Beyond Inclusive Growth

A Community Wealth Building Economic Framework for Leeds



Climate Action Leeds

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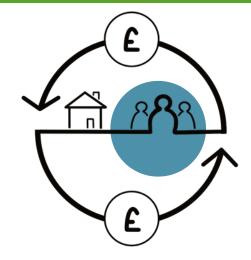
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Executive Summary

According to the Centre for Local Economic Strategy (CLES), Community Wealth Building (CWB) is "a new peoplecentred approach to local economic development, which redirects wealth back into the local economy, and places control and benefits into the hands of local people".



Community Wealth Building has had a successful record of application in UK communities and cities over the last decade, delivering some of the most dramatic comparative increases in quality of life over the austerity period, and increased vote shares in subsequent elections for councillors who apply its principles effectively. Following these successes, we believe it is time for Community Wealth Building to be scaled up to the benefit of Leeds citizens and businesses. CWB overlaps and directly supports many of LCC's strategic workstreams and economic priorities including:

- Leeds Inclusive Growth Strategy¹
- Leeds City Region Strategic Economic Plan²
- Leeds Best City Ambition³

The report makes the case that a Community Wealth Building approach is best placed to respond to the multiple challenges of tackling inequality and improving people's lives in Leeds whilst addressing carbon emission reduction targets and respecting ecological boundaries. Furthermore, it argues that in the context of renewed financial pressures and budget constraints, adopting CWB at the core of policy-making has the potential to transform the economic landscape in Leeds for the better, and generate much needed socio-economic and financial benefits to meet Leeds City Council's agenda.

After a brief overview of CWB principles, their relevance to Leeds' policy agenda and their application across the country, we set out what a CWB roadmap could look like for Leeds, based on the five main CWB pillars and tailored to its specific place-based context. We recognise the huge amount of existing work already under way by Leeds City Council and its partners that can be built on to make it a reality.

Key Recommendations

1. Plural ownership of the economy

- Pioneering the development of municipal and community ownership of key infrastructure
- Supporting new local community businesses, social enterprises and employee-owned firms

2. Making financial power work for local places

- Redirecting financial flows towards local communities
- Democratising the strategic direction of public finances

3. Fair employment and just labour markets

- Committing Leeds Anchor institutions to further implement highlabour standards
- Working in partnership with trade unions & colleges to promote training, and re-skilling, programmes into the green & social economy

4. Progressive procurement of goods and services

- Increase local spending into Leeds economy
- High social & environmental standards embedded into the tendering process

5. Socially productive use of land and property

- Increasing community use of public land and assets
- Repurposing the high-street by prioritising community input into strategic development decisions and community access to public buildings

Introduction

What is Community Wealth Building?



Pioneering Community Wealth Building in the UK is the Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES), who define it as:

"a new people-centered approach to local economic development, which redirects wealth back into the local economy, and places control and benefits into the hands of local people".

CLES highlights five pillars which form the basis of a CWB framework:

- Plural ownership of the economy
- Making financial power work for local places
- Fair employment and just labour markets
- Progressive procurement of goods and services
- · Socially productive use of land and property

Community wealth building is an **alternative approach to economics and economic development.** It changes the way our economies serve people and places by retaining more wealth and opportunity for the benefit of local people. This contrasts to the status quo of economic development, where "[w]ealth is created by property ownership, regeneration is based on speculative property development, and large companies extract wealth for the benefit of distant shareholders." – CLES.

Originating from Cleveland, Ohio (US), the approach was pioneered by the US-based think tank Democracy Collaborative who started to work with the remaining non-profit and quasi-public institutions in the city, from the university to the local health clinic and hospital, to direct their procurement spend towards a newly created network of worker co-ops, the so-called 'Evergreen Cooperatives'.

