
THE ROLE OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY
IN THE POLICY DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL SOCIAL SERVICES
FROM 1960S TO 2000S BRITAIN

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ABSTRACT

This research is to find the role of political ideology in policy development through a constructivist approach to the relationship between agency and structure. Through the historical approach based on the analysis of political texts and policy documents, each government, as a political strategic actor, was found to establish a comprehensive and coherent ideology, which had a central role in the policy development of personal social services.

In the past decade, coupled with the increasing attention on ‘learning’ and ‘transfer’ of policies, there has been growing interest in the role of the ‘idea’ in policy studies. Particularly, in terms of the Thatcher and New Labour governments, many studies attempted to define their ideologies through the policies they implemented. However, the causal relationship between idea and policy has attracted little attention, even when political ideology is discussed.

In this study, the major ideologies of the governments from the 1960s to the 2000s are defined using an analytical framework with all-encompassing ideological elements including the major challenges to the contemporary society, ideological objectives, political philosophy, the role of major actors, major strategies, and the concept of citizenship. This framework was established through the review of the initial studies on New Labour, mostly based on a comparison to Old Labour and Thatcherism.

In order to define the ideology of each government on its own account, an extensive range of political texts were analysed. They included political speeches and writings of Prime Ministers not only delivered in power but also before power, since they were elected leader in opposition as well as the election manifestos of the party. In the analysis, ideological strands with a certain quality of synchronic and diachronic consistency were identified in each element of the analytical framework in order to construct the whole ideological structure of Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour.

Then the policy approach of each government in personal social services was defined through the analysis of the White Papers and the Green Papers on social care with a similar framework. In the comparison of the findings of this analysis with the ideologies, the establishment of the modern personal social services of Old Labour, the community care reforms of the Conservatives, and the modernisation of social care for independence of New Labour appeared to have a significant relationship with their ideologies. Moreover, as the findings show the antecedence of the ideology to the policy, this study proves that the change of political ideologies is the central contributory factor to explain the policy development of personal social services.

Consequently, this study contributes to the understanding of the role of the idea in social policy. In addition, the defined major ideologies – Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour – can be used for other studies to reveal the causal role of the ideology in other policy areas because this analysis is conducted based on political texts regardless of the particular policy field. Moreover, the finding of a historical association between ideology and social care policies will have significant implications for the ongoing discussion on the future of social care.

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INTRODUCTION

A discussion of the Ideational Approach

Ideational turn

‘Ideational turn’, a term which has been made in political studies since the late 1980s (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; Campbell, 2002; Finlayson, 2004d; Hay, 2002), has generated a profound implication for contemporary social policy research. ‘Ideational turn’ refers to an upturn of interest in the idea in the political and policy studies and it includes the significant extension of following various methodological trends (Finlayson, 2004d): the revival of interest in ‘language’ in political process (see Carver, 2002; Hajer, 2002; Torfing, 2002); the reclaim of the interpretative and hermeneutic approach that inherited the idealist thought in the late nineteenth century (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003); and the emergence and spread of post-structuralism and postmodernism, which, broadly, challenge the foundationalist assumption about objectivity in social science (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; Hay, 2002).

Since the early twentieth century, the positivist approach had increasingly dominated social science (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; Richards & Smith, 2004). It is also true that political science had just focused on the impact of self-interest on politics and policies, and there had been the similar tendency between different perspectives including rational choice theories, elitism, and neo-Marxist (Campbell, 2002). Accordingly, ‘idea’ had been hardly considered in social science (Barker, 2000b).

However, the failure of the prediction of the dramatic end of Cold War in international relations triggered the fundamental reflection on the role of idea (Hay, 2002). Also, the more the limitation of the positivist assumption to understand complexity of decision making is getting recognised, the more rethinking of the role of idea is being found in social science research (Barker, 2000b; Yee, 1996). Increasing attention on the ‘learning’ or ‘transfer’ of policies shows this change in the study of social policy (Barker, 2000a). In particular, since New Labour government came to power in 1997, a range of policy research has clarified the idea of New Labour through the evaluation of their policies (Heron & Dwyer, 1999; Lister, 2001; M. Powell, 2000; M. Powell & Hewitt, 1998; Prabhakar, 2004).

Nevertheless, the causal relationship between idea and policy has attracted little attention in the policy studies even about political ideology. This study will examine the impact of ideology on policy development of personal social services. To achieve this, historical comparison of the political ideology in different governments and their policy development in personal social services in Britain since the 1960s will be carried out. Before we embark upon this historical analysis, it would be necessary to discuss a range of perspectives on the role of the idea and build an appropriate theoretical approach that would be adopted through the study. The discussion would centre around the debate between structural and ideational approach. Then the concepts and assumptions for this study would be clarified at the end.

The role of context: structuralist perspectives

‘Ideational turn’, the reflection of the role of idea on politics and policies, not surprisingly, leads to a fundamental and ontological question about the relationship between agency (or idea) and context (Hay, 2002). Depending on the assumption on the relationship, as Hay (2002) argues, perspectives in social science could be divided into two categories¹: structuralism which accepts

¹ Hay (2002) distinguish the discussion of relationship between agency and context (chapter 3); and idea and material (chapter 6). However, it is hard – almost impossible in the real world – to separate idea from agency, and the concept of context and material share the same ground as a counterpart of ideational factors so they are not distinguished in this study.

the dominant role of structural factors such as social, political, economical or institutional settings, and intentionalism which emphasis the capacity of actors to act consciously and, therefore, the role of idea of actors. Structuralism includes positivism and new institutionalism.

Positivism: Rational choice theory and Behaviourism

Positivism is associated with two traditional approaches which have dominated the social sciences in the early twentieth first century: rational choice theory and behaviourism. These two perspectives are based on structuralism on account of their little consideration of idea in the analysis usually focusing on contextual factors. Rational choice theory starts from basic assumptions as a deductive approach. First of all, political actors are assumed to act rationally as a utility-maximiser (Finlayson, 2004d; Hay, 2002). This means actors always find and follow an optimal choice to maximise self-interest in the given circumstance.

The first assumption requires the other. All actors are supposed to have perfect or nearly perfect information of the circumstance and this makes it possible for them to find the optimal option (Hay, 2002). This point makes rational choice theory regarded as a structuralism. Even though rational choice theory seems to focus on agent factors at the first glance, all actors are however, presumed to just act only one optimal way in the same circumstance. In other words, agency factors do not needed to be considered in their analysis; only that of contextual factors are decisive (Finlayson, 2004d; Hay, 2002).

