

The Future of Volunteering in England in 2032

Submission to the Vision for Volunteering call for evidence

March 2022

Introduction

NAVCA's submission to the evidence call for a future Vision for Volunteering¹ starts with defining how we understand volunteering, moves to an overview of the key forces affecting civil society and interprets what these forces mean through the lens of volunteering. It revisits the notion of volunteering as 'situated practice' and highlights key data on volunteering from the most recent and comprehensive assessment of volunteering – NCVO's *Time Well Spent* survey. Throughout our submission we draw attention to the importance of place-based volunteering in driving the connections and relationships that form thriving communities. We pay attention to different types of voluntary and community action in the Covid-19 pandemic and set out our vision on the future of volunteering. The submission explains how the vision could be realised through:

- embracing the principles of the Civil Society PACT
- embedding volunteering from childhood to later life
- creating inclusive and flexible volunteering
- supporting volunteering
- resourcing volunteering
- supporting the organisations involving volunteers.

Tangible proposals are included under each of these headings.

This submission draws on a range of documents and on a workshop with NAVCA staff, plus interviews with four Chief Executives of Local Infrastructure Organisations whom we would like to thank for their time.

NAVCA is the National Association for Voluntary and Community Action. We are the national membership body for local sector support and development organisations (also known as local infrastructure) in England. Alongside our members, we are part of the movement for local social action. Our members support around 200,000 local charities and voluntary groups across the country, helping them to thrive and deliver essential services within their communities.

Defining volunteering

There are three core components in common definitions of volunteering as being an activity that is: unpaid, uncoerced and of benefit, or more recently, of making a difference. We see volunteering as an individual's choice: about what activity to volunteer to do, what difference they want it to make and how this shapes the community an individual wants to live in².

We consider NCVO's definition of volunteering to be a useful starting point for understanding the core components of volunteering as. . .

Any activity that involves spending time, unpaid, doing something that aims to benefit the environment or someone (individuals or groups) other than, or in addition to, close relatives. Central to this definition is the fact that volunteering must be a choice freely made. This can include formal activity undertaken

¹ <https://visionforvolunteering.org.uk/>

² Grotz, J. (2021) 'not under the direction of any authority wielding the power of the State' a critical assessment of top-down attempts to foster volunteering in the UK. IVR Policy Paper. Accessed [here](#).

*through public, private and voluntary organisations as well as informal community participation and social action*³.

Civil Society Futures

To map out a vision for the future, we must first understand the many forces that currently shape volunteering. The landmark independent inquiry, Civil Society Futures, is a helpful starting point for this⁴. The inquiry identified seven main thematic areas framing the future of civil society which, although written in 2018 pre-Covid 19 pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine, largely stand today:

- (1) Social fracturing: shifting from 'we' to 'me'
- (2) Environmental pressures: little room for manoeuvre
- (3) Structural changes: the end of the organisation?
- (4) Economic restructuring: the human cost of efficiency
- (5) Personal precarity: social safety nets in crisis
- (6) Changing places: localism and division?
- (7) Global volatility: a multi polar world⁵

Within these themes are cross-cutting factors - many of which relate closely to the need for, and benefits of volunteering. These include: the rise in loneliness and mental health crisis; changing expectations of young people; the retreat of the state; pressure on the health system and the crisis in social care; a crisis of trust; networks as an organising principle; challenges to managerialism; blurring of boundaries between sectors; growing inequality of income and wealth; the concentration of power in the hands of a few; growing geographical divides; and the rise of online activism.

These trends underscore the urgent need to bring people together to help each other and create resilience in the face of immense counter trends that are working against the conditions for individuals and communities to thrive.

Interpreting the interplay of wider trends and volunteering

The trends identified above help shed light on how volunteering in the next decade may need to change and adapt. Increasing social fragmentation and reduced public services, for example, translates to an increased demand for volunteers to help mitigate the harm caused to individuals and communities by poverty, isolation, the housing crises and constrained health and social care services. The crisis of trust, challenges to managerialism and blurring of boundaries between sectors combined with changing expectations of young people and online activism point to a need for volunteer-involving organisations to reflect on how they may need to adapt and change, for example to their ways of working, power dynamics and inclusivity.