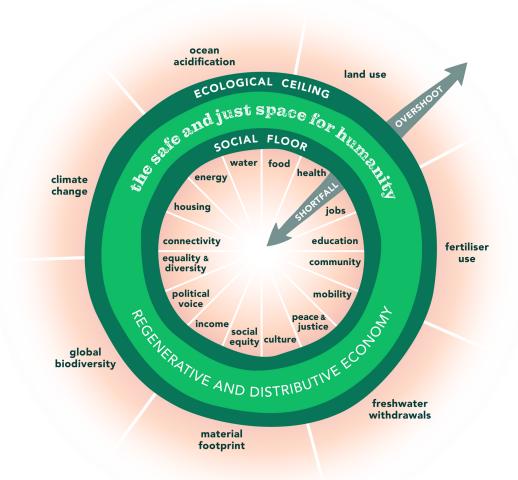
In the UK, the approach was first adopted by Preston Council in Lancashire, later coined the "Preston model", followed by many others across England, Wales and Scotland.



Community Wealth Building achieves its aims by harnessing the economic and social power of locally rooted institutions. These are commonly referred to as 'Anchor institutions'. Typically, this means local councils, health boards, universities, colleges and housing associations, and potentially, the private sector too. The Voluntary, Community and Social Enterprise (VCSE) sector also plays a fundamental role, by using its local knowledge and influence as a conduit for change, and as an important part of the generative local economy in its own right at the community level. More specifically, neighbourhood-based 'community Anchors' play a vital role in facilitating bottom-up engagement between local people, their area, and the city at large with the view of building the necessary grassroots infrastructure required for Community Wealth Building's successful long-term and widespread adoption.

Doughnut Economics

A new system demands a new vision. In 2017, Kate Raworth provided just this with Doughnut Economics, which refined and made mainstream a number of ideas that had remained confined to academic circles for decades, most significantly that pursuits of endless growth are misguided. The model introduces an 'Ecological Ceiling', derived from the biophysical 'Planetary Boundaries' and a 'Social Floor', an axis we can use to assess how well our social needs are met, and what impact we are having on our environment.



Kate Raworth and her community of Doughnut practitioners at the Doughnut Economics Lab (DEAL) have contributed to the development of a network of actors across the world, including major cities like Amsterdam, Rio de Janeiro or Barcelona, who have been pioneering so-called "Doughnut approaches" to economic development and planning.

In Amsterdam, the City Council adopted a 2020-2025 circular economy strategy, based on the Doughnut model and centered around three main sectors (food and organic waste, consumer goods and the environment) which aims to make the best use of raw materials through their life cycle.⁵

In Rio, a workshop was held in Penha, one of the city's favelas, with the aim to assess whether the model could be the framework on which to develop social and sustainable innovations for the city.

Barcelona initiated work on the Doughnut model by organising public panels for all members of the public and webinars hosted by experts delving into different issues facing the city. These were followed by participatory sessions on 'levers for change' and 'sustainable community projects'.⁶

It is important to note that the Doughnut is not a prescriptive model and that applications across very different regions of the globe will vary according to the needs of the local communities and the socio-ecological context. Some richer localities will focus on bringing down their carbon emissions in a socially-just way, while others will aim to redress entrenched social inequalities to ensure that everyone has access to basic services like food and housing.

Leeds is also home to an active Doughnut Economics community, at the forefront of research and movement-building to embed these approaches locally. We believe that economic policies attached to the principles of Community Wealth Building (CWB) are best placed to respond to this challenge of meeting both social needs and ecological boundaries while facilitating the necessary policy paradigm shift of moving beyond the narrow pursuit of GDP growth.



Area of overlap with LCC policies

Leeds currently applies several approaches to Community Wealth Building (CWB) through its work with Anchor institutions, progressive procurement policies and activities as part of its Inclusive Growth agenda. Leeds City Council is currently facing significant financial pressures with a round of budget and staff cuts, building closures and asset sales planned to compensate for the £29m overspend over the 2022–2023 financial year and an estimated £162.8m funding gap up to the end of March 2027. Since 2011, LCC has already lost around 3,500 members of staff due to austerity measures and ongoing budget constraints.