However, these assumptions are often found unrealistic. Most apparently, the information actors have is far more likely to be limited rather than perfect in real world. Different actor, in spite of their same position and environment, usually find different optimal options for them basing on different information each actor has. Also, as Hay (2002) points out, it is hard to explain cooperation in policy process in real world with rational choice theory because a rational choice for a certain individual might be irrational in collective manner.

Behaviourism shares the same ground with rational choice theory as a positivist approach but is positioned at the opposite side as an inductive approach. Its analysis is based on the notion that generalisation can only be made by empirically observable regularities without any presumption (Hay, 2002). Therefore, behaviourist excludes anything not observable such as ‘idea’ in their studies since anything they cannot observe cannot be measured empirically.

This is because their methodology, as a positivist approach like rational choice theory, originates from natural science (Hay, 2002). Positivists presume that the adoption of natural science methodology within the social science enables social studies to keep their objectivity as a *science*. Also they think the style of scientific method from natural science make social science a predictive science. In other words, it is theoretically possible to anticipate something in a certain circumstance with the positivist assumption about one optimal choice of rational choice theory, or behaviourists' generalised rules of actors' behaviour drawn up by a series of observations of it.

However, the subject of social science, 'the human', has profoundly distinct features from that of natural science. Human are conscious and reflective (Hay, 2002). In other words, people can act differently from each other even in the same circumstance. So there is no guarantee a certain actor follows generalised rules. Particularly, behaviour of political actors in policy making process is difficult to be generalised because social, political, historical, and economical situations they face are too varied and complex. Accordingly, the consideration of idea side are conceded by some rational choice theorists and the meaning-oriented behaviourists (Campbell, 2002; see Yee, 1996) but with restrictions, which stem from their empirical methodology.

New institutionalism

New institutionalism has emerged as one of the most influential theoretical perspectives in political analysis and policy studies since the beginning of 1980s (Béland, 2005). It departs from the mainstream of the 1980s – positivism – by rejecting and challenging the basic assumptions of rational choice theory as well as the logic of generalisation of behaviourism. It provides a more complex and plausible assumption of policy process (Hay, 2002). New institutionalism starts from the assumption of 'path dependency', which refers to existing constructed institutions and policies restraining and structuring the behaviour of political actors and interests groups (Béland, 2005). So the new institutionalism provides further understanding beyond input-oriented positivist analysis through the emphasis of the mediating role of institutional context as well as the attention to the significance of history and timing in explaining political dynamics (Hay, 2002).

Nonetheless, new institutionalism is in parallel to positivism in terms of its structuralist manner. Policy choice is still context-dependent behaviour in its explanation not because actors are

rational or follow generalised principles, but because the behaviour become habitual as habits and rituals which have been normalised over time under previous institutional settings (Hay, 2002). To put it differently, a political actor behaves in a certain way because it is difficult to choose different route from the previous path. This is on account of potential risks and costs to do. So if something changes, this usually happen within certain boundaries; they are path conforming rather than path breaking (J. Hudson, Hwang, & Kühner, 2008).

Unsurprisingly, although new institutionalism provides a stronger explanation of the continuity and stability of social policy, there are significant limitations to explain policy change (Barker, 2000a; Campbell, 2002; Hay, 2002; J. Hudson et al., 2008). This drawback is momentous as one of the main challenges to the contemporary social policy studies is to address fast changing society through reflective modernisation by collapse of traditions (see Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1999) and new risks such as the changes of labour market and family structure (see Taylor-Gooby, 2004).

Furthermore, new institutionalists, as with structuralists alongside with positivists, struggle to avoid the fundamental inconsistency between their activities as academics and their own assumption. According to their assumption of human behaviour, even their research about social policy is unlikely to go beyond normalised habitual. If it is not, they need to explain how they can be free from their own assumption. Hay (2002) raises the following question to structuralist about this:

How, in particular, is it that structuralist scholars, by climbing to a high perch in the ivory tower, can seemingly gain a vantage point from which to observe the structures which constrain the rest of us? ... If ... human subjects are products of their environment to the extent to which the idea they hold are not their own but those they imbibe from the context in which they find themselves, then what capacity does this give the structuralist to analyse the process? (Hay, 2002, p. 109)

The role of idea: ideational approach

As discussed at the beginning of the Chapter, the limitations of structuralism triggered the revival of interest in the role of idea in policy analysis. This includes a range of extensions of various methodological trends such as linguistic analysis of political language like discourse analysis; interpretative and hermeneutic approach; post-structuralism and postmodernism. In particular, 'Interpretative approach' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, 2004a, 2004b) has been discussed as a significant development in this debate (Finlayson, 2004b; Hay, 2004; J. Hudson et al., 2008). Their post-foundationalist assumption would be especially discussed to examine their limitations. Then constructivism (Hay, 2002) will be examined as a supplementary approach to the former.

Interpretative approach

Bevir & Rhodes (2003, 2004b) explain the change from 'government by a unitary state to governance in and by network' (2004b, p. 131) through their interpretative approach which focuses on two types of actor's beliefs and concepts: traditions and dilemmas. The approach follow two promises as an ideational approach 'people act on their beliefs and preferences' (2003, p. 18) and 'we cannot read-off people's beliefs and preferences from objective facts about them such as their social class, race or institutional position' (p. 19).

However, they do not see actors are autonomous. Individuals usually hold their beliefs within 'traditions' which is 'a group of ideas widely shared' and 'passed from generation to generation, changing a little each time.' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, p. 33) So tradition 'implies that the relevant social context is one in which subjects are born, which then acts as the background to their later beliefs and actions' (p. 32). Yet tradition can be challenged by actors because it is contingent on and established by the actions of individuals. The change arises as a response to the dilemmas. 'A dilemma arises for an individual or institution when a new idea stands in opposition to existing beliefs or practices and so forces a reconsideration of these existing beliefs and associated tradition' (p. 36). As the concept of tradition shares the similar logical ground with 'path dependency', their conception of traditions and dilemmas helps us understand not only continuity or stability of social policies but also changes of them.

Bevir & Rhodes chose an interpretive 'third way' between hermeneutics based on the analysis of individuals as autonomous and pure reason, and post-structuralism which tends to deny any ground of subject and reason (Finlayson, 2004c). While they reject any attempt to discover pure

and given facts, Bevir & Rhodes (2003) argue quality of rival account of political actors can be judged through ‘shared fact’ rather than ‘given fact’. It is also a ground for academics to keep the objectivity of their analysis.

