

Modernised Policy Making?

Investigating the Development of the
2009 Migration Impact Fund

P J Formosa

Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, London Metropolitan University

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2016

Declaration

I certify that the work I have presented for examination for the PhD degree by London Metropolitan University is solely my own work, other than where I have clearly indicated that it is the work of others. This thesis contains 75,438 words.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the support and guidance provided to me by my supervisors, Pat Gray and Dermot McCann. The modest contribution this work makes would not have been possible without their help. Thank you.

I am also thankful to the people who took the time to speak to me and share their insights into the circumstances by which the 2009 Migration Impact Fund came about. I appreciate your time and goodwill.

Finally, I am grateful for the kind efforts of some very literate and bright people who helped me a great deal along the way. I would particularly like to thank Fiona Brennan, Elisabeth Ingram, and Jill Riddiford for the time they took to proof read and comment on this thesis.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the nature and effectiveness of the New Labour government's attempt to modernise policy making in Britain. This government had developed and sought to implement a new concept of modernised policymaking, claiming that it represented a significant advance on previous efforts to transform policymaking. The principles, logic and ambition of this new form of modernised policymaking were set out clearly in a number of government publications (Cabinet Office, 1999a; Cabinet Office, 1999b). The objectives of this study are, firstly, to explore and assess the nature of this new concept of policy making, contextualising its claims by reference to the long history of debates about policymaking and modernisation in Britain. Secondly, it will investigate the use of this new form of policy making through a case study. The data collected will be subjected to a detailed analysis to assess the extent to which the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund constituted an example of modernised policy making, as conceived by the New Labour government. The ideas contained in the Asymmetrical Power model advanced by Marsh (2003) are used to inform the understanding of the policy setting in which the case occurred.

To construct the case study, multiple methods of data collection are used to form a thick narrative that covers a five-year period. This narrative begins with the policy making that took place in anticipation of new migration in the lead up to the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession and culminates in an explanation of how the 2009 Migration Impact Fund was designed and implemented. The case study is then subjected to a detailed analysis designed to generate precise data about the extent to which the nine features of modernised policy making are present; how modernised policy making presents at different points in the case; the extent to which the features of modernised policy making operated synergistically; and the different explanations for the policy making that was observed in the case study. These are used to then come to a statement as to whether policy making in this case was completely modernised; significantly modernised; not particularly modernised; or not modernised.

The investigation found that policy making in this case was not particularly modernised. This was so because although all elements of modernised policy making was observed to be consistently present throughout the case, directive and bargaining based policy making were predominant at all crucial points rather than modernised policy making. The investigation showed that policy making operated, for better or worse, in a traditional way with core government's commitment to increased labour mobility around Europe shaping the response of policy makers. As well, the investigation raised questions about how we may research and come to understand the impact of modernisation reforms when looking at policy making with a high level of detail. This is because the modernised policy making observed was not identified to be a direct result of the Modernising Government reforms, something that calls for further research to better ascertain the basis of choices made by policy makers.

Overall, the case study findings confirm the predominant conclusions about New Labour's efforts to modernise policy making (see for example Massey & Pyper, 2005; Newman, 2005). This is that there was a distinct gap between the rhetoric and practice of policymaking in this period which fundamentally served to continue the advance of business orientated approaches to public administration within the traditional political context of British policy making.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|------------|
| Declaration and Acknowledgements..... | i |
| Abstract..... | ii |
| Table of Contents..... | iv |
| Tables, Boxes, and Figures..... | vii |
| | |
| 1. Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1. Rationale and Theoretical Framework..... | 5 |
| 1.1.1. Modernised Policy Making and Two Faces of Modernity..... | 6 |
| 1.1.2. The Theoretical Framework..... | 9 |
| 1.2. The Case Study..... | 10 |
| 1.3. Anticipated Limitations..... | 15 |
| 1.4. Structure of Work..... | 17 |
| | |
| 2. Literature Review: Theories of Policymaking..... | 20 |
| 2.1. Making Sense of Policy Making in Britain..... | 20 |
| 2.1.1. A Definition of Policy Making..... | 21 |
| 2.1.2. An Increasingly De-centred Polity?..... | 22 |
| 2.1.3. Policy Making: A View from Westminster..... | 29 |
| 2.1.4. The Asymmetrical Power model..... | 31 |
| 2.2. Modernised Policy Making..... | 33 |
| 2.2.1: Modernised Policy Making- A History..... | 33 |
| 2.2.2. Contemporary Modernisation Reforms..... | 38 |
| 2.2.3. The Modernising Government Programme..... | 41 |
| 2.2.4. Perspectives on the Modernising Government Reforms..... | 45 |
| 2.2.5. If Policy making isn't Modernised, What Is It?..... | 51 |
| 2.3. Conclusion..... | 55 |
| | |
| 3. Methodology: Case Study Design..... | 57 |
| 3.1. Introduction..... | 57 |
| 3.2. Research Challenges..... | 59 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 3.3. The Methodological Approach..... | 64 |
| 3.3.1 The Research Design..... | 64 |
| 3.3.3. Theory and Propositions..... | 68 |
| 3.3.3. Data Collection..... | 71 |
| 3.3.4. Handling and Presenting the Data..... | 76 |
| 3.4. Ethics..... | 81 |
| | |
| 4. Case Study Part One: Context..... | 85 |
| 4.1. Introduction..... | 85 |
| 4.2. The Key Policy Domains: Emergence, Diversification, and Reconstruction... | 86 |
| 4.3. The Big Policy Issues..... | 87 |
| 4.4. Why Britain was Opened up to New European Migration..... | 91 |
| 4.5. The Policy Measures in Anticipation of New Migration..... | 95 |
| 4.6. The Migration Figures..... | 97 |
| 4.7. Summary..... | 101 |
| | |
| 5. Case Study Part Two: Developing the 2009 Migration Impact Fund..... | 102 |
| 5.1. Initial Responses: Reassurances and Campaigns..... | 102 |
| 5.2. Working Together to Respond to the Issue..... | 109 |
| 5.3. The Tussle for Resources..... | 111 |
| 5.4. Initiating the Migration Impact Fund..... | 118 |
| | |
| 6. Case Study Part Three: Analysing the Data..... | 122 |
| 6.1. Analysis: Part One..... | 122 |
| 6.2. Putting the Elements Together..... | 137 |
| 6.3. Analysis: Part Two..... | 139 |
| | |
| 7. Conclusion: Findings and Theoretical Analysis..... | 146 |
| 7.1. Core Findings: Was It Modernised Policy Making?..... | 148 |
| 7.2. Findings in Relation to the Literature..... | 152 |
| 7.3. Findings about the Methodological Approach..... | 156 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 7.4. Unanticipated Findings..... | 161 |
| 7.5. Further Research..... | 165 |
| 7.6. Conclusion to the Investigation..... | 166 |
| Bibliography..... | 168 |

Tables, Boxes, and Figures

Tables

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Table.1. Main Conceptualisations of British Policy Making..... | 23 |
| Table.2. Behaviouralist Approaches to Study of Policy Making..... | 26 |
| Table.3. 10 Features of Contemporary British Politics..... | 28 |
| Table.4. Four Conceptualisations of Complexity..... | 61 |
| Table.5. Yin’s Validity Tests..... | 67 |
| Table.6. The Big Immigration Issues and Key Legislation (1997-2009)..... | 88 |
| Table.7. The Three Stages and Four Factors in Initiating the MIF..... | 118 and 164 |
| Table.8. Examples of Evidence Based Policy Making..... | 129 |
| Table.9 Results of Analysis: Part One..... | 138 |
| Table.10. Examples of Modernised Policy Making..... | 141 |
| Table.11. The Answers to the Research Question in a Nutshell..... | 146 |

Boxes

| | |
|---|-----|
| Box.1. New Labour’s Concept of Modernised Policy Making..... | 3 |
| Box.2. The Geographic Spread of New European Migrants in UK..... | 100 |
| Box.3. An Example of the Local Impacts of New European Migration..... | 105 |
| Box.4. Main Impacts of New European Migration..... | 107 |
| Box.5. Questions and Answers about Funding the Impact of New Migration..... | 113 |
| Box.6. Migration Measures Announced by the DCLG in 2008..... | 115 |
| Box.7. The Migration Impact Fund Framework..... | 118 |
| Box.8. The Stages of Policy Making Observed..... | 162 |

Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure.1. Workers Registration Scheme Approved Applications: 2004-2008..... | 99 |
| Figure.2. Nationality of Approved Applicants to Workers Registration Scheme..... | 99 |
| Figure.3. Eight most common occupations of New European Migrants 2004-2008.. | 100 |
| Figure.4. Number and Tone of Newspaper Articles Concerning A8 Migration..... | 106 |

Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the extent to which policy making was modernised in the New Labour period. It sets out New Labour's concept of modernised policy making and then investigates the presence of this through a case study. New Labour was elected to form the Government of the United Kingdom in 1997 and arrived with a high priority modernisation agenda that spanned all aspects of public administration (Flynn, 1999). A key part of this was the Modernising Government programme that set out reforms to policy making (Cabinet Office, 1999a; Cabinet Office, 1999b). The concept of modernised policy making offered within this was cast as a way of putting into practice the new administration's Third Way politics (Blair, 1998; Dickson, 1999). It consisted of clear guidelines for policy makers which emphasised evidence based policy making alongside a focus on social justice, participation and substantive rationality (More detail is in Box.1 on page three). The then Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, described the ethos of their modernisation efforts in the following way: "This Government has given a clear commitment that we will be guided not by dogma but by an open-minded approach to understanding what works and why. This is central to our agenda for modernising government: using information and knowledge much more effectively and creatively at the heart of policy-making and policy delivery." (Cited in. Wells, 2007, p.23). The New Labour government's bold promises concerning modernisation and the establishment of Third Way politics attracted a great deal of scholarship. This tended towards pessimistic conclusions as to the distinctiveness and value of policy making in this period (Driver & Martell, 1998; Finlayson, 1998; Hay, 1999; Newman, 2001; Savage & Atkinson, 2001; Driver & Martell, 2002; Chadwick & Hefferman 2003; Jessop, 2003; Cerny & Evans, 2004; Driver & Martell, 2006; Ludlam & Smith, 2006; Richards, 2008). Alongside this, efforts by successive governments to modernise policy making have been and remain the focus of much consideration and scholarship (Hallsworth, Rutter, & Parker, 2011; Public Administration Select Committee, 2013; Pollitt, 2014). This rich pool of existing literature provides a strong background within which to root the work that is conducted here.

The objective of the thesis is to contribute to the established body of literature concerning modernised policy making during the New Labour period in two ways. Firstly, it will provide a new exploration and assessment of the nature of New Labour's concept of modernised policy

making. This involves locating it in a historical context and so doing provides for an explanation of New Labour's concept of modernised policy making as being based on a positive reading of the enlightenment ideas that gave rise to the modern period.

Undertaking detailed work to clarify the character of New Labour's concept of modernised policy making provides the starting point from which to undertake a detailed investigation into the extent to which a case of policy making was modernised. Conducting this case study based investigation makes up the second objective of the thesis. The case investigated concerns the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund, which was a key outcome of the response to unexpectedly high levels of immigration to the UK following the activation of the EU's 2003 Treaty of Accession. This was a policy issue that had attracted a great deal of concern and activity amongst policy makers (Audit Commission, 2007; Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008). In order to deliver findings that are as precise as possible, a detailed model of analysis is developed to interrogate the data collected. The analysis is designed to provide findings that allow the core research question to be broken down into four sub-questions that are:

1. To what extent were the nine features of modernised policy making, which are set out in Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century (Cabinet Office, 1999b), present in the case?
2. How modernised was the policy making at different points in the case?
3. What degree of synergy was there between the different features of modernised policy making at key points in the case? (I.e. were there incidences where different features of modernised policy making were present but contradicted each other to produce non-modernised outcomes?).
4. Are there alternative explanations that could be applied at points in the case where policy making was not found to be modernised? (E.g. it may be found that the initial measures in response to new migration represented a muddled rather than modernised approach to policy making).

The data gathered through conducting the analysis is then used to offer a conclusion as to whether policy making in this case was completely modernised; significantly modernised; not particularly modernised; or not modernised.

Box.1: New Labour’s concept of Modernised Policy Making.

Modernised policy making in terms of the New Labour concept entails an approach that has practical features such as evidence based policy making and joined up government, which are informed by an ethical framework characterised by social justice, participation, and substantive rationality. The content of the reform literature that is most relevant to this investigation is set out in the Modernising Government White Paper (Cabinet Office, 1999a) and Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century (Cabinet Office, 1999b).

Listed below are the defining characteristics of New Labour’s concept of modernised policy making.

Modernised policy making should be traceable back to three aims of:

- 1- Ensuring that policy-making is more joined-up and strategic;
 - 2- Making sure that public service users, not providers, are the focus, by matching services more closely to people's lives;
 - 3- Delivering public services that are high quality and efficient.
- (Cabinet Office, 1999a, p.6)

Modernised policy making should reflect five commitments:

- 1- Policy-making: To be forward looking in developing policies to deliver outcomes that matter, not simply reacting to short-term pressures;
 - 2- Responsive public services: Public services to meet the needs of citizens, not the convenience of service providers;
 - 3- Quality public services: To deliver efficient, high quality public services;
 - 4- Information age government: Using new technology to meet the needs of citizens and business;
 - 5- Public service: Value public service, not denigrate it.
- (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.7)

The work of a modernised policy maker would, where possible, be reflective of the following features:

- Forward Looking
- Outward Looking
- Innovative
- Evidence based
- Inclusive
- Joined up
- Reviews
- Evaluative
- Learning lessons

(Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.4)

By way of structure, the thesis starts by setting out a theoretical background that includes a literature review. This is about meeting the first objective of the thesis. It will involve elaborating the different ways that policy making has been understood and a historical account of modernised policy making. It will also provide a detailed definition of New Labour's concept of modernised policy making and the type of conclusions that existing research has arrived at regarding the extent to which policy making was modernised between the years of 2003-2009. Having done that, a methodology chapter will explain the way that the case study based investigation will be approached and how the analysis will be undertaken. Next, the case study based investigation, which constitutes the second objective of this thesis, is presented. This will be made up of three chapters which firstly sets out a context to the case; then offers a detailed narrative of the case; and finally presents an analysis of the case study data. The analysis is done in a way that allows for the production of an ordinal measure of modernised policy making which contributes to the formation of a conclusive statement.

Finally, the thesis goes on to explain the findings that have emerged from the investigation before moving on to discuss and conclude the thesis. This will involve reviewing the usefulness of the methodological approach taken; elaborating upon the findings in terms of the research question; indicating the way that further study may be undertaken to test the findings; and looking at how the findings relate to existing studies. Although there are no directly comparable studies, there is a wide range of contemporaneous literature that comments on and/or analyses the character of policy making in the New Labour period, and involves some degree of case study based analysis (e.g. Nutley, Davis, & Smith, 2000; Newman, 2001; Nutley, Walker, & Davies 2003a; Larsen et al., 2006; Greenhalgh et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2011). Important as well is further literature that provides an opportunity to identify the extent to which the case study findings confirm or deny the type of conclusions it comes to about the New Labour project. The key question in that respect is if the work conducted here falls into line with the conclusions that policy making was not significantly modernised in line with New Labour's reforms (Newman, 2005; Parsons, 2011; Smith et al., 2011) and that the reforms only served to entrench and further develop a long standing series of reforms in line with business principles that were established in the 1960's (Pollitt, 1996; Massey, 2001; Pollitt, 2014).

1.1. Rationale and Theoretical Framework

The rationale for embarking upon this thesis is to advance a reading of New Labour's concept of modernised policy making and then, in light of this, contribute new and precise case study data which indicates whether, how and to what extent policy making was modernised in the later part of New Labour's period of administration. The starting point for this work has been the absence of detailed case study data that focused specifically on modernised policy making in a reactive setting that took in the various dimensions through which modernised policy making may be identified and measured. The literature search indicated that what is available at present is limited to:

- Evaluations which were produced for government and agencies that focus on the success of projects and programmes embarked upon under the auspices of the Modernising Government reforms. (Cabinet Office, 1999b; Nutley et al., 2000; Bullock, Mountford, & Stanley, 2001; National Evaluation of Sure Start, 2005; Greenhalgh et al., 2009).
- Investigations that consider only specific aspects of modernised policy making such as evidence based policy making or participation (Nutley, Davies, & Walter, 2003a; Fenwick & McMillan, 2010b).
- Scholarship that absorbs the question of modernisation into an analysis of the success of the New Labour government per se, especially with regard to the consistency of its rhetoric and practice (Savage & Atkinson, 2001; Ludlam & Smith, 2006; Oakley, 2011).
- Scholarship that analyses the logical foundation and content of New Labour's modernisation agenda (Parsons, 2001; Finlayson, 2003).

Having established the cause to undertake scholarship that addresses this gap, the subsequent need then arose to go into the concept of modernised policy making and do more to elucidate

its historical foundations and features. Undertaking this task also helps to clarify what New Labour's concept means. This is pertinent because the term 'modernised policy making' can mean different things and be used very contingently. The definition of modernised policy making offered by the New Labour government can be read to emphasise social justice, participation, and substantive rationality in a way that the alternative uses of the term do not. The following section introduces and contextualises this contention.

1.1.1. Modernised Policy Making: Two Faces of Modernity.

Key to understanding the significance of New Labour's take on modernised policy making is the context through which the term has developed. At the root is a notion that policy making in Britain essentially follows a traditional model (the Westminster Model) which emphasises the directive role of core government and long established¹ tacit processes of decision-making (Gamble, 1990; Diamond, 2011). It is argued that, because of the prevalence of policy making in line with the Westminster model, efforts to modernise policy making are perceived to have remained largely unsuccessful. Specific reasons given for this are that efforts to modernise policy making become diluted and disrupted (Public Administration Select Committee, 2013), and that modernisation reforms are used contingently in possibly inconsistent ways by successive governments (Burton, 2006). However, the extent to which it is the case that policy making in Britain is defined only by the Westminster model² and that modernised policy making is of little relevance is a matter of debate. There is ample literature charting the significance of different types of modernised policy making in Britain (Massey & Pyper, 2005; Parsons, 2010). A key feature of this has been the identification of the consistent spread of modernised policy making in the guise of business-orientated approaches to policy making, which have come to be an important aspect of the notion of there being a 'New Public Management' (Gruening, 2001). In addition, the spread of this type of modernised policy making has been part of the consolidation of a neo-liberal predominance in policy making (Jessop, 2003). Underlying this is what has become the most common interpretation of what modernised policy making means- that being as a representation of the consistent advance of instrumentally rational and scientific approaches to policy making (Weber, 1922; Adorno &

¹ Thus shaped within the rubric of the British Political Tradition (Tant, 1993; Greenleaf, 2003).

² A key alternative argument is that policy making has shifted over to being informed mainly by a governance based system. (Rhodes, 1991).

Horkheimer, 1947; Wildavsky, 1976; Parsons, 2010; He, 2012). This refers to government seeking to become “smarter and becoming more effective in solving problems by the use of expertise, knowledge and analytical methods...the belief that we can acquire knowledge of our problems which can be used to design solutions...” (Parsons, 2010, p.13). This concept of the modern in policy making has attracted much criticism and debate. The main arguments are that it is incompatible with the demands of this day and age (Hall & Jacques, 1989; Fenwick & McMillan, 2010b); that it leads to limitations on human freedom (Weber, 1922); and that it has usually come to be used as “...an instrument to advance the interests of the power elite rather than democracy... [and comes to constitute a] highly technocratic and positivistic approach to problem solving...” (Parsons, 2010, p.15). This characterisation of modernised policy making is at odds with the emphasis New Labour placed on social justice, substantive rationality, and participation. New Labour’s concept is an articulation of a progressive take on modernity, something that is also a matter of debate due to the different ways that this is understood (Bauman, 1986; Srnicek & Williams, 2015).

The distinction between the common understanding of modernised policy making and New Labour’s concept is critical. This is because they emphasise different aspects of one intellectual paradigm³. This distinctiveness can be organised around three points which are rationality, participation, and social justice. The first, and key, point is the nature of rationality it implies. Whereas the common understanding of modern refers to instrumental forms of rationality, the New Labour conception encourages a more substantive and reflexive form of rationality. This starts from the way in which the reform literature expresses an awareness of the need for reflexive practices that respond to unique and fluid circumstances. For example, the reform literature states “The world for which policy makers have to develop policies is becoming increasingly complex, uncertain and unpredictable... is increasingly inter-connected and inter-dependent... focus on solutions that work across existing organisational boundaries and on bringing about change in the real world.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.7). This is then carried through, for example, in the way that policy makers are encouraged to make use of evidence

³ The intellectual paradigm being modernity- which came to prominence following the Age of Enlightenment (Gay, 1973; Williams, 1999; Abid, 2004) and constituted the “Empirical interrogation of past dogma and theory, of rational challenge to authority and tradition, of scepticism, scientific enquiry, increasing secularism and humanism.” (Williams, 1999, p.7).

in designing policy measures, possibly the most instrumental aspect of the reforms⁴ (Pawson & Tilley, 1997; Sanderson, 2002). In terms of evidence based policy making, processes are set out for the rational collection and use of data (Cabinet Office, 1999b). The way that this is presented within the reform literature requires that policy makers have access to and the ability to utilise evidence, rather than imposing set regulations and programmes for doing so (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.33-42). Furthermore, papers produced by key authors involved in supporting the implementation of these ways of working emphasise the reflexive use of evidence by policy makers and the way that they may do this (e.g. Nutley, Walter, & Davies, 2002).

The second way that the modernised policy making advanced by New Labour's reforms is distinctive is with regard to the emphasis it places on participation. The reforms encourage the greater participation of the public and people affected by the policy issue at hand throughout all aspects of policy making (Cabinet Office, 1999a). The reform literature states that policy makers should concern themselves with "making sure that citizens and businesses come first... a genuine partnership between those providing services and those using them." (Cabinet Office, 1999a, p.23). As well, one of the key features of modernised policy making set out in the reform literature is inclusive policy making (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.44-49). This advocates for policy makers to see participation in developing and reviewing policy as '...a mechanism for ensuring fairness, it also gives policy makers the opportunity to maximise their understanding of how the policy will work on the ground and to see its operation from the point of view of the user...' (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.44). The practical way in which the Modernising Government reforms sought to achieve this was through the extensive use of and support for citizen's panels and a national People's Panel (Lowndes, Pratchett, & Stoker, 2001). These were designed to maintain a strong link between policy decisions and affected citizens.

The third issue concerns social justice⁵. This is something that comes through as an underlying theme in the New Labour modernisation literature, the promotion of which was one of the main

⁴ Evidence Based Policy making is an aspect of the reforms that have been described as a "Return to the quest for a positivist yellow brick road ... from which government can exercise strategic guidance." (Parsons, 2002, p. 45).

⁵ The Commission on Social Justice, set up by the former leader of the Labour Party John Smith, reported in 1994 that the values of social justice were: equal worth of citizens, equal rights to be able to meet their basic needs, the

promises of the New Labour government (Ludlam & Smith, 2006). The Modernising Government White Paper (Cabinet Office, 1999a) puts this across through the explanation of how resources will be better targeted. It states that modernised policy making is driven by the needs of citizens and responding to a call that “People want government which meets their needs, which is available when they need it, and which delivers results for them. People want effective government, both where it responds directly to their needs...and where it acts for society as a whole.” (Cabinet Office, 1999a, p.9-10).

The argument so far has put forward an understanding of how New Labour’s concept of modernised policy making is distinctive. This is in terms of its emphasis on social justice, participation, and substantive rationality. This indicates that it can be understood differently from the alternative conceptualisation offered in the literature. As well, modernised policy making can be taken as more than a rhetorical device, as it is a concept that brings to the fore long-standing approaches to policy making in a new way. This new concept of modernised policy making developed by New Labour will be used to analyse the case study. Alongside being clear about the rationale for conceptualising modernised policy making in the way it is here, there is a requirement to conduct the case study within one of the theoretical frameworks on offer. The next section sets out the theoretical framework.

1.1.2. The Theoretical Framework.

The traditional theoretical framework for understanding policy making in the UK has been the Westminster Model. This model emphasises the directive role of core government, the importance of institutional continuity, and the power of long standing traditions (Gamble, 1990; Greenleaf, 2003). Over the past few decades, there has been an overarching shift from such frameworks to those that explain policy making as being more decentred and governance based (Rhodes, 1997). However, there is much debate as to the degree that this shift has occurred and how relevant it is. As part of this, different theorists have devised frameworks that reflect the way they understand the balance between these factors (see Marsh, Richards, & Smith, 2003; Bevir & Rhodes, 2010; John, Bertelli, Bevan, & Jennings, 2013). Alongside this are

requirement to spread opportunities as much as possible, and the need to remove unjustified inequalities. (Commission for Social Justice, 1993; Haddon, 2012c).

longstanding questions as to the impact of socio-economic conditions on the character of policy making with the different frameworks also emphasising this to varying degrees (Jessop, 1982; Davies, 2011). Something that has become increasingly less popular are stages-heuristic models that require the organisation of data into anticipated stages and processes (Sabatier, 1993, p.6).

In identifying a suitable theoretical framework for this investigation, a number of issues are significant. These are that it ought to be flexible enough to allow the case study to induce new or irregular features of policy making; that it is compatible with the interest New Labour's modernisation reforms had on social and economic issues; that it is well documented; and makes direct reference to contemporary issues concerning policy making in Britain. In this case, conducting the type of investigation calls for a framework drawn from the interpretive tradition⁶. This is primarily because the data being investigated does not lend itself to specific quantitative tests nor the identification of regularities that can be correlated directly with other studies (Yin, 2003, p.7-9). In light of these considerations, the interpretive based framework for understanding British policy making offered by the Asymmetrical Power model is used (Marsh, Richards, & Smith, 2003; McAnulla, 2006; Marsh, 2008a). This offers an understanding that acknowledges the potential for different types of policy making in any situation and the important role played by governance in this. However, it also highlights the influence of traditional forms of policy making and broader social and economic inequalities. It "accepts that there has been a shift from government to governance, but suggests that there has been much more path dependency [than the main governance literature indicate]" (Marsh, 2008a, p.257) and it: "contends that hierarchy, rather than networks, remain the dominant mode of governance and government remains strong, although increasingly challenged." (Marsh, 2008a, p.257).

1.2. The Case Study

Having set out the theoretical framework and the way that modernised policy making is conceptualised: the focus now turns to introducing the case study. The case study concerns the

⁶ Bevir and Rhodes (2006) provides a good exploration and justification of the main interpretive approaches to the study of policy making.

degree to which the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund reflected modernised policy making. The basic parameters of the case study start with the emergence of unanticipated high levels of immigration following the 2003 Treaty of Accession, and takes in the policy making activities that led to the establishment of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund in response to this. The purpose of this part of the introduction is to firstly run through and justify the selection of this case study. Then, the policy issue the case relates to is described. The attention then turns to explaining the methodological approach that will be taken. Following on from that, explanation will be offered as to how the research question will be answered. This will focus on the analytical approach and the type of propositions it starts off with. Finally, the challenges confronting this type of work will be laid out.

Selecting the case study

Selecting a case study is ultimately reflective of a balance between a researcher's interests and its practical suitability to the question at hand (Yin, 2003). In terms of the degree to which the case chosen would be suitable, three key considerations were entertained. The first of these was the feasibility of the case chosen. Particularly important in this respect was for it to be accessible enough to be able to engage with the data (especially with regard to accessing policy actors) and of an appropriate scale to be manageable at this level of study. The next consideration was around content. By this, the main requirement was to identify a policy issue that could generate the quality and quantity of data necessary to systematically analyse the research question. As part of this, it was important for the case to contain a diversity of data in terms of the participants involved (such as different departments of government and agencies) which would capture the degree to which the work was modernised in a setting that crossed institutional boundaries and involved the establishment of new sites of policy making. The last consideration related to comparability. The point is that although this is a single case study that is being subjected to an unprecedented investigative question, it is inevitably comparative to a certain extent (Hague & Harrop, 2004). Here, it is comparative with regard a body of case study research into policymaking in the New Labour period and general scholarship on modernisation in the UK. Seeking out a typical case is likely to enhance the external validity of the findings. This is because it will support the comparison of aspects of the case study that provide the opportunity to offer generalisations about the degree to which the extent of

modernised policy making observed in this case transpired to be typical or atypical of policy making in this period (Gerring, 2007, p.87-93).

The case of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund turned out to be a strong choice⁷. This is because it was able to meet three considerations of feasibility, content, and comparability in the following ways:

- **Feasibility:** The initial data indicated that, although there was significant Ministerial interest in the issue, a great deal of activity had taken place from the outset at the meso-level. This included the involvement of different agencies and debate and activity within the public domain. Another aspect was that links had already been made with practitioners in this field and the researcher had some experience of ways of working and nuances employed in this area of work⁸.
- **Content:** The case displayed signs of there being complex patterns of involvement amongst a variety of participants from within government, civil society, the media, agencies, and interest groups. It also had multiple aspects of interest to participants including welfare, community cohesion, health, employment, and policing. Taken together this supported an expectation that there would be a rich source of data with which to explore the research question.
- **Comparability:** The case chosen is likely to be typical of policy making in this period. Firstly, because the core activities took place at the meso-level and occurred some years into the New Labour period. Secondly, the case follows a typical underlying pattern whereby a problem is identified, a reaction takes place, and then a response is arrived at. Although no directly comparable studies are available, the findings can be taken to confirm or deny conclusions drawn about modernisation in the New Labour period (e.g. Massey & Pyper, 2005; Ludlam & Smith, 2006) and the extent of

⁷ It is worth noting that it emerged as an option because it was something of a logical progression from earlier studies that were undertaken as the research developed.

⁸ This would enable a greater 'soaking and poking' as Fenno (1986 p.4) puts it.

modernisation in the UK (Hallsworth, Rutter, & Parker, 2011; Public Administration Select Committee, 2013; Pollitt, 2014).

The policy issue in this case.

In this case, the policy activity that emerged following the 2003 Treaty of Accession mainly touched on long standing debates and concerns about immigration and cohesion (Sommerville, 2007). The basis of the issue here was that unprecedented numbers of new European citizens, mainly from Poland, migrated to the UK from 2004 (when the Treaty came into force). Between the years of 2004-2007 some 500,000 people had arrived (DWP, 2008). By the time of the 2010 Census, Polish was the UK's most commonly spoken foreign language with 546,000 speakers⁹ (ONS, 2012). This demographic change occurred quickly and presented notable challenges in ways that previous incidences of immigration had not. A report produced by the Audit Commission (2007) into the issues raised by this wave of immigration from new European member states listed the following impacts as being the most challenging:

- There was not accurate statistical data available to policy makers.
- Increased competition in low skilled labour markets raised tensions.
- Poor housing conditions and reduced supply of housing.
- Some migrants found themselves homeless and destitute.
- Difficult to contact and communicate with new migrants.
- Confusion about entitlements, laws and customs.
- Local pressures on services where families arrive.

(Audit Commission, 2007, p.9-10)

These issues were exacerbated by the geographical spread, extent, and unpredictability of new migration (Audit Commission, 2007). The character of these issues raised questions as to how well policy makers could identify and respond to an unprecedented and unpredictable migration pattern (Gilpin et al., 2006). This was especially pertinent in a context where

⁹ This was followed by the following languages (in order): Panjabi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Arabic, French, Chinese (excluding Mandarin and Cantonese, which were the 27th and 40th most commonly-used languages) and Portuguese (ONS, 2012).

traditional policy assumptions and responses to immigration were in the midst of significant reforms (Flynn, 2005).

The methodological approach.

Multiple methods of data collection are used to develop a case study that is organised into three distinct parts which are the context; case narrative; and analysis. The methodological approach to the case study is informed largely by the work of Yin (2003, 2009). The work is theoretically organised within the interpretive tradition and gives priority to the assumptions about policy making and how best to understand it as offered by the Asymmetrical Power Model.

In order to answer the research question, the case study data is subjected to an analytical exercise. This is achieved through first organising the data collected for analysis around four sub-questions¹⁰. The analysis is then split into two. Firstly, a detailed elemental analysis is conducted. This looks for the presence of the nine features of modernised policy making and then organises the data according to an ordinal scale. Following on from that, a general analysis is conducted that interrogates the way that the different features of modernised policy making took effect and the role of alternative explanations of policy making that emerged in the case. The point of the analysis is to unpack the finer details of the case study in relation to the research question and facilitate the arrival at a statement as to the degree that modernised policy making was present (that being: policy making was modernised; policy making was somewhat modernised; policy making was not particularly modernised; or policy making was not modernised.).

Once the analysis is completed, the findings are then presented and subjected to theoretical analysis. There are four parts to the findings chapter. This relate to 1- Presenting findings that directly relate to the research question; 2- relating the findings of the case study to the existing literature; 3- findings about the methodological approach taken; and 4- an explanation of the

¹⁰ Which are: To what extent are the nine features of modernised policy making present in the case? How modernised was the policy making at different points in the case? How much synergy was there between the different features of modernised policy making in the case? and, what are the alternative explanations that could be applied at points in the case where policy making was not found to be modernised?

further study which is needed. This will include literature that considers the modernisation of policy making (e.g. Hallsworth et al., 2011); New Labour's efforts to modernise policy making (e.g. Massey & Pyper, 2005) and the best practice literature that was produced as part of the Modernising Government reforms (e.g. Bullock et al., 2001).

Once the findings are presented and subjected to theoretical analysis, a conclusion to the work is offered.

1.3. Anticipated Limitations

There are a number of significant factors that serve to limit the potential claims to truth that may emerge from this investigation. These relate to the way that truth has come to be understood in academia; the contentious character of research into policy making; and the limitations involved in collecting data.

One of the defining features of what we know about research these days is that claims to truth are judged to be contingencies that reflect a particular perspective. Long gone is the pretence of undertaking replicable experiments that produce positivistic scientific results free of bias (Hill, 2009, p.9; Sanderson, 2000; Tashakori & Teddie, 2003). Whereas one may have traditionally sought to identify and design out bias and complexity, the common parlance has moved on to emphasise a research setting where "Science has lost part of its credibility...and the experimental mode of thinking has given way to more practical thinking stressing individual, idiosyncratic knowledge and common-sense experience, recognising that all knowledge is based on values and rests on critical assumptions regarding human information processing capabilities." (Hellstern, 1986, p.279). Hence, the claims to truth that this investigation may offer are limited to being a representation of the idiosyncratic knowledge generated through a particular approach that is unlikely to be replicable by even the researcher themselves. This isn't a problem specific to this work or one that may be countered here. These conditions are the same for all researchers. There remains a value in this endeavour by virtue of the learning that may be accrued by the researcher and readers. Indeed, it is posited that in the face of these overarching limitations investigations concerning policy making are still of value "...in a conceptual rather than an instrumental way, reaching decision makers in

unsystematic and diffuse forms, 'percolating' into the policy arena and influencing thinking about policy issues..." (Sanderson, 2000, p.435).

Compared to many other areas of investigation, those concerning policy making are further challenged by the contentious nature of the field. The field of study in itself is understood to exist because of contest over meanings (Endlemann, 1988). This has contributed to the contemporary research setting where it is difficult to replicate and test existing research or generate predictive mechanisms (Boyne et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2011). This issue is compounded by the politics of research that informs the type of interests and perspectives researchers come with, the influence they seek to levy in a given situation, and the balance of different, at times competing, theoretical approaches (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Bovens, T'Hart, & Guy Peters, 2006; Newman, 2011; Sullivan, 2011).

The third limitation relates to data collection. In general terms this is because there is a discrepancy between those conducting investigations and policy actors who can be "on 'different wave lengths' with neither camps understanding the constraints and priorities of the other." (Hallsworth et al., 2011, p.48-50). One of the ways this plays out is in the politics of representation. This is where the data available and the information participants are willing to offer may very well serve as a suggestive reflection of their own or a dominant position. Thus, it has to be a given that participants may have an interest in situations being presented one way or another and that all forms of evidence available may reflect this and are thus political in and of themselves. Another dimension to this is the practical job of getting access to information. This is because not all information is made available in the public domain and not all policy actors are willing or able to contribute to primary research activities such as interviews or surveys¹¹. This is magnified by the very fact that this investigation is being undertaken at PhD level and the researcher here does not have ample advantage in the environment to compel

¹¹ One of the reasons for this is the way hierarchy may operate in British politics. Sue Goss has described the 'invisible hierarchy', which shapes the way that Whitehall views policy experts in the rest of the public sector and beyond. The default position is always to be closed and secretive, and the gulf between those who design policy and those who deliver it at 'street-level' has grown wider since the 1980s (Goss, 2005).

participation amongst policy actors. That said, access to policy actors can be difficult even for the most esteemed of researchers (Rhodes, 2011a).

Furthermore, even with perfect access and the ability to appreciate and translate these accounts: this is limited further in terms of the time constraints of sharing information and the capacity of policy actors to be able to think along the same lines of the researcher (Duggett, 2009; Newman, 2011). This limitation is responded to by undertaking collection methods that ensure the best possible spread of data and enable triangulation. This is important as certain aspects of the case may or may not be documented in reports and press cuttings and other parts will be informed subjectively by an appreciation developed by conducting observations. In terms of triangulation the idea is to also enhance the validity of the findings in places where different data sources corroborate one proposition or another: This also works the other way in terms of refuting the degree to which certain sources of evidence are understood to be useful (Denzin, 1970). An important note to make in terms of design is that although multiple methods of data collection are used so as to aid the corroboration and spread of data, the underlying theoretical approach here is mindful of the learning to be had in disparate accounts, the value of finding these, and the limitations of deciding which are more or less valid based on the extent of particular standpoints.

The limitations highlighted are useful as they serve to direct the underlying considerations that the investigation ought to accommodate from the outset. Nothing in this is specific to the research being conducted in this instance and reflect the state of the art.

1.4. Structure of Work

Following on from here, the next chapter will set out a background to the investigation which is based around a literature review. This will focus on detailing the way that policy making in Britain is understood; elaborating on the concept of modernised policy making; and setting out the character of contemporary modernisation reforms in Britain. Once that is done the methodological approach will then be set out in the third chapter. This will start by explaining the anticipated challenges facing the investigation and how they will be managed. After that, the research approach will be elaborated upon. In particular, consideration will be given to the

propositions that will guide the case study, the approach to data collection and how the data collected will be handled. The third chapter on methodology will also examine the ethical considerations relevant to the work being conducted. From there the work moves on to present the case study over the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters. The fourth chapter will be dedicated to setting out the context to the case study; the fifth chapter will provide the core case study and will consist of the thick narrative of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund; and the sixth chapter will then present an analysis of the degree that the policy making observed was an example of modernised policy making. This will be followed by the seventh chapter which will consider the findings of the investigation and subject this to a broader theoretical analysis. These findings will be organised around those that directly respond to the research question; those that cast light on the efficacy of the methodological approach; the findings in relation to the existing literature; and the unanticipated findings that came out of the investigation. The eighth and final chapter then offers a conclusion which engages in a discussion of the research endeavour in an overarching sense. Here, particular consideration is paid to the degree to which the investigation has shed light on the conceptualisation of modernised policy making and the overarching theoretical and practical implications of the work.

The headline amongst the findings was that policy making in this instance was identified to be not particularly modernised. This was so because although modernised policy making was observed to have occurred consistently throughout the case, alternative practices such as directive and bargaining based policy making were prominent at critical junctures.

In order to adequately answer the research question, four sub-questions were considered. The first of these was concerned with the extent to which each of the nine features of modernised policy making was present. These were all found to be present in the case study and in particular policy makers were identified to have worked in innovative and joined up ways. Of the nine features, the biggest question mark concerned participation as specific examples of this being limited amongst those affected by policy were identified. The second sub-question was about how modernised the policy making was at different points in the case. It was found to be consistently present throughout the case. The third sub-question was interested in the consistency of these nine features of modernised policy making. It was found that they were in

operation in consistent ways that taken together enhanced the degree that incidences of policy making in the case could be taken as modernised. The fourth sub-question was concerned with the presence and place of alternative approaches to policy making. This was an especially important question as the findings relating to it contributed the most to the conclusion that policy making was not particularly modernised. It was found that in a number of instances alternative types of policy making had a significant presence, especially directive and bargaining forms of policy making. There was an observable path dependency with regard to the directives of core government, which was combined with a distinct process of bargaining amongst different established groups, primarily local and central government. Inequality was also ever present. For example, the role of affected communities and migrants themselves was minimal throughout the process.

Chapter Two

Literature Review: Theories of Policy Making

The purpose of this chapter is to explore and assess the nature of New Labour's concept of modernised policy making. Doing this constitutes the first objective of the thesis. It provides a context for then undertaking the investigation into the extent to which a case of policy making was modernised, which forms the second objective of this thesis. In this chapter, literature is reviewed which, firstly, sets out the way policy making in the UK has been understood; then which, secondly, illustrates the historical context of modernisation and modernisation reforms; that, thirdly, clarifies the way in which New Labour set out their concept of modernised policy making; and which, fourthly, explains how this concept (along with its implementation) has been assessed in the existing literature.

2.1. Making Sense of Policy Making in the UK

Policy making has attracted a great deal of study and out of this has emerged a myriad of ways that policy making in the UK may be understood¹² (e.g. Parsons, 1995; Hill, 2009; Cairney, 2012). There is no approach that can be proven to be correct and different theoretical frameworks generate alternative findings which can be contradictory depending on the perspective of the enquirer and dominant ideas of the time (Hill, 2009). In light of this, the task at hand is to give due acknowledgement to the main methods of understanding policy making and the advantages and disadvantages of each of them. One of the tasks in doing so will involve distinguishing ways of understanding policy making that focus on the overarching character of policy making from those that focus on specific processes. Accounts offered by and for, policy practitioners, mainly from within government, will also be considered alongside academic texts¹³. These perspectives on policy making will be used to inform the choice of overarching theoretical model used in this research.

¹² These differences reflect combinations of ways that six big questions about policy making have been approached. They are: To what degree do institutions shape policy outcomes? How stable are the institutions relevant to policy making? What is the balance between participants' actions, socioeconomic factors, culture, and institutional framing? How is power exercised in policy making? How do participants relate to each other? How and to what degree can we systematise/codify policy making?

¹³ It is worth noting that there is a longstanding interplay between academic and practice based research and publications (Talbot & Talbot, 2014).

2.1.1. A Definition of Policy Making.

Any useful definition of policy making has to be alive to the very different ways that it may be understood. There is a broad range of possible definitions. The simplest definition on offer is that “Policy making is what governments do.”¹⁴ (Hill, 2009, p.9). In order to arrive at a suitable definition of policy making which is useful for the investigation being conducted here, an idea also needs to be offered of the way that policy making was defined by government at the time of study. The presentation of policy making in government documents that are available to the public offers a simple instrumental definition. This is of a “process by which governments translate their political vision into programmes and actions to deliver 'outcomes' desired changes in the real world.” (Cabinet Office, 1998b, p.4).

In terms of identifying a definition that is alive to the day-to-day understanding of policy making within government, research for the Information Commissioners Office (Waller, Morris, & Simpson, 2009) provides valuable data which clarifies this. The findings of their research said that it was not possible to elaborate a specific technical definition of policy making and that it was very much something which has been evolving and subject to interpretation: “Policy and policy making is a well understood concept – but one which neither Whitehall nor Westminster has found it necessary to define with any rigour... There is simply no operational need to define at any given point whether what people are doing is formulating, developing, promoting, or delivering government policy... As a result of this lack of everyday need for a precise definition, the term policy is used within Whitehall in a very wide range of contexts” (Waller et al., 2009, p.12).

¹⁴ At the other end of the spectrum are complex highly descriptive definitions such as that offered by Sabatier (1993) who states policy making is “an extremely complex set of interacting elements over time... [where there are] normally hundreds of actors from interest groups... each of these actors have potentially different values/interests, perceptions of the situation, and policy preferences... usually involves time spans of a decade or more...[and in a given domain there are] normally dozens of different programs involving multiple levels of government...disputes over the severity of a problem, its causes, and the probable impacts of alternative policy solutions...[where] most actors face enormous temptations to present evidence selectively, to misinterpret the position of their opponents, to coerce and discredit opponents and generally to distort the situation to their advantage” (Sabatier, 1993, p.3).

Given the broad range of uses for the term, the definition used here is that ‘policy making is the intentional activities (potentially by any combination of parties within or outside of government) which lead up to the maintenance, change, or instigation of public policy’.

2.1.2. An Increasingly De-Centred Polity?

The way that policy making in Britain has been explained by researchers has had a long and fairly consistent history, but which in recent years has come to undergo significant changes (Gamble, 1990; Hayward, 1991; Hayward, Barry, & Brown, 2003) (see table.1 overleaf). Bevir states that British approaches to studying policy and politics have traditionally been seen as “committed to agency, hostile to scientism and grand theory, and sensitive to history and contingency”¹⁵ (Bevir, 2001, p.470). Within this tradition, there has been a shift from the Westminster model, which has traditionally predominated, to one that emphasises governance and networks.

