLY

MONMOUTHSHIRE

BRISTOL

SOUTH GLOUCESTERSHIRE

RHONDDA CYNON TAF

THE VALE OF GLAMORGAN

BRIDGEND

ISLE OF WIGHT

All categories: method of travel to work (2001 specification)

Source: ONS, Census 2011

over 2.5m) and the NATO Summit in 2014. Newport will continue to attract more world-class events once the new Wales International Convention Centre is built in the city. A year on year increase from £181m in 2009 to £261m in 2014 reflects the value or tourism to Newport.[6]

Newport has an impressive inward investment and re-investment track record; the city ranks 3rd in a Lambert Smith Hampton study of the best office locations outside London and 7th out of 100 UK cities for robust economic growth to 2020.[7] The city is also undergoing one of the largest regeneration programmes in the UK, with public/private sector investments potentially totalling £2 billion by 2020. This includes £15 million from Welsh Government to invest in Vibrant and Viable Places to convert run-down city centre properties into new homes

and spaces for business start-ups, stimulating further growth and business investment and furthering the vision to re-shape the life of the city centre. Newport's city centre retailers have recently voted to become a Business Improvement District.

In the last ten years Newport has established a sound platform for future economic growth, with a range of significant projects completed totalling around £230 million in value. Riverfront improvements, a new railway station, the new University of South Wales campus and reclamation of the Old Town Dock area are only a very small example of the wider developments that have taken place in the city. Together with other recent major investment programmes, such as the £100 million Friars Walk retail and leisure scheme, and the

£60m investment through the Welsh Governments Vibrant and Viable Places Framework, the City of Newport's steady history of economic regeneration activity affords the Council a prime position to maximise the opportunities that exist and address the challenges that remain.

The city is clearly evolving and there is a need to balance its industrial past with a future offer that can generate more and different growth for the benefit of all its citizens. This presents an opportunity to build a more cohesive community and create a new local narrative that can speak to both the National (Wales) and sub-national agenda (including its role as part of the Cardiff City Region and as a pivotal location in the Great Western Cities).

2.3 The Future – the opportunities for place making

While much progress has been made, Newport will need to overcome certain challenges. Unemployment is above the Wales and UK average and particularly high in some wards in the city such as Pillgwenlly, Tredegar Park and Bettws, which rank amongst the highest on the Welsh Indices for Deprivation, including for poor health. High unemployment, particularly amongst the younger population aged 18-24, alongside lower skills account for a 'productivity gap' compared with other stronger performing city economies in the UK and Europe. [8]

To fully realise its potential Newport will need to create a more balanced economy that is less dependent on the public sector (the city is ranked 57th out of 64 for private sector employment[9]) and larger firms (at 0.9% the city stands above the Wales average of 0.4% for large employers) which have impacted on lower levels of entrepreneurship and business start-ups. It will be necessary to raise average productivity across all the city's industrial sectors, to support wider private investment, and to encourage growth across a more diverse range of large, medium and especially new micro businesses.

Despite contraction manufacturing continues to offer access to higher skilled work through a number of internationally recognised companies, with Advanced Manufacturing, particularly related to energy technologies, identified as a future growth sector for the area. Other key drivers for growth over the next 10 years - both locally and regionally - include: ICT, Life Sciences, Finance & Professional Services, Tourism and Construction to meet predicted demand for physical regeneration and housing demand.

Evidence also shows Newport to have one of the largest digital clusters in Wales[10], with Digital Technologies - particularly hardware and telecoms - identified as a growth sector for the area. Newport has an award winning university campus at the heart of the city where the Alacrity Foundation, set up a few years ago, is mentoring top graduates in entrepreneurship with a view to them establishing new technology companies. A number of blue chip IT and data services companies have also been attracted to Newport due to the physical security these sites offer and the area in general. Consideration will need to be given to how these sectors can be supported and strengthened as part of a place-based industrial strategy through the provision of an appropriately skilled work-force, and the availability of finance as well as tailored support to businesses in the region. Allied to this, opportunities for economic growth will need to include those currently locked out of the labour market or at risk of low skilled, low paid employment.

Further, Newport must become a key driver of economic growth across South East Wales and South West England. This will need to build on the rationale of agglomeration and how the economies of Cardiff, Newport, and Bristol can be brought closer together to achieve the benefits of scale, density and specialisation to accelerate growth across the region. The Great Western Cities (GWC) conurbation is estimated to be the largest and most connected economic area in the UK, with more people commuting across the metro area than between Manchester and Leeds in the Northern Powerhouse. Economic modelling has shown that a 20-minute reduction in journey times could result in higher productivity and lower welfare benefits.[11] The GWC area is already performing

in line with the UK trend. However if output per capita could match London (based on 2014 figures) then this would lead to a GVA uplift of £31.7 billion per annum.[12]

More than double the working population of Newport are employed in the private sector compared to the public sector, suggesting a large number of residents commuting out of Newport to private industry in other areas. It is possible that many Newport residents are commuting out to work because there is a lack of demand for job opportunities locally. However, while there is a need to grow and retain talent in Newport and to provide higher value jobs in the city, the benefits of 'constructed agglomeration' are based on collaboration between multiple cores aimed at achieving a larger scale and stronger economic position than can be achieved by individual centres alone. Newport will need to play a critical role to drive agglomeration forces in ways that benefit its own businesses and residents in the wider metro area. There are clearly challenges in working across national borders, including devolved fiscal and spending policies but the evidence from Europe where many citizens routinely travel to work across borders suggests that these matters can be overcome.

Connectivity is an important element of agglomeration and Newport is ideally situated to drive this agenda as a key connector city. This role has already been identified and advanced by Newport Smart & Connected City, the council's inward investment and marketing body which promotes Newport as a place to invest. This identity as a strongly networked location to visit and invest will help to establish Newport's future in a more outward facing and globally interconnected economy.

1   Nomis: Labour Market Profile – Newport: Jobs Density (2013) – Newport Economic Growth Strategy 2015
2   MetroDynamics, Britain's Western Powerhouse, February 2016
3   ONS annual population survey, NOMIS, 2015
4   Huggins City Centre Competitiveness Index, 2013
5   ONS Regional Gross Value Added (Income Approach): December 2015
6   Newport Economic Growth Strategy 2015
7   http://www.keycities.co.uk/newport
8   Newport Economic Growth Strategy 2015
9   Centre for Cities Index 2014
10   National Institute of Economic and Social Research: Measuring the UK's Digital Economy. Figure 4: Location quotients of digital economy companies by Travel to Work Area, 2012.
11   Peter Brett Associates, cited in Britain's Western Powerhouse, February 2016
12   MetroDynamics, Britain's Western Powerhouse, February 2016

3. Place Making and City Branding

"The ultimate promise of city branding is to create enhanced awareness in key marketplaces which in turn increases customers, generating business, employment and prosperity."

Whether it's to boost tourism or to help create a general sense of civic pride, city branding has become an important part of place-making in many cities around the world. The rationale for introducing city branding programmes is that urban areas are increasingly competing against each other for scarce resources in a globalised world. Proponents see this as a means of differentiating and communicating their unique advantages to key audiences - students, tourists, migrants, and investors. The ultimate promise of city branding is to create enhanced awareness in key marketplaces which in turn increases customers, generating business, employment and prosperity.

3.1 Definition, history and practice

City branding has been defined as:

"The application of branding as a management discipline to the marketing of towns and cities, so as to provide an overarching framework of urban imagery and messages within which specific residential and external audiences may be more effectively addressed through targeted marketing and sales activities; the external audiences in question are typically those of tourism, inward investment, potential occupiers of property, and prospective students".[13]

The branding and marketing of cities and towns is attributed in its first recognisably modern format to the 'I love NY' campaign undertaken in New York nearly 40 years ago. In 1977 the State Department of Commerce hired an advertising agency to implement a $4.3m marketing campaign aimed at accentuating the positives of the area, as a remedy to the negative images then prevalent about the city, especially those of financial and economic failure and of urban crime. The resultant 'civic boosterism' went on to inspire several more city branding campaigns in New York and all manner of merchandising. I love NY became a much copied logo and slogan, passing a longevity test which few other city branding projects surmount.

I love NY directly influenced other cities including those in Europe. In 1983, Amsterdam and Glasgow introduced the Amsterdam has it and Glasgow's miles

better city brands. In turn, other UK and European cities followed. By the beginning of the twenty-first century slogans were increasingly finding their way into urban centres and the regeneration toolkits of provincial cities as 'another way of selling cities'.[14]

In the UK this included, for example, Birmingham's (*Europe's meeting place*), Liverpool's (*Maritime city*), Stoke's (*Do china in a day*), Bradford's (*Bouncing back*), Manchester's (*We're up and going*), Edinburgh's (*Inspiring Capital*), and Leeds (*Live it. Love it*). City logos included the Belfast B; the Birmingham B; the Nottingham N, and the Manchester M. European city brands included: *The Hague: international city of peace and justice*, *Everything points to the Maastricht region*; *Live Riga*; *Rotterdam: World port, world city*; *Only Lyon* and the *Copenhagen: open for you*, *The Bilbao B*.

