Policy & Politics conference 2014:
The challenges of leadership and collaboration in the 21st Century

Conference Programme

Marriott Hotel, College Green, Bristol

16 -17 September 2014

Tuesday 16th September

8.30-9.30 Location: Royal Foyer (1st floor)
Registration and coffee

9.30-9.40 Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)
Welcome address: Sarah Ayres (University of Bristol, UK)

9.40-10.40 Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)
Chair: Sarah Ayres (University of Bristol, UK)
Plenary Speaker: Professor Chris Ansell (University of California, Berkeley, US) Collaborative Governance: Why, When, and How?

10.40-11.00 Location: Royal Foyer (1st floor)
Coffee
11.00-1.00  **Panel session 1**  
Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)  
**THE POLITICS OF JOURNAL EDITING: INTELLECTUAL GATEKEEPERS AND STRATEGIC POSITIONING**  
Panel Organiser and Chair: Matthew Flinders (University of Sheffield, UK) & Sarah Ayres (University of Bristol, UK)  
Discussants:  
Matthew Flinders (University of Sheffield, UK): Policy & Politics  
Alasdair Rae (University of Sheffield, UK): Regional Studies, Regional Science  
Martin Jones (University of Sheffield, UK): Territory, Politics, Governance  
Joyce Liddle (Aix-Marseilles University, France): International Journal of Public Sector Management  
Richard Freeman (University of Edinburgh, UK): Critical Policy Studies  
Mark Wenman (University of Nottingham, UK): Political Studies  
Alistair Clark (University of Newcastle, UK): British Journal of Politics and International Relations  
Kyle Grayson (Newcastle University, UK): Politics

Location: Lancaster room (1st floor)  
**COPING WITH COMPLEXITY IN GOVERNANCE PROBLEMS: MIRRORING OR SIMPLIFYING?**  
Panel Organiser and Chair: Guy Peters (University of Pittsburgh, US) & Jon Pierre (Gothenburg University, Sweden)  
Eva G. Heidbreder (Heinrich-Heine University Dusseldorf, Germany) Turning Legal Discrepancies into Administrative Procedures: Reducing Complexity by Simplifying Circumvention  
Victor Galaz (Stockholm University, Sweden) Complexity, Connectivity and Governance – a multi-theoretical perspective  
Felicity Matthews (University of Sheffield, UK) Off-target? The Rise and Fall of Targetry as an Instrument of Delivery  
Per Lagreid & Lise H. Rykkja (University of Bergen, Norway) Governance for complexity. How to organise for handling of ‘wicked issues’? The case of internal security and welfare administration in Norway  
Location: Merchant 5 (2nd floor)
EXPLORING THE LOGICS OF DEPOLITICISATION
Panel Organiser and Chair: David Howarth (University of Essex, UK)
Matt Wood (University of Sheffield, UK) State Theory, Governance Systems, and Everyday Discourse: Systematising the Study of Depoliticisation
Steven Griggs (De Montfort University, UK) and David Howarth (University of Essex, UK) Depoliticisation, Aviation Expansion and the Davies Commission
Eleanor Mackillop (De Montfort University, UK) Exploring Conditions of Power and Resistance in Organisational Change Politics: A Hegemonic and Discursive Approach

Location: Merchant 2 (2nd floor)

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE
Panel Chair: Jenny Hatchard (University of Bath, UK)
Amy M. Hochadel (King’s College London, UK) Local Elected Officials Go Global: Beyond Agency & Structure
Ceren Pekdemir, Sophie von Gagern, Pieter Glasbergen & Ron Cörvers (Maastricht University, Netherlands) Handling fragmentation in global governance: A valuation of the role of meta-governors
Henriette Müller (Humboldt University Berlin, Germany) After Lisbon: Leadership Potential and Performance of the EU Commission President
Kate Mattocks (City University, UK) Policy learning through intergovernmental collaboration: the case of cultural governance in the European Union
Location: Merchant 3 (2nd floor)

ENVIRONMENT: GOVERNING LAND, FORESTS AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Panel Chair: David Sweeting (University of Bristol, UK)
Clare Barnes & Frank van Laerhoven (Utrecht University, Netherlands) The right to influence: how NGO coalitions are shaping the implementation of the Forest Rights Act in India
Khensane Hlongwane (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa) The policy making dynamics of the beneficiation policy in South Africa; a view through the lens of network analysis
Jarmo Kortelainen (University of Eastern Finland, Finland) Complex policy of the energy use of forests

Location: Merchant 4 (2nd floor)

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND LEGITIMACY

Panel Chair: Will Rossiter (Nottingham Trent University, UK)
Neta Sher-Hadar (Sapir College, Israel and Mandel Leadership Institute, Israel) The Impact of Internal Changes in Government Institutions in the age of Governance: The Case of the Israeli State Comptroller
(NB: The state comptroller is the states’ auditor (the Head of the General Accounting / Accountability Office in Israel).
Miklos Sebok (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary) The manufacturing and solution of crises as political capital accumulation: The case of the U.S. debt ceiling debate
Brenton Prosser & Richard Denniss (Australian National University, Australia) Policy in the margins: new issues for parliamentary legitimacy and accountability
MULTI-AGENCY PARTNERSHIPS

Panel Chair: Thomas Elston (University of Oxford, UK)

Anthony Onyishi (University of Nigeria, Nigeria) Public private partnership in Nigeria: A Study of the “Neighbourhood Watch” Security Policy in Enugu State

Justin Waring (University of Nottingham, UK) Leading the Public Sector Diaspora: framing conversion, collaboration and contestation in the transition from public to private sector work

Ally Raza Memon & Tony Kinder (University of Edinburgh, UK) The changing nature of what managers do and their training and development in new public service systems: the challenges and opportunities of collaboration

Mark Considine, Siobhan O’Sullivan & Phuc Nguyen (University of Melbourne, Australia) The Challenges of Regulating a Partially Privatised Service: a study into the effectiveness of Work Programme

CITIES, URBANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Panel Chair: Christine Cheyne (Massey University, New Zealand)

Olanrewaju Olaoye (University of Lincoln, UK) Collaborative governance: The case of the governance of mass transportation in London

Graham Squires (The University of Birmingham, UK) The Future Financing of Development in Cities

Manisha Priyam (National University of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, India) Social Policy in an Indian City-state: Federal Institutions, Competitive Populism, and the Left out Public
PARTICIPATION, DELIBERATION AND COLLABORATION

Panel Chair: Steve Cropper (Keele University, UK)

Rod Dacombe (King’s College, London, UK) Participation in local democracy: Answering democracy’s critics

Finbarr Livesey (University of Cambridge, UK) Do the public want to contribute to policymaking?

Cécile Hatier (University of Wolverhampton, UK) Is compromise always the most critical component of successful political collaboration?

Amanda Crompton (University of Nottingham, UK) The process of ‘organizing’ in public deliberation: ‘Ordinary folk’ and their attempt to put the brakes on High Speed Rail?

Val Williams (University of Bristol, UK) Co-production and leadership: people with intellectual disabilities

1.00 - 2.00 Location: Palm Court (Ground floor)
Lunch

2.00-3.00 Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)
Chair: Felicity Matthews (University of Sheffield, UK)
Plenary Speaker: Professor Erik-Hans Klijn (Erasmus University, Netherlands) Public leadership between ‘front’ and ‘back’ ‘stage’

3.00-3.20 Location: Royal Foyer (1st floor)
Coffee
Panel session 2
Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)

WHAT DIFFERENCE DO DIRECTLY ELECTED MAYORS MAKE? SESSION 1
Panel Organiser and Chair: David Sweeting (Associate Editor, Policy & Politics, University of Bristol, UK)
David Sweeting (University of Bristol, UK) & Robin Hambleton, (University of the West of England, UK) What difference does a directly elected mayor make? The introduction of a directly elected mayor in Bristol, UK
Christine Cheyne (Massey University, New Zealand) Directly elected mayors in New Zealand: the impact of intervening variables on enhanced governing capacity
Colin Copus & Michael Dadd (De Montfort University, UK) New and established mayoralities: lessons from local governance from two English case studies
Robin Hambleton (University of the West of England, UK) Directly elected mayors: a route to progressive urban leadership?

Location: Lancaster room (1st floor)

STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING STRATEGIES: TERRITORIAL PACTS AND COLLABORATIVE SYSTEMS OF GOVERNANCE
Panel Organiser and Chair: Alan Townsend & Lee Pugalis (University of Northumbria, UK)
Lee Pugalis, Alan Townsend & Ania Ankowska (University of Northumbria, UK) 39 new Strategic Economic Plans across England: Pitfalls and Potentials
Gill Bentley (University of Birmingham, UK) Integrative Territorial Planning
Duncan Bowie (University of Westminster, UK) The Challenges of London’s growth: Strategic planning and the failures of governance in the Greater South East
Hannah Hickman & Martin Boddy (University of the West of England, UK) Collaborative planning in a growth region: the Cambridge Phenomenon
Joyce Liddle (Aix-Marseille Universite, France) Summarising the panel discussion
Location: Merchant 1 (2nd floor)

**CREATIVE LEADERSHIP AND INNOVATION**

**Panel Chair: Alex Marsh** (University of Bristol, UK)

Christopher Vas (Murdoch University, Australia) ‘Flashes of Thought’ – Creative Leadership and Public Innovation in the Arab World

Andreas Hagedorn Krogh & Jacob Torfing (Roskilde University, Denmark) *Leading Collaborative Innovation: New Demands for Public Leaders in a Post-NPM Era*

Steve Cropper (Keele University, UK) *Constructing time for leadership in collaboration*

Eva Sorenson (Roskilde University, Denmark) *The metagovernance of public innovation in governance networks*

Location: Merchant 5 (2nd floor)

**MULTI-SECTOR GOVERNANCE AND POLICY CHALLENGES IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY**

**Panel Chair: Matthew Flinders** (University of Sheffield, UK)

Ralitsa Hiteva & Jim Watson (University of Sussex, UK) *Multi-sector governance and coordination: the case of electricity, water, ICT and private vehicles in the UK*

Sarah Hartley (University of Nottingham, UK) *The influence of non-state actors on risk assessment policy: The case of EFSA’s public consultation on the environmental risks of genetically modified animals*

Rémi Schweizer (University of Lausanne, Switzerland) *Law activation strategies and creative responses in environmental policy implementation*
Location: Merchant 2 (2nd floor)

**NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS AND CO-PRODUCTION**

Panel Chair: Randall Smith (University of Bristol, UK)

Caitlin McMullin (University of Birmingham, UK), Fergus Lyon (Middlesex University, UK), Leandro Sepulveda (Middlesex University, UK) & Ian Vickers (Middlesex University, UK). *User engagement and hybridity: The case of public service social enterprises*

Lee Gregory (University of Birmingham, UK) *Co-production as resilience or resistance?*

Linda Milbourne & Ursula Murray (Birkbeck, University of London, UK) *Policy and politics in privatising public services and impacts on non-governmental organisations: does size matter?*

Eliza Lee & Juan Manuel Restrepo (University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong) *Scaling up in a Global City: The Case of a Hong Kong-based INGO*

Location: Merchant 3 (2nd floor)

**PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND NEGOTIATION**

Panel Chair: Fiona Mackay (University of Edinburgh, UK)

Guy-El-Karim Berthome (AgroParisTech, France) *Narrowing down the negotiation power issue in stakeholders dialogue by measurement*

Lihi Lahat (Sapir College, Israel) & Yekoutiel (Couty) Sabah, (Director, Research, Planning and Training Division, Israel Ministry of Social Affairs and Services) *Quality improvement in social care service, leadership and trust: Outcome-oriented management project, Ministry of Social Affairs and Services*

Thomas Elston (University of Oxford, UK) *Protecting the frontline? Opportunities and challenges in multi-agency corporate service sharing*

Fabrizio De Francesco (University of Strathclyde, UK) *Assessing Regulators Fairly: Matching Scientific Knowledge with Impact Assessments*

Samuel Carpintero & Ole Helby Petersen (Roskilde University, Denmark) *Time-overruns and risk allocation in public-private partnerships (PPP): Experiences from implementation of 131 Spanish PPP projects*
Location: Merchant 4 (2nd floor)

**EXPERIMENTATION, ‘GOOD POLICIES’ AND POLICY NETWORKS**

**Panel Chair: Ian Stafford** (Cardiff University, UK)

**Erik Hans Klijn & Iris Korthagen** (Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands) *The mediatization of governance: an overview*

**Dan Bristow & Steve Martin** (University of Cardiff, UK) *Challenges for evidence-based policy*

**Ir. Sander van den Burg & Trond Selnes** (LEI Wageningen UR, Netherlands) *Informational Governance: the impact of social media on policy making*

**Ahmed Badran** (Mohammed Bin Rashid School of Government, Dubai) *Networks within Networks: Complexity and Asymmetric Nodes in Telecoms Policy in Egypt*

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Location: Hanover (1st floor)

**CRITICAL POLICY STUDIES**

**Panel Chair: Noemi Lendvai** (University of Bristol, UK)

**Peter Barberis** (Manchester Metropolitan University, UK) *Virtue ethics and the idea of public service*

**Genevieve Fuji Johnson** (Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada) *The Governance of Sex Work: From Antagonism to Agonism*

**Emily St. Denny** (Nottingham Trent University, UK) & **Paul Cairney** (University of Stirling, UK) *Preventing what? Preventing how? The development of contemporary preventive policy aimed at prostitution in the UK*

**Rhys Jones, Mark Whitehead** (Aberystwyth University, UK) & **Jessica Pykett** (Birmingham University, UK) *“Politics done like science”: towards a critical theory of the psychological state*
HEALTHCARE
Panel Chair: Ailsa Cameron (University of Bristol, UK)
Iestyn Williams, Jenny Harlock, Glenn Robert (University of Birmingham, UK) *The perils of health care decommissioning: findings from a delphi study*

John Boswell & Jack Corbett (University of Southampton, UK & Griffith University, Australia) *Stoic Democrats? Anti-politics, elite cynicism and the policy process*

Jane Hughes (Manchester University, UK), Helen Chester (Chester Department of Health, Australia), Paul Clarkson (Manchester University, UK), Sue Davies (Manchester University, UK) & David Challis (Manchester University, UK). *Piloting the Common Assessment Framework – service re-design through local collaboration?*

Lina Martinez & Marianella Ortiz (Icesi University, Colombia) *Using subjective data to measure government performance and life satisfaction: The case of Cali - Colombia*

POLICY AND EDUCATION
Panel Chair: Geetanjali Gangoli (University of Bristol, UK)
Rob Hulme, Jane McKay & David Cracknell (University of Chester, UK) “I used to be a Commissar but now I’m an Auctioneer”, the Changing Role of Directors of Education and Children’s Services 2007-2014”

Anders Hanberger (Umeå University, Sweden) *Managing evaluations in local school governance in Sweden*

Eva Lloyd (University of East London, UK) *Co-producing early childhood policy: the impact of policy and politics*

Joanna Bragg; Helen Gunter; David Hall: Colin Mills (University of Manchester Institute of Education, UK) *Researching and theorising consultants and consultancy in contemporary English schooling*

7.00 Location: Palm Court (1st floor)
Conference dinner
Wednesday 17th September

8.30-9.00 Location: Royal Foyer (1st floor)
Coffee

9.00-10.00 Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)
Chair: David Sweeting (University of Bristol, UK)
Plenary Speaker: Professor Helen Sullivan (University of Melbourne, Australia) Collaboration as the new normal? Global trends, public policy and everyday practices

10.00-10.30 Location: Royal Foyer (1st floor)
Coffee

10.00-12.30 Panel session 3
Location: Lancaster room (1st floor)
ROUND TABLE ON LEADERSHIP AND POLICY ANALYSIS
Panel Organiser and Chair: Claire Dunlop (University of Exeter, UK)
Discussants: Dr Mike Rowe (University of Liverpool, UK); Dr Angela O’Hagan (Glasgow Caledonian University, UK); Dr Liz Richardson (Manchester University, UK); Professor Robin Hambleton (University of the West of England, UK); Dr Tobias Jung (University of St Andrews, UK)
Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)

**WHAT DIFFERENCE DO DIRECTLY ELECTED MAYORS MAKE? SESSION 2**

**Panel Organiser and Chair: David Sweeting** (Associate Editor, Policy & Politics, University of Bristol, UK)

**Thom Oliver** (Oxford Brookes University, UK) Assessing the directly elected mayoral model in Bristol: an empirical investigation of the contrasting definitions of the role of a directly elected mayor

**Howard Elcock** (Northumbria University, UK) Do mayors make a difference? In their own words…

**Petr Jüptner** (Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic) Debate on Direct Election of Mayors and its Impact: Connections between Austria, Slovakia and the Czech Republic

**Bjorn Egner** (Technical University of Darmstadt, Germany) A shift to Presidentialism? How directly elected mayors contribute to council election results in English local authorities

Location: Merchant 2 (2nd floor)

**COLLABORATION: LOCAL GOVERNMENTS SESSION 1**

**Panel Chair: Nasrul Ismail** (University of Bristol, UK)

**Cristina Stanus** (University of Sibiu, Romania)
Collaborative governance and political representation at the second tier of local government: an analysis of five new democracies

**Anne Mévellec & Félix Grenier** (University of Ottawa, Canada) Training local elected officials: Improving public governance between democracy and expertise

**Julita Łukomska & Katarzyna Szmigiel-Rawska** (both of Warsaw University, Poland) Financial rate of local government collaboration

**Alison Gardner & Vivien Lowndes** (University of Nottingham, UK) Negotiating austerity – local traditions, forms of knowledge and emerging practice in English local government
**Location:** Merchant 3 (2nd floor)

**MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION**

**Panel Chair:** Noemi Lendvai (University of Bristol, UK)

**Made Mastianta Nadera** (University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia) & **Nyoman Mastiani Nadra** (Bali State Polytechnic, Bali) *Conviviality Revisited: Overcoming the Challenges of Migration to Tourism Sites in Bali, Indonesia*

**Eve Hepburn** (University of Edinburgh, UK) *Scotland’s ‘hidden’ policy competence: immigrant integration and policy divergence in Scotland since devolution*

**Natalie Wojtarowicz** (Southern Cross University, Australia) *The battle for brains: How incorporating a policy network perspective can advance the study of skilled migration policy*

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**Location:** Merchant 4 (2nd floor)

**THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF CITIES AND REGIONS:**

**Panel Organiser and Chair:** Tassilo Herrschel & Peter Newman (University of Westminster, UK)

**Tassilo Herrschel & Peter Newman** (University of Westminster, UK) *Cities as International Actors and the Role of Leadership*

**Igor Calzada** (University of Oxford, UK) *Post-independence: Comparing city-regional devolution strategic scenarios in Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country*

**Roger Lawrence** (De Montfort University/Wolverhampton City Council, Wolverhampton, UK) *Local Collaboration: Explaining the Dynamics of Organisation Reshaping?*

**Frands Pedersen** (University of Westminster, UK) Leadership and Policy Entrepreneurship as Determinants of City- and Para-Diplomatic Strategies - A comparison of selected Danish and Swedish sub-national authorities
DISCOURSE AND IDEAS

Panel Chair: Deborah Wilson (Bristol University, UK)
Stephen Jeffares (University of Birmingham, UK) Policy Ideas and Hashtag Politics: Introducing a Theory of Policy Equivalence for Understanding the Rise and Demise of the Big Society
Jason Glynos (University of Essex, UK), Robin Klimecki (University of Bristol, UK), Hugh Willmott (Cardiff University, UK) Policy Imagination in Stasis? Contesting and Policing Banking Reform in the UK
Patrick Hassenteufel (University of Versailles, France) & Philippe Zittoun (University of Lyon, France) Why do policy discourses succeed? Leadership and discursive change
Anas Buera (University of Exeter, UK) Discourse and Narratives of Policy Leaders in Libya "Lessons from the Authoritarian Epoch 2003-2010"
Geetanjali Gangoli (University of Bristol, UK) & Martin Rew (University of Birmingham, UK) Strategic co-option’ or collaboration? Feminists and the State in India

RESCALING THE STATE

Panel Chair: Joyce Liddle (Aix-Marseilles University, France)
Ian Stafford (Cardiff University, UK) Is devolution delivering policy success or failure? The case of secondary education in Wales
Will Rossiter (Nottingham Trent University, UK) Rescaling economic development in the Midlands: strategy, evidence and policy
Manuel Fischer (Swiss Institute for Aquatic Science, Switzerland) & Isabelle Schläpfer (University of Berne, Switzerland) In the Shadow of Hierarchy? Policy Forums, State Intervention, and Outputs

12.30 - Location: Palm Court (ground floor)
1.30 Lunch
1.30-2.30 Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)
Chair: Noemi Lendvai (University of Bristol, UK)
Plenary Speaker: **Professor Jacob Torfing** (Roskilde University, Denmark) *How to lead and manage collaborative innovation*

2.30-2.50 Location: Royal Foyer (1st floor)
Coffee

2.50-4.50 **Panel session 4**
Location: Lancaster room (1st floor)
**THE STATE OF THE LOCAL STATE IN AUSTERITY**
Panel Organiser and Chair: **Steven Griggs** (DeMontfort University, UK) & **Helen Sullivan** (University of Melbourne, Australia)
**Neil Barnett** (Leeds Metropolitan University, UK) The state of local councillors in the UK
**Allan Cochrane** (Open University, UK) Governing across space: austerity, localism and policy mobility
**Steven Griggs** (DeMontfort University, UK) & Helen Sullivan (University of Melbourne, Australia) Practicing the local state

Location: Kings Suite (1st floor)
**WHAT DIFFERENCE DO DIRECTLY ELECTED MAYORS MAKE? SESSION 3**
Panel Organiser and Chair: **David Sweeting** (Associate Editor, Policy & Politics, University of Bristol, UK)
**Alex Marsh** (University of Bristol, UK) Local political leadership takes a post-political turn? On the resilience of the elected Mayor as a governance solution
**Nicola Headlam & Paul Hepburn** (University of Liverpool, UK) Field notes from an evaluation of the First Mayor of Liverpool
**Niels Karsten** (Tilburg University, Netherlands) Sources of authority for Dutch mayors: pinning down modern political authority
**Nasrul Ismail** (University of Bristol, UK) Embracing Social Responsibilities through Local Leadership: Comparing the Experience of the Mayors of Bristol and Liverpool
Location: Merchant 1 (2nd floor)

NEW FRONTIERS, NEW CHALLENGES FOR POLICY-MAKING

Panel Chair: Liz Richardson (University of Manchester, UK)
Jenny L Hatchard, Gary J Fooks & Anna B Gilmore (University of Bath and UK Centre for Tobacco and Alcohol Studies, UK) The interdependence of corporate political activities: The case of standardised tobacco packaging in the UK


Oliver James (University of Exeter, UK), Peter John (University College London, UK) Alice Moseley (University of Exeter, UK), Liz Richardson (University of Manchester, UK), Matt Ryan (University of Southampton, UK) & Gerry Stoker (University of Southampton, UK) Individual charitable giving and willingness to contribute to public goods

Location: Merchant 2 (2nd floor)

CRISES AND AUSTERITY

Panel Chair: Kevin Doogan (University of Bristol, UK)
Manos G. Papazoglou (University of the Peloponnese, Greece) Leadership and multi-level collaboration. Is this an effective strategy for a state under economic and political crisis?