The Westminster Model has traditionally informed the study of politics in Britain and remains hugely influential (John, Bertelli, & Jennings, 2013). It is based on the notion of a unified state, where a provident and sovereign core of government directs policy. Important in this is the dominance of the Prime Minister and their Cabinet. This allows for a consistent and strong government that can maintain the continuity of the British state. Diamond (2011) puts it that this is the “...core feature of the flexible and adaptive British political tradition which has endured since the Glorious Revolution of 1688.... underpinned by civil service neutrality and collective ministerial responsibility.” (Diamond, 2011, p.1). There is limited theoretical detail available about the Westminster Model because it has operated “as a shorthand, normative, organising perspective to portray a particular image of the British political system, rather than a theoretically well-developed and explicit model of how British politics works” (Marsh, Richards, & Smith, 2003, p.306).

¹⁵ This understanding of how politics has been studied in Britain has come in for some controversy (e.g. Bevir, 2001).

Table.1: The Main Ways British Policy Making has been Conceptualised.

| Tradition | Theory | Description | Key Works |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Westminster Model | Normative | The central institutions of British government are the machinery at the disposal of the parliamentary majority. Political power and authority remain heavily concentrated with core government. Governing is seen as a process conducted by a closed elite constrained by their concern for the public good, and within the framework of a balanced and self-adjusting constitution (Richards, 2008). | Elofson (1981), Richards (2008). |
| Marxism | Political-Economy | Emphasises the underlying causes of policy development and change as being political and economic relations that are characterised by class inequalities. | O'Connor (1973), Jessop (1982). |
| Behavioural | Rational Choice | Rational choice theory examines policy change, variation, and stability by examining the strategies of actors located within political institutions and in society. Outcomes are the effects of these choices, which may not reflect the aggregation of preferences of decision makers but rise from strategic interaction imposed by the structure of the choices. | Downs (1957), Riker (1962). |
| | Pluralism | The view that different groups vie for influence and exert authority temporally and in relation to a complex of competing interests and alliances. The central question for classical pluralism is how power and influence is distributed in a political process. | Dahl (1961), Lindblom (1959). |
| Governance Theories | Differentiated polity | The British political system as de-centred, hollowed out and operating through networks and policy communities. | Rhodes (1997). |
| | Asymmetric power | Based on governance theories but with a greater focus on issues around structures, core executive, and inequalities. | Marsh et al., (2003). |

One of the ways that the Westminster Model has garnered the tag traditional (as an opposite to modern) has been how providence, as something different from and informative to reason, has been an important feature of the way decisions are made. The Westminster Model lent itself towards the study of policy making being organised through descriptive and reflective accounts, such as Prime Minister's biographies. The impact of these would be to inform an interested person's subjective understanding of the culture and practices appropriate to 'the British way of doing politics'.

As much as the relevance of the Westminster model is validated by the staying power of the British state and the persistence of practices associated with it (Waller et al., 2009), it increasingly came to be challenged within academia by different approaches in the latter part of the 20th century (Hill, 2009). In the first instance, there was an emergent body of theoretical understanding influenced by Marxism that challenged the predominance of the Westminster Model. Marxism did not fundamentally deny the structure put forward by proponents of the Westminster Model, but shifted the focus towards its operation as a tool of entrenching and reproducing inequalities and exploitation (Gamble, 1990; Hill, 2009). The work of Ralph Milliband (e.g. Miliband, 1969; Miliband, 1972) serves as a good exemplar of this perspective. In his Marxist conceptualisation of policy making in Britain, the relationship between economic power and political power is given priority. It offers the argument that "...the state is not a neutral agent, but rather an instrument for class domination... [it] suggests three reasons why...first, there is a similarity in social background between the bourgeoisie and the state elites...second, there is the power that the bourgeoisie is able to exercise as a pressure group through personal contacts and networks...third, there is the constraint placed on the state by the objective power of capital" (Hill, 2009, p.40). Marxist approaches per se have declined significantly within the study of policy making over the past twenty years. However, its antecedents remain and have contributed to theories that locate inequalities and structures of domination as important causal mechanisms in policy making (Marsh et al., 2003; Davies, 2011).

The 1950s saw approaches from the United States being increasingly adopted in the British study of politics. These primarily came from the body of behaviouralist theories (Gamble, 1990). They were founded on an argument that “a focus on behaviour and processes offers a much faster route to the construction of theoretical models that can explain and predict political phenomena” (Gamble, 1990, p.411). It is through the work of academics inspired by these ideas that policy making began to be more scientifically considered. Although its impact may have been “muted” (Bevir and Rhodes, 2003, p.29) this field has given rise to a range of contemporary theoretical approaches to the study of policy making, which have been increasingly utilised and incorporated alongside interpretive methods (Dowding, 2001; John et al., 2013). Out of this tradition comes a range of very useful considerations for researching the way policy making proceeds, (the main contemporary behaviouralist approaches are listed in Table 2 overleaf).

The 1980s saw a dramatic shift in the predominance of the Westminster model. Governance based accounts rose in popularity and the Differentiated Polity model developed by Rhodes and Bevir had become the orthodox approach by the late 1990s (Kerr & Kettle, 2006). It has been described as “one of the most substantive and innovative recent additions to British political science literature...exceptional in affirming both a considered philosophical grounding for the approach, as well as a practical analytical vocabulary” (McAnnula, 2006, p.113). The type of structures and practices emphasised by governance models have been lauded by some commentators as “capable of fostering a new deliberative pluralism with the potential for an equitable trust-based consensus about the means and ends of social life... potentially resulting in a third space between state and market, extending the public sphere, empowering communities and cultivating inclusive policy making” (Davies, 2011, p.2).

| Table.2: Behaviouralist Approaches to Study of Policy Making. | | |
|--|---|---|
| Approach | Description | Key Studies in UK |
| Policy Advocacy Coalition Framework | Developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993). Notes that the policy process can be affected from a diversity of points by just about any interested network and/or participant, which are conceptualised as subsystems within a framework. Emphasis on understanding policy change, consensus, and networks. | Features in a number of multiple-lens studies (e.g. Cairney, 2007). |
| Punctuated Equilibrium Model | Introduced by Baumgartner and Jones in 1993. The method studies the evolution of policy change, including the evolution of conflicts. The theory suggests that most social systems exist in an extended period of stasis (due to institutional forms, vested interests and human behaviours), which are later punctuated by sudden shifts/radical change. Useful for longitudinal studies. | John and Margetts (2003) utilised the method to undertake a longitudinal study of budgeting in the UK. |
| Policy Streams | Based on an <u>incrementalist</u> view of a not always rational policy making process. Focuses on how issues emerge rather than a prescriptive analysis of what should happen. Kingdom (2005) summarises his approach as representing a view where: “Comprehensive rational policy making is portrayed as impractical for the most part, although on occasions it can be found...evolution of proposals or changes... [takes on a] revised version of Cohen-March-Olsen garbage can model of organisation choices...of three streams— problem, politics, and policies...independent of one another and develops according to their own dynamics and rules...streams joined at crucial junctures” (Kingdom, 2005, p.19) | Kingdom’s work (2005) is exclusively based on US case studies. Zahariades (2003) has adapted this model for use in parliamentary democratic settings and presents a number of case studies set in the UK. |
| Policy Agendas | Works around an idea of ‘focussed adaptation’ that is interested in the micro foundations of the relationship between decision making of elites and broader social signals. Explores shifts in overarching policy agendas in relation to public opinion and media. | This work is set out in a text by John et al. (2013). Further work being produced as part of the ‘Policy Agendas Project’ such as Bevan and Jennings (2014). |

Reasons for the emergence of this new dominant theory were two-fold. Firstly, society and British politics by the 1980s had undergone significant social and economic changes that have been described as a move to a late-modern era (Beck, Giddens, & Lash, 1994). This entailed a shift in how the state operated, especially with regard to the significance of global relations, the diversification of government functions, and changes to the expectations and lifestyles of citizens. This meant that there was a sense that there needed to be a new set of theoretical considerations to adequately reflect this (Hill, 2009, p.21). Secondly, the Westminster model had not been comprehensively challenged and replaced by an understanding which filled in long-standing gaps in explaining aspects of policy making such as the distribution of power and the role of non-core executive functions

The conceptualisation of the British political system informed by the Differentiated Polity Model is summarised by Rhodes (1997) across ten themes (see Table 3 overleaf). This offers a portrayal of the British political system as de-centred, hollowed out and operating through networks. The Differentiated Polity model has adapted over time due both to ongoing development by its proponents and challenges from alternative governance based models that incorporate an appreciation of the continued influence of traditions that reproduce the Westminster model and inequalities (Smith, 1993; Marsh et al., 2003; Davies, 2011).

As much as the work of Rhodes has come to define the governance based approach to the study of policy making in Britain, there is a great deal of scholarship which presents alternative conceptualisations of the governance model (Guy-Peters, 2000; Smith & Richards, 2001; Bache & Flinders, 2004; Bell & Hindmoor, 2009). A prime example is the Asymmetrical Power model (Marsh et al., 2003; Marsh, 2008a). This consists of two key contentions: First, it is asserted that a key characteristic of the British social and economic system is structured inequality and that this is often neglected by traditional governance scholars. This argues that inequalities are significant to policy making as they may “constrain and facilitate the actions, and likely success, of individuals and interest groups in the British polity” (Marsh et al., 2003, p.310). Secondly, it challenges the notion of a differentiated polity by arguing that the long established political tradition in Britain still lends itself towards a continuation of decisive action by unitary state formations (Marsh et al., 2003, p.310-313).

Table.3: Ten themes in contemporary British Politics (Rhodes, 1997).

Networks

1. Since 1945, Britain has changed from a unified state to a differentiated polity.
2. Policy networks of resource-dependent organisations are a defining characteristic of the British policy process.
3. There has been a shift from a strong executive (and the tradition of ‘government knows best’) to the segmented executive, characterised by bargaining games within and between networks.

Governance

4. Government confronts self-steering inter-organisational networks. The relationship is asymmetric, but centralisation must co-exist with interdependence.
5. Policy making is not linear but recursive because interventions create unintended consequences, implementation gaps and ‘mess’.
6. Direct management (or control) of this organised social complexity multiplies unintended consequences. Indirect management is the central challenge posed by government for the operating code of central elites.
7. The British state is subject to internal and external hollowing out.

Reflexivity

8. The study of British government must interrogate its own traditions by defending the institutional approach, its historic heart, and responding to the behavioural and post-modern challenge.
9. Such studies should employ local reasoning and reconfirmation to link academia, government and citizens.

Accountability

10. Self-steering inter-organisational policy networks confound mechanisms of democratic accountability focused on individuals and institutions. Effective accountability lies in democratizing functional domains.

The critical take on governance based policy making put forward within the Asymmetrical Power model is reflected as well in other popular contemporary approaches to understanding politics in the UK. A key example is the work of Davies (2012) and that of the Critical Governance School. This school of thought advances an alternative reading of policy making in the UK which is based primarily on the ideas of Antonio Gramsci (see Fontana, 2002). Their argument goes that contemporary governance has little in common with the vision of network governance or plural modes of governing put forward by its proponents (e.g. Sørensen & Torfing, 2005). It argues that “Network governance is a form of neo-liberal ideology, defined not simply as championing free-markets but as an active project for economic and political modernisation inspired by informational capitalism, the heart of the connexionist objective of

fostering an entrepreneurial, reflexive and communicative society” (Davies, 2011, p.5) and sets out that “the challenge of researching governance as hegemony is therefore to explore how the dialectic operates, or not, in the routine politics of networks and other governing institutions”(Davies, 2011, p.11).

Bearing in mind that governance theories represent the state of the art in the study of British policy making, the challenge here is to identify the most worthwhile choice out of the existing theories. This choice ought to take into account the balance between the critiques that have been offered and the inarguable rise of governance-based policy making. A requirement as well is to incorporate the way that policy making is understood from within government. Understanding the account of policy making from government sources is critical in interpreting the data as and when it arises in the case study. What this involves is explained in more detail in the following section.

2.1.3. Policy Making: A View from Westminster.

How policy making is described from within government casts light on the academic debates and understanding this helps to better interpret the case study data as it emerges. It is worth noting that ideas within government and academia are not mutually exclusive, but do have fundamental differences. This is because government seeks to inform the policy making process for pragmatic purposes and academia seeks to develop an epistemic understanding of what is happening. Of this, Newman states that there are “different concerns, incentives, dynamics and languages; they have different conceptions of knowledge, work to different timescales and operate from different power bases” (Newman, 2011, p.477). Although these differences have resulted in distinct contradictions¹⁶, there is a long- established dialogue

¹⁶ An account by a former Civil Servant states: “Speaking as a civil servant, it has always struck me as strange that many academic observers of the government scene have for many years been implicitly writing off the traditional “Westminster model” as if it was now outdated. Many of the main proponents of this view also coupled that with an attachment to a new and more theoretical approach, built around the concept of “governance” which involved narratives that are more complex. The arguments have to some degree been academically self-serving (and have often involved a pleasure in theoretical elucidation that tries and often fatally exhausts practitioner willingness to engage)” (Duggett, 2009, p.1).

between academia and politics, which intensified during the period being, studied here¹⁷ (Newman, 2011).

A comprehensive and contemporary source of evidence about the way policy making is understood within government is that produced by Waller et al. for the Information Commissioners Office in 2009. Based on extensive interviews with senior policy makers, the research offers a picture of a system that in many ways still operates along traditional lines. Their work states that:

- Although distinctions can be drawn in principle between policy formulation, development and delivery, such distinctions are seldom drawn in practice and are rather artificial.
- There is no meaningful distinction, except in very limited circumstances, between the policy of individual Ministers and Departments and the policy of the government as a whole.
- Ministers remain pre-eminent in deciding which policy objectives they wish to be pursued.
- There are discernible trends in policy making towards greater openness with much higher levels of consultation. Policy making is, however, also becoming more informal and at times rushed.
- There is increasing focus on the importance of delivery in policy making.

(Waller et al., 2009, p.5-6).

¹⁷ Newman describes the linkages between government and academic conceptions thus: “Politicians have drawn on the work of leading academics, policy ‘gurus’ and think tank entrepreneurs in shaping contemporary political projects, and have also commissioned new research to inform and evaluate policy to an unprecedented extent. This was particularly the case in the United Kingdom (UK) under New Labour... Within the UK, the relationship has mainly been managed through funding streams that privilege particular forms of research – especially that which might contribute to the drive towards ‘evidence based policy’, improved evaluation of policy outcomes or the elaboration of emergent policy agendas. These engagements between policy and research have led academics to reorient themselves to new funding streams and to seek ways of demonstrating the practical and policy ‘impact’ of their work” (Newman, 2011, p.473).

The research by Waller et al. (2009) suggests that the Westminster model is still a fair reflection of how policy making is shaped, although it has undergone some degree of technical change to incorporate contemporary management techniques. However, alongside this is a narrative offered by the New Labour government in the period of study. This has focused on encouraging and talking up network governance, partnership working, stakeholder engagement, devolution and contracting out (Newman, 2011). What this means is that the account given by Waller et al. (2009) is more reflective of the established view of government in practice but the desired character of policy making by the core of government itself in the period of study was more reflective of a governance based approach. Taking all the evidence from government sources together, there is clearly credence to the view amongst academics such as Marsh (2008a) and Davies (2011)(see also Davies, 2012) which emphasise the consistently strong and directive role of core government in relation to governance based policy making. The sum total of this is that the overarching understanding of policy making to be employed in this investigation ought to be a governance based theory that acknowledges the continued influence of core government and inequalities inherent in policy making. As well, it ought to have the scope to approach the investigation using an interpretive strategy as the evidence has shown the potential unique way in which contemporary cases of policy making may materialise. To this end the logical choice is the Asymmetrical Power model offered up by Marsh et al. (2003).

2.1.4. The Asymmetrical Power model.

The theoretical framework for understanding policy making that informs this investigation is based on the understanding and philosophical ideas which characterise the Asymmetrical Power model (as advanced by Marsh et al., 2003; McAnulla, 2006). The crux of it is that it captures a balance between the theories of a governance or directive orientated polity; identifies the importance of structures alongside agency¹⁸; and is also alive to the influence of social

¹⁸ The emphasis on structure as well as agency has attracted criticism from traditional governance scholars. The argument is that 1- Critical realists misleadingly clump different types of objects under single term 'structure' and 2- rely on foundationalist themes in their understanding of structures (Bevir & Rhodes, 2006, p.398). McAnulla (2006) offers a response to these criticisms. This draws on Archer's Morphogenetic Model for conceptualising the relationship between structure and agency (Archer, 1995). This model consists of three tiers. 1- Structural Conditioning: Systematic properties/aggregate consequences of past actions, which shape social situations and endow people with interests. Actions pre-dated by conditioning. 2- Social Interaction- Agents, while socially conditioned express own irreducible social powers and intent. 3 Structural Elaboration - Social structures modified as result of action, agency does not cause structure but modifies it.

conditions (such as inequalities) that may inform an incidence of policy making. This section first provides a detailed account of what the Asymmetrical Power model is and its philosophical foundations before a series of criticisms are identified and considered.

The Asymmetrical Power model “accepts that there has been a shift from government to governance, but suggests that there has been much more path dependency [than the Differentiated Power model indicates] ... contends that hierarchy, rather than networks, remain the dominant mode of governance and government remains strong, although increasingly challenged” (Marsh, 2008a, p.257). An important aspect of this model is the understanding that there are asymmetries of power in British society, which are reproduced in the power dependencies and exchange relationships that characterise the world of policy making in the UK. A non-deterministic path dependency is an important concept within the Asymmetrical Power model schema. This means that previous actions and structures direct, facilitate and/or constrain emergent individual actions and creative practices. Specifically, McAnnula defines this as where “past activities generate relations between individuals...as well as relations between ideas... cannot simply be reduced to the beliefs or actions of individual agents” (McAnnula, 2006, p.121). Within the Asymmetrical Power model the relations between these path-impacting structures and the agency of individuals is dialectical: meaning that there is an “iterative relationship between two variables in which each affects the other in a continuing iterative process” (Marsh & Smith, 2000, p.5). This also extends to the material and ideational in that “material inequalities do not have a direct effect on [policy] outcomes, but rather they are narrated and it is this narration that also has an effect...the resonance of this discourse is affected by the material realities.” (Marsh, 2008a, p.258). What this means is that there is a type of relationship between structures and agency whereby the balance of which is most important in policy outcomes is fluid. As well, it is put forward that the underlying presence of material inequalities has a wide ranging affect rather than just on decisions made specifically concerning that issue.

As touched upon at the beginning of this section, the model through which policy is understood in this investigation serves as an organising lens rather than a rigid foundation. It is a way of identifying potential questions and assumptions about the data collected. To this end, the Asymmetrical Power model is something that provides a set of considerations that the case

study is approached with and potential explanations for the data collected. This model provides a series of assumptions about what may happen in the instance of policy making being investigated. These include:

- There being a potential for a mismatch between the rhetoric of modernised policy making and what may transpire to be directive practices by core government.
- The potential of all interested actors to participate and influence outcomes will be circumscribed by the degree of power they have in each instance.
- The material inequalities of different parties affected by the policy issue will be reflected in the type of response that emerges.

The next task is to introduce a clear definition of what is meant by modernised policy making in this instance and set out how the term has been reflected in contemporary modernisation reforms in Britain.

2.2. Modernised Policy Making.

It is critical to the successful completion of this thesis that modernised policy making is explained in detail. In order to do this, the concept is traced back to the ideas that emerged with the Enlightenment period in Europe. Part of this will involve setting out the ways that the term modernised is open to interpretation and can lend towards different notions of rationality, participation and virtue. Having done that, further background will be developed by exploring what modernisation has meant in practice for those reforming policy making in Britain since the 1960's. Moving on then to the core part of this section, New Labour's definition of modernised policy making will be elaborated and a key part of doing this will involve explaining the content of the Modernising Government reforms and its associated literature. This section of the chapter will end by looking at the critiques of New Labour's modernised policy making and alternative ways that policy making in this period has been understood.

2.2.1: Modernised Policy Making—— A History.

Any notion of modernised policy making should be traced back to underlying ideas about modernity that emerged as part of the Enlightenment (Williams, 1999; Dupre, 2004). Taking

this history as a starting point is indicative of a view that, although modernised policy making may indeed be taken to mean different things by different governments, it has some consistent underlying characteristics.

Modernisation implies a process of progressive change to the ideas, structures and practices of the polity. It involves a move away from systems characterised by tradition, customs and rituals towards those informed by science, rationality and participation (Black, 1966; Huntington, 1968; Abid, 2004). It is a product of the Age of Enlightenment, which came to dominance in 18th Century Europe, which was characterised by a transformation in how human nature and progress was understood (Gay, 1973; Williams, 1999; Dupre, 2004). It gave rise to the modern period and a drive towards political relations founded upon a mentality of “Empirical interrogation of past dogma and theory, of rational challenge to authority and tradition, of scepticism, scientific enquiry, increasing secularism and humanism.” (Williams, 1999, p.7). Useful here is the work of Huntington (1968) which sets out that modernisation should usually consist of efforts that enhance:

- Centralisation — here a core of government is able to oversee all activities, serve as an ultimate source of authority and engage in strategic decision making.
- Rationalisation — the development of structures and processes that lend towards decisions based on reason and scientific inquiry. An expectation that actions can be justified and accounted for based on this.
- Differentiation — units and individuals have clearly defined roles and relevance to the conditions of the time. Ongoing process of variation within the system in response to environmental conditions in terms of stratification and segmentation.
- Participation — increasing involvement of different segments of society in decisions. Enfranchisement and rights.

(Huntington, 1968, p.74)

Two important points here relate to the conceptualisations of rationality and virtue which impact on the degree of scope there is in any definitions of modernised policy making. Firstly, it is contended here that being rational (as a catch all for the scientific and orderly dimensions of modernisation) need not necessarily refer to a disenchanting and rigid foundationalist stance.

This means where "... policy makers seek to manage economic and social affairs "rationally" in an apolitical, scientised manner such that social policy is more or less an exercise in social technology." (Schwandt, 1997, p.74). This face of modernisation has been thoroughly criticised in significant parts of the literature¹⁹ (Weber, 1922; Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947; Sanderson, 2002; Parsons, 2010). This body of critique is important and picks up on significant negative issues that have arisen from a particular way of engaging in modernised policy making. It is rooted in a longstanding internal dialogue amongst modernisers²⁰ (see Thomas, 2014). The work of Weber (1922) is emblematic of the sociological implications of this critique. It highlights the commensurate rise of rationalised bureaucratic structures which place individuals across society in a disenchanting²¹ "iron cage of rationality" (Weber, 1922, p.1401). It is taken here that this sense refers to one way of being scientific that is a reflection of a particular paradigm (see Kuhn, 1970; Hacking, 1990) and its use as a technology to serve the ends of powerful elites (Dryzek, 1989, p. 98).

This is at odds with what is taken here to be the sum total of what rationality may mean outside of its dominant expressions in the 20th century. Rationality is understood to be the opposite of tradition, hence if rigid foundationalism becomes the tradition and at odds with the immediate needs of a situation, then it would be rational to work in ways other than that²². This relates to an emergent diversity in what may pass as scientific, in that it has increasingly come to acknowledge the range of methodologies that may be employed and an appreciation of the complexity and compromise that this may entail. The work of Popper (1967) is a good starting point. It attests to ways of being scientific that appreciate the complexity and fluidity of endeavours, he states "The empirical basis of objective science thus has nothing 'absolute' about

¹⁹ The extent to which this rigid format of modernised can be taken as a negative is captured in the instance of the 1946 Nuremberg trials. Here, the lawyer defending Ernst Kaltenbrunner, charged with crimes against humanity, explained that Nazi atrocities were the legacy of eighteenth-century secularism (Thomas, 2014).

²⁰ The basis of this critique is not necessarily that the enlightenment/modernisation is a negative per se. As Adorno and Horkheimer state: "The critique of enlightenment...is intended to prepare a positive concept of enlightenment which liberates it from its entanglement in blind domination." (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947, p.xviii).

²¹ A definition of 'disenchanted' is when people may behave in a "spirit of formalistic impersonality ...without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasms" (Brubaker, 1984, p. 21).

²² Indeed, something that Weber (1922) picks up on is that rationality, in the form he described, is in fact rather irrational (see Ritzer, 1993, for a useful explanation and contemporary case study of this). Also, Adorno and Horkheimer state that "Intellect's true concern is a negation of reification." (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947, p.xvii).

it. Science does not rest upon rock bottom...it is like a house erected on piles...we simply stop when we are satisfied that they are firm enough to carry the structure at least for the time being" (Popper, 1967, p.94). Hence, in this respect, what it means to be rational contains the scope for innovative and reflexive approaches to tasks at hand which draws on a wider range of experiences and data than what is usually associated with the foundationalist paradigm. Work by the likes of Feyberend serve to show the tremendous diversity and debates within the practice of rationality itself (see Tibetts, 1977; Farrell, 2000; Sankey, 2000). What this brings us back to is a position where modernised practices are first and foremost about rational challenge to authority and tradition, rather than a tool for its reproduction. The legitimate impetus for rationality, it is contended here, is the public good²³. This bond between rationality and public good brings us on to a consideration of the place of virtue in modernised policy making, something that manifested in the New Labour concept with its focus on social justice.

The question as to the place of virtue²⁴ in modernised policy making is important not only as the driver of rational actions, but as an ethical foundation in and of itself. Virtue translates into New Labour's emphasis on social justice, i.e. policy making is virtuous when seeking to alleviate inequalities concerning the distribution of wealth, opportunities, and privileges within a society (Commission for Social Justice, 1993). The issue of social justice, connects strongly with an ongoing series of debates about what a 'left modernism' ought to look like and what it means for a social democratic government such as the Labour Party to engage in modernised policy making (Bauman, 1986; Srnicek, 2015). The reading here takes virtue to be an intrinsic dimension of the modernist project (so not just a characteristic of certain types of modern practices), this is in line with Adorno and Horkheimer's statement that "freedom in society is inseparable from enlightenment thinking" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947, p. xvi).

²³ There is a fine line here between taking an idea of behaving virtuously as a rational act of good, back to a concept of providence, perceiving actions as in line with Gods will. This is a longstanding philosophical question. (See McCann & Miller, 2005; Keys, 2006).

²⁴ Descartes identified virtue as a commitment to carrying out what one may judge to be the best itself, with this relating back to a notion of a supreme good (see Alanen & Svensson, 2007). Supreme good, also referred to as higher good or *summum bonum*, is put forward as an overarching ideal for human behaviour which "in the world of knowledge the idea of good appears last of all, and is seen...to be the universal author of all things beautiful and right" (Jowett, 1999, p.269).

That is not to say that the way modernised policy making has manifested in its dominant forms has been virtuous per se, but for it to be modernised policy making it ought to be guided by this principle in some shape or form (even if misguided). Indeed, an argument for actively incorporating notions of virtue provide opportunities to reconcile some fundamental deficiencies in the way it has been practiced (Mackintyre, 1981). Ideas pertaining to this are sown all the way through the enlightenment literature. There are repeated references to the desire to enhance wellbeing, and of people becoming involved in decisions and those decisions reflecting people's needs being a key part of this (see Bronk, 1998; Dupre, 2004; Pagden, 2013). Thus, when we refer to modernised policy making it is legitimate to include an acknowledgement that virtue is an intrinsic part of this.

The contention here, then, is that an engagement in modernised policy making need not intrinsically lead to blinkered readings of a given policy issue or deny the possibility of engaging in a reflexive and critical approach to policy making. It is not limited to being a disenchanted technology applied at the macro level. Being rational (certainly in terms of the definition of modernised policy making used by the New Labour government) can be just as much about reflexively identifying the possibilities emerging from popular participation and forming innovative and creative solutions as it may be about forming tightly coded programmes without reference to citizen's lived experiences.

From this point, it is important to elaborate on the way government has sought to reform policy making and the different ways that modernised policy making has been encouraged and regulated. The key features identified present more or less prominently and with differing interpretations based on the type of government and the circumstances under which they operated. This is significant because, for better or for worse, policy reform in the UK have in a number of important ways, especially concerning the role of business orientated and managerialist approaches, followed a consistent path which has served to shape the choices available for the next round of reforms (Massey, 2001). It would also be fair to expect the legacy of past reforms to have an impact on the state of policy making at the time of study and provide ideas as to what to expect in a particular case of policy making (Brandson & Helderman, 2006).

2.2.2: Contemporary Modernisation Reforms.

Efforts to modernise policy making can be traced back at least to the Northcote-Trevelyn Report of 1854 (Butcher & Massey, 2001; Lowe, 2011; Public Administration Select Committee, 2013). The focus of these efforts has been on rationalising and differentiating the role and functions of the civil service and its relationships with elected politicians in ways that reflect the ideas informing government at the time the reforms were being implemented (Fry, 1993; Theakston, 1995; O'Tootle, 2005). The particular way that modernisation is conceptualised in contemporary reforms emerged as a guiding principle in the 1960s and heralded a period which could be described as an intense cultural revolution (Straw, 2002; Goss, 2005; Hallsworth et al., 2011; Haddon, 2012a; Haddon, 2012b; Pollitt, 2014). The Wilson government kicked this period off by embarking upon a drive for modernisation which was guided by an ethos of taking advantage of the 'white heat of the technological revolution' to boost British fortunes (Kellner & Crowther-Hunt, 1980; Wilson, 1986; Lowe, 2011). This was motivated by the administration's political credo and a bevy of social changes, which had resulted in an enlarging public sector, increasing complexity in undertaking public administration, and advances in communicative technology (Theakston, 1995; Carnivali & Strange, 2007, p.231-246). Government reforms in this instance were organised around the 1968 Fulton Report (Fulton, 1968). This report advocated, for the first time, the implementation of technical, systematic and strategic managerial approaches that drew on business principles (Chapman, 1968).

Wilson's period as Prime Minister came to an end soon after the launch of the Fulton Report and following on from this the 1970-4 Heath government continued and built on this programme (Pollitt, 1980; Radcliffe, 1991). A key output was the publication of the 'Reorganisation of Central Government' White Paper (Department of Environment, 1970). This looked at the machinery of government; led to the significant reorganisation of key government functions; a sharper focus on budgeting; and output orientated procedures such as the PAR system (Robson, 1971). It also led to the establishment of the Central Policy Review Staff (more commonly referred to as the 'think tank') that was tasked with developing long term strategy and co-ordinating policy across government departments (Pollitt, 1980).

This was all in contrast to the more traditional style of policy making that had predominated up to the later part of the 20th Century (John, 2012). The thinking changed in this period from public administration being a unique activity to it being informed by business and strategic management values²⁵. This had implications for how policy makers were expected to behave and consisted of a shift from a traditional ethos of a trusted mandarin²⁶ to one of service to customers (Chapman & O'Toole, 2005; Greenaway, 1998). The literature indicates that the years between 1968 and the election of the Conservative government in 1979 were significant because they heralded the consolidation of approaches to policy making that set the context for the period of study²⁷. What they show as well, is the point at which the emphasis moved away from the traditional expectations and practices of policy makers towards expectations more closely aligned with business models rather than modernised policy making per se. Although the following Conservative period of government (1979-1997) was revolutionary in many respects, it only served to enhance and consolidate the underlying business orientated programme of modernisation kick-started by the Wilson Government.

The Conservative Governments of 1979-97 brought with them a new impetus based on the emergent New Right ideology. Modernisation in this period was driven by a logic that sought to cut government expenditure, 'roll back the frontiers of the state' and increase the role of the private sector in the delivery of services (Massey, 2001). A salient feature of reform in this period were the efforts to reduce the size of the Civil Service and Government expenditure. This involved the setting up of the Efficiency Unit and the Financial Management Initiative as set out in publications such as the 1982 White Paper 'Efficiency and Effectiveness in the Civil Service' and the 1987 Next Steps report (Haddon, 2012a). The reforms brought in during this

²⁵ That is not to say that business management values were not present in the work of government up to this time (see for example Pollitt & Talbot, 2009, p.77) just that they were not the predominant feature of any efforts at reform.

²⁶ A 1928 inquiry into the Civil Service captures this notion of the mandarin when it states: "practical rules for the guidance of social conduct depend...as much upon the instinct and perception of the individual as upon cast-iron formulas; and the surest guide will, we hope, always be found in the nice and jealous honour of civil servants themselves. The public expects from them a standard of integrity and conduct not only inflexible but fastidious, and has not been disappointed in the past." (Cited in. Greenaway, 1998, p.357). However, one aspect of the reforms was to diminish the power of Civil Servants who had come to be seen in some quarters as 'elitist and bureaucratic... permanent bureaucrats who formed a powerful and self-serving coterie of their own...accused of thwarting the policies of elected politicians in order to advance their own welfarist and corporatist agendas'" (Massey, 2001, p. 18).

²⁷ It is worth noting that the Callaghan Government does not get a mention in this history. It did not embark on any reforms because of the administrations short life (1976-1979), lack of a Parliamentary majority, and other pressing issues (Seddon & Hickson, 2004, p.211).

time continued the move towards enhancing business management practices and transformed the activities of policy makers in a way that was said to have amounted to a “...prolonged and intense cultural revolution.” (Massey, 2001, p.19) (See also Rhodes, 1997).

The reforms up to and including those of the post-1979 period are said to have heralded the implementation of practices which, for the most part, could be understood under the rubric of New Public Management (Hood, 1991). These were extensive enough for it to be said that 'it would not be true to argue that the UK had shifted completely over to NPM, it would be fair to suggest the era of the traditional form of public administration had passed' (Massey, 2001, p.19). Massey lists the features of New Public Management as including:

- Greater attention to results or outputs and personal responsibility of individual officers and managers.
- A move from hierarchies to flatter and more flexible structures.
- Clearly defined institutional and individual objectives including performance indicators.
- Attention to economy, efficiency, and effectiveness including a greater commitment to procedures such as market testing and compulsory competitive tendering.

The previous paragraphs indicate that although quite different administrations have been at the helm through the years 1968-97, there has been an underlying consistency in the direction of modernisation reforms. These have led overall to a change in policy making towards types of modernised practices that could be understood under the rubric of New Public Management (Butcher & Massey, 2001). Regarding the drive towards policy making characterised by the New Public Management, Massey (2001) states that “it’s impact upon the public sector and the determination of successive governments to enforce the implementation of what amounted to a cultural revolution therein was prolonged and intense” (Massey, 2001, p.19). In many respects this is in line with the classic view of modernisation explored in the previous section, whereby instrumental forms of rationality come to predominate. A key underlying theme within this is that modernisation as a move towards a business orientation had little bearing on the way in which core government and parliament exercised power and the way that different participants in policy making arrived at settlements, i.e. little had changed in terms of the way

policy decisions were made. As we move now towards a consideration of the way in which modernised policy making was defined by the New Labour government, one of the issues covered will be the extent to which this was distinct from previous periods.

2.2.3. The Modernising Government Programme.

Within the literature that details the reforms undertaken during the 1997-2010 New Labour period in British politics: the overriding point is that there was promised to be a radical modernisation of politics and policy making (Blair, 1996; Labour Party, 1997; Cabinet Office, 1998a; Cabinet Office, 1998b). This is because following the 1997 General Election, the incoming New Labour government promised a radical new third way approach to politics (Hay, 1999; Finlayson, 2001; Bevir, 2005). The offer was “a party of ideas and ideals but not of outdated ideology. What counts is what works. The objectives are radical. The means will be modern.” (Labour Party, 1997, p.1). However, the literature available overwhelmingly indicates that there was a discrepancy between the promises offered by the New Labour government and what transpired in practice (e.g. Newman, 2005). To set this all out as clearly as possible, the content of the Modernising Government reforms before moving on to considerations of how they have been assessed in practice. In looking at this, attention is paid to:

- Specific evaluations of modernised policy making;
- Considerations of the logical foundation of the reforms rhetoric;
- Broader assessments of the degree that reforms in the period matched the ideological claims of the administration.
- Alternative explanations of policy making relevant to the period of study.

In a nutshell, the Modernising Government programme was characterised by reforms being conducted in a way that sought to enhance participation, focused on the public good, and encouraged innovative and reflexive approaches to policy making. The overarching themes of the programme were first set out in the 1997 Next Steps Review which stated that the new Labour government would pursue policies where:

- Ministers are encouraged to take closer involvement with target setting and attainment for the agencies over which they exercise authority.

- There is greatly increased use of information technology and other modern management techniques by agencies to ensure they use best practice as demonstrated in comparable private and public sector organisations.
- There is cooperation and coordination across institutional boundaries to provide seamless delivery of service, so called joinedup government.
- Ministers work to dispel confusion over their accountability for agencies in that whilst the managerial delegations would be maintained (and in places deepened) ministerial accountability to Parliament for the performance of agencies will remain unchanged.

(List taken from Massey, 2001, p.24)

These notions were consolidated into the Modernising Government White Paper (Cabinet Office, 1999a) that offered up a vision of modernisation which emphasised the importance of citizens, especially in terms of their participation and meeting their needs as the object of policy making, it was stated that: “Modernisation, though, must be for a purpose: to create better government to make life better for people. People want government which meets their needs, which is available when they need it, and which delivers results for them. People want effective government, both where it responds directly to their needs, such as in healthcare, education and the social services, and where it acts for society as a whole.” (Cabinet Office, 1999a, p.6).

The implementation of the Modernising Government programme was overseen by a multi-agency Project Board, chaired by the Cabinet Office's Permanent Secretary, with members drawn from main delivery departments, local government, the TUC, CBI and academics. The Project Board was responsible for listening to a People's Panel and front line staff in putting together its work programme. Annual Action Plans were produced and the Centre for Management and Policy Studies was set up to ensure that the right skills and knowledge were available to implement and take forward reforms (Haddon, 2012b).

Within the package of efforts that made up the Modernising Government programme, a key area had been the promotion of reforms to the practices of policy makers. What this meant was

set out in the report *Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century*²⁸ (Cabinet Office, 1999b). Its role was to encourage practices that reflected the vision of modernisation and it set out guidelines for policy makers. It took as its starting point the aspiration for policy makers to be “...forward looking in developing policies to deliver outcomes that matter, not simply reacting to short-term pressures.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.6). The report essentially sets out that modernised policy making should: "consist of ... a series of high level features...three themes vision, effectiveness and continuous improvement that fully effective policy making needs to encompass...a total of nine core competencies that relate to each theme and together encapsulate all the elements of the policy making process...[the report offers] definitions of core competencies, together with descriptions of the evidence needed to demonstrate each competency...' (Cabinet Office, 1999b, 2-10).

The report addresses anyone who may be involved in, or responsible for, government policy and in doing so “...recognises that policy making is an activity which cuts across the old policy/administration divide and the differences between politicians and bureaucrats” (Parsons, 2001, p.94). This is significant as it marked a turn away from the traditional focus on civil servants as the sole administrators of policy. It asks for policy makers to work towards developing core competencies that will enable them to take a holistic view of issues; be flexible and innovative; take an evidence based approach; reflect on what they are doing; be fair; and to involve people in their work at all stages (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.71).

The report seeks to support policy makers to adapt to a “new, fast-moving, challenging environment” by setting out ways they can “focus on solutions that work across existing organisational boundaries and on bringing about change in the real world” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.8). The guidance contained in the report encouraged reflexive practices. This is because it identifies that “policy making rarely proceeds as neatly as this model suggests and that no two policies will need exactly the same development process” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.10) and then notes the need for policy makers to be flexible in terms of utilising the guidance as it “... recognises that on occasions policy makers will not have the luxury of being able to carry through all elements of the process as thoroughly as they might wish. In those

²⁸ This report is key to the upcoming investigation as it sets out the nine specific features of modernised policy making that contribute to the analysis of the case study data.

circumstances they have to decide which of the key elements are most important and which will have to be handled differently..." (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.13).

A new taxonomy of the policy making environment/process based on feedback from those involved in the practice is offered up in the report (Cabinet Office, 1999b, Apx A). The result of this is that the predominant cycle/stages approach to policy making is largely rejected and in its place a descriptive model to conceptualising policy making informed by the real world experiences of policy makers. The model seeks to "set the standard of professional, modernised policy making by defining what professional policy makers should be able to do. It is intended to guide the policy making process, not to evaluate the policy which is the outcome of the process..." (Cabinet Office, 1999b, Apx A par.3). The implications of this approach are that policy makers ought to be more supported when operating in the complex environment which is the British polity, especially when making decisions in a way that do not easily fit in to the traditional policy cycle.

The Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century report (Cabinet Office, 1999b) finally sets out how the progress and implementation of these reforms ought to be managed. It posits this as the responsibility of the Centre for Management and Policy²⁹, who should encourage its success through efforts around peer review; the joint training of Ministers and policy makers; benchmarking of the policy process; and an innovation known as "the knowledge pool" (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.61). The way that the measurement and monitoring of progress and implementation was organised is significant. This is because it indicates the limited degree to which policy makers were compelled to follow the instructions contained in the reforms.

2.2.5. Perspectives on the Modernising Government Reforms.

What has been advanced so far is the position that the rhetoric³⁰ of the Modernising Government reforms advanced by the New Labour government promised a distinctive

²⁹ This was the body set up to ensure that reforms were being implemented, that policy makers were adequately trained, and knowledge was disseminated. (Haddon, 2012b).

³⁰ Rhetoric is used here in line with the definition offered by Finlayson (2014). This implies that it is a form of political communication that can have varying degrees of consistency with the material conditions it is describing or instructing.

approach to modernised policy making from what had occurred under previous administrations. The task at hand now is to explore how these Modernising Government reforms have been assessed in practice. This will involve firstly setting out the way these reforms have been assessed as part of the government's own process of reform and evaluation. Moving on from that consideration will be given to the distinct body of literature that offers up critical readings of this period. In particular, this will be concerned with the mismatch between the promises and realities of the New Labour administration and the role of modernised policy making in extending business-orientated practices within government. This will take in the internal logic of the reforms; the fit with prevailing socio-economic conditions; and the detailed critiques of how policy making in this period did not reflect these promises. This will lead on to exploring the alternative ways, other than as modernised, that policy making in the period of study could be described.

There is a limited range of research produced on behalf of government as to the extent that policy making was modernised. There was an initial phase of published evaluations that were conducted as part of the Modernising Government programme (e.g. Cabinet Office, 1999b; Bullock, Mountford & Stanley, 2001). These were concerned with the implementation of the reforms in line with the Action Plan and was overseen by the Modernising Government Project Board that ran until 2002. An example of this is in Bullock et al. (2001, p.41) which presents a best practice example as being the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's 'Email Policy Group' which connected Civil Servants in different countries together to contribute to policy via email. This was generally a process of evaluation that was concerned with providing data for senior policy makers on the ways that the reforms were being implemented and what such cases involved. As well, the data was used as learning materials by policy makers. Thus, it doesn't in itself provide a picture of how modernised policy making is or how modernised policy making was becoming in general.

Efforts that explore the degree to which specific modernised practices were present in line with and resultant of the reforms have primarily concentrated on producing 'best practice' type case studies of when and how modern practices are present (e.g. Nutley, Davis, & Smith, 2000). For example, a report for the Centre for Management and Policy Studies provides some thirty-eight examples of modernised policy making that include health and safety reforms by Customs and

Excise; work to reduce fraud by the Home Office; and a Waste and Resource Action Programme by DEFRA (Bullock et al., 2001). There is also evidence that indicates that modernised practices were not just contingent on the reforms as a number of examples shown occurred prior to the publication of the programmes policy making guidelines. A good example of this is contained in the Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century report (Cabinet Office, 1999b). Here, policy makers were invited to provide examples of good practice through surveys and interviews (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.15-18). In this instance, best practice examples such as the Single Work Focused Gateway and New Deal for Lone Parents are cited (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.17). Based on these data sources it can be ascertained that some progress appears to be being made in implementing the measures set out in the Modernising Government programme in certain places, and that there are good examples of modernised policy making in existence that may not necessarily be a consequence of the reforms.

Overall, there is a dearth of substantial evaluations of the Modernising Government reforms as far as policy making is concerned. One reason for this is that the business of policy reform is fast moving. Indeed, the Modernising Government guidelines was supplanted again in 2011 with the incoming Coalition Government's 'Civil Service Reform Plan' (HM Government, 2012; Policy Profession, 2013) and key institutions set up to guide the reforms, such as the Centre for Management and Policy Studies and the Modernising Government Project Board, were reorganised or disbanded at an early stage in that administration (Haddon, 2012b). Because of this, those involved in this fluid and complex area of policy have limited opportunities to produce definitive evaluations. A consideration as well is that regardless of the findings of such evaluations, the policy makers involved might have faced, quite possibly undue criticism, given the very fact that it would have been produced in a political setting (see Hallsworth, Rutter, & Parker, 2011).

There is also research and analysis that takes a more critical look at the Modernising Government reforms as they stand (Newman, 2001; Parsons, 2001; Hallsworth et al., 2011). The issues raised that are relevant to this thesis have related to the underlying logic of the reforms; suggestions that the reforms do not go far enough to ensure that government can operate effectively within contemporary conditions; its implementation; and the degree to which it in practices reflected social democratic values. Once these are outlined, consideration

will then be given to how we may understand the degree to which policy making is modernised in light of the existing literature.