However, while city branding has gathered some momentum in Europe over the past half century, the practice remains the exception rather than the rule. The vast majority of cities and towns do not have an explicit city branding strategy, platform and delivery mechanism in place. Indeed there is widespread absence in both Europe's capital and second tier cities. London, Rome and Paris do not work to a formal city brand in promoting themselves, which given their relative and accumulated advantage may well be regarded as unnecessary.[15] But neither are other 'lower' tier cities minded to undertake city branding projects, perhaps unconvinced about the benefits and outcomes of such practice.

3.2 City versus destination branding

The academic literature makes an important distinction between city branding and destination branding carried out by destination marketing organisations (DMOs). Destination brands are by comparison relatively widespread and unproblematic design frameworks within which places can enhance their profile and attract visitors, as first undertaken by spa towns and seaside resorts.

In Europe most nations practice destination management with nearly all principal cities boasting a DMO and destination brand. However, in most cases there are few instances of a wider city branding enterprise. Typically, city brands transcend destination marketing in that they seek proactively to target audiences wider than those of the visitor economy to include existing residents and businesses, potential inward investors, students and cultural producers (film/TV).

Crucially, city brands supply an overarching set of imagery and messages within which the targeted marketing activities of various agencies (typically DMOs, inward investment agencies, chambers of commerce, transport authorities and universities) may more effectively bring about a desired outcome. The 'umbrella' of city branding is its hallmark, serving to differentiate it from the destination branding to which it is nearly always linked and to emphasise its multi-dimensional nature.[16]

While destination brands can be found in most urban contexts, city brands are much less common. The norm is for there to be a destination brand, but no city brand. Further, where city brands do exist, the destination brand nearly always acts as a sub-brand of the city brand. In other words, the city brand is utilised for various strands of 'official' city marketing activity, including the destination marketing undertaken by DMOs to penetrate city break, events and convention markets, while also embracing other key audiences referred to above.[17]

In Berlin, Amsterdam and Glasgow the city brand is currently being used amongst other things as a 'tourism' sub-brand. Here the effectiveness of the city brand has been made possible by the development of integrated city market agencies, such as the Berlin Partner, Amsterdam Marketing and the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau. These have emerged as prototypes for other cities seeking to coordinate a spectrum of different target audiences.[18]

Glasgow Case Study

Glasgow's city brand is currently known as PEOPLE MAKE GLASGOW (2013). This is the third iteration of a city brand that started in the 1980's with Glasgow Miles Better and which continued with Glasgow: Scotland with Style. The latest campaign is implemented by the city's dedicated marketing bureau, a subsidiary company incorporated in 2004 and formed to promote and improve the well-being of people in Glasgow. These objectives are achieved through a range of strategies directed towards increasing the economic activity within Glasgow as a place to live, work and pursue leisure activities, and also as a city to conduct business and attract inward investment.

Glasgow's current brand has a unique story. It was developed through a global, digital conversation which asked the question "What makes Glasgow a great city?" Over 1,500 people from 42 countries contributed to the conversation by sharing their brand ideas, stories, images, videos, music and poems. Overwhelmingly, the number one response from contributors was that it's the people of Glasgow that make the city great, which, ultimately, led to the development of PEOPLE MAKE GLASGOW as the city's new brand. PEOPLE MAKE GLASGOW can also be used with an extender word – an emotive word which can be used to get a more specific message across about an industry focus, campaign or theme PEOPLE MAKE GLASGOW: Home; Creative; Greener; and so on.

PEOPLE MAKE GLASGOW

3.3 Evidence of what works

While city branding platforms may prove to be the exception rather than the rule they have nevertheless multiplied and become more sophisticated in recent years. However, their effectiveness and ultimate value remains difficult to assess. Failure rates amongst city branding projects are very high.[19] There are reportedly just two exemplary practices of city branding platforms now operative in Europe; the I Amsterdam and People Make Glasgow. The perceived failure of many campaigns has become a significant factor behind the reluctance of many municipalities to risk using city branding.

The actual practice of city branding in early twenty first century Europe belies its potential. For the most part city brands come and go, with very little evidence of impact and effect. There are numerous reasons cited for this:

• City branding is often the source of misunderstanding and confusion as to its purpose, structure and application. It has been suggested that city leaders often "don't understand the benefits and concepts involved in place branding".[20]

• Cities present a large, complex, and multi-dimensional set of propositions which, unlike corporations, are difficult to reduce to a number of core values, products and messages that can be controlled as a "cohesive and unique brand".[21]

• City branding aims to create the umbrella under which more targeted, sectoral marketing activities can occur. In practice, fully-fledged sub-brands tend to be weakly reflected, unless integrated by a dedicated city market agency. [22]

• City branding projects prove resistant to evaluation and the establishment of precise impacts and rates of return on investment (ROI). It is simply too difficult to control for what might have happened in any event – the so called counterfactual - with or without a city brand.[23]

• Even when the key institutions of a city are keen to introduce place branding

the costs associated with achieving a minimal level of visibility and impact can be prohibitive when balanced with other statutory obligations which take a higher priority and when the benefits are so hard to quantify.

Europe's near 40 year experiment in city branding presents a backdrop populated and characterised by infrequency and (where city branding does exist) varying degrees of success. Those cities that have succeeded have moved beyond early attempts at simplistic exercises in logo creation and 'sloganeering'. The lessons are that city branding is more likely to succeed where:

• The brand functions as the over-arching platform for all city messaging and promotion , to which other sub-brands are strongly connected but clearly subservient

• The commitment to the brand is practiced by all key city institutions including local businesses

• The practice is consistent and the strategy long-term

• The various agencies of branding and city marketing are coordinated and integrated.

• The commitment to funding is sustainable and commensurate with achieving at least a minimum level of impact.

3.4 Branding Options for Newport

There are a number of options for a Newport city brand, which play on its local history and existing associations, some or all of which could be associated and used as part of an overarching city branding platform.

Gateway to Wales

Newport is already known as the 'Gateway to Wales', a strap line which is used in various promotional materials for the city. While this is an effective and accurate description it only speaks to one half of Newport's connecting role in the region. Situated between Bristol

and Cardiff, Newport is at the heart of the growing Great Western Cities conurbation. The city is strategically placed on the M4 Corridor with excellent road and rail links beyond the region to the cities of Birmingham and London and to Heathrow and Gatwick airports. In this context Newport is a Gateway for Wales to connect with the major agglomeration economies of England.

Smart & Connected

Smart & Connected serves as Newport's inward investment tagline. This speaks to Newport's potential to grow and prosper as a vital 'Connector City' within what is currently the largest economic sub-region in the UK. This portrays one possible future for the city as an attractive place for businesses to invest and as an affordable commuter city in which to live and work. Positioned to serve both the wider travel to work areas of Bristol and Cardiff, as well as other surrounding towns in Wales, the idea of a 'Connector City' also presents the possibilities for a new economic base and local job market as an interlocutor that facilitates interactions between larger employment sites, businesses and supply chains. The multi-million pound investment in the city's broadband and digital connections also plays to the smart city agenda to become "Super Connected".

City on the Rise

City on the Rise is the strap line which Newport Council has used in recent years to promote its ambitions for the city and particularly its achievements in regenerating the city centre, including Friars Walk and the retail quarter. It successfully captures the sense that Newport is changing for the better, that it is open for business, and an attractive proposition for investors. It can also act as a positive and uplifting phrase to attract new young wealth creators and families by playing to the excellent quality of life which the city affords.

Backing Newport

The 'Backing Newport' campaign by South Wales is a supportive strap line that has been recently adopted to promote the city in the local press. This campaign has highlighted recent developments that are helping to transform the city. It has also featured the many assets that make the city an attractive place to live, work and do business including; beautiful countryside, coastlines and the wetlands nature reserve; its leisure facilities - new walking and cycle routes linking the city centre and its rural hinterland; and impressive sporting links - Newport Gwent Dragons, Newport County AFC, the Football Association of Wales Centre of Excellence, an internationally recognised golf course, and the Wales National Velodrome which is one of only five internationally recognised cycling facilities in Britain.

Home of the Vote

The city is also famous for its historical connections with the Chartist Movement and proudly associates with this tradition as the 'Home of the Vote'. The local organisation 'Our Chartist Heritage' formed to coincide with the 175th anniversary of the Uprising in Newport, aims to promote Newport and South Wales as a root of modern democracy. The celebration of the Chartists contains the kernel of an idea that can help to connect Newport's local history as an important city in the development of democracy and universal suffrage, with an outward facing message of national and global significance.

City of Democracy

The concept of Newport as a 'City of Democracy' is a potential brand that could speak to the city's historical legacy while giving expression to a modern 21st century understanding of the democratic ideal.

A city made famous by the long struggles to achieve the rights and freedoms which we enjoy today can play a leading role in shaping the democratic processes of tomorrow. This could promote and celebrate the city's democratic heritage for the social, cultural, educational and recreational benefit of the general public, helping to champion citizenship and participation in the democratic process. It could also help to drive tourism via associated festivities to attract visitors to the area.