Maura Adshead (University of Limerick, Ireland) Been there, done that, lost the shirt off our back: collaborative governance and crisis in Ireland

Rod Hick (Cardiff University, UK) From Celtic Tiger to Crisis: Progress, problems and prospects for the social security in Ireland

Eunice Goes (Richmond University, UK) The Labour Party Under Ed Miliband: Still Looking for Alternatives to Austerity Politics
POLICY NETWORKS AND MULTI-AGENCY COLLABORATION

Panel Chair: Jo Howard (University of Bristol, UK)
James Tiburcio (University of Brasilia, Brazil) The United Progressive Alliance leadership in the formulation of the National Food Security Bill (NFSB) of India, 2012-2013: A Public Choice analysis

Esther Conrad (University of California Berkeley, US) Bridging the hierarchical and collaborative divide: the role of network managers in scaling up a network approach to water governance in California

Cynthia Jackson-Elmoore (Michigan State University, US) Who Gets to Inform Sub-national Legislative Policy?

Xi Bao (Urban Infrastructure and Crisis Governance Institute, China) Coupling or decoupling: What differentiates the dynamics of governance networks in China’s village?

COLLABORATION: LOCAL GOVERNMENTS SESSION 2

Panel Chair: Thom Oliver (Oxford Brookes University, UK)
Valeria Guarneros-Meza (DeMontfort University, UK), James Downe & Steve Martin (Cardiff University, UK) Illusion or fact? The struggles of operational partnerships in achieving outcomes

Rachel Ashworth & James Downe (Cardiff University, UK) Keeping partners on their toes or forever playing catch-up? The challenges of conducting collaborative scrutiny

Pobsook Chamchong (University of Birmingham, UK) Collaboration between small local governments: a comparative study of England and Thailand

Phillip Willis (University of Technology, Sydney, Australia) Imposition of top-down reforms on NSW local government
THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF CITIES AND REGIONS: LEADERSHIP, COOPERATION AND THE POLITICAL CHALLENGES OF POLICY NETWORKS: SESSION 2

Panel Organiser and Chair: Tassilo Herrschel & Peter Newman (University of Westminster, London, UK)
Marius Guderjan & Jan Gustaf Magnus Lindh (Centre for British Studies, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany & Centre for Research on Regional Development, Karlstad University, Sweden) Regional action in crisis? Time and space for reconfiguration
Nicolas Maisetti (Ecole des Ponts ParisTech, Université Paris-Est Marne-La-Vallée, France) The Narrative Politics of the Internationalisation of Marseilles
Aksel Ersoy (University of Bristol, UK) Co-producing Resilience: Beneath the City, a Co-exist?
Round Table Discussion by all speakers of this panel

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

Panel Chair: Eva Lloyd (University of East London, UK)
Paul Clarkson & Sue Davies (University of Manchester, UK)
Priorities for resource allocation in social care: the actual process of allocation versus the views of adults with a learning disability
Miriam K. Damrow (University of Applied Sciences Dusseldorf, Germany) Child Protection as a challenge of leadership
Inge Vermeesch & Marc Craps (HUB@KU Leuven, Belgium) & Katrien Termeer & Art Dewulf (Wageningen University & Research, Netherlands) Exploring Complexity Leadership development processes: the role of relational development in the leadership dynamics of multi-actor governance settings
Kazuo Takada (Hitotsubashi University, Japan) The Silent Transformation of the Japanese Welfare System: From Paternalism to Solidarity
Abstracts

Abstracts are listed in alphabetical order according to the surname of the lead author.

Panel abstracts

Claire Dunlop (University of Exeter, UK) **ROUNDTABLE ON LEADERSHIP AND POLICY ANALYSIS**

This roundtable invites five scholars working at the cutting edge of policy analysis to reflect on the conference theme of leadership. The emphasis will be on audience participation and interaction with the roundtable exploring leadership from a variety of angles:

**Conceptual:** What does the public policy research tell us about leadership? How integrated is leadership research with policy analysis? For example, how can we reconcile policy and management scholarship exploring horizontal collaboration and partnerships with leadership studies?

**Empirical:** What are the empirical challenges associated with studying leadership? What are the methodological innovations associated with this research theme?

**Practice:** What lessons from the study of leadership can be drawn by academics?

How can an understanding of leadership enhance academics' ability to engage effectively with external organisations and impact partners? How do the qualities required by academic leaders differ to those required in policy and politics?

Matthew Flinders (University of Sheffield, UK) & Sarah Ayres (University of Bristol, UK) **THE POLITICS OF JOURNAL EDITING: INTELLECTUAL GATEKEEPERS AND STRATEGIC POSITIONING**

The aim of this panel is to explore the role of journal editors in terms of shaping both a journal and the discipline. It is therefore aimed at promoting professional understanding across and within the field while also providing potential authors with insights about the 'hidden politics' of journals that may help the targeting and framing of their manuscripts. The panel aims to go beyond the standard 'meet the editors' format while at the same time maintaining an informal and open discussion style. As such the panel will bring together editors from leading international journals in political science, public policy and public administration. Each editor will have five minutes at the beginning of the session to introduce their journal (aims, scope, position, etc.) but also to offer a few thoughts on how they view their personal and
professional responsibilities as an editor, where do they see ‘the politics’ of journal editorship and where are the pressure points in terms of managing relationships?

There will then be a round table discussion linked to the following questions:

- Do academic journals and editors have a role in shaping the discipline?
- How do you define the range or market of your journal?
- How can journals make a contribution to public debates over important issues?
- Is it all about impact factors?
- How can journals encourage new scholars to publish?
- How is the ‘age of the internet’ influencing the publication of peer-reviewed work?

There will then be an opportunity for Q&As with the audience.

Steven Griggs (DeMontfort University, UK) & Helen Sullivan (University of Melbourne, Australia) **THE STATE OF THE LOCAL STATE IN AUSTERITY**

Current debates about the state assume a process of radical reconfiguration wrought by the global financial crisis and associated austerity measures and shaped by discourses of collaborative governance and leadership. This panel seeks to assess these claims and examine their veracity in the context of a longer-term analysis of the evolution of the local state. Drawing on insights from a range of disciplines, for example, political science, sociology, geography, and perspectives within them, this panel will elaborate and interrogate the different explanations for the contemporary state of the local state, paying attention to the space of/for the local state in global governance, the capacity of/for local institutions and actors to function under conditions of austerity, and particular dynamics that inhibit/support the practices of local politics.

Tassilo Herrschel & Peter Newman (University of Westminster, UK) **THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF CITIES AND REGIONS: LEADERSHIP, COOPERATION AND THE POLITICAL CHALLENGES OF POLICY NETWORKS**

The proposed panel is about ways in which cities – including global cities, mega-regions, city-regions, yet also other, less prominent urban entities – contribute in their own right to the development of governance responses to globalization. This is happening through forms of inter-city and transnational actor networks and the forging of alliances across institutional and state territorial boundaries, following instead an opportunity and agenda driven construction of political spaces. Political and personal leadership play a crucial role in such engagement across and beyond established and ‘safe’ political-institutional hierarchies, responsibilities and geographic certainties. National agendas may be interwoven with urban and regional...
ambitions and concerns, as cities pursue their own development ambitions as a political-economic as well as identity-shaping agenda. Pointing to the instrumental role of leadership, some imaginative claims are being made for a future of global "parliament of mayors" (Barber, 2013), for instance, Yet, are these claims hyperbole or indications of likely scenarios?

David Howarth (University of Essex, UK) **EXPLORING THE LOGICS OF DEPOLITICISATION**

The phenomenon of depoliticisation has in recent years attracted increasing attention. This has been fuelled in part by the marketization of social relations, the increasing recourse to expert and technocratic decision-making, and growing fears of a crisis of political participation. Indeed, such developments have come to mark what Woods and Flinders (2014) term the ‘depoliticised polity’. Against this background, this panel contributes to what has been called the emerging ‘second generation’ of studies of depoliticisation (Hay, 2014). Building on recent linkages between politicization, depoliticisation and repoliticisation, it seeks to evaluate the particular practices and logics of depoliticisation within and across different policy arenas. More specifically, it draws attention to the political struggles and spaces of depoliticisation, the complex relationship between depoliticisation at different levels of the policy process, and how we might further articulate poststructuralist and interpretive insights into our critical explanations of the politics of depoliticisation.

B. Guy Peters (University of Pittsburgh, US) & Jon Pierre (University of Gothenburg, Sweden) **COPING WITH COMPLEXITY IN GOVERNANCE PROBLEMS: MIRRORING OR SIMPLIFYING?**

The literature on governance and societal complexity identifies two fundamentally different governance strategies to cope with complexity. One strategy argues that government should embrace societal complexity and adapt its institutional structures and management to mirror society’s complexity. The alternative strategy is to emphasize simplicity to cut through complex societal networks and processes. This panel compares how these two strategies play out in different empirical contexts. The papers will address issues such as the extent to which different policy sectors are susceptible to the two strategies; the significance of uncertainty and risk in designing governance strategies; and the importance of vertical institutional embeddedness in defining the scope of action available to governing institutions.

David Sweeting (Associate Editor, Policy & Politics, University of Bristol, UK) **WHAT DIFFERENCE DO DIRECTLY ELECTED MAYORS MAKE?**

This panel sets out to explore, analyse, and assess the difference that directly elected mayors (DEMs) make to the cities in which they govern. In some countries, such as the US, Canada, and Japan, DEMs are a typical or traditional feature of local political systems. In many other countries (e.g. Poland, Italy, Germany,
Hungary, and England) they have been more recently introduced. Supporters of the introduction of the model offer numerous arguments in support of the innovation, from both democratic process and functional efficiency perspectives. DEMs are variously portrayed as being more visible, more accountable, more legitimate, and more powerful than other sorts of city leader. As a result, it is asserted that DEMs are therefore better equipped with greater capacity to govern in complex, fragmented, and multi-levelled urban governance systems which entail collaborative arrangements in order to address matters of public concern.

Yet there is limited research evidence to support these claims. There are many contributions that offer tantalising and seductive accounts of the merits of mayoral governance, yet few that systematically consider and analyse the difference that direct election makes to city leadership, and fewer still that consider the difference direct election makes to the cities such mayors lead. There are clear obstacles in providing such research evidence, including the difficulties of assessing impact where DEMs are a long-standing element woven into the fabric of city governance, the issue of controlling for local political context, and a lack of comparable data both before and after the introduction of a DEM, or between cities with and without DEMs. Despite these difficulties this panel takes up the challenge of assessing the difference that DEMs make in a variety of different political systems.

Alan Townsend & Lee Pugalis (University of Northumbria, UK) STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING STRATEGIES: TERRITORIAL PACTS AND COLLABORATIVE SYSTEMS OF GOVERNANCE

This panel is specifically concerned with novel ways of the coming together of diverse actors and institutions to enhance the efficacy of strategic spatial planning. Conversely, it is also interested in dilemmas and tensions, especially when non-state actors perform prominent roles in spatial governance and strategic planning. The panel theme will therefore cover:

- The role of strategic spatial strategies
- Relational and territorial spatial politics
- Collaborative mechanisms and systems of governance
- Territorial pacts, spatial coalitions and growth networks
Paper abstracts

Maura Adshead (University of Limerick, Ireland) Been there, done that, lost the shirt off our back: collaborative governance and crisis in Ireland
Over the last couple of decades ‘collaborative governance’ has been hailed as means of securing better cooperation and coordination between government and stakeholders in policy. It is suggested that ‘if we govern collaboratively, we may avoid the high costs of adversarial policy making, expand democratic participation, and even restore rationality to public management’ (Ansell and Gash, 2007: 561). For some time, this appeared to be the case in Ireland where the national system of social partnership was feted as being ‘distinguished by a unique set of institutional innovations for creative, dynamic, and self-reflexive governance for social and economic development’ (House and McGrath, 2004). Yet more recent Irish experience presents an ugly rebuff to this argument. Although the system of national social partnership was widely credited with helping Ireland move out of financial crisis in the late 1980s, and contributing to the so-called ‘Celtic Tiger’; it was also criticised for helping move Ireland into the devastating financial crisis that finally undid the system of social partnership in 2008/9. This paper builds on earlier empirical work with those responsible for negotiating social partnership agreements over two decades in Ireland. It applies Ansell and Gash’s (2007) model of collaborative governance to the Irish case and uses fresh interviews with key policy actors to explore their understanding of why the Irish system of ‘government by partnership’ proved unworkable in the long run and, more importantly, what this might tell us about the sustainability of collaborative governance more generally.

Rachel Ashworth & James Downe (Cardiff University, UK) Keeping partners on their toes or forever playing catch-up? The challenges of conducting collaborative scrutiny
Developments in collaborative and partnership governance present challenges for traditional interpretations and lines of accountability (Newman, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2010). With no obvious link to an electoral base and a lack of clearly identified principals and agents, there are fears that accountability has disappeared within the context of hybrid governance (Acar et al. 2006; Backstrand, 2006; Bovens, 2008, Fimreite and Laegreid, 2009). Whilst there is widespread agreement that collaborative governance presents accountability challenges, there is a lack of consensus on the ways in which accountability might be enhanced. For some, the answer lies in developing a ‘cultural framework of obligations’ which would apply to key actors (Considine, 2002). However, queries over the motivations and responsiveness of stakeholder partners (Lord and Pollak, 2010) raise doubts over whether the ‘everyday accountability’ of partner agents will prove to be sufficient (Newman, 2004; Sullivan 2002). Others suggest that some degree of external
scrutiny is warranted (Newman, 2004) so plural models have been developed which incorporate ‘targeted’ accountability conducted by local governance bodies or regulators (Bardach and Lesser, 1996). In this paper, we evaluate the effectiveness of a new form of ‘targeted accountability’ by reviewing attempts by central government in Wales to encourage local authority scrutiny teams to work together in providing ‘collaborative scrutiny’ of external partnership arrangements. In doing so, we identify the formidable challenges associated with ‘joining-up’ scrutiny arrangements. We conclude by proposing a series of conditions which might facilitate effective collaborative scrutiny, whilst emphasising the importance of aligning collaborative scrutiny with other accountability mechanisms, such as inspection and regulation.

Ahmed Badran (Mohammed Bin Rashid School of Government, Dubai) Networks within Networks: Complexity and Asymmetric Nodes in Telecoms Policy in Egypt

Whilst various complexity approaches seem to have descriptive power in some policy arenas, we question the explanatory power of pure horizontality and symmetry within the specific sector of telecommunications. We prefer to see this area of policy through the lens of network theory. By taking a few empirical examples from the Egyptian case, complexity can undoubtedly on the one hand give us a solid description of nodal interdependence. But, in order to explain policy flows and policy diffusion, we have found that a necessary and empirical asymmetry must be elucidated. Whilst power is objectively shared, and every node exists with outputs and inputs, peripheral nodes are ontologically dependent on a primary or central node. This is because, in this particular case, the access of the peripheral nodes to global interchanges necessarily flows through a dominant node. This does not mean that the primary node is isolated and static, considering its own dependence on other server clusters. It does mean, however, that it is a gatekeeper for sub-national servers and internet service providers. As such, explaining policy and regulatory flows at the national level in this policy arena requires a de facto asymmetry and nodal dependence.

Xi Bao (Urban Infrastructure and Crisis Governance Institute, China) Coupling or decoupling: What differentiates the dynamics of governance networks in China’s village?

On village level, China has a sophistication and resilience of wrapped informal network and custom-related mixed governance in making interactive decision to solve the conflicts and public affairs in autonomy range or in dealing with the relations between villages and local government. In this article, we are trying to answer the following questions: (1) The culture- and institutional-based derivation of village governance networks; (2) How the mixed and relational pluralism shape the village governance network, and What are the determinants driving the dynamics of
governance networks? (3) Is it a trend that village governance network can be scaled up to multi-level context-aware governance in rural China?

The empirical data comes from three Chinese villages interview, which is related to the process of interactive decision on village level in terms of public resource distribution, fiscal decision, environment conflicts and infrastructure projects etc. The article will employ the causal process tracing approach to analyze the data.

We expected to identify the typology of village governance networks, and have been trying to develop a relational pluralism theoretical framework to explain how it forms and what process it evolves, and finally we would reveal the settings and contexts in which vary governance network can work efficient in trend.

Peter Barberis (Manchester Metropolitan University, UK) Virtue ethics and the idea of public service
The paper begins with a discussion about the idea of public service – what is and what is not, or is not necessarily, implied by this term. In doing so it draws selectively upon a spectrum of disparate figures including Thomas Aquinas, Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith, T. H. Green as well as contemporary authors such as Michael Sandel. Second, there is a critical examination of assertions that there has been a decline in the public service ethos and in the notion of ‘vocation’, as expressed in the writings of Richard Sennett, David Marquand, Barry O’Toole and Richard Chapman. The paper holds that there is some evidence of decline, identifying two types of remedial approach – rules based and people based. While acknowledging the need for the former, it states the advantages of the latter. The third section is given to an examination of one of the more widely acclaimed people based approaches – virtue ethics, drawing upon the classical writings of Plato and (especially) Aristotle as well as ‘modern’ scholars (Rosalind Hursthouse, Alasdair Macintyre, Michael Slote). The fourth section sets the claims of virtue ethics against some of its critics, including a discussion about the extent to which virtue can be taught and nurtured. Finally, there is some broader discussion about the efficacy of virtue ethics to the idea of public service in the contemporary polity.

Clare Barnes & Frank van Laerhoven (Utrecht University, Netherlands) The right to influence: how NGO coalitions are shaping the implementation of the Forest Rights Act in India
The Forest Rights Act (FRA) in India aspires to clarify and settle the rights of forest dwellers to the land they have inhabited for generations. The debate leading to FRA enactment in 2006 was extremely heated. Opposing coalitions comprised of grassroots movements, NGOs, activists and academics were influential in the political policymaking process. Advocates of the Act saw it as a way to correct the
historical injustices against forest dwellers and as a democratic tool to improve livelihoods and reduce deforestation rates. Opposing coalitions strongly argued that the Act would encourage land grabbing, deforestation and unhampered development in forest areas.

Today, we observe that also the implementation of the FRA is a political, rather than a purely technical endeavour, in which coalitions of actors are attempting to influence how the act is given body at State level.

The goal of this paper is to analyse the extent and nature of the influence of actor coalitions advocating or opposing FRA, on its implementation in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. Understanding the influence of coalitions advocating and opposing implementation of the FRA is important as it can help us to analyse why the form and extent of implementation varies across states. In order to analyse coalition influence, we propose a framework that differentiates between (i) the resources held by actors, (ii) the structure of the coalition network, and (iii) the type of strategy used to achieve policy preferences. We apply a combination of in-depth interview- and network analysis techniques in order to explore the coalitions’ influence.

Initial results indicate that the course of policy processes is determined during the implementation phase to a larger extent than generally acknowledged. The resources and strategies employed by coalitions varied greatly and can partly explain the form and degree of FRA implementation.

Neil Barnett (Leeds Metropolitan University, UK) The state of local councillors in the UK

Since the concept of the ‘local state’ entered academic discourse the role of local councillors in the UK has been viewed as essentially paradoxical; Councillors are both the object and subject of state strategies. At times Councillors have been the focus of resistance, indicating some local autonomy, but now, amidst austerity, appear to be compliant and going about the business of implementing cuts.

The concept of the local state has, since the mid-1970’s, been interrogated and often found wanting from a range of critical perspectives. These have also served to undermine traditional defences of Councillor roles- including representative and place-based democracy. In turn, alternative and sometimes more expansive roles have been suggested which place Councillors as intermediaries between formal and informal arenas at local level. Councillors here are ‘public persons’ in a broader sense and engaged with a range of discourses/ protests and potential resistances both in and ‘outside’ of their Councillor roles, and potentially key actors in facilitating reactions to austerity.
In this paper I will trace Councillor roles since the mid-1970’s in the context of the ‘local state’ debate. Whilst it is clear that Councillors remain as important players in ‘working the gaps’ and offering pragmatic political resistances to austerity at local level, new roles have largely not been taken up, and in particular links with wider struggles have not, largely, been forged- the reasons for which throw light on the ‘state’ of the local state amidst austerity.

Allan Cochrane (Open University, UK) Governing across space: austerity, localism and policy mobility

The local state is almost always equated with local government, and this focus is understandable, if only because despite all the various attempts to undermine it, it has turned out to be remarkably resilient. Elected local councils remain the focus around which a great deal of local politics continues to be mobilised. However, instead of starting from this sort of institutionally driven approach it may also be helpful to think about the local state through a lens that sees it as an aspect of spatial governance or the politics of space in which it is defined and redefined through political practice - an element in a wider game of governing space or using space to govern.

This paper uses that approach to reflect on the ways in which localism and policy mobility have emerged as political strategies in the context of austerity. It focuses in particular on: the Coalition government’s localism agenda, both as an ideological reimagining of the ‘local’ beyond local government and as a governing practice in the form of neighbourhood planning; the attempt to construct forms of city regional competiveness, with the help of new institutional forms, such as Local Enterprise Partnerships and City Deals; the promise of national programmes of renewal through locally based development, for example in the form of new ‘garden cities’ (in echoes of the sustainable communities plan); and attempts to build networks across and draw on linkages between cities, translating policy in ways that cut across national hierarchies (for example, in the growing rhetoric about the role of urban mayors). In this context, the local state becomes a set of relations defined through politics that stretch across space, so that it need to be thought of as fluid rather than institutionally fixed, even if some institutional forms stubbornly retain their significance.

Gill Bentley (University of Birmingham, UK) Integrative Territorial Planning

Danuta Hubner’s European Commission Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion made the argument for policy integration to coordinate sectoral and territorial policies in order to avoid policy contradictions and to assist in the achievement of economic, social and territorial cohesion, to secure integrated sustainable development. Reflecting the characteristics of a place-based approach to development, Integrative Territorial Planning requires practices of a strategic analysis of development
potentials in a locality as well as strategic conduct. An essential element thus is the collaboration between actants in the policy making and implementation processes. The paper looks at case studies to explore the extent to which collaborative governance is achieved.

**Guy-El-Karim Berthome** (AgroParisTech, France) *Narrowing down the negotiation power issue in stakeholders dialogue by measurement*

Delivery of public services and facilities through stakeholders’ dialogue has become commonplace. In these processes, state and non state actors are struggling to obtain adjustments of the project. But “what capacity have those actors to influence policy and politics” (call for paper question)?

The researchers in social sciences resort to few precise and reliable orders of magnitude concerning this question. In this communication, we take the problem at face value, in the sense that we intend to deliver the quantified level of an important variable at stake: the negotiation power. This communication is based on three long-lasting cases of participative planning regarding solid waste management renewal. We carried out field surveys on the different French districts concerned during the 2000s.

Ask sharply the issue of measurement of negotiation powers requires to deal with various sub-questions:

- **Who’s negotiation power?** We answer by identifying stakeholders’ coalitions, that include both state and non state actors.
- **What is negotiation power within the framework of stakeholders’ dialogue?** There we adopt a broad perspective; it embraces expertise, veto power, former habits and partnerships, resources, etc. At the end, we wonder if it’s not better to talk about cross-consideration between stakeholders, or earned recognition.
- **How to measure it?** This communication clarifies an original and demanding quantification method of this subjective variable. This method is not following the classical “declarative” procedure (like Analytical Hierarchy Process), which is affected by actors strategic and cognitive biases. It uses ex post comprehensive rating scales, filled with the stakeholders actual actions and options during the process, so that we can call this method “recapitulative”.