From within government, the House of Commons Public Administration Select Committee, undertook a reflection upon the Modernising Government reforms (Public Administration Select Committee, 2001). This picked up on its logic and some of the deficiencies in the way it was executed. These relate to how complex the content of the reforms were and the lack of a clear focus. It states that “The 'Modernising Government' programme as a whole is complex and has multiple elements. It is not always clear where the key priorities are, with the resulting danger that civil servants will endeavour to work methodically on all of them at once. This is a great virtue; but it is also a considerable disability in terms of putting first things first. In our view the immense checklists contained within the 'Modernising Government' programme need to be converted into a much stronger definition of what the key priorities for action are, with clear responsibilities assigned for delivering the...” (Public Administration Select Committee, 2001, para.42). This is coupled with a notion that the mechanisms for supporting the reforms (such as the Centre for Management and Policy Studies) were not implemented in a sustainable way. Of this, Haddon (2012b) reviews the rise and fall of the Centre for Management and Policy Studies (a key institution developed to see through the reforms) and notes how it was confronted by traditional Whitehall politics which meant that the story of “CMPS was a ‘typical Downing Street process for dealing with a perceived problem’: rebadge an institution and launch, ‘then think that that’s it (job done) then lose interest, fail to resource (it) thoroughly, (with) no (proper) governance’ [quoted from an interview with a former senior Civil Servant] Though this may be a rather strong and simplistic analysis, the issues – the desire to make change, the difficulty of sustaining deep political interest in managerial issues and the urgency to obtain results – were crucial in terms of the support needed to see through and institutionalise long-term change.” (Haddon, 2012b, p.17).

In terms of the underlying logic of efforts to modernise policy making in this period, Parsons (2001) provides a thorough critique of the content of Professional Policy making for the 21st Century (Cabinet Office, 1999b) which can be summarised into these three key points:

- 1- The model is predicated on the notion of what works, but is unable to demonstrate that what is prescribed in the guidance works;

- 2- Tends to downplay the degree to which politics and democracy are important dimensions of policy making;
- 3- Rejects the contribution other schools of strategic thought could make to policy making.
(Parsons, 2001, p.93).

The gist of it is that, far from being innovative, the guidance is based on re-hashed 1960s strategic management ideas which have been shown to be wrong most of the time (see also Wildavsky, 1979, p.205) and lend towards de-politicised assumptions that undermine democracy. He states that “In its urge to abandon the old hierarchical (Weberian) paradigm and embrace the 'network' approach to governance, the professional model loses sight of a critical and defining feature of public policy making in a democratic society: the difference between elected and non-elected policy makers.” (Parsons, 2001, p.98). These issues lead to difficulty in aligning the development of modern policy making with possibly more fortuitous contemporary trends in management such as learning in ways that integrate with processes of democratic representation. Of this, Parsons concludes "Given that policy making takes place in conditions of ignorance, unpredictability, uncertainty, chaos and complexity...a strategic policy model should also aim to incorporate approaches to strategy which are more focused on these factors..." (Parsons, 2001, p.108). That such a thorough critique could be offered shows that there are significant debates in play concerning the quality of these reforms.

One of the core tenets of the Modernising Government reforms was about ensuring that policy making was fit for contemporary conditions. Researchers have noted that this is tremendously important and belies a significant, possibly self-inflicted, challenge for government. It has been stated that: “The paradox for government reformers is that, as more complex forms of policy delivery have been developed...the more difficult it has become for governments to control the processes of delivery involving multiple agencies...with the move from hierarchical, bureaucratic governance structures to systems based on privatisation, partnerships and markets, the difficulties of implementation have been exacerbated” (Smith et al., 2011, p.976). In line with this, research by the Institute for Government (Hallsworth et al., 2011) posits that the view amongst senior policy makers is that there has been little progress on modernising policy making in a way that leaves us with an approach that is fit for purpose. They state: “recent improvement attempts have often offered 'a very peculiar and wholly inaccurate representation

of both the policy-making process and the challenge of actually improving it'...considerable work is still to be done in order to create a realistic, coherent approach to improving policy making...seems to be a gap between theory and practice: policy makers know what they should be doing, but often experience difficulties putting it into practice.” (Hallsworth et al., 2011, p.37).

Taken together the evidence covered so far indicates that (although there are examples of modernised policy making in existence) --there have been significant concerns about the design and implementation of the reforms. Evidence has shown that they may not have served to fundamentally affect the way in which policy making proceeds and that this may stem from both the practices of core government and the way that reforms fit with the culture and potentialities of the policy making community in Britain. This is very important as it marks out a clear separation of the feasibility of the reforms rhetoric in generating a set of fundamentally modernised conditions for policy makers. This is reflected in the logic of the investigation through the appreciation that modernised policy making may find a relatively supportive political context, but that it is in no way a given that this will be the case in every instance.

There has also been a broader debate about the degree to which the new Labour administration reflected the social democratic values contained in its Third Way ideological position (Newman, 2001; Bevir, 2005; McAnulla, 2006; Page, 2007). This is important because it is indicative of the degree to which we can expect the virtuous dimensions to the modernising government rhetoric to be reflected in practice. A key part of this debate has been a question as to the degree that the modernising government reform reflect something new and socially democratic as opposed to a continuation of neo-liberal reforms introduced by the previous Conservative administration (Pollitt, 2000; Rhodes, 2000). Massey (2001) posits that Modernising Government was a largely a continuation of the previous rounds of reforms and offers little new in terms of approach or social democracy as the Labour Party were “not about to reverse any of the Tories substantive public sector reforms... and remains committed to consolidating them and ensuring their implementation.” (Massey, 2001, p.23). Newman sets out, however, that there were key areas of difference which mark out New Labour’s approach as unique (Newman, 2001, p.74-79). Of this, she summarises that “There is evidence of an 'enabling' style of governance...emphasis on innovation and experimentalism in its first few

years...a host of initiatives requiring partnership working...suggests an 'open system' style..." (Newman, 2001, p.78). However, despite acknowledging the administrations success in introducing a new modernised vocabulary and examples of modernised policy making, Newman (2001) states that there is still strong evidence of government retaining a strongly directive role that has enabled the state to have "retained for itself the power to define the agenda and to shape the meaning of the evidence that feeds the development of policy...excludes alternative conceptions of modernisation...[its language] permeates the discourse of ministers and civil servants, managers and professionals, journalists and political commentators..." (Newman, 2001, p,78). In conclusion, she states that all of this "masks deep continuities in the practices through which policy is implemented. It also masks the intensification of reform processes begun under Thatcher and major administrations..." (Newman, 2001, p.79). Taken together, the overarching message is that there was a distinct gap between the rhetoric and practice of policy making in the New Labour period.

A general message that can be taken from these critical accounts of the modernising reforms undertaken in the New Labour period is that they do not reflect the best available knowledge and offer nothing more than incremental changes upon previous rounds of reforms. Is this a bad or avoidable set of circumstances? Could these critiques be seen to overlook the complex politics of reforms and the degree to which their content needs to be workable/acceptable to existing civil servants in a way that a more ambitious report may not have been³¹? So, for example, those designing these reforms would have been looking at the informal and poorly informed way in which the previous administrations may have pursued policy measures and the disastrous results that emerged in some instances, not least with the Poll Tax (Adonis, Butler, & Travers, 1994). The complexity of real world policy making generates an ongoing challenge for any efforts to form a clear and straightforward interpretation of the intentions and logic of policy decisions at any given point in time. Indeed, the prospect of a set of reforms fixing the inherent challenges of policy making in the real world, in the words of Lord Hennessy of Nympsfield, "... would take a Second Coming" (Public Administration Select Committee, 2013, p.79). With regard to the Modernising Government programme, McAnulla (2006) sets out some of the complexities inherent in this set of policies. He notes that elements

³¹ Civil Servants have been viewed as a body of policy makers who can be influential and resistant to change (see Public Administration Select Committee, 2013 for a discussion on this).

of the agenda such as audit arrangements “sit uneasily with the third way focus on partnership and trust.” (McAnnula, 2006, p.129).

As the critical accounts have shown, what happened in the New Labour period was seen to be fitting with previous rounds of reform and was limited in the degree to which it offered a radical break with the past. Important issues have been raised by critics as to the logical foundation of the reforms and how well it made use of opportunities to implement measures that would have been more reflective of social democratic practices. Having identified some of the limitations and parameters of the Modernising Government reforms, it is worth now asking that if policy making was not yet modernised, what alternative practices was it reflective of?

2.2.6. If Policy Making is not Modernised, then what is it?

Having considered the critiques of policy making in the new Labour period, it seems clear from the literature that policy making was not significantly modernised. In that case, what other policy making practices could one expect to find whilst undertaking this investigation? The literature available provides clear indication of what these may be. In the first instance, there is ample evidence of three predominant styles that are directive, reactive, and bargaining based policy making (Jordan & Cairney, 2013). These three predominant styles are cited in a wide range of influential accounts of policy making in Britain. Alongside these are accounts that indicate specific examples of practices that may well be less predominant but are documented to have been appropriate explanations in specific instances or in light of particular interpretations. Amongst these political and self-interested practices are the best documented. The rest of this section will run through a description of each of these and in so doing seek to incorporate examples of the way that these could be understood in relation to modernised policy making.

Directive policy making³² has long been held up as a key feature of the Westminster model (Gamble, 1990; Lijphart, 1999). It refers to the situation where senior ministers, a core of government, are pre-eminent in decision-making and all other policy actors serve to implement

³² Also referred to as policy imposition (see Lijphart, 1999).

the directions given when asked to do so. This understanding is borne out in recent research by Walker et al. (2009) that reasserted the view amongst senior civil servants and ministers that this was still largely reflective of their experiences. Jordan and Cairney (2013) discuss the degree to which policy making in Britain may be understood to be directive. They refer back to work that indicates that there are significant limitations to the exercise of directive practices by core government³³ in the day-to-day world of policy making where “most policy decisions were effectively beyond the reach or interest of government ministers. The sheer size of government and its policy environment necessitates breaking policy down into more manageable issues involving a smaller number of interested and knowledgeable participants. Therefore, most public policy is conducted primarily through small and specialist policy communities that process ‘technical’ issues at a level of government not particularly visible to the public or Parliament, and with minimal ministerial or senior civil service involvement.” (Jordan & Cairney, 2013, p.237). That said, there is no dispute as to the existence of core government’s capacity to direct policy making as and when required. An instance of this is presented in relation to the Modernising Government reforms. Nutley et al. (2000) review a series of cases of evidence-based policy making and conclude that “carefully designed research can be overtaken by political imperatives” (Nutley et al., 2000, p.8). As part of this they cite examples of where evidence has been over-ridden because of political imperatives, this includes measures such as the introduction of NHS Direct, the literacy hour in education, and directly elected Mayors (Nutley et al., 2008; see also Newman, 2001, p.74; Savage & Atkinson, 2001).

Policy making that is characterised by bargaining is associated mostly with the governance mode of understanding policy making in the UK (Rhodes, 1997; Bache & Flinders, 2004). Where policy is not being imposed, actors engage in various forms of bargaining to advance their interests within a given community/network context. This can range from confronting a decision making body with a persuasive argument along to co-operatively liaising with peers to organise who does what and when. The type of networks and sites bargaining takes place in are varied and have attracted a range of conceptualisations (Jordan & Cairney, 2013, p.278). An important factor is that not all groups have equal access to the decision making process, and commensurately employ a range of strategies to exercise their voice when that opportunity

³³ That is not to say that directive practices may not be reproduced all the way down the hierarchy of government and manifest also as a practice to be employed when relations of power that enable such behaviour are present.

is available³⁴ (Schattschneider, 1935; Grant, 1978; Maloney, McLaughlin, & Jordan, 1994). In terms of modernised policy making bargaining based practices have been observed as undermining the drive for change, as bargaining often results in significant compromises. A poignant example is the Fulton Report (Fulton, 1968) which kicked off this current era of modernisation reforms. The scope of the Fulton Report (Fulton, 1968) was altered as a result of bargaining between those commissioned with reviewing the civil service and senior civil servants (Kellner & Hunt, 1980). The result of this was a significant limitation on the degree that policy making could be modernised in that instance because “the way that the Civil Service helped to narrow the committee’s terms of reference—and later was able to argue that this restriction invalidated much of what the Committee said.” (Kellner & Hunt, 1980, p.28).

It would be easy to consider the approaches to policy making so far described as an accurate reflection of the everyday reality of policy making in Britain, that at least some neat combination of these different approaches may be found. To do so would involve overlooking the fact that policy making is often made in less than ideal circumstances, by possibly incompetent actors, and likely resultant in unintended outcomes³⁵ (Bovens, T’Hart, & Peters, 2006). Because of this, there is the possibility that in the case study reactive and/or muddled policy making may be observed. Policy making in the UK “is often perceived by policy makers as a fundamentally reactive process... in part, because of the undoubted pressures under which they generally work.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.17). It is identified as something that modernisation reforms seek to design out, as its emergence is likely to come from pressurised and confused working conditions. In practice, reactive policy making may not necessarily be a negative, but usually involves an immediate response to issues, an inability to grasp the broader set of opportunities a situation presents, and an overlooking of the potential medium and long-term costs and benefits (Chung & Thewissen, 2011: 356). Closely related to this is an idea around muddled policy making³⁶ (Dunleavey, 1995; Gray, 1996; Gray & T’Hart, 1998; Bovens

³⁴ Grant offers a good explanation of this when he states: “The basic distinction...between insider groups and outsider groups, is a distinction based on interest group strategies, by which is meant the combination of modes of action used by an interest group to attain its goals. It must be emphasised that the acquisition of insider or outsider status by a group involves both a decision by government and a decision by the group concerned. The basic aim of such insider groups is to establish a consultative relationship whereby their views on particular legislative proposals will be sought prior to the crystallisation of the Government’s position (Grant, 1978, p.2)

³⁵ It has been stated “policy scientists have documented time and again that policy makers fail to accomplish their objectives; that policies can have serious unintended effects; and that efficiency is not exactly the guiding principle in many public sector programmes and organizations.” (Bovens et al., 2006, p.7).

³⁶ Also referred to in the literature as disastrous, inept, and prone to fiasco.

et al., 2011). This is where the practices of policy makers are such that it results in damaging, even disastrous consequences³⁷. A whole range of muddled behaviour can be observed to constitute these instances such as poor planning, misaligned resources, general ineptitude, incompetence, and incapacity. This is taken by a number of authors to be a very persistent feature of a British polity that is “unusually prone to large-scale, avoidable policy mistakes” (Dunleavy, 1995, p.52).

Something that is largely overlooked in the literature, especially those concerned with reform, is the political dimension to policy making and the practices that this may engender. In reference to the Modernising Government reforms, Parsons (2001) argues it is represented as “an ideology / value free zone in which professional policy makers are only interested in what works... [and when politics does feature, it] appears as something of an irritating obstacle in the way or a problem to be managed and overcome.” (Parsons, 2001, p.96). This indicates that practices directly focused on both popular democratic concerns are overlooked and in some way designed out. However, it would be unwise to say that policy makers at all levels do not engage in practises that are guided by popular concerns. This type of political policy making may very well be at odds with reason but ensures the continued support of actors charged with forming a policy response in a given instance. As well, political policy making may also be considered as an internal practice, concerned with the relationships between policy actors. This is where policy actors engage in ways that further their own ideological or personal interests in a given situation (Machiavelli, 2003). This aspect could also be understood in terms of potentially self-interested practices policy makers may engage in (which may or may not have a political dimension). This draws on the understandings offered from within the rational choice school that policy actors are primarily driven by material self-interest and approach a given issue in a way that maximises their benefit and minimises their risk (Green & Shapiro, 1994; Dowding, 1995; Ostrom, 1997).

Taken together, these different indications of how policy makers may behave provide a basis for distinguishing how the data collected as part of the investigation may be interpreted. The contention here is that there is every possibility the case being evaluated will contain examples

³⁷ Disastrous in the sense that it ‘has failed against all possible objectives’ and helped ‘form part of a chain of consequences which reach far beyond the immediate policy arena.’ (Gray, 1996, p.77-78).

of a number of these practices and also indicate ways of working that do not fit neatly into the aforementioned categories. Another important aspect to this is that there are likely to be instances where different practices confront or override each other at varying stages of the policy response being investigated.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter has undertaken a number of tasks in order to fulfil the first objective of this thesis, which was to explore and assess the nature of New Labour's concept of policy making, contextualising its claims by reference to the long history of debates about policymaking and modernisation in Britain. In so doing, a basis was also set out for fulfilling the second objective, which is the detailed investigation of the degree that the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund was an example of modernised policy making.

The first step taken in this chapter was to clarify the way that policy making in Britain is understood and the type of theoretical framework that would be most suitable to the investigation. The result of this was to identify the Asymmetrical Power model (Marsh et al., 2003; Marsh, 2008a) as the best choice of model through which to understand policy making in Britain. This is due to its acknowledgment of the influence of core government, the relevance of governance-based practices, and the role that inequalities play in the policy process. As well, this approach balances out the relevance of structures within an interpretive framework that acknowledges the importance of agency. Having done that, the conceptualisation of modernisation was set out. This was a key task, which involved providing a justification for taking New Labour's definition of modernised policy making to be characterised by positive features of the modern tradition (virtue, participation, and substantive rationality). Having then considered the way modernisation has been engaged with in contemporary reform programmes, particular attention was paid to New Labour's Modernising Government reforms which is the source of the definition used in the investigation. One of the tasks undertaken at that stage was to point out the critiques of the way the reforms manifested in practice, clearly indicating that as it stands, policy making in Britain has not been considered modernised in line with the definition New Labour offered to any significant degree. The final part of the chapter took on the task of mapping out the main ways that policy making practices have been understood other than as modernised. This was done in preparation of approaching the case study data so as to

better make sense of what is observed and distinguish between what is modernised, and what is not.

This chapter has shown that all aspects of the study of policy making are prone to high levels of dispute over meaning and validity (Tashakori & Teddie, 1998). How to navigate this problem is an important consideration and detailed explanation is offered as part of the next chapter on methodology.

The following chapter will explain the case study design and methodology in detail. There are a host of considerations about the nature of conducting research in the field of policy making and the practical ways that a case study may be approached. The methodology chapter will give detail as to the way that the data will be selected and how the findings will be analysed.

Chapter Three

Methodology: Case Study Design

3.1. Introduction

This investigation seeks to identify how and to what degree a case of policy making in the New Labour period was modernised. To do this, a case study of the response by policy makers to unanticipated levels of immigration to the UK following the 2003 Treaty of Accession, which culminated with the establishment of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund, is undertaken. The investigation is approached in a way that starts with a series of propositions based on the existing literature. These are then used as a guide to the investigation, which is organised in a way that is alive to the unique data that this instance of policy making may offer. Multiple methods of data collection are deployed to ensure that an adequate range of data is identified. This combines semi-structured interviews, ethnographic observation, and secondary data collection (especially statistics, academic studies, press cuttings and government reports). The data is organised into a thick narrative, which is then subjected to an in-depth analysis.

The investigation is organised into three cumulative parts. The first part sets out the context of the case, which involves explaining the policy issues and actions that led up to the instigation of the 2003 Treaty of Accession. The second part provides a chronological account of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. This has a focus on the causal mechanisms and contingent outcomes that emerged. Finally, the third part of the case study offers an analysis organised around four sub-questions (which are: to what extent were the nine features of modernised policy making present? how consistently did modernised policy making present throughout the case? how synergistic was the modernised policy making observed? And, what other explanations could there be for the policy making observed other than as being modernised?). Having done all that, the findings are then presented and subjected to theoretical analysis in Chapter Seven. That chapter presents the findings in relation to four key considerations, which 1- are the findings that directly answer the research question; 2- findings relevant to understanding how the research relates to the existing literature; 3- findings about the methodological approach taken; and finally, 4- an explanation of the unanticipated findings which came out of the investigation.

This methodology chapter starts with an account of the key challenges relevant to this research and explains how these are dealt with. Following on from that, the design of the research is elucidated and the theoretical propositions informing the work are set out. Next, the methods of data collection and the specific way that the work will be analysed is described. The approach to analysis is important to this work and emphasis is placed on making clear the basis of the specific tests and scales used. Having done that, the ethical issues that the research presents are highlighted and responded to.

The choice of methodological approach is dependent on the type of question being asked, the extent of control the researcher may exercise over the phenomena being studied, and the degree to which events are contemporary (Yin, 2003, p.8). It is because the research question here is about how much a particular set of behaviours were present in a contemporary event which offered little potential for behavioural control that undertaking a case study emerged as the most appropriate choice of method³⁸. The next level to this question was whether to conduct a single or multiple case study. Yin (2009) puts forward that this choice between a single or multiple case study is “the primary distinction in designing case studies...” (Yin, 2009, p.47). The rationale for choosing a single case study in this instance is two-fold. Firstly, the intention is to explore the presence of a form of policy making in as much detail as possible. Undertaking multiple case studies would have offered findings that offered more in terms of comparison and detracted from the focus and depth of analysis that a single case study may offer. The second reason was that the longitudinal and multi-site character of the case study (it spans five years and incorporates a range of decision-making sites) allows for the identification of consistencies at different points in the case study, so doing this across multiple cases would not have been feasible.

As part of the process of choosing a case study approach, an issue emerges as to the degree to which the findings can be generalised. This is something that touches upon a complex set of considerations (Falk & Guenther, 2007). This complexity is enhanced by issues associated with

³⁸ However, it is worth noting that amongst the multitude of methods by which a research question may be answered that the case study has traditionally been overlooked and reduced to “...the exploratory stage of some other type of research method.” (Yin, 2003, p.17). In line with the position advanced by Yin (2003), this is not a view given credence in this instance of research.

conducting a single case study based on qualitative data where there are a “...lack of generally accepted rules for drawing causation and generalisation inferences from the data.” (Kennedy, 1979, p.663). This is an issue for all forms of research (Yin, 2009, p.15). As it stands, case studies are generalisable to theoretical propositions and that in doing a case study the goal is to “expand and generalise theories (analytical generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation)” (Yin, 2003, p.15). Analytic generalisation is elaborated by Yin (2010) to be a two-step process: First, a conceptual claim is made by researchers that shows how their case study findings bear upon a particular theory, theoretical construct, or theorised sequence of event. Secondly, this theory is applied to implicate situations in which similar events might occur. To this end, the scope for analytical generalisation out of the investigation is two-fold. In the first instance, it relates to generalising the data in terms of the research question posed. Secondly, it is about identifying how the findings may conform to and confirm theoretical and empirical conclusions from within existing studies. The extent to which analytical generalisations may be offered in light of this work is enhanced by choosing a typical case of policy making for study (Gerring, 2007, p.87-93).

3.2. Research Challenges

Engaging in all forms of social scientific research is fraught with difficulties and complex challenges³⁹. Researchers have increasingly abandoned the pretence of making positivistic claims about their work and it has become a given that bias ought to be factored in rather than designed out of research (Crotty, 1998; Tashakori & Teddie, 1998; Hill, 2009, p.9). The work here is located within the epistemological assumptions of the interpretive tradition and as such steers away from making positivistic claims, it contains an underlying appreciation that findings arrived at are reflective of the researcher’s position rather than beholding an ontological truth (Crotty, 1998). Dahlberg, Drew and Nystro`m (2001) outline some key interpretivist assumptions as being an acceptance of the potential for:

³⁹ The extent to which these challenges can actually be confronted is limited by our underlying capacity to make sense of our surroundings (Talbot, 2005). For example, we have not yet incorporated the possibilities indicated by advances in quantum and relativity theory into the study of politics and it has been argued that in many ways we remain locked into a “mechanistic and linear” view of the world (Talbot, 2005, p.5).

- Multiple constructed interpretations of reality. We may all live in one universe, but our experiences and interpretations can be very different.
- The investigator and research participant to both be changed by the research process. There is no question of conducting research in a totally detached manner.
- Description and understanding to be more useful and interesting than attempts to establish cause and effect relationships.
- Inquiry to be always value-bound. There can be no neutral interpretations. All findings are profoundly affected by the values, theories and prejudgments that researchers bring to the research process.

Hence, the findings of the research will be a reflection of a situated reading, which will be of value through its indication of how policy making proceeded and the degree that modernised policy making was present. Getting to that point requires navigating a series of specific challenges that emerge with regard to conducting research in a policy setting. The important challenges are the complexity of policy making; its contentious character; and the problems of accessing data and information.

The case study is set in a complex area of policy making that involves the response to a newly emerged policy issue. Considering the significance of complexity in this case is important as it has a bearing on the collection and interpretation of the case study data. The term complex is used to refer to a situation or structure with many parts in intricate arrangement and an awareness of all of these parts is unlikely to be available to the researcher. Something is complex when all causal categories cannot be identified and segregated⁴⁰ (Khalil & Boulding,

⁴⁰ A complex setting is likely to entail the a number of the following characteristics: "...large number of elements...interaction must be dynamic, changes with time...interaction is fairly rich...interactions are non-linear...interactions usually have a fairly short range...[predominance of short range interactions] does not preclude wide ranging influence...loops in the interactions...usually open systems...operate under conditions far from equilibrium...have a history...each element ignorant of the behaviour of the system as a whole..."(Cilliers, 1998, p.3-5).

1996; Byrne, 1998; Cilliers, 1998; Byrne & Callaghan, 2013). Complexity is increasingly understood to be a challenge that needs to be factored into, rather than designed out of, policy investigations (Pawson & Tilley, 1997; Sanderson, 2000). There are a variety of approaches that researchers have taken to manage complexity (see Table.4 below). These provide a starting point for ascertaining the best way to do it in the instance of this investigation. The contentious character of policy making and the capacity to access information in this setting, are specific dimensions of complexity that feature more prominently as challenges in this instance and require specific consideration in designing the case study.

| Table.4 Four Conceptualisations of Complexity (Pawson, 2013, p.48-66). | |
|---|---|
| Augmented Triangle | Largely associated with medical evaluations. Complexity conceived in a truncated form that can be dealt with within mainstream evaluation approaches. Interventions assessed within the parameters of experimental trials. Complexity as numbers/variables. A limited conceptualisation of complexity especially with regard to the value/role of participants' views/actions outside of experiment. |
| Systematic | Diverse area and range of approaches based on a conception of complex systems as the basis of study (e.g. Bryne, 1998) examples include chaos theory, holism, agent based modelling etc. lots of effort put into defining complexity. Complex aspects of interventions are those that have a life of their own and thus lead to endogenous change, feedback loops, emergent properties, and unintended consequences etc. Embellishes issue of complexity. |
| Critical Realist | Based on work of Bhaskar (1975) notes that physical and social worlds are ordered but infinitely complex. Impossible to fully understand. Social sciences meet a particular challenge as society in a constant state of self-transformation. Laws and processes also operate at unobservable level outside of human consciousness. Explanation adequacy generated out of an iterative spiral of theoretical inquiry and philosophical critique. |
| Pragmatic | Generated out of practical experience of evaluators and literature mainly consists of remedies for unforeseen complexities which emerge in the course of an evaluation such as practitioners falling out, changes of direction, tumultuous events. Range of designs for managing complexity 'in the field'. However piecemeal and provides endless answers to never ending problems. Emergent fields include developmental evaluation. |

The contentious character of policy making represents a significant and well documented dimension of the complexity this investigation is confronted by. Policy making is characterised by conflict and contention because different interests often seek to shape processes and outcomes in a variety of ways. This does not lend itself to research documenting clear-cut causal patterns and easily traced outcomes (Boyne et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2011). This conflict exists on multiple levels and extends from material struggle to the very construction of truth⁴¹. Politics itself is understood to be a setting that exists by virtue of contested meanings where “political struggle is a cognitive struggle (practical or theoretical) for the power to impose the legitimate vision of the social world.” (Bourdieu cited in. Waquand, 2005, p.3) (See also Endlemann, 1988). This is compounded by the politics of research that informs the type of interests and perspectives researchers come with, the influence they seek to exact in a given situation, and the balance of different, at times competing, theoretical approaches (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Bovens, T’Hart, & Guy-Peters, 2006; Newman, 2011). What this means for a researcher is that the data available and the information participants are willing to offer may very well serve as a suggestive reflection of their own or a dominant position. Thus, it has to be a given that participants may have an interest in situations being presented one way or another and that all forms of evidence available may reflect this. The implications of this are that the prospect of an underlying truth being unearthed in this instance is limited and that the researcher themselves, wittingly or not, bring to bear their own influence and position on what they study (something that will be explored and responded to as part of ethical considerations later in this chapter).

Starting from the understanding of the challenges presented by the political character of policy making, an important implication is that it contributes to the restrictions that researchers usually face in accessing and making sense of data. The work of Bourdieu (1990) offers the understanding that what a researcher is able to interpret and respond to in a given situation is relative to their position in it. This is a problematic for researchers because to be an insider (meaning they have a high level of access to data and potentially the capacity to influence proceedings) in a given situation may require exclusive communicatory forms and tacit

⁴¹ It is worth refreshing that although there is contest over meaning, what is taken as truth has been found to be quite consistently dominated by powerful interests (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947).

knowing that, even if so desired, limits the capacity to translate one's social reality for those who are outsiders. This issue is magnified because policy research takes place in a complex, multi-level, asymmetric, dynamic system. Therefore, an insider account only offers a limited explanation that may well differ from other insider accounts, especially those at different points within a given situation. Researchers have responded to this by seeking out those with more power and influence in a given situation so as to be able to explain more thoroughly what ought to be the influential decisions and relations. Hence, a great deal of the scholarship about policy making has been based on engagement with elite participants who are in the know: even though access to such people can be difficult even for the most esteemed of researchers (Rhodes, 2011). However, even with perfect access and an uncanny ability to appreciate and translate these accounts: the capacity to effectively access and relay data about policy making effectively is further constrained by a number of factors. These include:

- Practical issues concerning the time constraints involved in sharing information (Duggett, 2009; Newman, 2011).
- Obscure and asymmetric forces in given situations (Spinoza, 1677).
- Shifting and/or conflicting accounts provided by participants from the same 'inside'. For example, note Lawson's (1992, p.199) contradiction of Gamble's (1988, p.7) account of the privatisation of publically owned British companies and utilities.
- The often significant gap in practices between researchers and those involved in policy: "evaluators and policy makers are on 'different wave lengths' with neither camps understanding the constraints and priorities of the other." (Hallsworth et al., 2011, p.48-50).

As it stands, the consensus within this field of research is that it is not feasible to design out these challenges. The onus is on identifying them and acknowledging their role (Crotty, 1998). Within the interpretive approach the ideas of Karl Popper provides a suitable basis for working in these conditions (as described by Pawson, 2013, p.7-11). The reason for this is that the work of Popper is organised around the premise that ontological or absolute truth (and by extension a purely correct approach to research) appears to be unobtainable and that by definition all "data is hedged with uncertainty" (Pawson, 2013, p.9).

The following quote by Karl Popper sets out an analogy for the logic informing this position: “The empirical basis of objective science thus has nothing 'absolute' about it. Science does not rest upon rock bottom...it is like a house erected on piles...we simply stop when we are satisfied that they are firm enough to carry the structure at least for the time being” (cited in. Pawson, 2013, p.9). Pawson (2013) posits the notion (embraced in this research) that this is not a problem as long as we understand the role of research in political science as where “it is a continuous, accumulative process in which the data pursues, but never draws level with, unfolding policy problems.” (Pawson, 2013, p.9). It is of tremendous importance to lay out in as much detail the specific way that this methodological approach to the work is handled in this investigation. This is because within the parameters of interpretive research is a rich diversity of potential ways of conducting an investigation and each has significant implications for the way the work may be organised and the type of data that can be extracted.

3.3. The Methodological Approach

With the key challenges and responses to these in hand, the task now is to make clear the methodological approach to the investigation. This will involve outlining the method that the work will be informed by and explaining how the investigation will proceed. There are a number of choices about how to do this⁴² and it would usually be apt at this stage to indicate as to whether an inductive or deductive approach is going to be used. In this research an approach is taken which blends the two. This involves using case study data that is collected inductively to develop a new account of the policy making that took place and which is alive to the possibilities this new data source may offer up. The data is then used in an analysis that involves efforts to deduce the degree to which the theory of modernised policy making and other existing theories may be identified in the case study data, whilst retaining scope to discern data which provides explanations outside of those provided by exiting theories.

⁴² Indeed, there has consistently been debates about the legitimacy and effectiveness of different methods and research paradigms over the years and in particular, the relative merits of qualitative and quantitative methods associated with broadly termed positivistic and relativistic approaches (Tashakori & Teddie, 1998). An integral part of this dynamic has been the influence of technology and theoretical perspectives that have lent themselves to particular styles of research (Hill, 2009, p.9).

Approaches that blend induction and deduction are increasingly acknowledged (Perry, 1998). Some would go so far as to state that any research posited to be strictly inductive or deductive stands as a false distinction because “both (prior theory and theory emerging from the data) are always involved, often simultaneously... [and that] it is impossible to go theory-free into any study.” (Richards, 1993, p.40).

3.3.1. Research Design

Having established the theoretical and personal approach to the case study based investigation, the next step is to go into more detail and set out the research design. This is the plan that “guides the investigator in the process of collecting, analysing, and interpreting observations. It is a logical model of proof that allows the researcher to draw inferences concerning causal relations among variables under investigation.” (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1992: cited in. Yin, 2003, p.21). There are two main elements of the research design in this instance. This consists, firstly, of the way that the theoretical propositions and analytical frameworks are established and used. Secondly, the design involves setting out the practical way that the work is progressed in terms of collecting, organising, and presenting the data. The rest of this section will work through and describe each element of the investigation and indicate the ways that it is linked together. The underlying goal is to express how it moves from the establishment of a research question, to a workable set of tests, through to a series of findings.

The case study is organised into three cumulative self-contained sections. The first section offers a context to the case study. It provides a general picture of immigration and community cohesion policy making in the UK and how it operated leading up to and during the period of study. It also covers the broader issues and responses to immigration from Europe following the 2003 Treaty of Accession. This is important as it locates the case as part of a wider set of policy processes, and indicates the type of causal patterns the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund may be influenced and constrained by. The second section contributes a detailed narrative of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. In it, a mixture of data sources is used in a way that focuses on building up a richly detailed and chronological account of the extent to which policy making was modernised in this case. The third section

involves an analysis of the degree that the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund constitutes an example of modernised policy making. The analysis consists of two parts which taken together cover the four sub-questions. These are:

5. To what extent are the nine features of modernised policy making present in the case?
6. How modernised was the policy making at different points in the case?
7. What degree of synergy was there between the different features of modernised policy making at key points in the case? (I.e. was there incidences where different features of modernised policy making were present but contradicted each other to produce non-modernised outcomes?).
8. What alternative explanations could be applied at points in the case where policy making was not found to be modernised? (E.g. It may be found that the initial measures in response to new migration represented a muddled approach to policy making.)

Having done that, the findings of the research are presented. Here, the degree to which modernised policy making presented and its location and relationships with alternative types of policy making is set out. The findings are also used as an opportunity to review the usefulness of the methodological approach taken; indicate the way that further study may be undertaken to test the findings; and look at how the findings relate to the existing literature. In terms of the existing literature, the key issues that relate to this research are that 1- 'modernisation has not been significantly advanced in the period of study' (e.g. Hallsworth, Rutter, & Parker, 2011); 2- 'there was a significant variation between the rhetoric and reality of New Labour policy' (e.g. Newman, 2005); and that 3- 'there are numerous best practice examples of modernised policy making available' (e.g. Bullock, Mountford, & Stanley, 2001).

The structure is designed to ensure a progression from propositions to analysis to findings. The work starts with a set of theories and then seeks to gain further detail about these from the

investigation based on the research question “to what degree was policy making modernised in this case?” The strategy is to answer the research question by developing a case study using multiple methods of data collection (semi-structured interviews, secondary data, and ethnographic observation).

The use of multiple methods of data collection is especially important in this setting. This is because certain aspects of the case may or may not be documented in reports and press cuttings and other parts will be informed subjectively by an appreciation developed by conducting observations. Triangulating the data will be an important task. In terms of this: the idea is to indicate where disparate accounts exist simultaneously; enhance the validity of the findings in places where different data sources corroborate one proposition or another; and also to refute the degree to which certain sources of evidence are understood to be useful (Denzin, 1970).

An important note to make in terms of design is that although multiple methods of data collection are used in part so as to aid the corroboration of data, the underlying theoretical approach here is mindful of the insight to be gained from disparate accounts, the value of finding these, and the limitations of deciding which are more or less valid based on the extent of particular standpoints. In terms of data collection the other element that is relevant to consider as part of the initial design is the way in which it will be managed. Extensive use is made of guidance produced by Yin (2003; 2009) and the work is designed so as to keep richly detailed and well organised annotations of the data collected and ways of getting back to the data sources used should need be.

In the most general terms, what the design ought to facilitate is the completion of research that is of a sufficient quality: which is valid (Yin, 2009, p.40). The common test of validity covers four dimensions which are Construct, Internal, External, and Reliability (Yin, 2009, p.40-45). An effectively designed piece of research needs be informed by a consideration of the ways in which it intends to satisfy each of these dimensions. The way this is satisfied in this case is offered on table.5 overleaf.

| |
|---|
| Table.5 The Four Dimensions to Testing Validity (based on Yin, 2009, p.41) |
|---|

| Dimension | Test | How will this be met? |
|-------------|---|--|
| Construct | Are correct operational measures established for the concept being studied? | Detailed tests of modernised policy making developed and used to analyse data collected. Clear parameters for the case study established. |
| Internal | Are causal relationships identified? | Uses multiple methods of data collection to build narrative account that spans entire period of policy making in response to new migration and leading up to the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. |
| External | Are the findings generalisable, in what domain? | The findings will be subjected to a theoretical analysis. This will consider the extent to which they confirm and conform to analyses of the character of modernised policy making in the New Labour period. |
| Reliability | Can the operations of the study be repeated? | A clear record of the data collected will be kept. Analytical tests used will be clearly explained and logged. However, the replication of the investigation is limited due to nature of endeavour which is a one off event. |

3.3.2. Theory and Propositions

The theories⁴³ and propositions that this work starts with are of great significance. This is because “theory dominates experimental work from its initial planning up to the finishing touches...” (Popper, 1992, p.90), It provides “...a chosen object, a definite task, an interest, a point of view, a problem.”(Popper, 1992, p.61). The task of this section is to clarify the theory used and describe the propositions⁴⁴ that will guide the interpretation and analysis of the data.

⁴³ A theory can mean different things to different people (Wallace, 1971; Marsh & Stoker, 2010). Because of this, it is worth setting out the way that theory is understood and used in this instance. Wallace (1971) notes that theories often start with empirical generalisations (which do not necessarily have to be proved or rooted in existing research) that remain as hypotheses until they gain enough empirical validation to become laws, or theoretic invariances (Wallace, 1971, p.48). The source of theories need not be entirely logical, Popper asserts that “...there is no such thing as a logical method of having new ideas...every discovery contains an irrational element...Einstein speaks of the search for those highly universal laws...they can only be reached by intuition...” (Karl Popper cited in Wallace, 1971, p.50).

⁴⁴ Turning out propositions from hypotheses is based on fitting observables and un-observables into a form “in other words, the originally observed relation is made tentatively applicable to more phenomena than are referred

Proceeding in that way, it is theoretically possible that the outcomes of the work will then potentially contribute to reforming the initial theory. This is because it is through this ongoing process by which theories come to change as they “simultaneously encourage their own exposure to change inducing external factors...new exogenous variables and new measurement errors are encountered, with resulting new opportunities for empirical discoveries and technical inventions that can bring about change in theory.” (Wallace, 1971, p.57). This is an important point as the shifting of theories in light of research is part of a broader research cycle where the resources we have to make sense of the world come to be updated so to as to provide the most useful reflections. The main way that this broader task is touched upon is by using the findings to undertake a theoretical analysis (in Chapter Seven) that will look to generalise the findings in relation to the theories used to inform the investigation and identify any particular issues that emerge from doing this.

The theories informing this work present on a number of overlapping dimensions. At the top are the ideas that come with the model through which policy making in the UK is understood (that has been described in detail in the previous, literature review, chapter). This provides both a set of propositions through which the data may be interpreted and a model to start to organise the structure of the policy making activities that are collated. The main theoretical points to the Asymmetrical Power model are that policy making takes place in a setting where there is an increasing presence of network based practices but that hierarchy (vis a vis the power of core government to direct policy) remains the dominant mode (see Marsh, 2008a, p.257). The other key point is that there are asymmetries of power in British society, which are reproduced in the power dependencies and exchange relationships that characterise the world of policy making in the UK. These points provide for a source of contrast with the theory of modernised policy making that is being investigated in that policy makers are instructed to work in ways that encourage participation and social justice. It lends towards the proposition that policy making is highly unlikely to be completely modernised in this case because of the character of policy making in the UK.

to in the generalisation [theory] from which the theoretic proposition is induced, thus presenting an opportunity to broaden the scope of the information contained therein.” (Wallace, 1971, p.55).

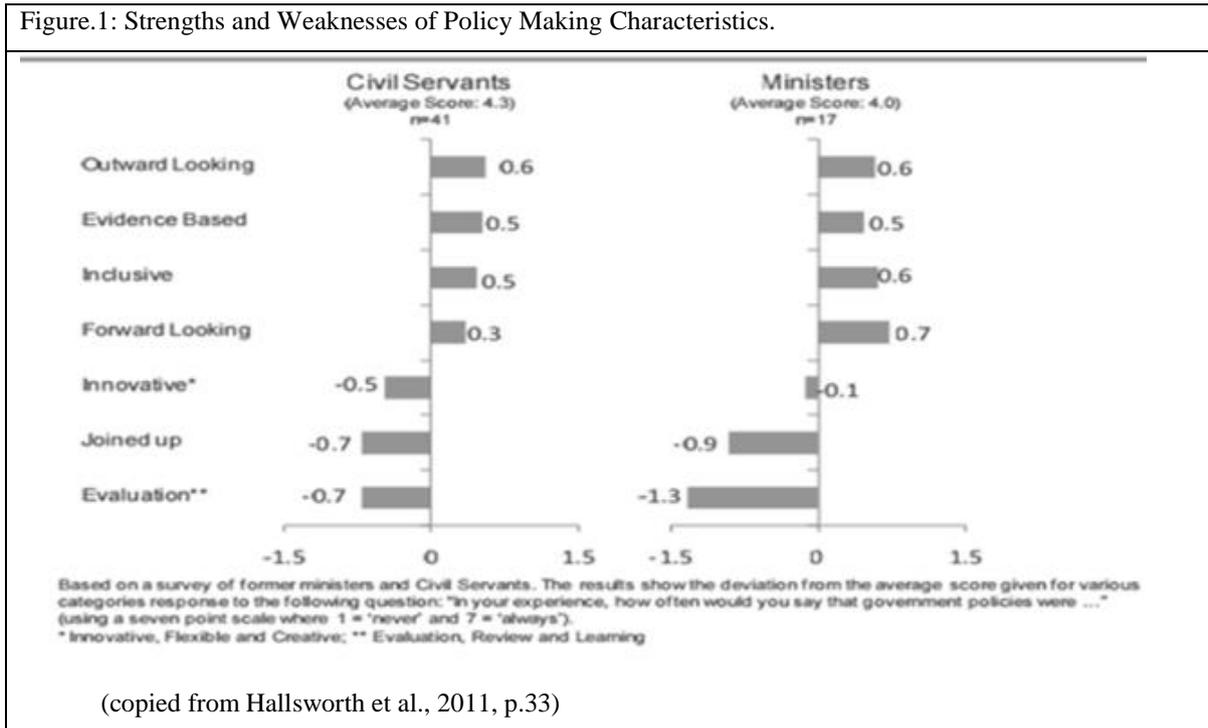
The second layer of theoretical considerations are those that come with New Labour's concept of modernised policy making. This provides the basis for the investigation (as detailed in section two of the previous chapter). Amongst the nine specific features of modernised policy making it sets out (that it is proposed may to some degree be present in the case study) there are overriding theoretical ideas that are worth flagging up at this stage. These concern social justice and substantive rationality. In terms of social justice, a proposition is that there is the potential to observe virtuous policy making that involves enhancing equality and which entails the inclusion of all relevant parties in decision making and consequently the benefits of any outcomes arrived at. In terms of substantive rationality, the proposition is that there will be examples of policy making which is reflexive and alive to the immediate circumstances rather than following set prescriptions.

The third layer of theoretical considerations relates to the many different ways that policy making may be explained and the wide range of activities that may be observed. Each of these theories serve as an alternative proposition as to how policy making activities identified in this case may be explained. In the instance of this research, it is expected that the following theories will be most useful in interpreting the data collected:

- The first theory is that reactive or muddled types of policy making often predominate (Lindblom, 1959). This is something that is documented in the literature as the type of policy making that that modernisation reforms seek to remedy (Hallsworth et al., 2011). Reactive policy making may not necessarily be a negative, but usually involves an immediate response to issues, in inability to grasp the broader set of opportunities a situation presents, and an overlooking of the potential medium and long term costs and benefits (Chung & Thewissen, 2011, p.356). However, this does open up the potential for much more muddled practices that can lead to unintended and even disastrous consequences. The significance of this theory is enhanced as the case study is set in a reactive and highly charged setting that is associated with these type of practices (Hallsworth et al., 2011). In terms of detail, reactive and muddled policy making is judged to be the antithesis of modernisation so indications of where evidence is not used; where people do not work together; that short term views are taken; general disorganisation; and inconsistent decisions will all be evidence of this.