3.5 Preferred option, 'City of Democracy'

There are a number of slogans, strap lines and campaigns that are currently and simultaneously in use. While each has its merit none could accurately be described as an intended city branding strategy or over-arching platform as currently practised in other cities or understood in the literature.

If Newport is to embark on such a strategy, to re-vision and rebrand its social and economic future then it will need to light upon something that can connect with and renew its cultural heritage. The concept of 'City of Democracy' clearly achieves this. As a potential strap line it is both fresh and new, in so far as it is not currently in use. But at the same time it is something familiar and known. The idea has depth and is in its own way uniquely and authentically associated with the city.

As a potential brand platform 'City of Democracy' can speak directly to Newport's history as well as its connectivity to a global debate about the future of democracy. There's a real opportunity for Newport to take the lessons from 'democratic cities' elsewhere and from other periods of history, and combine them with new ideas and

techniques. In doing so, it could become 'City of Democracy' not just in name but in nature.

In this way the brand can become more than an empty slogan. It can function as a platform for the development of a whole programme of action including festivals, educational inputs and community engagement, incorporating the work of the local chartist heritage groups and wider participation in public services. Newport has been pioneering in Wales in setting up the Fairness Commission (which we discuss further, below) and there are options, both large- and small-scale, that Newport could take up to be a leader in the UK on democracy.

It is not presently clear how pre-existing brands and slogans currently used across the city might fit within a 'City of Democracy' branding platform. It is possible that they could simply co-exist without need for explanation or reference. However, there is the risk that such an approach would dilute and limit the effect of the over-arching brand. The 'City of Democracy' tagline may function as a distinct offer within a destination management plan, or even more narrowly in relation to a specific event or series of events, including a festival. But again this may serve to minimise the potential of the brand.

There will be a need for Newport City Council to review how the separate functions of destination management, inward investment, and overall city marketing are managed and brought together as part of a coherent strategy that can be best served by the 'City of Democracy' brand. At the same time there will be a need to consult widely with residents and business about the future city brand and how this might work. Buy-in from the local business community will be especially important in transmitting the brand.

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4. 21st Century Democracy for Newport

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"There are a number of key democratic technologies which Newport should consider offering to citizens in small-scale projects."

Cities and democracy have long been associated. None is better known or documented than the city state of Athens, the first and originating democracy. Indeed the very term 'democracy' refers to the power of people and place. At this moment in history cities and their global networks are increasingly at the centre of debates about the new democracy as they – and not nations – drive the world economy. Cities are moving beyond networking to become more influential players in the globally interconnected world.

Examples of niche practices and societal trends are beginning to emerge that are redirecting democracy as a vehicle for regeneration and citizen empowerment. This is a discourse that is challenging traditional democratic institutions and practices, while across Europe new players - communities, citizens, social entrepreneurs - are mobilising and taking up responsibility for the public domain. This chapter will begin to explore some of the ideas that could be taken forward by Newport to build on its heritage and help to further involve local citizens in a new democratic settlement for the 21st Century.

4.1 Democratic cities

Over time and across nations the relevance of cities to democratic life has alternated in its relative strength and weakness. City democracy as a means of government pre-dates the nation state, although historically the power and sovereignty of local government has waned in relation to the central state. In recent decades, although more recently in the UK, we have seen an emerging global trend towards decentralised governance. The effectiveness of national democracy, or lack of, has shaped the relative independence and power of democratic city governments. In response to contemporary challenges, cities are working together to tackle problems in new ways and represent their citizens in an effective way.

4.1.1 Democracy's crisis of legitimacy

In order to understand the prospects for city democracy we must look at the current state of democracy in general. The picture is not a rosy one. Global challenges have pushed established norms of governance to the brink and trust in democratically elected politicians is at record lows across Europe.[24]

On the economic front, the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis has taken much longer to recover from than previous recessions. High youth unemployment in the years after the crash has shaken trust in the ability of governments to steer the economy, while the continued and visible prosperity of internationally mobile professionals has stoked public resentment. In response to global competition, demands for strong state intervention in sectors from steel to media have grown, but it is not clear that the state has the ability or the capacity to deliver a return to pre-2008 sustained economic growth.

On the social front, global instability and stagnant economies in the Middle East have precipitated a refugee crisis that has stoked nationalistic sentiment across Europe, with unprecedented movements of displaced people raising difficult questions over integration, national identity and control over borders. Immigration is among the top two concerns in every EU state except Portugal.[25] At the same time, social liberalisation and identity politics have created populations that are increasingly diverse in identity, values and worldview.

These challenges have created insurgent nationalist movements of a variety of forms, from Brexit to Trump that view the existing political order as undemocratic, counter to the interests of ordinary citizens and culturally distant or even dismissive of 'traditional' identities. Anti-immigrant populist parties in Europe such as Front Nationale and the Alliance for Germany advocate for a return to the state as sovereign representative of 'the nation', but at the cost of the globally interconnected networks of international trade. Caught between economic stagnation and political fracture, nation-states as we know them are, in many ways, 'stuck'.[26] With the nation-state caught between economic stagnation and popular revolt, the challenge of dealing and advancing globalisation has been taken up by another actor – the city.

4.1.2 Failure of the nation-state, rise of the city-state

There are good reasons why we might think that the city-scale is a good place, perhaps the best, to address the challenges of the 21st century, which we might divide into reasons of 'effectiveness' and 'representation'.

With regard to the 'effectiveness' of the state, cities are the places where globalisation "crystallises out" – where transnational corporations (TNCs) locate their offices and staff, where expertise and supply networks are located. They are the staging posts for interacting with the global economy, where its best and worst effects are manifest – access to global exchange of ideas and markets, but high levels of inequality and powerful interests of capital.[27] The effects of globalisation are present at the city level in a way they are not in the imagined national scale of politics.

In the international arena, cities have been instrumental in pushing for ambitious climate change emissions reductions agreements via the Climate Alliance group. A Global Parliament of Mayors, based in The Hague, has been established, following a 2013 proposal by US political scientist Benjamin Barber in his book *If Mayors Ruled the World*.[28] Many large cities operate city 'embassies' in other countries, conducting diplomatic affairs and speaking to investors.

Politically, this has the effect of distinguishing municipal politics from national politics in both form and content. Municipal governments tend to have a more pragmatic, non-ideological politics and politicians who are more interested in 'getting things done' than posturing, says Barber.

In terms of 'representing' citizens and communities, city governments also do not need to rely, as nation-states do, on an imagined national community with particular, 'special' characteristics as a source of legitimacy and a social contract communicated by national media and national symbols. Rather, city governments can appeal to the real community that

exists at the city level, where citizens and businesses interact with each other and are part of local networks that are much more tightly integrated than national ones. In the frequency and intensity of urban citizens' interactions with each other, they are giving life to their own social contract every day.

Political scientists have observed from the 1970s that the city provides a level and a forum for democratic participation that the nation cannot, where an ordinary citizen can acquire "confidence and mastery of the arts of politics". In that way, it can offer a form of democracy deeper than mere voting for representatives. Political crises at that time led some to postulate that city-states would come to play an increasing role in governing economic and public life.[29] But it is only in the last 8 years, with the type of policy challenges globalisation has created becoming clear, that this has become a political reality.[30]

4.1.3 Cities as the original centres of politics and democracy

Historically, the city has provided a focus both for effective governance and popular representation. On the first point, from the 13th to the 16th centuries, the Hanseatic League united the maritime cities of Northern Europe in a security alliance that shared a legal system, economic regulation, and a defence compact. In an age when nations were too inflexible and centralised to secure trading networks and provide for defence, city governments and businesspeople developed those things themselves.

In terms of representation, the main reference point for historical studies of city-democracy has been the classical city-states of ancient Rome and Greece. These cities represented their citizens by means of both popular assemblies, where all eligible voters could speak and create laws, and elections for officials. Citizens were expected to take an active role in the running of the city. As these cities grew, however, democracy proved impossible to function at a large scale with the paper and sail-based technologies of the time.

4.1.4 Cities leading a techno-democratic renewal

The mass-participation style of democracy of the classical city-states has been laid claim to today by a number of cities and popular movements that are using new technologies to enable the participation of citizens in the democratic and policymaking processes to an extent not seen before.

Forthcoming developments in technology and devolution may make it possible for more radical changes to the way city democracy works in the future. Technological developments have enabled new theories of representative and participatory democracy that can improve city governance and renew local accountability.

'New Democracy' parties are trialling direct and delegative forms of democracy such as 'liquid democracy' (see below), or citizen initiatives such as in California, Switzerland and other US states.

One technology used by 'Pirate parties' in Europe has been **'liquid democracy'**, a hybrid of direct democracy and representative democracy. Every citizen can have a direct decision making role, transfer decision making to a delegated proxy, or actively inform the decisions of their representatives in real time.

The d-cent program, funded by the EU, has produced a toolbox of democratic web-based technologies, including a collaborative policy-making and discussion tool used by Barcelona Town Hall, and rewards for democratic participation in the form of virtual currency trialled in Iceland and Finland.