Based on the achieved levels of consideration of each stakeholders’ coalition in each case study, we can challenge the question of the interplay between asymmetry of consideration, and its influence on the final decisions.
John Boswell & Jack Corbett (University of Southampton, UK & Griffith University, Australia) *Stoic Democrats? Anti-politics, elite cynicism and the policy process*

Cynicism about politics and the policy process is proliferating throughout contemporary liberal democracies, as outlined in the growing literature on anti-politics and, to a lesser extent, depoliticisation. Overwhelmingly, this literature has focused on the disaffection expressed by citizens towards the policy process. Here, using policymaking on the public health issue of obesity in Australia and the UK as a case study, we show that disenchantment is not reserved for ‘outsider’ members of the public; the ‘usual suspects’ who inhabit the core of the process are cynical, too. We illustrate how different policy elites feel and express cynicism about the motivations of their peers and adversaries, about the openness and fairness of the decision-making process, and about the prospects of their participation making any substantive or instrumental difference, in the process constructing a collective portrait of ‘stoic democrats’ whose continual efforts, at least in their view, go largely unrewarded. We also point to the limits to stoicism highlighted by this ‘extreme’ case, as some of these insiders begin to challenge the legitimacy of formal policy processes, subvert their norms and rituals, or ignore them altogether, all in search of more direct policy impact. We conclude that the literature on anti-politics would benefit from paying greater attention to elite cynicism and the potential challenge it offers to both governing practice and democratic legitimation.

Duncan Bowie (University of Westminster, UK) *The Challenges of London’s growth: Strategic planning and the failures of governance in the Greater South East*

Projections of population growth, together with the most recent assessment of development capacity, demonstrate that over the next 20 years, it will not be possible to meet the requirements of London’s growth within the Greater London boundary within existing planning policy constraints. Moreover, the compact city concept on which the current London Plan is based has failed to meet London’s housing requirements over the last ten years. There is no governance structure for the planning of the London metropolitan region and the abolition of regional governance structures outside London has weakened the prospect of any metropolitan regional planning. The duty to collaborate provisions of the 2011 Localism Act have been shown to be an inadequate structure for planning the metropolitan region. This paper examines alternative development options for the London metropolitan region and considers alternative governance options for responding to the challenges of London’s growth.
Joanna Bragg, Helen Gunter, David Hall & Colin Mills (University of Manchester Institute of Education, UK) *Researching and theorising consultants and consultancy in contemporary English schooling*

The paper reports on a range of data and theorising from British Academy and ESRC projects as well as on doctoral work within our critical policy community at Manchester. Such work is addressing the careers, activities and influences of consultants, promoting and marketing their skills and knowledge in English schools and colleges. Consultancy, and its rapidly growing influences on varied forms and modalities of schooling, including pedagogical practice, leadership and governance, is an under-researched (and even less well theorised) aspect of public policy, connecting to the conference’s main concerns with legitimacy, accountability and the work of non-state actors in wider public sectors. Therefore, this paper will give an account of aspects of our work as well as the ways in which we are developing theorisations of it. We will present a mapping process of consultants and consultancy, and go on to develop our central argument that commoditised ways of schooling are filling the spaces left by an increasingly ‘reluctant’ state through the use of two sets of theoretical resources which we have employed from Bourdieu and Bernstein. Specifically, we think through our data with Bourdieu’s concepts of *field* and *habitus* and Bernstein’s *pedagogic discourse* and its recontextualizations as well as his distinctions between agents of *symbolic* and of *economic control*. Finally, we develop a reflexive account of the challenges and potential of developing and utilising theoretical ensembles involving eclectic and multidisciplinary work so as to map, analyse and critique these new formations.

Dan Bristow & Steve Martin (University of Cardiff, UK) *Challenges for evidence-based policy*

The emphasis which research councils and the Research Excellence Framework place on ‘impact’, together with recent initiatives such as the ‘Alliance for Useful Evidence’ and emerging network of ‘What Works’ centres, reflects a belief in government circles that research can and should be harnessed in ways that inform and improve policy making and delivery.

These initiatives are underpinned by more or less tacit assumptions about the nature of the policy process and the role which research based knowledge and evidence plays that have gone largely unchallenged but which beg some important questions including: What is meant by ‘useful’ evidence? Who defines what is and isn’t ‘useful’? And how far, and in what circumstances, it is, in fact, possible to determine what will ‘work’, where and for whom?

The last fifteen years or so, have seen an evolution in thinking which throws up a series of epistemological questions that may cast doubt on the rational, technocratic approach which underpins the concept of evidence-based policy.
(Ayres and Marsh 2013) and simplistic notions of ‘useful evidence’ and ‘research impact’.

Linear models involving a one-way transfer of knowledge from researchers and experts to policy makers and practitioners, have been widely challenged. Alternative approaches include concepts of knowledge ‘translation’ (rooted in the policy networks model) and knowledge ‘transformation’ (conceptually linked to systems thinking) (Best and Holmes 2010) and the development of a range of normative theories and empirical typologies of evidence and knowledge (Nutley et al. 2010).

This paper explores the emergent What Works Centre network and related initiatives in light of this literature and highlights implications for the role of policy oriented researchers and research groups working within universities.

**Juliana Moura Bueno & Joana Zylbersztajn** (Department of Human Rights and Citizenship of the Municipal Government of Sao Paulo, Brazil) *Human Rights and Policy Innovation In The Public Sector in Brazil: The Case of the City of São Paulo*

In October 2012, when Fernando Haddad (Worker’s Party) was elected mayor of Sao Paulo, the implementation of a Department of Human Rights and Citizenship in the Local Government was considered crucial to effectively build public policies on Human Rights, including the diagnostic that strengthen the dialogue in Human Rights among all of its bodies. Subsequently, it was necessary to translate those principles into a government programme that puts Human Rights at its core.

The city of Sao Paulo had never before experienced the political impact of implementing a body fully committed, in its actions and its policies, to the promotion of Human Rights. Once the Human Rights thematic had been absorbed, the next challenge was to put it into practice.

The commitment to bring the representativeness of the civil society to the public sphere, led the its human rights department to build an innovative agenda for Human Rights in terms of local public administration in Brazil. Policies aimed at the Homeless/Street Population and Migrants that were once perceived as philanthropy have run out of this category, to become policies aimed to guarantee equal rights. Other innovative actions included the first ever created Local Committee to Combat Human Trafficking among municipal governments in Brazil and a Coordination for Truth and Memory Rights under the umbrella of a public body.

Aiming at reflecting on the political impact that the establishment of the Department of Human Rights and Citizenship of the City of Sao Paulo had in politics and in the routine of the municipality, these and other pioneering experiences will be explored
in this paper. Our intention is to contribute to a better understanding of the role of the local government and its capacity when it comes to the promotion of Human Rights.

Anas Buera (University of Exeter, UK) *Discourse and Narratives of Policy Leaders in Libya "Lessons from the Authoritarian Epoch 2003-2010"

This paper addresses the issues of developing good governance and of policy change discourse in the emerging democracies of the Arab spring in light of the failure of the past dictatorship of ‘Gaddafi family rule’ to deliver the quality of governance in the declared economic reform 2003-2010. We started by reviewing the past regime’s attempts to adopt features of good governance in the economic domain. We first raised our basic intellectual curiosity: why did an authoritarian regime care about some features of ‘quality of governance’ in the economy? And assuming that an authoritarian leader was forced to accept some notions of ‘improving on governance, what were the dimensions of governance targeted for reform? How had the authoritarian regime ‘narrated’ this governance to the domestic and international audience?

Accordingly, the main purpose of this paper is to explore empirically the new literature on good governance and policy change in authoritarian regimes and to benefit from the Libyan context to present new lessons to the new emerging democratic governance in Libya. In this regard, we turn a new empirical lens on the policy process based on ‘discursive narratives literature’ which uses the combination of ‘discursive institutionalism (DI)’ and the ‘narrative policy framework (NPF)’ as they both can better interpret the real dynamics behind policy change.

At the outset, we argue that the Libyan authoritarian regime was interested in presenting some features of ‘good governance’ in the last decade, as defined by international organizations, but very ‘selectively’ and with strategic intentions connected to the different internal and external audiences. We also argue that the regime deployed ‘new governance narratives’ to support these intentions and that discourse was contingent on the institutional context. This had shaped the coordinative and communicative elements of policy discourse.

Theoretically our aim is to integrate Discursive Institutionalism and the Narrative Policy Framework, and apply them to the Libyan regime. To do this, we use an exploratory case study (Libya, 2003-2010) and formulate explicit hypotheses about discourse, narratives and institutions. We test them by coding a coherent corpus of documents with the software N-Vivo. Essentially, we draw on discursive institutionalism as a macro template to explain the two functions of discourse (coordinative and communicative) in the Libyan institutional context, and the narrative policy framework to explain the specific forms in which discourse is cast.
Empirically, the thesis provides an analysis of coordinative and communicative discourse based on systematic coding of policy stories, causal plots, identities of the narrators, and the discursive construction of economic policy reforms in the domains of privatization, regulatory reform, and economic liberalization. This analysis provides a clear picture of the nature of the policy change discourse in the period preceding the regime collapse in 2011.

Therefore, our findings for the authoritarian epoch in Libya will present the main aim of this paper in terms of providing the lessons learned from governance narratives in the Libyan failed dictatorship. Our understanding of both communicative and coordinative policy functions of governance discourse will enable us to extract elements of the shaping of a new governance narrative needed to strengthen policy change during the current transition in Libya, at a time when Libya is under pressure to deliver on economic reform in the context of fragile democratic institutions and a complex, uncertain regime transition.

Ir. Sander van den Burg & Trond Selnes (LEI Wageningen UR, Netherlands)

*Informational Governance: the impact of social media on policy making*

The ever increasing possibilities to gather, process and disseminate information, rise of social media and changes in governance converge in a new phenomenon: informational governance (van den Burg, 2006, Mol, 2008). Informational governance is about changing patterns of behaviour and governance in the global network society (Castells, 1996). As social media emerge to play their role in governance, the traditional public organizations struggle with their ability to control or coordinate the information flows. This paper addresses the question how behaviour of public institutions changes under influence of social media: can intangible unauthorized non-state actors influence policy making?

We present the results of a case-study on the horsemeat scandal of 2012-2013, focussing on the impact of the weblog Foodlog on ‘traditional’ authorities as Ministries and Food Safety Authority. Traditional government institutes sought to regulate and control the meat sector whilst social media continuously raised new issues and doubts. They scrutinized the meat sector itself and the ability of traditional government institutes to handle the scandal, for example emphasizing that budget cuts had severely reduced enforcement capacities.

Based on interviews with stakeholders, we argue that social media play a role in policy-making as they challenge the formal legitimacy of existing policy-makers and force them to account for their decisions. New non-state actors emerge to play a role in policy-making by their ability to deliver a running dialogue that is much more speedy, up to date and interactive than the more traditional media. Their influence depends on their quality and reputation as politicians and policy leaders follow and react on the social media. In effect, they are also capturing the role of delivering
arguments, a role previously reserved to formal interest organizations. The challenge for policy makers is to find legitimate ways of dealing with this new input to decision making.

Igor Calzada (University of Oxford, UK) Post-independence: Comparing city-regional devolution strategic scenarios in Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country

Milestone changes are taking place in Europe in which the rights of territories to determine their own future and make democratic choices for devolution are becoming key issues. The referenda in Scotland and Catalonia, in September and November, respectively and – presumably, in the near future - in the Basque Country, bring into question the issue of democratic representation beyond the level of the nation-state, while legitimating the territories as unique actors by activating city-regional (Herrschel, 2014) devolution processes. Thus, 2014 seems to appear to be a turning-point year regarding city-regional devolution. Here, the author suggests and develops¹ an original concept of post-independence in reference to a strategic scenario of city-regional devolution aiming at the right to decide for this hypothetical independent territory of tomorrow and the need to thus prepare, research, implement and disseminate territorial strategies and policies. As Michael Keating (2001) argues, globalisation and European integration have encouraged the re-emergence of nationalisms within established nation-states, a notion that connects directly with strategic city-regional devolution scenarios, to which city-regions are contributing through their own self-governance responses to contemporary global developments. Presenting a comparative analysis of the three cases mentioned, Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country, the main conclusion of this paper lays in the importance given to anticipating for a better understanding and implementation of the city-regional governance, regardless of whether or not these city-regions do, in fact, finally gain full independence.

Samuel Carpintero & Ole Helby Petersen (Roskilde University, Denmark) Time-overruns and risk allocation in public-private partnerships (PPP): Experiences from implementation of 131 Spanish PPP projects

Public-private partnerships (PPPs) are proliferating worldwide and are often presented as the very embodiment of a more joined-up and networked based mode of new public governance (Osborne, 2010). Building on principles of joint decision making and risk sharing, PPPs are seen as venues for achieving greater cost efficiency, innovation and reducing time and cost overruns in the delivery of asset-based public infrastructure (Grimsey & Lewis, 2002). At the same time, however,

¹ www.postindependence.org
Evidence on the performance of contemporary PPPs has so far been mixed (Hodge & Greve, 2009), and many scholars call for systematic evaluations of PPPs. Responding to this call for evaluations of the performance of PPPs, this paper examines the performance of PPPs with a focus on the ability of PPPs to reduce time overruns (and thus indirectly improve value for money) in large-scale public infrastructure projects.

The paper’s analyses the experiences with the planning and implementation of 131 PPP projects in waste water treatment in Spain, which represents one of the largest worldwide PPP experiences to date. The results challenge the prevalent perception in the PPP literature that that task integration and whole-life focus in PPP projects will result in improved on time delivery compared with traditionally procured public infrastructure (cf. Li et al. 2005, Kwak et al., 2009). Our analysis of the experiences with these 131 PPP projects shows that substantial time delays were experienced in most projects, and the main reason was utilization of inadequate models for risk transfer/sharing. The sub-optimal distribution of risks also resulted in poor financial performance of the concessionaires, and the involvement of public bodies at local, regional and national level further increased the complexity of PPP projects and contributed to time delays. The findings provide lessons regarding the performance of PPPs for public infrastructure services.

**Pobsook Chamchong** (University of Birmingham, UK) *Collaboration between small local governments: a comparative study of England and Thailand*

Collaboration has been introduced as a potential mechanism for enhancing the capacity of small local governments in providing improved public services in Thailand for decades. It is believed that collaboration not only help increase efficiency in providing services, but also enhance the quality of local democracy since small local government units still exist to build the vibrancy of democracy in local areas. However, there have been many challenges in practicing collaboration in Thailand. England has much long experience in implementing collaboration. Hence, studying England’s experience can impact on this policy and practices in Thailand. Two England’s cases: Adur and Worthing partnership working and Babergh and Mid-Suffolk collaboration, and two Thai’s cases were examined the formation and implementation of collaboration policy.

The integrated conceptual framework built on the combination of the policy-making model (Kingdon, 1995; Lober, 1997), the typology of interagency relationship (Bailey and Koney, 2000; Sullivan and Skelcher, 2002; Mandell and Steelman, 2003; and Houge, 1993), and the model of factors influencing collaborative working performance was applied to the documents and interviews data. It found that collaboration policy’s creation required the opening of a collaborative window resulted from the convergence of four relatively independent streams namely...
problem, policy, political, and organisational streams. The challenge was that
political stream made a high impact on the opening of collaborative windows.
Although the other streams came along well to create the potential for collaboration
policy setting, the changes in political stream namely national government’s agenda,
the election results, and public opinion upon collaboration policy can inhibit the
window for policy creation. The occurrence of interagency working also required an
action of a group of senior officers and political leaders to act as collaborative
entrepreneur. Interpersonal relationship, collaborative culture, getting people on
board, and boundary-spanners were the key factors for collaborative working
performance.

Paul Clarkson & Sue Davies (University of Manchester, UK) Priorities for resource
allocation in social care: the actual process of allocation versus the views of adults
with a learning disability

There are fundamental changes occurring within publically financed social care in
terms of the way resources at the user-level are allocated. These changes involve
reshaping the design of resource allocation tools to make them more user-centred.
There is, as yet, little research looking into the different ways this can be done and
their impacts, in terms of how best to manage allocation against finite resources.

We present findings from an applied research project investigating these issues.
The views of adults with a learning disability about priorities for resource allocation
were compared with those of Directors of Social Care and with priorities arising from
actual resource allocation decisions, before recent moves to change the process.

In a consultation workshop, 12 adults with a learning disability were asked to rank
the perceived importance of eight broad need domains. Similarly, Directors ranked
the importance of these needs in a questionnaire survey. Data on the actual process
of resource allocation in 19 local authorities were modelled against the eight
domains. A variable importance metric (the percentage contribution of each need to
predicting costs) was used to rank the importance of these needs in terms of actual
resource allocation. There were discrepancies between actual resource allocation
and the views of adults with a learning disability and Directors. Whereas actual
allocation stressed the importance of carer burden, adults with a learning disability
perceived psychological well-being as most important. External factors, over which
authorities had little control, were also of substantial importance in actual allocation
decisions. This analysis shows the divergence in perspectives between the user, the
resource manager and the actual resource allocation process in local authorities.
This divergence calls for a way of balancing the concerns of adult users with those of
managers responsible for allocation in policies to develop resource allocation tools.
Esther Conrad (University of California Berkeley, US) *Bridging the hierarchical and collaborative divide: the role of network managers in scaling up a network approach to water governance in California*

Complex environmental problems often exist within large, interconnected systems, and solutions may require coordination between numerous actors at multiple scales. The creation of multiple regional-scale networks that follow common goals may allow for the benefits of collaborative governance to be realized at larger scales. Yet, such a system of networks often requires steering on the part of a large public agency that may seek to impose hierarchical rules, which can constrain collaboration. This paper explores these tensions in the context managing California’s water resources.

Through new policies and significant funding, California’s state government has encouraged regional-scale collaboration among over 1,000 local agencies responsible for water management. Over the past decade, 48 water planning regions have formed, largely self-organized by local stakeholders. Yet, in response to accountability pressures, the state has required them to comply with complex grant program rules. Drawing upon an analysis of governance arrangements in 19 regions and interviews in two case study regions, this paper examines the development and practice of collaboration in the context of the state’s rules. I find that a region’s approach to network management plays a crucial role in determining its ability to balance state interests with those of local participants. A more centralized approach, such as through a lead agency or a network administrative organization, appears to be more effective than shared governance for ensuring that network activities comply with state rules, but also reflect the interests of participants. However, effective mediation between state bureaucracy and strong and diverse local interests requires sustained investment by a trusted lead entity, which is difficult to achieve in California’s highly decentralized institutional landscape. This paper contributes to research on the governance and management of networks, identifying critical qualities of network managers that may help enable the benefits of collaboration to accrue at multiple scales.

Amanda Crompton (University of Nottingham, UK) *The process of ‘organizing’ in public deliberation: ‘Ordinary folk’ and their attempt to put the brakes on High Speed Rail?*

In recent years public deliberation has become a cornerstone of policy decision making (Chambers, 2003; Parkinson, 2004; Sommerville, 2011). While formal (top down) mechanisms of engagement, such as consultations or citizens juries, have been the focus of considerable research, there is limited understanding of informal (bottom-up) participatory mechanisms as members of the public mobilize and deliberate around specific policy issues (Crompton, 2013). In contributing to this body of work, our study draws together theories of deliberative democracy with literature on organizational identity (Siedl, 2005) to understand how individuals work collectively and become ‘organized’ in a bid to bridge the informal and formal sphere.
(Parkinson, 2010). Our empirical case focuses on the emergence of a grassroots campaign network which mobilized to oppose the development of a high speed rail network in England (HS2). Drawing on qualitative research, we explore how informal participation evolved over time through a process of ‘formalisation’ as the campaign network grew both in size and stature. In presenting our findings we suggest that the construction of an organizational identity, underpinned by a narrative of legitimacy and authority, played a pivotal role in this process of formalising which in turn, helped campaigners engage with the formal public sphere (Parkinson, 2010). By reflecting on the external reading of the campaign identity, campaigners were able to orientate their activities in order to construct a convincing challenge against HS2 (Backstrand et al., 2010; Chambers, 2003; Felt and Wynne, 2007). In our discussion, we ask whether some campaign ‘voices’ were more powerful than others and conclude with reflections about the relationship between social capital and organizational identity in influencing the deliberative process.

**Steve Cropper** (Keele University, UK) *Constructing time for leadership in collaboration*

When it asks for a consideration of the challenges of leadership and collaboration in the 21st century, the conference theme situates knowledge in time, or in the times. There does seem to be an urgency now about organizing efforts and realization of the effects they are intended to produce. There also seems to be uncertain progress through time to those effects and in the organizing itself. Time slips by, especially in collaborative contexts where innovation and ‘repair’ to public service is sought but in which the collaborative purpose is often at the margin of partners’ attention and resource.

Time, as a factor in understanding collaborative practice, is complex, intrusive and hard to control. Pace, speed, tempo and urgency; and duration, interval, delay and deadlines (missed) suggest two temporal dimensions of importance, which may be measured and experienced. But there has been little thought given to how a wider range of temporalities, and temporal sensibilities, might be considered as a part of the practice of leadership in collaborative contexts.

Pollitt (2008) in concluding his thoughtful review of the way thinking about time might open up new questions about public policy and management. He suggests that one line of inquiry might be into the way in which, over time, attempts at coherent accounts of problems (and of putative solutions) are fashioned by those with responsibility for policy making.

The paper takes up that suggestion and relates it to leadership in collaborative practice, where as much as in policy making the framing of purpose and value, and hence the construction of legitimacy, is either a responsibility of, or an effect attributed to leadership.
Rod Dacombe (King’s College, London, UK) Participation in local democracy: answering democracy’s critics

The last twenty years have seen a rapid growth of interest in the inclusion of civic participation in local democratic institutions in the UK and beyond. Now almost ubiquitous in discussions of local democracy, proponents of participation suggest that it can result in more effective, locally-focused services, a more engaged and tolerant citizenry, and a deeper level of democratic control over the actions of the state than would otherwise be the case. These developments have prompted something of a revival of interest in participation amongst scholars and practitioners interested in the dynamics and efficacy of local democracy. Consequently, a rich body of literature and empirical work has emerged which examines recent democratic reforms in detail and raises questions about the prospects of their success. Much of this material, while welcoming attempts to increase participation in local democracy, takes a cautionary tone, suggesting that, in practice, attempts at reform might not be as successful as intended.

It is striking, however, that few commentators have asked whether participation ought to be pursued as an objective of policy at all. This seems particularly significant in the light of mainstream democratic theory, much of which suggests that public participation of the kind sought by recent reform might not be an effective means of public administration, or even a desirable element of democratic practice. Focusing on recent attempts at democratic renewal in the UK, this paper examines current policy in the light of this literature, identifying the claims of those who would question how desirable these reforms actually are, and developing a set of arguments that proponents of participation might provide in response.

Miriam K. Damrow (University of Applied Sciences Dusseldorf, Germany) Child Protection as a challenge of leadership

Many states and nations agree on child protection being one of the respective society’s major societal issues and challenges. Many efforts have been taken to tackle this problem yet child protection remains to be a worldwide serious social matter. Particularly, efficacy and efficiency of child protection efforts are hardly definable in a global context for many of the world states’ put different values, different norms and different ways of handling into the shared goal of protecting children from harm. Germany provides an excellent example of a state in need of effective child protection: due to a number of ineffective handling of child protection cases ending with the death of the respective children a new law has been established in 2012. This establishing of the so called “Federal child protection law” (Bundeskinderschutzgesetz) answered a need of leadership in societal matters while not providing sufficient answers to effective child protection. Prevention plays a major role within the law on many different levels and for many different institutions. Yet, several issues are left out, e.g.: 1.) What means child protection in concrete
ways? 2.) How can child protection be guaranteed for the respective children in need? 3.) Has the handling of child protection cases been improved? If so, how, where and why?