At this new critical juncture of planned spending cuts, with further negative socio-economic consequences, we argue that it is time Leeds City Council adopt a new approach to its economic and financial development. LCC must take the lead from other councils across the country, who embarked on an ambitious programme of Community Wealth Building, and were able to retain economic wealth locally to generate significant income and jobs for the local economy.

In a deeply unstable economic context, it is clear that new ways of financing services and making capital available for use to the council is critical to guarantee resilient and increased quality of care and services for Leeds residents in just and sustainable ways over the next decade. Leeds is a city with significant assets, including a vibrant network of Anchor institutions whose spending power and capacity to create employment can be harnessed further to benefit the local economy instead of relying on investment and capital from private firms while extracting wealth towards distant shareholders.¹¹



Rather than re-creating the wheel, there is great potential for Leeds to build upon this work and formally adopt a CWB framework as the basis for its strategic development to meet its own objectives set out in the key policy documents outlined below.

Leeds Best City Ambition

This document outlines Leeds City's overall vision with a mission to tackle poverty and inequality and improve people's lives. The framework is organised around three main pillars including: Health & Wellbeing, Inclusive Growth, and Zero Carbon. The strategy sets out a list of key priorities, among which the promotion of "Inclusive Green Jobs" to be delivered collaboration with Anchor institutions. This strand is closely aligned with the proposals set out in Community Wealth Building on how Anchor institutions can support good local jobs via their procurement practices and via the outreach employment work they do with local communities.

Leeds City Region Strategic Economic Plan

This document outlines a policy vision for the whole of Leeds City Region. The strategy is structured around four core aims underpinning the overall objective of delivering 'good growth'. Priority 2 "skilled people, better jobs" and 3 "clean energy and environmental resilience" and their respective policy proposals of delivering better jobs & increasing skills and targeting investment into the zero carbon economy are specifically aligned with some of CWB's core pillars and policies.

Leeds Inclusive Growth strategy

As one of the Council's core policy areas set out in its Best City Ambition, Leeds Inclusive Growth strategy is probably the most relevant policy framework with regards to delivering Community Wealth Building objectives. The strategy is built around three main pillars: people, place and productivity, from which are derived a set of nine ideas. Several of these ideas directly interrelate with CWB's five main principles, and its corresponding policy proposals, which we outline in this report such as:

- Improving people's lives by tackling poverty and inequality
- Supporting people and businesses in a rapidly changing labour market
- Making sure education and training meets local needs
- Investing in our places to create a sustainable economy and greener future
- Connecting and strengthening our communities
- Maximising the potential of our city centre and local high streets

To guarantee their long-term success however, it is critical that CWB principles are applied as a suite of mutually reinforcing principles rather than in isolation where their full potential may not be harnessed.

Issues for consideration

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Focus on public anchor institutions

As per CWB principles, Anchor institutions are essentially locally-rooted large scale employers who play an important socio-economic role for the local area. While several may be private employers, such as Leeds universities or Yorkshire Water, we believe it is important that these bodies remain rooted in the public interest and deliver essential services, such as education, health, energy, housing and water, to be considered 'anchor institutions'.

Leeds City Council recently set up a 'Business Anchors' network to support local businesses on their contribution to an inclusive growth economy. We recognise LCC's steps in engaging with the business community to drive positive change locally. However, we maintain that the focus should remain on Leeds' fourteen Anchor institutions to deliver on the principles of CWB. We also express concerns about the risks for multinational companies, such as the likes of Amazon, to use these business schemes as a way to whitewash their poor environmental and social track records. For this reason, we would favour a transparent and community-produced process to oversee the selection of businesses joining Leeds 'Business Anchors' network.