4.2 Democracy in Wales & Newport today

Newport today operates both in terms of powers and representation in a context familiar to other councils in Wales and the rest of the UK, but changing international and national circumstances may significantly change the role of the city council in years to come. The city council has already engaged with ideas about representation and values (for example establishing a Fairness Commission and Citizen's Panel) and should build on these successes.

4.2.1 Effective city-governance in Newport

Newport's ability to democratically make and change policy exists in an evolving context. The UK's vote to leave the European Union may see powers at the European level transfer to the UK parliament, or potentially 'pass through' to the Welsh Government. Legislative power is vested in both the UK Parliament and Welsh Assembly, with the latter receiving powers over 'delegated matters' from the former. There is ongoing discussion about moving to a 'reserved powers' model, where matters are assumed to be under the competence of the Welsh Assembly unless specified otherwise.

Below the Welsh Government, but above the local authority tier of government, Newport and nearby local authorities have come together as part of the Cardiff Capital Region city-region to manage strategic priorities. This has two components; the South Wales Metro network and a Cardiff Capital Region Investment Fund of approx. £495m.

At the local authority level, Welsh councils have powers to do anything that may enhance the 'wellbeing' of residents in their areas, but the Welsh Government intends to grant councils a 'general power of competence' so that they may do anything that a person generally may do (such a power is already in place in England and Northern Ireland[31]).

4.2.2 Representative democracy in Newport

Securing participation in local democratic processes is vital for the legitimacy and effectiveness of local government, but turnout in local government elections is not high. In particular, turnout among the young in local government elections is continually low.

Low levels of engagement in local democracy are problematic for a number of reasons:
- Lack of scrutiny of spending and policy decisions
- Lack of a feeling of participation in place leadership 'things being done to us'
- Lack of legitimacy for council as steward of the city to public and government
- Difficulty in passing large or controversial measures - perceived as unsupported
- Failure to communicate priorities of voting public - disconnection of council from non-voters.

Newport operates a leader-cabinet system, with councillors elected by First Past the Post in individual wards. However, the city has already taken important steps towards embracing new ways of actualising democracy and representing its citizens.

Firstly, the city has established a Fairness Commission, the first and only one in Wales, to ensure the council's decisions are taken in accordance with a locally-defined criteria of fairness. The commission both reviews council and budget decisions, and inputs into the council's improvement objectives. It also has a role in promoting discussions about 'fairness' in local society, sponsoring and helping to organise community events to that end. The Commission is approximately 15 people, drawn from local institutions and advocacy groups.

Second, the city has established a Citizens Panel of approx. 1000 residents which it consults approximately 4 times a year on council policy. The Panel was consulted on their definitions of 'fairness' to decide what fairness meant for the Fairness Commission. The Panel was also consulted as part of the statutory process for the Wellbeing of Future Generations planning process.

4.3 Effective city-governance in Newport tomorrow

Newport has a real opportunity to consider how democratic participation of citizens can be deepened and extended so that they have an effective influence on other areas of public policy. In particular, there is opportunity for influence over the economic life of the city and its citizens. The vote to leave the European Union has directed increased political attention, from all parties, towards those who have not experienced the upsides of economic liberalisation and global trade. Within Newport, there are pockets of deprivation ranked among the highest in the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation. At the same time, it is acknowledged in Newport's Strategic Economic Plan that Newport's economy is over-reliant on the public sector, ranking 57/64 UK urban areas for proportion of private sector jobs.

4.3.1 Economic democracy

Making sure growth is 'inclusive' and equitable could offer an opportunity for Newport council to use its role as an anchoring institution to convene and stimulate types of growth that offer democratic opportunity to all citizens. Newport has already committed to creating 'an excellent economic environment', moving Newport up the value chain into high growth sectors, and developing indigenous businesses.

Alongside these ambitious goals is the challenge of how to create businesses that create broad and shared prosperity, important in an economy such as Newport's, which lacks an existing diverse private sector. This means giving workers a real stake in their businesses, enabling them to share in economic success.

South Wales has a distinguished history on which to build of the co-operative movement, of the friendly societies that foreshadowed the NHS, and of a tradition of working together for self and community improvement. The Welsh Government has previously looked at how it can support the development of modern, successful co-operatives and mutually-owned businesses.[32] There is now an opportunity for Newport to look at how this could be done at a local level. The city already hosts an outstanding example of modern co-operation in Loftus Garden Village, a citizen-led initiative to create quality housing for residents. Further work should begin on a comprehensive local co-ops strategy, as well as a number of interim measures.

4.3.2 City-based economic policy

The challenge of resolving exclusion and poverty will require a much more place-centric approach to economic policy. With central Government looking at a modern industrial strategy, it is vital that implementation in Wales responds to the different situations between Welsh areas, and does not treat the country in a homogeneous way. On the one hand, Newport needs the powers to respond to difficult economic conditions and create a more prosperous city with a solid industrial base. On the other, it needs to ensure that growth is 'inclusive' and does not help some parts of the city while abandoning others.

Effective use of the levers of economic policy is vital to create the right conditions for inclusive growth. In particular, local government finance has emerged in the UK as an area where different tax systems could be fairer and more efficient.

4.3.3 Land use and land distribution

As the city's economy becomes increasingly successful, and transport improvements mean it is increasingly well-connected to Cardiff, Bristol and London, there will be future challenges in shaping the growth of the city and accommodating changes to the makeup of the city. Increased prosperity is to be welcomed, but increases in property prices could see working-class neighbourhoods change in character, and existing communities and institutions pushed out. This is a challenge that many growing cities face.

Newport has already taken action and established a Local Development Order (LDO) in the centre, the first in Wales. This LDO streamlines the planning process by establishing clear pre-application requirements for city centre developments.

Moving forward, there are a number of additional steps the city could take to ensure there is a positive relationship between land use and shared prosperity in the city. To accommodate a rise in property prices in the city, consideration should be given to placing a greater emphasis on ownership within the planning system. The relevant provisions of the Localism Act to designating Assets of Community Value do not apply in Wales, but the Welsh government is consulting on passing equivalent legislation.

4.3.4 Skills for democracy

Economic democracy means all citizens having the skills and opportunity to participate in the economic life of the city. Newport has already committed to working with partners on a more demand-led approach to skills. It should also now look at how its community hubs can work with Jobcentre Plus on delivering labour market interventions for working age individuals. By bringing together Families First and Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) budgets, Newport could create an integrated employability system that gives everyone who engages with the welfare system the skills to succeed. A key enabler for this is likely to be data-sharing with DWP and HMRC to accurately identify every inactive individual.

A better, more demand led skills program would be of benefit both to the agency of citizens acting as democratic agents, and to the wider economic prosperity of the city, because better skilled citizens will be able to contribute more productively, and in turn create their own businesses and lead innovation in established ones.

As the governance of the Cardiff Capital region develops, skills policy may become more integrated at a regional level. Therefore, should Newport take the initiative on this policy area, it should not be seen as precluding the development of a regional skills policy, but a trailblazer area to lead the way for the wider city region on modern skills policy.

4.3.5 A democratic education

Curriculum reform in Wales is increasing the emphasis on the story(s) of Wales, on the role of citizenship, and on the values of a democratic citizen. There is an opportunity to embed the 'place-based' agenda into the school curriculum to give students a grounding in the context of their 'place', and in particular the roles, entitlements, rights and responsibilities of a citizen of the city.

The Welsh Government has trialled implementation of the UK Government's National Citizenship Service. If this programme is rolled out across Wales, the provider in Newport should consult with the council to identify how it could incorporate 'democratic citizen' aspirations, such as tolerance, diversity, and difference.

4.4 Representative democracy in Newport tomorrow

To embody the concept of a 'City of Democracy', Newport has a number of options, some more radical than others. To make the idea more than a catchphrase, Newport will need to show it is committed and open to real changes in the way the city works. The options available can be implemented at both small and large scale, reducing the barriers to action.

4.4.1 Digital democracy and services

Introducing a greater element of user-based democracy into both decision-making and service provision can provide an answer to both the challenge of a lack of civic engagement and in the need for higher quality services with constrained resources. Citizens can thus engage in both 'official, political' processes, and also through informal and user-driven decision-making and action. Official and unofficial processes are complementary, and equally essential to the success of our places.

There is evidence from abroad of place benefits from the participation of local people and organisations within processes such as participatory budgeting, referenda, and citizens' juries. There is no one model to adopt, rather a spectrum of options which seek to position all stakeholders as part of the production and delivery of services. It is a question for local consideration how elected local government and the range of stakeholders in cities - business, civil society and citizens – can make decisions about how to plan, finance and manage the public realm and space.