Some similar questions arise where providers of child protection are concerned: the widely (and almost exclusively) used concept of consensus-based assessment of risks might provide some leadership challenges for the institutions concerned while not providing satisfying answers. Thus, challenges of leadership not only play a major role in politics but in policy as well, particularly where child protection is concerned.


The causal relationship between financial development and economic growth has been a subject of debate among economists for some years. Empirical literatures have been mixed as some analysts have argued that financial development drives the real sector of the economy and accelerates economic growth. This is the so-called “finance-led growth hypothesis” or supply-leading responses. On the other hand, the demand-following responses opined that the development of the real sector of the economy accelerates financial development. However, another school of thought submitted that a bi-directional causal relationship exists between financial development and economic growth. The motivation for this study is that the financial sector in Nigeria has been witnessing policy and leadership challenges despite the recent consolidations. The financial markets are seen as not contributing enough to economic growth as expected. The aftermath of this was the sacking of some Chief Executives Officers of banks and capital market on account of corrupt practices. But understanding the causal relationship between financial development and economic growth is important in enhancing the economy of a nation. Therefore, the broad objective of this paper is to examine finance-led growth hypothesis in Nigeria within the context of leadership and policy challenges. It also seeks to examine the leadership and policy challenges confronting the financial sector. Econometrics techniques such as the Ordinary Least Squares method, Error Correction Model and Johanson’s Cointegration Test are employed to examine both the longrun and shortrun dynamics of finance-led growth hypothesis. The secondary data used for this study covering the period 1980-2013 are obtained from World Bank Database and Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletins. The paper is expected to reveal whether finance-led growth hypothesis is applicable in Nigeria within the context of leadership and policy challenges. Based on the findings, the paper is expected to suggest some policy options.
**Thomas Elston** (University of Oxford, UK) *Protecting the frontline? Opportunities and challenges in multiagency*

There is a newly fashionable ‘best practice’ or global ‘mega-trend’ in public administration: the multiagency sharing of back-office and professional support services, such as HR, finance, procurement and legal. This reform involves organisations pooling together their generic functional competencies into a single common provider, with the aim of achieving new scale economies, enhanced mission focus within donor agencies, and greater professionalisation of support services. Encouraged by a variety of state and non-state actors, such restructuring is proceeding at local, regional, national and supranational levels of government. Different interpretations of ‘shared service’ can lead to radically different institutional arrangements: from small joint ventures, to major cross-governmental centralisations, or even full divestment to the growing ‘business process outsourcing’ industry in the private sector (Elston 2014). Current literature on governmental shared services is inchoate; and, in particular, is silent on the different demand-side challenges faced by user organizations operating within these various arrangements. This is the gap which the paper seeks to fill. Although often framed as a collaborative solution that ‘protects the frontline’ by increasing efficiency in, and enhancing the capability of, the government ‘backoffice’, the article challenges the assumption that shared services are an easy and obvious solution to fiscal pressure. It also identifies how different institutional arrangements engender differing expectations of ‘partnership’, and how the development of ‘intelligent users’ is critical to policy success.

**Aksel Ersoy** (University of Bristol, UK) *Co-producing Resilience: Beneath the City, a Co-exist?*

Many cities are witnessing the growth of a range of micro-spatial urban practices such as community gardens, rooftop farms, cooperatives etc. that are reshaping urban spaces. This article uses Lefebvre’s phrase ‘beneath the road, the beach’ to encapsulate the notion of initiatives within cities to facilitate resilient *citadins* in existing urban systems. To do this, it uses Co-exist – a Bristol based umbrella organisation for community groups – as a case study to highlight the importance of active and deliberate experimentation in the processes of new political formations. Also this study uses the term co-production of research to talk about how academics come together to collaborate with external stakeholders to co-produce research and the importance of such research in understanding the spatial manifestation of democracy and the mechanisms of building institutional capacity. Therefore, this research attempts to marry two extensive but complementary literatures, i.e. the language of co-production and the notion of resilience, to move beyond public engagement and to emphasize urban practices that can be served as alternatives to neoliberalism. It is argued that such initiatives are important in terms of the perpetual creative transformation of cities and critical in the context for urban policy making.
Manuel Fischer (Swiss Institute for Aquatic Science, Switzerland) & Isabelle Schläpfer (University of Berne, Switzerland) In the Shadow of Hierarchy? Policy Forums, State Intervention, and Outputs

Complex governance systems tend to self-organize in policy forums. Policy forums are lightly institutionalized and stable forms of governance networks which include state authorities, interest groups, stakeholders and scientists and deal with policy problems in a given issue area. Especially new complex issues in domains such as climate change or energy policy are supposed to be better governed in the horizontal, informal and inclusive way of policy forums, as compared to the traditional hierarchical forms of political decision-making let by the state administration. Still, state actors with specific resources such as formal authority, personnel or finances are present in policy forums. Somehow paradoxically, the literature suggests that the presence of state actors can increase the capacity of policy forums to produce outputs. Against this background, our paper asks how the presence of state actors in policy forums affects the outputs these forums are able to produce. Outputs of policy forums can take different forms and range from the mere organization of workshops on an issue to the production of binding policy instruments. Further, different types of state intervention in policy forums, such as the funding of a policy forum or the adoption of roles of forum manager, are supposed to interact. Research on the role of state actors in policy forums is important, as the interplay between formal and informal institutions is an underexplored area and raises questions of legitimacy and accountability. In our contribution, we compare about 30 policy forums in the domain of the Swiss environmental sector. For the comparison, we rely on a Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and on data gathered from documentary sources as well as from a survey among forum managers.

Fabrizio De Francesco (University of Strathclyde, UK) Assessing Regulators Fairly: Matching Scientific Knowledge with Impact Assessments

Scorecards, retrospective analysis, and regulatory performance measures have been used for assessing the quality of impact assessments (IAs). However, these methods neglect the actual scientific knowledge available at the time of conducting a specific policy appraisal. Furthermore, retrospective large-N and single case analyses are not able to capture the extent of diachronic learning related to a specific sector of regulatory reform.

By focusing on the three EU rail reform packages, the aim of this paper is to assess the quality of economic analysis in impact assessments while considering the extent of knowledge. The research design is straightforward. An extensive review of the economic literature highlights the progress in the scientific knowledge on the impact of rail liberalisation within the time during which the three rail reform packages were assessed. By matching the knowledge of scholars with the knowledge of policymakers, the main hypothesis to test is whether the economic models are fully
exploited by policy appraisers. The contribution of the paper is expected to be two-fold: on the one hand, it enhances the methodology on regulatory policy appraisal and, on the other hand, it contributes to the literature of the use of scientific knowledge in policy making.

**Genevieve Fuji Johnson** (Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada) *The Governance of Sex Work: From Antagonism to Agonism*

Sex work governance within municipal contexts is an important, but woefully underdeveloped, field of analysis. Vancouver, British Columbia stands out as the site of important policy shifts in which sex workers and their organizations have been the driving force. Sex workers have formed organizations and worked with advocacy and support organizations to change municipal policies and enforcement practices. Through persistent efforts, these organizations have developed strategic relationships with the City of Vancouver and Vancouver Police Department.

These relationships are complex and not easily characterized in terms of the dominance of one policy coalition over the other, as one might expect. But nor can they easily be characterized as collaborative governance. Instead, they are better characterized by a deep antagonism that has yielded to forms of agonism to respond to a particular problem, which, in this case, is the violence against street-based sex workers. Agonism in this sense refers to relationships that are not based on widespread trust and not aimed at consensus building, which are traits typically associated with collaboration. These relationships, however, are productive because they are focused on addressing specific problems with an acceptable solution framework. They are bolstered, but not solidified, by a convergence on principles of harm reduction that, in the early-2000s, had come to be accepted as a response to fatal injection-drug overdoses in Vancouver. This ‘collaboration,’ which remains very tense and tenuous, has given rise to important local initiatives aimed at mitigating harms associated with sex work. The proposed paper traces the development of these relationships among sex worker organizations and the police and City of Vancouver. It explores factors that provide an explanation for the shift in these relationships from unproductive antagonism to productive agonism. This study provides insight into relationships among policy actors that are not collaborative but that are productive.

**Victor Galaz** (Stockholm University, Sweden) *Complexity, Connectivity and Governance – a multi-theoretical perspective*

Global risks seem to become increasingly interconnected across temporal and spatial scales and between societal sectors. Precise estimations of these risks are obviously difficult, but are often viewed as the result of interacting environmental, social and technological drivers. In addition, the interplay between systems such as these embed poorly understood interactions, often resulting in surprises, and non-
linear dynamics such as potential “tipping points” with different degrees of reversibility. Interconnected risks in complex systems pose fundamental challenges to global governance – including international institutions and regimes, international law, international organizations, global networks and partnerships. What are the most effective ways to analyze, and respond to these forms of complex, interacting and poorly understood global stresses? Several attempts have been made to explore the issue, however seldom (if ever) from an integrated multi-theoretical social science perspective. That is, while different schools within the social sciences have analyzed the ways in which institutions, organizations and decision-makers attempt to deal with a diverse set of global challenges, until now no attempts have been made to create a systematic overview across social science disciplines. In this paper, we review the literature in six different theoretical strands ranging from institutional analysis, to crisis management and international law. We combine a bibliometrical network analysis (based on citation data); visualize and identify common issues and “diagnostics”; and explore some tangible research gaps. As our analysis shows, there is a tangible lack of analysis and understanding of mechanisms that lead to global interconnected risks and complex systems behavior at supra-national scales.

Geetanjali Gangoli (University of Bristol, UK) & Martin Rew (University of Birmingham, UK) Strategic co-option’ or collaboration? Feminists and the State in India

The Indian feminist movements have always had a fraught relationship with the State, with accusations of cooption competing with claims of successful collaboration through negotiations. It has been suggested that seemingly innocent victories in the area of gender violence, such as recent legal reforms in domestic violence and sexual violence laws have actually compromised feminist politics, while the opposing view has focussed on how legal changes potentially improve women’s lives, and send a clear societal message that gender based violence is unacceptable. Therefore, debates and discourses around legal reform within feminist circles have often been structured through a binary opposition which pits feminism against the State, while ignoring the hybridity and the plurality of their campaigning strategies.

Drawing on feminist campaigns against domestic violence in India, this paper explores the concept of ‘strategic co-option’ as a form of hybrid activism, and will look at whether this is a more accurate descriptor, exploring the degree to which co-option of the movement has, or has not, occurred. We conclude that the view that all engagement with the State on legal matters increases State power is an oversimplification; and some of the complex and diverse motives and unintended consequences of legal provisions regarding domestic violence. We suggest that feminist engagement with the State can indeed be seen as a form of ‘strategic co-
option, but needs to be seen in conjunction with other forms of activism around issues of gender based violence.

Alison Gardner & Vivien Lowndes (University of Nottingham, UK) Negotiating austerity – local traditions, forms of knowledge and emerging practice in English local government

English local government has been subject to massive budget cuts since 2010 (up to 27%). The effects of recession and the needs of an ageing population have also radically increased the demand for services. Through its associated policy of ‘localism’, the Coalition government has made clear that it is up to local government to make the ‘tough choices’ (HM Treasury 2010). And yet no local authority in England has gone bankrupt, political protest has been muted, and public satisfaction levels have been maintained. How do we explain this conundrum? Some point to a time lag, i.e. that the effects are still to be felt. Others identify distributional effects, i.e. aggregate figures do not reflect serious problems in particular localities, notably those with higher levels of deprivation (Hastings et al 2013). Both of these positions tend towards pessimism, focusing on local government’s declining capacity for both service delivery and political choice. More ‘optimistic’ commentators argue that local government’s apparent ability to absorb these supply and demand pressures reveals existing and ongoing opportunities for efficiency savings and cost cutting. Early research confirms the institutional resilience of English local government in the face of austerity, identifying the role of path dependence (John 2014), institutional adaptation (Lowndes and McCaughie 2013) and ‘below the radar’ resistance (Gardner 2014). The apparent absence of new ideas runs counter to the expectation that crises create opportunities for paradigm shifts (Hay 2012).

This paper seeks to uncover the dynamics and local specificities of this ‘coping’ process. We argue that there exist multiple processes of ‘negotiating austerity’ in which local traditions and forms of knowledge are being brought to bear in interpreting national policies and forging new governance practices. These negotiations are multi-level, involving sets of actors with different interests, and are inevitably contested. A variegated pattern of governance is emerging as the ‘shock’ of austerity destabilises dominant governing traditions and revitalises others. In Bevir and Rhodes’ (2003, 2006) terms, local government actors face a ‘dilemma’, or more realistically a series of dilemmas. Through case study research, we show how austerity negotiations involve a critical engagement with dominant narratives of marketization on the one hand, and collaboration (or joining-up) on the other. These narratives represent the two main reform trajectories of the last thirty years and are linked (in Bevir and Rhodes’ schema) to deeply embedded governmental traditions, of a Liberal and Socialist complexion respectively. But our research shows that other governing traditions, particular to local government, are re-surfacing as actors seek to construct new practices in the face of governing dilemmas. Specifically, a
**civic** tradition and a **communitarian** tradition are being rehabilitated and actively deployed in making sense of austerity. The paper considers the origins of these traditions and how they cut across Bevir and Rhodes’ national-level governmental traditions (viz Tory, Whig, Liberal and Socialist), and are interpreted in locality-specific ways. Rather than a clash of big ideas, this ‘quiet crisis’ sees actors deploying their local knowledge to create original (or more often hybrid) governing narratives and practices.

The first section of the paper introduces our interpretive framework, adapting Bevir and Rhodes’ approach for use at the local level. The second section explains our single case research design and qualitative methodology, which includes documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews with elite actors and two interactive workshops with frontline workers. The third part presents our research findings, identifying emerging (and contested) narratives and practices. The final section of the paper revisits and extends the interpretive framework in the light of the findings. We conclude by considering the relevance of our case study findings for trajectories of change in local governance more broadly.

**Jason Glynos** (University of Essex, UK), **Robin Klimecki** (University of Bristol, UK), **Hugh Willmott** (Cardiff University, UK) **Policy Imagination in Stasis? Contesting and Policing Banking Reform in the UK**

The paper explores what can be called the ‘crisis of policy imagination’ in the UK banking reform process in the wake of the financial crisis. In adopting the position of ‘the margins’ in the form of the publications of two think tanks, NEF and Compass, the paper sketches out the limitations of the banking reform in the UK based on the recommendations of the Independent Commission on Banking (ICB) and investigates the difficulties of alternative proposals on banking to make inroads into mainstream political debates.

Theoretically, the paper draws on a discourse theory approach to policy studies developed by the Essex School of Political Discourse Theory (Glynos and Howarth, 2007; Howarth, 2010) which is grounded in an appreciation of incomplete structures and the presence of three logics – social, political and fantasmatic - that account for how policy regimes are contested, maintained or transformed. It is argued that the disconnect of, and the lack of translation between, these alternative proposals and the formal policy process stems from the fact that alternative visions are actively marginalised and ‘policed’ by mainstream discourses. In drawing attention to the categories of ideological fantasy and subjectivity, the paper shows how these discourses are still heavily invested in neoliberal fantasies which pre-empt political contestation and limit the scope for debates on more radical reforms of the banking sector.
Ed Miliband was elected leader of the Labour Party at a rather inauspicious time. Not only had Labour suffered a heavy electoral defeat in 2010, but the 2007-08 global financial crisis left the party without a political blueprint to find its way back into power.

Like other European social democratic parties, Labour has struggled to find a credible response to the austerity narrative and policies imposed by the right. After some hesitation, Labour under Ed Miliband was forced to accept austerity in order to be seen as a party that has a ‘credible’ approach to the economy.

This paper seeks to examine the political, institutional and ideational constraints faced by the Labour Party in developing a social democratic alternative to austerity politics. Borrowing from Peter Hall’s insights on how ideas influence and shape politics, this paper will examine the ideas that have informed Ed Miliband’s vision and policies, as well as the institutional, political and ideational constraints that have shaped the party’s approach to the economy. The paper will show how the state of intellectual disarray within European social democracy, as well as the opposition of the media, and the lack of unity of purpose within the party have acted as constraints to the development of a coherent social democratic response to the deficit crisis and to austerity policies. The paper will argue that under Ed Miliband the party has not been able to dismiss the ‘austerity’ paradigm of the coalition government but has tried to propose a new approach that reflects a social democratic critique of market capitalism.

Lee Gregory (University of Birmingham, UK) Co-production as resilience or resistance?

The concept of co-production, as a means of reforming public services has influenced debates, since the 1980s. Particular attention has been paid to the various ways in which co-produced activity can be fostered, through discussions of co-design, co-creation, as well as through the use of a mechanism known as time banking. This paper pays attention to time banking as a means of fostering co-production in community development practice to reflect upon its suitability and applicability to public service provision. It suggests that government use of co-production through time banking uses practice as an “addition” to, rather than a “transformation” of, public services. Co-production as an addition to service provision is consequently associated with the concept of resilience. Associated with neo-liberal arguments for individual and behavioural explanations of social problems, co-production as resilience limits the potential reforms by locating the source and solution of social problems on individuals and communities. The aim, therefore, is to foster resilience to national and global structural forces rather than seek to challenge
or change them. Conceptualising co-production in a transformative sense, therefore, requires a different discursive frame which goes against the grain of dominant neo-liberal ideas in the Western world. The paper will outline some considerations of how to frame this transformative co-production and highlight some of the challenges and barriers to promoting it within policy reform.

Steven Griggs (De Montfort University, UK) and David Howarth (University of Essex, UK) Depoliticisation, Aviation Expansion and the Davies Commission

In 2010, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition placed a moratorium on airport expansion in the South-East of England. In office, however, it has faced a sustained political campaign from supporters of the aviation industry and expansion, leading to the appointment in September 2012 of the Davies Commission on airport capacity. This paper evaluates the work of the Davies Commission, which was widely interpreted as an attempt to remove aviation from the political realm and generate an ‘evidence-based consensus’, which went beyond what one Secretary of State characterised as the ‘pub talk’ debates that had characterised aviation policy under previous governments. Analysing the logics of depoliticisation both within and outside the formal arenas of the Davies Commission, the paper undertakes a detailed analysis of the struggles between different actors and coalitions to construct the boundaries of the political, particularly in the domain of aircraft noise pollution. In so doing, we draw upon political discourse theory and the logics of critical explanation to examine the interplay between depoliticisation and repoliticisation, as well as that between strategies of depoliticisation and the provision of ‘ideological cover’. The paper concludes with an assessment of the challenges facing the Davies Commission, the Coalition and campaigners, while considering the political effectiveness and democratic implications of strategies of depoliticisation in addressing such ‘wicked policy issues’ as aviation expansion.

Steven Griggs (DeMontfort University, UK) & Helen Sullivan (University of Melbourne, Australia) Practicing the local state

Austerity governance and the crises facing local authorities and other local public service providers offer an important opportunity to revisit the role of the local state in theorising and analysing contemporary conditions. Until recently, the local state has taken a back seat in explanations of local governance and politics. Explanations of governance restructuring and the presence or absence of resistance focused instead on urban, international or sub-local spaces as the privileged lens for capturing the transformative processes of neo-liberalisation. Also privileged were network-based explanations of the organization of local governance and the heightened recognition of the porous or fuzzy nature of state-civil society boundaries.
This paper argues that these explanations are insufficient and proposes instead to refocus attention on the local state. Taking our lead from the work of Timothy Mitchell (1991: 94), we suggest that state structures should be viewed as the ‘effect of [everyday social] practices that make such structures appear to exist.’ We investigate how such practices might be understood through what we deem to be the logic of the local, drawing particular attention to the production of boundaries between the local state and society (which for us incorporates civil society and business), and the capacity of local agents to shape the potential and limitations of regulatory governance. Understandings of the local state, the paper concludes, should be recast to examine how the effects of local practices reproduce what we name as the state in ways that foreground the political and affective dimensions of what local actors (politicians, officials, citizens, private sector leaders) actually ‘do’.

Valeria Guarneros-Meza (DeMontfort University, UK), James Downe & Steve Martin (Cardiff University, UK) Illusion or fact? The struggles of operational partnerships in achieving outcomes

In 2011, the ESF Local Service Board Development and Priority Delivery Project (hereafter ESF-LSB Project) was launched by the Welsh Government with funding from the Convergence European Social Fund Operational Programme for West Wales and the Valleys. It aims to improve effectiveness and efficiency of public services through more effective collaborative working and by building the capacity of public organisations to deliver higher quality services.

This paper will focus on a couple of local ‘delivery projects’ (located in north Wales) out of a total of 38 encompassed by the ESF-LSB Project. The delivery projects are implemented through partnership working, characterised by a multiplicity of statutory and non-statutory actors. The partnerships work at an operational level to deliver focalised projects which address problems that are difficult to tackle by one single organisation, while being designed to deliver service change that benefits citizens.

Using a case study approach, the paper will discuss the opportunities for innovation that these two delivery projects have developed as well as the discourse and mechanisms used to define the achievement of ‘outcomes’. From data collected in 2013-14, the paper will argue, first, that innovation driven by this type of collaborative arrangement has tended to emerge in the procedural and managerial aspects of partnership working. Second, the difficulty in achieving outcomes that evidence service change and impact positively the service experience of the citizen has increased the complexity in the meaning of ‘outcome’. This complexity seems to range from the unrealistic expectations set by Welsh Government officials to the more local organisational and political contexts in which these partnerships develop. On a secondary plane, the paper will reflect on the impact of these projects in
relation to accountability, social justice (interpreted as service access) and capacity of third sector organisations to influence policy.

**Marius Guderjan & Jan Gustaf Magnus Lindh** (Centre for British Studies, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany & Centre for Research on Regional Development, Karlstad University, Sweden) *Regional action in crisis? Time and space for reconfiguration*

Regional governance has become an important vehicle to drive and implement European and national policy strategies. Policy frameworks, such as the Europe 2020 strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth and the EU's research and innovation strategy for Smart Specialisation highlight the potential of regional governance on economic development and social innovation. The question is under which conditions regions are able to unfold potential for growth, structural change, skills development, research and innovation.

The paper examines the effectiveness and legitimacy of regional action in the North West of England and in West Sweden. Whereas English regions were subject to top-down policies by central government, the Swedish government takes a flexible approach *vis-à-vis* regions and encourages bottom-up processes. A great diversity of preferences in West Sweden triggers a bottom-up reconfiguration of regional capacities favouring new structures on a smaller scale. Regional governance in the North West of England used to take a strong role in coordinating and promoting the European priorities of local authorities. After the abolishment of the Regional Development Agencies by central government, Local Enterprise Partnerships have become responsible for strategic development and the delivery of the 2014-2020 ERDF programme. Consequently, the new localist approach reinforces regional asymmetries of effective engagement with European policies. The comparison of both cases shows that the efficacy of regional approaches to European policies is strongly determined by institutional capacities and power structures within states.

**Anders Hanberger** (Umeå University, Sweden) *Managing evaluations in local school governance in Sweden*

This paper explores the use, functions, and constitutive effects of evaluation systems in local school governance, and identifies how contextual factors affect various uses of evaluation in this context. It also discusses the scope for creative leadership in managing evaluations in local school governance in Sweden. “Evaluation system” is an umbrella term referring to all kinds of evaluation methods, including inspection, audit, and quality assurance. This case study of three Swedish municipalities demonstrates that local evaluation systems are set up to effectively sustain local school governance and ensure compliance with the Education Act and other state demands. Local decision-makers have learned to navigate the web of evaluations and have developed response strategies to manage external evaluations and to take
into account what can be useful and what cannot be overlooked in order to avoid sanctions. The information they get first hand from site visits or through informal channels is crucial for validating and complementing knowledge and information produced by evaluation systems. The study confirms that in contexts with high issue polarization, such as schooling, the use of evaluation differs between the political majority and opposition, and relates to how schools perform in national comparisons. Responses to external evaluations follow the same pattern. Some national key performance indicators from the National Board of Education inform local school governance; these are taken at face value, integrated into the municipal school goals, and used for benchmarking. These measures also help define what is important in education and indicate the constitutive effect of evaluation systems. The scope for creative leadership is substantial at the local level in the Swedish governance structure and education system. The scope is used differently but not fully in the three studied municipalities.