- The second theory is that policy making is often directive. Directive policy making is seen as one of the defining characteristics of the British polity and involves the imperatives of core government framing and overriding the judgements and interests of other participants in the policy process (e.g. Newman, 2001). This contrasts with modernised policy making in important ways as the emphasis is on forming approaches centred on the best possible solutions which may or may not corroborate with the directions of core government. This is a complex distinction to make as one could find policy making to be both directive and modernised. For example, core government could direct a particular department to undertake a set of actions based on evidence and involving affected persons in a way the department was not able or willing to do.
- The third theory is that policy making often involves bargaining. This is understood to play a key role in how decisions are arrived at within the British polity (Cairney & Jordan, 2013) and is a key feature of the governance based understanding where different interests interface to arrive at decisions in a multi-level and diffuse setting (Rhodes, 2001). This is an important distinction with modernised policy making which entails more co-operative processes of generating solutions.
- A fourth theory is that certain features of modernised policy making will feature more prominently, this is based on survey of Senior Civil Servants and former Ministers (Hallsworth et al., 2011, p.33-34) (see figure.1 overleaf).

Figure.1: Strengths and Weaknesses of Policy Making Characteristics.



What the theoretical basis serves to do is provide a set of key reference points for the investigation. This is bolstered by the understanding the researcher comes with that provides opportunities to reflexively incorporate further theories as the investigation progresses⁴⁵. It is a way to make a start on classifying the phenomena observed in the case study based investigation and distinguishing what are or are not examples of modernised policy making. There is likely to be evidence collected that does not fit neatly into the theoretical models available due to the open and interpretive stance the investigation takes. Such instances would be dealt with in the findings and incorporated into the theoretical analysis conducted as part of chapter seven.

3.3.4. Data Collection

The next step is to set out the method of data collection and analysis. In terms of data the key components of this are the units of analysis; the data collection methods; data handling; and its presentation.

⁴⁵ Which would of course be logged and worked into the thesis.

Units of Analysis

Clarifying the units of analysis means setting out when/where/what activities/who's actions will be included in the investigation, why, and the relevant distinctions (Yin, 2003, p.22-24). The primary unit of analysis is the policy making that took place in response to new migration following the 2003 Treaty of Accession and leading up to the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. This setting is understood to be fundamentally reactive, with a politically significant unprecedented wave of immigration being reacted to by policy makers. The parameters for what can be included as sub-units of analysis are:

- A time period of 2003-2009.
- Britain as a location of study.
- The criteria for being a relevant unit of analysis, with regard to both primary and secondary data sources is the relevance to the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund and in particular the understanding of how modern it was.
- Who or what policy makers are to be potentially included is guided by range of policy participants identified in PP21: this is very broad and includes anybody who has some responsibility towards government who is present in the policy making process and also any persons affected by the development of policy.
- The type of structures (such as departments, teams, committees, and regulations) policy makers work through and generate will be taken as valid units of analysis.

The features of what modernised policy making ought to look like is taken from guidance produced as part of the Modernising Government reforms which provide details as to the specification of modernised policy making in this case (Cabinet Office, 1999a; Cabinet Office, 1999b). In particular, nine features of modernised policy making are looked out for, these are:

1. Forward Looking- Takes a long term and informed view of the likely impact of policy.

2. Outward Looking- Takes account of national, European and international factors and trends
3. Innovative and Creative- Questions established ways of dealing with things and open to suggestion.
4. Using Evidence- Uses best available evidence from as wide a range of sources, especially key stakeholders, as soon as possible.
5. Inclusive- Takes account of the impact on the needs of all those directly or indirectly affected by the policy.
6. Joined Up- Looks beyond institutional boundaries to the government's strategic objectives: establishes the ethical and legal base for policy.
7. Evaluative- Builds systematic evaluation of early outcomes into the policy process.
8. Reviews- Keeps established policy under review to ensure it continues to deal with the problems it was designed to tackle, taking account of associated effects elsewhere.
9. Learns lessons- Learns from the experience of what works and what does not.

Taking these units as a starting point, two significant challenges are presented. The first is due to the broad range and complexity of potential participants and data sources (rather than, say, just being concerned with the actions of a team within the Home Office). This raises the potential of producing a case study that lacks clarity and focus. The literature available indicates a number of ways to deal with this issue (Yin, 2009). The way that this is dealt with in this instance is by engaging in the case study in a time ordered way that utilises chain sampling⁴⁶. This will be approached by starting with the legislation and arrangements that gave rise to the development of the policy (the 2003 Treaty of Accession and the supplementary parliamentary legislation) and using these to identify search terms for secondary data and relevant agencies to contact (for example the Accession Monitoring Project which was set out as part of the supplementary legislation). The second issue relates to the particular way that

⁴⁶ Chain sampling (also referred to as referral sampling or snowball sampling) is a non-probability sampling technique where information from existing data or subjects is used to identify further units of study (Atkinson & Flint, 2004b, p.1044–1045).

data is judged to be an example of modernised policy making. This is because the understanding incorporates notions of social justice, participation and substantive rationality. So for example, there may be examples of joined up working which serve to reinforce inequalities and reproduce structures of domination. The only way around this, due to the subjective nature of the judgements involved, is to keep this notion in mind when assessing the data and being as clear as possible in the findings about potential grey areas that may or may not have emerged.

Collection Methods

Multiple methods of data collection are used in the case study. They consist of secondary data collection, semi structured interviews, and ethnographic observation.

In terms of secondary data collection, the guiding principle is that no format of data is inadmissible; this means that a full range of potential sources are explored. It is anticipated that the most relevant sources will be:

1. Official Government Records (e.g. minutes, reports, plans, proceedings).
2. Press articles (especially newspapers, press releases, and journals).
3. Social media discourse.
4. Statistics.
5. Lobby pieces.
6. Academic texts.

These sources of data are harvested through general searches (such as via Google and reference lists) and as identified through the semi-structured interviews and observation. The documentary data is treated as situated information. By this, it is meant that just because it is in print does not mean that it is necessarily a true or accurate account of the matter (John, 2005, p.218). Rather, the information is treated as useful in illustrating the political and structural dynamics of the case, with further verification being established through the understanding gleaned from observation, interviews, and triangulating the different data sources to establish

consistencies. It is anticipated that official government documents will be a useful source of information in terms of setting out the legislative and structural context which was generated throughout the course of the investigation; for establishing the prominent viewpoints of different participants in the policy process; and for identifying the way that key policy makers updated and shared their findings and recommendations as the policy measure took shape.

The second of the three methods of data collection is semi-structured interviews. This is where a researcher approaches a relevant subject and “explore in detail the experiences, motives, and opinions of others and learn to see the world from perspectives other than their own” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.3). An interview is semi-structured because “They have a flexible and fluid structure...organised around an aide memoire or interview guide...[That] contains themes, or areas to be covered during the course of the interview...so that the interview can be shaped by the interviewees own understandings as well as the researcher’s interests...” (Mason, 1996, p.32). The benefits of a semi-structured approach (as opposed to a structured or non-structured approach to interviews) is that space is provided to identify further information and opinions the subject may have. This was particularly relevant in this instance, as the targets for interview were exclusively subjects who played active (often directive and influencing) roles in the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. This includes actors such as policy managers, research officers, advocates from the community sector, and politicians. The mechanisms potentially identified in interviews could then be fed into the theoretical development of the investigation.

Conducting interviews with participants in a politicised environment has a number of challenges that call into question the extent to which the data is useful. This presents a need to ensure it is placed in a triangulated context. Firstly, this is because it is seeking to attribute features identified, such as the presence of inclusive practices, to a conceptualisation of policy making which encourages such behaviours. The complexity is such that even in interviews with key participants where the question is asked directly (i.e. “were you aware of the modernising government programme and specific guidance around inclusive practices”) there remains issues around verification (due amongst other reasons to their potential differing interpretations of the guidance; answering in a way which seeks to indicate professional conformity; and that the individual interviewee will not be able, despite their best efforts, to

accurately reflect the impact of a policy process numerous different participants contributed to). The main way that this challenge is managed is by triangulating the data collected to illustrate the process in detail beyond individuals' accounts: although it is acknowledged this only goes some way to solving this issue and that fundamentally the findings offer a situated account that contributes to the overall data collected. The last issue concerning conducting interviews is getting the policy makers identified as relevant to participate. At the outset, there is no way to account for the degree to which this will be the case. To ensure the best possible likelihood of getting participation, guidelines that indicate the most effective ways of communicating with potential interviewees will be followed (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

The third method of data collection used is ethnographic observation. This means engaging in the study with the intent to provide a detailed, in-depth description of the everyday life of the policy process and practices, something which is also referred to as working towards producing a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973). Here, this means identifying opportunities to be present at settings where the policy development is 'taking place' and where the policy issue is 'present': so as to develop a first-hand understanding of the tone and attitudes of the policy participants. Given that a portion of this study (2003-2005) is retrospective and that elements of the policy making process is likely to have taken place behind closed doors or remotely: the information gleaned through this method is quantifiably the most limited of the three ways that data was collected. However, even in settings where it is anticipated that the opportunity to observe in detail is limited- this measure is invaluable in attuning to the tone of debates and the way in which some of the participants interacted.

3.3.5 Handling and Presenting the Data

Data Handling

Yin (2003, p.97) posits three principles for handling data in a way to ensure the validity and reliability of the evidence. The first is to do with triangulation and using multiple sources of evidence to converge different lines of inquiry. The two ways that this is achieved in this instance is through the triangulation of data sources and of perspectives (Patton, 1987- cited in. Yin, 2003, p.98). The main way that data sources are triangulated is by seeking sources which

verify or refute each other. For example, if an interviewee identifies that there was a high level of consultation with affected persons, accounts from affected persons will be sought out to verify or refute this information. It is worth noting, however, that a significant proportion of the data used is reports and records produced by government that have their own processes of validation due to their production for sceptical audiences in a contested setting. This then brings us on to the second way in which triangulation is undertaken- through perspectives. Given the subject matter, there is likely to be numerous perspectives which are sustained within the policy process. Again, the task here is to give weight to the different perspectives through triangulating them with different data sources so as to be in a position to emphasise, especially when it comes to analysing the data, the most pertinent perspectives which contribute to an understanding of the degree to which the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund is an example of modern policy making.

The second way in which the data is handled so as to ensure that the investigation is as valid and reliable as possible has to do with organising and documenting the data collected through the case study. A case study database is to be kept and that notes will be “organised, categorised, complete, and available for inspection at a later date... [but that the compiling this] does not mean that the researcher needs to spend excessive amounts of time rewriting interviews or making extensive editorial changes to make the notes presentable.” (Yin, 2003, p.101-104). He also advises that these notes should be accompanied by any tabular materials and narratives. Narratives are where the researcher produces open-ended answers to the case study question and represent “an attempt to integrate the available evidence and to converge on the facts of the matter or their tentative interpretation.” (Yin, 2003, p.104).

The third way that data is managed in support of producing a valid and reliable case study based investigation is through “maintaining a chain of evidence.” (Yin, 2003, p.105). This involves organising the data in such a way as to enable the reader to follow the derivation of any evidence and ensuring that no original evidence is lost. This is important, as in the course of undertaking the investigation, numerous lines of enquiry were identified and dropped as they began to appear to be less relevant. However, as new information and accounts become available these lines of enquiry may prove to be more relevant than they appeared to be at that point. To dip forward into the research there is a clear example of this: The Labour Party is

now understood to have had far more difficulties in constructing a position on immigration than was understood by outsiders at the time. This is because this information only came to light when the Ministers concerned had moved on to other positions, whereby a spate of memoirs and think pieces emerged. These reflected both the opening up of these internal conflicts and a response to an understanding of how the general public and media were responding to the issues and perceived impacts (Mandelson, 2013).

Presentation

Having established the way that the data will be collected and handled an essential step in setting out the research design is to make clear the way in which the data will be presented. As specified already, the data will be organised across three sections, which each emphasise different data sources and presentation methods. The first section consists of information setting out the context, especially in terms of the general character of immigration and community cohesion policy making in the period and the range of ways post-accession migration was prepared for. The emphasis in that section is entirely on the presentation of secondary data primarily sourced from academic and government accounts. The purpose of the first section is to leave the reader in a position to appreciate the context the policy was developed in and the associated issues and options which may have been on the agenda of the policy makers involved. The second section presents a narrative of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. This is based on the original research and utilises the whole range of data sources specified for the investigation. The style in which the narrative is presented draws on the tradition of 'thick description' which involves presenting "our own construction of other people's construction of what they and their compatriots are up to." (Geertz, 1973 cited in Marsh & Stoker, 2010, p.137). The narrative is presented in a time ordered way that includes as much as possible about the case. This is in order to aid the analysis and the reader's appreciation of the ins and outs of the situation. The third section of the case study involves conducting an analysis of the case based on the evidence gathered in forming the narrative. The analysis is of great significance to the case study so is explored as a separate section next.

Analysis

The crux of the investigation is in the analysis. There are a number of popular approaches to analysis and in practice most research beyond instrumental programme evaluations tends towards description rather than analysis (John, 2012). Analysis is understood to be “...one of the least developed and most difficult aspects of doing case studies ...there are few fixed formulas or cookbook recipes to guide the novice...much depends on the investigators own style of rigorous thinking, along with the sufficient presentation of evidence and careful consideration of alternative interpretations.” (Yin, 2003, p.109-110). The challenge here is to be able to maintain the open exploratory stance that the investigative method necessitates- whilst being as rigorous as possible in terms of the analysis. The way that this is tackled in this instance is firstly by ensuring that the analytical implications and requirements are considered at every stage of the investigation. This is achieved by having an ‘analytical strategy’ (Yin, 2003, p.111). Secondly, a clearly defined analytical exercise is conducted that uses measures that are as specific as possible. The rest of this section will describe and set out what these tasks involve and how they fit into the investigation.

Having an overarching ‘analytical strategy’ is useful because it ensures a consistent and focused approach to the investigation. This helps to avoid “having false starts and potentially waste large chunks of your time... [where one may] treat the evidence fairly, produce compelling analytic conclusions and rule out alternative interpretations.” (Yin, 2003, p.111). Guidance produced by Yin (2003, p.113) sets out three ways that this could be done (Relying on theoretical propositions; thinking about rival explanations; developing a case description). The one used in this instance is that of thinking about rival explanations. This involves testing rival explanations in the course of the research. A key part of this involves being attuned to the emergence of alternative explanations which may emerge “Some real life [explanatory] rivals may not become apparent until you are in the midst of your data collection, and attending to them at that point is not only acceptable but desirable...overall the more rivals your analysis addresses and rejects, the more confidence you can place in your findings.” (Yin, 2003, p.113). What this means is that at the outset of the case study a series of propositions are postulated. When the data is being collected every step of the way analytical questions are being asked that say: “which of the propositions explain this, and how else could these phenomena be explained?” To ensure that the considerations and practices of data collection work in a

consistent way, an analytical technique of explanation building is employed (Yin, 2003, p.119). This involves utilising an iterative process where the rival explanations are compared against the findings of an unfolding case study.

Having collated the data in a way that keeps analysis in mind, the narrative is then recombined through two specific analytical exercises that directly confronts the research question. The first part of the analysis explores the presence of modernised policy making in terms of each of the nine features of modernised policy making set out in ‘Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century’ (Cabinet Office, 1999b). This is done in a way that recombines the data collected in terms of each of these characteristics and then offers a judgement as to the degree that this characteristic was present. Within each of the features analysed, suggestions are made as to what other propositions or explanations were in play with regard to this area of activity.

In terms of stating the degree to which each of the characteristics were present in a way that reflected modernised practices, it is important to be clear about how the measurements are selected and utilised. The factors to bear in mind are that: 1- The degree of modernisation and/or the degree of other policy making practices are variable; then 2- the balance between these factors in the instance of each characteristic is variable; then 3- the exploratory and idiosyncratic character of research in this area does not lend itself to the identification of fixed and clearly defined measures. Looking at these factors in relation to the type of approaches to measurement available an ordinal model of measurement is employed (see Smith, Gratz, & Bousquet, 2008). This means that the attributes can be rank-ordered, but that the distances between attributes do not have any meaning. The scale used is thus:

- Completely modernised (4 points)
- Significantly Modernised (3 points)
- Not particularly modernised (2 points)
- Was not modernised (1 point)

For example, one may say that policy making with regard to inclusion was completely modernised and that this was more so than in terms of the use of review where policy making was not particularly modernised. In so doing, no further specificity is offered as to the distance between these statements. From this, a simple numerical formula is to be drawn up whereby each of the 9 characteristics has a potential score of 1-4 that can then be added together and then an overall score of between 4 (not modernised) and 36 (was modernised) be arrived at. When a final figure is established by adding the individual scores together and dividing it by the number of units, the score will be rounded off to the nearest whole number. So for example, if a score of 3.63 is arrived at this will be rounded off to 4. Alongside this scale will be an indication of the alternative policy practices that were identified and outstanding questions that limit the conclusiveness of the data analysed. The presence of other practices will be indicated in descriptive terms and as a factor in measuring the degree of modernisation.

Once the first part of the analysis has been conducted and an idea as to the degree in ordinal terms that policy making is modernised in this instance has been ascertained, then the second part of the analysis is undertaken. Here, an extended piece of writing will be offered that summarises the reasons why the investigation appreciates the level of modernisation to be what it is and covers three other sub-questions which are how modernised the policy making was at different points in the case? What degree of synergy was there between the different features of modernised policy making at key points in the case? And, what alternative explanations could be applied at points in the case where policy making was not found to be modernised? Another key task of the second part will be to pick up on any other matters that emerged in the course of conducting the case study that have transpired to be relevant in ways the original research design has not directly accounted for. This is likely to be the case as the investigation here is not only exploratory but actively seeks out rival explanations as part of its analytical strategy. The analysis is then used to feed into a final part of the case study that presents the findings of the research. Here, the outcomes of the analysis are located within the wider literature and initial propositions and whether and to what degree the findings can be generalised is explored.

3.5. Ethics

Ethics are the moral standards by which people and groups conduct themselves, they are reflective of values in action (Rokeach, 1973). All research is undertaken, consciously or not, within some sort form of ethical code and because of this it is important to be clear about the ethics in this instance and the way that it is reflected in dealing with key issues such as positionality; managing sensitive data; and adherence to set standards. Clarity about the ethical code being worked to will help to minimise the disjuncture between the everyday behaviour of a researcher in the field and the institutional framework that aims to regulate good ethical practice. It will also indicate the way that ethical problems which arise in the course of the research will be managed as: “[ethical problems] ...arise when we try to decide between one course of action and another, not in terms of expediency or efficiency, but by reference to standards of what is morally right or wrong.” (Barnes, 1979).

Reflexivity is important to ethics (Gillam & Gullmann, 2004). Being reflexive “means that the researcher should constantly take stock of their actions and their role in the research process and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of their data.” (Mason, 1996, p.6). Hence, developing a reflexive appreciation of one’s own personal strategy and objectifying it so as to be better able to work in a way that reflects the necessary institutional codes is of critical importance in terms of producing work that is acceptable to the research community. If we engage in reflecting on ourselves we need to develop “a consideration of the practice of research, our place within it and the construction of our fields of inquiry themselves.” (May, 2001, p.44). Underlying this is an idea that “...being reflexive in doing research is part of being honest and ethically mature.” (Ruby, 1980, p.154). The starting point for this is a statement that my practice is located in wider iniquitous relations of power that influence my own and shared epistemological assumptions and practices (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu, 1992; Bourdieu and Wacquand, 1992). Although there is not a single methodological way of being reflexive, the work of Bourdieu (1992) and Bourdieu and Wacquand (1992) is used. It posits that developing a reflexive practice is based on an effort to avoid the projection of one’s position onto the object of study (Bourdieu, 1992, p.272). Doing this should include an identification of my social location and my field location. In a sense it comes down to being clear about my position and then achieving what one wants to achieve through the research in an ethical way: “The researcher or writer is likely to have calculated how best to further her or his values without

appearing to be biased or prejudiced. The outcome of research must not appear to be a prejudgement arrived at without due examination.” (Halliday, 2002, p.60).

There are a wide range of ethical frameworks that research and evaluation is conducted within, with frameworks tailored to the particular focus of the research- be it involving vulnerable persons or confidential financial data. Some of the more common frameworks used in public sector research are the ESRC Research Ethics Framework (ESRC, 2010), Department of Health Research Governance Framework for Health and Social Care (Department for Health, 2005), and the European Union’s Code of Ethics for Socio Economic Research (Institute of Employment Studies, 2004). These frameworks set out the minimum and most commonly agreeable ethical principles, no easy task given the multi-millennia old philosophical debates as to what constitutes ethics.

In this instance, I will be subscribing to London Metropolitan University’s ‘Research Ethics: Policy and Procedures’ (London Metropolitan University, 2014) and its accompanying ‘Handbook for Research Students & Supervisors and Code of Practice.’ (London Metropolitan University, 2014). The ethical framework contained in these texts is justified as necessary because of the following five points:

- To enhance the quality of research;
- To protect the rights and welfare of participants and minimise the risk of physical and mental discomfort, harm and danger from research procedures;
- To protect the welfare of researchers and their right to carry out legitimate investigations;
- To minimise the potential for claims of negligence made against the University, its researchers and any collaborating individual or organisation; and
- To ensure the reputation of the University for the research it conducts and sponsors.

As a subscriber to this code of ethics, which is a requirement of being a research student at that University, ethical approval from a Research Ethics Review Panel must be sought and renewed

whenever there is a change in the research or after four years. Disputes and overriding definition of what is 'ethical' is brought to the Ethics Committee.

Given the nature of the research there are no direct and fundamental ethical considerations, unlike say testing a new medication on a number of cows. The ethical considerations in this instance are about the protection and respect for the research participant's professional reputations.

With regard to the professional reputations of research participant's, the consideration here is to do with the potential to misrepresent what has been said and disrespect the values and viewpoints of those who have directly engaged in dialogue. This is because in the course of undertaking semi-structured interviews with the participants they may reveal information they had not intended to or which presents information that they on reflection do not feel comfortable sharing. To this end, I have developed a method where I prepare my interview notes in draft format and then return them to the interviewee for approval and only use them once they have been released back to me. This may contribute to the generation of trust with the participants (making a second interview more likely and possibly fruitful) and could also deliver the added benefit of harvesting further information and clarification from the participants, who may take the opportunity to offer further detail to some of their points when reviewing the draft interview notes. Another check will be to provide drafts of the research to interview participants as it develops to ensure they are still happy to have their name associated with it. Any interview participants who cannot be contacted will have their details anonymised so as to avoid potential dispute post-publication. Participants who change their mind about contributing will have the data they provided taken out of the research.

Chapter Four

Case Study Part One: Context

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this first part of the case study is to contextualise the policy making that culminated in the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. Because the case study charts the response to unanticipated issues (that being the character and extent of immigration following the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession), a critical task will be to clarify the way work in this area came to be organised and the key drivers of this. Alongside that, a background to the triggers for the new immigration will be offered, along with data concerning the estimates and considerations of its impact. Finally, the structures and arrangements put in place by policy makers in anticipation of new migration are described.

In general terms, the context of this case study is that there was a significant drive within the British government to boost immigration to alleviate challenges facing the economy. This coupled with a commitment to the ‘European Project’ (Daddow, 2012) led to the immediate opening up of the UK labour market to new European citizens following the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession. Significantly, the government agencies that would usually respond to and manage this issue were in a state of flux. Immigration policy was undergoing important changes from a closed to a diverse-managed system and the newly re-constituted area of community cohesion policy did not initially have agenda space for the issues relating to new European migration. Taken together this meant that a somewhat bespoke response had to be provided. Finally, the level of migration that transpired from the outset was far higher than anticipated and consequently a great deal of political and media interest was generated by this policy issue.

The single most important detail in terms of context is the 2003 Treaty of Accession (which came into force in April 2004). This is what precipitated the immigration that demanded a response by policy makers. It paved the way for significant and unprecedented patterns of migration to the UK. The 2003 Treaty of Accession was part of a long term and gradual expansion of the European Union. It granted the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary,

Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia full EU membership and freedom of movement across the European Union for their citizens by a deadline of 2011 (Boeri & Bruker, 2005).

4.2. The Key Policy Domains: Emergence, Diversification and Reconstitution.

Traditionally, issues regarding the movement of people into to the UK have come under the rubric of immigration policy, until such persons become citizens and are no longer subject to any controls or conditions. Issues that may emerge concerning new migrants after this point are covered as an area of Community Cohesion policy (which had in the past been referred to as Race Relations policy and before that as Integration policy). Immigration is a high profile and fraught area, where policy makers have sought to balance humanitarian, economic and psycho-social concerns (Gilroy, 1991; Spencer, 1997; Layton-Henry, 2004). Since the 1970's government policy towards immigration has been characterised by a closed-door (also referred to as zero-immigration) approach⁴⁷ (Cornelius, Martin, & Hollifield, 1994). It only diversified significantly in the years following the 1997 election of New Labour and throughout the period of study (Flynn, 2005; Sommerville, 2007; Mulvey, 2011). This was in response to government policy⁴⁸ and the new issues pertaining to immigration that emerged in this period. A complex of issues informed this shift in policy, and were reflected in the key legislation from this period. This all precipitated a move from a 'closed door' to a 'diverse-managed' system due to the partial liberalisation of the entry requirements for work migrants alongside increasingly restrictive policies for some migrants such as asylum seekers (Flynn, 2005). The logic for this is captured in this 1998 statement by, then, Immigration Minister Barbara Roche who stated that: "In the past we thought purely about immigration control...now we need to think about immigration

⁴⁷ For example, every year since the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act- the Immigration Nationality Directorates Annual Report stated that its objective was "To restrict severely the numbers coming to live permanently or to work in the United Kingdom" (cited in. Flynn, 2005).

⁴⁸ It is notable that the way commentators anticipated the approach to immigration by the New Labour government is based on assumptions as to what immigration policy would look like through the lens of Third Way policy making. This is because immigration was largely kept out of the Labour Party manifesto (in stark contrast to the Conservatives 1979 manifesto). In part, this was because in the years leading up to the 1997 election, immigration was not even one of the top ten electoral issues. This was in contrast to its importance at previous and future elections (Mulvey, 2011, p.1489; Fomina & Frelak, 2008).

management...The evidence shows that economically driven migration can bring substantial overall benefits for both growth and the economy.” (Cited in. Balch, 2010, p.126).

Community Cohesion policy has an overriding concern with the experiences, impacts and integration of first and second-generation migrants⁴⁹ (Worley, 2005; Cantle, 2009). It had emerged originally in the UK in the form of Race Relations policy (also referred to initially as Integration policy) as a sub-division of the immigration policy framework in the mid 1960’s⁵⁰. This was as a response to discord pertaining to the treatment of non-white migrants from fellow Commonwealth states (Solomos, 1991, p.36-42). It is an area of policy making that re-emerged with a distinct agenda following riots in a number of towns in the north of England in 2001⁵² (Cantle, 2009). One of the key issues relating to this case study is that the overriding concern with this re-established area of policy was with the dynamics between white and second-generation Muslim migrants in northern towns. This meant that new European migration did not immediately fit or have space in the work and initiatives established within this policy domain. This is important as rather than being subsumed within an existing (waiting) agenda, the issues relating to new European migration required the establishment of bespoke structures and relations to work up a response to the issues.

4.3. The Big Policy Issues.

In the years leading up to and around the signing of the 2003 Treaty of Accession, there were a number of significant immigration related issues affecting the UK (see Table.6 overleaf). Alongside these issues, the anticipated economic benefits of increasing some forms of migration was at the fore in the opening up to new European migrants in 2004 (Portes & French, 2005; Sommerville, 2007; Eade & Valkanova, 2009). Significantly increasing the number of

⁴⁹ The definition of community cohesion used in government is that: “Community Cohesion is what must happen in all communities to enable different groups of people to get on well together. A key contributor to community cohesion is integration which is what must happen to enable new residents and existing residents to adjust to one another.” (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008, para. 1.3)

⁵⁰ The 1965 Race Relations Act stands as the first specific piece of legislation in this area.

⁵¹ There is an obvious omission of community cohesion in Northern Ireland, which has its own long-standing area of policy making (e.g. Buchanan, 2008).

⁵² The riots were characterised by disputes between white and second generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims who had been “targeted by white racists in a similar way to the Black community in previous riots and were generally second generation, born in Britain, who might have been expected to be more able than their parents to claim an equal stake in British society. They had also been the beneficiaries of over 40 years of anti-discrimination and equal opportunities legislation.” (Cante, 2009, p.46).

people available to work in the UK was seen as a way of contributing to efforts to improve the economy and bolster a relatively strong rate of growth, which averaged 2.8% between 1997 – 2003 (Corry, 2011). It was also anticipated that it would help turn around a falling rate of unemployment which had come down from 10.3% in 1993 to 5.1% in 2001 (Pissarides, 2003, p.3). The then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, explained the Government’s position in a speech to the Confederation of British Industry in April 2004: “There are half a million vacancies in our job market and our strong and growing economy needs migration to fill these vacancies. Some of these jobs are highly skilled, some are unskilled jobs which people living here are not prepared to do. Some are permanent posts, others seasonal work. Given the facts we faced a clear choice: use the opportunities of accession to help fill those gaps with legal migrants able to pay taxes and pay their way, or deny ourselves that chance, hold our economy back...” (Confederation of British Industry, 24th April 2004).

Table.6 The Big Immigration Issues and Key Legislation 1999-2009.

| | |
|---|--|
| 1. Asylum seekers: remained a hot popular topic and the legislation through which asylum was managed was understood to be less effective than intended. | 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act. |
| 2. National Security: After September 2001 national security and anti-terrorist measures became an increasingly important political topic which was closely related to immigration controls. | 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act. |
| 3. Age: The UK population was ageing. The dependency ratio was increasing and projected to become increasingly difficult to sustain. | 2005 Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act. |
| 4. Growth and Globalisation: The UK economy in the late 1990's was expanding and had begun to experience labour shortages for the first time in decades. This was especially noteworthy in skilled sectors of the economy. The existing immigration system would not be able to facilitate levels of immigration that the economy was projected to require. | 2007 UK Borders Act. 2009 Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act. |
| (Layton-Henry, 2004; Sommerville, 2007.) | (Clayton, 2014) |

One of the important factors that has contributed to the need for increased immigration in relation to economic concerns had been the ageing population. This is a common contemporary demographic trend in advanced capitalist economies⁵³ (Creedy & Guest, 2009). The argument for immigration in respect of this was that more workers were needed to positively affect the dependency ratio that looked at the number of people working in relation to retired persons (Creedy & Guest, 2009). Figures produced by the Office for National Statistics⁵⁴ in regard to this proposed a need for a net immigration of 180,000 persons a year is, although controversial in popular terms, problematic mainly because of the difficulty in sustaining this level of immigration, especially when there are economic downturns (Somerville, 2007, p.97).

The economic issues that drove the opening up of the UK to new European migration could have engendered a variety of policy responses that may or may not have involved migration in the form that it took. In this instance, high-level policy was shaped by commitments to liberalise labour markets within a global economic system and to deepen European integration. This came down to the post-1997 New Labour government investing in (and indeed playing a leading role in the advancement of) a neo-liberal global free market model⁵⁵ (Cerny & Evans, 2004; Bevir, 2005; Rustin, 2008). This stance took the opening up of labour markets as a solution to the economic headache of labour shortages and an ageing population in the UK (Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2003). Alongside this was a commitment to the European project that was consistent with the UK in its support of a neo-liberal global economic system (Kok, 2004). Within this, the books are balanced by seeking to maintain and enhance the relative position of the UK in an increasingly integrated and knowledge based global economic system (Held et al., 1999; Hirst & Thompson, 1999). Analysts have pointed

⁵³ Creedy and Guest describe it as a “feature of the latter stages of demographic transition which accompanies economic development...the transition starts with declining infant mortality and is followed by declining fertility rates” (Creedy & Guest, 2009, p.3).

⁵⁴ Figures produced the Office for National Statistics indicate that the Old Age Dependency Ratio, which has remained steady at about 300 per 1000 head of population until the turn of the millenia, will by 2050 rise to 500 per 1000 head of population (Office for National Statistics, 2010). This report posits that this figure can be kept down to a less expansive figure of 343 if the government proceeds to deliver on two key policy measures: 1- legislating for a progressive rise in State Pensionable Age, 2- ensures that there are at least 180,000 new long term immigrants each year between 2004-2031 who will by 2050 account for a population increase of 4.4million (Office for National Statistics, 2010, p.9).

⁵⁵ It is worth noting that the particular stance towards global economics reflect the buying into of a particularly powerful and resilient construction of how best to organise human affairs rather than something natural or inevitable (for example see Targ, 2006).

out that the UK has to compete more than ever with other advanced and emerging economies for workers who are moving around more, and more frequently (Cohen & Zaidi, 2002; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2008). It has also been pointed out that national governments ought to be taking a more flexible approach to migration, as they are now much less able to effectively control migration flows given the demands of business and the uneven distribution of employment opportunities (Sassen, 1991; Castles & Miller, 1999). This view is indicative of the position of key international organisations such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development who promote policies that enhance labour mobility. For example, the 2008 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development report 'Global Competition for Talent' sets out a positive rationale for this approach: "As the scale and complexity [of brain flows] increases...there are important impacts on knowledge creation and diffusion in both receiving and sending countries...indication that this is not a zero sum game." (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2008, p.8-10).

The net result of immigration policy in this period had been a distinct increase in economic migration (i.e. the government had been successful). The net economic immigration flow went from a negative figure of -26,300 in 1995 to a net positive figure of 60,100 in 2005 and Work Permits issued increased from 63,000 in 1997 to 145,000 in 2006 (Home Office, 2006, p.96). This is, of course, on top of the new European citizens registering to work in the period.

In order to sustain the response to the big issues and also address the lingering sense of crisis associated with immigration: the management of immigration (i.e. the operations of the Home Office) underwent significant changes to both develop the capacity to administer increased migration flows and to ensure that it could effectively fulfil its deterrence function at the same time (National Audit Office, 2004; Sommerville, 2007; Gibson, 2008; Mulvey, 2011). As part of the re-organisation, functions concerning Community Cohesion transferred from the Home Office to the newly formed Department for Communities and Local Government at its inception in 2006. This is significant as the fact that new European migrants were not subject to immigration controls meant that any policy response to emergent issues had to come from outside of the immigration management frameworks. Given that the seemingly most

appropriate policy area of Community Cohesion was already shaped by a set of alternative concerns, the issue of new European migration found itself between established domains.

This point that the responsibility for responding to new European migration was difficult to locate is of critical importance. The issue generated a context where a wider range of stakeholders and policy makers not traditionally involved in immigration or community cohesion issues featured more prominently in the policy response, which is documented in the next part of this case study. This located the work undertaken to develop the 2009 Migration Impact Fund on the edge of discussions and debates about community cohesion (Cantle, 2009; Denham, 2010). This context lends itself towards an understanding that the policy developments associated with new European migration in the period of study will be likely to present somewhere between the immigration and community cohesion domains. In addition, this means that the activities observed may also potentially be undertaken in new areas that sit outside of those established policy domains. It is because of this that one may assume that the policy making observed in this case is likely to be modernised in line with New Labour's concept because of the diminished chances of path dependent practices from previous periods if the matter had been dealt with under the auspices of an existing (waiting) policy instrument.

4.4. The Role Played by Key Interests.

In December 2002, the UK announced that it would be one of just three existing European Union Member States that would grant new European Member States full and immediate access to its labour market as part of the 2003 Treaty of Accession. The other existing European Union Member States deferred the right until the 2011 deadline when all EU citizens were assured of full rights of free movement and access to labour markets (Boeri & Bruker, 2005). This eagerness on the part of the UK Government to open up to new migration reflected a consensus in favour of increasing migration amongst a number of key interests. Starting with the main business groups such as the Confederation of British Industry and the British Chamber of Commerce, we can find that this sector did not have to be particularly vocal, in public at least, about the need to increase immigration in the years leading up to the 2003 Treaty of

Accession⁵⁶. The evidence indicating their position resides mainly in submissions they made to Parliamentary Inquiries during the period of study (which they would have routinely responded to) and a short joint statement from the Confederation of British Industry, the Trade Union Congress (the umbrella body for Trade Unions in the UK) and the Civil Service. The evidence available indicates that they were positive about increasing immigration in general. This position is stated in evidence provided by the Confederation of British Industry at the fourth session of the House of Lord's Select Committee on Economic Affairs (2003) (which considered an ageing society in the UK). That committee concluded, "The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) is of the clear opinion that immigration of workers at both the low-skill and high-skill ends of the labour market helps ease the current skill shortage, has no perceptible impact on the wages of the indigenous workforce, and helps to sustain economic growth."⁵⁷ (Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2003, paragraph 2.15).

Trade Unions in the UK at the time offered no opposition to increased immigration. Opposing new migration was understood as something that would have undermined long fought campaigns against racism and mistreatment of new migrants (Eldring et al., 2012). An example of this is the 2000 Trade Union Congress. There, the then leader of the Transport and General Workers Union- Bill Morris, received a standing ovation when making a keynote speech to support a motion to resist racist rhetoric by politicians around immigration, here he stated, "When I hear the words bogus and flooding it sends a shiver down my spine. When I hear the words economic migrant, I think of my mother who came to Britain 46 years ago after the death of my father...She was an economic migrant. We were a family of economic migrants. As I look back I hope we have contributed more than we have taken from our great country". (Milne, 2000).

⁵⁶ Support for the 2003 Treaty of Accession in general was more cautious and seen as containing opportunities and threats, especially with regard to increased competition from cheaper and more loosely regulated places for direct investment and contracts (BCC, 2003).

⁵⁷ Notions around superior work ethic were also paramount. For example, the House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs fifth report states: "Most employers giving evidence echoed this view...citing a better "work ethic" and "attitude" as one of the main reasons why they employed immigrants rather than British workers. Sainsbury's said "We have found migrant workers to have a very satisfactory work ethic, in many cases superior to domestic workers." (Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2003, p.492).

In September 2005, the TUC, CBI, and the Civil Service issued its first ever joint statement. This was in support of managed immigration (Trade Union Congress, 2005). The statement is important as it indicated a high level of co-operation between these key interests around this issue. The statement laid out key commitments by each party and said “The UK needs the skills and enthusiasm of people from around the world...now more than ever...the country needs to invest wisely in their potential within the context of a migration system that is managed in the national interest.” (Trade Union Congress, 2005, p.1). These (the Confederation of British Industry, the Trade Union Congress, and the Civil Service) were the main groups who could have offered a significant opposition to opening up the UK to new European migration in 2004.

There was, from less influential quarters, vociferous opposition to opening up the UK labour market following the 2003 Treaty of Accession. A pressure group known as Migration Watch emerged in this period as a leading voice of opposition to the increasingly liberal facets of the UK’s immigration policy concerning economic migration. Migration Watch contributed information to Parliamentary debates and was regularly featured in the media throughout the period of study as a reasonable voice of opposition (in contrast to the more extreme views purported in this period by groups such as the British National Party). Migration Watch has been described by its chair Andrew Green as “an independent organisation. We have no political axes to grind. We simply believe that the public are entitled to know the facts, presented in a comprehensible form” (Migration Watch, 2011). They produced briefings setting out perceived flaws in the number of migrants predicted to arrive by government and arguing that there was no way of guaranteeing that those arriving would only go to areas where there are labour shortages (Migration Watch, 2003a).

The general public was also becoming increasingly negative towards immigration in this period⁵⁸ (IPSOS-MORI, 2003). This was impacted by media coverage of the issue. Much of the coverage of immigration in this period was based on myths and fears, within which white

⁵⁸ There was a distinct rise in immigration related stories that got a lot of exposure was noted in this period, these included: “...the disturbances in northern English towns in the summer of 2001...lorry found in Dover in 2000 with bodies on board of 58 migrants who had suffocated en route...the Sangatte refugee centre in Calais...Morecombe Bay tragedy...the bombings of both 9/11 and 7/7...the scandal of visas being fast tracked [which led to the resignation of immigration Minister Beverly Hughes in 2004]...” (Mulvey, 2011, p.1488).

migrants from places such as Kosovo began to play a bigger role in an area that had traditionally been dominated by non-white persons (Staniewicz, 2007; Eade & Valkanova, 2009). The tabloid press offered up alarmist coverage of the potential impact of immigration post-accession (Fomina & Frelack, 2008; Eade & Valkanova, 2009). Research concerning media coverage in this period states that "...sections of the UK media focused on the impending arrival of 'hordes' of Eastern European, and especially Roma people. Headlines such as 'See you in May: Thousands of Travellers are on their Way' (the Sun, 19th January 200, p.4-5.) 'Blair's Bid to Save UK Jobs from the EU Gypsies' (The People 1st February 2004.) and 'Stop the Invaders' (Daily Star, 12th February 2004, p.6) are indicative of the anxiety that the media both reflected and exacerbated." (Eade & Valkanova, 2009, p.33). The negative coverage was in many ways intertwined with concerns around the direction of immigration policy, visa scams, and membership of the EU. A good example is this comment from the Evening Standard in April 2004, which states: "Lack of debate on immigration, lack of sound and clear immigration policy, first promises then pretending to be doing something. NOT SINCE [sic] Enoch Powell's "rivers of blood" speech in 1968 has immigration ranked so high on the national agenda. This is almost entirely the fault of the Government – hence today's immigration summit, chaired by the Prime Minister." (Cited in. Fomina & Frelack, 2008, p.35).

What this type of media interest and consistent lobbying of groups such as Migration Watch meant was that politicians had to balance a clear policy imperative to increase immigration with populist measures that satisfied those concerned that efforts were being made to deter unwanted migrants and protect existing conditions. This was coupled with internal contradictions and disputes within the upper echelons of the Labour Party at the time about the correct approach to this issue and immigration more generally⁵⁹ (Finch & Goodhart, 2010; Heppell & Hill, 2012). For example, John Denham, the then Chairman of the Home Affairs Select Committee, was quoted as saying that new European migration had hit some groups

⁵⁹ This has been referred to as a case of cognitive dissonance where "In the early years, it could be argued that Labour was in fact struggling with three competing views. First, the party leadership was determined not to appear soft on immigration for electoral reasons, hence the populist language, especially on asylum, from David Blunkett among others. Second, it wanted to create a modern, multicultural Britain with a dynamic open economy. And third – despite New Labour's determination, even relish, to shed out dated shibboleths of the left – there was still a lingering belief that tightly controlling immigration was somehow tinged with racism" (Finch & Goodhart, 2010, p.4-5).

unfairly “The day rate for a brickie in Southampton has fallen by 50 per cent, which is good news if you are having a kitchen extension built, but, if you are a brickie with a family to feed, is not fine at all” (Hinsliff, 2006). Throughout the period, he was representative of a faction within the party that had worked to stem the easing of immigration restrictions for further new European citizens from Bulgaria and Romania and increase attention on disadvantaged white communities as the most effective route to reducing disunity and conflict within working class communities (Hinsliff, 2006).

4.5. Policy Measures in Anticipation of new European migration.

An important measure undertaken in anticipation of new migration was to estimate the number of persons likely to arrive. The potential impact on immigration levels of opening the UK's borders to new European member states was massively under-estimated by official researchers. This is important because it influenced the type of measures put in place at the outset. Official research greatly underestimated the levels of immigration that would transpire. This research offered figures of around 7000 to 15,000 new migrants arriving in Britain during the first two years following the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession, then predicting the immigration figures would reduce in the years following 2005 (Alvarez-Plata et al., 2003; Dustmann et al., 2003). Indeed, even cautionary figures produced by the anti-immigration lobby group Migration Watch offered a figure of just 40,000 arrivals per year (Migration Watch, 2003).

Contrary to the indicative figures produced by the official research, evidence was available at the time that EU member states such as Poland had significant factors influencing people to emigrate should the opportunity arise. Research produced for the Trade Union Congress by Hardy and Clarke (2005) set out the dire state of the Polish economy at the time, the very low wages and high unemployment. It states that: “In the early 1990s ‘shock therapy’, followed by a relentless drive to the market based on neo-liberal ideas, has increased insecurity and driven down living standards for large numbers of workers [in Poland]. Unemployment is currently on average 20 per cent, but those living outside the large cities or in regions to the East, face unemployment levels as high as 35 per cent...The inability of young people, even with a good level of education, to find work is also manifest in a 40 per cent youth unemployment rate.” (Hardy & Clarke, 2005, p.3). It seems almost ridiculous now to imagine that of the almost 5 million unemployed people in Poland that just 10,000 would make the effort of jumping on a

£50 flight to Manchester (or an even cheaper coach to Victoria) to try their luck in a country that was bursting with jobs. As well, it is worth mentioning that Poland and the UK have developed relatively close historical ties. This is borne out in the already existing Polish community in Britain; that Britain hosted the Polish government in exile; and the close association with regard to the Second World War (Stachura, 2004; Sword et al., 1989). As one interview respondent quipped: "...us Poles love England, we saved you in the Battle of Britain, so expected a warm welcome." (interview respondent 7).

A number of policy measures were put in place after the European Union (Accessions) Act was presented to Parliament in November 2003. These in part responded to the mounting popular concerns about post accession immigration, which were mixed in with the general immigration concerns influenced by the media coverage that was considered in the previous section. These changes were contained in The Accession (Immigration and Worker Registration) Regulations 2004 that were put before, and subsequently accepted by, Parliament on the 25th of March 2004 (Statutory Instrument No. 1219, 2004). These regulations enabled the agreements made as part of the 2003 Treaty of Accession to be operated within the existing set of legislation concerned with immigration, primarily the 2000 Immigration (European Economic Area) Regulations and the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act. The main feature of these regulations was that workers from the accession states had to register with the Workers Registration Scheme and were not entitled to benefits until they had worked and paid taxes for 12 months.