So the notion of traditions and dilemmas are not directly associated with institutional and structural factors but shared beliefs and concepts stem from previous environment or new pressures in which individuals find themselves. This is epistemological assumption of interpretative approach that we cannot access and know structural factors beyond beliefs of actors within them even though existence of structure out of belief are ontologically accepted. So ‘what matters ... is the subjective, or more usually, inter-subjective understanding of political actors, not our academic accounts of real pressures in the world. The academic task is to recover the shared ... of the relevant actors’ (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, p. 36)

This assumption is the epistemological foundation of interpretative approach is distinct from any other ideational perspective but it also leads to major criticism on the approach.² If we assume that we cannot access structural factors without interpretation of beliefs actors have within them, it means we do not have any ground to discover how the beliefs of actors are constructed within that structure. In other words, we cannot see inter-subjective dynamics between actors and structures.

This leads to the lack of explanation of the mechanism of how traditions and dilemmas are conducted. Bevir & Rhodes (2003, 2004b) argue traditions have explanatory value to show how individuals inherited beliefs and practices from their community. However, as Hay (2004) points out, it might not be true without the clarification of specific mechanism of inheritance. By the same token, while they insist the notion of dilemma helps understanding of change, if we cannot know real pressures but only access shared dilemma within actors, it is difficult to say dilemma has explanatory power to show how policies changes as contemporary society shifts.

Constructivism

² For more criticism on Bevir & Rhodes (2003, 2004b) and their reply, see Finlayson (2004a)

Hay's (2002) constructivism³, although originated from international relations, provides significant implication on policy studies as it shows complex and dynamic interaction between ideational and structural factors. Constructivism starts from some basic premises: The first one is the recognition as an ideational approach that 'we cannot hope to understand political behaviour without understanding the ideas actors hold about the environment in which they find themselves' (Hay, 2002, p. 208). Second, actors are not only conscious but also reflective as well as strategic. Political actors are assumed to act purposely to realise their intention and preference through their strategic thinking. They are also supposed to 'monitor the immediate consequences of their actions, whether intuitively or more deliberately, and to be capable of monitoring the longer-term consequences of their actions' (Hay, 2002, p. 131).

This leads to Jessop's dialectical understanding of the relation between idea and structure (in Hay, 2002, pp. 126-134), in which actors and context are interdependent as well as dialectical. Political actors act based on their strategic thinking including not only intention toward certain objectives but also understanding of structural factors. At this point, it is important to recognise that their understanding of structural factors is strategically selective; it means some structural factors can be more considered than others as a means to realise strategic intention or preference. So the relationship between idea and structure could be understood as dialectical relation between 'strategic actor' and 'strategically selective context'. This relation will be discussed more in the following discussion.

At the same time, structural factors are strategically selective with incomplete information. One of the foundational weaknesses of rational choice theory is its assumption of perfect information, by the same token, actors cannot be assumed to have full knowledge of every environmental factor which would influence their strategic choice as well as possible consequence of their actions. Diverse levels or sides of information each actor possibly has explains different choice of different actors at the same environment to some extent in addition to their strategic thinking. Also this provides a significant insight to understand the role of idea in strategic process. If

³ As he explained, constructivism is a broad church encompassing a various range of positions so the discussion of constructivism in this study follows Hay's (2002, pp. 194-215) interpretation.



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paradigm convinced by experiences in the past like Keynesianism until 1970s. However, if the levels of unintended consequences of existing strategy arise over a certain level at the end of constant changes of the structure, the reflective actor is forced to change their understanding of strategically selective context then choose a different strategic action. Moreover, even though there is limited accessibility to structural factors, we can see dynamic interplay between strategic actors who have understanding of strategically selected context (usually policy makers); strategic actions by them (policy making); and consequence of the actions reflecting unselected context as well.

The approach of this study

In order to analyse the impact of political idea on social policy and practice, the concept of ‘ideology’ would be defined as a structured strategic political idea of government. The ideology of each government since 1960s is clarified through analysis of political speeches and writings of government leaders. The ‘Westminster model’ is assumed as a tradition in government for this analysis. Also, personal social services are selected to look at the influence defined government ideology on the policy development. These issues will be discussed further as follows sequentially.

Ideology

Barker (2000a, p. 223) points out that, in order to move beyond separation of idea from political action which is dominated in conventional political and policy studies, we need to overcome ‘not only a positivist, or least positivistic, tradition within political science, but also ‘a scepticism outside it which sees ideas as mere rhetoric, a cover or a justification for other things.’ This scepticism is usually found in the understanding of the concept of ‘ideology’. While non-Marxists tend to derogatorily see ideology as a mere non-normative description, Marxists criticise ideology as a distorting epiphenomenon bewildering real material relations (Freeden, 2000). Even interpretativists, Bevir & Rhodes (2003, p. 42) say ‘ideologies would ... have a close association to lies, the unconscious and contradictory beliefs. ... We could condemn their utterance as ideological, not because it is false, but because it involves deception. Their words hide their true beliefs for political advantage.’

While Bevir & Rhodes (2003) proclaim this is the reason why we need to interpret political actors' belief rather than just use them as resources, this argument has the same context with the positivist criticism on ideational approach as Dowding (2004) comments as follows when he criticise the interpretative approach:

People tend to see their own actions in the best light. ... They may use justifications for actions produced in retrospect, or use handily available ideologies no matter what they really think about those justifications. Of course, this is not to say that such interviews should not be conducted, nor that their evidence should not be 'trusted'—rather the evidence needs to be weighed along with other evidence. Indeed, the actors' own account of their actions needs to be *interpreted*. (Dowding, 2004, p. 138 emphasis is original)

The concept of ideology is, on the contrary, used in this study to overcome the limitation of the structuralist approach ignoring idea as a deception. So in the approach to ideology of this study accepts conceptual morphology (M. Humphrey, 2005) beyond orthodox Marxist and non-Marxist division of the understanding of ideology. This approach seeks 'the conceptual structures that are present in political thinking, in order to clarify the nature of political thought' and 'continuities and differences [between different ideologies], both diachronically and synchronically.' (M. Humphrey, 2005, p. 237)

Moreover, in this approach, 'ideological forms are not presupposed but emerge through careful empirical analysis of thought instantiations.' (M. Humphrey, 2005, p. 237) In this process, we can identify certain patterns of persistence and core concepts relatively stable over time. This improves the understanding of political actors' beliefs and idea in two ways (M. Humphrey, 2005, pp. 237-241). On one hand, we can identify different families of political thought as well as 'certain forms of thought as likely members of one family rather than another' (p. 237) through this process. It helps to clarify a position of a certain form of idea in wider (or historical) context including relationship with other ideologies.