Community engagement as a priority

A recurrent critique of CWB models in the UK concerns the strategy's lack of engagement with local communities despite being labelled 'Community Wealth Building'. It is argued that given the primary focus placed on progressive procurement strategies in the UK, driven by those 'institutional Anchors', grassroots community-led change may be relegated to the second place.¹⁴

In contrast, initiators of the 'Cleveland model' in the U.S. were first concerned with strengthening the cooperative network after which progressive procurement was added on as a supportive strategy. Indeed, in its review on CWB, Matthew Thompson argues that 'community Anchor institutions' (e.g. community land trusts, development trusts, charities) have a crucial role to play alongside institutional Anchors in facilitating the cultural awareness, political education and capacity-building which is the bedrock to rebuilding community networks of worker-owned enterprises and cooperatives. ¹⁵

There is great potential in Leeds for any Council-led CWB initiatives and projects to further work in collaboration and build upon its active network of 'community Anchor organisations', together with its strongly coordinated third sector, as trialled under the 'Good jobs, Better Health, Fairer Lives' project. Local initiatives like the Headingley and Kirkstall Valley Development Trusts, as well as community organisations like FoodWise or Leeds Community Homes, to name two, should be framed as 'islands of possibilities' that can act as catalysts for the scaling up of similar ventures to support the strategic foundation of services and sectors as part of the Council's deliverables and missions.



Redressing structural socio-economic inequalities

While Community Wealth Building's approach as a whole is about ensuring that economic wealth benefits the local population and the environment, it is important that the prevalent historic and underlying socio-economic injustices of a place are addressed via a tailored and strategic application of CWB policy efforts. Latest data suggests that there are 178,630 people living in relative poverty in Leeds, with some communities, of predominantly minority ethnic backgrounds, facing greater social hardship than others. These communities need to be given greater support via the combined work of Anchor institutions and their community-based counterparts.

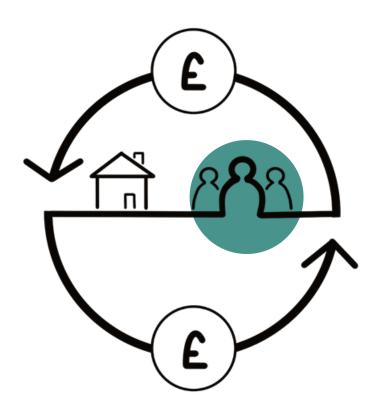
In Leeds, St. James' Hospital worked with the council and a third sector organisation to develop a 'whole community' approach targeting the adjacent and disadvantaged community of Lincoln Green in its employment programme. A model that is replicated across Leeds' 'Good Jobs, Better Health, Fairer Futures' project. Other health boards and trusts such as Hywel Dda University Health Board in South Wales changed their job specification criteria to favour local application and Greater Manchester's Northern Care Alliance has removed the advert and interview process for many of their entry-level positions in favour of pre-employment training candidates.¹⁹

Programmes of this kind are particularly helpful to ensure that Community Wealth Building policies are designed in a way to redress the long-term socio-economic inequalities prevalent in the most deprived areas and communities.

Case Studies

Community Wealth Building in the UK has been transformative in increasing people's quality of life and meeting councils' objectives following the devastating economic impacts resulting from more than a decade of austerity policies. Across the country, there are leading municipalities that have embedded CWB pillars, principles, and participative methods into decision-making and investment to great effect.

Taken as a whole, the examples selected below represent the strengths of CWB in each area of engagement; be it procurement practices, ownership models or financial practices. This section highlights case studies that could be used to further develop and strengthen Leeds' approach.



Preston City Council



Located in the North-West of England, Preston, like many places, was severely impacted by the decline of industry and the rise of austerity policies in the UK. Without its historical revenue streams or government support, services were devastated, and quality of life deteriorated. To remedy this, under the direction of its Council leader Matthew Brown, and with the support from the progressive think tank CLES, Preston initiated the Community Wealth Building movement in the UK. Since 2011, Preston Council has been using Community Wealth Building as its modus operandi for all business and contract procurements, applying the principles of Progressive Procurement. Where a procurement contract can be met to quality standards and budget within the city, it will be in turn prioritising local businesses, people, and increasing local revenue.