The new Accession Regulations meant that civil servants were obliged to set up and operate the Workers Registration Scheme. An important part of this was that a monitoring device was also established in the form of the Accession Monitoring Project. These are the first instances of structural arrangements emerging as per a policy response to the 2003 Treaty of Accession. The Accession Monitoring Project was operated jointly by the Home Office, Department of Work and Pensions, Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs, and the Office for the Deputy Prime Minister. Its main job was to produce bi-annual reports on the impact of new migration in terms of the numbers and profile of new arrivals signing up to the Workers Registration Scheme and applying for National Insurance numbers; Amount of said persons claiming benefits and tax credits; and housing and homelessness support received. New migrants from the accession

states had to pay a fee to sign up to the Workers Registration Scheme and only by doing this was any entitlements to benefits or housing support unlocked after being employed continuously for 12 months. Employers faced prosecution if they employed workers who were not registered on the scheme. This example of new structures being formed based on interdepartmental working very much set the tone of expectations for the response to migration in this instance to be an example of modernised policy making.

The structures that were put in place in preparation of new European migration were valuable in that they provided a basis for policy makers to identify a range of possible issues that may emerge at an early opportunity. Bearing in mind the context that has been elaborated in this part of the case study: a lot was riding on the success of these new arrangements. The government had identified a need to increase migration for economic reasons and was committed to making it work.

4.6. The Migration Figures

What transpired following the expansion of the European Union was a remarkable, and initially difficult to track⁶⁰ new dimension to immigration flows. It involved the arrival of relatively large numbers of European citizens from the new member states, especially Poland. The initial immigration statistics concerning migration following the 2003 Treaty of Accession show that between May 2004 and April 2005- 176,000 people from the new European member-states registered to work in the UK with 57% of this total being from Poland (Department for Work and Pensions et al., 2005). These figures remained at a similar level throughout the period of study (see figure.1 on page 105) and meant that by 2010 Polish was the second most common foreign language in the UK with almost 600,000 speakers (ONS, 2011). Some key aspects of these statistics are that:

⁶⁰ There are question marks over the accuracy of the figures that were produced. For example, John Denham MP stated, "I tracked A8 migration in my constituency but was confronted with official data that underestimated the number of migrants by 90 per cent and did not reflect the impact on wage rates in the construction industry which I had personally monitored." (In Finch & Goodhart, 2010, p.25).

- Overall, new European migrants were much more likely to be working in the lower paid and manual sectors (see figure.4 on page 106).
- Wages were mostly low, with 75% earning £4.50 - £5.99 per hour, and 19% earning £6.00 - £7.99 for the period May 2004 to September 2008 (Department for Work and Pensions et al., 2008, p.15).
- The top five sectors for registered workers, who applied between May 2004 and September 2008, were administration, business and management (39%), hospitality and catering (19%), agriculture (10%), manufacturing (7%) and food, fish, meat processing (5%) (Department for Work and Pensions et al., 2008, p.12).
- A small minority (8%) of registered workers who applied between May 2004 and September 2008 declared that they had dependants living with them in the UK when they registered. Amongst those who did have dependants, the average number of dependants was 1.5.
- Of those who applied between May 2004 and September 2008, 81% of registered workers were aged 18-34. (Department for Work and Pensions et al., 2008, p.8).
- Between May 2004 and September 2008, Anglia had the greatest number of workers registering with employers in the area, with 15% of the total. This is followed by the Midlands and London, with 13% and 12% of the workers registered. The proportion registering with London based employers fell from 20% in 2004 to 11% in Quarter 3 of 2008 (Department for Work and Pensions et al.,2008, p.17).
- Applications for benefits were relatively very low throughout the period. (Department for Work and Pensions et al., 2008, p.23-26)

Figure. 2 Workers Registration Scheme: Approved Applicants 2004-2008 (Department for Work and Pensions et al., 2008, p.5)

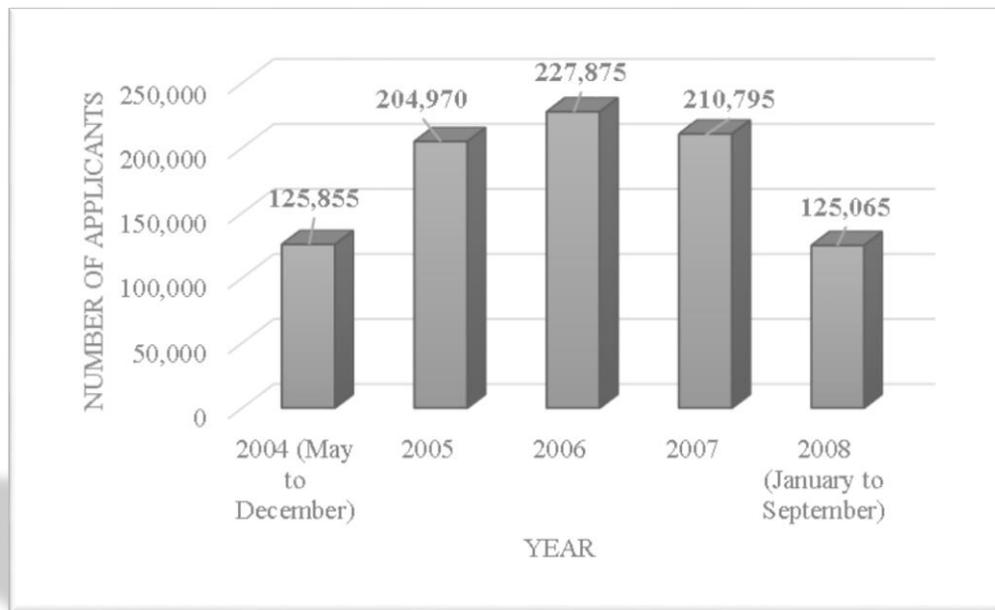


Figure.3 Nationality of Approved WRS Applicants: May 2004- September 2008. (Department for Work and Pensions et al., 2008, p.8)

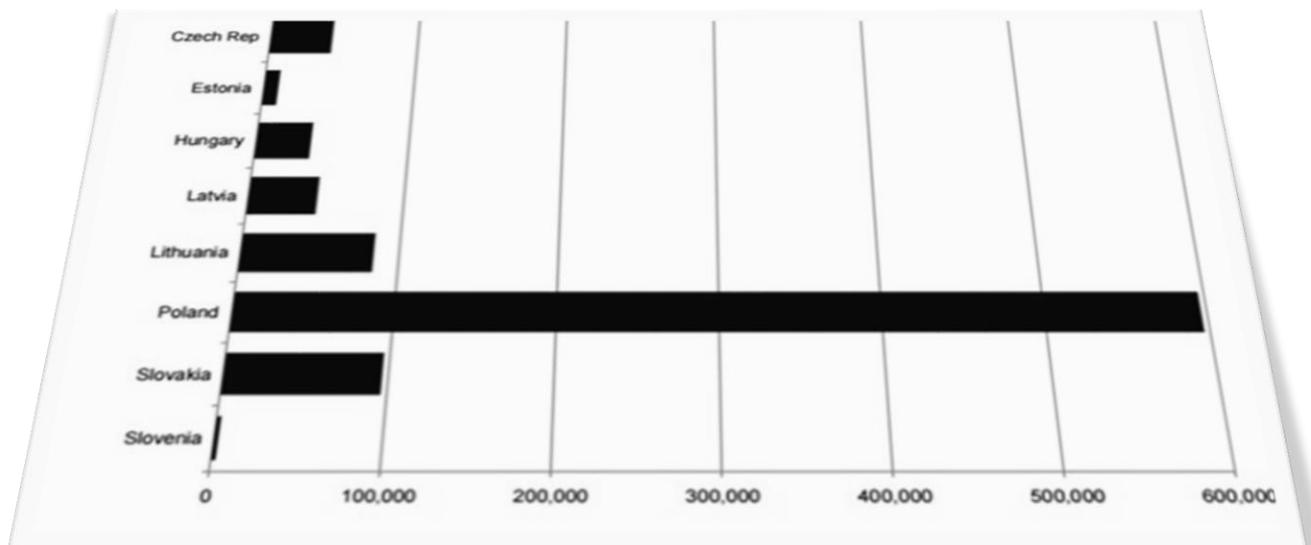
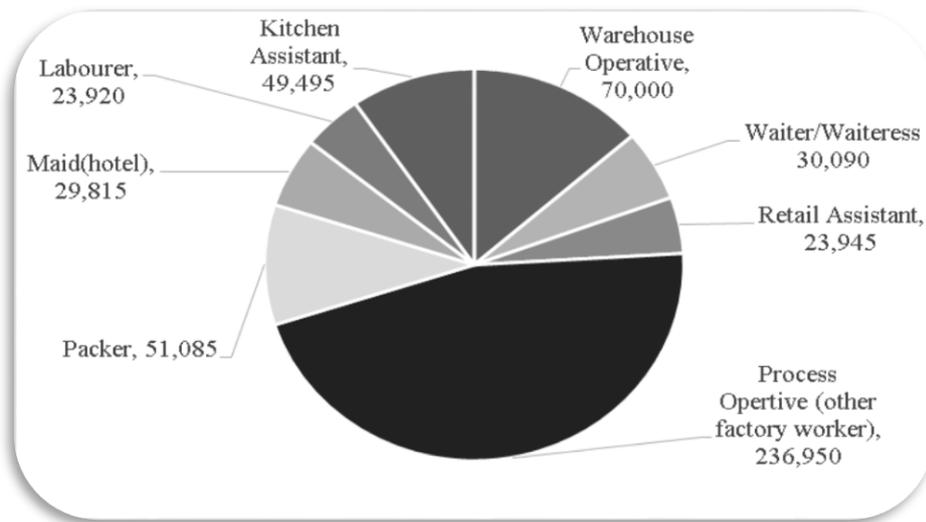
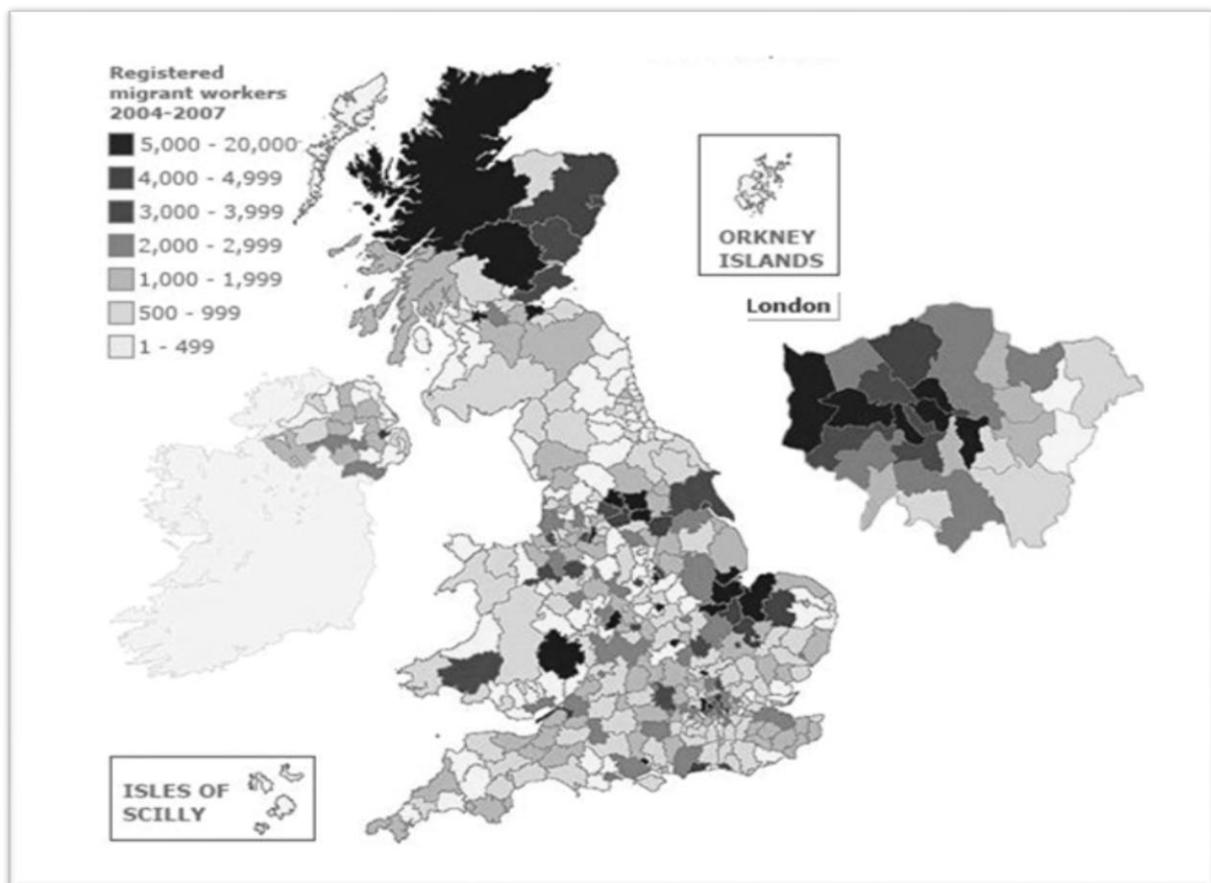


Figure.4. The Eight Most Common Jobs for New European Migrants 2004-2008. (Department for Work and Pensions et al., 2008, p.29-32)



Box.2 Geographic Spread of New European Migrants in UK (excl.Shetland) 2004-2008⁶¹



⁶¹ Source: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7370955.stm.

4.7. Summary

In setting out the case study context, a number of significant issues have come to light. The first of these is that the policy issue of new European migration occurred in a period when the key policy domains that would have traditionally dealt with the issue were undergoing significant changes. This meant that from the outset, new ways of working had to be established to respond to the unique character of the migration that followed the 2003 Treaty of Accession. It also means that there was considerable scope for modernised practices in line with the rhetoric of the Modernising Government reforms as there would be less reproduction of established ways of working. The second significant issue was that there were conditions that were very supportive of increased migration. This was especially true in terms of the core government commitment to liberalising labour markets and businesses need for more workers in the face of declining unemployment. This generated an expectation that the policy response to new migration would be supportive and seek to ensure it continued. The next significant issue was that a clear package of anticipatory policy measures was put in place before the opening up to new European member states in 2004. The character of these set the scene for the type of approaches likely to be observed in the core case study. By this, it is meant that a great deal of emphasis was placed on evidence collection and joined up working, with the Accession Monitoring Project being a prime example of this. Absolutely key to the case study context is the statistics which show the notable levels of migration that policy makers were responding to. These served to heighten media and public interest and concerns about the issue, indicating that policy actors will be very likely seeking to show that they are responding to the issue appropriately.

Chapter Five

Case Study Part Two: Developing the Migration Impact Fund.

This part of the case study starts in May 2004, the period immediately after the 2003 Treaty of Accession was put into action. It provides a chronological account of the policy making that lead up to the implementation of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. The policy making observed in this case can be organised into four distinct phases. The narrative here describes them in turn. The first phase consisted of the initial response to new migration following the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession. This was driven by macro-economic concerns such as the effects of new migration on unemployment levels and wages. In the second phase, the concern was primarily about the local impacts of new migration. The third phase was characterised by sectional interests negotiating the level of resources and support the emergent issues concerning new migration would receive. Finally, attention is paid to the policy making that was involved in a fourth phase which involved the practicalities of getting the 2009 Migration Impact Fund into operation.

5.1. Initial Responses: Reassurances and Campaigns.

Immigration transpired to have significantly and quickly increased following the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession in May 2004. Salt and Rees (2006) went so far as to say that the UK began to undergo the most significant wave of migration in its history⁶². The main source of statistics which are useful to this study are from the Workers Registration Scheme set up by the Home Office to keep track of A8 migrants taking up employment in the UK. Although, there are much cited difficulties in collating up to date and consistent migration figures (Boden & Rees, 2009) the Workers Registration Scheme would have been subscribed to by the majority of migrants from within the EU as it was a gateway to registering for work (as it enabled individuals to receive a National Insurance number and, if needed, social benefits after 12 months). The initial immigration statistics concerning migration following the 2003 Treaty of Accession show that between May 2004 and April 2005 176,000 people from the new

⁶² It has been stated that: “more than a million Eastern Europeans (mainly Poles) flowed into the UK in a four year period – the largest peacetime migration in our history. That the country absorbed such a huge movement with remarkably little fuss (and certainly no serious unrest) was a sign of the economic times and a tribute to both British hosts and Polish migrants.” (Finch & Goodhart, 2010, p.6).

European member-states registered to work in the UK with 57% of this total being from Poland; 43% were under 24; there was an almost equal number of male and female applicants; and the majority of applicants worked in hospitality, agriculture, and administration (Accession Monitoring Report, 2005). It was also noted from the early statistics that pre-accession over 50% of existing migrants from the A8 countries resided in London and the South East yet by March 2005 this figure had gone down to below 25% (Portes & French, 2005, p.17-19).

One of the initial considerations for policy makers at the time was the degree to which these high figures may have reflected undocumented persons already living in the UK, who had only registered once they had the opportunity. Portes and French (2005, p.18) collated Labour Force Survey and Workers Registration Scheme data to indicate that there was a significant number of people who signed up to the Workers Registration Scheme who had arrived in the UK in the preceding years but this accounted for less and less of the overall figure after the first three months of accession: it in no way contradicted the basic statement that there was immigration in that year far in excess of the predictions.

A number of government sponsored studies considering the macro-economic impact of this unanticipated bout of immigration were also conducted immediately. The focus of these were on real and potential impacts on wages and unemployment. One important initial statistical analysis was produced for the Department for Work and Pensions by Portes and French (2005). The report was driven by the sort of headline national impacts which had been anticipated in the recent debates, primarily the effect on wage levels and unemployment. One interviewee (3) provided insight into the logic behind this being the first line of inquiry when they stated that “[government] ministers would have been really worried about things like wages being pushed down or unemployment increasing because that would have undermined their argument for opening up to Europe and having more migration...alienated their Trade Union supporters....and given the likes of the Daily Mail the chance to say Labour were anti-English.” (interview respondent 3). This debate remained critical throughout the period and the argument that wages and employment were negatively affected amongst the low paid and marginalised increasingly came to prominence (Goodhart & Finch, 2010).

The study by Portes and French (2005) collated Labour Force Survey and Workers Registration Scheme data. It concluded that the early data indicated that new immigration in the period had a modest and mostly positive impact on the UK economy with little effect on unemployment or wage levels. To quote the report directly: “Our results suggest that the primary impact of A8 migration has been to increase output and total employment, with minimal impact on native workers, although higher levels of accession worker migration do appear to be associated with small increases in the claimant unemployment count...Overall, the economic impact of accession on the UK labour market appears to have been modest, but broadly positive, reflecting the flexibility and speed of adjustment of the UK labour market.”(Portes & French, 2005, p.33). This report is important in understanding the development of the policy issue. It reflects the tone of other reports produced around this period (Srisikandarajah, Cooley, & Reed, 2005; Blanchflower, Salaheen, & Shadford, 2007; Lemos & Portes, 2008). The content of the report itself was also verified in a follow up produced by Gilpin et al. in 2006. These reports were significant because they shifted the emphasis away from policy responses that may have sought to curtail the free movement of workers due to negative impacts on wages and unemployment.

At the same time, in the 18 months following the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession, a series of studies and reports from local organisations and regional agencies began to emerge. These set out some of the impacts and challenges on individuals and local services in specific parts of the country⁶³ (Citizens Advice Bureau, 2005; McKay & Winkelmann-Gleed, 2005; Schneider & Holman 2005; St Martin’s Housing Trust, 2005; Briheim-Crookall, 2006; Stenning et al., 2006; Zaronaitė & Tirzite, 2006). These represented a constellation of peripheral and/or non-traditional policy actors lobbying for attention and support to deal with newly emerged challenges relating to new European migration. These studies contributed to a shift towards the policy issue being about the impacts of new migration on local services, communities and migrants themselves. This was particularly with regard to homelessness and poor housing. One such study was produced by the Eastern European Advice Centre (Morris, 2005). This undertook an in depth study of A8 migrants arriving at Victoria Coach Station and

⁶³ A comprehensive bibliography of reports concerning the impacts and challenges of new migrants, especially with regard to housing is available from Diacon et al. (2008).

found a distinct number of people unprepared for life in the UK who had found themselves homeless (see box.3 below).

Box.3: An Example of the local impacts of new European migration in 2004

The Eastern European Advice Centre produced a study into homelessness amongst new A8 migrants in London. The study ran from October to November 2004 and took place around Victoria Coach station which was one of the key entry points for A8 migrants, especially those on lower incomes taking a cheaper coach journey than flights. The study found and spoke to 28 new migrants who were experiencing homelessness. It was found that those spoken to had mostly arrived following prolonged periods of unemployment in Poland and found barriers to accessing employment in the UK, mainly due to limited English and the unavailability of decent employment. The survey then went on to explore the availability of support for these persons and concluded that the range of civil-society led homeless shelters and outreach services could not provide help with housing as these people were not entitled to support as they had not worked in the UK for over 12 months. However, they had provided homeless new migrants with basic (possibly life-saving) help such as access to washing facilities, snacks, c/o addresses and primary health care.

(Morris, 2005)

The media had also begun to pick up on the real and imagined impacts of this new wave of migration and ran very regular articles which primarily focused on Polish immigration and stereotyped all A8 migration as being the immigration of Polish people (Burrell, 2009). Fomina and Frelak (2008) undertook a detailed analysis of the tone and incidences of reporting in the printed press of this issue in the sample years of 2004 and 2007. They note that “In 2004 one may notice a stormy debate on EU enlargement, opening of the British labour market and expected influx of workers from new EU member states... In the second analysed period publications concentrating on the everyday life of Poles or the impact of immigration dominated.” (Fomina & Frelak, 2008, p.31).

| Figure.5 Number and Tone of newspaper articles concerning A8 migration in 2004 and 2007 (Fomina & Frelack, 2008, p.32-33) | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------|----------|---------|------------|-------------|----------|---------|------------|
| | 2004 | | | | 2007 | | | |
| Number | 148 | | | | 234 | | | |
| Tone of articles analysed | Positive | Negative | Neutral | Ambivalent | Positive | Negative | Neutral | Ambivalent |
| | 28 % | 22.5% | 25% | 24.5% | 15% | 21% | 48% | 16% |

Fomina and Frelak (2008, p.32) go on to provide a quantitative breakdown of the number of articles published in a selection of UK based newspapers in 2004 and 2007 and indicate the tone of the articles published (See figure.5 overleaf).

Into 2005, and the Audit Commission had become increasingly interested in the emerging local impacts of A8 migration and as a result of this had shifted their focus away from researching issues concerning asylum seekers and existing community cohesion/migration considerations associated with the disturbances in Burnley in 2001. The, now defunct, Audit Commission had by late 2005 completed a statutory consultation (under the 1998 Audit Commission Act) and had agreed to produce a National Study into the issue of new migration following the 2003 Treaty of Accession. This set in train a program of participatory research which resulted in the 2007 Crossing Borders report (Audit Commission, 2007). This became the template for the ensuing contribution of policy makers to dealing with the impacts of A8 migration. An interview respondent (1) who was employed by the Audit Commission at the time explained how the report came about. They said that in late 2005 the Audit Commission's senior management team was considering the way it could contribute to best practices in relation to immigration and community cohesion. A scoping report was produced to aid this decision and this included: "migrant workers from the EU... included as an option in the scoping report in part due to feedback from the auditors at Cornwall and Boston authorities where they were facing particular challenges at the time... the focus shifted towards A8 migrants... Following consultation around a short list with interested parties including local authorities, police forces, PCT's and similar the feedback was collated and the commissioners decided to embark upon the 'crossing borders' report." (interview respondent 1).

The Crossing Borders report (Audit Commission, 2007) involved detailed consultation and co-ordination with a range of local authorities, key service providers, academics, and local organisations such as churches, community groups, and community safety partnerships. In compiling the report, they “got together an external advisory panel from around the country, as eclectic a mix as possible. [they] Ran a one-day workshop to establish issues and approaches. Crunched secondary data. Considered multi-agency working. Went to a number of case study areas. Explored use of population statistics esp. those provided by the Workers Registration Scheme.” (interview respondent 1).

The Crossing Borders report (Audit Commission, 2007) starts off by setting out that on a national level the geographical spread of new migrants, in relatively large numbers to areas that have previously been largely mono-cultural, had raised fresh challenges for policy makers and at the same time boosted businesses in many parts of the country (Audit Commission, 2007, p.7). The report sets out 8 key local impacts of new migration, which are set out in Box.4 below:

Box.4 The Main Impacts of New European Migration.

1-The lack of accurate numbers makes it harder for agencies to predict and plan for change. It can make it difficult to explain change to existing residents and to refute local rumours. It makes it harder to develop business cases for extra funding or redeployment of existing resources, which can delay operational and strategic responses.

2-While migrant workers are welcomed by employers, questions are often raised about potential competition in local labour markets, especially for job seekers with poor language and other skills.

3-Where there is a rapid expansion in the number of people needing affordable private rented accommodation and an increase in tenant turnover, there can be a material impact on local housing markets and local neighbourhoods. There are widespread concerns about housing conditions for some migrant workers.

4-The combination of open borders and a limited entitlement to benefits means that migrants who fail to find jobs, or who lose their jobs unexpectedly, can become homeless and destitute. The greatest impact has been felt in central London, where there has been an associated increase in rough sleeping.

5-Contacting and communicating with migrant workers can be particularly difficult where there is a high turnover of workers and where they may be wary of public agencies such as the police. Some migrant workers speak little or no English. Local arrangements for teaching English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) rarely meet local demand. Interpretation and translation arrangements are not always adequate.

6-There is widespread confusion about entitlements both among migrants and those who try to help them, with a general need for better advice, information and guidance.

7-There can be misunderstandings about laws, regulations and community expectations. Road traffic officers have particular concerns. Minor misunderstandings, can cause preventable problems and bring risks to community cohesion.

8-Most migrant workers are young and have come without families, so they make few demands on the more expensive public services of health, education and social care. There can be localised pressure if families do arrive. Equally there can be hidden issues that are difficult to identify and deal with, such as children not on any school roll.

(Audit Commission, 2007, p.9-10)

The report gives a number of detailed examples and case studies of the types of impacts that have occurred in localities around the UK in line with the key points the report outlines. For example, a case study from Lancashire is offered that sets out how a local employer recruited 200 Polish workers on a 12 month contract and sacked them within the first few months of the contract. This led to many of these workers being without basic provisions and in places sleeping rough with no resources to return to their home country if they wanted to. (Audit Commission, 2007, p.32).

The report ends by presenting a series of recommendations to government and key service providers to help them deal with the issues that are identified. These recommendations are for: more joint local working; improvements in sharing data and intelligence; building links with new communities and supporting self-help; improving communication; enabling communication; increasing standards in employment and housing; developing local services; and minimizing local tensions by increasing community cohesion. (Audit Commission, 2007, p.38-42).

At the time when the Crossing Borders report was being produced there was an increasing awareness amongst a broad range of policy participants that something had to be done about the impacts of post-accession migration. This included numerous local authorities; key service providers (such as the Police, health services and schools); and Civil Servants from most departments. This was because the impacts of this migration were spread both geographically and touched on a wide range of issues that had been picked up upon in the Crossing Borders report (Audit Commission, 2007). The increased awareness was mainly due to lobbying from local groups; an awareness of the large numbers of people involved; and an increase in press

coverage (based on comments provided by interview respondent 5). However, who ought to respond to the issues was not clearly defined and only started to come together as the issue unfolded. An interviewee employed by the Local Government Association who worked closely with Civil Servants and other key policy actors said “one of the problems was that immigration was something that the Home Office took care of while community cohesion was the DCLG’s [Department for Communities and Local Government] remit. departments were talking but I don’t think there was clear leadership at first, although that did emerge around 2007 with the Migration Impact Forum being set up and all the attention the issues were generating- there was a clear onus to do something and to not make too big a deal out of it.” (interview respondent 5).

The Crossing Borders report, the process through which it was produced and the actions it recommended set the justification and template for the Migration Impact Fund, it served to close off other paths of response to this new migration that could have been taken. What was significant as well was the connections made by policy makers from different departments and sectors in the course of the report being produced. This was all reflected in the ensuing actions within the policy process and the type of debates held which led to the setting up of the Migration Impact Fund.

5.2. Working Together to Respond to the Issue.

Although the Crossing Borders report was published in 2007 (Audit Commission, 2007) the process through which it was devised meant that as early as late 2005 it played a role in the policy response which eventually delivered the Migration Impact Fund.

Around the production of the Crossing Borders report there had been a process of negotiation taking place between different bits of the civil service and key stakeholders, particularly local authorities. Staff at the Audit Commission played a key role in core aspects of this negotiation and initially it centred around two issues: leadership and access to information. An interview respondent from the Audit Commission said “there was a gap between what information was being held by civil servants running the Workers Registration Scheme and what local authorities were accessing to make sense of the changes, we encouraged them to come together

and agreements were reached. At the same time changes to the Home Office meant that the DCLG [Department for Communities and Local Government] was more responsible for the issues.” (Interview respondent 1). Another respondent from the Improvement and Development Agency said that “it was a cliché at the time but what we needed to achieve was more joined up working and for that to work somebody had to take the lead in facilitating and encouraging the work along. This wasn’t the case at first and some of the work with the Crossing Borders report was useful in that it got different people together and talking. But the leadership only came from ministers in flits [sic] as the story about new migration stayed in the press and also found its way into discussions about local authority funding.” (interview respondent 5). Efforts to reconcile the issue around access to information involved a series of meetings and seminars, an example of which being the ‘Census and Workers Registration Scheme Workshop’ which ran in 2006 (cited by interview respondent 5). Here, representatives of the newly formed UK Border Agency worked with local authorities to establish ways of making migration data more available to them.

What was important about the process involved in producing the Crossing Borders report (Audit Commission, 2007) is that it set in train a series of endeavours which provided a template for two of the most significant ways that the impacts of migration were being responded to up to the enactment of the Migration Impact Fund in 2009. The first was to do with capacity building and supporting local authorities to be able to: “...look where the impact is and then make sure that government and local government are well prepared to be able to support those communities in coping with the pace of change.” (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008, ev50). This support took the form of the Migration Excellence Programme which was co-ordinated by the Improvement and Development Agency (currently known as Local Government Improvement and Development). The second key effort was the Migration Impacts Forum which was about joining up key government departments and agencies to facilitate a co-ordinated response.

The Migration Excellence Programme which was initiated in September 2007 was a practical response to the impacts of new migration aimed at supporting local service providers, especially local authorities (GHK, 2009). The programme was led by the Improvement and Development Agency (now named Local Government Improvement and Development) which

was a Local Government Association body which the Department for Communities and Local Government were very closely involved in directing. The Migration Excellence Programme provided support to 11 local authorities through peer based support, training and visits (GHK, 2009). The work focused on the areas of difficulty identified by the Crossing Borders report and produced a good practice guide (Byrne & Tankard, 2008). This was important because it was an important way in which knowledge about the most effective ways of dealing with issues pertaining to new European migration was collated. This knowledge around best practice would later prove to be part of the basis upon which funds were directed through the 2009 Migration Impact Fund.

5.3. The Tussle for Resources.

From late 2007 into 2008 the tension between central government and local authorities regarding the distribution and allocation of resources to deal with the impacts of new migration became increasingly apparent. It would be true to say that the constructive efforts reflected in the Migration Excellence Programme and the process through which the Crossing Borders report was produced developed alongside and intertwined with ongoing efforts by local authorities to secure more funds to deal with the impacts of new migration. These efforts to secure additional funding were present in independent studies and conferences organised by local authorities (e.g. Westminster, 2007a). As well, the meetings of the Migration Impact Forum and discussions held as part of the Migration Excellence Programme served as sites where different interests bargained for resources⁶⁴. The data available indicates that this conflict came to a head in the 10th Session of the House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008).

Alongside this, a number of Local Authorities such as Westminster, Hammersmith & Fulham, and Slough worked outside of the processes of policy development being steered by the Audit

⁶⁴ Observation of the Migration Excellence Conference in 2008 included 4 conversations with different officers from local authorities around the country who all shared the opinion that they were pleased with the information being offered but hoped that they would receive adequate resourcing to undertake the tasks. This was also reflected in a question asked at the q and a session. Migrant's views were represented through a series of 'talking head' videos.

Commission (and reflected in the Migration Excellence Programme and Migrations Impact Forum). They organised independent research and conferences (e.g. Westminster, 2007b; Hammersmith & Fulham, 2008) to highlight the impacts of migration and a discrepancy between the demographic projections that their financial settlement is based on and the populations they were working with. Taken together these efforts served to push the issues associated with the impacts of new European migration up the agenda as it was in tune with ongoing debates around the resourcing of local services. As well, a number of innovative pieces of work were undertaken that provided options for alternative approaches to dealing with new migration. For example, Hammersmith and Fulham (and also Westminster Council) engaged with a Polish organisation called BARKA to deliver a support and repatriation programme (Mickel, 2008).

One of the structures that transpired in this situation was the Migration Impact Forum that was founded in 2007. This served as a forum through which Ministers, Civil Servants, key service providers, and local authorities could meet regularly (the four meetings the group held during the period of study were attended by between 25 – 40 people on each occasion). The Forum served to inject a consideration of the impacts of new EU migration into the wider immigration policy making process. It held its first meeting in June 2007 and was co-chaired by Ministers from the Home Office and Department for Communities and Local Government. At the opening meeting the then Minister of State for Communities and Local Government, Phil Woolas, described its function as “identifying priorities for further research. The other priority of the group will be to share best practice for public services in dealing with the impacts of migration. We have set out six thematic areas we think the Forum should cover; community cohesion, health and social care, housing, education, crime and disorder, and employment, and we would like to spend a substantial part of each meeting on one of the themes” (Migration Impact Forum, 2007).

At its first meeting, the issue of resourcing local authority areas in light of new European migration weighed heavily on the agenda and is minuted twice (Migration Impact Forum, 2007). The minutes’ state “Following the presentation [on resourcing responses to new migration] concerns were raised about the RSG settlements. Now that settlements are on a 3 year basis, if the figures used to determine settlements are wrong then the RSG funding is

wrong for 3 years too” (Migration Impact Forum, 2007, p.1) and then “Members also commented on the financial impact on local services including schools and health. Members noted that local areas are struggling to meet the cost of increased service provision in response to rapid change occurring in-year and not covered by formula grant funding.” (Migration Impact Forum, 2007, p.2). This provides a clear indication that the issue of new migration and the issue of local authority resourcing was well and truly merged in 2007 (although, it would be very difficult to identify whether the issue served as a prop for the wider argument around local authority funding or was a reason for arguing in and of itself).

The tensions between different government agencies with regard to resourcing local areas in light of the impacts of new migration were well expressed in the House of Commons Community and Local Government Committee’s Tenth Report of Session in 2007-2008 which focused on Community Cohesion and Migration (Community and Local Government Committee, 2008). This served as an important point in the negotiations around what resources could be provided to deal with the impacts of new migration. At this committee evidence was provided by a wide range of interests including government, the voluntary sector, trade unions, business, academics, and statutory service providers. The Committee on 22nd of April 2008 questioned the then Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, Hazel Blears, and the Minister for Borders Liam Byrne, specifically about the impacts of A8 migration and presses on questions around resourcing local authorities (Community and Local Government Committee, 2008, EV55). Examples of these questions are presented in box.5 below:

Box.5. Questions and Answers about Funding the Impact of New Migration.

Q231 (asked by Phyllis Starkey MP) “...do you think that there is a need for some additional funding, given that the pace of change is very rapid? Even if you improve the data from which the three year settlements are made, do you think there is a need for some additional pot of money that can be drawn on if there is rapid change that occurs in between?”

Answer by Hazel Blears MP: “First of all, there is a real terms increase in local government funding over this period of the three year settlement, and you would expect me to say that, to try and meet a whole variety of pressures that are in the system, particularly around social care and other issues. Having said that, in addition there is also the £ 50 million cohesion fund that our Department has for the next three years, £ 34 million of which is going out through the area-based grants to local authorities for them to be able to deal with the impact, not just of new migration, but also of settled communities, so there is some extra money in the system now.”

Answer by Liam Byrne MP: "...What we have to do in a world where migrants do move faster than ministers is to make sure that we do have the best possible information about where people are and, if we recognise that there can be transitional pressures on public services, which we do, we need to do something about it, which is why we do think that there is a case for asking migrants to pay a little bit extra as they journey towards citizenship, if that is what they want to do, towards a fund which can help alleviate some of those transitional pressures that frontline public servants are telling us about..." (Community and Local Government Committee, 2008, p.EV51)

Q243(asked by Anne Main MP) " Have you considered establishing a contingency fund to assist local authorities who have experienced rapid migration because, if they are not reflected in national statistics, this could help integration more if the funding was there?"

Answer by Hazel Blears MP: "The Local Government Association suggested several months ago that there should be a fund I think for £ 250 million for various authorities to bid against. We have not adopted that approach because what has been really important is to give local authorities the stability and predictability of having a three-year settlement. If you were to create a contingency fund that money has to come from somewhere. That could have meant undoing the three-year settlement that had been worked out...the LGA themselves were prepared to admit that they do not have the specific evidence, data and ability to be able to quantify this [what a contingency fund would pay for], and to some extent I think that that kind of approach is a very temporary, short term approach. What is important is to improve the data, make sure that when we do the next three-year settlement and the next CSR we get that embedded in mainstream public services because this change is going to be with us for quite a long time to come."

(Community and Local Government Committee, 2008, p.EV54)

At the same committee meeting, the Local Government Association presented a memo (Community and Local Government Committee, 2008, EV131) which specifically, in section 3.21, asked for a contingency fund of £ 250million to deal with the impacts of new migration. The LGA requested £ 250 million on the basis that this represented 1% of the overall funding allocation and reflects an approximate 1% underestimate of actual population (Community and Local Government Committee, 2008, EV131).

The report of this committee brought to light the different opinions of Central and Local Government regarding the funding required to deal with the impacts of new migration. The Local Government Association asked for £ 250million and the Ministers assert that £ 35million is already being made available. One of the committee's conclusions stated that "We are not convinced that the Government's recently announced transitional fund [the original term used for the Migration Impact Fund] will provide sufficient income to fund local

public services under pressure from migration. We recommend that the Government immediately establish a contingency fund capable of responding effectively to the additional pressures which may be put on local government services from migration. The Government should work closely with the local government sector to develop appropriate funding criteria.” (Community and Local Government Committee, 2008, Paragraph 126).

Soon after, in June 2008 The Department for Communities and Local Government published ‘Managing the Impacts of Migration’ (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). This report set out the scope of the issues presented by new migration as far as the government was concerned and made clear what steps were being taken and the levels of funding being made available for the issues. These steps included measures such as increased funding for ESOL classes; piloting specialist cohesion teams; developing an online portal of resources for practitioners; and increasing opportunities for local workers to improve their skills. (the full list is presented below in box.6). Hazel Blears MP, The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government at the time, sets out the rationale for this work in the introduction to the report: “Some places have not experienced migration before: others have not experienced the kinds of change we are seeing today. It is important to provide support so that those places can face change with confidence, manage its impact successfully, and make the most of the huge potential contribution that new arrivals can make to the local economy, culture and society.” (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008, p.5).

Box.6 Migration Measures Announced by DCLG in 2008

1. Exceptional Circumstances Grant of £10 million for schools experiencing a rapid growth in pupils.
2. Increasing the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant for schools.
3. £200,000 to Homeless Link to co-ordinate action to reduce rough sleeping in London.
4. Providing £50 million over the next three years to support community cohesion.
5. Introducing a new Transitional Impacts of Migration Fund [former term used for Migration Impact Fund]
6. Piloting Specialist Cohesion Teams to support local authorities facing particular challenges.
7. Developing a single online portal which will provide a regularly updated bank of good practice on promoting cohesion.
8. Working with the Improvement and Development Agency to run the Migration Excellence Programme to identify and share good practice, and promote peer mentoring of local authorities.
9. Developing proposals on how local authorities and their partners including the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) can prioritise public funding for English for Speakers of Other Language (ESOL)

10. Upskilling the existing workforce so that employers should not feel they have to seek migrant labour because there are avoidable local skills shortages.
11. Developing a range of good practice tools to show how Neighbourhood Policing teams can identify and engage with incoming/emerging communities.

(taken from Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008, p.7-8)

Amongst the funding identified in the report the new Transitional Impacts of Migration Fund was important as this was the proposed funding which became the Migration Impact Fund. The report identifies that it was first mentioned in the UK Border Agency's Green Paper 'The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System' which was released in February 2008 (UK Border Agency, 2008a). The report describes the fund as to be "spent on building the capacity of local service providers to manage the impacts of migration. For example, it could be spent on improving mapping of communities and local data; on websites that provide information for migrants coming to the UK; or on English language training. However, this list is not exhaustive and we would expect the money to be spent on a wide range of issues according to local need." (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008, p.37). The report also goes on to state that "We will work closely with the Government Offices and a range of stakeholders including the Police, local authorities and others to develop further this proposal in light of the responses to the consultation on the Earned Citizenship [sic-actually entitled Path to Citizenship] Green Paper." (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008, p.36).

The consultation on the 'Path to Citizenship' Green Paper took place between March and June 2008 (Home Office, 2008a; Home Office, 2008b; Home Office, 2008c). The analysis and response to this consultation were all published in July 2008 (Home Office, 2008c). 100 responses (17%) came from organisations, and 498 respondents (83%) said they were a member of the public (Home Office, 2008c, p.36). The consultation asked a specific question to do with the then 'Transitional Impacts of Migration Fund' and this was: "Question 5.3: Should non-EEA migrants entering through the family and economic routes pay an additional charge on top of existing application fees in order to create a fund which would be used to alleviate short-term pressures on local public services caused by migration?" (Home Office, 2008c, p.36). The response to the consultation indicated that 76% of respondents disagreed

with imposing a charge on new migrants to cover the transitional impacts of migration (see box.1 and box.1 below). A response that was representative of the type of opposition to the charge stated that “Migrants are already net contributors and pay more taxes on average and so already pay for the public services they use. The fact that some migrants have more dependants and so contribute less is not a justification to make all non-EEA migrants pay an additional charge.” (Home Office, 2008c, p.37).

The Local Government Associations’ offered careful responses which focused on requests for transitional funding but avoided supporting or discouraging a levy on new migrants. For example, the Welsh Local Government Association simply stated that they “welcome the fund to help alleviate the financial impact of population churn on local government. In order for local government to be able to respond flexibly and proactively this fund must be administered directly to local authorities and there should be discretion on local authorities as to how this money is spent.” (Welsh Local Government Association, 2008, p.8).

The conclusions to the consultation summarised the objections as being because of “...concerns about the proposed fund...Some highlighted the fact that migrants are, on average, net contributors to the economy, and as such expressed concern at the suggestion that migrants be required to contribute extra for a fund to manage the transitional impact of migration; others suggested that to require migrants to contribute to the fund would be unfair or discriminatory....” (Home Office, 2008c, p.37).

Despite the negative response to the proposed funding arrangements for what would become the Migration Impact Fund the Home Office asserted that the Fund, with its levy on Non EEA migrants would go ahead: “Some migrants make claims on public services as soon as they arrive and before they have contributed significantly to the cost of these services. At the same time public antipathy to migration can be driven by a perception of unfairness, in that some migrants are perceived to receive more from the state than they contribute – and this can adversely affect community cohesion. This calls for public service providers to respond quickly and innovatively to this challenge. The Government has provided a fair settlement for local government, and many are already responding to this challenge; but with a relatively small

amount of additional money we could alleviate some of the short-term pressures.” (Home Office, 2008c, p.22-23).

Taken together, this stage in the development of the Migration Impact Fund was strongly characterised by both innovation, in terms of identifying ways of dealing with issues arising from new migration, and a tussle for resources between central and local government. By late 2008 a settlement had been reached and work began on the detailed development of the fund.

5.4. Initiating the Migration Impact Fund

In July 2008 the Migration Impact Fund (initially referred to as the Transitional Impacts of Migration Fund) was publically announced following a period of significant lobbying and debate about the resourcing of local agencies prior to the next 3-year settlement which was assumed to better take into account the changing population dynamics local agencies were dealing with. The framework for the delivery of the Migration Impact Fund was also set out in the government’s response to the Path to Citizenship Consultation (Home Office, 2008c) (see box.7 below).

| |
|--|
| Box.7. The Framework for the Migration Impact Fund. |
|--|

“...The fund will be tens of millions of pounds and will operate from April 2009...The fund is designed to assist local service providers in dealing with the short-term pressures of migration. We believe it is essential that those who best understand where local pressures are occurring should take the decisions on how the fund should be used. As a result, we are proposing that the fund would be allocated on a regional basis through the Government Offices for the Regions... All local service providers, including the police, local authorities and Primary Care Trusts, will be eligible to benefit from the fund. As the fund will operate from April 2009 we will use the ONS sub-national projection figures published in June this year to ensure the most up-to-date, robust and consistent data available on migration is used in allocating this fund. We will also pressure test this approach with the Migration Impacts Forum. The Government Offices will prioritise the allocation of funds to specific projects or services based on a range of factors. These would include the key issues identified by local service providers. We would expect the Government Office to use existing fora with knowledge of the impacts of migration, such as Local Strategic Partnerships, to decide how best a fund of this sort can help address specific problems... it is essential that local services have an opportunity to shape the use of the fund in their local area. We will continue to discuss the practicalities of the fund with the police, local authorities and other local service providers...”