The trends identified are experienced differently by individuals and communities of place and interest. One way to navigate these differences is to understand people's volunteering as rooted in spaces – be these community buildings, schools, streets, or online; and places – from the streets where they live to their local community or town and beyond to sites of global action such as Glasgow for the global COP26 climate summit in 2021. Volunteering can be understood as 'situated practice' occurring within civil and civic society in distinct places and in distinct political, social, cultural and historical circumstances⁶.

A range of factors – from global to individual - are at play when understanding the situated practice within which volunteering takes place. These include:

³ *Volunteering*, NCVO webpage. Accessed [here](#).

⁴ <https://civilsocietyfutures.org/>

⁵ *Civil Society in England: It's current state and future opportunity*. 2018. Accessed [here](#).

⁶ Cornwall, A. (2008) *Democratising engagement – what the UK can learn from international experience*. London: Demos; Brodie, E., Hughes, T., Jochum, V., Miller, S., Ockenden, N. and Warburton, D. (2011) *Pathways through participation: What creates and sustains active citizenship?* London, NCVO, IVR and Involve. Accessed [here](#).

- **political, economic and social factors**, e.g. social and mass movements such as Black Lives Matter or climate activism, events such as the Olympics or COP26 and long-term societal and global trends such as austerity, structural inequalities or populism;
- **local environment and place**, e.g. social infrastructure, events, institutions;
- **groups and organisations** within which people volunteer, e.g. the culture, structures, processes of groups and organisations;
- **relationships and social networks**, e.g. with family, friends, neighbours, colleagues; and,
- **individual factors**, e.g. identity, resources⁷.

Appreciating these different factors and contexts helps to interpret data on volunteering such as the Time Well Spent survey⁸ which tells an interesting story of who, how and where people volunteer, for example:

- Seven out of ten people volunteer at least once in their life through a club or organisation.
- Most people move in and out of volunteering over their lives – it is not a continuous activity and can be interrupted; with only 7% of people staying involved consistently and heavily throughout their life.
- Most people take part within their local area: 81% of volunteers give help in their neighbourhood.
- Volunteering most commonly happens in community spaces or the organisation's offices or premises (67%) or in people's homes (25%).
- Most people volunteer for a civil society organisation, with 17% volunteering for public sector organisations.
- Those from lower socio-economic groups (C2DE) are less likely to volunteer than those from higher socio-economic groups (ABC1).

This data demonstrates the importance of formal volunteering through an organisation or group and that people are not wedded to one organisation – their involvement ebbs and flows. It highlights the unequal nature of volunteering across socio-economic groups (noting this is just one measure of inequality); and that the neighbourhood provides most sites of volunteering activity in its community places and spaces and in people's homes. This draws attention to the geographic differences across the country, with some areas having many places to take part whilst others do not. This inequality of place is well documented - we know that deep geographical differences exist in the UK on multiple measures, including productivity, pay, educational attainment and health⁹. This is acknowledged in the Government's Levelling Up agenda, which highlights community empowerment as part of the answer to addressing deep divides¹⁰. Yet so far just 2% of Levelling Up funding so far has been spent on social infrastructure¹¹ and there is currently no roadmap as to the meaningful devolution of power and resources to communities.

Hilary Cottam's work, *Radical Help*, charts a course to reinventing outdated the welfare state's outdated institutions and services by harnessing new technology with human connection at their heart. In her words,

When people feel supported by strong relationships, change happens. And when we make collaboration and connection feel simple and easy, people want to join in. Yet our welfare state does not try to connect us to one another, despite the abundant potential of our relationships¹².

The role of community and voluntary action here is key.

⁷ Brodie et al (2011).