There are, however, a number of key technologies which Newport should consider offering to citizens in small-scale projects. These are collaborative policy-making, virtual currency rewards, responsive notification of democratic decisions and liquid democracy. Doing very small-scale trials of these projects means Newport can achieve maximum exposure and genuine experience with radical new democratic techniques on a very small budget and with no risk to wider council processes. They are here set out in more detail:

4.4.2 Collaborative policy making

A policy drafting tool that allows organisations to work with their members to produce transparent and crowdsourced policies. The tool supports the idea of collaboratively producing policy by allowing members of a community to review, comment and annotate versions (drafts) of a policy. The feedback provided by the community is then made accessible to the policy writers so that it can be included in the next version of the draft. Through the tool, users can gather community opinion, generate ideas, share, discuss, vote and collaborate with experts to draft the new policy. This could include specific policies, manifesto pages, election promises, etc.[33] A collaborative policymaking tool has been used in a number of cities both to suggest general ideas, and to generate solutions to objectives.[34]

Reykjavik, Iceland: In the 'Better Reykjavik' program, citizens submit ideas online and present them via the website. Other citizens can amend the ideas. The top 5 ideas each month are addre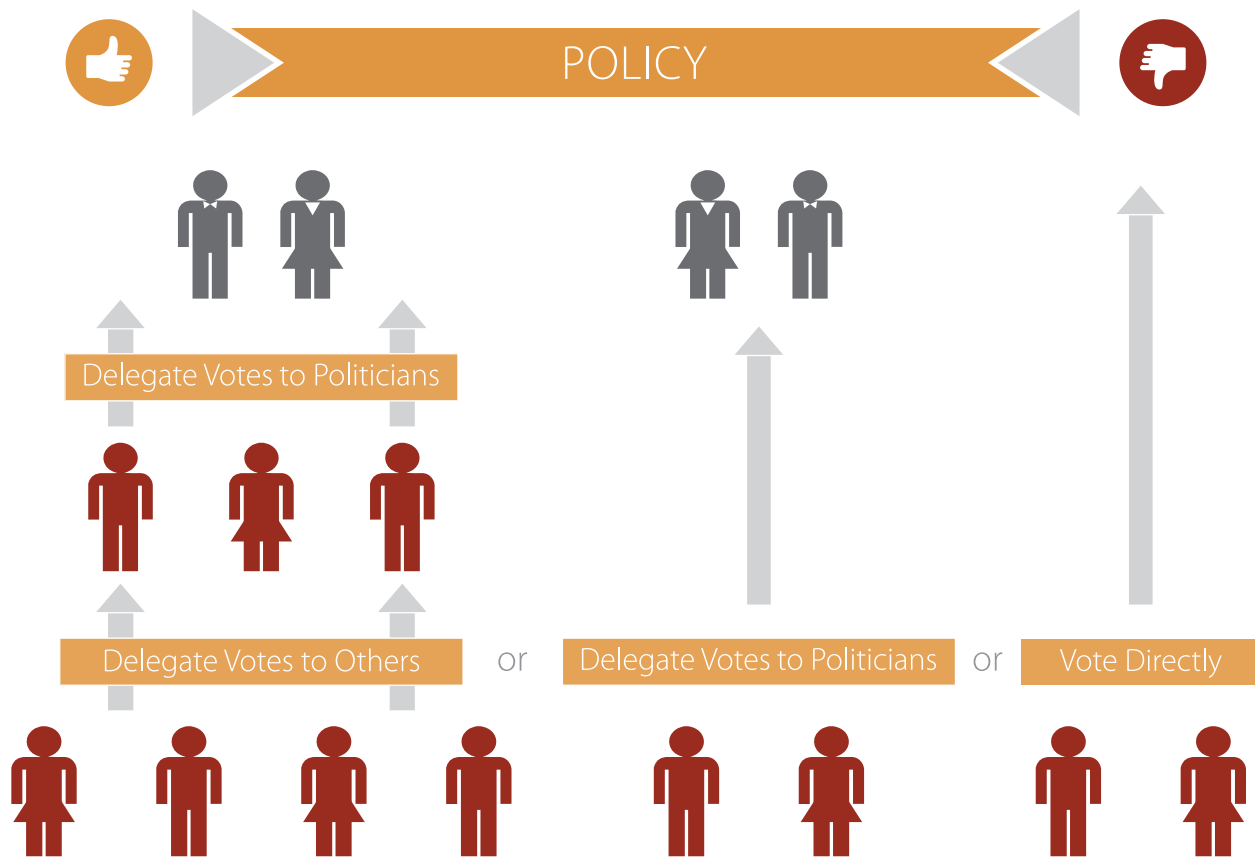ssed by the City of Reykjavik in the appropriate committee (with no obligation to implement them). Implemented ideas include war relic interpretation panels and school field trips. In addition, each year, the 'Better Neighbourhood' program allocates 1.8m euros for public realm and infrastructure improvements in each part of the city, that are proposed and voted on by residents from each area, using their municipal ID. Only projects that city planners find are viable can proceed.

4.4.3 Virtual currency rewards

A toolkit to let people run reward, remuneration and incentive schemes. It allows for collective deliberation on social currency systems, i.e. the rules of engagement and reward as a function of reputation management. Communities can run decentralised incentive and reward structures in terms of tolerance to risk. It allows communities and organisations to engage in transactions that have real world desirable impact and that they produce and construct collectively.[35] Put another way, it means tokens of currency can be rewarded online based on agreed standards of participation in the social endeavour, for example in political participation or community volunteering.[36]

Catalonia, Spain: The 'Eurocat' currency is a method of allocating credit and a method of guaranteeing against credit default. It is a type of 'timebank' that can issue credit to members (SMEs and individuals), guaranteed by other members of the currency. It is being deployed in response to the economic crisis in Catalonia driven by difficulty in accessing liquidity, reducing business turnover.

LIQUID DEMOCRACY

POLICY

Delegate Votes to Politicians

Delegate Votes to Others   or   Delegate Votes to Politicians   or   Vote Directly

Source: ResPublica/BlondCreative

4.4.4 Responsive notification of democratic decisions

This tool allows citizens to search for municipal decisions that match their interests. Once a citizen has performed a search, they are given the option of subscribing to future municipal decisions which match their search criteria. Their email address and search criteria are then stored and emails are generated and sent when a new decision is made.[37]

Helsinki, Finland: The Open Ahjo service, provided by the City Council, keeps citizens up to date with matters that interest them relating to all municipal decisions made by the Helsinki City Council. Currently, the Open Ahjo interface contains over 40,000 agenda items and over 21,000 issues from more than 8,000 meetings.

4.4.5 Liquid democracy

This is a system of democracy that combines representative and direct democracy. Citizens can vote directly on issues they feel confident they are well-informed on, or delegate their votes on certain categories to people they trust, who can then also delegate their votes to others as they see fit. Any citizen can declare themselves a 'politician' and make a case for other citizens to delegate their votes to them. Citizens can take back their right to vote directly at any time, or delegate their vote to another citizen. The system is implemented by open-source software.[38]

Friesland, Germany: Liquid Feedback has been used at the municipal level in the Friesland region of Germany. The Council of Friesland pays a small fee for the use of an online Liquid Feedback website for its citizens. "Liquid Friesland" has been running for several years, giving local citizens a way to propose policy ideas and directions, which are then voted on by people using the software. Liquid Friesland is primarily a reference system - member votes are not binding policy for the county. Ideas taken forward include changing the cost of child day-care.

4.4.6 Implementing these democratic technologies

The Newport Citizen's Panel offers an ideal opportunity to run a small-scale trial of these democratic technologies with people who are used to engaging with the council on policy decisions. As well as providing a useful opportunity to trial new ways of democratic engagement, such a trial would provide benefits for the council. First, the Citizen's Panel could operate more responsively and in greater granularity. Second, it could become akin to a 'local think tank', with high quality debate enabling it to produce detailed and technically proficient policy proposals.

There is opportunity to integrate these technologies with work already going on within Newport on the 'Newport Digital Passport', modelled partially on the Estonia model of E-passport. The promoters have identified potential for expanding out and commercialising this passport to reach many more citizens.

4.4.7 Voting system reform

A key concern for democratic participation is turnout in local elections. Among the possibilities suggested are the possibility of lowering the voting age to 16, and adopting different systems for local elections such as Proportional Representation. Significant legislative change would be required for these options to be available, but Newport could play an active role in groups of local authorities and civil society that are interested in such a change.

4.4.8 Gaining popular support and testing what's possible

It is acknowledged that the proposals outlined here are potentially radical ones. Therefore, it will be important to secure engagement from local stakeholders and to introduce the concepts outlined gradually.

As democratic methods, it is important that these proposals are seen as being in collaboration with, and supported by, a broad base of the community. And as a set of ideas, it is important that these proposals have life breathed into them and are tangible to citizens.

One way in which the proposals outlined could be tested on a small scale and introduced as concepts could be via a festival in the city – a 'Festival of Democracy'. This is set out in full in the next section.