(Home Office, 2008c, p.23)

The detailed development of the Fund was taken on in October 2008 by the Cohesion Directorate that worked within the Department for Communities and Local Government. This work was developed by the Head of Integration Policy who provided a detailed description and comments on the process at this stage in an interview. The key parameters had already been made public, as per box.6, and what was necessary was ensuring the appropriate administrative and monitoring mechanisms were in place.

In many respects this stage of the process through which the Migration Impact Fund was enacted was relatively straight forward and the interviewee (3) made it clear that “once everyone’s pretty much agreed on what to do, the supports there, it’s not hard to get the policy working. It can come down to a few days drawing up procedures, getting the responsibilities

clear in other departments, drafting templates and forms, arranging publicity...it's not hard, especially with a few years' experience and confidence, also with email everything's stored on there so there's not much call for filing or banks of clerks like before" (interviewee 3).

He (interviewee 3) explained that the development of the fund took about three months. In this time, they provided updates to their line manager and directly but infrequently to the minister in charge, Hazel Blears MP. The interviewee explained that the Secretary of State was personally very interested in the work and looked for regular updates and played a role in directing some of the specific details of its development. The description offered by the interview respondent (3) of the work involved at this stage could best be organised into a model consisting of three overlapping stages and involving four significant features as per Table.7 overleaf.

| Table.7 The Three Stages and Four Features of Initiating the Fund |
|---|
| <p>Three Stages</p> <p>1- Assignment of task and expectations: The Head of Migration is assigned the task of developing the policy by their line manager within the confines of their supervisory process and then through informal conversations and tacit interpretation of expectations is instructed as to the nuances of the work (i.e. who should it favour, what big issues should it feed into)</p> <p>2- Design and Operationalising: The policy is designed in consultation with a small number of key stakeholders, relevant templates, information booklets and publicity is prepared. The involvement of the key delivery agencies is formalised and dates and deadlines are agreed.</p> <p>3- Delivery and open ended: Once the policy was designed and up and running the civil servant was signed off the task and it was handed over to its operational lead, in this case the Government Offices Directorate. However, there remained informal involvement due to the interest the Secretary of State had in the distribution of funds and the Secretary of State retained final decision on its allocation.</p> |

Four Features

A- High level of ministerial involvement: The Secretary of State, Hazel Blears, maintained a keen interest in the development of the work and personally directed aspects of it.

B- Exploitation of ICT: The use of email for communicating and keeping records was central, it enabled the work to be expedited.

C- Political Considerations- The work was developed in a way which responded to lobbying and sought to ensure that it did not undermine broader political considerations (such as the rise of the BNP and being seen to give funds to migrants rather than addressing the impacts)

D- Inter-departmental: The work involved civil servants from different departments in an informal and flexible way.

The interview respondent (3) who described the process made clear that it was important for the allocated funds to be, and be seen to be, about the impacts of migration as opposed to a fund for migrants themselves. This meant that the criteria through which applications by local agencies to receive funds were considered needed to reflect this. As well, what parts of the country received support also needed to be carefully considered. The exact formula used to do this remains unclear and no specific guidance appears to have been provided to the relevant Government Offices. The announcement of the fund (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009) set out that the funds would be distributed in line with ‘Barnett principles’ (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009, p.38). The Barnett Formula, to which the principles refer, is defined as “not determine[ing] the overall size of the budgets but provides that, where comparable, changes to programmes...result in equivalent changes in the budgets of the territorial department calculated on the basis of population shares.” (House of Commons, 1998, p.5). This meant that the fund was able to be understood as not affecting any current or future settlements, was in response to changes in a range of local programmes due to new migration, and was able to be worked out based on demographic information available. The Interview respondent said that in deciding where to prioritise for support, that it was “a given that we would be cross matching Census data, WRS data, and statements of local need over the past couple of years to share out the funding.” (interview respondent 3).

The Migration Impact Fund operated through the 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 financial years before being wound up in October 2010. It was reported in the press that the decision to end the fund was made by the incoming Conservative led coalition Government and was as an early

indication of its intention to be 'tough on immigration'⁶⁵. The winding up of the program was described in the press by an unnamed official at the Department for Communities and Local Government as being because “Ending the ineffective Migration Impacts Fund will save £ 16.25m this year. We believe the impacts of migration are better addressed through controlling immigration, which is why the government will reduce the level of net migration back down to the levels of the 1990s – tens of thousands each year, not hundreds of thousands.” (Wintour, 2010).

⁶⁵ However, on the other hand evidence collected through engaging in ethnographic observation indicates that the decision to end the fund was already taken. This was in light of a change of Minister at the Department for Communities and Local Government, with John Denham replacing Hazel Blears in June 2009. One of the implications of this was that resources and emphasis immediately shifted over to alternative funding streams such as the Connecting Communities programme and thus the Migration Impact Fund was closed and resources transferred over to this.

Chapter Six

Case Study Part Three: Analysis

This third part of this case study based investigation analyses the degree to which policymaking was modernised. The analysis serves as the final part of the case study itself, and the following chapter then offers up the findings of the investigation. Given the extent to which it is feasible to offer measurements in this field of study, the analysis will provide a basis for indicating at what points and in which respects the policy making in this instance was modernised; significantly modernised; not particularly modernised; or not modernised. Four sub-questions are answered in this analysis. The first part of the analysis considers the first of these, which is the extent to which the nine features of modernised policy making that are set out in Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century (also referred to in this chapter as PP21) (Cabinet Office, 1999b) are present in this case. Then, the second part of the analysis tackles the three further sub-questions. These are:

- How modernised was the policy making was at different points in the case?
- What was the degree of synergy between the different features of modernised policy making?
- What are the alternative explanations that could be applied where policy making was not found to be modernised?

6.1. Analysis: Part One.

This here first part of the analysis looks in turn at the presence of the nine features of modernised policy making. In so doing, the meaning of each feature is first summarised and then an explanation offered as to the degree to which it was observed to be present and why. Suggestions of what ought to have been observed for the work to have fully met the criteria of modernised policy making in each instance is also offered. The analysis of each feature then

offers a fixed statement on whether the policy making in that respect was modernised/ was significantly modernised/ was not particularly modernised/ or was not modernised.

1: Forward Looking

The first feature of modernised policy making set out in PP21 is for policy makers to be 'Forward Looking' (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.71). The idea behind this is for policy makers to do more than react to issues without considering its longer term impacts and opportunities. It is a notion that encourages vision and for policy makers to “clearly define outcomes and take a long term view, taking into account the likely effect and impact of policy in the future five to ten-year period and beyond.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.71). It is indicated that this should be done through utilising projections of social, statistical, political, economic and cultural trends. Examples of evidence for this occurring include “the preparation of statements of intended outcomes, contingency plans, scenario plans, forecasting programmes, taking into account lessons of previous, related policies.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.72).

The way that forward looking practices were present in this case has two key dimensions. These are forward looking practices that took place in anticipation of new migration and then forward looking practices that were undertaken in response to the issue after it had begun to occur. In the first instance, there is evidence of a limited amount of forward looking policy making that was hampered by a specific miscalculation. This is where the projections of potential migration numbers following the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession that was produced for the Home Office⁶⁶ (Dustmann et al., 2003) estimated potential levels of migration to be very modest. This served to dis-incentivise further proactive forward-planning such as scenario building or contingency plans because policy makers were led to believe that there would be no significant impacts arising from the change in immigration rules. Hence, there is little

⁶⁶ These figures reflected those offered in a similar study that was undertaken on behalf of the European Union (Alvaraz-Plata et al., 2003).

further evidence available of distinct forward planning activities, such as scenario building or contingency plans, prior to the emergence of the issue⁶⁷.

The policy issue then emerged in a rapid and unpredictable manner. For example, over half a million persons had arrived in the UK within the first year of the 2003 Treaty of Accession coming into force. Because of this, there was not a strong basis for the development of a clear framework or set of projections into the future five to ten years as specified in the guidance, especially as it was not known in the initial years following the higher than anticipated levels of migration as to how the issue would unfold. The policy actors involved were reacting to changes and demands in real time. Because of these reasons it would be unrealistic to expect to find a five-year plan for responding to new migration produced shortly after the enactment of the 2003 Treaty of Accession.

Because of the highly reactive character of this case, it is reasonable to relax the definition of what is meant by forward looking policy making. This means that efforts which looked forward for short periods of time (i.e. 6-18 months) and sought to offer worked out responses are taken as appropriate signs of forward looking policy making. Of this, there are a number of notable instances. These include the economic impact reports produced early on (Portes & French, 2005; Gilpin et al., 2006); and the Crossing Borders report (Audit Commission, 2007).

In the sense of policy makers exhibiting 'forward looking' practices in this instance it is fair to say that although they did not conform to the specific examples offered by the PP21 report (for example at the outset various contingency plans could have been worked out): numerous efforts were undertaken which contributed to the issue moving forward that reflected policy makers using real time knowledge to project the next steps with a limited range of available data/planning capacity. However, the miscalculation of potential migration figures and the fact that no plans were made in anticipation of the potential for higher than expected levels of

⁶⁷ It is debatable whether the Accession Monitoring Project could be taken to be an example of forward looking policy making. It is not included here as it essentially served as a device to extend the capacity to monitor new migration flows as the existing data management arrangements would not have the capacity to undertake this task.

migration are significant. Taken together the practices in this instance appears to have been not particularly modernised.

2: Outward Looking

Taking an outward looking approach to policy making means to “take full account of the national, European and international situation.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.71). There are two disparate elements to this: on the one hand it encapsulates geographically comparative considerations and on the other hand it means to communicate efforts with the public. Evidence for this occurring include for policy makers to have “worked closely with international divisions, agencies etc, use made of OECD, EU mechanisms etc. Looked at how other countries dealt with the issue...carried out international benchmarking; recognised regional variation within England. Communication/presentation strategy prepared and implemented.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.73).

The development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund exhibits many examples of outward looking policy making at all stages and in both respects. But this is circumscribed by evidence indicating significant question marks over levels of communication with the general public. The examples of outward looking policy making includes the production of a National Study (Audit Commission, 2007); a 2008 Parliamentary Inquiry which invited input from any concerned parties around the country and across the political spectrum (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008); and work that involved agencies from other EU states. An example of the outward looking approach then would be the work conducted with the BARKA-Foundation from Poland. They were engaged with at an early stage in the process of developing the 2009 Migration Impact Fund to provide information and supported to A8 migrants most in need, especially in the London boroughs of Westminster and Hammersmith and Fulham. An interview respondent involved in the early stages of the process said that “Barka were useful in being able to reach out to people who were really struggling and sleeping rough. They helped us understand the extent of the problem and they took on specific projects and contributed to discussions with civil servants and the Audit Commission who were looking at what to do about the negative impacts following accession.” (interviewee 6). This is an example of policy makers being open to involving and learning from other organisations on a European wide basis.

With regard to being outward looking via communication with the public, in simple terms it is fair to say that key decisions were shared through reports and briefings and all key information and statistics were made available online⁶⁸. For example, the setting up and work of the Migration Impact Forum was publicised through mainstream media outlets and the minutes of its meetings were made available online. However, there remained an ongoing debate as to the degree that the general public were communicated with clearly about the issue of new European migration per se. This is something that has come up repeatedly in the Labour Party's reflections on its handling of immigration as it digested and debated why it lost the 2010 General Election (Finch & Goodhart, 2010; Heppell & Hill, 2012). Taken together, the evidence available indicates that policy making in this instance could at best be judged to be significantly modernised. This is because there were clear indications of outward looking practices, but significant question marks remain about how much those outside of policy making circles were communicated with clearly enough.

3: Innovative

The third feature of modernised policy making is about being innovative and encourages a creative approach that involves taking "...a holistic view looking beyond institutional boundaries to the governments strategic objectives." (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.71). In pursuit of this the advice is to be "flexible, questioning established ways of dealing with things; encourage new and creative ideas; and where appropriate, making established ways work better...open to comments and suggestions of others. Risks are identified and actively managed. Experimentation and diversity are encouraged through use of pilots and trials." (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.73). Suggested evidence for this occurring are for policy makers to have "...used alternatives to the usual ways of working...took the issue back to the beginning...effective use of pilots...took steps to create management structures which promoted new ideas and effective team working...people brought into the policy team from outside." (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.73).

⁶⁸ It is important to note that just because something is in the public domain does not mean that it is accessible to the general public. Being able to find and interpret reports and statistics produced by government requires a high level of literacy and a degree of competence in using online resources. Research has shown that a significant number of the general population do not possess these inclinations (Pattie, Seyed, & Whiteley, 2003; Helsper, 2008).

The evidence gathered indicates that those involved in the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund exhibited innovative practices at all stages. This is especially apparent through the use of pilots (e.g. the Migration Excellence Programme); the involvement of outside partners (such as in compiling the National Study); and the reconfiguration of existing ways of working (e.g. the setting up of the Migration Impact Forum). In simple terms, the work to develop the fund was innovative in that it reflected a new approach to dealing with the immediate impacts of new migration. Whereas issues associated with migration would have traditionally been handled by the Home Office, from the beginning a wide range of policy actors were involved in responding to the issues and devising solutions. At the heart of this was a smaller group of policy actors who had the space, possibly due to a tolerance for modernised practices within and across departments of government, to be innovative. An interviewee from the IDeA who was involved in this innovative work stated that “the issues that came about with the arrival of A8 workers meant that we had to devise a response that wasn’t about migration in the way the refugee dispersal scheme or border enforcement was...had the opportunity to start from the beginning and think about what would work best...chance to do work which was well worked out even though we needed to work fast...” (interviewee 3). What this indicates is that the newness of the issue and the policy context it emerged in lent itself to policy makers wanting to do innovative work having the opportunity to do so.

A good example of the activities what these innovative practices engendered is the Migration Excellence Programme that served as an opportunity for agencies across the country to share best practice and engage in policy learning (GHK, 2009). This programme then informed the content and focus of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund and served as a way of ascertaining the most effective interventions which would be encouraged and supported through the Fund.

Overall, it is very clear that in practice policy makers had the scope and opportunities to engage in innovative policy making. It is important to consider the underlying reasons for this because the space to be innovative may primarily reflect there being a vacuum seized in an enterprising way or else a reflection of policy making space being generated in light of institutional support and frameworks. The evidence indicates that innovation in this instance was facilitated by both the overall context where innovation was encouraged and also the opportunities presented by

the work taking place under conditions of flux (in that the issue fell outside of established departmental remit and that existing work around immigration and community cohesion was undergoing changes). Because the innovative work reinforced core government policy (that is, to ensure the success and continuation of new European migration) the primary source of this innovation would appear to be the scope provided by institutional frameworks to meet a need to devise policy in a new way that contributed to existing structures. This means that the innovation was substantively limited. In light of this evidence it is posited that work in this instance was significantly modernised.

4: Evidence Based

The fourth feature that is outlined in PP21 encourages an evidence based approach (Cabinet Office, 1999b p.71). The definition offered suggests that policy makers should ensure all key stakeholders are involved throughout a policy's development and that all relevant evidence, including that from specialists, is available in an accessible and meaningful form to policy makers. The evidence for this occurring includes for policy makers to have “commissioned new research where appropriate and considered existing research; consulted relevant experts and/or used internal and external consultants appropriately. Considered range of properly costed and appraised options.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.73).

There are numerous examples of evidence based policy making at all stages of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. Existing and new data sources were exploited and a wide range of methods were employed to gather and utilise evidence. The early reports produced by the Department for Work and Pensions (such as Portes & French, 2005) and the setting up of the Accession Monitoring Project to keep up to date evidence on the flows and key impacts of new migrants from Europe are initial examples of the way in which evidence based policy making was at the heart of efforts in this case. It is also evident in the work of the Audit Commission (2007); the Parliamentary Inquiry (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008); and the way that the policy measure was set out in its final stages by the Cohesion team at the Department for Communities and Local Government (Table.8 below describes the key examples of evidence based policy making in this instance).

Table.8 Examples of Evidence Based Policy Making in this Case.

| Effort | Description |
|--|--|
| Accession Monitoring Project | Quarterly report by the UK Border Agency, the Department for Work and Pensions, HM Revenue & Customs and Communities and Local Government, containing statistics on EU migrants from A8 countries. It included information on the profile of workers (age, sex, sector of employment, intended length of stay, geographical distribution) tax and benefits (applications for income related benefits, child benefit, and by region) and housing and homelessness (housing applications and homelessness assistance received) |
| Crossing Borders report | This National Study produced by the Audit Commission (2007) collated information from a wide range of sources and localities through interviews, focus groups and conference, surveyed available reports and statistical data, to produce an analysis of the extent and character of issues emerging out of post accession migration to the UK |
| 2008 Communities and Local Government Parliamentary Inquiry. | The 2008 report by the House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee included a wide range of evidence gathered from government and non-governmental interested parties, visits, and evaluated different opinions and provided opportunities to challenge and test evidence. |
| Migration Impact Forum | An inter-departmental working group jointly chaired by the Minister for Immigration and the Minister for Communities. Set up to collect and discuss evidence on the impacts migration is having. |
| Devising the Migration Impact Fund | The stage where the Migration Impact Fund was set up as a working programme involved a further series of focus groups, a review of available evidence, and setting up evidence gathering mechanisms. |

The evidence indicates that this feature of modernised policy making was prominent in this case and was done consistently throughout all stages and used to inform future work. Therefore, it could be proffered that policy making was modernised in this instance.

5: Inclusive

The fifth feature of modernised policy making that is outlined in PP21 encourages an inclusive approach to policy making that "is fair to all people directly or indirectly affected by it and takes account of its impacts more generally" (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.71) The definition

offered indicate that policy makers should "take account of the impact on and/or meet the needs of all people directly or indirectly affected by the policy; and involve key stakeholders directly in the policy process" (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.71). Suggested evidence for this occurring include for policy makers to have "consulted those responsible for service delivery...those who would be on the receiving end or otherwise affected by the policy...range of impact assessments made and included in evidence leading to decisions..." (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.74).

There is a mixture of data available in this case that shows distinct efforts to be inclusive, but also limitations as to the extent to which the views and opinions of the general public and peripheral policy actors were acted upon. In the first instance, there are numerous examples of the policy making in this instance being inclusive. A wide range of affected and potentially affected persons were consulted and involved to a degree. This included migrants themselves, people in impacted communities, professionals and representatives. A good example of affected persons being included in the policy process in this case is through the production of the Crossing Borders report (Audit Commission, 2007). Here, affected persons were involved in exploring the impacts of new migration and possible solutions. Included were local community representatives, migrants themselves, and a wide range of service providers who operated at all levels. This involvement took the form of focus groups, surveys, consultations, and interviews. This inclusive approach ran all the way through the Parliamentary Inquiry (House of Commons, 2008) where visits to affected areas were undertaken and people directly affected were spoken to. It also sought involvement from a wide range of sources in the form of written evidence. Lastly, the final stages of shaping the Migration Impact Fund by the Cohesion Team at the Department for Communities and Local Government included consultation and focus group work with affected communities and new European migrants.

However, in the course of undertaking the investigation a question mark emerged as to the degree that those with less influence were included and on what terms. There are two facets to this. The first is reflected in a public consultation held by the Immigration and Borders Directorate in 2008. This directly asked the public about the Migration Impact Fund (then called the 'Transitional Impacts of Migration Fund') and how it would be funded (Home Office, 2008a; Home Office, 2008b; Home Office, 2008c). Despite overwhelming objections to the fee, especially from migrants themselves, the levy went ahead. As well, amongst all the

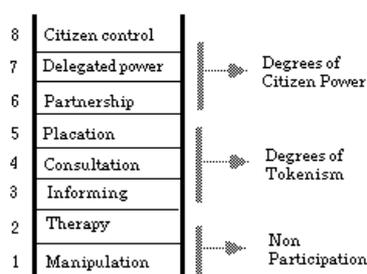
inclusive practices observed throughout the development of the fund, no evidence is available that states how the views and opinions collected were directly responded to. For example, no statements were found that said anything like ‘the majority of new European migrants said they would benefit from clarity on accessing health services- so as part of our plan we will be doing x, y, z’. Secondly, through undertaking ethnographic observations at three conferences/workshops in the course of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund meaningful involvement from those outside of government and policy circles was not witnessed. In these instances, with the opinion and experiences of affected persons more usually being reported back by policy makers familiar with these discursive settings⁶⁹. In coming to a position on what level of inclusion was present in light of the evidence, it would appear that there is a strong argument for asserting it was mostly tokenistic. By this it is meant that it consisted of efforts that placated, consulted and informed affected persons. This is arrived at by using a common measure of involvement, Arnstein’s Ladder⁷⁰ (Arnstein, 1969). These points lend towards the understanding that policy making in this instance was not particularly modernised in terms of inclusion.

6: Joined Up

The sixth feature of modernised policy making is about policy makers taking a joined up approach. This means that policy makers should “take a holistic view, looking beyond institutional boundaries to the government’s strategic objectives and seek to establish the ethical, moral and legal base for policy. Consider appropriate management/organisational structures needed to deliver cross cutting objectives. Develop a rewards and incentives system that encourages and maintains cross-cutting work.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.75). Suggested

⁶⁹ A prime example of this was the Migration Excellence Programme Conference held in 2008. Here, the views of new European migrants was represented only through a series of talking head videos.

⁷⁰ Arnstein’s Ladder (Arnstein, 1969) ranges from high levels of inclusion characterised by citizen control down to low levels of inclusion characterised by manipulation. The scale is thus:



evidence for this occurring include “Cross cutting objectives clearly defined at the outset; joint working groups or other arrangements with other departments clearly defined and well understood; barriers to effective joined up working clearly identified with strategy to overcome them. Information shared at every stage of the policy process with those who need to know. Implementation considered part of the policy process and developed in close collaboration with operational staff. Policy contained negotiability to enable meaningful discussions with others who may have had competing priorities. Clear lines with Public Service Agreements.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.75).

Throughout the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund there are ample examples of joined up working. In this case, joined up working was the primary mode of operation, especially with regard to different local and national agencies and departments working together and forming new joined up inter-departmental structures. However, underlying these joined up working structures was a distinct conflict between local and national government with regard to resources which lends itself to an understanding of joined up government being a structure through which differing interests potentially take the opportunity to further their objectives. This was more about bargaining and competition than a negotiability referred to in the Modernising Government literature (Cabinet Office, 1998b). This raises a question as to whether the joined up working here was primarily a modernised practice; or else more indicative of traditional bargaining or else the negotiability referred to in the PP21 guidelines⁷¹ (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.75).

The main examples of joined up working in this case include:

1. New migration was monitored by an inter-departmental Accession Monitoring Project comprising HM Customs and Revenue, Department for Work and pensions, Department for Communities and Local Government, and the Home Office.

⁷¹ The difference in the two terms primarily relates to co-operation. That is negotiability refers to the establishment of joined up mechanisms which allow constructive negotiations to take place as opposed to bargaining which refers more to the advancement of specific institutional interests. There is a very fine line between the two and in a sense negotiability may be taken to refer to actions at the benign end of a spectrum of bargaining based practices.

2. The Audit Commission worked closely with civil servants from the Home Office and Department for Communities and Local Government, local authorities and a wide range of other agencies and individuals to compile the National Study (Audit Commission, 2007).
3. To respond to the impacts of new migration an inter-departmental Migration Impacts Forum was set up in 2007 which was jointly chaired by the Home Office and the Department for Communities and Local Government. Membership comprised a wide range of interested bodies such as the Local Government Association and Housing Federation.
4. The Cohesion Team within the Department for Communities and Local Government reported that they liaised closely with colleagues in affected local authorities, regional government offices, and affected local residents, in devising the implementation of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund.

The ample examples of joined up working in this case are taken to be reflective of a response to the overarching reform context of policy making in this period that encouraged joined up working. The key example of this is the Accession Monitoring Project that was set up in anticipation of new European migration and by senior policy actors. This set the tone for the ensuing work. However, looking at aspects of the purpose of joined up working set out in PP21 (especially with regard to the ethical, moral, legal basis of policy) it would appear that in some instances joined up working served as locations through which conflicts between different agencies were played out. This reflected traditional understandings of bargaining based policy practices (see Painter & Peters, 2010). For example, the minutes of the first and second meetings of the Migration Impacts Forum mentioned the issue of levels of funding for local authorities given the increase in population following new migration. For this to be the case indicates the lobbying which may have taken place in and around that structure. Also it is indicative of it being used to bargain for resources, for an alternative may have been a general questioning in the minutes around the resources needed to deal with the impacts of new Migration. This evidence corroborates an account offered by an interviewee from the Audit

Commission (interview 3) who indicated that new European migration became a theme in a long running contest for resources between local and central government⁷².

In light of this evidence it would be difficult to argue that policy making wasn't significantly joined up in this instance. The main reason for this is that although there are ample and consistent examples of these structures being in place, it is unclear if they served (especially at critical junctures) as new sites of bargaining or instances where joined up working enabled activities to be carried out to a higher purpose reflective of a modernised approach to policy making. Hence, it is judged that policy making was significantly modernised in this instance.

7: Review

The seventh feature of modernised policy making encourages policy makers to engage in review where "Existing/established policy is constantly reviewed to ensure it is really dealing with problems it was designed to solve, taking account of associated effects elsewhere." (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.75). Suggested evidence for this occurring include an "Ongoing review programme in place with a range of meaningful performance measures. Mechanisms to allow service deliverers to provide feedback direct to policy makers set up. Redundant or failing policies scrapped." (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.75).

The way that this feature is conceptualised in the guidance makes it less relevant in this case. This is because it is directed at established and ongoing programmes. It could be argued that the work involved in responding to the impacts of new European migration involved a review of existing arrangements to support local communities and that what was involved in devising the new measure was in response to this. As well, in this case a broad process of review was utilised through identifying examples of good practice, especially in light of the Migration Excellence Programme (GHK, 2009). But this understanding does not reflect fully the specific

⁷² The interview notes stated that "A core issue for LAs is around local funding formulas - and that there is an ongoing debate as to whether areas with more transient/fast changing populations are being adequately reimbursed within the current formulas... noted that Slough is often cited as one such authority and that following A8 migration many rural areas are affected. Much campaigning done through LGA." (interviewee 3).

conception of review in the PP21 guidelines. Hence, in terms of this part of the analysis it is necessary to conclude that this feature is not applicable in this case.

8: Evaluation

The eighth feature that is outlined in PP21 encourages the “Systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of policy” and for this to be built into the policy making process (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.76). Evidence for this occurring include there being a “Clearly defined purpose for the evaluation set at the outset...Success criteria defined. Means of evaluation built in to the policy making process from the outset; commitment to publish outcomes of evaluation. Pilots, where appropriate, used to influence final outcomes. Evaluation reports tailored to their audience to enable lessons to be learnt.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.76).

Although the conception of evaluation in this instance is focused on the delivery and lead up to worked out policy programmes, there is clear evidence of an evaluative actions taking place in the identification of the format of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. This is mainly exhibited through the use of pilot schemes and consultation. However, no systematic process of evaluation is present in this case. This is mainly because it was a reactive setting.

The pilot work undertaken within the auspices of the Migration Excellence Programme (GHK, 2008) served as an opportunity to evaluate the type of responses to new European Migration being undertaken and then promoted the examples of best practice. This directly informed the type of projects more likely to be supported by the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. Furthermore, the discussions and considerations entertained as part of the Parliamentary Inquiry into Cohesion and Migration (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008) provided an opportunity for key policy makers to evaluate and shape the content and focus of the fund. However, no specific evidence of this taking place in the context of formal evaluation is available. This is not necessarily an issue as the investigation here is concerned with the development of a policy issue outside of a specific programmed setting. It would be unlikely for specific or overarching evaluations to have taken place (beyond the review of evidence and findings by policy makers at different stages of the process) as there was an unavoidable lack of clarity about where the process was going to end up and that there were numerous streams

of activity that fell under different departmental remits. Additionally, the timescales involved, three years from when the notion of an impact fund was mooted to its instigation, mean that it happened quickly (due to the pressing nature of the issue at hand) which again would have made formal evaluations less likely. That said, a number of the initial policy measures (such as the estimates of migration flows and the accessibility of Workers Registration Scheme data) were clearly problematic and it would be expected that in a modernised policy setting for some form of evaluation to have taken place⁷³. However, positives remain in that there was pilot work undertaken and the lessons learned were fed into the ongoing development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. On balance, it would be fair to suggest that policy practices in this respect were not particularly modernised.

9: Lessons Learnt

The ninth and final feature that is outlined in PP21 encourages a learning approach to policy making which “Learns from the experience of what works and what doesn’t.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.76). Suggested evidence for this occurring include “Information on lessons learned and good practice disseminated. Account available of what was done by policy makers a result of lessons learned. Clear distinction drawn between failure of the policy to impact on the problem it was intended to resolve and managerial/operational failures of implementation.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.73).

There are numerous examples of lessons being learnt and the information being disseminated throughout the development of the Migration Impact Fund. This was achieved through a range of studies and pilot programmes being undertaken which were then reported on and disseminated in writing and through conferences and debate. This included:

- A National Study produced by the Audit Commission (2007) which researched the nature and locations of the impacts. The study also made recommendations and

⁷³ Evaluations may well have been undertaken but just not shared in the public domain or made available/of interest to interview respondents.

involved a range of policy makers in disseminating the results through ongoing discussions and planning.

- The Migration Impacts Forum was set up to collate up to date evidence, learn about what works and use this to set priorities for policy makers.
- A Parliamentary Report was produced (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008) which involved visiting affected areas, collating and considering different opinions and perspectives on the best way to respond to the impacts of migration.

Most importantly, when it came to devising the measure as a workable piece of policy the Cohesion Team within the Department for Communities and Local Government took a number of specific steps which were indicative of a learning approach to policy making. This involved making sense of the pilots and development work that had already been undertaken to develop an idea as to the type of responses the fund would be more likely to support; learning from affected communities as to how to implement the measure in a way which did not undermine cohesion; and devising ways of tracking and learning from the early stages of the funds implementation. In light of the evidence available, it could be argued that the practices in this instance were modernised.

6.2. Putting the Elements Together

The first part of the analysis offers detailed points on the degree to which each of the features of modern policy making identified in PP21 was present in the instance of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. This was important in ensuring that all of the features were considered in detail. Table.9 (overleaf) indicates the degree to which each of these features were present based on the terms of this evaluation and within the limitations of the decisions open to the policy makers involved.

Table.9 Results of Analysis Part One (The Extent to which the Nine Features of Modernised Policy Making Were Present.)

| Feature | Modernised ? | Description | Pts |
|--|------------------|---|-----|
| Forward Looking | Not particularly | Examples of policy makers being forward looking in a reactive setting as can be, with a range of pilot studies and plans devised. However, no evidence of specific work around contingency plans, especially in preparation of new migration. | 2 |
| Outward Looking | Significantly | Policy makers seen to work in an outward looking way, especially with regard to European involvement and studies undertaken. However, distinct question marks around the way work was communicated with the general public. | 3 |
| innovative | Significantly | Policy making was innovative and lots of examples of new ideas and structures. There was an issue as to the degree that the innovation only served to reinforce core government policy. | 3 |
| Evidence based | Was | Numerous examples of policy makers using a wide range of evidence at all stages. | 4 |
| Inclusive | Not particularly | Consistent examples of consultation and involvement. But evidence indicates that this was tokenistic. | 2 |
| Joined up | Significantly | Lots of joined up working, both amongst policy actors and in the structures formed to respond to the issue. Joined up working not always about co-production but a site for bargaining and lobbying. | 3 |
| reviews | n/a | Although there are some examples of reflection on previous steps, this was not in the sense advocated in PP21. The recommendations in PP21 refer to established policy programmes and less so to development in complex settings. Hence it was deemed to be not applicable in this case. | /- |
| Evaluative | Not particularly | Some examples of evaluative processes in play but no formal systematic approach. Evaluation was not undertaken as a structured and pre-planned activity as recommended in the PP21 guidelines. | 2 |
| Lessons learning | Was | Evidence of learning from pilots and joined up working. There is a consistent theme of learning throughout, especially with regard to studies and pilot schemes. This reflected a learning approach to a new policy issue and was a cornerstone of any degree of success the Fund was likely to have had. | 4 |
| Score of 23 out of potential 32. The mean is 2.875 and is rounded off to an overall score of 3. | | | |

The first part of the analysis indicates that the policy making involved in the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund was significantly modernised. This is based on an average of the scores attached to the degree that modernised policy making was present in each feature. An overriding issue in conducting the first part of the analysis was that although there was evidence of work being undertaken in a modernised way with regard to each feature, distinct question marks remained about the extent to which this fully reflected the guidance produced by the New Labour government (Cabinet Office, 1999a; Cabinet Office, 1999b). Also, in a number of areas the degree that the work was modernised was limited by the extent to which it reflected the ethic of modernised policy making, especially in terms of inclusion (with regard to affected persons and the general public); the degree that the work did anything other than reinforce core government policy; and how much of the work undertaken reflected bargaining based policy making. The first part of the analysis only goes so far in elucidating the overall way that policy making could be understood as modernised in this case. With this in mind we now move on to the second part of the analysis to consider the degree that this case is regard to the three further sub-questions.

6.3. Analysis: Part Two.

Having set out the degree to which the nine features of modernised policy making contributed to the extent of modernised policy making in this case, the task at hand now is to analyse the case in more general terms. The primary purpose of this is to identify the way that modernised practices may be present when all the features are taken together and set out how other explanations may come into play when a broader perspective is taken. This part of the analysis confronts a range of relevant issues that were identified and also ensures that three further sub-questions are covered. These are:

- How modernised was the policy making was at different points in the case?
- What degree of synergy was there between the different features of modernised policy making at key points in the case?
- What alternative explanations could be applied at points in the case where policy making was not found to be modernised?

Analysing the case study with regard to these three questions serves to reduce the extent to which policy making is understood to be modernised. This is entirely because of the significant role played by alternative approaches to policy making. All other aspects of policy making, certainly in relation to the sub-questions covered, confirm the findings of the first part of the analysis that policy making was significantly modernised. This part of the analysis starts by picking up on the way that the elements of modernised policy making presented throughout the case. Furthermore, the elements of modernised policy making are then considered with regard to the synergy between the different elements and this is found to be a clear feature in this case. The next point then draws out considerations concerning the limitations of describing this case as modernised because of the multiple examples of bargaining based practices within modernised structures. These limitations are then explored further through picking up on issues concerned with the presence of directive practices in terms of framing the choice architecture of policy makers and limiting the involvement of the general public. Finally, the analysis considers the importance of perspective and its impact on the way the data appears in this case. Once this is completed, the work then moves on to the next chapter that considers the overall findings of this investigation.

The case study data indicates that the different features of modernised policy making were present throughout the case of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. This means that modernised practices were observed at each of the four stages that the case data was organised into (anticipating new migration; initial responses; negotiating for resources; and developing the fund). This is significant because for policy making to be modernised at just one stage would point towards the data indicating that modernised policy making was an irregular feature. However, the modernised policy making that was observed was not evenly spread throughout each of the four stages. At the stage where resources were being negotiated it was clear that there was less modernised policy making taking place than in the anticipatory stage. Table.10 overleaf provides examples of modernised policy making through each stage of case.

| Table.10 Examples of modernised policy making at different stages of the case. | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| Anticipation (2002-2004) | Initial Responses (2004-2007) | Negotiating Resources (2007-2008) | Devising the Fund. (2008-2009) |
| + The Accession Monitoring Project + Studies which projected number of arrivals (Dustmann et al., 2003). | +Studies into the macro-economic impact of new migration (e.g. Portes & French, 2005). + The Migration Excellence Programme (GHK, 2009). + Audit Commission's National Study (Audit Commission, 2007). | + The Migration Impact Forum. + The UK Border Agency Consultation (Home Office, 2008a) | + Cohesion Team, Consulting local communities. + Cohesion Team joined up with staff from other departments (especially DCLG) to devise Fund. |

The first part of the analysis only goes so far as to show the isolated presence of the various features of modernised policy making. An important consideration is how the policy making practices can be understood when taken together and the synergy between the different elements is considered. Were the different modernised practices present but operating in contradictory ways, were they inconsistent and isolated? The data collected supports an understanding that modernised practices presented synergistically. A common way that this manifested is through innovative approaches being utilised that then engendered joined up and evidence based ways of working. An example is of the innovative (and to a lesser degree outward looking) policy making that resulted in the establishment of joined up work between the Polish agency BARKA, the Home Office and a number of local authorities. The lessons that this work generated (in terms of best practice and understanding the nature of the problems being presented) was utilised in the production of the Audit Commission's National Study (2007) which in turn went on to inform the character of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. Alongside this understanding of modernised practices appearing in complimentary sequences an important dimension of this is that they emerged in this way consistently throughout the case. This is also important because it supports an analysis which posits that policy making in this instance could be understood as modernised.

What the analysis has indicated so far is that the policy making in the case of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund is significantly modernised⁷⁴. However, the extent to which it may be understood to be of any great significance in the broader development of policy is limited because of the ascendancy of alternative policy making practices throughout the case. For example, one of the themes that emerges in this case is the contradictory presence of bargaining based practices. By this it is meant that policy makers can be understood to have competed to advance their interests through various means across different settings. In this case there was an underlying theme which concerned a long running bargaining process involving the way that resources are distributed between local authorities and central government (Rhodes, 1996). In many respects, there is a strong line of evidence that identifies the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund as being subsumed into this process, with the modernised structures that were developed being utilised to carry out bargaining practices. There were a number of very clear examples of this taking place which included the recorded negotiations of the 2008 Parliamentary Inquiry (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008) and the discussions that took place at the initial meetings of the Migration Impact Forum. What this means then is that there is a question mark as to the degree that policy making was modernised in a way that impacted on the way that important decisions about policy are taken rather than being limited to a way of administering the policy process.

The question marks around how confidently the analysis can identify this case as being modernised in any significant sense is compounded by data indicating the role that directive policy making came to play in the development of the measure. This has three manifestations that relate to, firstly, the choices available to policy makers; secondly, the degree to which peripheral policy actors (including the general public) were involved in the process; and, thirdly, the directive influence of leading political figures in changing the course of policy. In the first instance, there is a clear tone in the evidence that indicates government had a very clear mandate concerning liberalising labour markets, satisfying businesses need for labour availability, and opening up to Europe which meant any policy activities would need to be consistent with this position. This policy imperative is made clear in a number of speeches by the then prime minister and the significance of this position is explained in a number of analyses

⁷⁴ Indeed, if one was to take this data and consider it strictly in relation to the type of evidence of successful modernised policy making offered up in the reform literature (Cabinet Office, 1999b; Bullock et al., 2001) it is likely that it would be seen as containing excellent examples of modernised policy making.

(e.g. Cerny & Evans, 2004; Oakley, 2011). Given that the choices available to policy makers involved was limited because of this: the degree to which the work was modernised is limited also. The main form of evidence for this being the case is that at no point did the policy making observed offer up any contradiction to core Government's position on this issue. Also, groups lobbying for a change in policy, such as Migration Watch, did not appear to be significantly involved in the process. Taken together the type of modernisation observed in relation to this directive policy making is suggestive of it being a management tool rather than a genuinely creative process that responds and puts forward the best available solution, whatever that may be. However, this line of analysis only goes so far because it requires further study as to the alternative ways the work may have developed if say core government had different imperatives or if there was a broader number of choices made available to policy makers. As it stands it is hard to conclude as to the degree that the policy making observed in this case was or was not directed by core government imperatives.

The second part of this issue regarding the directive influence of core Government relates to the way that the new European migration was presented to the general public and communicated through mainstream channels. The way this took place lent itself towards arguments alleging that a directive government was seeking to push through demographic change. This subject has been a source of much contention both in the press (e.g. Migration Watch, 2003; Eade & Valkanova, 2009) and within the Labour Party, especially in the years following the 2010 election defeat (Finch & Goodhart, 2010; Heppell & Hill, 2012). An example of the tone of this issue is the 'insider' comments of a former policy advisor to Tony Blair called Andrew Neather that posited the government drove through an agenda that disregarded the interests of its core voters (Whitehead, 2009). Although his comments focused on the contentious issue of efforts to multiculturalise the UK⁷⁵: What was important here is the mismatch between the government's presentation and policy on immigration and increasingly hostile views amongst its core working class voters in the period. This was one of the important factors in shaping the Labour Party's reforms after its electoral defeat in 2010. Heppell and Hill (2012) collate the changes being advocated by key Labour Party members when they state

⁷⁵ His argument went that "Labours relaxation of controls was a deliberate plan to open up the UK to mass migration but that ministers were nervous and reluctant to discuss such a move publically for fear it would alienate its core working class vote...driving political purpose: that mass immigration was the way that the government was going to make the UK truly multicultural...to rub the rights nose in diversity and render its arguments out of date." (Whitehead, 2009).

“...he [Andy Burnham] noted that the party was in denial and had to move beyond their concern about raising the issue as it was the biggest doorstep issue in constituencies where Labour lost...he [Ed Balls] felt that Labour had stopped listening to the concerns of traditional Labour voters and immigration was one of their primary concerns as it impacted directly on their wages and living conditions.” (Heppell & Hill, 2012, p.219). What this means is that a modernised approach to policy making ought to have been, for better or worse, more alive to the issues being raised and sought to galvanise a response that did more to respond to the needs and anxieties of the general public⁷⁶ in a way that may have diverted from the imperative of responding to economic challenges through liberalising labour markets.

What this analysis has done is set out the way in which the elements of modernised policy making have manifested in this case and the wider practices that were brought to bear in this instance. At this stage the headline is that there were many signs of how modernised policy making was present in this instance but due to the significant presence of bargaining and directive practices it could be argued that policy making was significantly modernised at best. However, the limited perspective of this analysis is an important consideration. This refers to the way that the data accessed has been primarily located at the meso-level and limited insight is provided into the detailed processes that informed core government policy nor the rationales behind the bargaining based activities that took place amongst key participants such as the Local Government Association and Regional Agencies. There are a number of implications to this. Firstly, the analysis can only go so far in asserting that policy making was in fact directive (as indicated by the data collected). The complex of relations that served to form the overarching direction of immigration policy in this period may or may not be a product of modernised policy making, the investigation here does not have the scope to ascertain that. Secondly, there is a lack of clarity about the character of the bargaining based practices that took place within modernised structures such as the Migration Impact Forum. There is a question mark as to whether this reflected a modernised negotiability that comes with joined up working to enable “meaningful discussions about a policy.” (Cabinet Office, 1999b, p.73) or a more classic form of bargaining that entails a more competitive stance between different policy actors. The degree to which bargaining based practices may or may not have come to

⁷⁶ The notion of a general public is contentious. Although commonly taken to be a body of genuine opinion grounded in everyday experience: along the lines of the analysis offered by the Frankfurt school (e.g. Gurevitch et al., 1982) what is casually referred to as the opinions of the general public is in fact often an amplification of the interests of dominant groups.

reflect modernised policy making is unclear at this stage and further investigation would be required to ascertain this.

The next chapter will look in detail at the findings of this investigation and subject them to a theoretical analysis. The first task it will undertake is to develop the discussion about the way we may perceive the extent of modernisation in light of the predominance of alternative practices, especially at critical junctures. Having done that the findings will look closely at what one may expect to find in terms of modernised policy making and advance the finding that this case is modernised by virtue of its limitations as a management/ tool rather than a fundamental shift in the underlying ethos of policy making. With those points in mind the chapter will then offer a balanced conclusion of the degree to which the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund is an example of modernised policy making.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: Findings and Theoretical Analysis

The investigation into the extent to which the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund was modernised has offered up a number of useful findings (see Table.12 below for a summary). In order to share these findings as clearly as possible, they are broken down into four parts in this final chapter. These parts are: 1- An elucidation of the findings that directly relate to the research question; 2- A consideration of how the findings relate to existing studies; 3- A setting out of the main findings concerning the methodological approach; and 4- A presentation of the most significant unanticipated findings. Having presented and subjected the findings to theoretical analysis, the attention then turns to the further research that may be undertaken in light of this thesis. Finally, a conclusion to the work is shared.

| Table.12. The Answers to the Research Question: A Summary. |
|--|
| Core Question: How and to what extent was policy making modernised in this case? |
| It was found to be not particularly modernised, mainly because of the ascendant role played by bargaining and directive forms of policy making. |
| Sub question 1: To what extent were the nine features of modernised policy making present? |
| All the relevant features of modernised policy making were present in this case. Some of these features presented significantly (such as evidence based policy making, innovation, and learning lessons). |
| Sub Question 2: How modernised was the policy making at different points in the case? |
| Modernised policy making presented at all points throughout the case. It was especially significant at the second stage when policy makers were coming together to make sense of the issue and devise solutions. |
| Sub Question 3: How synergistically did the features of modernised policy making present in the case? |
| The features of modernised policy making presented synergistically in all instances throughout the case. |
| Sub Question 4: What alternative explanations were there for policy making when not found to be modernised? |
| Policy making at crucial junctures was characterised by bargaining between key stakeholders. An important example of this was bargaining that took place between the Local Government Association and the Department for Communities and Local Government. Directive policy making was also a significant feature throughout the case: this is because the intent of core government, to liberalise labour markets, was adhered to at all times. |

7.1. Core Findings: To what Degree was it Modernised Policy Making?

The investigation found that policy making in this case was not particularly modernised. This was arrived at by undertaking an analysis which consisted of two parts. The first part explored the specific presence of each of the nine features of modernised policy making drawn from the

guidance offered in Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century (Cabinet Office, 1999b). This was an important exercise, as it provided an opportunity to focus on each feature of modernised policy making in a way that demanded drawing out a lot of detailed evidence from the case study. In this instance, all the features of modernised policy making were observed to be present to some degree⁷⁷ (see Table.9 on page 138). In terms of the features of modernised policy making, there was no shortage of examples available at any point leading up to the development of the Migration Impact Fund. A number of features of modernised policy making (such as evidence based policy making, innovation, and learning lessons) were present to such an extent, that the policy making observed could be described as modernised in relation to those features.