⁸ *Time Well Spent: A National Survey on the Volunteering Experience*. NCVO. 2019. Accessed [here](#).

⁹ *Divided and Connected: Regional Inequalities in the North, the UK and the Developed World*. Institute for Public Policy Research. 2019. Accessed [here](#).

¹⁰ *Levelling Up the United Kingdom, Executive Summary*. HM Government. 2022 Accessed [here](#).

¹¹ *Levelling Up and social needs: An analysis of government's progress*. NPC blog. 2022. Accessed [here](#).

¹² Cottam, H (2018), *More money will not fix our broken welfare state. We need to reinvent it*. The Guardian . Accessed [here](#).

Volunteering within and beyond the pandemic

The pandemic has shone a light on some of these deep inequalities in the UK, with its impacts experienced differently across income, race, class, gender and geography. It has also highlighted the importance of community action, volunteering and the role of voluntary organisations¹³.

Comprehensive research carried out for The Together Initiative suggests that in the pandemic 12.4 million people helped in some way and 4.6m of these were first time volunteers¹⁴. This has led to a 'deeper recognition of how much as a society we have come to rely on voluntary and community action in supporting communities and public services'¹⁵ but it also masks the variable nature of volunteering in the pandemic. Whilst nearly a quarter of organisations reported an increase in volunteers in the pandemic, through a mixture of new volunteers wanting to help during a period of crisis and having more time to volunteer; 36% of organisations reported a decline in volunteers – through social distancing and lockdowns reducing the opportunities for people to come together¹⁶.

Where volunteering is grounded in local communities it contributes not just to individual wellbeing but also builds stronger relationships and thriving neighbourhoods. Place-based volunteering has the potential to transform communities as people get to know each other and work together on things they care about¹⁷. The volunteer response to the pandemic brought a key focus on the importance of hyper-local, often informal volunteering with community and local relationships at their heart – this volunteering happened in spaces where voluntary action is within the power of the people and emerges without government attempts to direct it:

*'Within weeks of the first lockdown in March last year, Britain became home to one of the world's largest mutual aid efforts, with more than [4,000 groups](#) springing up nationwide. This development was itself political, reflecting a terrible vacuum of state support that volunteer groups rushed in to fill. The pandemic devastated those with no stocked cupboards, no savings and no support systems.'*¹⁸

There was also a vacuum of support for the voluntary and community sector in some areas with research stressing that pre-existing community infrastructure and established networks facilitated the co-ordination of responses to COVID-19 and enabled some services to extend and expand their interventions¹⁹.

This type of bottom-up, community activity, facilitated and supported by strong LIOs stands in contrast to for example, the nationally-directed NHS Volunteer Responders Programme which facilitated 165,000 people and the completion of more than 1.8 million volunteering tasks and has received mixed reviews^{20, 21}. Ultimately there needs to be a pluralistic approach to enabling volunteering to thrive, as NCVO Chief Executive Sarah Vibert states:

*'We need to move beyond a binary choice of 'top down' or 'bottom up' in volunteering policy and instead seek to blend 'national' and 'local' – bringing out the strengths of both. . . [There is] clear evidence that this approach delivered successful outcomes during the pandemic, especially in communities with lower social capital and fewer pre-existing community connections.'*²²

¹³ Macmillan, R (2021), *Responding to Covid-19: Narratives in our time*. Local Trust. Accessed [here](#).

¹⁴ The Together Initiative (2021) *Our chance to reconnect, final report of the Talk/Together project, Executive Summary*. 2021. Accessed [here](#).

¹⁵ Macmillan, R (2021), *Responding to Covid-19: Narratives in our time*. Local Trust. Accessed [here](#).

¹⁶ *Respond, Recover, Reset: the voluntary sector and Covid-19* (May 2021). NTU, Sheffield Hallam University, NCVO and Third Sector Research Centre. Accessed [here](#).

¹⁷ *CEOs respond to findings from 'Volunteering in England during Covid-19 report'* (2021), NCVO blog. Accessed [here](#).