Sarah Hartley (University of Nottingham, UK) The influence of non-state actors on risk assessment policy: The case of EFSA’s public consultation on the environmental risks of genetically modified animals
The European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) is the European Commission’s scientific arm, responsible for developing food-related risk assessment policy. EFSA relies heavily on independent experts to generate the scientific knowledge that underpins these policies. Driven by European efforts to build public trust and democratic legitimacy, EFSA collaborates with non-state actors to increase transparency and scientific excellence. In the development of risk assessment policy, EFSA employs a public consultation tool that targets non-state actors.

Reflecting on the theme of the conference, this paper addresses one of the proposed key questions: What capacity do non-state actors have to influence policy? Through expert interviews and documentary analysis, the paper explores non-state actor involvement in a traditionally expert domain through a case study of EFSA’s development of an environmental risk assessment policy for genetically modified animals, which was announced in 2013.

First, EFSA’s public consultation is analysed against a framework developed from the academic literature. Overall, the consultation falls short of meeting the evaluation criteria, demonstrating the limited capacity of (most) non-state actors to influence risk assessment policy. Second, the paper speaks to the literature on risk assessment policy and public policy more broadly through an examination of the factors that constrained or facilitated the capacity of non-state actors to influence policy through EFSA’s consultation mechanism. These factors include institutions (policy legacies: the existing Directive, regulations and EFSA’s ‘model’ of consultation), the receptivity of experts to non-state actor involvement, the framing
of risk assessment policy as a technical exercise rather than policy-making (privileging experts over non-state actors) and the framing of ‘public’ as ‘end users’ (privileging industry over other non-state actors.

Patrick Hassenteufel (University of Versailles, France) & Philippe Zittoun (University of Lyon, France) Why do policy discourses succeed? Leadership and discursive change

The aim of this paper is to analyze the transformative power of public leaders by combining discursive and sociological actor-centered approaches. These two approaches have three main strengths: the identification of policy ideas and discourses sustaining policy change proposals, the links between policy ideas and actors (leaders or coalition of actors); the use of policy discourses by leaders in order to influence policy orientations, especially policy change. But rather few approaches directly tackle the issue of the explanation of success of policy ideas and discourses against others.

Our main argument is the necessity to combine the analysis of the power of public leaders using discursive strategies focused by the sociological actor-centered approach and the power of discourses developed by other actors highlighted by the discursive one. For this, we suggest to interrogate not only the content (coherence and strength of the core arguments) of policy ideas and discourses and the discursive strategies used, but also the position of actors using these strategies (in comparison to other), the impact of policy discourses on other actors (which implies the study of debates and exchange of arguments), the pre-context of interaction (who can discuss with who?) and the context (the fit or misfit of a policy discourse to a policy context). This combination of discursive and sociological actor-centered approaches (analyzing not only the resources but also the interactions between policy actors, especially between public leaders and non-state actors) can give us new clues in the explanation of the success of policy discourses, and therefore of policy change.

The paper is based on a survey of recent literature and empirical research concerning different policy fields involving non-state actors: health policy (health professionals, pharmaceutical industries, patients organizations...), local transport policy (transport users...) and shale gas exploitation (environmental groups, private companies...)
Jenny L Hatchard, Gary J Fooks & Anna B Gilmore (University of Bath and UK Centre for Tobacco and Alcohol Studies, UK) The interdependence of corporate political activities: The case of standardised tobacco packaging in the UK

Standardised tobacco packaging entails the prohibition of brand imagery, colours and promotional text from tobacco products. The main objective is to reduce youth smoking uptake and, thereby, serious harms caused by smoking. The UK’s Department of Health has been actively considering this policy since 2011.

Qualitative mapping, which combines content and thematic analysis, reveals the scale of corporate opposition to standardised packaging and suggests a significant degree of subsidisation by global tobacco companies. 166 national and international companies, organisations and actors have engaged in the campaign to oppose regulatory change. 65% received financial support – through core-funding, memberships, donations, commissions or commercial relationships – from one or more of the four largest tobacco companies in the UK market. The same process has revealed that three familiar styles of opposition activity – 1) production and framing of knowledge; 2) constituency building; and 3) lobbying – are, in this case, interdependent, rather than discrete, activities.

These findings shed new light on existing theories of corporate political behaviour which have traditionally understood constituency building as separate from lobbying, and perceived the latter as a process of information exchange. The standardised packaging conflict instead suggests that corporate production and framing of knowledge drives and underpins both public constituency building and political lobbying activities, which, in turn, facilitate each other, creating an interdependence between the three styles. It is through this interdependence that corporate actors can maximise their agenda-setting potential in public and political venues. In this case, the transfer of both knowledge and financial resources from tobacco companies and their use by other opposition actors may imply a degree of central coordination and/or regular communication, which is masked somewhat by opposition diffusion and activity interdependence. This opacity raises challenges for governments committed to protecting tobacco policy from commercial interests under the WHO’s Framework Convention for Tobacco Control.

Cécile Hatier (University of Wolverhampton, UK) Is compromise always the most critical component of successful political collaboration?

A recent wave of literature in political science and theory is seeking to emphasise the limitations of excessive political polarisation (either ideological or, more likely, pragmatic) and of principled attitudes and mindsets which result in political deadlocks or in timid reforms. Alternative forms of decision-making are encouraged, which stress the importance of collaboration, whether through consensus (Urfalino 2014) or compromise (Gutmann and Thompson 2010 and 2013, Margalit 2009).
These proposals (especially compromise) have many benefits, such as being inclusive of all stakeholders and minorities’ voices and reducing sectarianism, which are essential in adapting to the new realities of democratic politics. But are they necessarily the panacea that leaders should endorse?

This paper argues that the many benefits of using compromise make it worth implementing, as long as 1) reservations about the costs that will occur are emphasised; 2) the role of disagreement as an unavoidable constituent of politics is not forgotten, as compromise is not always the answer; and 3) an assessment of the necessary changes to British political culture or spirit (where coalition politics is not as natural as in other European countries) is made clear, not just to politicians themselves, but other actors such as trade unions, lobbies, the media and the electorate themselves.

Eva G. Heidbreder (Heinrich-Heine University Dusseldorf, Germany) Turning Legal Discrepancies into Administrative Procedures: Reducing Complexity by Simplifying Circumvention

This paper focuses on complexity in multilevel policy execution by zooming into coping-strategies in European Union (EU) policy implementation. The peculiar institutional architecture of the EU generates complexities that are inherent to a system in which policy-making authority is split across different levels and centers that contribute to a single policy-making process. In areas in which EU law exists, national law may persist but may not obstruct the application of shared EU rules. A particularly relevant principle of law application is therefore mutual recognition of national regulation. The case this paper takes up illustrates the principle: EU law establishes the free movement of labor and services but no harmonized rules on the education of specific professions. Here, mutual recognition of professional qualifications generally applies to prevent single states from infringing the right to free movement based on educational standards. Only if serious reasons take effect, mutual recognition may be suspended. Mutual recognition thus puts national rules on an equal footing to overcome the problem of 28 different jurisdictions operating in parallel. It preempts harmonization but creates substantive legal complexity.

The paper focuses on a rather recent strategy to overcome the legal complexity in the said case. Instead of reducing the actual legal complexity, administrative procedures are simplified and strengthened. Since the application of mutual recognition implies basically that the public administration of one member state needs to examine and apply the regulations of a peer state, it creates highly complex administrative procedures and administrative burdens. Deficiencies in doing so have been recognized as a serious obstacle to the completion of the single market. Simplifying administrative procedures thus reduces complexity. However, by the same token more efficient administration does not resolve but rather circumvents
more effectively the underpinning legal inconsistencies, which suggests a hoist of normative questions about legitimate means to reduce complexity.

**Eve Hepburn** (University of Edinburgh. UK) *Scotland’s ‘hidden’ policy competence: immigrant integration and policy divergence in Scotland since devolution*

While immigration policy has recently emerged onto the Scottish political agenda, despite being an issue reserved to Westminster, its sister policy – the integration of immigrants after they arrive – has received little attention north of the border, despite being an issue devolved to Scotland. This article explores why the ‘hidden’ nature of integration policy in Scotland differs so much from the fireworks accompanying integration debates, pursued through the lens of ‘community cohesion’, in England/the UK. Is the Scottish approach to immigrant integration another example of policy divergence from Westminster? Or are there still forces of convergence at play? This article provides an overview of the understudied area of immigrant integration in Scotland, assessing it through the theoretical lens of policy divergence and convergence. It explores political-strategic, capacity-related and contextual factors that have influenced integration policymaking in Scotland, and situates the analysis within broader theoretical debates about the changing nature of integration policy across Europe. A key finding is that while the ‘retreat of multiculturalism’ and moves towards coercive forms of civic integration may be evident across EU states – including the UK – devolved Scottish institutions are resisting this trend by articulating the vision of a plural, inclusive society that encourages and supports newcomers to work and live in Scotland.

**Tassilo Herrschel & Peter Newman** (University of Westminster, UK) *Cities as International Actors and the Role of Leadership*

This paper argues that cities are not merely carried along by global forces and as integral functional, political-administrative and geographic entities of a state, when pursuing competitive advantage, but, instead, have become active players in their own right – increasingly independent of the certainties of ‘their’ respective nation states. Indeed, in economic development, cities and city regions are being tasked by national politics to act internationally as agents of national economic interests, using their individual locally rooted scope to boost ‘the rest’ of the national economic space. By its very nature such engagement can only be selective and from ‘point-to-point, rather than territorially comprehensive. Such selectivity is driven by political leadership in cities and regions, i.e. the capacity and capability of extending and projecting locally embedded, sub-national political-economic capacity to international engagement, through network relations. A state territory is then effectively represented through the sum of these urban ‘points’. Not surprisingly, conventional disciplinary approaches to ‘city’/region’ and ‘internationality’ have found it difficult to embrace this de facto ‘pixelisation’ of state territory in political-administration and policy making urban entities. The somewhat fuzzy concept of globalization has
sought to capture this intersection between the sub-national and international. Here, the different nature of the two geographies matters: static, ‘safe’ bounded territory as bedrock of institutional action and responsibility (and legitimacy), and ‘risky’ unbounded, variable spaces of strategically driven network interaction between groups of like interested locales (cities) of greater leadership capacity and capability. The paper explores this urban-international interrelationship in two parts: First, it reviews recent work on both sides of the disciplinary divide between Urbanism and International Relations, seen through a political-economic lens. International Relations, as a discipline, continues to view the nation state as a territorial black box when it comes to international engagement, ignoring the growing roles and connections of sub-national actors. Critical voices within international political economy have little or nothing to say about sub-national actors in their impact on, rather than being shaped by, international relationships and processes. Meanwhile, urbanism concentrates on the ‘inside’ of cities as locales, i.e. functional and social spaces and built environment. The second part of the paper draws on examples of some cities that have become highly visible global actors and others that struggle to reposition themselves and forge potentially empowering international alliances, with political imagination and leadership key drivers in such action.

**Rod Hick** (Cardiff University, UK) *From Celtic Tiger to Crisis: Progress, problems and prospects for the social security in Ireland*

This paper provides an assessment of the impact of changes to social security in Ireland during both the Celtic Tiger and Crisis periods, comparing change in social security rates relative to prices and to median equivalised net income. It is argued that, contrary to some commentary, there was progress in terms of social welfare generosity during the Celtic Tiger years, despite Ireland adopting a low-tax economic model, with the value of some social security payments rising faster than gross wages.

However, in the latter years of the Celtic Tiger period, this progress, and public spending in general, became increasingly leveraged against precarious property-related taxes. Following the collapse of the housing bubble, the now-infamous bank guarantee and the EU/IMF/ECB bailout, there has been substantial retrenchment of social security, both in terms of cuts to some of the primary social welfare payments, tightening of scheme rules as well as more substantial cuts to less visible schemes.

At the end of 2013, Ireland exited its troika bailout. However, considerable difficulties remain and the Irish government’s official forecast suggests substantial levels of unemployment for at least the remainder of the decade. In this paper, we provide an assessment of changes to social security during the Celtic Tiger and Crisis periods, and discuss the likely prospects for social security in the coming years.
Hannah Hickman & Martin Boddy (University of the West of England, UK)  
Collaborative planning in a growth region: the Cambridge Phenomenon

Abolition of Regional Spatial Strategies across England saw the demise of any form of strategic spatial planning in formal terms and the comprehensive ‘rescaling’ of governance in the planning field. Many local councils across prosperous southern England took the opportunity to roll back growth plans and housing targets. Councils in the Cambridge city-region, on the other hand, reaffirmed their commitment to growth as set out in the former East of England Plan. The ‘territorial pact’ supporting a vision for growth established after decades of planning restraint, initially at least, appears to have survived what is possibly the greatest upheaval in the national land-use planning framework in the post-war period. This paper looks at the construction of this coalition of interests which emerged around the growth agenda, the implications of the latest shifts in the planning framework at a national scale and at the tensions and potential threats which may now emerge in a new context of ‘localism’.

Ralitsa Hiteva & Jim Watson (University of Sussex, UK) Multi-sector governance and coordination: the case of electricity, water, ICT and private vehicles in the UK

This paper is focused on the interdependencies between infrastructure sectors including energy, transport, water and information and communication technologies (ICT) at the national level. These sectors are becoming increasingly interdependent, partly due to the growing importance of the electricity and ICT sectors for the management of the others, the increasing use of “smart” infrastructure systems, and shared objectives of environmental protection. Furthermore, the complexity of infrastructure governance has increased due to liberalisation and the introduction of new stakeholder groups in negotiating the trade-offs between multiple objectives, such as efficiency and innovation.

The paper analyses how governance interactions within one infrastructure sector can reconfigure the scope of that sector, and can also affect other sectors, by comparing two case studies of infrastructure interdependencies in the UK. The first case explores interactions between the water and electricity sectors, with a particular focus on the deployment of renewable energy by water companies. The second analyses governance interactions between the electricity, private vehicles and ICT sectors in the UK, focusing on smart grid demonstration projects led by electricity distribution companies. This is done by drawing on Raven and Verbong’s (2007) typology of interactions - distinguishing between competitive, symbiotic and integrative interactions - to characterise the ways in which the governance of infrastructure systems has changed over time.

The paper finds that the nature of interdependencies between sectors has changed over time with the development of environmental regulation and carbon reduction
targets; and that different types of interactions between multiple sectors exist at different governance scales. For example there are more symbiotic and integrative interactions between the electricity, ICT and private vehicles regimes at the urban scale, positioning cities as primary locations for low carbon transition and seedbeds for radical innovations. Although there is a drive for more coordination between sectors through intermediary organisations such as the UK government’s Office for Low Emission Vehicles and the government-industry Smart Grid Forum, further governance co-ordination is required to bridge gaps and to deal with tensions between regulatory rules for different sectors. The research highlights key trends and issues of coordination in governance and between sectors that transcend the UK context.

Amy M. Hochadel (King’s College London, UK) Local Elected Officials Go Global: Beyond Agency & Structure
Local governments and elected officials are increasingly thinking outside of the box of the traditional hierarchical government structure and in doing so are involved in activities at the EU and global level to address local problems. This paper considers how the change can be understood and explained. Singularly, the issues of globalization including the retreat of the welfare state, retrenchment of local authorities, and a growing complexity of layers in the global system can help contextualize the structure; and a study of changes in behaviours of agents and agency can help contextualize a framework for agency. However, to fully conceptualize the broader phenomenon a dyadic framework of interacting structure and agency can help explain why some local regions are pursuing global activities and to what end.

The research employs a framework for looking at implications of globalization on local structures as a catalyst for a shift in agency and vice versa. Specifically, what are the implications for interactions of agency of local elected officials as transactional or transformational alongside shifts in local structure from administrative-executor to legislative-activist? How can these changes be explained for agency at the local level in terms of motivation and representation? And how do changes in local government structures enable these activities in turning their focus from a local or national to a global stage?

Understanding why local elected officials as transformational leaders feel independently empowered to act and how structure can either facilitate or obstruct these actions is a critical question in understanding the challenges of leadership and collaboration in the 21st Century.
Khensane Hlongwane (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa) *The policy making dynamics of the beneficiation policy in South Africa; a view through the lens of network analysis.*

Within policy network analysis, scholars acknowledge that the ability to influence policy development and implementation is dependent on the resources at the disposal of actors and the ability to mobilise those resources toward an activity. This paper examines the Minerals Energy Complex (MEC) as a network of policy stakeholders in South Africa’s beneficiation policy adopted in 2011. The MEC is a set of well-developed industries and institutions that have developed around the mining, energy and financial sectors of the South African economy. The MEC, as Fine and Rustomjee (1996, p. 5) see it, evolves over time depending on the balance and distribution of power amongst stakeholders in the mineral sector. This paper shows that the MEC as it exists 2014 has evolved into a policy network of participant stakeholders in the beneficiation policy. The paper employed network analytic techniques by combining qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The combination of the two methodologies allows a researcher to utilise findings from different data sets; thereby increasing the comprehensiveness of the study, as pointed out in the literature by Fischer (2011). As Coviello (2005) has illustrated, policy networks can be meaningfully examined with a bifocal lens that integrates both qualitative and quantitative analytic techniques relevant to understanding network structure, relationships between network participants and dynamics of these relationships. The data results derived from research methodology unpacked how the MEC as a policy network of stakeholders is constituted and operates in terms of the resources exchanges around the beneficiation policy. Since the research proposition argued that stakeholders in possession of highly valued resources in the MEC policy network are likely to exercise higher levels of influence in the implementation dynamics of the beneficiation policy, the results generated revealed a limited number of influential stakeholders in the MEC policy network. Against this background, the paper details the type of influence stakeholders may exert, along with their level of interest in the implementation of the beneficiation policy.

Jane Hughes (Manchester University, UK), Helen Chester (Chester Department of Health, Australia), Paul Clarkson (Manchester University, UK), Sue Davies (Manchester University, UK) & David Challis (Manchester University, UK). *Piloting the Common Assessment Framework – service re-design through local collaboration?*

Improving data sharing and communication between health and social care practitioners to promote joint working, reduce duplication in service delivery and improve the quality of care is a longstanding policy objective and, as such, an example of a ‘wicked problem’. In England the Common Assessment Framework was presented as a means of achieving this objective by providing the basis for the development of integrated electronic records to facilitate more efficient,
timely and secure exchange of information around assessment and support planning. Central government established a demonstration programme to develop and test a set of principles relating to these arrangements. Specifically sites were expected to develop IT solutions to enable practitioners to share information within and between health and social care services and other local partners. Sites were also encouraged to establish streamlined person-centred and proportionate multidisciplinary assessment and support planning processes which promoted and utilised self-assessment to deliver self-directed support towards the wider goal of personalisation in adult social care services.

Findings from the evaluation of the demonstration programme which drew on a framework developed by the Medical Research Council for evaluating complex interventions will be discussed. First, the categorisation of the different approaches to information sharing and assessment within the programme will be described. Second, emergent approaches to information sharing within the assessment and support planning process consequent on local initiatives within the pilot sites will be appraised. Third, data from a single site will be presented to illustrate how change working practices revealed other challenges within the assessment and support planning process. Fourth, an appraisal of the long-term potential of the initiatives within the programme will be presented to highlight the enduring nature of the challenge of improving communications between health and social care practitioners.

Rob Hulme, Jane McKay & David Cracknell (University of Chester, UK) “I used to be a Commissar but now I’m an Auctioneer”, the Changing Role of Directors of Education and Children’s Services 2007-2014”

This paper explores the impact of changing policy priorities on the role of Director of Education and Children’s Services, before and after the economic crisis of 2008 and the period of Coalition government 2010-14. The role of Director of Children’s Services from 2003 to 2010 was driven by the New Labour imperative to deliver regionally based integrated services, as called for in Every Child Matters (DfES 2003). Changing political and economic priorities under the collation government have recast the notion of ‘integrated services’ and taken policy management into new areas including franchise management. The Coalition have instead emphasised the importance of localised decision-making at institutional level in education and social services. This paper reflects on the perceptions of Directors, drawing on empirical data gathered from two sets of interviews conducted with DCSs in the Northwest of England between 2007 and 2013. Concerns are expressed about this changing political and economic landscape including the rapid rise in the number of academies and free schools which has left the role of Director of Education open to question. Recent reforms in education and health have devolved responsibility for co-ordinating public services to institutions, potentially marginalising broader agendas about welfare, rights etc. for children and young people.
Cynthia Jackson-Elmoore (Michigan State University, US) Who Gets to Inform Sub-national Legislative Policy?
How do the interests of communities of color and economically vulnerable communities get incorporated into the policy process? Does it really matter “who represents who” and if so how? This research explores these questions with respect to the types of information sources that state legislators rely on when making policy decisions and the saliency of any particular source of information for different types of legislators. Of particular interest is how these variations affect the extent to which policy makers use information from non-state actors like ethnic associations, grassroots organizations and racial/ethnic media. It examines how institutional, geographic and/or demographic diversity influences the relative importance of information sources for sub-national legislators. The research is based on original survey data, U.S. census data, legislator demographics and characteristics of legislatures for 24 states in the four U.S. census regions. The legislatures included in the study vary by legislative professionalism, the existence of term limits and the degree of party competition. There are also variations in the demographics of the legislators and the legislative districts they represent.

The analysis demonstrates that the number, type and relative importance of the information sources, especially non-traditional sources that legislators rely on varies by region, state institutions, racial/ethnic composition of legislative districts, and socioeconomic status of the districts as well as characteristics of the legislators themselves. Different types of information sources, particularly non-state actors, matter for communities of color, economically vulnerable communities and certain types of legislators. It is important to recognize and understand these differences and the potential implications for communities, public policy and by extension social justice.

Oliver James (University of Exeter, UK), Peter John (University College London, UK) Alice Moseley (University of Exeter, UK), Liz Richardson (University of Manchester, UK), Matt Ryan (University of Southampton, UK) & Gerry Stoker (University of Southampton, UK) Individual charitable giving and willingness to contribute to public goods
In an era of fiscal pressure non-state actors including voluntary sector organisations and volunteers are being asked to play an increasing role in delivering services that would traditionally have been the preserve of the State. However ensuring an adequate supply of volunteers is problematic, and the role of social information and social pressure on individual charitable giving and willingness to contribute to public goods is an area of growing interest amongst scholars. There has been little research on the effect of these mechanisms on the amount of time individuals are willing to commit to volunteering. Social information works by providing a cognitive reference point to which people adjust their positions. Information can also be used
in social comparison to compare the self with others and we know that comparison with high contributions by others can increase individual contributions. In this study we test the effect of combinations of these mechanisms on the time contributed to volunteering. Research participants are invited to take part in a research study where they log their volunteering activity on a website and receive feedback on the amount of volunteering they do, compared to other participants. Three treatment groups receive their individual feedback in comparison to either the group median, the median of the top 10% or the median of the top 20% of participants. Those in the control group receive feedback on their own volunteering but with no comparative information. We examine the moderating effect of a person’s social comparison orientation and previous volunteering rate. The research is conducted with a student population who volunteer with student and community projects and with a population of non-students who are volunteers with a national charity.