Since its inception, the University of Central Lancashire (UCLan) has been working in close partnership with Preston City Council to develop its own strategy for Community Wealth Building. With funding from the council, it was able to provide academic support to the development of cooperatives and use its business hub structure (Propeller) to deliver advice and support for worker-owned cooperatives, leading to the establishment of the Preston Cooperative Development Network and the development of new cooperatives specialised in services ranging from digital transformation, taxi drivers, and education. Future plans are to expand the offer into the sectors of care, construction, cleaning, retrofitting, translation and so forth. Preston is also applying the CWB principle of Plural Ownership of the Economy to a new £40 million cinema and leisure development where the land and buildings are essentially owned by the council and leased to the site operators with priority given to local businesses.

To reduce the dominance of high-street banks and increasing financial support to local SMEs, Preston alongside Liverpool and the Wirral authorities are also looking at establishing a regional cooperative bank invested with the mission to reduce financial and social inequality, which would help provide the necessary capital for local businesses and Anchor institutions to deliver on community wealth building.

Another way to ensure that finance works for the local economy is through reorienting pension funds towards local projects. Public pensions funds have long been supporting global industries with poor track records on people and the environment. In contrast, the Lancashire public pension scheme subscribes to social good rather than private profit. This included supporting investment in locally developed student accommodation and the redevelopment of a local hotel.

North Ayrshire Council



North Ayrshire Council, under the direction of Joe Cullinane, became Scotland's first Community Wealth Building Council by adopting a consistent and integrated approach to CWB which remains at the heart of policy-making and economic development in the local authority.²³

The Council instigated the development of municipal local renewable energy generating projects in putting up two solar farms on former landfill sites with plans to build a third one and three new wind turbines. When running, the municipality is expected to cover about 250% of its energy needs. The estimated £25 million surplus generated would then be reinvested into the local area with 15% of the total income from all projects directed towards community groups. The Council is also pioneering progressive procurement spend for school meals together with its partnership with Food for Life Scotland, a programme supporting local authorities to get local sustainable food in schools, and Woodside Arran, a local social enterprise promoting sustainable and regenerative agriculture. The pilot project aims to bring locally-sourced and sustainably grown vegetables to school meals on the Isle of Arran.

North Ayrshire's approach to dealing with public finances offers another example of putting CWB into practice. Participatory budgeting (PB) methods, with origins in Brazil, is a common practice in Scotland directly involving local communities into how public funds are spent. These can be done via online or at in-person events with the opportunity for community groups to make a pitch to an audience or to present their idea at an information stall. North Ayrshire Council has opened its grounds maintenance programme to public consultation.



Islington Council



Islington is a wealthy London borough, with a population of over 215,000, making it the largest local authority so far in the UK to prioritise Community Wealth Building as its core strategy. Interestingly, despite its status, wealth, and proximity to opportunity and infrastructure, Islington council decided community wealth building was the best vehicle for achieving their goals. Unlike authorities who saw community wealth building as a way to do something about poor investment outcomes and lack of opportunity, Islington Council was motivated by the rationale that it offers a better vehicle for delivering on the Council's inclusive economy and wider socio-economic objectives.

The Council's Progressive Procurement Strategy 2020–27 sets out its goal to be a "progressive procurement pioneer, to shape a supply chain that builds community wealth and supports an inclusive economy". ²⁵A key priority is to work with the business community in Islington to develop their capacity to secure contracts from the Council, its Anchor institution partners and developers in the borough, initially focusing on the construction sector and its associated sub–sectors (green energy, logistics, catering, ancillary services). The overarching aim of this is to ensure that maximum social value can be achieved for residents and businesses in the context of the borough's community wealth building ambitions.