¹⁸ Shabi, R. (2021), *Anarchy in the UK? The transformative power of mutual aid*. The Guardian. Accessed [here](#).

¹⁹ Wilson, M., A. McCabe, R. Macmillan (2020) *Rapid Research COVID-19 Briefing 4: Blending formal and informal community responses*, Local Trust, TSRC and Sheffield Hallam University. Accessed [here](#).

²⁰ Grotz, J. (2021) *'not under the direction of any authority wielding the power of the State' a critical assessment of top-down attempts to foster volunteering in the UK*. IVR Policy Paper. Accessed [here](#).

²¹ McGarvey, A., C. Goodall, J. Stuart (2021), *Volunteering in England during Covid-19. The policy response and its impact*. NCVO. Accessed [here](#).

²² *CEOs respond to findings from 'Volunteering in England during Covid-19 report'* (2021), NCVO blog. Accessed [here](#).

NAVCA want to see the transformational power of all types of volunteering within places and communities embraced and supported, as our Vision for Volunteering sets out.

NAVCA's Vision for Volunteering

NAVCA believe that volunteering is a sign of a strong, healthy and vibrant community. We see a future in which volunteering is embedded from childhood and beyond throughout life – a future in which everyone has a part to play in building a stronger society in their neighbourhood and wider community. Volunteering is the route by which people are connected to their communities, and all the benefits which come with that.

NAVCA want to see thriving communities, where people identify what matters and build the future they want to see. This means a shift in power relationships – from highly centralised and institutional to devolved, local, collaborative and dispersed. We want people to live within communities with agency, empowered and motivated to make decisions and take action.

We see volunteering as a key part of a new future of empowering change, with a focus on relationships and connections, so that strengths-based approaches to community development techniques work hand-in-hand with service-oriented volunteering and informal volunteering.

In this future, binary and top-down approaches of 'charity' and 'volunteer' give way to a pluralistic understanding of volunteering as part of a thriving civic ecosystem in which voluntary organisations and groups facilitate opportunities to move into (and out of) different roles and activities to help others and the environment in ways that suit them.

As the dial shifts towards supporting volunteers to make the change they want rather than prescribing roles, potentially outmoded practices and systems will be challenged, with proportionate and appropriate checks and balances in place to promote a good volunteer experience for everyone.

In this future everyone will be able to, understand the need to, and want to engage with their community, giving up their time freely and being supported appropriately to do so.

How can our Vision for Volunteering be realised?

This section outlines how the vision for the future of volunteering could be realised by: embracing the principles of the Civil Society PACT; embedding volunteering from childhood to later life; creating inclusive and flexible volunteering; supporting volunteering; resourcing volunteering, and supporting the organisations involving volunteers. Tangible proposals are included under each of these headings.

The Civil Society PACT – principles at the heart of the Vision for Volunteering

NAVCA believe that the PACT put forward as part of the Civil Society Futures Inquiry should form the basis of the Vision for Volunteering – it should rest on the principles and commitments of the four parts of the PACT: shifting power; building deeper connections; accountability to communities and building trust.

Box 1: The Civil Society Futures PACT²³

Power: A great power shift

Too many people feel unheard and ignored. There are too many imbalances of power. Change in society begins by changing ourselves in civil society. We don't want to deny anyone the chance to make the contribution that only they can. We will practice shared and distributed models of decision-making and control. We will do whatever's needed so that all those who want to – not least those who have been excluded – can play a full part in the things that matter to them and can bring the wisdom and expertise that we need.

²³ *Civil Society in England: It's current state and future opportunity*. 2018. Accessed [here](#).

Connection: Building deeper, closer connections

At its heart, civil society is and always has been about the power of human connection. But too often we have lost connections, because the world is changing fast, or we have become too remote from the people and communities we are here for. We will build real and meaningful relationships between people, meeting as equals – especially where this is hard to do. We will create and invest in better ways to connect that are fit for the 21st century, to create a national people–power grid, energising and universalising social action across communities and across our country.