Stephen Jeffares (University of Birmingham, UK) Policy Ideas and Hashtag Politics: Introducing a Theory of Policy Equivalence for Understanding the Rise and Demise of the Big Society

In an environment where policy actors are required to collaborate across disciplinary and sectoral boundaries, leadership often involves the coining and fostering of policy ideas. Policy ideas such as the Big Society are aspirational, branded instruments that flourish for a thousand days before fading into obscurity with relatively little fuss (Jeffares 2014). Initially, policy actors are cast as collaborators, invited to contribute and define policy ideas. However, knowing when to disinvest in an ailing policy idea is not as simple as waiting for an announcement or a death notice. This paper problematises existing theory and methods for assessing the vitality of policy ideas, such as counting mentions in newspaper articles, or using models based on policy cycles, policy windows or the diffusion of innovation. The paper argues that an era of big data and rapid digital communications brings new challenges and opportunities to the policy arena; one such challenge is the requirement for new methodologies that are capable of understanding how meaning accumulates, and how this accumulation of meaning combines with critical events, resulting in policy ideas rapidly falling out of favour. This paper introduces a theory of policy equivalence, informed and inspired by the political discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe. The paper analyses a historic dataset of 50,000 Twitter tweets about the Big Society between 2010 and 2013, and illustrates how an interpretive analysis of this social media transaction can give new insight into the rise and demise of policy ideas. It demonstrates how policy actors deciding whether to collaborate with policy ideas can use more than just instinct, and instead find intuition located in a theoretically informed online text analytics.
Rhys Jones, Mark Whitehead (Aberystwyth University, UK) & Jessica Pykett (Birmingham University, UK) “Politics done like science”: towards a critical theory of the psychological state

Much has been made in recent years of the emergence of new forms of governance, ones which are predicated on the use of new ways of framing public policy, new configurations of relationships between the state and non-state actors, and new conceptualisations of the nature of state’s subjects. The emergence of a psychological or neurological state – one that makes use of insights from the behavioural and psychological sciences as a way of finding new and better ways of responding to the many crises of neo-liberalism – has been critiqued on philosophical, normative and ethical grounds. Despite the far-reaching implications of such developments for many states across the world, there has been little sustained effort to grapple with the impact that this shift has on our theoretical understandings of the state per se. Drawing on empirical research conducted as part of an ESRC-funded project, this paper seeks to address this relative lacuna by discussing the way in which the growing use of behaviour change ideals within state policies is leading to the emergence of an experimental state, whose main concern lies with promoting psychologically-attuned understandings of its subjects, and whose discourses and practices reflect interesting connections and tensions with those promoted within the commercial world. The paper uses these empirical insights as the basis for developing the beginnings of a much-needed theory of the neoliberal state.

Jarmo Kortelainen (University of Eastern Finland, Finland) Complex policy of the energy use of forests

The paper discusses the challenging implementation of EU’s renewable energy policy in Finland. We deploy complexity theory and focus especially on path dependencies of forest and energy policies and unsuspected events. The paper asks how and why transnational policy might fail in a national context. A case study on the small scale wood subsidy shows how legislation accepted by the Finnish Parliament was never put into effect because of the forest industry resistance and EU state subsidy principles. The paper discusses how complexity theory concepts like path dependence, emergence and feedback can be utilized to interpret policy failures.

Erik Hans Klijn & Iris Korthagen (Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands) The mediatization of governance: an overview

Much has been written about the mediatization of society, i.e. that the institutional rules of the media as separate institution influence or even determines processes in other institutions. Many scholars thereby focus on the mediatization of politics. They describe politicians that follow an electoral logic, and strive for as much media attention as possible by adapting to requirements of the media (see Landerer 2013). Up till recently it seemed like the literature on mediatization of politics and that of governance processes were two worlds apart (Hajer, 2009). In the last years,
however, several publications have described or empirically shown aspects of the mediatization of governance (as Spörer-Wagner and Marcinkowski 2010; Voltmer and Koch-Baumgarten 2010; Kunelius and Reunanen 2012; Schillemans, 2012; Esser and Matthes 2013). Moreover, the role of media in governance processes has been designated before, as in agenda setting research (as Cobb and Elder 1983; Baumgartner and Jones 2009) and public relations/public communication studies (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999; Davis, 2002; Cook, 2005).

Discussing and building on the three traditions of literature, the public relation-branding tradition, the agenda tradition and the mediatization tradition this paper provides a theoretical overview of what can be described as the mediatization of governance. It discusses what the mediatization adds the traditions of agenda setting research and studies on PR. The concept of mediatization adds a focus on the role of the media logic. The media are not neutral information transmitters, but, like all institutions, shape and select information in certain ways (Altheide and Snow 1979, Mazzoleni and Schulz 1999, Cook 2005, Parkinson 2006). This process of news-making led by the media’s rules, aims, production routines and constraints is known as media logic (Altheide and Snow 1979, Brants and van Praag 2006, Hjarvard 2008, Strömbäck and Esser 2009). To a large extent this media logic is guiding what is communicated through PR and public communication as well as it is steering agenda setting processes. Mediatization can be seen as a relevant challenge challenges of leadership and collaboration in the 21st Century. Mediatization could disturb effective and efficient governance processes, because the commercialized media logic and the collaborative logic of governance are hard to combine (see Esser and Matthes 2013).

Not every policy is or will get media attention and thus not every process governance – actually a majority (Halpin 2011; Melenhorst 2013) - will not be mediatized to a large extent. Moreover, some mechanisms of mediatization might be more relevant in certain stages of the governance processes than in other. After the theoretical overview the paper provides a framework where different mechanisms of mediatization are described for different stages of governance processes. This leads to some theoretical reflections and directions for future empirical research.

Andreas Hagedorn Krogh & Jacob Torfing (Roskilde University, Denmark)  
Leading Collaborative Innovation: New Demands for Public Leaders in a Post-NPM Era

In recent years, we have witnessed a boom in the literature on collaborative innovation in the public sector as a new and promising method for crafting innovative solutions to wicked problems. While there has been written extensively on the potentials, pitfalls, drivers and barriers of collaborative innovation, there is a need for more empirically grounded knowledge of how institutional design and leadership can
help realize the promises of collaborative innovation. In order to contribute to this endeavor, the paper reviews the latest theories of collaborative innovation management and analyzes 14 cases of collaborative innovation seeking to curb gang violence in the city of Copenhagen. The 14 innovative projects and programs are analyzed along five dimensions: i) how was the project initiated; ii) what specific problem was addressed; iii) what type of innovation did it result in; iv) what was the scope of collaboration and how did it unfold; and v) how did innovation management and leadership contribute to the process. Methodologically, the projects and programs are examined through qualitative interviews with 30 public and private leaders and employees, politicians and citizens; meeting observations; a comprehensive amount of written material, including pamphlets, newspaper articles, meeting minutes and policy reports; and a theater workshop on collaboration and innovation with relevant stakeholders. It is concluded that collaborative innovation processes call for a special kind of leadership that differs from both the bureaucratic leadership of Classical Public Administration and the strategic leadership of New Public Management. Leadership of collaborative innovation must be oriented towards cross-cutting issues rather than demarcated programs; future possibilities rather than the current state of affairs; and open search processes rather than predefined problem formulations and goals. Finally, the article emphasizes the importance of supplementing hands-on innovation management with a focus on hands-off leadership of innovation through institutional design.

Per Lagreid & Lise H. Rykkja (University of Bergen, Norway) Governance for complexity. How to organise for handling of ‘wicked issues’? The case of internal security and welfare administration in Norway
This paper aims to examine the following questions: What were the main coordination arrangements for handling ‘wicked issues’ in the area of internal security and welfare administration in Norway? Two network arrangements – the lead Agency Approach and the One Stop Shop are examined and lessons learned are discussed. To what extent do we face hybrid reforms? What was in general characterizing the organizational thinking related to the main coordination problems? How can we understand the institutional change processes and its outcome from an instrumental and an institutional perspective?

Lihi Lahat (Sapir College, Israel) & Yekoutiel (Couty) Sabah, (Director, Research, Planning and Training Division, Israel Ministry of Social Affairs and Services) Quality improvement in social care service, leadership and trust: Outcome-oriented management project, Ministry of Social Affairs and Services
In recent years, public administration organizations have been required to demonstrate the value of the services they provide the public. In the social services, this includes showing continual improvement and measurement of outcomes. Accordingly, different mechanisms of quality improvement (QI) are being adopted in
order to respond to the question of whether the services really promote their stated goals. Implementation of these mechanisms inherently generates tension stemming from issues of trust and leadership. To the best of our knowledge, the literature has dealt little with the effects of trust and leadership on QI in social services organizations. In the present research, we will try to examine whether trust and leadership affect the ability to implement QI mechanisms.

We will examine a case study of an outcome-oriented project in the social services in Israel. Sponsored jointly by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Services and the Myer-JDC Brookdale Institute, the project began in 2007. Its initial goal was to institute a mechanism for improving the quality of social services based on a logical model. The logical model is one that enables employees to link the needs/problems of populations to desired outcomes and then connect them to inputs and outputs in an orderly manner for self-measurement of outcomes. An additional stage began in 2013, aimed at outcome-oriented thinking among 10 groups of employees (from different branches of government and other sectors) that provide services to ten target populations. The present research will examine whether trust and perceptions of leadership affect the ability to implement a QI process, and specifically: (a) does trust of the staff promote processes of integration?; and (b) do the perceptions of the leadership of a group affect its ability to integrate a QI process? To answer these questions, we will employ questionnaires, observations, and interviews with the participants.

Roger Lawrence (De Montfort University/Wolverhampton City Council, Wolverhampton, UK) Local Collaboration: Explaining the Dynamics of Organisation Reshaping?

The literature suggests that collaboration and partnerships within both equivalent and hierarchical systems of sub-national organisation are complex, fraught with difficulty and fragile. This paper will examine theories of fusion and diffusion to identify the extent to which they can illuminate the emergence of sub-national territorial structures in response to the challenges of EU funding regimes.

The variety of sub-national structures across member-states and the lack of a pattern of convergence have raised issues about the extent to which Multi-level governance theories can describe or explain the dynamic nature of institutional change. Fusion theories, with their recognition of the possibility of diffusion may offer an alternative insight into the cyclical nature of the emergence of sub-national governance structures. The paper will draw on experiences of collaborations in Central and Eastern Europe and on the development of Local Economic Partnerships in England following the demise of Regional Development Agencies. It will review the extent to which collaborative structures are top-down, driven by national or supranational institutions and expectations or are a bottom-up reaction to
the need to mobilise limited resources effectively and to take full advantage of funding opportunities. It will also seek to assess the sustainability of collaborative institutional structures and their likely resilience in changing political and economic circumstances.

**Eliza Lee & Juan Manuel Restrepo** (University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong) *Scaling up in a Global City: The Case of a Hong Kong-based INGO*

For a long time in history, Hong Kong was instrumental in fostering regional exchange of resources between Asian countries and their Western counterparts. Situated at the gateway of Asia, it has long played the role of a regional hub not only in trade and transportation, but also in information and cultural exchange. What is also important, though often less emphasized, is that such a global city provides the opportunities for network formation and collaboration across different sectors.

Global cities are often a favorite place for international NGOs (INGOs) activities. Hong Kong has long attracted many INGOs to come establish their regional headquarters and conduct cross-border activities in development work, disaster relief, and cultural exchange. Among them, Crossroads Foundation, a homegrown INGO provides an excellent case to illustrate how a nonprofit organization has leveraged the unique strength of Hong Kong as an international city and a logistics and shipping hub to scale up its operation. Started off in the mid-1990s as the voluntary effort of two Australian professionals in Hong Kong that were well-linked to multinational corporations, Crossroads Foundation has grown into an INGO that has attracted full-time staff and volunteers from over twenty countries, established extensive networks with development NGOs all over the world, and collaborated with a wide arrays of business organizations in the provision of service on a global scale. This paradigmatic case will illustrate how a local NGO has been able to scale up to an INGO of global operation through utilizing the comparative advantage of its geographical location in networking.

**Eva Lloyd** (University of East London, UK) *Co-producing early childhood policy: the impact of policy and politics*

During the first half the present Coalition administration, co-production, a particular form of participatory governance, was implemented widely in the conceptualisation, design and implementation of early childhood education policies. Seen as a revolutionary approach to public service reform, resulting in more effective and more cost-effective public services (Boyle et al, 2010), the Department for Education’s approach to co-production built on the Labour Government’s strategy to involve ‘active citizens’ as stakeholders in public policy delivery (Barnes et al, 2007). Local Authority Early Years managers, Directors of Children’s Services and education trade union officers were among stakeholders included in this process. Informed by direct experience, this paper locates co-production as sharing features of two models
of participatory governance identified by Skelcher and Torfing (2010) in their institutional taxonomy of this concept. Applied social research is political in its survey, evaluation, legitimation and engagements functions (Byrne, 2011); it provides crucial learning feedback into government systems and policy impact assessments, sets non-ideological criteria for assessing system outcomes and plays a key role in participation and consultation processes. The experience of co-producing early childhood policy under the Coalition government suggests politics may trump policymaking, despite a high-level commitment to co-production. It also provided deeper insight into the interface between policy and politics, both in early childhood policy (Lloyd, 2008) and beyond, which should prove beneficial to future applied work as well as to further theorising.

Finbarr Livesey (University of Cambridge, UK) Do the public want to contribute to policymaking?
The rise of open policymaking and attempts to develop modes of engagement beyond a narrow circle of professionals within government has been touted as many things – a route to better policy, more effective policy making and increased legitimacy. While there have been attempts to understand whether voters want to be involved in areas such as science policy there have been few efforts to investigate whether they wish to be broadly involved in policymaking.

This paper reports the results of a nationally representative survey of adults in England, Wales and Scotland, which investigates how the public want to interact with the policy process in general, how they feel policy towards a set of specific issues should be developed, and how their MP should act in terms of representative mode (broken into five options: that the MP should vote according to their own opinion, that they should follow the majority view of their constituency, that they should follow the majority view of the country, that they should vote in line with the manifesto on which they were elected or they should follow their party’s position).

The paper tests a number of hypotheses including age and party affiliation effects on desire for engagement, as well as how individuals desire for involvement varies over different issues, such as reform of public services or membership of the EU.

It is hoped that the paper can give a more realistic foundation for how much engagement can be expected from the public and whether some of the stronger models of open policymaking are realistic in the context of the UK. This links to the broader discussion of leadership within the public sphere, based on a better understanding of the public’s desire to be actively engaged in policymaking.
Julita Łukomska & Katarzyna Szmigiel-Rawska (both of Warsaw University, Poland) *Financial rate of local government collaboration*

In many European countries since 50s there has been a public discourse about the relationship between the territorial scope of socio-economic processes and the size of administrative territorial units and political-administrative control over these processes (Dahl 1973, Swianiewicz 2002).

The purpose of the study on which proposed paper is based is to assess the scale of ties between territorial units of the same and of different types on the basis of public finance flows and to evaluate the political and administrative control of public services rendered by financial transfers between local governments. Financial transfers between local governments can be considered as a function of collaboration, in that they are the result of wider arrangements organized by institutions of different levels and different durability.

Considerations refer to the concept of transaction costs. The verification of the concept will proceed on the assumption that financial transfers between governments are a kind of cross-organizational exchange (transactions), which are affected by various kinds of political, legal, administrative and relational institutional factors construed in accordance with the trend of new institutionalism.

This paper answering the questions of what is the financial scope of financial transfers between governments in Poland and what is its subject range. The answer is given on the basis of financial data of 2478 local government in Poland analysis for the last 7 years and of in-depth interviews made among local governments’ treasurers.

The thematic areas which accounted for most of the financial transfers to the budgets of other local governments were public transport and road construction, social assistance and education. Investment expenditure do not indicate any spatial trends, but you can identify areas of greater intensity. However, in the current expenditure scheme financial transfers claim the biggest share in the budgets of communes situated around large cities.

Eleanor Mackillop (De Montfort University, UK) *Exploring Conditions of Power and Resistance in Organisational Change Politics: A Hegemonic and Discursive Approach*

Power-resistance relations in organisations – sometimes called ‘organisational politics’ – are an increasingly important object of research, especially regarding processes of organisational change. Yet, despite the amount of literature, a majority of it overlooks the messy, conflictual and contextual character of organisational change politics. This paper investigates one particular dimension of this messy
politics of change, namely the logics of depoliticisation and practices of resistance. Drawing on critical management and poststructuralist policy analysis, as well as data collected from a twelve-month case study of an English County Council and its local strategic partnership undergoing organisational change, this paper explores the contingent and constitutive character of hegemonic and resistance practices; focusing especially on the boundaries of the political, as well as the emergent strategies of depoliticisation and repoliticisation within the organisation. Indeed, the case study illustrates the ever-more distant utopia of unity and homogeneity of the ‘one-best-way’ often articulated by organisational leaderships as a means of depoliticising change. The paper thus highlights the complex, contingent, contextual, and conflictual character of organisational change discourses, and it concludes with an assessment of the limits of the logics of depoliticisation in bringing about organisational change.

Nicolas Maisetti (Ecole des Ponts ParisTech, Université Paris-Est Marne-La-Vallée, France) *The Narrative Politics of the Internationalisation of Marseilles*

This proposal deals with the internationalised local policies and their effects on the urban production in the case of Marseilles (France). We will ask what the internationalisation of a city does change and perpetuate for the reinforcement (and for the weakening) of urban government; for the accumulation (or for the running away) of economical resources; and for the conditions of social regulation. This proposal comes from a PHD work (Maisetti, 2013). It examined the internationalisation of Marseilles from a political sociology of public policy, with cross-entries in both urban policy and international relations. The key issue was to question the combination between narratives and policy (Radaelli et al., 2013) in a changing metropolis. In Marseilles, the internationalisation is legitimised by a Mediterranean narrative build as obvious and natural. To debunk this logic, I will not describe a set of internationalised local policies. I will rather focus on an observation of the narrative making-process. Malleable, it is manufactured by experts of local development and shouldered by local officials to become a territorial political narrative. It gives a meaning of Marseilles both unfalsifiable and shared. My study will based upon interpretative approaches of public policy (Fisher, 2003) and sociology of urban governance (Le Galès, 1998). The core idea is to underline the political tries for promoting new image of the city as well as new policies in the context of inter-territorial competition. However, we will show this political mobilisation is not separated from the institutional struggles. Rather than splitting with it, it illustrates the dispersion of the territorial configuration. Four fields will give us the empirical materials to prove my point: the decentralised co-operation (projects of international co-operation for development); European local policies (lobbying exercising, norms negotiating, and decentralised diplomacy exercising); attractiveness devices (city branding, and local rallying for the localisation of international companies or public institutions); as well as the 2013 European Capital
of Culture operation. These objects of the internationalisation of a city will be compared from their receptive or extrovert properties, on the one hand, and their degree of intensity (from low international local politics with a few gain for local growth to high international local politics with much more economic impacts), on the other hand.

Lina Martínez & Marianella Ortíz (Icesi University, Colombia) *Using subjective data to measure government performance and life satisfaction: The case of Cali - Colombia*

Over the past decades, measuring quality of life and satisfaction with services provided by local governments have taken an important place in public policy evaluation and formulation. The rise of opinion surveys as a valid tool to evaluate and track how citizens rate and perceive an important array of issues such as neighborhood life, sense of unsafety or perceptions about how local governments are using taxes is unprecedented. These types of surveys have been mostly proposed and implemented by public policy institutes, academia, media and different kind of institutions that are non-governmental, to provide a more impartial picture of how citizens perceive local government management.

Different cities in Latin America have pioneered the implementation of public opinion surveys and have used its results to demand better governance and public management. The “Latiobarómetro” is probably the best example of this type of initiatives in the region. Colombia has been part of this wave with the implementation of the “Como Vamos” System, a structured survey fielded in large cities in the country used mainly by the media to hold local governments accountable. Cali, the second largest city in the country, is implementing this system since 2007. As a result of the visibility and recognition of the system, nowadays, Cali’s government is using 5 questions as performance indicators.

The study we’re conducting documents the importance of the “Como Vamos” system and shows how it has been adapted to become an instrument that citizens can use to demand better policies and management in Cali. Likewise, we use Cali’s data from 2010 - 2013 to establish how citizens perceive the delivery of public services (ie, utilities), taxes expenditure and what factors affect people’s life satisfaction. Preliminary results show that life satisfaction is influenced by public services delivery, sex, age and perception of the city as a whole.
Felicity Matthews (University of Sheffield, UK) Off-target? The Rise and Fall of Targetry as an Instrument of Delivery

In 1998, the Labour government ushered in a new era of performance management that was intended to revitalise the delivery of public services; and the Public Service Agreement (PSA) framework was established to achieve the government’s policy goals through the two, arguably antithetical, principles of top-down strategic leadership and bottom-up operational autonomy. Yet, despite its apparent success in delivering against key target objectives, the incoming Coalition government swept aside the entire PSA framework as part of its 2010 Comprehensive Spending Review as it sought to replace ‘traditional bureaucratic levers with a system of democratic accountability’; which reflected its belief that ‘attempts to micro-manage delivery from the centre’ were ‘both wrong and doomed to fail.’ However at the same time, the Coalition introduced a deep and wide-ranging programme spending cuts across the public sector; and in this respect the decision to jettison the machinery of targetry can be seen as being less to do with an ideological commitment to the empowerment of front-line service providers, and more to do with a pragmatic attempt to obscure the deleterious impact of the cuts upon service provision. Reflecting upon such tensions, this paper will seek to dig beneath the rhetoric that surrounds the use of targetry in order to explore the utility of target-based performance management in the delivery of effective and responsive public services in a delivery landscape that is at once organizationally fragmented and financially squeezed. In doing so, it considers the extent to which the instrumentation of public service delivery through the use of targets embodies an overtly top-down, interventionist approach to governing, and therefore asks whether such instruments are politically feasible or desirable in an age of austerity, and the concomitant lack of faith in the legitimacy of government intervention in which this has resulted.

Kate Mattocks (City University, UK) Policy learning through intergovernmental collaboration: the case of cultural governance in the European Union

This paper examines the process of multi-level intergovernmental policy coordination in governing a limited but politically charged competence in the European Union: culture. More specifically, it looks at the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) consultations associated with the Council of the European Union’s 2011-2014 Work Plan for Culture. The paper approaches culture – a policy area typically considered outside the norm of much of the mainstream work in political science and policy studies – as a unique area of study that can be used to further certain theoretical debates within the field, particularly related to institutionalism.

Based on interviews with key policy actors, the paper examines the roles played by both the European Commission, as the intergovernmental coordinator, and the experts appointed by Member States, which together create epistemic communities based around the OMC consultations. It focuses on the opportunities and challenges
associated with this complex system of coordination and policy learning and sharing through place and time. It concludes that the key variables in the success of the OMC consultations are the ‘state’ of the policy area in the Member State, the participant in the consultation, and the method of dissemination.

Using theoretical insights from the literatures on lesson drawing and multi-level governance, the paper also, on a wider scale, reflects on the challenges of European governance in the current post-European Parliament election climate and discusses the potential role of cultural cooperation in times of political uncertainty. Finally, the paper also reflects more generally on the concepts of policy sharing and networks as tools of intergovernmental collaboration.