On the other hand, through the identification of a consistent pattern and core concept of a certain form of thought, we can examine the logical and systemic structure of idea then reveal a 'truth'. Not surprisingly, this 'truth' is not the truth in that of positivist claim as well as Bevir & Rhodes's (2003) claim about real motivation of actor:

The truth for the morphological analyst lies in digging beneath the surface of a discourse and revealing the ‘true’ ideational architecture that underpins it. The ‘truth’ that is revealed, then, in this process of uncovering concealed assumptions, is a truth about the nature and conceptual architecture of political thought within certain traditions or in respect of particular thinkers, it is not a wider truth claim regarding the state of the world or uncovering masks of empirical instances of oppression, domination, or injustice (M. Humphrey, 2005, p. 240).

Methodology: two forms of inquiry

Even though Bevir & Rhodes (2003, 2004b) reject the concept of ideology and replace it with that of ‘narrative’, their methodological suggestion is valid for the examination of ideology as they still use traditional ideological categorisation to identify ‘narratives’ such as Tory, Liberal, and Socialist. Bevir & Rhodes suggest two modes of inquiry: historical and ethnographic form of inquiry.

Bevir & Rhodes’ historical forms of inquiry are similar to diachronic approaches of conceptual morphology to ideology. They explain that ‘we have to locate their stories within their wider webs of belief, and these webs of belief against the background of traditions they modify in response to specific dilemmas.’ So, in order to define an ideology we need to see the historical terrain of political thought in the wider context of the contemporary society. This process will be followed before the ideology of each government is defined in Part I.

The ethnographic form of inquiry is ‘to read practices, actions, texts, interviews and speeches to recover other people’s stories’ (Bevir & Rhodes, 2004b, p. 135). In particular, major political speeches, writings and party manifestos will be analysed to identify the ideology of each government in this study. This is because these forms of text might be the better sources to see the conceptual architecture of ideology as a self-structured text directly by actor than any other above. These types of text are basically an attempt by a government or political party, to appeal to supporters or the public in order to gain political support by providing their interpretation of the contemporary situation, objectives, and major policies. Therefore, they could show logical and systemic relationship between conceptual components of ideology more evidently than any other kinds of text. Also these texts allow us to directly access beliefs and ideas of political actors as unobtrusive recourses. This point of speeches are distinctive, for example, from interviews which have much spaces influenced by interviewer’s intention; and actions or

practices which usually are affected by excluded structural factors as discussed in the previous section.

In order to identify strategic approach in policy development of social care, white papers and green papers would be analysed. They conventionally have the highest status in a particular policy area among other types of government documents so they cover long-term strategic position to details of policy programmes in the area. Therefore white papers and green papers contains the whole complete logical structures by themselves so they could be comparable sources within policy development equivalent with political speeches within political ideology. Moreover, as they have direct relationship with policy implementation, it would be essential to look at these documents in order to see the actual policy development.

Discourse analysis?

The methodological approach of this study may remind us of discourse analysis which investigates various texts to find out the influence of discursive practice. Yet these two could be distinguished in a number of aspects. Discourse analysis may be defined as an analytical proposal to look at 'how the world comes to be known and understood through discursive practices, and how a change in discursive regime can change the world (and social relationships within it) itself; in short, how reality is constituted through discourse' (Prior, 2003, p. 126). However, the interest in this study is much narrower than discourse analysis.

The concept of 'political ideology' might be only a small part of that of discourse, which includes not only a particular form of disquisition but also everyday knowledge conveyed via the media, school, family, and community in everyday communication. The analysis in this study is restricted within the policy making process within government rather than the wider relationship between discourse and society. Finally, the main concern of critical discourse analysis, which takes particular interest in the political aspect of language, is power relation. However, this issue is not discussed in this study and simply assumed by the Westminster model as discussed below.

However, on the other hand, discourse analysis provides useful insights to this study in terms of its methodology to analyse text and clarify discourses. Jäger (2001) suggests a number of analytical concepts in critical discourse analysis that are particularly helpful such as discourse strands, discourse fragments, and discourse position which are discussed further below. Also

other concepts, for example, assumptions, classifications, semantic relations, and legitimations in critical discourse analysis (see Fairclough, 2003) make practical introduction to text analysis. Nevertheless, text analysis in this study more tends to rely on common sense and usual understanding of language rather than analytical techniques. This is because the major concern in this study is about political ideologies and policy approaches rather than the process of the construction of them through a range of text

.Westminster model

While defining ideologies of each government and analysing their impact on policy, the tradition of Westminster model is assumed in this study. As Finlayson (2004c) points out, ideational approach must deal with the power issue, which explains how a certain idea are accepted among other alternatives. The Westminster model, which is the machinery understanding of government system focusing on institutional rules, procedures and formal organisations of government (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003) can simply resolve the power issue by accepting the supremacy of the prime minister and the cabinet.

However, it is important that Westminster model is assumed not as a given fact but as a tradition in policy and practice of government. It might be true that the Westminster model are being challenged by a range of changes, for example, as Bevir & Rhodes (2003) argue through their interpretative approach, from government to governance. Yet it is still true that the model is dominant at the baseline of government when they implement a certain policy. Even Bevir & Rhodes (2003, p. 8) concede that ‘bureaucracy remains the prime example of hierarchy or co-ordination by administrative order. Despite all the recent changes, it is still a major way of delivering services in British government.’ Moreover, Richards & Smith (2004) found in their study of over 225 interviews with both retired and serving ministers and civil servants that they still tend to rely on the tradition of the Westminster model in their thinking and practices. This means public servants usually share the tradition that they are neutral and apolitical, and act in the public interest as well as loyalty to the government.

So a range of text of Prime Ministers will be analysed to clarify government ideology in Part I because this not only represents government thinking but also dominantly influence the whole

government thinking as a leader's text of government as well as ruling party under the tradition of the Westminster model. This will be discussed further in the next Chapter.

Political ideology and social care policy

The investigation of the development of social care could cover more extensive aspects of the role of political ideology of government because of its distinctive features from other social policy areas. First of all, personal social services are different from other centralised policy areas such as pension, health, and social security due to its locality. These policies could be centrally made by central government but implemented locally by local authorities. This provides space for investigation in to the relationship between central ideology and local practice since the policy is not as straightforward as centralised policies so the dynamic relationship between the ideology and the policy could be more important as well as visible as more various actors and processes involved.