Accountability: An accountability revolution

For too long we've focused only on accountability to funders and to government. It's time we focus on accountability to the communities and people we exist to serve. Whether we're a long-established charity or a new social movement, we will hold ourselves accountable first and foremost to the people, communities and causes we exist to serve. We will be collectively accountable across civil society and to future generations. When we talk about our impact, we will always acknowledge what others have contributed.

Trust: Investing in our core currency

Trust is the most important asset we have – even more important than money, it is an essential foundation for everything we do. Following abuse, damagingly competitive pursuit of funding and loss of faith in institutions, we cannot take trust for granted. We will build trust by staying true to our values and doing what's right – being honest about our failures and successes, defending rights and calling out injustice. We will take the time, commitment and care to build trust with the people and communities we work with. And we will trust them to provide insights, make decisions and run things.

NAVCA see a future for volunteering in which:

- The Civil Society Pact underpins and guides all work by organisations and individuals wishing to involve more volunteers.

Taking the PACT as the bedrock upon which the Vision for Volunteering is based, we can look to the more specific area of volunteering itself.

Embedding volunteering from childhood to later life

We see a future in which volunteering is embedded as a concept from childhood. One Chief Executive of a Local Infrastructure Organisation (LIO) explained the future they want to see:

'My vision for volunteering is like in Sweden. You are a member of society, you live in a community, you should support the community to be strong and grow and contribute in ways you wouldn't normally think about. So when you leave school, there's a pathway built in. A pathway into what's happening in your community.'
(Interview, CEO of LIO)

Schools are part of this: children and young people could be supported to do both work experience and volunteering experience. At the other end of the age spectrum is retirement. We would like to see employers creating an exit strategy for retiring staff through supporting them into volunteering. As one interviewee suggested:

'When people are reaching retirement age there should be a duty for employers to have an exit strategy – if they could have got started with volunteering in the summer a lot of mental health problems could be avoided in the winter by people retiring and having nothing to do and nowhere to go.' (Interview, CEO of LIO)

NAVCA see a future for volunteering in which:

- children and young people are supported to do both work experience and volunteering experience
- employers creating an exit strategy for retiring staff through supporting them into volunteering.