Islington council is developing a progressive Community Wealth Building supply chain network using Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), co-ops, and mission-led enterprises to keep wealth local and sustainable. They are also establishing a Community Wealth Building 'Creative Enterprise Zone' intended to support and materialise the Council's Community Wealth Building Strategy through inclusive economy projects and work streams in Islington's town centre, high streets and business districts, with a focus on brokering good jobs and training opportunities for residents and businesses in a creative enterprise location.²⁶ Areas of Islington were also able to provide office space for local enterprises via the funds raised from section 106 agreements in Planning Obligations.²⁷



Key Recommendations

Building on the successful applications of Community Wealth Building across several localities in the UK, we outline a suite of policy recommendations that could build further momentum for Community Wealth Building in Leeds. While the proposals below cover a non-exhaustive list of policies, when taken as a whole, they nevertheless address the main strands of Community Wealth Building as a set of mutually-reinforcing policy instruments. While the impetus is placed on Leeds City Council to drive the agenda forward, we recognise it will need the insights, efforts and resources of other key stakeholders in Leeds.

1. Plural ownership of the economy

Pioneering the development of municipal and community ownership of key infrastructure:

- LCC to further redirect new development projects towards local businesses and assets. This can build on previous successful community asset transfer and support mechanisms that led to projects such as Lilac and Chaco.
- Based on existing initiatives, LCC to carry out further feasibility work on the
 potential to set up and run a municipally-owned firm (e.g. renewable
 energy, housing retrofit) in partnership with local communities.

Supporting new local community businesses; social enterprises, cooperatives and employee-owned firms:

- LCC to better support community businesses by relaying opportunities for funding streams and support across its networks, such as those offered by the West Yorkshire Combined Authority.
- Leeds' Universities to use existing 'business hubs' or 'incubator programmes' to support the development of community businesses by providing tailored advice & support and network opportunities. This can build on existing programmes in Nexus, for example, to incubate community businesses.

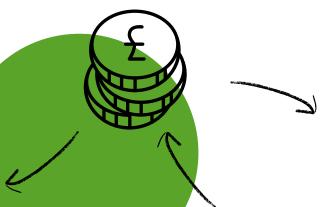
2. Making financial power work for local places

Redirecting financial flows towards local communities:

- Based on the success of Leeds Credit Union, LCC to further support the
 development of mutuals and credit union banks locally, with the aim of
 scaling this up to a cross-council cooperative bank to access resilient
 capital in support of local businesses and people, as set out by the North
 West Mutual Cooperative Bank.^{29, 30}
- LCC to campaign for West Yorkshire Pension Funds (WYPF) to divest from fossil fuels assets and encourage WYPF to prioritise local public good investments and assets, such as carried out by the Lancashire public pension scheme.³¹
- LCC to explore the use of Municipal Bonds to secure citizen led finance for community-focused investments, based on the successful example of Warrington Borough Council's renewable energy project.³²

Democratising the strategic direction of public finances:

 Based on successful previous trials, LCC to further test participatory budgeting methods across key public investment decisions, supported by Citizen and Neighbourhood Assemblies to identify priorities.



3. Fair employment and just labour markets

Committing Leeds Anchor institutions to further implement high-labour standards:

- LCC to ensure that all Anchors across Leeds consolidate commitments to high labour standards internally and externally (via their procurement practices), as set out in its Great Jobs Agenda and West Yorkshire Fair Work Charter, and sign-up to be Real Living Wage employers.³³
- Anchor institutions to remove barriers to entry from their job application process to facilitate local employment and prioritise candidates from adjacent and disadvantaged local communities as set out by Leeds St. James' hospital.
- LCC and anchors to explore applying principles of 'supply chain justice' to
 ensure that raw materials sourced from overseas do not harm the local
 environment and respect the sovereignty of both workers and local
 communities.

Working in partnership with trade unions & colleges to promote the addition of trainings and re-skilling programmes into the green & social economy:

 LCC to further work in partnership with local and regional trade unions bodies and colleges to promote the addition of training and work opportunities locally into the green & social economy (e.g. retrofitting, renewable energy generation, health & social care), such as by setting up an early warning system for redundancies or during quieter business periods, as proposed by the Yorkshire & Humber TUC.³⁵



4. Progressive procurement of goods and services

Increase local spending into Leeds economy:

- LCC and anchors to continuously commit to source local suppliers, including third sector organisations, with a view to in-source primary public services where suitable.
- LCC to establish a local service network database of SMEs, cooperatives and third sector organisations be given priority in procurement areas not subject to authority management.