Furthermore, social care has a multi-dimensional aspects could provide distinctive comprehension about welfare state. Daly & Lewis (2000) argue this provides 'a key element around which one can analyse welfare state' (p. 290) while indicating its multiple dimensions: First, care could be defined as labour which could be paid or unpaid and formal or informal so requires a significant role from the state to determine these and other boundaries. Second, the concept of care is located within a normative framework of duty and responsibility also covering the issue of social relationship of care and the government roles. Finally, care is an activity with costs, financially as well as emotionally across public and private boundaries so inevitably including how to share the cost between individuals, family, community and society at large. This sort of multi-dimensional feature of social care issues could well reveal various aspects of political ideology in its policy development.

Data collection and analysis

Data for this study including political speeches, writings, and Command Papers were collected in various ways. First of all, high profile speeches of Harold Wilson's and James Callaghan's who were Prime Ministers and leaders of Labour Party in 1960s and 70s were obtained from the Labour History Archive & Study Centre (LHASC) in Manchester. Early speeches of Tony Blair's before 1997 were also available in the LHASC. His speeches from 1997 were accessible

at Downing 10 website (<http://www.pm.gov.uk>). All the speeches of Thatcher's analysed in this study were collected from the Margaret Thatcher Foundation website (<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/>). However, speeches of John Major's, the successive Prime Minister, were only available at the Bodleian Library in Oxford University. Other political writings of Prime Ministers – books and pamphlets – as well as White Papers and Green Papers before 1994 were collected from the JB Morrell Library in the University of York. Commend Papers from 1994 to 2005 were accessible at the Official Document Archive (<http://www.archive.official-documents.co.uk/>). Recent Papers on personal social services until 2007 were available the Department of Health website (<http://www.dh.gov.uk>).

The analysis of the data to define each government ideology and policy approach in personal social services of Old Labour, Thatcherite, and New Labour was carried out in two stages. First of all, each text was coded with analytical elements defined in the framework established in Chapter 1. In the texts, description of contemporary challenges, declaration of objectives, expression of grounding philosophy, explanation of the role of the major actors, definition of citizenship, and demonstration of major strategies were respectively tagged as challenges, objectives, philosophy, actors, citizenship, and strategies. During this process, a number of thematic fragments within each element were defined. For example, within the text tagged with 'challenges', specific thematic fragments were found such as 'technical advance', 'inflation', and 'globalisation' in political speeches, and 'growing social needs', 'shortage of resources', and 'inefficient service provision' in the Comment Papers on personal social services.

Therefore, in the next stage, each text was recoded by these fragments. After recording process, quotations with same fragment were put together then its consistency was tested: whether each thematic fragment had significant consistency within limited qualitative extent synchronically and diachronically among quotations from a range of the text of a particular government – Old Labour, Thatcherite, or New Labour. Thematic fragments which had significant consistency were identified as 'conceptual strands' within each element. The concept of 'conceptual strands' is borrowed from 'discourse strands' in Jäger's (2001, p. 47) term. As he suggests, these fragments with a high consistency, within a certain qualitative range synchronically as well as diachronically, constitute conceptual strands.

This process was conducted differently depending on the format of original data. When the texts were available in electronic format, the analysis were carried out by Atlas.ti, which is software package for qualitative analysis. However, all the data collected from the LHASC and the JB Morrell Library and many texts from the Bodleian Library were only available in hard copy. Therefore, in order to analyse these texts, codes had to be physically tagged on the texts then tagged quotations were manually cut and paste to be put together for the examination.

After a range of ‘conceptual strands’ within each element were identified, these strands were placed in the whole analytical framework to define each government ideology and policy approach in personal social service of Old Labour, Conservative, and New Labour. Therefore, depending on ‘conceptual strands’ identified in each element, their recognition of contemporary challenges, objectives, philosophical ground, defined role of major actors, understanding of citizenship, and major strategies were scrutinised. As these comprehensive elements are considered together, we can find out not only the whole structure of each government ideology and policy approach but also their own rationality behind them.

Conclusion

Through the discussion of the relationship between idea and context from structuralist to ideational approach, constructivism is established as a guiding theoretical ground for this study. This approach would provide distinctive insight to look at dynamic and dialectical relationship between actor’s idea and policy development. Subsequently, a number of concepts and methodological issues for the analysis are discussed. The concept of ‘political ideology’ is understood within a conceptual morphology to identify its conceptual structures of political thinking among the wider web of thoughts diachronically and synchronically.

In order to do this, historical and ethnographic from of inquiries would be conducted in the analysis. Therefore, mainly political speeches and major government documents – white papers and green papers – would be investigated within the classification of historical terrain of political ideology and policy approaches. Social care is chosen for the analysis of the role of ideology in policy development as its locality is expected to provide space to grasp the dynamic relationship

between centralised ideology and localised policy implementation. Also, the multi-dimensional feature of social care issues could also reveal various aspect of ideological implication within the policies.

This historical analysis would be carried out though three different periods of government in the modern history of Britain: The Wilson-Callaghan government in the 1960s and 70s, the Thatcher-Major Government in the 1980s and 90s, and the Blair Government from 1997 to 2007. The first half of the thesis (Part I) is to clarify the political ideology of each government representing different political thoughts respectively: Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour. And these would be compared to policy development of personal social services under each government in the second half (Part II). The policy approaches in each government would be defined through the analysis of policy documents and its strategic choices revealed through the comparison with the contemporary debate in social care. The analytical framework for the analysis in political ideologies and policy approaches would be established in the next Chapter.

PART I

DEFINING POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES:

OLD LABOUR, THATCHERISM AND NEW LABOUR

CHAPTER

1

Defining an Ideology: Building an Analytical Framework

There has been long and active academic argument over the ideology of ‘New Labour’ since its emergence of 1994, far before the arrival of New Labour Government. Nevertheless, it is hard to find any consensus as to ‘what it is’. This could be partly because of New Labour’s negative way of presenting their ideology, ‘what it is not’ rather than ‘what it is’ (Driver & Martell, 2000) and also partly because of the vagueness of New Labour’s language (M. Powell & Hewitt, 1998). However, the fundamental reason of this ambiguity may rest on the basic characteristic of New Labour’s thinking: they are neither ‘Old Labour’ nor ‘New Right’, as they say, but adapt a number of parts of both for their new ideology no matter whether they actually create significant new things from them or not. So both arguments saying New Labour is a descendent of Thatcherism or Labour’s tradition could be all ‘partly’ true because it might be easy to find not only some similarities of New Labour with Thatcherism as well as Old Left, but also some differences against each of them.