24   http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/STANDARD/surveyKy/2130
25   Ibid
26   http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/11/closing-liberal-mind
27   (Scott, 2001) (Harrison, 2012)
28   http://www.globalparliamentofmayors.org/
29   https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/the-city-in-the-future-of-democracy/247B40D5887B604CBADCC1EB295E7E18
30   https://cityterritoryarchitecture.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40410-015-0029-2#CR12
31   http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN05687/SN05687.pdf
32   (http://gov.wales/docs/det/publications/160209-review-commission-en.pdf)
33   http://tools.dcentproject.eu/pdfs/Collaborative-policy-making.pdf
34   https://betrireykjavik.is/group/47/successful
35   http://tools.dcentproject.eu/pdfs/Blockchain-reward-scheme.pdf
36   http://dcentproject.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/design_of_social_digital_currency_publication.pdf
37   http://tools.dcentproject.eu/pdfs/Citizen-notification.pdf
38   https://liqd.net/en/about/

5. Festival of Democracy

5.1 Role of festivals and events in promoting cities

"The festival must achieve two things. It must strengthen links with the community, enabling ordinary members of the community to contribute to the design and delivery of the event. At the same time it must secure prominence in the tourism market…promoting the City to a wider audience"

Festivals and hallmark events have become an increasingly important aspect of urban regeneration strategies in cities and towns of all sizes and in countries globally. In the main the tendency has been to focus on sports and cultural themed events, but there are many other festivals and carnivals taking place around the world celebrating music, literature, food, art, religion, language, and horticulture amongst many others.

Perhaps the biggest and most famous brand associated with a city-based event is the Olympics, and although primarily a competitive multi-sports event the incentive for many cities bidding to host the Olympics is not only the occasion to showcase their city on a world stage but the opportunity it presents for transformative place-making. This was certainly the case with Barcelona, where the staging of the Olympics in 1992 was instrumental in re-inventing the city's image and identity. Similarly the successful bid to host the London Olympics in 2012 was premised on the much needed physical regeneration of East London. Participation in other international sporting events is also prized by potential host cities and nations – including International Athletics events, the FIFA world cup and many others. In the UK both Glasgow (2014) and Manchester (2002) have benefited from hosting the

Commonwealth Games and cities amongst the nations of England and Wales have participated in the Rugby World Cup.

Culture also plays a significant role in the image making of cities. Glasgow (1990) and Liverpool (2008) have both been successful hosts of European Capital of Culture, a year-long festival of activities designed to promote European culture within the Union. In Liverpool over 350 different cultural events attracted additional visits generating an economic impact of £800 million across the city and wider region contributing to a total £4bn invested in the physical transformation of the city. The success of Capital of Culture and the level of competition between UK cities to be designated a City of Culture combined with the limited options to do so – since its inception over thirty years ago only two UK cities have achieved this status – has led the UK government to introduce an equivalent UK City of Culture Prize. The inaugural holder of the award was Derry-Londonderry in 2013. In 2017, Kingston upon Hull will take the title.

Newport has a strong reputation for tourism and destination management. In recent years the city has delivered high calibre international events such as the Ryder Cup (2010) and the NATO summit (2014). The City has also successfully delivered the Newport Food Festival which, since its inception in 2011 has gone from strength to strength. And in 2016 the city organised its first Chartist Festival to

celebrate its historical association with the movement. Looking to the future Newport is building upon this experience, and with new resources such as the forthcoming convention centre at the Celtic Manor, is ambitious to deliver more.

5.2 Typology of events

There are three main types of events that can be identified. These include:

- Rolling events, running from year to year (e.g. Carnivals such as Notting Hill or Rio)
- Site specific, one-off events (e.g. the Great Northern Exhibition in Newcastle scheduled for 2018)
- Roving events which different cities compete to host (e.g. Capital of Culture; the Olympics).

The proposition to promote Newport with a Festival of Democracy is clearly one that originates from the City itself. It is something that is uniquely associated with and relevant to the local community. It could be a one time event of limited duration, possibly over a single day or weekend, to coincide with the anniversary of the Newport Uprising in November. Or it could be recurring, depending on the success of the inaugural event, which takes place annually. This could become a day or period of celebration that forms a new local tradition and which could evolve into a season or series of events. It has been suggested that the summer months maybe more suitable for outdoor festivities, although there are clearly many carnivalesque events celebrated throughout the year including, Halloween, Bonfire Night, Christmas and New Year.

The focus of the festival, as the name implies, will be the idea of democracy. But it will need to explore all facets of the concept including the more intangible aspects of this broad theme and not just the heritage of the Chartists, although this can and should play its part. Importantly the festival must achieve two things. It must strengthen links with the community, appealing to all citizens including those less likely to participate, and enabling ordinary members of the community to contribute to the design and delivery of the event. At the same time it must

secure prominence in the tourism market by attracting new visitors, increasing visitor spend, and promoting the City to a wider audience.

5.3 Scope and content

There are a number of international organisations, networks and events dedicated to the promotion of cities and democracy. Many of these generate online content through website blogs and other social media, such as **Cities in Transition**, but also organise the coming together of relevant experts to discuss and debate the issues relating to cities, including their governance and the implications for technology in the 21st Century.

The Smart Cities agenda, with its focus on how digital technologies are impacting on the functions of the city, is a dominant theme. The **Smart Cities Expo World Congress**, established in 2011 and running annually, is a three day event in Barcelona. This is the international summit for discussion about the link between urban reality and technological revolution. This is primarily a professional and institutional meeting point providing a platform for new ideas, networking, experiences and international business deals that gathers together the highest level of stakeholders, in the context of urban development. The format for the Smart Cities Expo includes conferences, seminars, roundtables, large scale exhibition space, and awards. In 2015 the expo attracted 14,288 visitors and 421 speakers from 568 cities across 105 countries.

Democratic Cities is another organisation that seeks to develop shared resources and platforms to develop new perspectives on democracy for cities. In May 2016 the organisation held an international conference in Madrid, with content and workshops delivered across six consecutive days. The event attracted high profile speakers including academics (Francesco Berardi, Writer and philosopher) politicians (Manuela Carmena, Mayor of Madrid) journalists (Paul Mason, The Guardian) and political activists (Julian Assange, founder of WikiLeaks).

These events, hosted in recognised global cities, are clearly aimed at an international audience with the primary intention of advancing a specific debate to a largely informed audience. Whilst contributing to the reputation of their host cities for convening elite world class events they are not however exclusively designed to promote the city or associate the host explicitly with the ideas discussed. We suggest that Newport can borrow some of the ideas for content from these existing networks and international events even if the scope and purpose of a localised Festival of Democracy differs.

One format which could be adopted for Newport's purpose is **TED Talks**. TED.com is a nonpartisan not for profit organisation devoted to spreading ideas, usually in the form of short, powerful talks. It began in 1984 as a conference where Technology, Entertainment and Design converged, and today covers almost all topics — from science to business to global issues — in more than 110 languages. TED talks are widely available via YouTube as well as through its own website and as packaged programmes available on Netflix and other streaming services.

TED has a number of variously themed brands which are of interest and relevance to Newport. These include **TedCity2.0** which is a dedicated platform for all issues relevant to cities including health, housing, transport, education, entrepreneurship, public space etc. The City 2.0 website creates a space for the myriad of stories and collective actions being taken by citizens around the world. It has evolved from an international community of grassroots movers and shakers, to develop content that celebrates a complex picture of the future city.

The independently run **TEDx** events also help share ideas in communities around the world. This format supports independent organisers who want to create their own TED-like event in their own community. A TEDx event is a local gathering where live TED-like talks and videos previously recorded at TED conferences are shared with the community. TEDx events are fully planned and coordinated independently, on a community-by-community basis. The

content and design of each TEDx event is unique and developed independently, but all of them have features in common and must comply with strict **rules** covering branding and sponsorship.

5.4 The proposition for a festival in Newport

5.4.1 Timeline and schedule

It is our estimation that a Festival of Democracy will take the best part of a year to develop. On this basis an event planned for November 2017, to coincide with the anniversary of the Chartist Uprising would represent a good timeframe for an inaugural event. Such an event could be limited to a single day or happen over the course of a weekend.

5.4.2 Conference

The Festival of Democracy should have at its heart a forum for discussion and debate. We therefore suggest that the

community of Newport is encouraged and supported to host a TEDx event, with the working title **'TEDxNewport – City of Democracy'**. A TEDx event will require a volunteer from the community to act as a principle applicant or **'Organiser'**. This named person will have significant responsibilities for curating the content of the event and ensuring that the conditions of the TEDx **brand** are complied with.

A TEDx event will provide a platform for members of the community, for example representatives from local heritage groups and businesses, to participate and present live talks – typically 18 minutes in length – on relevant themes. This could include:

• The history of the chartists in Newport and their relevance to modern democracy
• The future of City Governance
• The next step for devolution in Wales
• Digital Democracy – a Citizen's passport for Newport
• A manifesto for a meaningful commute
• Improving access to opportunity in Cities

The TEDx format is essentially a series of individual speakers, without panels or audience participation. However, breakouts and workshops can be held during intervals in the main speaking programme. The TEDx event could be limited to less than half a day in duration, depending on content and willing participants, but it cannot exceed one day in length. A TEDx event could also invite expert speakers and show related TED Talk videos from the extensive online library – for longer events, 25% of the total number of talks must be official TED Talk videos – but the focus should be to showcase local voices.

Attendance at a TEDx event is limited to 100 individuals unless the principle organiser and primary licence holder has previously attended an official TED conference. Entrance can be free or admission fees charged but they must not exceed $100 per ticket. Sponsorship can also be sought to cover the costs of venue hire and recording equipment (all live talks must be filmed) but this must not exceed $10,000 for events with 100 attendees or less. However, since TEDx is a non-profit format the primary

objective is not to raise funds but to provide a medium for the community of Newport to address a potential global audience.