High social & environmental standards embedded into the tendering process.

 Based on established standards, such as LCC Social Value Guidelines, LCC and Anchors to further embed social and environmental value criteria at all stages of the procurement cycle and introduce weighting for social value criteria into the tendering process.



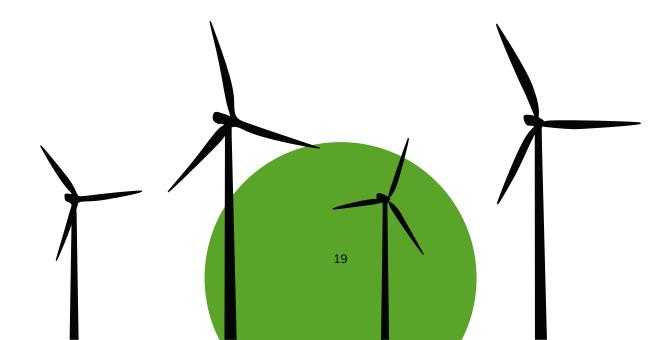
5. Socially productive use of land and property

Increasing community use of public land and assets:

- LCC to make available a public register of public land & assets that is free
 of use for local citizens, published on Data Mill North, to consult and submit
 requests for community benefit purposes e.g. community gardens, housing
 and renewable energy projects.
- Based on national guidelines, LCC to review its Community Asset Transfer policy by alleviating constraints around loan terms, managing liability and statutory obligations to facilitate community access with priority support given to low-income areas.

Repurposing the high-street by prioritising community input into strategic development decisions and community access to public buildings:

LCC to set up a 'Community Improvement District' to give local people, community organisations, as well as businesses, a say over the strategic direction of local high streets, modelled on the five pilots set up across England.



Conclusion

"Community Wealth Building is the strategy of choice to promote a local economic development model that brings wealth back into the hands of citizens, benefits local communities and the environment, while also reducing its global impact on people and planet."

For the last decade, leading academic and civil society groups have been consistent in their calls for a radical rethinking of how we structure local economies and essential services in response to the set of overlapping environmental and social crises facing our societies.

The Doughnut Economics framework, developed by economist Kate Raworth, is a useful illustration of what kind of changes need to be made in the economy to deliver a model that can equitably meet the needs of Leeds citizens, while safeguarding the wellbeing of the planet and natural resources. To translate this approach into concrete policy terms, Community Wealth Building is the strategy of choice to promote a local economic development model that brings wealth back into the hands of citizens, benefits local communities and the environment, while also reducing its global impact on people and planet.

In this report, we have outlined what a Community Wealth Building strategy could look like in Leeds, as a new framework and concrete alternative to channel economic benefits to local communities while aligning with the Council's aims. For this purpose, we presented the rationale for adopting CWB at the core of policy-making in Leeds, reviewed case studies of its successful applications across the UK and provided a list of key recommendations to further develop CWB in Leeds in support of the Council's main policy objectives and strategies.

This report sets out a clear case for adopting CWB as an overarching policy strategy in favour of the local economy, its people and planet. The time for Community Wealth Building has come, now it is about making it a reality for the benefits of Leeds citizens, business community and the wider environment.

The time for Community Wealth Building has come.
There is no better alternative to deliver positive outcomes for Leeds' people and places.

End Notes

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- 21. West Yorkshire Pension Fund (WYPF), which Leeds City Council has the largest stake in, had a total of £504 million invested in fossil fuels as of April 2020. Source: https://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/news/people/cop26-pension-fund-used-by-leeds-city-council-

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Contacting Climate Action Leeds

Visit our website: www.climateactionleeds.org.uk

Email us: hello@climateactionleeds.org.uk

Follow us on Twitter <u>@ClimateActLeeds</u> or Facebook "ClimateActLeeds"

Imagine Leeds: the climate action hub, is currently on the 7th floor of City Exchange on Albion Street, and is open most weekdays, please contact us in advance if you'd like to visit.