Because of its controversy, particularly in terms of its comparative features with others, the discussion around New Labour ideology provides unprecedented opportunity to build a coherent set of analytical frameworks to define a ideology. So a range of literatures attempting to define the political ideology New Labour with the comparison with Old Labour and Thatcherism will be reviewed to find out ideological elements used in the discussion and attempt to build a whole

framework for defining an ideology. This work will be followed by the initial discussion about various strands on New Labour.

Different stands on New Labour

Many commentators have categorised the literatures surrounding or approaches to New Labour (see Allender, 2001:56-57; Kenny & Smith, 1997; M. Rhodes, 2000:161) but these arguments can be broadly divided into two groups: those who discuss New Labour comparing with Labour's tradition, and those who identify them through the connection with New Right's or other conservative's thinking. The former can be divided between commentators who emphasise the novelty of New Labour from the past and those who see them as a descendent of social democratic tradition.

Kenny & Smith (1997), Pimlott (1997), and Larkin (2001) focus on novelty of New Labour from Old but each pick up different aspects of New Labour. Kenny & Smith (1997) list the new approaches of New Labour, for example, distinct perspectives in terms of political economy; the attack on the party's ethos including the eradication of 'culture of betrayal', which made difficulties to criticise the traditional value; and supplementation with moral agenda to certain policy area such as crime, and significant downgrade of position of trade union to one of other interest group.

Pimlott (1997) also indicates some amendments to classic ideas about economic equality (to opportunity for all) and the role of state (as enabler), and citizenship (focus on obligations); higher priorities on education and training than social security; and the diminution of the union involvement in the constituency parties. On the contrary, Larkin (2001) emphasises the negative aspects of New Labour's 'novelty' such as the steadily growing inequality during New Labour government; the avoidance of tax burden for the equitable distribution of income and wealth; the limited role of state to achieve social democratic goals; and the authoritarian-like leadership of Blair not seen before in Labour history.

On the other hand, Allender (2001), Bevir & O'Brien (2001), Rubinstein (2000; 1997), Smith (1994), and Thompson (1996) draw more attention to the continuities between New and Old Labour. Allender (2001) proclaims that changes of New Labour are to modernise itself to catch up with international, economical, political shifts of 'new times' with the core value of Labour Party. Bevir & O'Brien (2001) also argue that New Labour's public philosophy is the response to specific dilemmas posed by New Right, with their ethical vision within and through community which derived from one of the socialist traditions – ethical socialism.

Moreover, Rubinstein (2000; 1997), and Smith (1994) insist there is misunderstanding and oversimplification of the Labour history which has much wider development of perspectives and pragmatic policies. Rubinstein (2000; 1997) points out Labour Party has not been the party simply for working class at least since 1918. He argues that the Labour Party has, in fact, not attempted to do more than improving the worst excesses of capital society so there is no reason not to say New Labour is a successor of the Labour party of the past, due to distance from working class, trade union, and radical socialism.

Smith (1994) indicates, in addition, the tendency to overestimate the radicalism of Labour which are often found in critics focus on the crevice between New Labour and Labour tradition. Thompson (1996) shows the supply-side political economy policy of New Labour is in the context of Labour's tradition for 'national efficiency', which is usually considered as one of the major points in contrast to the demand-side Keynesian policy of 'Old Labour', although he also points out the lack of clear priorities of New Labour between efficiency and social justice.

However, others are much more critical on this point. Hay (1994) points out different approaches on 'new times' when he raises his counterargument on the continuity of social democratic tradition. Although some changes of international economics are taken into account, the choices of potential strategies for the growth within it should be distinguished from a range of the actual constraints. Furthermore, he argues that the most of the discussion about 'new times' tend to take neo-liberal strategy of minimal state intervention for granted as the exclusive way for the competitiveness of British economy.

Furthermore, Powell (2000) and Heron & Dwyer (1999) demonstrate some connections between New Labour's welfare strategy and other conservatives. Powell (2000) accuses one of the New Labour's major principles of social security, 'Work for those who can; security for those who cannot' of being a little more humane version of the 'less eligibility' concept of the New Poor Law. Heron & Dwyer (1999) also insist that New Labour's emphasis on individualistic morality shares some values of the concept of 'underclass' which link to individualistic and cultural – not structural as traditional socialists did – understandings of the causes of poverty stems from a conservative perspective.

A framework to define an ideology

When New Labour is compared with Old Labour and New Right, a number of literatures focus on their policies under each government to discuss the continuity or the differences. However, no matter whether they focus on the continuity of New Labour with Labour's tradition or emphasise the chasm between them, as just discussed above, commentators on both sides tend to illustrate certain aspects of New Labour and there is little consistency between them. For instance, commentators who want to argue the differences of New Labour from the Labour's tradition (Kenny & Smith, 1997; Larkin, 2001; Pimlott, 1997; M. Powell, 2000) are likely to discuss marketisation of service delivery, avoidance of tax burden on the middle class and welfare to work policy. On the contrary, those who show the continuity tend to point out the different policies such as minimum wage (Rubinstein, 1997, 2000).

However, New Labour, in fact, has gone in both policy directions at the same time. For example, New Labour's reforms, as Driver & Martell (2001) demonstrate, include new legislation on trade union rights but not a return to the pre-Thatcher government; and flexible labour market but not as flexible as the Tories. Therefore, emphasising some certain types of policies as evidence to define the New Labour ideology would not have so much meaning. This is the reason why the approach to define the ideology of government through their policies is ruled out in this research.

The interpretation of the Labour's tradition is another core issue in the discussion about New Labour. Academics who discuss the novelty of New Labour (Kenny & Smith, 1997; Larkin, 2001; Pimlott, 1997) tend to focus on the change of the culture, the acceptance of new values, and the new strong leadership. In counterpoint to these claims, commentators emphasising New Labour's succession of the Labour's tradition (Bevir & O'Brien, 2001; Rubinstein, 1997, 2000; M. J. Smith, 1994) interpret Labour's history much more widely. In other words, this shows the interpretation of Labour's tradition is also too controversial to be the independent criteria to define other ideological change like New Labour. Hence, to define what the Old Labour was would be a separated task to analyse in this research with the framework established through the following discussion.

Therefore, in order to define a political ideology in systematic and objective manner, first of all, it is essential to establish a consistent and comprehensive analytical framework. As discussed, the intensive discussion on New Labour in 1990s and the early 2000s while comparing it to other major political ideologies in British history provides unprecedented opportunity for this. On that account, a range of these articles are reviewed and the ideological themes or elements constantly appeared in the literatures irrespective of their positions extracted. Consequently, six analytical components are selected as follows: challenges, objectives, political philosophy, actors, major strategies, and citizenship.