Even at the other end of the scale, with the features of modernised policy making that were found to be not particularly present, there was still evidence of the practices involved being employed in numerous instances across the case. Forward looking policy making is a useful illustration of this. This was found to be not particularly present in the case because there was no evidence of contingency plans in anticipation of new migration, nor were there plans that factored in significant diversification of migration flows once the issue had emerged. To a degree, this reflected the fact that the policy making took place in a highly reactive situation. Nevertheless, there were still clear examples of forward looking practices being employed such as: the development of the National Study (Audit Commission, 2007) and monitoring arrangements being adapted as the case progressed. The first part of the analysis was designed to facilitate an ordinal measurement of modernised policy making. A score of 3 was achieved⁷⁸. This indicated that, in relation to the first sub-question, policy making in this instance could be described as being significantly modernised.

The second part of the analysis involved considering three further sub-questions, which were: how modernised was policy making at different points in the case? How synergistic were the different features of modernised policy making? And, to what extent were other types of policy making featured in the case? This exercise provided an opportunity to collect any additional

⁷⁷ Except for features relating to the review of policy measures that were judged to be not applicable in this case.

⁷⁸ This was arrived at by averaging the individual scores given to each feature of modernised policy making that was analysed. It is worth noting that the method of rounding off the score to the closest whole number was significant due to the root score achieved (2.87).

findings presented by the case study data. A number of significant findings were established. An exceptionally relevant finding was that the anticipated elements of modernised policy making were identified as being consistently present throughout the case study. This was both in terms of across time and amongst the different policy makers. Modernised policy making was reflected in the efforts of a wide spread of participants in the process. By this, it is meant that it was more common to find all the departments and individuals involved had utilised modernised approaches to policy making on many occasions.

Modernised policy making was found to be present consistently throughout the case which was organised into four periods. For example, in anticipation of new migration from Europe (2002-2004) a number of studies were undertaken which were examples of forward looking and evidence based policy making. Then, the period involving initial responses (2004-2007) included the delivery of a Migration Excellence Programme which was a good example of innovation and learning lessons. The next period was characterised by negotiation for resources (2007-2008): again, modernised policy making was present through the establishment of the Migration Impact Forum which involved both joined up working and reviewing. The period when the Migration Impact Fund was being devised (2008-2009) again provided examples of modernised policy making such as the way that local communities were given the opportunity to participate in devising the criteria for funding. It was found that the consistent presence of modernised policy making occurred in two overarching ways. Firstly, it occurred through incidences that ran throughout the case. An example of this is the Accession Monitoring Project, a multi-agency (i.e. joined up) project to collect up to date and on-going data about migration (i.e. evidence based). The second way was through incidences that occurred for periods of time within the case study period. An example of this would be the Migration Excellence Programme which ran between 2007 and 2009. So, as far as the consistent presence of modernised policy making goes, the case investigated was found to be significantly modernised.

Modernised policy making was found to have operated synergistically in numerous instances, i.e. as mutually reinforcing and complimentary combinations. No examples of modernised policy making presenting in contradictory forms was identified. This strengthened the case for policy making being understood as modernised in this instance, as it was indicative of there being an underlying presence of modernised policy making, where choices made by policy

participants lent towards further modernised work. These characteristics of the case also indicated that there was an enhanced likelihood that complimentary modernised practices would come to prominence. This need not have necessarily been so, as there may well have been consistent features of modernised policy making being employed in ways that did not fit together. An example of how these features of modernised policy making emerged in a synergistic way is thus:

- In anticipation of new migration, the multi-agency Accession Monitoring Project was set up to track demographic changes.
- Once the changes occurred, local agencies worked together to collate data and found it difficult to access the Accession Monitoring Project data sets. Joined up work took place to enhance existing data sets so that they were more useful.
- This was then used to provide evidence for focusing resources.

So far, the findings discussed have shown the ways that policy making was found to be modernised in this instance. However, data gathered lends towards an overall assessment that policy making was not particularly modernised. This is primarily because there was a significant presence of directive and bargaining based practices concerning the allocation of resources and the alignment of efforts with core government policy. This was especially the case at critical junctures such as when the allocation of funding was being decided upon. These practices presented in a way that appears to have consistently overridden modernised policy making. It lends towards a conclusion that the traditional form of policy making, as described within the auspices of the Westminster Model, still predominates British policy making.

The investigation began with a range of propositions that indicated the type of non-modernised policy making practices that ought to be kept in mind as potential observations. From the outset the case study data showed the relevance and presence of both bargaining and directive practices as overt and/or underlying dynamics. Two particularly significant dimensions to this were identified. In the first instance, bargaining based practices emerged within modernised structures. A strong example of this was the initial meetings of the Migration Impact Forum. Here, a modernised structure was used for the bargaining of resources between local and central government. The second instance was to do with directive practices. Here, the underlying factor was that central government had a clear and overriding policy imperative to continue the free

movement of workers within the European Union as an important facet of its economic policy. In light of this, it was observed that the modernised policy making that took place, consistently fell in line with the imperatives of core government and no evidence was found of any contrary perspectives or policies coming to bear. Evidence for this includes the interpretation and framing of the initial labour market impact studies carried out on behalf of the Department for Work and Pensions (e.g. Portes & French, 2005) and the way that views which challenged this line remained on the margins, but which later came to prominence in the Labour Party's position on European migration following the 2010 election (Finch & Goodhart, 2010; Heppel & Hill, 2012).

However, there is a debate to be had as to the extent that the directive role played by core government undermined modernised policy making per se. This is because more data needs to be collected to ascertain the exact way that decisions were arrived at within core government, which may or may not be reflective of modernised policy making (and just received at the meso-level as directive due to the hierarchical relationship between these two levels of decision making).

7.2. The Findings in Relation to the Literature.

The findings of this investigation relate to the literature in four important ways, each of which will be covered in this part of the chapter. Firstly, they present an opportunity to consider the relevance of the theoretical model used in this investigation to characterise policy making in the UK (that being the Asymmetrical Power model). Secondly, it provides an opportunity to reflect on existing accounts of the degree that policy making may be modernised. Thirdly, it offers a chance to comment upon the body of literature which assesses the success of New Labour's modernisation efforts. Fourthly, this part of the chapter will look at the degree to which the data collected reflects the standards of the best practice examples of modernised policy making that have been presented in the reform literature (e.g. Cabinet Office, 1999b; Bullock et al., 2001).

The Asymmetrical Power model provides an overarching theoretical framework through which to make sense of British policy making. The findings of the investigation correlate positively

to the Asymmetrical Power model in a number of key ways. Core government was found to be important, bargaining between networks was vital at important levels in the decision making process, and it was found that there was scope for policy makers to contribute to the policy process in innovative ways through this. However, inequalities were also evident in the degree to which non-traditional policy actors had limited involvement in the process.

In relation to the Asymmetrical Power model, no evidence was found of modernised policy making being a significant enough causal mechanism that would influence the overall way that policy making proceeded, or ought to be characterised: i.e. modernised policy making served as a device through which a policy response was administered, rather than a causal factor influencing the overall relations through which the key decisions were arrived at. As much as it may or may not have influenced the quality of the Migration Impact Fund, there was only ever one choice of destination, due to the imperatives of core government to increase labour mobility. Key variations within this overall policy direction came about through the processes of bargaining by prominent policy actors. It was also found that inequalities were consistently reflected in the policy making activities. New migrants and local communities played a limited role in the policy making that took place, prominent examples of this included the way in which the responses to a Home Office consultation were overlooked (Home Office, 2008b) and the limiting of non-professional policy makers to a ‘vox box’ presentation at one conference (with there being no involvement at the other conferences and policy making that was observed).

The existing literature indicates that there had not been an increase in the extent of modernised policy making between the years of 2003-2009 (Hallsworth et al., 2011; Public Affairs Select Committee, 2013). The findings of the research conducted here conform to that literature. Although modernised policy making was observed throughout the case, there was no increase in its prevalence or impact as the case progressed. What was observed was not a direct result of New Labour’s Modernising Government reforms, so it would be difficult to argue that the type of modernised policy making being investigated would have been unlikely to have occurred before these reforms were implemented.

In terms of the presence of the different features of modernised policy making, there is some divergence with the existing literature. The results of a survey in 2010 of former Ministers and

Civil Servants by the Institute for Government, provided an indication of the extent to which senior Civil Servants and Ministers found each of the different features of modernised policy making to be present during the period of study⁷⁹ (Hallsworth et al., 2011, p.33-34). This survey showed that in the experience of senior civil servants and ministers, policy making was more likely to be modernised in respect of its outward looking nature, its inclusivity and its forward-looking orientation, and least likely to be modernised in respect of its innovativeness, evaluative and joined-up character. The data collected in this study differed from the findings of that survey. Rather, my research has found inclusive practices to be less present and for joined up, and innovative practices to be more present. The variance between the findings of this study and that survey may be due to a number of reasons. It is most likely that it serves as an indication of the relative position of those considering the character of an incidence of policy making, which had an impact on the type of policy making observed. The distinction is that this case study based investigation focused on the meso-level as opposed to the general experiences of a senior civil servant or Minister's- which would be more at the macro-level. In addition, the suggestion in Hallsworth et al's. (2011) survey that policy making is more likely to be inclusive, represents a distinct divergence with what was found in my research case. Here, the context and position of research is again brought into the limelight. The senior policy makers who were interviewed, may well have been focusing on inclusion in terms of national bodies such as the Local Government Association or Trade Unions, rather than affected individuals or small charities.

The next consideration in relation to the existing literature is the relationship of the findings to studies and research that focused primarily on New Labour's modernisation project. As explored in the background, this body of literature is largely orientated towards identifying the consistency between the rhetoric and reality of policy making in the New Labour period (e.g. Massey, 2001; Newman, 2001; Driver & Martell, 2006; Oakley, 2011). Out of this, the findings relate most closely to two issues concerning the uniqueness of New Labour's promise and the tone of case study based investigations in this period. In terms of the uniqueness of New Labour's promise of modernised policymaking, what the case study data shows is that the policy making observed very much followed traditional approaches. The main reason for this

⁷⁹ The survey results are presented in figure.1 in Chapter three in this thesis. The results of the survey show the deviation from the average score given in response to the following question: "In your experience, how often would you say that government policies were ...") across seven categories of modernised policy making- and based on the nine categories set out in 'Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century'(Cabinet Office, 1998b).

was the consistent role of directive policy making and that ultimately resources were bargained for by different sectional interests (primarily central-local government). These factors played the decisive role in shaping the character and extent of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. In relation to the tone of case studies produced in this period, the work here shows up similarities in that they also, from notably different angles to the investigation here, identified the way that politicised and traditional approaches to policy making overrode modernised practices. For example, Newman (2001, p.68-72) provided an account which indicates that a range of modernised initiatives were indeed taken forward by New Labour, but posits that traditional forms of policy making still predominated and often in a way that undermined the initiatives. This is a consistent theme across all studies of the period and there is no account which suggests that policy making was completely or significantly modernised (This contention is reflected in the literature review conducted by Hallsworth et al, 2011).

At the outset of the investigation, a body of literature highlighting best practice examples of modernised policy making from the government's own reform literature was identified (Cabinet Office, 1999a; Bullock et al., 2001). On one level, this set a benchmark for judging the type of scenarios that may be considered as reflecting modernised policy-making. In relation to these, it has been found that so many aspects of the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund would sit alongside these examples. Amongst these are the Accession Monitoring Project; the Migration Excellence Programme and the Migration Impacts Forum. On this level, so much of the work undertaken could be identified as outstanding within the context of the best practice examples that were presented in the reform literature. This reasoning does not detract from the conclusions drawn from the investigation. A key point is that although there were numerous specific examples of modernised policy making, the overall picture of how this operated in relation to the way policy making proceeded in this case, shows the limited impact this had in characterising the case in its entirety.

7.3. Findings about the Methodological Approach.

Having presented the findings that emerge from a direct consideration of the research question, the attention now turns to what was found in terms of the methodological approach taken. Consideration is given to the effectiveness of using multiple methods of data collection; the innovative approach to analysing the case data; ways in which the approach to interviews

impacted upon the investigation; and the limitations of the methodological approach in terms of the complexity of the data collected, and the difficulty in identifying all the relevant evidence due to undertaking the study at the meso-level.

Using multiple methods of data collection was found to have been particularly useful. Firstly, this is because it allowed for a layer of ethnographic understanding (primarily through interviews and observation) which provided very distinct reference points pertaining to the attitudes and understanding of policy actors. It also was helpful in getting a sense of the degree to which different actors were involved in the process. Finally, it was found to be useful in ascertaining the nuances of published materials such as minutes and reports. Without this grounding a lot of the data would not have been understood with as much depth or colour. Also, the use of secondary data sources alongside this aided triangulation. This helped discern the crucial junctures in the development of policy and the most relevant data to be pursued. The way that the data was presented through building a narrative, then engaging in an analysis, worked well as it allowed scope to provide useful information for a range of readers. It also allowed the more limited and less time ordered data used in the analysis to be complemented by the bigger picture offered by the narrative.

An area that was found to be particularly challenging in the course of conducting the investigation was getting useful responses from interviewees. In the first instance, this related to the low number of people contacted who were willing to take part in interview (eleven people were interviewed out of thirty who were contacted). The majority of people who were not available for interview simply did not reply to the invitation. When having the work explained to them, six potential interviewees stated that they did not feel able to contribute, or that their involvement in the Migration Impact Fund's development was not significant enough for them to have an opinion or recollections on the matter. This experience accorded with the general understanding of the challenges in accessing senior policy actors for academic research (e.g. Rhodes, 2011a). On the other hand, those that did get involved in interviews exhibited, for the most part, low levels of awareness of the processes before and after their involvement in developing the Migration Impact Fund. As well, the Modernising Government reforms were far less present in their work than anticipated when the semi-structured interviews were designed. This indicates that there was a mismatch between the expectations of what could be

found out at interview and the reality of the interviewees experiences in the process. A learning point for the design of future research would be to undertake a number of scoping interviews at the design phase to factor this issue in from the outset.

Concerning the level of detail, the investigation managed to achieve, the policy making observed did not always consistently fit with the classifications employed at the outset of the investigation (e.g. that policy making may be classified into one of the features of modernised policy making or other pre-established frameworks such as bargaining based or directive policy making). A concept of modernised policy making was applied to the case study data and used as a heuristic to distinguish what had occurred in relation to the research question. However, some of the data collected was open to alternative and possibly contradictory, explanations. An example is the work that took place during 2005-2006 to enhance access to statistical data produced by the Accession Monitoring Project. In terms of arriving at a sustainable and justifiable point this was reflective of modernised policy making because it involved using evidence, joined up working, and innovation. However, upon closer inspection alternative explanations may well have been applied such as:

- It reflected a competition for resources, where local agencies had to push for adequate access to data so as to be able to ascertain their claim for increased support.
- The inaccessibility of the data reflected the self-interested behaviour of the individuals paid to devise and manage the systems. Knowingly delivering a product that has potential limitations generates opportunities to do further work.
- Nobody was prepared to share the data until an influential actor directed it to be done.

The issue was dealt with by keeping in mind alternative explanations whilst additional layers of evidence were explored until the point where plausible explanations could be derived from the evidence.

The extent to which the investigation was able to fully grasp the character of all aspects of the relevant policy making, was impacted by the scale at which the work was carried out - the meso-level of policy making. The case study was conducted at the meso-level due to it being

the scale at which the substantial work leading up to the development of the Migration Impact Fund was carried out, and also, the degree of access available to explanations of how policy at the macro-level was generated. This meant that the impact of decisions taken at the macro-level (i.e. by core government and/or the supra-national institutions core government may have worked with or in response to) were read as examples of directive policy making. But, this was by virtue of their relationship to decisions taken at the level the investigation was conducted at rather than the way in which these decisions were arrived at. As much as this presented in a form that could be justified within the terms of the investigation, further research would be needed to identify whether the macro-level policy making was, in fact, modernised or not. This is significant in relation to the research question as key aspects of the policy making relevant to the development of the Migration Impact Fund would have benefited from further investigation should the resources have been available.

It was also anticipated that there would have been more evidence available concerning the causal factors behind the incidences of modernised policy making observed. Within the terms of the investigation, it was proposed that although these may or may not be contingent upon the Modernising Government reforms that some explanation as to why they were being employed ought to be available. This was thought to be especially likely to have been identified through the interviews conducted with those who were involved in the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund. However, this transpired to be difficult to grasp within the terms of the investigation and the specific reasons behind modernised practices being present in this case have not been found. Firstly, the primary data collected and the observations and informal conversations conducted did not locate a cause of the modernised practices. Nor did the interviews, which by and large, were not able to generate meaningful discourse about modernised policy making per se. In a sense, the data points towards an understanding that policy making is experienced by actors as a common sense exercise, which may appear incidentally to be modernised or not. For example, an interview respondent from the Department for Communities and Local Government stated “...there is always a different set of standards to know, these are usually just relevant when you are going for a job or starting something new, what matters usually is your common sense and experience...” (interviewee 5).

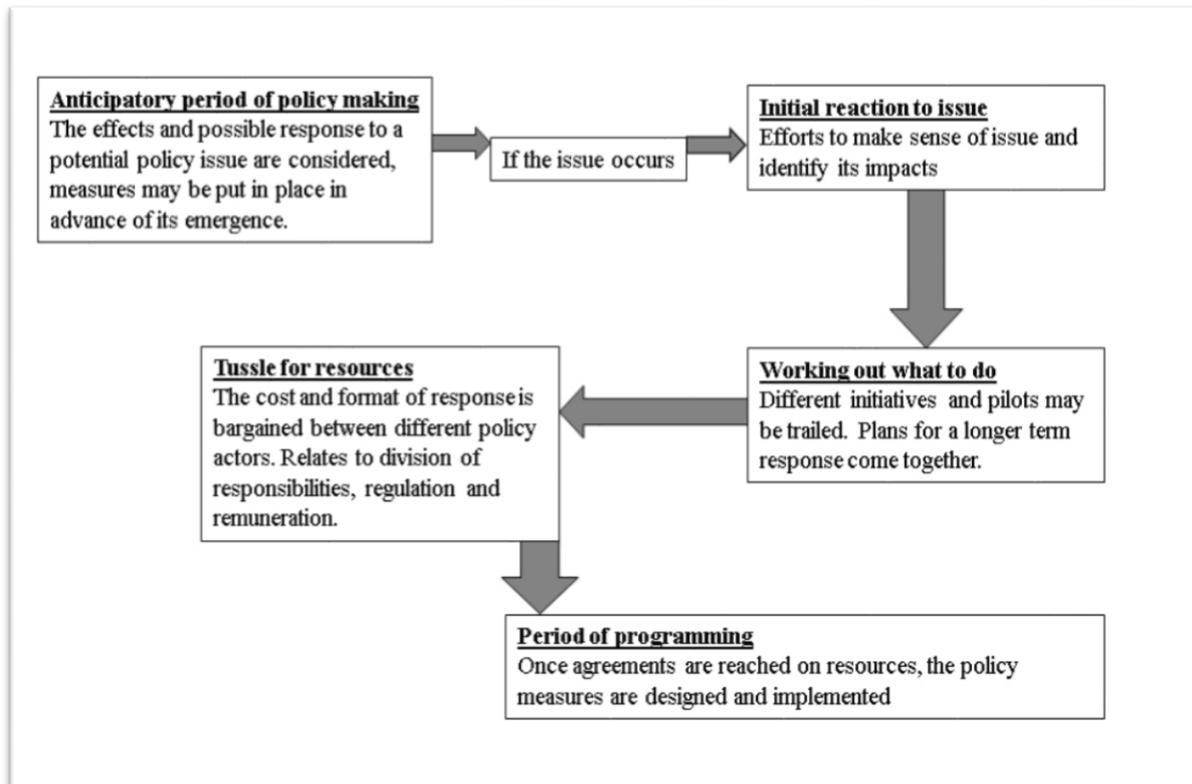
7.4. Unanticipated Findings.

Amongst the successes of the approach has been its effectiveness in building up a narrative and analysis of policy making in a reactive and complex setting. This was anticipated to be a challenge at the outset due to the lack of directly comparative case studies and the need to manage potentially disjointed and contradictory information. One of the benefits of undertaking a case study based investigation under these conditions is the potential for uncovering unanticipated findings. In this instance, three unanticipated findings that were identified deserve to be highlighted. These are those that related to the way that the policy making in this case could be organised into stages; the circumstances under which the fund was wound up; and the way that the Migration Impact Fund was devised in the final part of the case.

This investigation has generated a finding that there was a discernible pathway through which the decisions in this case proceeded. This was unanticipated as the literature indicated that, in a complex and reactive setting, policy making would not usually follow through discernible stages (e.g. Hill, 2009). The data collected provided for a stages based model of policy making that is somewhat reflective of the classic stage/cycle models (e.g. Sabatier, 1996, p.6). In this instance there was found to be an anticipatory period of policy making (2003-2004) that took place in anticipation of the impacts that the 2003 Treaty of Accession may have brought about. This emerged more as a response to general public concerns about migration than to the anodyne projections of increased migration. From the outset, new policy measures reflected modernised policy making with interdepartmental evidence gathering efforts such as the Accession Monitoring Project taking centre stage. The next stage was about the initial reaction to the issue (2004-2005). This is when far higher levels of migration than anticipated emerged and government sought to identify the macro-economic impacts this was having, and, at the same time, local concerns pertaining to the lived experiences of migrants and localities came to prominence. The character and balance of efforts at that stage served to provide a formula for the next stage of policy making that involved working out what to do (2005-2007). At this stage a range of initiatives were trialled and solutions to the emergent issues offered up, not least by the Audit Commission's National Study (2007). Emerging out of this there was a well-documented tussle for resources (2006-2008) where the price and form of response was bargained out by different policy actors. At the point when all the key factors underlying the issue were clarified a period of programming (2008-2009) was undertaken that involved the

delivery of a system of support for those impacted by new migration. These stages can be organised into a basic model as per box.8 below.

Box.8: Stages of Policy Making Observed.



When the data is worked into a model such as this, an opportunity is presented to undertake further research to ascertain the regularity and type of contexts in which this chain of events may occur. Doing so presents opportunities to build in predictive mechanisms, or establish educational tools for policy makers, to better anticipate and plan for policy making activities at its most initial and reactive stages.

Another unanticipated finding relates to the abrupt way that the fund was brought to a close in October 2010, barely a year after its inception. There is ambiguity over what caused the decision to end the fund, with the most likely reason being the election of a new government

with a different set of priorities⁸⁰. The announcement of the fund's end re-affirmed the incoming government's promise to reduce immigration and stated that the Fund was ineffective⁸¹: "Ending the ineffective migration impacts fund will save £16.25m this year. We believe the impacts of migration are better addressed though controlling immigration, which is why the government will reduce the level of net migration back down to the levels of the 1990s – tens of thousands each year, not hundreds of thousands" (Wintour, 2010). This evidence shows that regardless of the way that a policy measure is implemented, the impact of overarching political changes, such as a change of government or minister, can bring to a sharp end a particular policy measure. It also indicates that the development of alternative priorities may well be taking place outside of the researcher's gaze. This points back to popular understandings of British policy making being determined by the direction of core government, with the method that policy measures are arrived at serving as no more than an administrative device.

A third unanticipated finding, was that of a detailed model of the way that the Migration Impact Fund was designed and implemented in the final stage of the case study. This emerged through combining interview data with documentary evidence observed in the course of undertaking the research. This model was distinct from those reviewed within the existing literature. It provided for a model of policy design that consists of three key stages and four key features that are set out in Table.7 overleaf.

⁸⁰ Alternative suggestions gathered through undertaking ethnographic research suggested that the decision to end the fund was already taken, but not yet implemented, with the change of DCLG Minister from Hazel Blears to John Denham in 2009. The reason given for the change being based on this was that resources and emphasis immediately shifted over to alternative funding streams such as the Connecting Communities programme that reflected the incoming Minister's policy priorities around supporting communities affected by migration, in ways that confronted more directly emergent far-right sympathies and inter-ethnic conflict (Denham, 2010; Kirkup, 2012).

⁸¹ The description of the Migration Impact Fund as ineffective is significant. Research was undertaken as part of the case study to clarify what this meant and any data that may have contributed to that claim. However, no supporting information was identified. The most likely explanation is that it was deemed ineffective in relation to the incoming government achieving its new policy objective of reducing migration.

Table.7 The 3 Stages and 4 Features of Implementing the Migration Impact Fund

3 Stages

1- Assignment of task and expectations: The Head of Migration is assigned the task of developing the policy by their line manager within the confines of their supervisory process and then through informal conversations and tacit interpretation of expectations is instructed as to the nuances of the work (i.e. who should it favour, what big issues should it feed into)

2- Design and Operationalising: The policy is designed in consultation with a small number of key stakeholders, relevant templates, information booklets and publicity is prepared. The involvement of the key delivery agencies is formalised and dates and deadlines are agreed.

3- Delivery and Continuity: Once the policy was designed and up and running the civil servant was signed off the task and it was handed over to its operational lead, in this case the Government Offices Directorate. However, there remained informal involvement due to the interest the Secretary of State had in the distribution of funds and the Secretary of State retained final decision on its allocation.

4 Features

A- High level of ministerial involvement: The Secretary of State, Hazel Blears, maintained a keen interest in the development of the work and personally directed aspects of it.

B- Exploitation of ICT: The use of email for communicating and keeping records was central, it enabled the work to be expedited.

C- Political Considerations: The work was developed in a way which responded to lobbying and sought to ensure that it did not undermine broader political considerations (such as the rise of the BNP and being seen to give funds to migrants rather than addressing the impacts)

D- Inter-departmental: The work involved civil servants from different departments in an informal and flexible ways

This finding presents an account of a traditional and technologically astute form of public administration. Here ample use is made of technology and evidence collection, but Ministers remain important in setting priorities and keeping the work on track. Further research would be required to locate this account in relation to the models currently available and in turn, further original research would be needed to clarify how prevalent this description of policy development is.

7.5. Further Research.

This thesis contains a number of possibilities for further research. These relate to three key areas which are, firstly, concerned with building up a more in depth appreciation of policy making, reform and modernisation; secondly, extending the research to a contemporary context; and, thirdly, enhancing the depth of findings provided by this thesis.

The work conducted was successful in identifying the most relevant areas where further research would contribute to a better understanding of policy making, reform and modernisation. This was particularly true with regard to the relevance of the scale at which research is conducted and being able to identify the way that policy makers come to approach their work in the way that they do. Undertaking the research at the meso-level meant that influential decisions made at the macro-level (e.g. core government, supra-national institutions) gained clarity, in terms of how they presented at the meso-level of policy making. Hence, there wasn't a detailed appreciation of the extent to which these macro-level decisions were modernised and, if so, how. Further research is needed to clarify this. For example, in-depth interviews could be undertaken with policy makers who worked at the macro-level (for example, then Secretary of State for Communities Hazel Blears MP, or then Prime Minister Tony Blair) to make sense of the extent to which their work was reflective of modernised policy making and the extent to which their recollections of this instance of policy making corroborate the findings here.

Further research that focuses specifically on the factors which influence the behaviour of policy makers is needed. This is because it was difficult, within the parameters of this research, to ascertain why policy makers had or had not engaged in modernised policy making. In particular, further research is needed to better identify how common sense in the policy setting comes about (because this was an explanation for actions attributed to modernised policy making). Such research would require revisiting some of the established assumptions about the skills and attributes of policy makers (for example, accounts of the 'generalist Civil Servant' such as those offered by Bridges, 1950). As well, such research would involve pinpointing the degree to which these are reflected in current practices and also the distinctions that can be made between these and what has been included in the conceptualisation of modernised policy making. What would be necessary is to identify the way that policy makers have come to learn

their way of working; the way that the implementation of reforms influences policy maker's behaviour in a given situation; and the way that these may or may not fit with different existing explanations of policy making.

Extending the research into a contemporary context is constrained by the way that politics and policy making in the UK have moved on since the 2003-2009 period. At the time of writing, the New Labour era is at an end and the UK is now some years into a Conservative administration. There is no prospect of conducting further research under the same terms using an alternative case, because the Modernising Government programme has been superseded by the Civil Service Reform Plan (HM Government, 2012). However, valuable light would be cast upon this research if historical case study data from the New Labour period, with similar parameters, was analysed and compared. By the same measure, conducting a test of New Labour's concept of modernised policy making in a contemporary case of policy making would provide data which would enhance the findings of this research. Such analysis would enable exploration of the extent to which policymaking was modernised, the levels at which that modernisation occurred and the extent to which modernisation was a product of the Modernising Government reforms.

In terms of there being a new government with its own agenda concerning reform and modernisation (e.g. HM Government, 2012), another potential area for further research would be to undertake theoretical analysis of the similarities and differences between the potentially different concepts of modernised policy making each government offered. This would contribute to the historical account of modernised policy making and the extent to which the new government applied potentially different ethical and procedural forms of modernisation and the effects of this.

7.6. Conclusion to Investigation.

This thesis set out to explore and assess New Labour's concept of modernised policy making and apply this to a case study based investigation into the extent to which the development of the 2009 Migration Impact Fund was an example of modernised policy making. Putting together an in depth exploration of New Labour's concept of modernised policy making

allowed for an elucidation of its underlying ethical ideas (around social justice, participation, and substantive rationality) and specific characteristics (namely the nine features of modernised policy making). This allowed for a clarification of how New Labour's concept of modernised policy making is distinct from the other ways that modernised policy making has been conceptualised in the literature, where it has primarily been depicted as an instrumental and business orientated approach to policy making.

Detailing this concept then served as the basis upon which to investigate the case study data in depth. The core research question was organised into four sub questions, which were: To what extent did the nine features of modernised policy making present in the case? How modernised was policy making at different points in the case? What was the degree of synergy between the different features of modernised policy making at key points in the case? What alternative explanations could be applied at points in the case where policy making was not found to be modernised? The answers to these questions were then used to come to a statement as to whether policy making in this case was completely modernised; significantly modernised; not particularly modernised; or not modernised.

The investigation found that policy making in this case was not particularly modernised. This was so because although all the elements of modernised policy making were observed to be consistently present throughout the case, directive and bargaining based policy making were predominant at all crucial points. The investigation showed that policy making operated, for better or worse, in a traditional way with core government's commitment to the success of increased labour mobility shaping the response of policy makers. The investigation also raised questions about how we may research and come to understand the impact of modernisation reforms when looking at policy making with a high level of detail. This is because much of the modernised policy making that was observed was not identified to be a result of the reforms, something that calls for further research to better ascertain the basis of choices made by policy makers.

This research has corroborated the conclusions in contemporaneous literature that there was a mismatch between the rhetoric and reality of New Labour's modernisation efforts; that policy

making was no more or less modernised in light of New Labour's efforts; and that the Asymmetrical Power model serves as a realistic model of policy making in the contemporary UK.

Opportunities for further research have been identified. This would involve building up a more in depth appreciation of policy making, reform and modernisation; extending the research to a contemporary context; and enhancing the depth of findings provided by this thesis. Identifying the causal factors underlying the adoption of different styles of policy making is likely to be the most suitable starting point with regard to engaging in further study in light of the research conducted here.

In general terms, this thesis suggests that policy making in the New Labour period appeared to be 'business as usual' and not particularly modernised. The long standing British Political Tradition was clearly in effect: core government shaped proceedings and resources were bargained for by key interests. Modernised policy making within this rubric was but a manifestation of common sense: clever ways of working that significantly diminished the chance of failure.

Bibliography

Abid, M. (2004). Political Modernization: The Concept, Contours and Dynamics. The Indian Journal of Political Science 65(4), 590-602.

Alanen, L., & Svensson, F. (2007). Descarte on Virtue. In Rasmussen, R., Petersson, B., Josefsson, J., & Egonsson, D. (eds.) Hommage à Wlodek. Philosophical Papers Dedicated to Wlodek Rabinowicz. Lund: Lund University.

Adonis, A., Butler, D., & Travers, T. (1994). Failure in British Government: Politics of the Poll Tax. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Adorno, T., & Horkheimer, M. (1947). Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ariely, D. (2008). Predictably Irrational: The Hidden Forces that Shape Our Decisions. New York: Harper Collins.

Aitkin, A. (2005). Needs Assessment of Migrant Workers in the Scottish Borders. Melrose: Scottish Borders Council.

Alison, G. 1971. "The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis" New York: Little Brown.

Alvarez-Plata, P., Brücker, H., & Siliverstovs, B. (2003). Potential Migration from Central and Eastern Europe into the EU15 - An Update. Report for the EC, DG Employment and Social Affairs, Berlin: German Institute for Economic Research (DIW Berlin).

Archer, M. (1995). Realist Social Theory: the Morphogenetic Approach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. (2003). Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. (2007). Making Our Way Through the World: Human Reflexivity and Social Mobility. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Argote, L. (1999). Organizational Learning: Creating, Retaining, and Transferring Knowledge. Norwell: Kluwer Academic.

Argyris, C., & Schön, D. (1978). Organizational Learning: A Theory of Action Perspective. Boston: Addison-Wesley.

Arnstein, S. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. Journal of the American Planning Association 35(4), 216-224.

Astbury, B. (2013). Some Reflections on Pawson's Science of Evaluation: A Realist Manifesto. Evaluation 19(2), 383.

Atkinson, R., & Flint, J. (2004a). Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods. London: Sage.

Atkinson, R., & Flint, J. (2004b). Snowball Sampling, in Lewis-Beck, M., Bryman, A., & Liao, T. (eds.) Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Audit Commission. (2007). Crossing Borders: Responding to the Local Challenges of Migrant Workers. London: Audit Commission.

Ayres, S. (ed.) (2014). Rethinking Policy and Politics: Reflections on Contemporary Debates in Policy Studies. Bristol: Policy Press.

Bache, I., & Flinders, M. (eds.) (2004). Multi-Level Governance. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M. (1963). Decisions and Non-decisions: An Analytical Framework. *American Political Science Review* 57(3), 632-642.

Balch, I. (2010). Labour and Epistemic Communities: The Case of 'Managed Migration' in the UK. *Politics and International Relations* 11(4), 616-636.

Bardach, E. (1998). Getting Agencies to Work Together: The Practice and Theory of Managerial Craftsmanship. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

Bardach, E. (2011). A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving (4th Edition). Berkeley: University of California.

Barnes, J. (1979). Who Should Know What? Social Science, Privacy, and Ethics. New York: Penguin Books.

Bastow, S., Dunleavy, P., Margetts, H., & Tinkler, J. (2005). New Public Management is Dead: Long Live Digital Era Governance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16(3), 467-494.

Bauman, Z. (1986) The Left as the Counter-Culture of Modernity. *Telos* 70(4), 81-93.

Bauman, Z. (1989). Modernity and the Holocaust. New York: Cornell University Press.

Bauman, Z. (2000). Liquid Modernity. Cambridge: Polity.

Baumgartner, F., & Jones, B. (1993). Agendas and Instability in American Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Beck, U., Giddens, A., & Lash, S. (1994). Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bell, S., & Hindmoor, A. (2009). Rethinking Governance: The Centrality of The State in Modern Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bentham, J. (1789). The Principles of Morals and Legislation. Montana: Kessinger Publishing (2008ed).

Berger, J., & Luckmann, T. (1967). The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Penguin.

Bevan, S., & Jennings, W. (2014). Representation, Agendas and Institutions. *European Journal of Political Research* 53(1), 37-56.

Bevir, M. (2001). Prisoners of Professionalism: On the Construction and Responsibility of Political Studies. A Review Article. *Public Administration*. 79(2), 469-509.

Bevir, M. (2005). New Labour: A Critique. London: Routledge.

Bevir, M., & Rhodes R.A.W. (2006). Interpretive Approaches to British Government and Politics. *British Politics* 1(1), 84–112.

Bevir, M., & Rhodes, R.A.W. (2008). The Differentiated Polity as Narrative. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10(4), 729-734.

Bevir, M., & Rhodes, R.A.W. (2010). The State as Cultural Practice. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bevir, M. (2011). Public Administration as Storytelling. *Public Administration* 83(1), 183-195.

Bhaskar, R. (1975). A Realist Theory of Science. London: Routledge.

Black, C. (1966). The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History. New York: Harper & Row.

Blake, D. (2006). Pension Economics. New York: Wiley and Son.

Blanchflower, D., Salaheen, J., & Shadford, C. (2007). The Impact of the Recent Migration from Eastern Europe on the UK Economy. IZA Discussion Paper No. 2615. Berlin: IZA.

Blair, T. (1996). New Britain: My Vision of a Young Country. New York: Basic Books.

Blair, T. (1998). The Third Way. London: Fabian Society.

Boden, P., & Rees, P. (2009). International Migration: The Estimation of Immigration to Local Areas in England Using Administrative Sources. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A (Statistics in Society). 173(4), 707-731.

Boden, P., & Rees, P. (2006). Estimating London's New Migrant Population. Stage 1 - Review of Methodology. London: Greater London Authority.

Boeri, T. & Brücker, H. (2005). Migration, Co-ordination Failures and EU Enlargement. IZA DP No. 1600. Berlin: Institute for the Study of Labor.

Boswell, C., Chou, M., & Smith, J. (2005). Reconciling Demand for Labour Migration with Public Concerns about Immigration: Germany and the United Kingdom. Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). The Logic of Practice. Cambridge: Polity.

Bourdieu, P. (1992). Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge: Polity.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. Cambridge: Polity.

Bourdieu, P. (2004). Science of Science and Reflexivity. Cambridge: Polity.

Bovens, M., & 'T Hart, P. (1996). Understanding Policy Fiascos. Piscataway: Transaction Publishers.

Bovens, M., 'T Hart, P., & Guy-Peters, B. (2006). The Politics of Policy Evaluation. In Moran, M., Rein, M., & Goodin, R. (eds.) Oxford Handbook of Public Policy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boyne, G., Andrews, R., Moon, J., & Walker, R. (2000). Assessing Organizational Performance: Exploring Differences Between Internal and External Measures. *International Public Management Journal*. 13(3), 105-129.

Brandsen, T., & Helderma, J. (2006). Why Dutch Social Housing did not Follow the British Path. in Lettings, B., Resodihardjo, S., Heyse, L., & Lantink, T. (eds.) Reform in Europe: Breaking the Barriers in Government. Farnham: Ashgate.

Bridges, E. (1950). Portrait of a Profession: The Civil Service Tradition (The Reed Lecture 1950) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Briheim-Crookall, L. (2006). A8 Nationals in London Homelessness Services. London: Homeless Link.

British Chamber of Commerce. (Spring 2003). The Export Zone: News.

<http://www.britishchambers.org.uk/exportzone/newsletter/spring2003.pdf> (Accessed 4th September 2013).

Broadway. (2007). Routes into London's Homelessness Services: The Experiences of A8 Nationals. London: Broadway.

Bronk, R. (1998). Progress and the Invisible Hand: The Philosophy and Economics of Human Progress. London: Warner Books.

Brubaker, R. (1984). The Limits of Rationality: An Essay on the Social and Moral Thought of Max Weber. London: Allen and Unwin.

Buchanan, S. (2008). Transforming Conflict in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties. *Irish Political Studies*, 23(3), 387–409.

Bullock, H., Mountford, J., & Stanley, R. (2001). Better Policy-Making. Bristol: Centre for Management and Policy Studies.

Burnham, P., Gilland, K., Grant, W., & Layton-Henry, Z. (2004). Research Methods in Politics. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burrell, K. (2009). Polish Migration to the UK in the New EU after 2004. Farnham: Ashgate.

Burton, P. (2006). Modernising the Policy Process: Making Policy Research More Significant? *Policy Studies*, 27(3), 173-195.

Butcher, T., & Massey, A. (2001). Modernising Civil Services. Public Policy and Administration 16(3), 1-3.

Byrne, D. (1998). Complexity Theory and the Social Sciences. London: Routledge.

Byrne, D., & Tankard, D. (2008). Good Practice Guide for Local Authorities: New European Migration. London: Improvement and Development Agency.

Byrne, D., & Callaghan, G. (2013). Complexity Theory and the Social Sciences: The State of the Art. London: Routledge.

Cabinet Office. (1999a). Modernising Government. Cm4310. London: TSO.

Cabinet Office. (1999b). Professional Policy Making for the 21st Century: Report by the Strategic Policy Making Team. London: TSO.

Cabinet Office. (2001). Modern Policy-Making: Ensuring Policies Deliver Value for Money. London: TSO.

Cairney, P. (2007). A Multiple Lens Approach to Policy Change: the Case of Tobacco Policy in the UK. British Politics, 2(1), 45-68.

Cairney, P. (2012). Understanding Public Policy: Theories and Issues. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cantle, T. (2009). Connecting with Communities. Presentation to the iCoCo/CLG seminar, 14 October 2009.

Carnivali, F., & Strange, J. (eds.) (2007). 20th Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change. London: Routledge.

Cerny, P. (1990). The Changing Architecture of Politics: Structure, Agency and the Future of the State. London: Sage.

Cerny, P., & Evans, M. (2004). Globalisation and Public Policy under New Labour. Policy Studies 25(1), 51-65.

Castles, S., & Miller, M. (2009). The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Chadwick, A., & Hefferman, R. (eds.) (2003). The New Labour Reader. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chapman, R. (1968). The Fulton Report: A Summary. Public Administration 46(4), 443-452.

Chapman, R., & O'Tootle, B. (2005). Leadership in the British Civil Service: An Interpretation. Public Policy and Administration 25(2), 123-136.

Chung, H., & Thewissen, S. (2011). Falling Back on Old Habits? A Comparison of the Social and Unemployment Crisis Reactive Policy Strategies in Germany, the UK and Sweden. Social Policy and Administration 45(4), 354-370.

Cilliers, P. (1998). Complexity and Postmodernism. London: Routledge.

Citizens Advice Bureau. (2005). Home from Home? Experiences of Migrant Workers in Rural Parts of the UK: The Impact on Local Service Providers, CAB evidence briefing, December 2005.

Clayton, G. (2014). Textbook on Immigration and Asylum Law (6th Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Clegg, D. (2010). Labour Market Policies in the Crisis: The UK in Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice* 17(1), 5-17.

Coats, D. (2008). Migration Myths: Employment, Wages and Labour Market Performance. Lancaster: The Work Foundation.

Collini, S., Winch, D., & Burrow, J. (2003). That Noble Science of Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, M., March, I., & Olsen, J. (1972). A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17(1), 1–25.

Cohen, M., & Zaidi, M. (2002). Global Skill Shortages. Northampton: Edward Elgar.

Commission for Social Justice. (1993). Social Justice in a Changing World. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Community Development Project. (1977). Gilding the Ghetto; the State and Poverty Experiment. London: CDP Information Intelligence Unit.

Communities and Local Government Committee. (16th July 2008). Community Cohesion and Migration. HC 369–I. Tenth Report of Session 2007–08.

Considine, M. (2005). Making Public Policy: Institutions, Actors, Strategies. Oxford: Polity.

Cornelius, W., Martin, P., & Hollifield, J. (eds.) (1994). Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective. CA: Stanford University Press.

Corry, D. (2011). Labour and the Economy, 1997–2010: More than a Faustian Pact. In Diamond, P., & Kenny, M. (eds.) Reassessing New Labour: Market, State and Society under Blair and Brown. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.

Creedy, J., & Guest, R. (2009). Population Ageing, Pensions and Growth: Intertemporal Trade-offs and Consumption Planning. Northampton: Edward Elgar.

Crossman, R. (1966). The Crossman Diaries. London: Mandarin.

Crotty, M. (1998). The Foundations of Social Research. St. Leonards: Sage.

Daddow, O. (2012). New Labour and the European Union: Blair and Brown's Logic of History. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dahl, R. (1961). Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dahlberg, K., Drew, N., & Nystroöm, M. (2001). Reflective Lifeworld Research. Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur.

Davies, J. (2011). Challenging Governance Theory: From Networks to Hegemony. Bristol: Policy Press.

Davies, J. (2012). Network Governance Theory: A Gramscian Critique. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(11), 2687-2704.

Dench, S., Ipfen, I., & Huws, U. (2004). An EU Code of Ethics for Socio Economic Research. IES Report 412. Brighton: Institute of Employment Studies.