5.4.3 Debate

A public debate on the future of democracy could be convened, perhaps in the Civic Centre or other appropriate venue. Guest speakers, drawn from the local community or invited from further afield, could speak for and against a given motion, for example: "Democracy is Dead, Long Live Autocracy" and a public audience invited to vote on the outcome.

The format could also be opened out to local schools and colleges to stimulate debating societies in the build up to the festival. A debating competition between schools could identify young talented public speakers who could be encouraged to participate in a public debate.

5.4.4 Decide

At the festival, examples of new democratic techniques and technologies should be trialled in real life. This offers the immediate benefit of making the festival an authentic example of democracy in action, with participants contributing to a real-life event and 'declaration' to be released at the end of the festival. Adding this element of authenticity will ensure real public interest and media engagement.

However, running such a real-world mini-trial also offers citizens a taste of how these new democratic techniques work. Assuming the process achieves participation is successful, it should create a community of people who have experienced the opportunity and could be recalled for support to roll out a further implementation later on.

Running such a trial also creates a precedent which can be cited as an example of the City of Democracy concept being actualised, which can be cited in discussions with potential funders, whether in the private/third sectors or in the public sector. To that end, representatives from interested academic parties should be invited to participate in the event

and process and write-up the event in appropriate academic journals. Newport has a precedent for this in a recent article published in the journal Local Government Studies on the Newport Fairness Commission, by Professor Steven R. Smith of The University of South Wales.[39]

How it would work

The form of the small-scale trial should be an implementation of the collaborative policy-making platform developed through the European D-Cent project. This would involve interested festival attendees being invited to register for the web-based policymaking software Objective 8 or YourPriorities.[40]

The group could be 'seeded' with a few core participants from the academic community and citizens' groups. The group would be set the task of compiling a 'declaration' document to be released on the final day of the festival. The declaration would be both a statement of the achievements/highlights of the festival and forward-looking manifesto. The trial would be publicised along with the festival before the event and electronic invitations dispatched to stakeholders. The software platform is designed to be scalable – to work as well with a group of any size, small or large.

5.4.5 Carnival

The Festival will need to include a wide range of citizens of all ages across the communities of Newport. It will therefore need a broad appeal and should incorporate the conventional attractions of food, drink, music and performance. Opportunities for street-based events and pop up venues in designated locations should be supported by the council to help create a carnivalesque atmosphere.

Opportunities for the public to 'vote' in a number of categories including for example – best street performer, best musician, best food – could enhance the theme of democracy. Awards and prizes should be considered and winners announced at the end of the festival and featured in the local press.

A re-enactment of the march on John Frost Square with crowds dressed in 19th century costumes, carrying lanterns and torches could incorporate elements of the Chartist tradition. This is something that local community groups and schools could help participate in and prepare for.
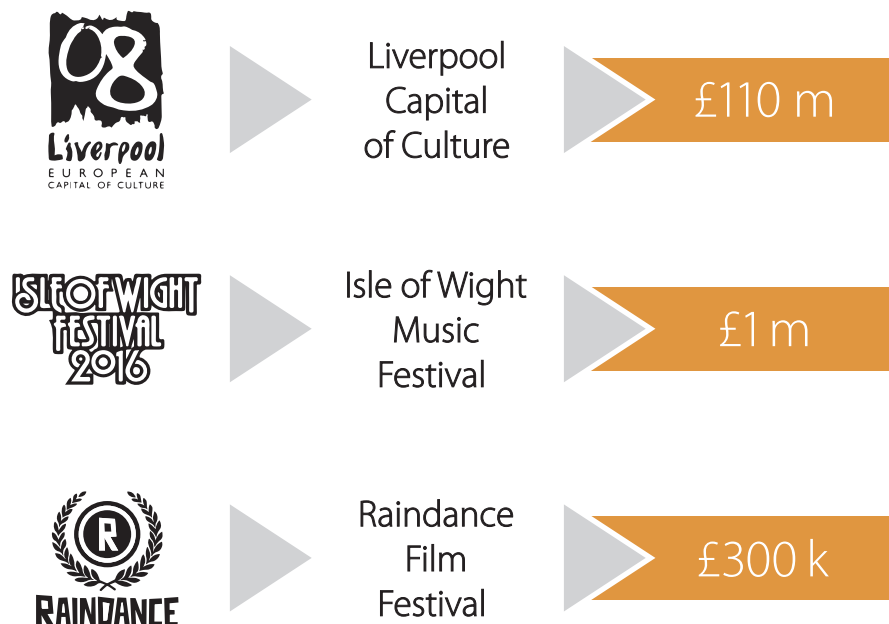
5.4.6 Merchandising and branding

The Festival is the main promotional vehicle for the City of Democracy brand. We anticipate that logos and strap-lines will have been agreed and designed in time for the festival. All advertising and promotional materials will need to bear the agreed brand and we anticipate that the City Centre will be adorned with street banners and flags suspended from street lamps and columns in time for the Festival.

Official merchandising can be an important source of revenue for commercial festivals and events. We therefore recommend that the council explores the possibility of a partnership venture with a professional merchandising company to maximise any potential revenues from this activity.

5.4.7 Media coverage

If a TEDx event is organised, there will be the requirement for the principle organiser to conform to strict PR and media guidelines. Otherwise we envisage that the Newport Council will be responsible for engagement with local media to ensure maximum publicity and coverage in the region.

FESTIVAL COSTS

Liverpool Capital of Culture → **£110 m**

Isle of Wight Music Festival → **£1 m**

Raindance Film Festival → **£300 k**

Sources:
Liverpool - Creating an impact: Liverpool's experience as European Capital of Culture,
by: Beatriz Garcia Ruth Melville Tamsin Cox available at www.impacts08.net
Isle of Wight - https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/jul/09/cost-of-staging-music-festival
Raindance - https://stephenfollows.com/full-costs-income-raindance-film-festival/

5.4.8 Costs, funding and sponsors

Festivals are a burgeoning worldwide industry. There are 139 festivals in Wales and 210 in England, according to the Visit Wales/England search engines, a small sample of which include: Cardiff's Festival of Voice; The Abergavenny Food Festival; Portsmouth's Victorian Festival of Christmas; Bristol's Harbour Festival; and Bath's Jane Austen Festival. But while many are booming there are inevitable casualties along the way. Most festivals start small and increase in size year on year. And this principle should apply to Newport's Festival of Democracy.

It is difficult to estimate the potential cost of a Festival. No two are by their nature identical in theme or scope. The budget for Liverpool's Capital of Culture was £110M (2005-2008); the budget for the annual Isle of Wight Music Festival is £1m; and the annual Raindance Film Festival budget is just over £300,000. However, there are clearly a number of essential costs that will need to be considered. These include venues and equipment, marketing and promotional materials, as well as staff time and costs involved in organising and delivering the event.

One of the main objectives of the festival will be to increase visitor spend in the city. This will largely accrue to local bars, restaurants, shops, hotels and host venues participating in the event but not directly contributing to the cost. While this will be a welcome boost to the local economy opportunities to involve local business in funding events should be explored. The main sources of revenue that might typically be raised include corporate sponsorship, admittance fees and licensing.

In the case of most municipally led festivities the expectation is that local government will foot the greater share of the bill. However, as a community led event it is hoped that community groups, individual citizens and local business will volunteer their time and services to staging such a festival.

We propose that once a detailed budget has been prepared, identifying all elements of a festival programme, Newport City Council should seek to fund at least half the required costs with the remainder coming from Welsh Government, the EU (where permissible) and private sponsors.

39   http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03003930.2016.1157069?needAccess=true&
40   http://tools.dcentproject.eu/

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

"Many of the options which we recommend can begin small at potentially low-cost, with the scope to scale up"

Newport is a city on the rise, one that is visibly changing and with the aspiration to achieve more. Situated at the gateway between England and Wales, the city is at the centre of one of the largest urban economies in the UK. As an important connector city between Cardiff and Bristol, Newport is ideally placed to drive economic growth across South East Wales and South West England. Given the scale of the opportunity we believe that there is a strong case to be made for rebranding Newport's identity as a strongly networked location to visit and invest. This will help to establish Newport's future as a more outward facing and globally interconnected economy.

The City of Democracy brand identifies Newport with a global story whose imagery and messages could successfully connect with both internal and external audiences. But if the brand is to have currency and meaning it will need to breathe new life into existing democratic structures and processes. This will need to consider how to effectively influence, change and extend the quality and depth of democracy within the city.

Of course, in a time of stretched resources it's important that new developments don't detract from day-to-day service delivery. Many of the options which we recommend can therefore begin small at potentially low-cost, with the scope to scale up depending on the levels of success and commitment.

Recommendation 1: City Branding

The concept of 'City of Democracy' as a city brand is an association that has credibility and depth. It provides a potentially powerful platform for place-making in the future, speaking to both local history and contemporary concerns about the global condition of democracy. There are, however, a number of risks to be considered as the chequered history of city branding strategies indicate. The lessons are that city branding is more likely to succeed where the strategy is consistent and long term; where the various agencies of branding and city marketing are coordinated and integrated; and where the brand functions as the over-arching platform for all city messaging and promotion.