Challenges to contemporary society

The interpretation of the challenges in contemporary society could be the starting point to define an ideology. The challenges could be problems and difficulties the society needs to tackle or overcome; opportunities it should seize; or new orders it has to adapt to. These are the ground condition the ideology stands on to accomplish its objectives. Therefore, how the major challenges are determined influences other ideological fragments, such as the role of actors and major strategies to address them. So it would be one of the fundamental factors composing an ideology.

Fitzpatrick (1998) indicates New Labour's thinking is based on a 'sociological' claim about the new condition of society. In other words, they are based on a new interpretation of the current society. Similarly, other commentators often point out the New Labour's different awareness

about the situation of ‘contemporary society’ they face. This could be regarded as the essential change on account of the inevitable social condition (Allender, 2001; Kenny & Smith, 1997; M. J. Smith, 1994) or just the accommodation to New Right’s understanding (Driver & Martell, 2001; Hay, 1994). However, it is clear that the interpretation of the challenges facing contemporary society is the basis of a new ideology. In other words, even two ideologies which share the same objectives would be very different if the conditions under which these objectives are to be achieved are interpreted differently.

Objectives

Objectives of an ideology refer to the ultimate value it follows, maintain, or achieves. They reflect the fundamental philosophy and the moral ground of the ideology as they are the declaration of what is a ‘good society’. These statements are usually collocated with the certain words such as ‘aim’, ‘purpose’, ‘goal’, and ‘mission’ but often these words are used to express the strategic direction of government to pursue the objectives. Therefore in order to define the objectives of an ideology, ultimate values are needed to be concentrated on such as prosperity, equality, freedom, and opportunity even though the actual meaning of these abstract concepts needs to be clarified.

When the continuity of New Labour from New Right is emphasised, the values or objectives like national competitiveness and liberty tend to be illuminated (Elliot in M. J. Smith, 1994). On the contrary, when the continuity from Labour’s tradition is discussed, other values of New Labour such as social justice and equality are more likely to attract more attention (Allender, 2001; Bevir & O'Brien, 2001). On the other hand, Smith (1994) and Thompson (1996) argue that liberty and equality; and efficiency and social justice have been considered as two side of one coin in Labour history. According to one of Labour document *Labour’s Objects: Socialist Values in the Modern World*, it is stated ‘economic efficiency and social justice as complementary to one another, not opposites’ (Thompson, 1996:46).

Political philosophy

Political philosophy refers to the basic perspective to interpret and understand people and society that an ideology is based on. This could include some traditional form of ideology such as

socialism and New Right. However, when political ideology in this study is associated with more practical level of ideas in real politics, these traditional forms of ideologies are distinguished as political philosophies which are placed at more fundamental dimensions of political thinking. Since this element in political text is often implicit and complex rather than straightforward, appropriate analysis requires more (Bevir & Rhodes' (2003, 2004b) 'historical forms of inquiry' besides 'ethnographic form of inquiry'. In other words, the philosophical terrains of the contemporary politics need to be investigated in order to find out the philosophical context of the political statements in the analysis.

Fitzpatrick (1998) categorise the changes of welfare regimes with two axes: state and market; and individualism and collectivism. Keynes-Beveridge welfare refers to state collectivism and economic liberal welfare of Thatcher government is associated with market individualism. He classifies current New Labour government in between these two extreme: market collectivism. In fact, critical commentators on New Labour tend to underline their individualistic approach and idea, which give attention to individual needs and responsibility (Heron & Dwyer, 1999; Taylor-Gooby, 2000) while others draw more attention to different values of New Labour such as partnership and cooperation relate to collectivism, which has been core values of Left's (Bevir & O'Brien, 2001). Bevir & O'Brien (2001) also define each government's philosophy as fellowship for Old Labour, individualism for New Right and stakeholding for New Labour.

Role of actors

The next question addressed in ideology could be what are the role of major actors in achieving the objectives. The primary actor in government ideology is obviously the state. For example, the Commission on Social Justice (in M. Powell, 2000) categorise the role of state with the concepts, 'Levellers', 'Deregulators' and 'Investors': leveller for wealth distribution through direct intervention (Old Labour), deregulator for minimising public service and freeing the market (New Right), and investor for empowering human capital (New Labour). Other commentators (Bevir & O'Brien, 2001; Driver & Martell, 2000) use similar concepts for the discussion about Old Labour, New Labour and New Right such as provider, safety-net, and enabler respectively.

However, the role of state could vary in different political ideologies depending on their understanding of the role of other major actors such as business sector, trade union and voluntary

sectors. Therefore the discussion on the actors should not be limited to the state. The different recognition of the role of state has occupied the debate of the Left in modern politics (Driver & Martell, 2000) while on the other hand, the New Right has tried to minimise it (M. J. Smith, 1994). On the other side, these differences also reflect, for example, their different consideration of the role of business sector in the society and the relation of them with the state.

Citizenship

In spite of its importance in ideological debate, it is hard to make explicit definition of the concept of citizenship as it is used in a multitude of different contexts (Heron & Dwyer, 1999). However, in the context of debate on ideology, it refers to the rights of the citizen relating to the welfare provision of the state for the fulfilment of citizens' needs, as well as the duties reasonably expected to citizen by the state. In other word, citizenship could be discussed as a question about what is the desirable relationship between the state and individual (Heron & Dwyer, 1999).

It is usually said that Old Labour tended to underline citizens' rights and New Right tended to stress their duties whereas New Labour based on the both (M. Powell, 2000). The Harris's (2002) discussion of the citizenship in each ideology go into more detail. He illustrates the collective obligation of citizens for the welfare of other citizens and the universal rights of welfare are the ideological cornerstone of the post-war welfare state. However, New Right started to criticise this social democratic welfare state's concept of citizenship with its insensitivity to individual needs, so they stressed freedom and choice of consumer-citizens. However, since it was too individualistic so they needed more socially integrative concept, 'Active citizenship' was emerged as an alternative to emphasise individual responsibility to help their kin, neighbours and themselves. Then it was argued to be inherited by New Labour.

Major strategy

As shown at the beginning of this section, the different kind of policies of the same government tends to be presented as a evidence for the different arguments about the political ideology. Therefore, the crucial point would be to determine the status of these policies in the ideology so that major strategic policies in the ideological context can be distinguished from others. In other

words, among the list of policies introduced by the government, the central policies and the strategic policy directions with them need to be primarily considered, in order to illuminate the ideology of the government.