Denham, J. (2010). Connecting Communities. *Cohesion and Society* 1(1), 17-21.

Denzin, N. K. (1970). The Research Act in Sociology. Chicago: Aldine Press.

Department for Communities and Local Government. (2008). Managing the Impacts of Migration: A Cross-Government Approach. London: TSO.

Department for Communities and Local Government. (2009). Managing the Impacts of Migration: Improvements and Innovations. London: TSO.

Department of Environment. (1970). The Reorganisation of Central Government. Cmnd 4506. London: HMSO.

Department of Health. (2005). Research Governance Framework for Health and Social Care (Second Edition). London: Central Office for Information.

Department for Work and Pensions., UK Border Agency., Department for Communities and Local Government., & HMRC. (2005). Accession Monitoring Report: May 2004 – December 2005. London: TSO.

Department for Work and Pensions., UK Border Agency., Department for Communities and Local Government., & HMRC. (2008). Accession Monitoring Report: May 2004 – December 2008. London: TSO.

Diacon, D., Pattison, B., Vine, J., & Yafai, S. (2008). Home from Home: Addressing the Issues of Migrant Workers' Housing. Leeds: Building and Social Housing Foundation.

Diamond, P. (2011). Beyond the Westminster Model. *Renewal* 19(1) <http://www.renewal.org.uk/articles/beyond-the-westminster-model/>. (Accessed 19th March 2014).

Diamond, P. (2013). Governing Britain: Power, Politics and the Prime Minister. London: I.B Taurus.

Dickson, N. (1999). What is the Third Way? Speech delivered by the BBC's social affairs editor to the Institute of Directors of Social Affairs, London, September 27, 1999.

Dowding, K. (1991). Rational Choice and Political Power. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Dowding, K. (1995). Model or Metaphor? A Critical Review of the Policy Network Approach. *Political Studies* 43(2), 136-58

Dowding, K. (2001). There Must Be End to Confusion. *Political Studies* 49(1), 89- 10.

Downs, A. (1957). An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper.

Driver, S., & Martell, L. (1998). New Labour: Politics after Thatcherism. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Driver, S., & Martell, L. (2002). Blair's Britain. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Driver, S., & Martell, L. (2006). New Labour. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Dror, Y. (2003). Public Policy Making Re-examined. New York: Transaction Publishers.

Dryzek, J. (1989). Policy Sciences of Democracy. *Polity* 22(1), 97-118.

Duggett, M. (2009). What can we say about the Westminster Model Today? Political Studies Association Conference. Manchester 2009 <http://www.psa.ac.uk/journals/pdf/5/2009/Duggett.Pdf> (Accessed 14th April 2011).

Dummett, M. (1982). Realism. *Synthese* 52(1), 55-112.

Dunleavy, P., & Hood, C. (1994). From Old Public Administration to New Public Management. *Public Money and Management* 14(3), 9-16.

Dunleavy, P. (1995). Policy Disasters: Explaining the UK's Record. *Public Policy and Administration* 10(2), 52-70.

Dunstan, R., & Anderson, D. (2008). Vulnerable Workers: Preliminary Findings from The Citizens Advice Client Research. Citizens Advice Bureau, UK.

Dupre, L. (2004). The Enlightenment and the Intellectual Foundations of Modern Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dustmann, C., Casanova, M., Fertig, M., Preston, I., & Schmidt, C. (2003). The Impact of EU Enlargement on Migration Flows. London: Home Office Online Report 25/03. www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs2/rdsolr2503.pdf (Accessed 19th November 2015).

Eade, J., & Valkanova, Y. (2009). Accession and Migration: Changing Policy, Society, and Culture in an Enlarged Europe. Farnham: Ashgate.

Eckstein, H. (1960). Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association. London: Allen and Unwin.

Economic and Social Research Council. (2004). Research Ethics Framework. Swindon: ESRC.

Eisenstadt, S. (1966). Modernization, Protest and Change. New York: Eaglewood Cliffs.

Eldring, L., Fitzgerald, I., & Arnholtz, J. (2012). Post-Accession Migration in Construction and Trade Union Responses in Denmark, Norway and the UK. *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 18(1), 21-37.

Elofson, W. (1981). The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke. New York: Clarendon Press.

Endelman, M. (1988). Constructing the Political Spectacle. Chicago: University Chicago Press.

England, K. (1994). Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research. Professional Geographer 46(1), 80-89.

Evans, M. (2008). New Labour and the Rise of the New Constitutionalism. Paper, Political Studies Association- Annual Conference, April 2008.

Fairclough, N. (1989). Language and Power. Edinburgh: Longman.

Falk, I., & Guenther, J. (2007). Generalising from Qualitative Research : Case Studies from VET in Contexts. In Evolution, Revolution or Status Quo? The New Context For Vet. Avetra 2007 - 10th Annual Conference. Footscray Park: Australia.

Farrell, R. (2000). Will the Popperian Feyerabend Please Step Forward: Pluralistic, Popperian Themes in the Philosophy of Paul Feyerabend. International Studies in the Philosophy of Science 14(3), 257 – 266.

Fawcett, P., & Gay, O. (21st December 2005). The Centre of Government-No. 10, the Cabinet Office and HM Treasury. House of Common's Library, Research Paper 05/92. London: House of Commons Library.

Fenno, R. (1986). Observation, Context, and Sequence in the Study of Politics. American Political Science Review 80(1), 3–15.

Fenwick, J., & McMillan, J. (2010a). Making Sense of Public Policy in a Fragmented World: the Search for Solutions and the Limits of Learning. RUC Sunrise Conference - Transforming Governance, Enhancing Innovation, 29-31 October_2012, Roskilde University, Denmark.

Fenwick, J., & McMillan, J. (2010b). Public Participation under New Labour: an Unsentimental Review. Public Administration Committee (PAC) Annual Conference, 6-8 September 2010.

Fenwick, J., & McMillan, J. (eds.) (2010c). Public Management in the Postmodern Era. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Fielding, S. (2002). The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of 'New' Labour. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Finch, T., & Goodhart, D. (2010). Immigration under Labour. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Finlayson, A. (1998). Tony Blair and the Jargon of Modernisation. Soundings. Autumn Edition, 11-27.

Finlayson, A. (2003). Making Sense of New Labour. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Finlayson, A. (2014). Rhetoric in British Politics and Society. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fischer, F., & Forester, J. (eds.)(1993). The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning. North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Fischer, F. (2003). Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fischer, F., & Gottweis, F. (2012). The Argumentative Turn Revisited. Public Policy as Communicative Practice. North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Flynn, D. (2005). New Borders, New Management: The Dilemmas of Modern Immigration Policies. Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies 28(3), 463-490.

Flynn, N. (1999). Modernising British Government. Parliamentary Affairs 52(4), 582-597.

Fomina, J., & Frelak, J. (2008). Next Stopski London: Public Perceptions of Labour Migration within the EU. The Case of Polish Labour Migrants in the British Press. Warsaw: Institute of Public Affairs.

Fontana, B. (2002). Gramsci on Politics and State. Journal of Classical Sociology 2(2), 157-178.

Frazer, E., & Lacey, N. (1993). The Politics of Community: A Feminist Critique of the Liberal-Communitarian Debate. New York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Freeman, G. (1985). National Styles and Policy Sectors: Explaining Structured Variation. Journal of Public Policy 5(1), 467 – 496.

Fry, G. (1993). The Shaping of the Fulton Report on the Civil Service. Public Policy and Administration 8(1), 1-13.

Fry, B., & Raddschelders, C. (2008). Mastering Public Administration: From Max Weber to Dwight Waldo. California: CQ Press.

Fulton, L. (1968). The Civil Service Vol One: Report of the Committee 1966-1968. (Cmnd 3638). London: H.M.S.O.

Gamble, A. (1988). Privatization, Thatcherism, and the British State. *Journal of Law and Society* 16(1), 1-20.

Gamble, A. (1990). Theories of British Politics. *Political Studies* 38(2), 404-20.

Gamble, A. (2003). Between Europe and America: The Future of British Politics. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gamble, A. (2008). Beyond Nation-State Social Democracy. in Cramme, O., & Diamond, P. (eds.) Social Justice in the Global Age. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Garapich, M. (2006). London's Polish Borders Class and Ethnicity among Global City Migrants. CRONEM University of Surrey.

Garapich, M. (2007). Poles Apart? EU Enlargement and the Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrants in the UK. CRONEM University of Surrey.

Gay, P. (ed.) (1973). The Enlightenment. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Geertz, C. (1973). The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays. New York: Basic Books.

Gerring, J. (2007). Case Study Research: Principles and Practices. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GHK. (2009). Migration Excellence Programme: Final Evaluation. London: Improvement and Development Agency.

Gibson, B. (2008). The New Home Office: An Introduction. Hook: Waterside Press.

Giddens, A. (1994). Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1998). The Third Way: the Renewal of Social Democracy. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (2000). The Third Way and Its Critics. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (ed.) (2001). The Global Third Way Debate. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (2002). Where Now for New Labour? Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gillam, L., & Gullmann, L. (2004). Ethics, Reflexivity, and “Ethically Important Moments” in Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 10(2), 261-280.

Gilpin, N., Henty, M., Lemos, S., Portes, J., & Bullen, C. (2006). The Impact of Free Movement of Workers from Central and Eastern Europe on the UK Labour Market. Department of Work and Pensions Working Paper No. 29, Department of Work and Pensions.

Gilroy, P. (1991). There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goss, S. (2005). The Reform of Public Service Reform. *Renewal* 13(2/3), 41-8.

Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from Prison Notebooks. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Grant, W. (1978). Insider Groups, Outsider Groups and Interest Group Strategies in Britain. University of Warwick Department of Politics Working Party no 19.

Gray, P. (1996). Disastrous Explanations – or Explanations of Disaster? A Reply to Patrick Dunleavy. *Public Policy and Administration*, 11(1), 74–82.

Gray, P., & t'Hart, P. (1998). Public Policy Disasters in Western Europe. London: Routledge.

Green, D., & Shapiro, I. (1994). Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Greenaway, J. (2008). Agendas, venues and alliances: New opportunities for the alcohol control movement in England. *Drugs: Education, Prevention, and Policy* 15(5), 487-500.

Greenhalgh, T., Humphrey, C., Hughes, J., Macfarlane, K., Butler, C., & Pawson, R. (2009). How Do You Modernize a Health Service? A Realist Evaluation of Whole-Scale Transformation in London" *Millbank Quarterly* 87(2), 391-416.

Greenleaf, W. (2003). The British Political Tradition: A Much Governed Nation, Part 1. London: Routledge.

Gruening, G. (2001). Origin and Theoretical Basis of New Public Management. *International Public Management Journal*. 4(1), 1-25.

Gurevitch, M., Bennett, T., Curran, J., & Wollacott, J. (1982). Culture, Society and the Media. London: Routledge.

Guy-Peters, B. (2000). Governance, Politics and the State. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hacking, I. (1990). The Taming of Chance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haddon, C. (2012a). Reforming the Civil Service: The Efficiency Unit in the Early 1980s and The 1987 Next Steps Report. London: Institute for Government.

Haddon, C. (2012b). Reforming the Civil Service: The Centre for Management and Policy Studies, 1999-2005. London: Institute for Government.

Haddon, C. (2012c). Making Policy in Opposition: The Commission on Social Justice, 1992-1994. London: Institute for Government.

Hague, R., & Harrop, M. (2004). Comparative Government and Politics. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hailsham, L. (1976). Elective Dictatorship. *The Listener*, p.496–500. London: British Broadcasting Corporation.

Hall, S., & Jacques, M. (1989). New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Halliday, J. (2002). Researching Values in Education. *British Educational Research Journal* 28(1), 49-62.

Hallsworth, M., Rutter, J., & Parker, S. (2011). Policy Making in the Real World: Evidence and Analysis. London: Institute of Government.

Hammersley, T. (2000). Taking Sides in Social Research: Essays on Partisanship and Bias. London: Routledge.

Hammersmith and Fulham. (2007). New Migration in London after 2004 - Consequences for London, Conference Report. London: LB Hammersmith and Fulham.

Hammond, K. (1996). Human Judgement in Social Policy: Irreducible Uncertainty, Inevitable Error, and Unavoidable Injustice. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hardy, J., & Clarke, N. (2005). EU Enlargement, Workers and Migration: Implications For Trade Unions In The UK and Poland. Paper given at the Global Unions Research Network International Workshop: 'Trade Unions, Globalization and Development - Strengthening Rights and Capabilities of Workers'. Novo Hamburgo, Brazil: Global Unions Research Network.

Hart, P., Peters, G., & Boven, M. (eds.)(2001). Success and Failure in Public Governance: A Comparative Analysis. London: Edward Elgar.

Harvey, D. (1989). The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. London: Blackwell.

Hay, C. (1999). The Political Economy of New Labour: Labouring under False Pretences. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hayward, J. (1991). Political Science in Britain. European Journal of Political Research. 20(3), 301-322.

Hayward, J., Barry, A., & Brown, J. (2003). The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

He, C. (2012). Modernization Science: The Principles and Methods of National Advancement. Berlin: Springer.

Heclo, H. (1974). Social Policy in Britain and Sweden. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Heclo, H., & Wildavsky, A. (1974). Private Government of Public Money: Community and Policy in British Political Administration. London: Macmillan.

Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., & Merriman, J. (1999). Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Helsper, H. (2008). Digital Inclusion: An Analysis of Social Disadvantage and the Information Society. Department for Communities and Local Government.

Hellstern, G.M. (1986). Assessing Evaluation Research in Kaufmann, F., Majone, G., Ostrom, V., & Wirth, W. (eds.) Guidance, Control and Evaluation in the Public Sector. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Heppell, T., & Hill, M. (2012). Labour in Opposition. In: Heppell, T., & Seawright, D (eds.) Cameron and the Conservatives: The Transition to Coalition Government. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Hill, M. (2009). The Public Policy Process (5th Ed.). London: Pearson Longman.

Hinsliff, G. (22nd October 2006). Britain Shuts the Door on New Wave of Migrants. The Observer. <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2006/oct/22/immigrationandpublicservices.eu> (Accessed 27th November 2015).

Hirschman, A. (1991). The Rhetoric of Reaction. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Hirst, P., & Thompson, G. (1999). Globalisation in Question. Cambridge: Polity.

Hix, S., Roland, G., & Noury, A.G. (2007). Democratic Politics in the European Parliament. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HM Government. (2012). The Civil Service Reform Plan. London: TSO.

Hogwood, B. (2001). Beyond Muddling Through: Can Analysis Assist in Designing Policies that Deliver? In National Audit Office. Modern Policy-Making: Ensuring Policies Deliver Value for Money. London: TSO.

Home Office. (2006). Control of Immigration Statistics. London: TSO.

Home Office. (2008a). The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System. London: TSO.

Home Office. (2008b). The Path To Citizenship: Next Steps In Reforming The Immigration System, Consultation Questions. London: TSO.

Home Office. (2008c). The Path To Citizenship: Next Steps In Reforming. The Immigration System. Government Response to Consultation. London: TSO.

Home Office. (2009). Asylum Support Policy Bulletin 31. London: TSO.

Hood, C. (1991). A Public Management for All Seasons. Public Administration 69(2), 3-19.

Hood, C. (2001a). Public Service Managerialism: Onwards and Upwards, or "Trobriand Cricket" Again? The Political Quarterly 72(3), 300-309.

Hood, C. (2001b). Public Service Bargains and Public Service Reform. In: Peters, G. & Pierre, J, (eds.) Politicians, Bureaucrats and Administrative Reform. London: Routledge.

House of Commons Library. (19th February 1999). Immigration and Asylum. Research Paper 99/16. London: House of Commons Library.

House of Commons Library. (12th January 1998). The Barnett Formula. Research Paper 98/8. London: House of Commons Library.

Hollifield, J. (2000). The Politics of International Migration: How can we “Bring the State Back In”? in Brettell, C, & Hollifield, J. (eds) Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines. New York: Routledge.

Huntington, S. (1968). Political Order in Changing Societies. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Huws, U. (2007). Defragmenting: Towards a Critical Understanding of the New Global Division of Labour. *Work, Organisation, Labour and Globalisation* 1(2), 1-4.

Institute of Race Relations. (2011). Islamophobia, Human Rights and Anti-Terrorism Laws. Proceedings of IRR seminar (2) End the Isolation: building solidarity networks against Islamophobia in Europe. London: Institute of Race Relations.

IPSOS-MORI. (2003). British Views on Immigration. <https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/847/British-Views-On-Immigration.aspx> (accessed 24th November 2012).

Jameson, F. (1991). Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism? North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Jencks, K., & Smith, J. (2007). Qualitative Complexity. New York: Routledge.

Jessop, B. (1982). The Capitalist State: Marxist Theories and Methods. Oxford: Martin Robertson and Co.

Jessop, B. (2003). From Thatcherism to New Labour: Neo-Liberalism, Workfarism, and Labour Market Regulation. Lancaster: Department of Sociology, Lancaster University at: <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc131rj.pdf> (Accessed 3rd April 2013).

John, P. (2003). Is There Life after Policy Streams, Advocacy Coalitions, and Punctuations: Using Evolutionary Theory to Explain Policy Change? *The Policy Studies Journal* 31(4), 481-498.

John, P., & Margetts, H. (2003). Policy Punctuations in the UK: Fluctuations and Equilibria in Central Government Expenditure since 1951. *Public Administration* 81(3), 411–432.

John, P. (2005). Methodologies and Research Paradigms in Urban Political Science Paper presented to European Consortium of Political Research Conference 8-10 September 2005.

John, P. (2012). Analysing Public Policy. London: Routledge.

John, P., Bertelli, A., Jennings, W., & Bevan, S. (2013). Policy Agendas in British Politics. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Joppke, C. (1999). Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Jordan, G. & Cairney, P. (2013). What is the ‘Dominant Model’ of British Policymaking? Comparing Majoritarian and Policy Community Ideas. *British Politics* 8(2), 233–259.

Jowett, B. (1999). The Essential Plato. Oxford: Greensleeves Books.

Kay, J. (2003). The Truth about Markets: Their Genius, Their Limits, Their Follies. London: Allen Lane.

Kennedy, M. (1979). Generalising from Single Case Studies. *Evaluation Quarterly* 3(4), 661-678.

Kerr, P., & Kettell, S. (2006). In Defence of British Politics: The Past, Present and Future of the Discipline. *British Politics* 1(1), 3-25.

Keys, M. (2006). Aquinas, Aristotle, and the Promise of the Common Good. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kellner, P., & Crowther-Hunt, N. (1980). Civil Servants: An Inquiry into Britain's Ruling Class. London: Futura Publications.

Kenway, P. (2006). Reflections on Fairness and its Implications for Council Tax Reform. London: New Policy Institute.

Kemp, R., & Weehuizen, R. (2005). Policy Learning: What does it mean and how can we study it? PUBLIN project1 Innovation in the Public Sector. MERIT University of Maastricht. Maastricht; NIFU STEP.

Khalil, E., & Boulding, K. (2006). Evolution, Order and Complexity. London: Routledge.

Kingdom, J. (2005). Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies (2nd ed.) London: Harper Collins.

Kirk, J. T. (1953). The Conservative Mind: From Burke to Eliot. London: Regency Books.

Kirkup, J. (2012). Labour Knew Immigration Was Out Of Control Seven Years Ago, Says Former Minister. London: The Daily Telegraph (22nd of June).

Kok, W. (2004). Facing the Challenge. The Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Employment: Report from the High Level Group. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Kuhn, T. (1962). The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Labour Party. (1997). New Labour Because Britain Deserves Better: Election Manifesto. London: The Labour Party.

Lam, A. (2000). Tacit Knowledge, Organizational Learning and Societal Institutions: An Integrated Framework. *Organisation Studies* 21(3), 487-513.

Larsen, T., Taylor-Gooby, P., & Kananen, J. (2006). New Labour's Policy Style: A Mix of Policy Approaches. *Journal of Social Policy* 35(4), 629–649.

Lawson, N. (1992). The View from No.11: Memoirs of a Tory Radical. London: Bantam Press.

Layton-Henry, Z. (2004). Britain: From Immigration Control to Immigration Management. in Cornelius, W. (ed.) (2004). Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective. CA: Stanford University Press.

Lemos, S., & Portes, J. (2008). The Impact of Migration from the New Eastern Union Member States on Native Workers. London: Department for Work and Pensions.

Lemos, S., & Portes, J. (2008). New Labour? The Impact of Migration from Central and Eastern European Countries on the UK Labour Market. Discussion Paper No. 3756. Berlin: IZA (Institute for Study of Labour).

Ligorio, T. (2004). Postmodernism and Fuzzy Systems. *Kybernetes* 33(8), 1312-1319.

Lijphart, A. (1999). Patterns of Democracy. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lindblom, C. (1959). The Science of Muddling Through. *Public Administration Review* 19(2), 79-88.

Lodge, G., & Rogers, B. (2006). Whitehall's Black Box: Accountability and Performance in the Senior Civil Service. London: Institute of Public Policy Research.

Lodge, M. (2010). Public Service Bargains in British Central Government: Multiplication, Diversification and Reassertion. in Painter, M., & Peters, G. (eds.)(2010). Tradition and Public Administration. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

London Metropolitan University: Research and Enterprise Committee. (2014). Research Ethics: Policy and Procedures. London: London Metropolitan University.

London Metropolitan University. (2014). Handbook for Research Students & Supervisors and Code of Practice Procedures from Research Student Registration to Examination. London: London Metropolitan University.

Lowe, R. (2011). The Official History of the British Civil Service: Reforming the Civil Service, Volume I: The Fulton Years, 1966-81. Oxford: Routledge.

Lowndes, V., Pratchett, L., & Stoker, G. (2001). Trends in Public Participation: Part Two-Citizens Panels. *Public Management* 79(2), 445-455.

Ludlam, S., & Smith, M. (eds.) (2006). New Labour in Government. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lyotard, J.F. (2003). The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge. in Cahoone, L.(ed.) From Modernism to Postmodernism: An Anthology. Oxford: Blackwell.

Machiavelli, N. (2003). The Prince. London: Penguin.

Mackintyre, A. (1981). After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Maloney, W., McLaughlin, M., & Jordan, G. (1994). Interest Groups and Public Policy: The Insider/Outsider Model Revisited. *Journal of Public Policy* 14(1), 17-38.

Mandelson, P. (2010). The Third Man: Life at the Heart of New Labour. London: Harper Collins.

Mark, M., Henry, G T., & Julnes, G. (1999). Towards an Integrative Framework for Evaluative Practice. *American Journal of Evaluation* 20(2), 177-198.

Marsh, D & Tant, A. (1989). There is no alternative: Mrs Thatcher and the British Political Tradition. (Essex University: Paper No. 69).

Marsh, D., & Rhodes, R.A.W. (1992). Policy Communities and Issue Networks: Beyond Typology in (eds) Marsh, D., and Rhodes, R.A.W. Policy Networks in British Government. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marsh, D., & Smith, M. (2000). Understanding Policy Networks: Towards a Dialectical Approach. *Political Studies* 48(1), 4-21.

Marsh, D., & Smith, M. (2001). There is More Than One Way to Do Political Science. *Political Studies* 49(3), 528-41.

.

Marsh, D., Richards, D., & Smith, M. (2001). Changing Patterns of Governance in the UK. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marsh, D., Richards, D., & Smith, M. (2003). Unequal Plurality: Towards an Asymmetric Power Model of British Politics. *Government and Opposition* 38(3), 306-332.

Marsh, D., & Hall, M. (2007). The British Political Tradition: Explaining the Fate of New Labour's Constitutional Reform Agenda. *British Politics* 2(2), 215–238.

Marsh, D. (2008a). Understanding British Government: Analysing Competing Models. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10(2), 251-69.

Marsh, D. (2008b). What is at Stake? A Response to Bevir and Rhodes. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10(3), 735-739.

Marsh, D., & Stoker, G. (eds.) (2010). Theory and Methods in Political Science. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marsh, D. (2011). The New Orthodoxy: The Differentiated Polity Model. *Public Administration* 89(1), 32-48.

Marquand, D. (1988). The Unprincipled Society. London: Jonathan Cape.

Mason, J. (1996). Qualitative Researching. London: Sage.

Massey, A. (2001). Policy, Management and Implementation, in Savage, S., & Atkinson, R. (eds.) Public Policy Under Blair. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Massey, A., & Pyper, R. (2005). The Public Management and Modernisation in Britain. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Maxwell, J. (2012). A Realist Approach for Qualitative Research. London: Sage.

May, J., Wills, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., & McIlwaine, C. (2006). The British State and London's Migrant Division of Labour. Department of Geography: Queen Mary University London.

May, T. (2001). Social Research: Issues, Methods and Research (Third Edition). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

McAnnula, S. (2006). Challenging the Interpretivist Approach: Towards a Critical Realist Alternative. *Journal of British Politics* 1(1), 113-138.

McCann, D., & Miller, P. (2005). In Search of the Common Good. London: T&T International.

McKay, S., & Winkelmann-Gleed, A. (2005). Migrant Workers in the East of England.

Histon: East of England Development Agency.

McLaughlan, G., & Salt, J. (2002). Migration Policies Towards Highly Skilled Foreign Workers. For The Home Office Migration Research Unit. Geography Department, University College London.

Mickel, A. (July 26th 2008). Adrift in a Strange Land: How Barka Helps Eastern Europeans Make A Life In London... Or Return Home. London: Community Care Magazine.

Migration Impact Forum. (2007). Minutes from the 17th June Meeting.

<http://www.communities.gov.uk/communities/racecohesionfaith/asylumandimmigration/migration-forum/mifpapers170607/> (accessed 13th September 2009).

Migration Matters Trust. (2013). Briefing: Analysis of evidence on potential migration from Bulgaria and Romania. London: Migration Matters Trust.

Migration Watch. (2003). Unmanaged Migration. Briefing Paper 139.

<http://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/139> (accessed 24th June 2013).

Migration Watch. (2011). About Us. <http://www.migrationwatchuk.org/about-us>. (Accessed 24th June 2013).

Miles, M., & Huberman, A. (1994). Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook. Newbury Park: Sage.

Miliband, R. (1969). The State in Capitalist Society. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Miliband, R. (1972). Parliamentary Socialism: A Study in the Politics of Labour. London: Merlin Press.

MORI (2002). Attitudes towards Refugee and Asylum Seekers: A Survey of Public Opinion. ICAR.

Morris, J. (2005). Report on East European Homeless People in London. London: East European Advice Centre, www.eeac.org.uk/surveys_1.html (accessed 1st September 2012).

Mowles, C. (2014). Complex, but not Quite Complex Enough: The Turn to the Complexity Sciences in Evaluation Scholarship. *Evaluation* 20(2), 160–175.

Mulvey, G. (2011). Immigration under New Labour: Policy and Effects. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37(9), 1477-1493.

Nachmias, D., & Nachmias, C. (1992). Research Methods in the Social Sciences. New York: St Martin's.

National Audit Office. (2004). Asylum and Migration: A Review of the Home Office Statistics. London: TSO.

National Audit Office. (2006). The Delays in Administering the 2005 Single Payment Scheme in England. London: TSO.

National Evaluation of Sure Start. (2008). The Impact of Sure Start Local Programmes on Three Year Olds and their Families. London: Institute for the Study of Children, Families and Social Issues, Birkbeck, University of London.

Newman, J. (2000). Beyond the New Public Management? Modernizing Public Services. In Clarke, J., Gewirtz, S., & McLaughlin, E. (eds.) New Managerialism, New Welfare? London: Sage.

Newman, J. (2001). Modernising Governance: New Labour, Policy, and Society. London: Sage.

Newman, J. (2011). Boundary Troubles: Working the Academic–Policy Interface. *Policy and Politics*, 39(4), 473-84.

Nield, R (2002). Public Corruption: The Dark Side of Social Evolution. New York: Anthem Press.

Norton, P. (2000). The British Polity. London: Longman.

Nutley, S., Davis, H., & Smith, C. (2000). What Works, Evidence Based Policy and Practice in Public Services. Bristol: Policy Press.

Nutley, S., Walter, I., & Davies, H. (2002). From Knowing To Doing: A Framework for Understanding the Evidence-into-Practice Agenda. Research Unit for Research Utilisation St Andrews: University Of St Andrews.

Nutley, S., Davies, H., & Walter, I. (2003a) Evidence-based Policy and Practice: Cross-Sector Lessons from the United Kingdom. Social Policy Journal of New Zealand 20(2), 29-48.

Nutley, S., Davies, H., & Walter, I. (2003b) From Knowing to Doing: A Framework for Understanding the Evidence into Practice Agenda. Evaluation, 9(2), 125-48.

Oakley, A. (2011). New Labour and the Continuation of Thatcherite Policy. POLIS Journal 6 Winter 2011/2012. University of Leeds.

Oakeshott, M. (1962). Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.

O'Conner, J. (1973). The Fiscal Crisis of the State. New York: St Martin's Press.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2008). The Global Competition For Talent: Mobility of the Highly Skilled. Paris: OECD.

Office for National Statistics. (2010). Pension Trends. London: TSO.

Office for National Statistics. (2012). 2011 Census Unrounded Population and Household Estimates for England and Wales. London: TSO.

Olsen, W. (2010). Realist Methodology: A Review. Manchester: University of Manchester.

Osborne, D., & Gaebler, T. (1990). Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector. New York: Plume.

Ostrom, V. (1997). The Meaning of Democracy and the Vulnerability of Democracies: A Response to Tocqueville's Challenge. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

O'Toole, B. (2006). The Ideal of Public Service: Reflections on the Higher Civil Service in Britain. London: Routledge.

Ovenden, K. (1978). The Politics of Steel. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pagden, A. (2013). The Enlightenment: And Why It Still Matters. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Page, E. (1999). The Insider/Outsider Distinction: An Empirical Investigation. British Journal of Politics and International Relations 1(2), 205-214.

Page, R. (2007). Without a Song in their Heart: New Labour, the Welfare State and the Retreat from Democratic Socialism. Journal of Social Policy 36(1), 19-37.

Painter, M., & Peters, G. (2010). Tradition and Public Administration. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Papademetriou, D. (2003). Managing Rapid and Deep Change In the Newest Age of Migration. Political Quarterly 74(1), p.39-5.

Pappin, J. (1993). The Metaphysics of Edmund Burke. New York: Fordham University Press.

Parsons, W. (1995). Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Parsons, W. (2001). Modernising Policy-making for the Twenty First Century: The Professional Model. *Public Policy and Administration* 16(3), 93-111.

Parsons, W. (2010). Modernism Redux; Po-Mo problems and Hi-Mo Public Policy. In Fenwick, J. and McMillan, J. (eds.) Public Management in the Postmodern Era. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Pattie, C., Seyd, P., & Whiteley, P. (2003). Civic Attitudes and Engagement in Modern Britain. *In Parliamentary Affairs* 56(3), 616- 633.

Pawson, R. & Tilly, N. (1997). Realistic Evaluation. London: Sage.

Pawson, R. (2006). Evidence Based Policy: A Realist Perspective. London: Sage.

Pawson, R. (2013). The Science of Evaluation: A Realist Manifesto. London: Sage.

Pedersen, L., & Rieper, O. (2008). Is Realist Evaluation a Realistic Approach for Complex Reforms? *Evaluation* 14(3), 271-293.

Perry, C. (1998). Processes of a Case Study Methodology for Postgraduate Research in Marketing. *European Journal of Marketing*. 32(9/10), 785-802.

Phillips, B.S. (1976). Social Research: Strategy and Tactics. London: Macmillan.

Pierre, J., & Peters, G. (2000). Governance, Politics and the State. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pissarides, C. (2003). Unemployment in Britain: A European Success Story. Centre for Economic Policy, London School of Economics.

Policy Profession. (2013). Twelve Actions to Professionalise Policy Making: A report by the Policy Profession Board. London: TSO.

Pollard, N., Latorre, M., & Sriskandarajah, D. (2008). Floodgates or Turnstiles? Post-EU Enlargement Migration Flows to (and from) the UK. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Pollitt, C. (1980). Rationalizing the Machinery of Government: The Conservatives 1970–1974. *Political Studies* 28(1), 84–98.

Pollitt, C. (1993). Occasional Excursions: A Brief History of Policy Evaluation in the UK. *Parliamentary Affairs* 46(3), 353-362.

Pollitt, C., & Talbot, C. (2004) Unbundled Government. London: Routledge.

Pollitt, C. (2014). Forty Years of Public Management Reform in UK Central Government: Promises, Promises... in Ayres, S. (ed.) Rethinking Policy and Politics: Reflections on Contemporary Debates in Policy Studies. Bristol: Policy Press.

Portes, J., & French, S. (2005). The Impact of Free Movement of Workers from Central and Eastern Europe on the UK Labour Market: Early Evidence. A Report of Research Carried Out on Behalf of The Department of Work and Pensions. Department for Work and Pensions. Occasional Paper 18. London: TSO.

Popper, K. (1967). The Logic of Scientific Discovery. New York: Harper & Row.

Public Administration Select Committee. (2001). Making Government Work: the Emerging Issues. Report and Proceedings of the Committee. HC94. Seventh Report of Session 200-2001. London: TSO.

Public Administration Select Committee. (2013) Truth to Power: How Civil Service Reform Can Succeed. HC74. Eighth Report of Session 2013–14.

Putnam, H. (1990). Realism with a Human Face. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Radcliffe, J. (1991). The Reorganisation of British Central Government. Aldershot: Dartmouth.

Rhodes, R. A. W. (1988) Beyond Westminster and Whitehall: the Sub-Central Governments of Britain. London: Allen & Unwin.

Rhodes, R. A. W. (1997). Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Rhodes, R. A. W., & Bevir, M. (2003). Interpreting British Governance. London: Routledge.

Rhodes, R. A. W., & Bevir, M. (2006). Governance Stories. London: Routledge.

Rhodes, R.A.W. (2011a). Thinking On: A Career in Public Administration. *Public Administration* 89(1), 196-212.

Rhodes, R.A.W. (2011b). Everyday Life in British Government. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Richards, D. (2008). New Labour and the Civil Service. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Richards, L. (1993). Writing a Qualitative Thesis or Grant Application. In Beattie, K. (ed.) So Where's Your Research Profile? A Resource Book for Academics. South Melbourne: Union of Australian College Academics.

Richardson, J., & Jordan, G. (1979). Governing Under Pressure: The Policy Process in a Post Parliamentary Democracy. Oxford: Robertson.

Richardson, J. (ed.) (1982). Policy Styles in Western Europe. London: Allen & Unwin.

Riker, W. (1962). The Theory of Political Coalitions. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rittel, H., & Webber, M. (1973). Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning, *Policy Sciences* 4(1), 159-169.

Ritzer, G. (1993). The McDonaldisation of Society. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Robinson, D., & Reeve, K. (2006). Neighbourhood Experiences of New Immigration: Reflections from the Evidence Base. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Robson, W. (1971). The Reorganisation of Central Government. Political Quarterly 42(1), 87-90.

Rokeach, M. (1973). The Nature of Human Values. New York: Free Press.

Rossi, H. (1987). The Iron Law of Evaluation and Other Metallic Rules. Research in Social Problems and Public Policy 4(1), 3–20.

Rothschild, L. (1976). The Organisation and Management of Government R&D. Appendix to Green Paper: A Framework for Government Research and Development (Cmnd 4814). London: HMSO.

Rubin, H., & Rubin, I. (2005). Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ruby, J. (1980). Exposing Yourself: Reflexivity, Film and Anthropology. Semiotica 30(1-2), 153-79.

Ruhs, M., & Anderson, B. (eds.)(2010). Who Needs Migrant Workers? Labour Shortages, Immigration and Public Policy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rustin, M. (2008). New Labour and the Theory of Globalization. *Critical Social Policy* 28(3), 273–282.

Sabatier, P. (1993). Theories of the Policy Process. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sabatier, P., & Jenkins-Smith, H. (1993). Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach. Colorado: Westview Press.

Salmon, W. (1984). Scientific Explanation and the Causal Structure of the World. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Salt, J., & Rees, P. (2006). Globalisation, Population Mobility and Impact of Migration on Population. ESRC Seminar Series Mapping the Public Policy Landscape. London: Economic and Social Research Council.

Sanderson, I. (2000). Evaluation in Complex Policy Systems. *Evaluation* 6(4), 433-454.

Sanderson, I. (2002). Evaluation, Policy Learning and Evidence-Based Policy Making. *Public Administration* 80(1), 1-22.

Sankey, H. (2000). Methodological Pluralism, Normative Naturalism and the Realist Aim of Science. In Howard Sankey & Robert Nola (eds.), After Popper, Kuhn and Feyerabend: Recent Issues in Theories of Scientific Method. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Sassen, S. (1991). The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Savage, S., & Atkinson, R. (2001). Public Policy under Blair. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Schattschneider, E. E. (1935). Politics, Pressures and the Tariff: a Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics, as Shown in the 1929-30 Revision of the Tariff. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Schneider, C., & Holman, D. (2005). A Profile of Migrant Workers in the Breckland Area. Thetford: Keystone Development Trust.

Schon, D. (1984). The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action. New York: Basic Book.

Schwandt, T. (1997). Evaluation as Practical Hermeneutics. *Evaluation* 3(1), 69-83.

Seddon, A., & Hickson, K. (eds.) (2004). New Labour, Old Labour: The Wilson and Callaghan Governments, 1974-79. London: Routledge.

Seising, R. (2009). Views on Fuzzy Sets and Systems from Different Perspectives: Philosophy and Logic, Criticism and Applications. Berlin: Springer.

Select Committee on Economic Affairs. (2003). Aspects of the Economics of an Ageing Population. Volume I—Report. HL-179I. Fourth Report of Session 2002–03.

Select Committee on Economic Affairs. (2008). The Economic Impact of Immigration. Volume I: Report. HL 82-I. First report of Session 2007-2008.

Shapiro, I., & Green, D. (1994). Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Skelcher, C. (1998). The Appointed State: Quasi-Governmental Organisations and Democracy. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Smith, L., Gratz, Z., & Bousquet, Z. (2008). The Art and Practice of Statistics. California: Wadsworth.

Smith, M. (1993). Pressure, Power and Policy: State Autonomy and Policy Networks in Britain and the United States. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Smith, M., & Richards, D. (2001). Governance and Public Policy in the UK. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, M., Richards, D., Geddes, A., & Mathers, H. (2011). Analysing Policy Delivery in the United Kingdom: The Case of Street Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour. *Public Administration* 89(3), 975-1000.

Solomos, J. (1991). Black Youth, Racism and the State: The Politics of Ideology and Policy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Somerville, W. (2007). Immigration under New Labour. Bristol: Policy Press.

Sørensen, E., & Torfing, J. (2005). The Democratic Anchorage of Governance Networks. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 28(3), 195–218.

Spann, R.N. (1981). Fashions and Fantasies in Public Administration. Australian Journal of Public Administration 40(1), 12-25.

Spencer, I. (1997). British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain. London: Routledge.

Spinoza, B. (1677). Tractatus Politicus. London: G Bell and Sons.

Sriskandarajah, D. (2004). EU Enlargement and Labour Migration: An IPPR Factfile. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Sriskandarajah, D., Cooley, L., & Reed, H. (2005). Paying Their Way. The Fiscal Contribution of Immigrants in the UK. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Srnicek, N., & Williams, A. (2015). Inventing the Future: Postcapitalism and a World Without Work. London: Verso.

Stachura, P. (ed.) (2004). The Poles in Britain 1940–2000. London: Frank Cass.

Stanlis, P. (1961). Edmund Burke: Selected Writing and Speeches. Washington DC: Gateway Editions.

Staniewicz, T. (2007). A Critical Evaluation of Factors Inhibiting A8 Polish Migrants' Full Participation in Civil Society. Findings from CRED project.

Staniewicz, T. (2007). Xenophobic reactions towards EU Citizens Report. The European Union Monitoring Centre [EUMC]

Statutory Instrument No. 1219. (2004). The Accession (Immigration and Worker Registration) Regulations 2004. London: TSO.

Stenning, A., Champion, A., Conway, C., Coombes, M., Dawley, S., Dixon, E., Raybould, S., & Richardson, R. (2006). Assessing the Local and Regional Impacts Of International Migration. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.

Stevens, D. (2001). The Immigration and Asylum Act 1999: A Missed Opportunity? *The Modern Law Review* 64(3), 413-438.

St Martin's Housing Trust. (2006). Research into the Housing and Welfare Needs of Migrant Workers in Norfolk. Norwich: St Martins Housing Trust.

Stoker, G. (2004). Why Politics Matters. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Straw, E. (2004). The Dead Generalist: Reforming the Civil Service and Public Services. London: Demos.

Strawson, G. (1989). The Secret Connexion: Causation, Realism, and David Hume. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sullivan, H. (2011). Truth Junkies: Using Evaluation in UK Public Policy. *Policy and Politics* 39(4), 499-512.

Sword, K., Davies, N., & Ciechanowski, J. (1989). The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain. London: School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies.

Talbot, C. (2005). The Paradoxical Primate. Exeter: Imprint Academic.

Talbot, C., & Talbot, C. (2014). Sir Humphrey and the Professors: What does Whitehall want from Academics? Manchester; Manchester University.

Tant, T. (1993). The Elite Tradition and British Government. London: Dartmouth.

Targ, H. (2006). Globalization, Neoliberalism, and the “Precarious Classes”. *Radical Philosophy Today* 4(2), 59-80.

Tashakori, A., & Teddie, T. (1998). Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. London: Sage.

Thomas, K. (April 3rd 2014). The Great Fight over the Enlightenment. *New York Review of Books*, 16-21.

Tibbitts, P. (1977). Feyerabend's 'Against Method': The Case for Methodological Pluralism. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 7(3), 265-275.

Tilly, N. (2000). Realistic Evaluation: An Overview. Presented at the Founding Conference of the Danish Evaluation Society, September 2000.

Theakston, K. (1995). The Civil Service Since 1945. Oxford: Blackwell.

Trade Union Congress. (6th September 2005). Managed Migration: Working For Britain - A Joint Statement From The Home Office, CBI and TUC. Press Release.

<https://www.tuc.org.uk/international-issues/migration/managed-migration-working-britain-joint-statement-home-office-cbi-and> (accessed 11th January 2013).

Vickers, G. (1965). The Art of Judgement. London: Sage.

Waldinger, R., & Lichter, M. (2003). How the Other Half Works: Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor. California: University of California Press.

Wallace, W. (1971). The Logic of Science in Sociology. New York: Transaction Publishers.

Waller, P., Morris, R., & Simpson, P. (2009). The Formulation and Development of Government Policy in the context of FOI. The Constitution Unit at University College London for the Information Commissioners Office. London, University College London.

Wacquant, I. (2005). Pierre Bourdieu and Democratic Politics. Cambridge: Polity.

Weale, A. (2006). Democratic Values, Political Legitimacy and European Governance. in Ruzza, C., & Della-Sala, V. (eds) Governance and Civil Society in the European Union. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Weber, M. (1922). Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology. New York: Bedminster Press.

Weiss, C. (1979). The Many Meanings of Research Utilisation *Public Administration Review* 39(5), 426- 431.

Weiss, C., & Bucuvalas, M. (1980). Social Science Research and Decision Making. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wells, P. (2007). New Labour and Evidence Based Policy: 1997-2007. *People, Place & Policy Online* 1(1), 22-29.

Welsh Local Government Association (2008). Response to 'The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System: Consultation Questions'. Available at www.wlga.gov.uk/download.php?id=2164&l=2 (Accessed 27th September 2011).

Westminster City Council. (2007a). Westminster's Hidden Population. London: Westminster City Council.

Westminster City Council. (2007b). Population Summit, Report. London: Westminster City Council.

Whitehead, T. (23rd October 2009). Labour Wanted Mass Immigration to Make UK More Multicultural, Says Former Adviser. *Telegraph* (London)
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/6418456/Labour-wanted-mass-immigration-to-make-UK-more-multicultural-says-former-adviser.html> (Accessed 27th August 2012).

Wildavsky, A. (1979). Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis. New York: Little Brown.

Wildavsky, A. (1987). Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation. *The American Political Science Review* 81(1), 3-22.

Williams, D. (1999). The Enlightenment. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, H. (1986). Memoirs: the making of a Prime Minister 1916-1964. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson and Michael Joseph.

Wintour, P. (7th August 2010). Fund to ease Impact of Immigration Scrapped by Stealth. The Guardian (UK), p.10.

Worley, C. (2005). It's Not About Race. It's About the Community: New Labour and 'Community Cohesion'. Critical Social Policy 25(4), 483-496.

Yin, R. (2003). Applications of Case Study Research. London: Sage.

Yin, R. (2009). Case Study Research: Design and Methods (4th ed). London: Sage.

Yin, R. (2010). Analytic Generalization. In Mills, A., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (eds.) Encyclopaedia of Case Study Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zahariadis, N. (2003). Ambiguity and Choice in Public Policy: Political Decision Making in Modern Democracies. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Zaronaite, D., & Tirzite, A. (2006). The Dynamics of Migrant Labour in South Lincolnshire. [http://www.migrantworkers.co.uk/docs/The%20Dynamics%20of%20Migrant%20Labour%20in%20South%20Lincolnshire%20\(2\).pdf](http://www.migrantworkers.co.uk/docs/The%20Dynamics%20of%20Migrant%20Labour%20in%20South%20Lincolnshire%20(2).pdf) (accessed 5th November 2011).

The end