Additionally the extent to which local businesses and stakeholders recognise an overarching city brand will be critical to its success. For companies and other public-

private sector institutions, city branding is clearly not their core business. They will need to be persuaded to buy into the concept and incorporate the brand for maximum effect.

- The 'City of Democracy' strap-line should operate as an overarching brand. This should be agreed by Newport City Council in consultation with all city stakeholders and partners.

- Newport City Council should review how the separate functions of destination management, inward investment, and overall city marketing slogans are managed and brought together as part of a coherent strategy that can be best served by the 'City of Democracy' brand.

Recommendation 2: Economic Democracy

Making sure growth is 'inclusive' is vital to offer democratic opportunity to all citizens. There is now an opportunity for Newport to look at how this could be done at a local level, building on South Wales' distinguished history of co-operatives.

- The city and its stakeholders should consider a discrete business support offer for start-up co-operatives and mutuals

- The city and its stakeholders should consider a co-op start-ups fund

- The council could incorporate special treatment for co-operative enterprises in its procurement policy, building on councils' incorporation of social value in procurement.

- A toolkit for existing businesses in the city to examine how moving towards a mutual or co-op ownership model could benefit them

Recommendation 3: City-based economic policy

With the UK Government looking at a greater role for industrial policy, it's vital that the city and its people have influence over the direction of industry and growth, building on what's been achieved elsewhere.

- Newport council should ensure investments to create an innovation ecosystem around the National Cybersecurity Academy are prioritised via its participation in the South East Wales Growth Commission

- Newport council should remain engaged with future discussions with the Cardiff City Region on fiscal devolution. It should consider developing a position to inform discussions with the wider city region on:
  - Ability to levy small additional taxes to encourage particular behaviour or raise money for a particular budget
  - Ability to set different levels of business rates and to vary the criteria for assessing rateable value

Recommendation 4: Land use and land distribution

Democratic power is linked to socioeconomic position, so it is vital increased prosperity doesn't squeeze out today's citizens' ability to influence change. The city needs to prepare today for the impact of forthcoming transport improvements, which will raise property prices. This could be a boost for construction, but will require careful management.

- Newport should support Welsh Assembly Government efforts to pass Assets of Community Value legislation. If such legislation is passed:
  - The city should conduct a citywide sweep to identify Assets of Community Value

- Newport should closely monitor housing affordability in the city to minimise the displacement of lower-income families and small businesses.

Recommendation 5: Skills for democracy

Citizens need skills and opportunity to participate in democratic life, but too many lack essential skills. The city can use its convening power to do more, and central government must get out of the way where unnecessary rules prevent progress. Better data-sharing could allow the council to focus resources on those who need it most.

- Newport should examine how community hubs can work with Jobcentre Plus on delivering labour market interventions.

- The prospects for bringing together Families First and Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) budgets should be examined

- DWP and HMRC should be approached to discuss data-sharing, for those who are most in need of help

Recommendation 6: Democratic responses to globalisation

Public support for democracy relies on delivering a good standard of living for all citizens. Globalisation challenges this through the loss of middle-skilled jobs, through the rapid global roll-out of new disruptive technologies and automation of labour. Newport needs to ensure that its people will be able to play a full role in the economy of the future.

- Bring together employers and the University of South Wales on a regular and formal basis, with a formal process of shaping courses to provide broad-based skills suited for growing sectors

- Explore with the University of South Wales how learning can be transferred into local employers, in order to boost productivity in all sectors and raise wages

Recommendation 7:
A democratic education

There is an opportunity to embed the 'place-based' agenda into the school curriculum and young people's experiences to give students a grounding in the context of their 'place', and in particular the roles, entitlements, rights and responsibilities of a citizen of the city.

- Engage with the Welsh Government on the local dimension of reform of the Welsh Curriculum.

- Explore with local schools directly the potential for incorporating the 'Newport Story' and being a 'Citizen of the City' into learning.

- Engage with the area's provider of the National Citizenship Service trial on the theme of the placements

Recommendation 8:
Digital democracy and services

To make City of Democracy more than a catchphrase, Newport will need to show it is committed and open to real changes in the way the city works. There are a number of key technologies which Newport should consider offering to citizens in small-scale projects. Doing small-scale trials means genuine experience with radical new democratic techniques with no risk to wider council processes.

- Create small-scale trial projects to engage citizens:
  - As part of the Festival of Democracy, trial a collaborative policy-making workshop culminating in an event (see below)

- Use the Citizen's Panel as a lab to trial:
  - Virtual currency rewards, as part of the Citizen's Panel
  - Responsive notification of democratic decisions, as part of the Citizen's Panel
  - Liquid democracy, as part of the Citizen's Panel

Recommendation 9:
Voting system reform

Persistently low turnout among the young means radical solutions are required. Changing the voting age or the voting system would require a major change in the law, but Newport can still stay involved in discussions with other councils.

- Newport should participate in any cross-local authority discussions around electoral reform

Recommendation 10:
Festival of Democracy

The proposition to promote Newport with a Festival of Democracy, will build on the city's growing reputation for tourism and destination management. The idea is genuinely associated with and relevant to the local community and will help to drive the City of Democracy brand. This could be a one-time event, or depending on its success something which takes place annually growing in size and profile to establish a new local tradition. A festival can help to strengthen local engagement by enabling all members of the community to contribute to the design and delivery of the event. It will also help to attract new visitors, increasing visitor spend, and promote the City to a wider and potentially global audience.

- We recommend that the council work closely with all members of the local community, including heritage groups, schools, colleges, businesses and wider stakeholders to organise and deliver an inaugural Festival of Democracy in November 2017. This should:

  - Coincide with the anniversary of the Chartist uprising but explore all facets of democracy in the 21st century, including concepts of city governance, democratisation of public services, digital democracy and other global themes

  - Appeal to all members of the community, including those less likely to engage, with varied content that is both entertaining and intellectually challenging

  - Support a local volunteer to act as the principle applicant to organise a TEDx event as part of the festival programme

  - Explores the possibility of a partnership venture with a professional event management / merchandising company to maximise any potential revenues from this activity

  - Seek funding (at least half the required costs) from Welsh Government, the EU (where permissible) and private sponsors

  - Trial a collaborative policy-making workshop culminating in an event and 'declaration'. A festival group should on day one of the festival craft a summary event for release at the end of the festival.
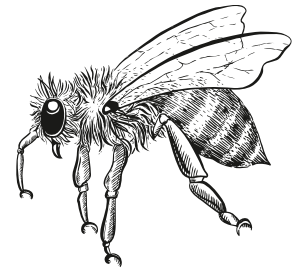
Society

The UK has one of the most centralised states in the developed world and one of the most disaffected and politically passive populations in Europe. We hold our leaders in contempt, but despair of doing anything for ourselves or our community. The dysfunction at the highest level of society stems from the collapse of our social and personal foundation. There is little doubt that we are becoming an increasingly fragmented and individualist society and this has deep and damaging consequences for our families, our communities and our nation state.

Starting from the bottom up, the collapse of the extended family and the ongoing break-up of its nuclear foundation impacts on all, but disproportionally so on the poor and on their offspring. Too many children at the bottom of our society are effectively un-parented as too much is carried by lone parents who are trying to do more and more with less and less. We know that the poorer you are, the less connected with your wider society you tend to be. Lacking in both bridging and bonding capital and bereft of the institutions and structures that could help them, too many poorer families and communities are facing seemingly insurmountable problems alone, unadvised and without proper aid.

Based on the principle of subsidiarity, we believe that power should be devolved to the lowest appropriate level. Public services and neighbourhoods should be governed and shaped from the 'bottom up', by families and the communities. These neighbourhoods need to be served by a range of providers that incorporate and empower communities. Moving away from a top-down siloed approach to service delivery, such activity should be driven by a holistic vision, which integrates need in order to ascertain and address the most consequent factors that limit and prevent human flourishing. Local and social value must play a central role in meeting the growing, complex and unaddressed needs of communities across the UK.

The needs of the bottom should shape provision and decision at the top. To deliver on this, we need a renewal and reform of our major governing institutions. We need acknowledgement of the fact that the state is not an end in itself, but only one means by which to achieve a greater end: a flourishing society. Civil society and intermediary institutions, such as schools, faith groups and businesses, are also crucial means to achieving this outcome. We also need new purpose and new vision to create new institutions which restore the organic and shared society that has served Britain so well over the centuries.

Society   *Society*   *Society*

Many cities have adopted a 'city brand' to appeal to potential investors, visitors and residents. But what makes a city brand successful, and could it work for Newport?

In this report, we set out the case that a "City of Democracy" brand for Newport could not only help achieve the authenticity and inspiration that makes city brands successful, but if followed through with sincerity, could transform democratic life in the city and make Newport a leader in engaging its citizens.

We find that the creation of a Festival of Democracy would give the city a chance to explore and strengthen democratic ideas and processes, making Newport a 'City of Democracy' in both name and practice.

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