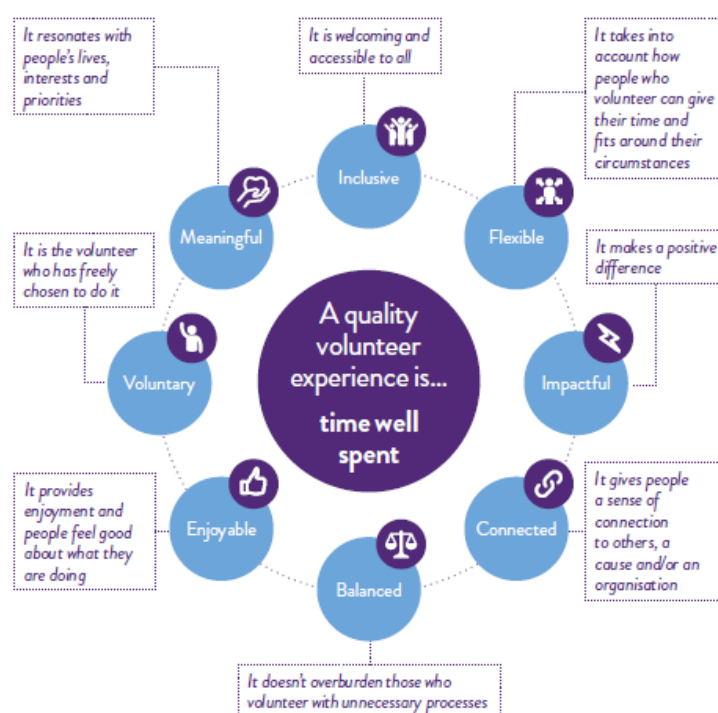
Inclusive and flexible volunteering

There is an urgent need to tackle the barriers that prevent people in communities of identity and place from becoming and staying involved in their communities. Volunteer-involving organisations should honestly reflect on where they are in their diversity journey. This may include issues such as recruitment, training, expenses, whether physical spaces and information is accessible and if volunteer roles have requirements that exclude certain groups²⁴. Regarding recruitment, the way in which volunteers become involved is often self-selecting, by being asked by someone they know, perpetuating similar characteristics of volunteers rather than difference. Local volunteer centres are an important route into volunteering for many people and the Volunteer Centre Quality Accreditation (VCQA) needs to reflect and enable a fresh approach to volunteering and volunteering infrastructure²⁵.

We know that people dip in and out of volunteering and give time face-to-face and digitally, and that some factors are strongly associated with people's decision to continue to volunteer, namely enjoyment, feeling part of the organisation and not being pressured to do more.

The diagram below is a useful summary of the different elements of inclusive and flexible volunteering.

Diagram 1 – Quality volunteer experience, from NCVO's Time Well Spent survey²⁶.



NAVCA see a future for volunteering in which:

- To attract new people who are traditionally under-represented, instead of waiting for volunteers to apply or be invited, volunteer-involving organisations (VIOs) can proactively go out into the places and spaces where potential volunteers live, work and play and seek them out.

²⁴ CEOs respond to findings from 'Volunteering in England during Covid-19 report' (2021), NCVO blog. Accessed [here](#).

²⁵ <https://navca.org.uk/news-and-views/f/navca-to-take-on-volunteer-centre-quality-accreditation-from-ncvo>

²⁶ Time Well Spent: A National Survey on the Volunteering Experience. NCVO. 2019. Accessed [here](#).

- VIOs can review and reflect on whether their other recruitment methods are inviting, e.g. streamlined, straightforward, using accessible language(s) and diverse images.
- VIOs can review their own ways of working beyond recruitment including how volunteers are empowered within the organisation, for example ensuring volunteers take a central role in service-design.
- As it is reviewed and refreshed, the VCQA reflects and enables a fresh approach to volunteering and volunteering infrastructure.

Supporting volunteering

Volunteers need to know what is expected of them and be equipped and enabled to carry out their volunteering activities safely, competently, legally and with support. This means VIOs are equipped to train, manage and support their volunteers. This is especially the case where support is being given to vulnerable people so that systems and processes are in place to protect those vulnerabilities; as well as a huge range of activities, from handling data in line with GDPR rules to using equipment or machinery safely.

NAVCA see a future for volunteering in which:

- Volunteers' training, knowledge and experience is more easily portable across different organisations and volunteer activities (e.g. first aid, safeguarding). We are supportive of the notion of a volunteer passport and urge the Government to reconsider its position on this²⁷.
- The Volunteer Centre Quality Accreditation mark includes good practice development, developing volunteer opportunities and including the volunteer voice within the organisation – this will be an important quality assurance mechanism for VIOs and therefore volunteers into the future.

Resourcing volunteering

Volunteer recruitment, training, recognition, reward, ongoing engagement, empowerment and supporting volunteer wellbeing requires resource – namely a volunteer coordinator or manager. The pandemic not only highlighted the value of community infrastructure²⁸, but also that in areas in which local statutory bodies had invested time and effort in building collaborative relationships within communities before the pandemic, the response was quicker and more effective²⁹. Part of the resource challenge relates to the way in which the impact volunteering makes is recognised and valued.

NAVCA see a future for volunteering in which:

- Practical volunteer support is prioritised and invested in by the public bodies commissioning VIOs.
- Local statutory bodies involve and empower communities and their voluntary and community organisations on an equal footing as strategic partners using strengths and asset-based approaches to community development.
- A national volunteering data impact initiative is spearheaded by the VCS with funding from central Government. This could form part of the metrics work on the Levelling Up White Paper.
- A funding formula is created whereby all Local Authorities are given a certain amount to support volunteering in their neighbourhoods, in recognition of their role as community enablers and that volunteering isn't a free resource. The metrics work would support this formula.