Caitlin McMullin (University of Birmingham, UK), Fergus Lyon (Middlesex University, UK), Leandro Sepulveda (Middlesex University, UK) & Ian Vickers (Middlesex University, UK) User engagement and hybridity: The case of public service social enterprises

There is a growing interest in the role of hybrid organisations in the provision of health and social care services, and the ways in which such organisations seek to directly involve users in the co-production of services. At the same time, the personalisation agenda has gained the support of government and practitioners as a way of tailoring service options to the needs of individual service users/consumers. Several studies have developed typologies that suggest that co-production and the personalisation of services are linked to potentially conflicting values and logics (Simmons et al 2011; Hudson 2012). However, the distinction between different ways of involving users within hybrid organisations appears to be less discrete. Hybrid organisations, such as mutuals and social enterprises, are seen as operating at the interstices between the public, private and third sectors, drawing on the logics and values of all three. It is argued here that the motivations and approaches to involving service users in decision-making reflect this hybridity, with organisational logics shaping the mixture of engagement strategies.

This paper draws on qualitative data derived from case studies of spin-out social enterprises providing health and social cares services across England. Focusing on organisations’ motivations and drivers for user involvement, we make a theoretical contribution to understanding individual and collective co-production within hybrid organisations. Within this context, we reflect on how incentive structures can be shaped to encourage co-production. The paper therefore explores the involvement of service users in hybrid organisations by addressing the following research questions:

1. What are the drivers and motivations for mutuals to encourage user involvement?
2. What are the different approaches to the involvement of users?
3. How is this shaped by hybridity and the cultures of organisations?
Ally Raza Memon & Tony Kinder (University of Edinburgh, UK) *The changing nature of what managers do and their training and development in new public service systems: the challenges and opportunities of collaboration*

The idea of desirable competences into which managers must fit may be archaic and out-dated since contexts and opportunities vary between public services. As the nature of public service delivery changes, managers need different capabilities in a service-dominant setting whereby, their overall remit (by which we mean roles, relationships and responsibilities) alter when managing service delivery from a networking model to a service systems model (characterised by forms of collaboration which cause complexity). We argue that in the emergent service systems setting, what managers do is quite distinct from what is expected of them in a network setting. The issue we address here is where do managers get these capabilities and are local service organisations changing the training and development of managers as they make strategic changes to their service models?

We argue that whilst local public services are adopting new delivery strategies, such as engaging in (loosely coupled) networks or service systems (co-producing with users that are more closely coupled), management training and development (MTD) is insufficiently changing to enable middle managers to act effectively in new delivery modes. We suggest that MTD needs to alter if managers are to perform the roles, relationships and responsibilities of new service delivery models. Our research explores what roles, relationships and responsibilities middle managers need and investigates which form and content of MTD are likely to enable them to gain these?

Conceptualising using New Public Governance (as opposed to New Public Management) and Service Dominant Logic (as opposed to Goods Dominant Logic), we argue that service delivery strategy and MTD strategy must align for services to be delivered effectively. This research draws upon original interview material from Finland and Scotland. Having engaged in a thematic analysis of data, we triangulate with previous literature and suggest a range of theoretical and policy implications.

Anne Mévellec & Félix Grenier (University of Ottawa, Canada) *Training local elected officials: Improving public governance between democracy and expertise*

In the last decades, there has been increasing demands for public accountability and increasingly complex responsibilities attributed to local elected officials (LEOs) and local administrations. To attend to these challenges in public leadership, several legislatures and local administrations have organized diverse forms of training programs for LEOs. While improving LEOs’ skills is beneficial, this trend is imbricated in a persisting tension between democratic and technocratic approaches to governance. The provision of executive or professional types of training to LEOs is a mechanism increasing the importance of expert knowledge in local governments’ decisional environment. Accordingly, these professionalizing mechanisms are
disrupting the principle which suggests that everyone is equally authorized to govern following the democratic selection process.

This paper suggests that training plays a significant role in the professionalization of LEOs. Yet, associated activities and programs have received a limited scholarly attention until now. We suggest it is necessary to launch a more systematic assessment of the diverse effects and forms associated with these training programs. More precisely, we wish to analyze how the diverse existing training programs are organized and how they affect LEOs’ selection, decisions, and abilities to cooperate with citizens and experts. To contribute to this agenda, we review the existing training programs for LEOs in Canada, the United States and Europe. Moreover, the paper studies an exceptional case, i.e. the training program provided to all LEOs in the province of Québec (Canada) since 2010. This program is exceptional because it is mandatory and has been initially been established as a means to train LEOs on ethical issues. Accordingly, this paper provides a systematic contextualization for assessing such program and to analyze the value and issues associated with this type of solution to current public management challenges.

Linda Milbourne & Ursula Murray (Birkbeck, University of London, UK) Policy and politics in privatising public services and impacts on non-governmental organisations: does size matter?

This paper focuses on English non-governmental organisations (VSOs), facing sweeping changes in arrangements for welfare services, coupled with austerity measures and increased service demands. Growing privatisation of public services, scaled up contracts and intense competition for reduced resources have supplanted previous state-VSO partnerships but also exacerbated internal divisions among VSOs. The paper contrasts the different experiences of large and smaller VSOs, questioning the extent to which size matters, and whether local area based collaborative approaches can produce better outcomes for services and community facing organisations.

The paper starts by considering why size matters, examining literature reflecting the emerging economic context and well-being for VSOs. It also highlights a redistribution in income towards large charities and away from smaller VSOs (Backus and Clifford, 2013; Baring, 2014; CSJ, 2013; NCVO, 2013), with typically small, locally based organisations suffering disproportionately from increased demands and the reduced overall resources available. Winners and losers are also beginning to emerge from new service contracts, with large VSOs gaining a greater share (Ishkanian, 2014), and local beneficiaries and providers lower down the supply chain losing influence over delivery models (Rees et al, 2013).
With limited empirical data on the changing fortunes of VSOs as new welfare programmes are rolled out, the paper focuses on recent case study research, drawing on localised experiences in eight different areas and six services fields in 2013-14. From a series of illustrative cases, we explored the ways that size played out, also observing dilemmas that voluntary organisations faced in the increasingly competitive environment.

Our cases lead us to conclude that that size has become a growing factor in distinguishing VS experiences and outcomes; and this is reflected across different welfare fields and different localities. However, we also concluded that there is considerable local variation in approaches, with emphasis placed on social value, local collaboration and co-production creating alternative models to a wholly competitive environment in a few areas. Thus while size is a significant factor in determining winners and losers where creative solutions are not sought, we also need to acknowledge the complexities, and that differences in local area based political approaches and alliances may be crucial to the shape and user-friendliness of services emerging in future.

There are market facing, state facing and community facing organisations in all shapes and sizes highlighting that localised study reveals, if we are to better understand the emerging picture for voluntary organisations in this rapidly changing welfare outsourcing environment.

**Henriette Müller** (Humboldt University Berlin, Germany) *After Lisbon: Leadership Potential and Performance of the EU Commission President*

Although from the perspective of the EU’s political system the Commission presidency is not supposed to produce strong leaders, these leaders have nonetheless emerged over time. The first Commission president Walter Hallstein played a major role in creating and setting up the Commission’s administration as well as designing central parts of the CAP. Jacques Delors led the initiative of the SEA as well as the creation of the European single currency, while the current Commission president José Barroso has gained attention for reshaping the Commission’s administration and also for his influence on the launch of the Lisbon Treaty. Drawing on the first empirical results of my ongoing PhD research project, this paper explores the potential and capacity of the Commission presidency in providing political leadership as well as the actual leadership performance of three incumbents (Hallstein, Delors and Barroso) in their different institutional and situational contexts.
**Made Mastianta Nadera** (University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia) & **Nyoman Mastiani Nadra** (Bali State Polytechnic, Bali) *Conviviality Revisited: Overcoming the Challenges of Migration to Tourism Sites in Bali, Indonesia*

The thriving tourism industry in Bali attract a large number of people from other less developed and less prosperous provinces to work in Bali with the expectation to improve their living standards. These local migrants are hard workers who start their mostly informal businesses in tourism sites catering for both domestic and foreign tourists across the Paradise Island, while settling for lesser standard of living and work condition compared to the locals who work in the same business. Professing different religions and bringing in different cultural baggage and social mores, these migrants in search of opportunity have actually changed the look and landscape of tourism sites across the predominantly Hindu society. In the process it creates new pockets of minority societies that grew in size from time to time and might pose problems in terms of tolerance if conviviality is not managed appropriately. This paper argues that multicultural policies need to be drawn and approved to legally manage tolerance and interrelation between people of different religions and cultures. Using the definition of political secularism by Modood (2014), in which political authority does not rest on religious authority and the latter does not dominate the former, government leadership needs to strike a balance between maintaining the tourism sites and unity among people of different religions and ensuring that competition for the similar resource, the tourism sites, are kept fair and free.

**Olanrewaju Olaoye** (University of Lincoln, UK) *Collaborative governance: The case of the governance of mass transportation in London*

This article has three core aims. First, to shed light on how the complexities of the governance process as witnessed from the 1990’s under New Labour led to a new form of governance discussed here as collaborative governance. Second, the article draws upon key literatures on collaborative governance in order to make sense of the factors that may advance or impede collaborative governance. Third, some key propositions from the literature on collaborative governance are presented and critiqued using evidence gathered from the mass transportation governance system in London through the use of case study method.

**Anthony Onyishi** (University of Nigeria, Nigeria) *Public private partnership in Nigeria: A Study of the “Neighbourhood Watch” Security Policy in Enugu State*

In social policies, state and non-state actors collaborate for some key reasons. Among these reasons are: dwindling resources available to government, need for efficiency and effectiveness, need for social inclusiveness (i.e., empowerment), transparency and accountability. The participatory approach to social policy has been accepted as a way of promoting “growth with equity”- a slogan that has become fashionable since the United Nations’ “Decade of Another Development” in
the 1970s. This global trend had encouraged the Nigerian Government, under President Obasanjo, to inaugurate a national regime of Public Private Partnership in development. In March 2006, the Enugu State Government promulgated the **Neighbourhood Watch** programme along this national line. The broad objective of the policy was to make civil security in the State more efficient, more effective and more socially inclusive, by incorporating non-state actors: community-based organizations, private business organizations and professional providers of security services. In examining the policy, this paper seeks answers to the following pertinent questions: How participatory was the process of formulating the policy? What is the mode of financing neighbourhood security services? What mechanisms exist for assessing the impact of the programme? Are there countervailing institutional forces? What has been the general state of security in Enugu State since the inception of the programme? We hope to collect data for this study from both primary and secondary sources. For primary data, we shall draw representative samples of urban and rural local governments in the State for administration of questionnaire and interview schedules. For secondary data, we shall rely on official documents and periodicals. Analysis of data will be lodged in a conceptual frame work to be formulated with key institutional variables.

Manos G. Papazoglou (University of the Peloponnese, Greece) *Leadership and multi-level collaboration. Is this an effective strategy for a state under economic and political crisis?*

Greece stands out as a distinct case in studying how to deal with the perils of an economic crisis in tandem with a political crisis. The paper investigates the ways mainstream political leadership has been challenged by the ensuing crisis in face of two major threats: the sovereign debt crisis and its potential consequences on the situation of the state and society and, also, the rise of fierce opposition ranging from populist rhetoric to outright anti-systemic groups. Since 2011 governments attempted at responding to these challenges by having recourse to forms of multi-level policy collaboration. Some of these forms were in fact compulsory (e.g. the Troika), others were ‘soft forms’ (e.g. the Task Force), while others largely emerged out of non-governmental or private sector initiatives. The paper focuses on two particular issues. First, what were the effects on leadership with regard to strengthening its capacity to act, safeguarding its parliamentary support and facing the fierce opposition? Since June 2012 the Samaras government sought to recover the country’s status vis-à-vis its EU counterparts through complying with policy tasks. At the domestic level it was confronted with fierce opposition and went through subsequent motions of no confidence, backbenchers’ stance on major reforms and most recently European Parliament elections. Hence, passing essential reforms for modernizing the state and economy had to respond to claims at many different levels. In what ways has collaboration enhanced the government’s functions at the international and domestic levels?
Second, what kind of democratic challenges stem from such forms of collaboration? There are obvious shortcomings with the involvement of an extra-EU body as the Troika. Moreover, the way the EU itself guides and supervises policy-making contributes to policy effectiveness yet, issues of legitimacy arise. This is so for instance with the new rules for fiscal policies under the ‘Six-pack’ and the inter-state treaty on stability, coordination and governance. However, other possibly positive effects of collaboration should not be overlooked. Such is the case of regional and local authorities’ activities for sustainability and social justice, especially with a view to funding derived from 2014-2020 Multiannual Financial Framework. How can these forms of collaboration be better accommodated within democratic settings?

Frands Pedersen (University of Westminster, UK) Leadership and Policy Entrepreneurship as Determinants of City- and Para-Diplomatic Strategies - A comparison of selected Danish and Swedish sub-national authorities

Politicians at the local, regional, national, and supra-national levels all have opportunity to influence and shape city- and para-diplomatic strategies and aims. The paper argues that the extent to which the authorities at the local and regional levels, in particular, take advantage of these opportunities largely depends on the leadership and policy entrepreneurship of key political actors and their bureaucratic agents. This is particularly the case for politicians at local and regional levels. In their attempt to shape strategies and influence policies, policy-makers at these levels draw on the range of resources available to them, including material resources (population and geographical size, population characteristics, relative size of economy and growth rate) and non-material resources (including leadership, policy entrepreneurship, multi-level network and coalition building, and strategic nous). Based on evidence acquired from interviews carried out with Danish and Swedish officials and politicians in the cross-national Øresund Region, the paper will conclude that political agency in the form of leadership, policy entrepreneurship, and inter- and cross-party network and coalition building, significantly affect the attainment of city and para-diplomatic objectives.

Ceren Pekdemir, Sophie von Gagern, Pieter Glasbergen & Ron Cörvers (Maastricht University, Netherlands) Handling fragmentation in global governance: A valuation of the role of meta-governors

Many policy domains in global governance are not dominated or regulated by a single international regime or institution but are rather marked by a patchwork of different public and private international organisations involved in regulatory activities. Meta-governance can potentially address problems of fragmentation that often-times mark global governance systems. Defined as the ‘organization of self-regulation’ (Jessop, 1998) it designates processes of coordination which aim to reduce the existing deficits inherent in governance systems with its different and sometimes conflicting governance modes (Jessop, 2002; Meuleman, 2006).
Processes of meta-governance have been linked to strategic interventions to re-arrange the responsibilities, relations and interactions between public (hierarchical) and private (non-hierarchical) regulation in the framework of global governance with the potential to coordinate in context-specific manners (Christopoulos, Horvath, & Kull, 2012). In more recent accounts (e.g. Derkx & Glasbergen, 2014) private meta-governance mechanisms are recognised to counteract problems of inefficiency and fragmentation current in global governance. Essentially a collaborative form of governance, partnerships between private meta-organisations, so-called meta-governors, and member organisations are non-hierarchical, yet, private meta-governors take on a leadership role in an attempt to manage and steer policy domains.

This study aims to contribute to the empirical investigation of private meta-governance organisations’ potential to sector specific and/or chain-wide steering capacity and develops a framework for the mechanisms employed by different private meta-governors. The activities are categorised into four mechanisms that enable institutions to influence governance in issue-specific fields, manage complexity and plurality, steer governance efforts and arrange the conditions of self-regulation, namely: (re)framing the (global) discourse, capacity building, networking, and mainstreaming. The conceptual framework will be applied to three meta-governance organisations involved in the production of commodities central to international supply chains: the Sustainable Fisheries Partnership, the Common Code for Coffee Community Association, and the World Cocoa Foundation.

Manisha Priyam (National University of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, India) Social Policy in an Indian City-state: Federal Institutions, Competitive Populism, and the Left out Public

For keen observers of social policy and politics in India, the last two decades have been seemingly one where there has been a heightened emphasis on social policy reforms, and indeed on its delivery within a rights based framework, where entitled citizens have a claim on the state. Since this emphasis has been made at critical nodes of the federal hierarchy—in the Centre as well as the states, there is an appropriate formal expectation of the emergence of welfare states at the grass-root where policy recipients are. Specially, if the same political party were ruling in the Centre in Delhi, as well as in the state, there would be greater certitude with respect to policy expectations.

But what obtains in reality is far more nuanced and indeed counter-intuitive to these expectations. Analysing the case of social-policy reform in the city-state of Delhi, this paper argues that notwithstanding the fact that the Congress party was in power both in the Centre and the state of Delhi, efforts at policy change were thwarted by differences in federal institutional alignments and competitive populism. When seen
from the perspective of people, especially their perceptions of frontline service delivery and benefits transfer, the disadvantaged public has been left out still from the promise of an entitlement based welfare discourse. The specific example of policy reform I analyse here is that of the convergence of social protection benefits, and modelling it on Brazilian Bolsa—a measure attempted by the Delhi state government with great zeal between 2008-10, followed by cautious pragmatism until 2012, and finally abandonment with electoral defeat in 2013.

**Brenton Prosser & Richard Denniss** (Australian National University, Australia)  
*Policy in the margins: new issues for parliamentary legitimacy and accountability*

The matter of legitimate forms of control over public policy and accountability for resulting policy outcomes is a central feature of governance theory. However, a review of the subject index of prominent handbooks on governance will reveal neither the words ‘legislature’ nor ‘parliament’. This is because governance literatures have developed against government-centric approaches while viewing these spaces as marginal to the making of public policy. However, a steady decline in major party support in nations with Westminster-style systems has resulted in changing parliamentary compositions. Recently, this was demonstrated in the formation of a new government Coalition in the United Kingdom. Meanwhile, in Australia, there has been almost thirty years of continuous minority government in either house, with party conventions resulting in the final discretionary vote falling to several 'marginal' members who have the ‘balance of power’.

Such situations pose awkward questions for concepts such as mandate, legitimacy and accountability. For instance, who holds the mandate when the election of marginal members to parliament provides new avenues to wrest control of policy from ministers? Should a minister be held accountable for changes to policies that are solely the result of the demands of a marginal member? What legitimacy should bureaucrats attach to policy initiatives that reflect the will of the parliament, but lack the support of the minister? Such questions ceased to be hypothetical during the period of minority government in both houses in Australia between 2010 and 2013. This paper explores such matters through the elaboration of a ‘marginal member heuristic’ that examines both members within and outside governments. This conceptual tool is the product of both the presenters’ experience as policy advisers in ‘balance of power’ contexts, as well as their soon to be published research into contemporary parliamentary arrangements and Australian public policy.

**Lee Pugalis, Alan Townsend & Ania Ankowska** (University of Northumbria, UK)  
*39 new Strategic Economic Plans across England: Pitfalls and Potentials*

During 2014, Local Enterprise Partnerships in England which are business-led strategic partnerships have been negotiating Growth Deals with central government. A key element of these negotiations is the preparation of Strategic Economic Plans
(SEPs), which are intended to provide the overarching framework European Structural and Investment Fund Strategies. Government expects that these enhanced strategy-making roles for LEPs will help them to 'plan for the longer term', although financial decisions of July are expected to relate only to the financial year, 2015/16. This paper provides an analysis of the planning content of SEPs and examines their strategic capabilities.

Will Rossiter (Nottingham Trent University, UK) Rescaling economic development in the Midlands: strategy, evidence and policy

Central to both New Labour and Coalition Government policy on local and regional economic development is an apparently simple proposition to the effect that if we can better align decision-making for economic development to 'functional economic geographies', better economic outcomes should result. The decision to abolish Regional Development Agencies and establish Local Enterprise Partnerships in 2010 brought this proposition into sharp focus. It also offered an interesting opportunity to explore the consequences of this shift in the spatial scale of decision making for the practice of economic development. This paper addresses two questions relating to this shift:

1. What difference has it made to the practice of economic strategy development?
2. How does the policy substance of the economic strategies that have resulted compare?

It contrasts the content and development processes associated with the economic strategies produced by the East Midlands Development Agency (EMDA 2006), the D2N2 Local Enterprise Partnership (2012/2013/2014) and Nottingham City Council (2012). The three strategies cover a set of 'nested geographies' within the East Midlands.

A number of commentators have noted the pace and speed of recent change to the "spatio-political economy of Britain" (Huggins & Thompson 2013) and the character of associated local economic development practice (Pugalis & Bentley 2013). These changes have also been linked to a wider body of research on state rescaling (see for example Ayres & Pearce 2013). Relatively little attention has yet been given to the impact that rescaling governance has had on the form and substance of economic strategies produced in this new institutional context. This paper draws on the author's direct experience of participating in the development of the economic strategies under review. It also uses content analysis of the published economic development strategies that resulted.
Emily St. Denny (Nottingham Trent University, UK) & Paul Cairney (University of Stirling, UK) Preventing what? Preventing how? The development of contemporary preventive policy aimed at prostitution in the UK

With the potential to both cut public spending in the long term and to enable people to live better, longer, healthier lives, prevention is increasingly becoming a government priority in the UK. In particular, the Scottish Government has decided that a ‘decisive shift towards prevention’ would form one of the four pillars of its public service reform strategy. This move to prevention is presented as a holistic and integrated transformation of the way in which public services are developed and delivered predicated on shifting focus and resources away from short-term, reactive and acute services towards longer-term health, wealth and wellbeing goals. Yet questions remain around the development and implementation of prevention policy on the ground. Vagueness regarding prevention means and how it is understood is further compounded by the difficulties involved in articulating and delivering prevention in different policy fields. Thus, while there is relatively little divergence on the broad strategies for tackling child poverty or cases of smoking-related cancer, the prevention of other negative social outcomes is not necessarily as straightforward. This paper uses the development of contemporary prostitution policy across the UK as a lens through which to explore what happens when policy actors fail to agree on what exactly the problem to be prevented is. The varying manner in which ‘prevention’ is understood, implemented and evaluated across regions and levels of government in the UK is analyzed by means of a comparative case study of preventive policy on the issue of prostitution across Scotland, England and Wales.

Rémi Schweizer (University of Lausanne, Switzerland) Law activation strategies and creative responses in environmental policy implementation

Despite the exponential development of environmental policies, problems related to increased pollution levels, natural resource depletion or climate change persist and are constantly evolving. The fact is that, as much as policy adoption, implementation represents a highly conflictual dynamic. Far from being mechanistic or collaborative, it would better be seen as a process of rules appropriation shaped by webs of power relations, within which a large range of protagonists deploy competing strategies and creative responses.

By reconstructing the actors’ games inherent to these processes, the contribution aims to shed light on the often-trivialized political dimension of implementation. In this goal, the coping strategies and social interactions of state and non-state actors are put into perspective through a bottom-up and actor-centred approach that captures implementation in a less managerial mode than that which public policy analysis usually proposes. Covering concretisation as well as alternative endeavours (passivity; diversion; circumvention; innovation), the notion of law activation strategies is located at the centre of the proposed conceptual framework, where it
interacts with other variables such as power relations and institutional context. The theoretical background and main variables of the framework are presented, and its analytical potential illustrated through empirical examples drawn from Swiss case studies (related to various environmental issues such as flood risk management or ecosystem preservation).

All in all, the contribution demonstrates how politics never end and how actors always try to reformulate the modalities of collective action, highlighting the pitfalls of recent approaches dominated by assumptions of consensus and collaboration. It allows for organisation of and systematisation of an actorial analysis often neglected or merely considered as an afterthought and, by doing so, emphasizes a very subtle repertoire of actors’ games. Its input to public policy analysis is, in that respect, substantial.

**Miklos Sebok** (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary) *The manufacturing and solution of crises as political capital accumulation: The case of the U.S. debt ceiling debate*

The paper concerns a distinct element of political leadership: the manufacturing of crises. It is a widely used assumption in the literature on political decision-making that leaders ‘choose their battles’ according to their interests. This strategic approach often results in seemingly ‘fake crises’, that is crises which are not exogenous in nature (e.g. natural disasters). Endogeneity may stem from various sources including pre-existing political institutions. Depending on the nature of such institutions, and the veto players surrounding them, they are subject to change. Yet sometimes actors decide to leave things unaltered and a crisis duly occurs.

In this paper a logic of political capital accumulation is presented as we explore the strategic value of what might be called—with a term borrowed from Gareth Porter—manufactured crises. These crises are exceptional in that they are avoidable, and are the product of political actors following deliberate agendas. U.S.-style government shut-downs are primary examples of political crisis of this nature, as is the unfolding debate regarding the debt-ceiling. With a case study the paper focuses on this latter topic as it outlines the basic theoretical features of manufactured crises.

**Neta Sher-Hadar** (Sapir College, Israel and Mandel Leadership Institute, Israel) *The Impact of Internal Changes in Government Institutions in the age of Governance: The Case of the Israeli State Comptroller*

(NB: The state comptroller is the states' auditor (the Head of the General Accounting/Accountability Office in Israel). The growing interest in “governance” and “governability” since the 1980’s has shifted the attention from government institutions to the interactions between the multiple actors involved in policy making and implementation. However, in parallel to the
effort to create new work patterns between organizations in the executive branch, important developments occurred within the non-executive government institutions. These organizations changed their visions, modified their goals, changed their work patterns and most importantly changed their demands from other actors, all inspired by NPM reforms. These changes are interesting, among other reasons, due to their implications for leaders ability to create new and desirable processes, eventually achieving better results.

This paper will exemplify this argument by presenting the developments in Israel's State Comptroller office and their implications on policy making and implementation. In the age of governance, developments in government accountability was, naturally, a result of the need to evaluate governments' performance, but also a result of the need to define "who is accountable to whom?" and "what are they accountable for?" Government units quickly became encompassed by multiple inspectors and supervisors, evaluation units, regulators, internal auditors and so on. The literature that evolved on “governance” and “governability” spoke of these actors and organizations and of their impact, and specifically of the dangers that resulted from them. However, in parallel with these interesting developments, the state comptroller had no choice but to evolve. This paper focuses on the significant changes that have taken place in the State Comptroller role, as expressed by the state comptroller's themselves and by the various reports published by them. After defining these changes the implications for executive branch leaders will be discussed as well as their ability to lead change in the new environment and the opportunities it possesses.

**Eva Sorenson** (Roskilde University, Denmark) *The metagovernance of public innovation in governance networks*

Western liberal governments increasingly seek to solve governance problems by enhancing the innovative capacity of the public sector. While the NPM reform program highlighted strategic entrepreneurial leadership and competition as key drivers of public innovation, a new strand of public innovation theories claims that collaboration between relevant and affected public and private actors holds a high innovation potential, and that governance networks can serve as productive arenas for collaborative policy and service innovation. The paper argues that the extent to which governance networks contribute to the innovation of public governance depends on how they are metagoverned. The paper aims to take the first steps in developing a metagovernance strategy for promoting public innovation in governance networks.
Graham Squires (The University of Birmingham, UK) The Future Financing of Development in Cities

The lack of adequate basic urban services and infrastructure is a major challenge in the development of human settlements. With rapid urbanization, governments are increasingly having difficulties to meet the growing demand for housing, urban development, urban services and infrastructure. The lack of revenue is one of the biggest problems facing most cities all over the world, which makes them one of the vulnerable layers of government, with increasing responsibilities and a small share in the allocation of public resources. This research project critically analyses the financing of cities by looking at stakeholder engagement with real estate development in the city of San Francisco City and the Bay Area. Levels of government interest and governance of finance is important in this development, and these are made in connection to the case study via key federal, state, regional, and city driven finance that is directly related to real estate development activity. There is an analysis and discussion of the level of coordination, as well as the rise of partnerships and other key stakeholders, such as financial institutions and communities. Prior to conclusions, implications, and further research proposals – the various lesson outcomes are brought forward, with the most prominent ones involving issues of leadership and stakeholder strength, timing and flexibility of projects and sectors, consolidation in real estate, the rise of consortium partnerships, and the importance of the US context in having an evolved and embedded characteristics and institutions over many decades.

Ian Stafford (Cardiff University, UK) Is devolution delivering policy success or failure? The case of secondary education in Wales

Following the fifteenth anniversary of devolution in Wales, an increasingly salient question has been the extent to which it has delivered tangible benefits for citizens. The Welsh Government has staunchly defended its record but perhaps unsurprisingly opposition parties and UK Coalition Government have criticised the administration’s lack of ambition and routine failure.

The headline results of the 2013-14 National Survey for Wales reported that in key areas of devolved policy which have symbolised the ‘Clear Red Water’ or ‘Made in Wales’ agenda - education and health - the average response was either equal to or higher than responses given to the 2012 European Social Survey in the UK and Europe. However, somewhat paradoxically the dominant political discourse in both policy fields has been the perceived failure of Welsh Government policies. In particular, the 2009 and 2012 Welsh PISA results framed this narrative of failure and have driven far-reaching reforms aimed at improving outcomes. This paradox reflects the complexity of constructing narratives of ‘policy success’ or ‘failure’ and the wider context within which these debates are framed within the context of devolution.
This paper draws on McConnell’s (2010) policy success framework and the wider literature on policy failure (Bovens & t Hart 2011; Bovens, ’t Hart & Peters, 2001) to explore the construction of ‘policy success’ and ‘failure’ within the devolved setting. It focuses on the case of secondary education policy in Wales and draws on an analysis of documentary data and interviews carried out with Welsh Government officials, members of the National Assembly for Wales and key stakeholders between November 2012 and May 2013. It concludes by examining the impact that these narratives have had in shaping the direction of policy in Wales and reflects on the usefulness of McConnell’s framework for understanding ‘policy success’ within the context of devolution.

Cristina Stanus (University of Sibiu, Romania) Collaborative governance and political representation at the second tier of local government: an analysis of five new democracies

Collaborative governance stresses interaction and co-operation between many interdependent actors and, as such, poses a challenge to political leadership and the traditional electoral-based notion of political representation. This paper reflects on the difficulties and pitfalls of accommodating the representational role orientations of local elected officials with the introduction of governance-oriented policy-making mechanisms. Governance-oriented reforms bring about new roles for all actors involved in local politics and policy-making, starting with the elected officials. Among these actors, councillors on both tiers of local government are called upon to take on a new role as goal-steering decision-makers, while accepting a clear separation between politics and administration and the increased interdependence with non-state actors. It is unclear how this fits with the political representation role of elected officials, traditionally defined alongside notions such as authorization, accountability and responsiveness. Starting from this, the paper explores three inter-related questions in the context provided by the second tier of local government in five new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Romania: (1) What are the attitudes of local elected officials towards the councillor’s role in a governance context and toward specific governance-oriented mechanisms? (2) What is their behaviour in local policy networks? and (3) How governance-related attitudes and behaviours relate with the political representational role assumed by elected officials. The analysis builds upon data from the Second Tier Survey, a comparative research project focusing on the second tier of local government in 13 European countries.

Mark Considine, Siobhan O’Sullivan & Phuc Nguyen (University of Melbourne, Australia) Work Programme (WP) was launched in 2011. It expanded the UK’s existing quasi-market in employment assistance and granted prominence to a ‘black box’ approach to service contracting. The logic of a black box approach focuses the purchaser on outcomes, leaving the detail of daily operations at the discretion of
contracted agencies. Using frontline employment services staff survey data collected in the 2008 and 2012 we seek to enhance understanding of the impact of black box commissioning on social service delivery. Black box advocates claim that it allows agencies to be innovative and therefore improves efficiency, service quality, and that it enables flexibility at the frontline. Opponents argue that it facilitates under-servicing as well as profiteering on the part of contracted agencies; practices commonly referred to as ‘parking’ and ‘creaming’. In this paper we look for evidence of both the positives and negatives associated with black box commissioning. We find no increase in placement rates or service tailoring, and only slight improvement in frontline staff’s flexibility under WP. At the same time we observe an increase in practices commonly associated with creaming and parking. We find that improving efficiency and maximising innovation is not guaranteed by the implementation of a black box commissioning model and that facilitating flexibility while minimising risk appears to be a major policy design challenge. As such, we conclude that policy makers may have no choice but to decide to place a higher value on one of those principles, at the expense of the other.

Kazuo Takada (Hitotsubashi University, Japan) *The Silent Transformation of the Japanese Welfare System: From Paternalism to Solidarity*

Establishment of long-term care insurance in 1997 changed the Japanese welfare system. Before the law welfare provision was decided unilaterally by the government; after it the cared people has had some decisions about their care. However, Japan lacked in effective care provision system. Gradually creative efforts have been done by local people who wanted better care. Among them two cases are analysed here. One is an organization for care conference originally made by a local government. It is actually led by an association of the local people. They devised effective care management with support of experts, institutions and governments. They manage care service utilising various resources which are not stipulated in the law of long-term care insurance. Their value is based an idea whose core is made of self determination and merit-free egalitarianism (my original concept). This can be termed solidarity model.

The other one is also non-profit organisation established by local people. This organization, however, is now somewhat similar to business institution. It is managed effectively within the framework of the law. It can be called market or efficiency model.

Such typology indicates the present situation on social welfare in Japan. Around 1990s Japanese welfare changed from paternalistic system into two different types, i.e., solidarity and market-oriented types. Considering also other moves in social policies, Japanese welfare is moving slowly to more solidarity-based one. My spiral theory of social policy shows that this is the trend for 21st century.
James Tiburcio (University of Brasilia, Brazil) The United Progressive Alliance leadership in the formulation of the National Food Security Bill (NFSB) of India, 2012-2013: A Public Choice analysis

This paper seeks to analyse the role played by the leadership of the United Progressive Alliance in the formulation process of the National Food Security Bill (NFSB) of India, 2012-13. Between December 2012 and September 2013, the Congress Party, the main stakeholder in the now dissolved United Progressive Alliance (UPA) led the charge to pass the National Food Security Bill (NFSB) through both houses of the parliament of India. Also known as the Right to Food Act, it was hailed as a landmark legislation, a sign of the renewed strength and creative leadership of the Gandhi family at the helm of Indian politics. Nonetheless, less than a year later, in May 2014, the UPA was ousted in one of its worst defeats since 1947.

The National Food Security Bill (NFSB) - if maintained by the new government – is expected to bring food security and more social justice to India’s poor. Under the UPA Government, the NFSB was rooted in an ideological and political commitment to provide grains and other essentials through the long-standing Public Distribution System (PDS). Although few dispute the importance of the bill, which aims to deliver subsidized food to close to two thirds of India’s 1.2 billion people, the formulation process was seen by many analysts as marred by rent-seeking and logrolling. These two political phenomena are largely neglected by the network governance and asymmetric power models, as they tend to overemphasize the role played by nongovernmental interest groups over political parties and other governmental policymakers.

This paper posits that if the ends justified the means for the UPA leadership in the food security act and in other similar situations, the same means led to its downfall as they strengthened the perception that the UPA leadership was losing its legitimacy and lacked accountability.

Christopher Vas (Murdoch University, Australia) ‘Flashes of Thought’ – Creative Leadership and Public Innovation in the Arab World

‘Flashes of Thought’, the impromptu speech by the United Arab Emirates (UAE) Vice President and Prime Minister (PM) Sheikh Mohammed at the Government Summit 2013 was aimed at influencing excellence and innovation in UAE government services. As it is well known, public innovation incorporates changes either at the process level, organisational level, the product or service delivered or at the policy level (Hartley, 2005). Using the speech as backdrop, this paper discusses a public service innovation that was subsequently introduced in the UAE – Star Rating System. This system encourages open participation from non-State actors in determining and publicly signifying through a star rating the quality and effectiveness
of UAE’s 400 public sector departments and agencies. Such incremental innovations are game-changing transformations especially given the authoritarian regime that prevails in the UAE.

In the context of the conference themes, this paper focuses on two specific aspects – (i) creative leadership, and (ii) public innovation. In doing so, the paper discusses such emerging public innovations in the Arab world as these issues have seldom received scholarly consideration. This paper argues creative leadership that is motivating to a public service is important for public innovation and for collaboration between State and non-State actors. Although this goes against the argument made by Sorensen and Torfing (2011) who suggest that public innovation can only be enhanced through networked collaboration between many stakeholders as opposed to requiring a particular innovation champion or leader, this paper strengthens the metagovernance argument observing that legitimacy, resource provision and capacity offered by governments can accelerate public innovation.

Inge Vermeesch & Marc Craps (HUB@KU Leuven, Belgium) & Katrien Termeer & Art Dewulf (Wageningen University & Research, Netherlands) Exploring Complexity Leadership development processes: the role of relational development in the leadership dynamics of multi-actor governance settings

Complex environmental issues, like the envisaged transition to sustainable materials management (SMM), often bring diverse societal stakeholders together in multi-actor governance settings to look for innovative solutions and to develop policies collaboratively. Growing volumes of research focus on the antecedents, processes, results and outcomes of network, collaborative and interactive approaches to governance, in order to gain insights into the factors that lead to their success or the lack of it. The topic of leadership in multi-actor governance (MAG) processes has as yet received little attention in public administration or organization studies research. However, research on the emergence and development of leadership in MAG initiatives could contribute substantially to our understanding of how non-state actors take part in and contribute to steering the MAG process as it progresses.

Adopting a relational and developmental perspective on leadership, this paper addresses the questions how MAG participants develop leadership relationships and how these relationships co-evolve with the MAG process they are embedded in. We therefore analyse the various leadership relations in two empirical cases in the context of SMM. In the first case, we study a regional participatory initiative to close the materials cycle of post-consumer sheet glass in the building industry. The other case discusses an international, North-South collaboration that aims to set up and support the collection and professional recycling of end-of-life ICT materials in Africa and South America. We show how actors in these settings develop different leadership practices and that relational development, through dialogical and group
development processes, plays an important role in the development of these leadership practices. We expect that if MAG participants develop the relational skills to contribute to the relational and group development processes, they will be recognized as leaders and that the types of leadership practices change as the relationships evolve.


After the 2003 energy white paper, it seemed likely that the United Kingdom had abandoned new nuclear power plants, yet by 2006 it was a favoured technology. Applying Essex school political discourse theory, this paper provides an interpretation how such a swift and radical change in policy came about and, moreover, how it could be sustained in the face of the Fukushima nuclear accident of 2011. Most important is the fact that the policy options considered in this period sought to depoliticise energy demand, seeing energy policy primarily as a matter of securing enough energy to fuel British lifestyles. I argue that this depoliticisation was accepted at the policy level even by those proposing a renewable energy/energy efficiency policy option in 2003, through a commitment to ecological modernisation. At the same time, the politicisation of climate change by the environmental movement was utilised to reintroduce a technology historically antithetical to ‘greens’. These two moves were achieved through the deployment of the tropes of “keeping the lights on” and a “balanced energy mix”, which respectively depoliticised demand and marginalised renewable technology in favour of nuclear while, along with climate change, providing a justification for market intervention. This paper traces the use of these key ideas through the policy processes of 2003-2007 which culminated in the reintroduction of nuclear, and then analyses the reaction to the Fukushima accident of 2011 to indicate how they were used to successfully prevent its re-politicisation in the UK, even while other countries abandoned the technology.

Justin Waring (University of Nottingham, UK) Leading the Public Sector Diaspora: framing conversion, collaboration and contestation in the transition from public to private sector work

With growing numbers of public services being transferred to private or mutual ownership, this paper interprets reforms as involving a public sector diaspora. This new metaphor and analytical approach attends to the dispersal (transfer or privatisation) of a distinct cultural group (public sector workforce) to a new territory (private sector), where cultural affiliations and boundaries interact, adapt and hybridise during migration and resettlement. This paper considers the role of ‘community leaders’ in framing the sense-making, preferences and collective responses of both the diaspora and host groups. In particular, leaders work across sectoral, occupational and cultural boundaries, through both representing and influencing the interests of their constituents. Focusing on reforms within the English
National Health Service, the paper presents an ethnographic account of the transfer of doctors, nurses, practitioners and healthcare assistants from a public hospital to an Independent Sector Treatment Centre, exploring their different experiences of migration and re-settlement. The paper explores how leaders from within, and those working across, these occupational groups, and also those within the private company, work to frame community responses along four lines: ‘standards and quality’, ‘employment and career’, ‘public service’ and ‘professionalism’. There were significant differences, however, in the way these framing strategies were mobilised to articulate the future possibilities for a ‘recreated professionalism’ or shared heritage and commitment of ‘homeland’. The framing strategies of leaders were influential in shaping whether transferred groups converted, collaborated or contested the relocation of public work within the private sector. However, they were also contingent upon the relative sense of expertise, status and cohesion of each group within the wider division of labour.

Iestyn Williams, Jenny Harlock, Glenn Robert (University of Birmingham, UK) The perils of health care decommissioning: findings from a delphi study

Despite both variation and fluctuation in global economics, it seems clear that nation-states are entering into a sustained period of public sector budget constraint. As a result, ‘austerity’ has cast a shadow over the planning, commissioning and delivery of services in England and elsewhere. This presents both challenges and opportunities to those working in the health and social care sector.

This paper presents early findings from a three year NIHR funded study into decommissioning in the English NHS, focusing on what happens when decommissioning is attempted in practice and what determines ‘success’ in its implementation. The existing literature is heavily couched in the rhetoric of evidence-based practice and/or comparative health economics. Less is known about the political and system aspects of putting decommissioning into practice. Results from a three-round online Delphi study of thirty international experts reveal a stark contrast in terms of what experts reported should and does determine decommissioning decisions in practice. Participants strongly agreed that quality and patient safety, clinical effectiveness and cost-effectiveness should ideally inform decommissioning decisions. However, cost/budgetary pressures, government intervention and capital costs/condition were cited as factors which actually do inform decisions to decommission in practice.

Findings suggest that when it comes to implementing decommissioning, incremental changes to practices and services are more likely to be successful than large-scale programmes of reform and/or reduction. ‘Success’ was also seen as largely dependent on the presence of effective executive and clinical leadership, as well as high quality of communications, demonstrable benefits and clarity of rationale/case
for change. Overall, the findings suggest that, in practice, cost and political factors often drive decommissioning decisions. However there is a requirement to gauge a wider range of perspectives and to conduct in-depth process evaluations of decommissioning in practice. The presentation details plans to address both of these ambitions.

**Val Williams** (University of Bristol, UK) *Co-production and leadership: people with intellectual disabilities*

English government policy since the 1990s has carefully framed disabled people as co-producers, who will both shape their own lives and also be enabled to take part in public policy. These aspirations also apply to people with intellectual disabilities (ID):

> Their voices are rarely heard in public. This needs to change

(DH, 2001:14)

Nevertheless, the effects of policy have generally been to create disabled people as ‘other’ (Riggins, 1997: 1-5), with policy being formulated by politically powerful groups (Oliver, 1990). At local policy level, people with ID in the UK have also been encouraged to take up active roles in governance and in participation (Concannon, 2004). Both in Australia (Frawley, 2008) and in England (Fyson and Fox, 2008), research has been set up to identify good practice, and to enable understanding of how good partnership structures work with people with ID. However, there are many critiques of these processes, for instance, in relation to the role of non-disabled supporters (Redley and Weinberg, 2007), the possibility of people with ID being seen as autonomous citizens (Dowse, 2009) and the problems of finding evidence for changes that have occurred as a result of participation (Williams, 2004). This paper will summarise the evidence about policy leadership by disabled people, and will explore some of the views and experiences of people with ID who have taken on leadership roles.

**Philip Willis** (University of Technology, Sydney, Australia) *Imposition of top-down reforms on NSW local government*

Internationally, local government is the level of government closest to the community delivering significant public services. In New South Wales, Australia’s most populous state, the State Government has been driving a process of reform to local government for a period in excess of 30 years

This paper will take the reforms of NSW local government in the period 1993 – 2010 as a case study describing the impact of reforms imposed by the State Government (‘top-down reforms’). It will present the original aims and objectives and view responses through the lenses of the major players. It will conclude, that the reforms’ objectives were only partially realised, such that further reforms were necessary. The paper, part of a longer term research project, will draw on secondary data, interviews with key participants in initiating the reform process, and council case
studies. This data suggests that councils’ responses to major top-down reforms, whilst ultimately complying, took up to five years. Further, it will be shown that the responses exposed deficiencies in top-down reforms giving rise to further rounds of reform activity.

In particular the paper will focus on two specific points of focus in the reforms; strategic planning and thinking; and the respective roles of elected councillors and appointed staff. It will make an assessment of the degree to which changes in strategic planning coupled with community engagement; and improved collaborations between councillors and senior staff have generated or have been necessary for innovation in the design or delivery of public services.

Natalie Wojtarowicz (Southern Cross University, Australia) *The battle for brains: How incorporating a policy network perspective can advance the study of skilled migration policy*

Scholarly analysis of skilled migration policy generally builds upon two strands of literature: Migration theory, which deals with the initiation, the process and the perpetuation of migratory movements (Massey et al. 1993), and migration policy literature, which is primarily concerned with the nature and socio-economic impact of migration policy (Boeri et al. 2012). This body of knowledge nevertheless suffers from a shortcoming: The underlying assumption that a “good” policy is sufficient to attract “good” migrants. Similarly, existing literature falls short of explaining the interaction between the state and potential skilled migrants prior to their arrival in the host country, that is, how immigration policy and its underlying objectives correspond to drivers of skilled migration. Yet, this aspect is of vital importance to non-traditional immigration countries, which have only very recently introduced skill-selective immigration policies. Thus, they lack the experience that more classical countries of destination have in dealing with this highly-politicised and complex policy area, which is also characterised by a multitude of actors (Shachar & Hirschl 2013).

This paper proposes a policy network approach (Kickert et al. 1997; Marsh & Rhodes 1992) to shed light on how different state and non-state actors shape and influence skilled migration policy objectives and outcomes. While the contribution of this paper lies in the fusion of two separate areas of research (migration theory and migration policy), the paper proposes that a policy network approach can help advance migration policy research because: It allows for the inclusion of non-state actors, which have recently been recognised as gaining importance (Boucher & Cerna 2014); it allows to integrate both policy formation and implementation; and it sets the scene for a more detailed analysis of the interaction within the network (i.e. nature of relationships, consultation, leadership, power, etc.) and its potential impact on skilled migration policy outcomes.
Matt Wood (University of Sheffield, UK) State Theory, Governance Systems, and Everyday Discourse: Systematising the Study of Depoliticisation.

The concept of depoliticisation has grown in significance over the past ten years as a tool for analysing the relationship between the alleged ‘hollowing out of the state’ and the growth of political disaffection and disengagement within society. Scholars studying depoliticisation are interested in interrogating the various forms of political organisation and discourse which prevent us from critically recognising the political nature of the choices available to us in liberal democratic societies. While building on age-old debates about state-society relations, this literature offers distinctiveness in the sense of linking policy and governance debates to more systemic concerns about the future of democracy and ideological hegemony. To date, however, research on depoliticisation has tended to focus specifically on analysing the phenomenon and its roots, without engaging substantially with the relevant insights of older literatures. There are also currently significantly different, and to some extent disconnected research agendas, between those who adopt macro-level state-theoretical approaches, those who analyse meso-level governance tools and tactics, and those interested in the micro-level ‘everyday’ politics of ‘speech acts’ and discourse. This paper seeks to move the literature forward by examining how future studies may generate useful insights across levels of analysis (macro, meso and micro), and in doing so engage with relevant cognate literature at each level, including state theory, agencification and policy networks, and speech-act and interpretive analysis. The paper ends with an appeal for more comparative, cross-country empirical analysis to generate cumulative findings on the nature, roots and consequences of depoliticisation.
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