Supporting the organisations involving volunteers

²⁷ Government Response to Danny Kruger MP's Report: 'Levelling Up Our Communities: Proposals for a New Social Covenant'. 2022. HM Government. Accessed [here](#).

²⁸ Wilson, M., A. McCabe, R. Macmillan (2020) *Rapid Research COVID-19 Briefing 4: Blending formal and informal community responses*. Local Trust, TSRC and Sheffield Hallam University. Accessed [here](#).

²⁹ Wilson, M., A. McCabe, R. Macmillan (2021) *Rapid Research COVID-19 Briefing 10: Community responses to Covid-19: Striking a balance between communities and local authorities*. Local Trust, TSRC and Sheffield Hallam University. Accessed [here](#).

During the pandemic, infrastructure organisations contributed to and helped to co-ordinate the crisis response, encouraged and empowered community-led responses, provided a joined-up response to the crisis through collaborations across sectors, collated data and evidence and mobilised and supported volunteers³⁰. Amongst those responding to an NCVO survey, 54% of frontline organisations reported using the services or support provided by infrastructure bodies since March 2020³¹. And yet,

‘Over the last ten years or so politicians, policymakers and funding organisations have been very keen to support and promote civil society and voluntary action, but decidedly reluctant to support its infrastructure’³².

We agree with the assessment of the National Lottery Community Fund’s insights about how community infrastructure responded to the pandemic:

‘While informal grassroots groups may be quick and flexible, they may not have the knowledge or infrastructure to ensure the safety of their volunteers and the people they support. Community-led responses will need support to succeed in the medium to long-term, including advice, information and access to training and specialist knowledge.

Many CVSs have taken on responsibility for coordination and capacity-building locally, but we know that not all areas have this infrastructure, and that it can differ in scope and scale. We also know that many local infrastructure groups are struggling with reduced income.

Strong local partnerships and networks are a key strength in supporting communities through this crisis. Where existing relationships and connections are already in place, it’s been easier to coordinate support in response to the crisis.’³³

NAVCA believe that Local Infrastructure Organisations, as part of the wider social infrastructure of communities, are central to the future of volunteering by offering support to local charities and groups including:

- **Leadership and advocacy** across diverse communities and mobilising community ambition.
- **Partnerships and collaborations** by bringing together networks and connecting local VCSOs with each other and other partners.
- **Community development and practical support** by strengthening spaces and opportunities for people to come together to develop their goals and drive aspirations for their communities.
- **Volunteering** by encouraging and nurturing opportunities, leading and generating an expectation and culture in which volunteering can thrive³⁴.

NAVCA see a future for volunteering in which:

- Government discusses the systems and structures involved in supporting civil society and revisits the Kruger Review recommendation that the Government ‘engage with the sector to help nurture a revived, modernised version of the [Council for Voluntary Service]. This could include full-time resources...it could also involve charities accessing advice and support from businesses, the public sector and elsewhere in civil society’³⁵.

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³⁰ Community infrastructure (2020). The National Lottery Community Fund. Accessed [here](#).

³¹ Respond, Recover, Reset: the voluntary sector and Covid-19 (December 2021). NTU, Sheffield Hallam University, NCVO and Third Sector Research Centre. Accessed [here](#).

³² Macmillan, R. (2021), A surprising turn of events - episodes towards a renaissance of civil society infrastructure in England. People, Place and Policy (2021): 15/2, pp. 57-71. Accessed [here](#).

³³ Community infrastructure (2020). The National Lottery Community Fund. Accessed [here](#).

³⁴ Communities – and the importance of local VCS infrastructure? NAVCA. 2021. Accessed [here](#).

³⁵ Kruger, D (2020), Levelling up our communities: proposals for a new social covenant. A report for HM Government. Accessed [here](#).