These strategic policies or policy directions could be identified within the relationship with other components of ideology such as the interpretation of major challenges, the objectives, and the role of actors. For example, there could a particular measure to tackle major challenges defined by the government, or a strategic scheme specially designed to pursuit the ideological objective value. They would be recognised within multiple contexts of various ideological aspects rather than a single relationship with a certain ideological element. For example, a major strategy would be presented as a main method to tackle the challenges in order to follow the objectives, while defining the roles of major actors and the approach on citizenship under their philosophical thinking.

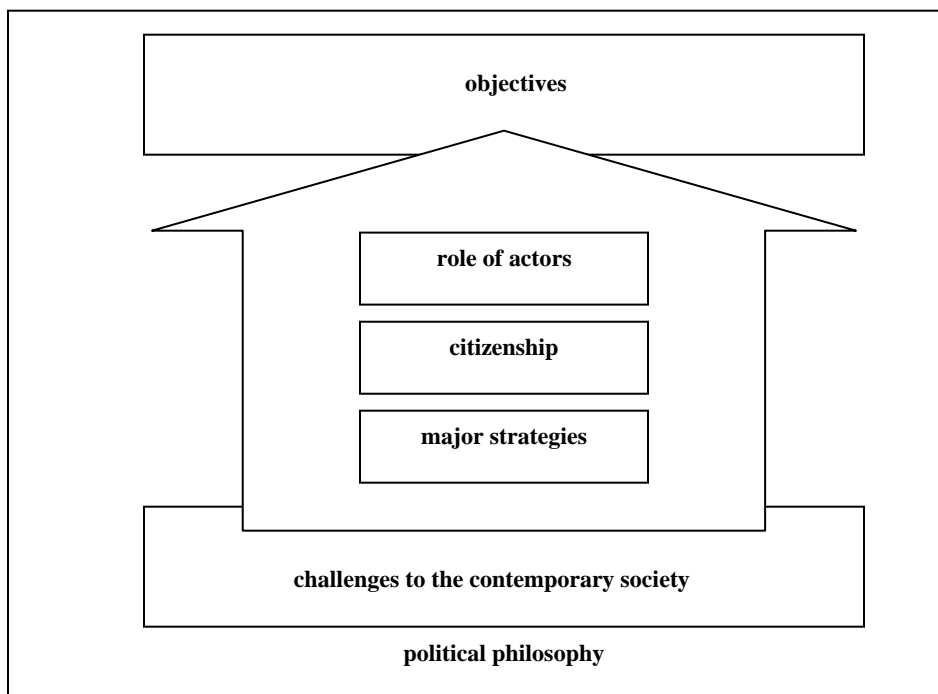


Figure 2 the analytical framework to define an ideology

The analytical framework

Various approaches to New Labour by a number of academics were explored first and they were categorised broadly between commentators who discussed New Labour in terms of Labour's tradition and those who considered New Labour in relation with conservatives including New Right. The former divided between those who stress novelty of New Labour from the past, and those who argue that New Labour inherited Labour's tradition. However, these discussions tend to focus on different policy issues of New Labour in favour of each argument or have different interpretations of Labour Party history. Therefore a range of literatures discussing New Labour with the comparison with other ideologies in the modern politics of Britain have been reviewed, in order to establish a systematic and comprehensive framework for the appropriate analysis and discussion about political ideology of different governments.

Consequently, six ideological elements have been discussed: major challenges to the contemporary society, ideological objectives, political philosophy, role of major actors, approach to citizenship, and major strategies. In order to build a whole comprehensive framework, the challenges and the objectives would be placed as two basic grounds in the framework. The former is the defined condition the ideology established and the latter is the desirable value to follow under the condition. Then other elements such as the strategies, the role of the actors, and citizenship are put in-between since they are procedure elements in the ideology to overcome the condition as well as to reach the end. All these components would reflect philosophical understanding of society and people. Accordingly, the whole analytical framework can be illustrated like Figure 2.

Analysing party manifestos, and leader's political speeches and writings

In order to find out the role of political ideology of government in the policy development of personal social services, the ideology of each government would be defined in the Part I through the analysis of political texts. As discussed in the Introduction, these texts include the party manifestos published during the election the government won, as well as political speeches and writings, which are self-structured and unobtrusive resources containing ideological arguments.

However, apart from election manifestos of ruling party, it would be necessary to determine the range of data for the analysis of the government ideology, for example whose and what sort of speeches or writing should be included. In this study, in order to define ideologies of governments in Britain from 1960s to 2000s, speeches and writings of Prime Ministers – who are the leaders of the ruling party at the same time – are analysed as tradition of Westminster model in policy process is assumed.

Moreover, this could be justified since the other tradition in UK politics is considered. In terms of Labour Party, Drucker (1979:1) indicates ‘traditional tenderness to its leaders’ – leader is changed infrequently and reluctance to be against his will – is an important part of ideology of the Party. The Conservative Party also have the similar tradition in their political culture such as top-down, significance of the power and influence of the party leader, and the strong loyalty to successful leader in spite of ruthlessness to failed one (Ball & Holliday, 2002; Holmes, 1989; Riddell, 1985; Willetts, 1992). In other words, there has been the strong tradition of the party leader’s representativeness of the whole party in real term so political speeches and writings delivered as a party leader should not be regarded as expression of personal thinking. This is fair to say that they practically reflect positions and policies of the party as well as the government when they are in power.

In addition, while the leader’s the speeches and political writings delivered as Prime Ministers are included for the analysis to define each government ideology, those since they are elected as party leaders in the opposition are also analysed in order to look at the ideological consistency. This is important if this finding is used to look at the causal relationship between idea and policy development. This relationship cannot be properly addressed until the consistency of idea since they are in opposition is investigated. Otherwise the precedence of the idea before the policy development could not be addressed. In other words, the causal relationship between idea and policy would be difficult to be proved as it would be unclear which is the independent factor have influence on the other.

During the analytical process, predominantly rhetorical parts of political speeches and writings are firstly excluded. Fairclough (2000) indicates that there are two aspect of political language: intellectual and rhetorical. Intellectual aspect concerns articulating and constructing a political

ideology whereas rhetorical aspect of political language relates to inspiring and mobilising people. It is true rhetorical work cannot be always distinguished from intellectual work because political language is originally to persuade people. However, the rhetorical part which is predominantly for encouraging, complimenting and mobilising supporters or members of party with little intellectual work could be separated for the analysis (Fairclough, 2000).

At the end of the analysis, the whole systematic structure of an ideology will be constructed and defined with these ideological strands within each element through the analytical framework. In the first half of this study, each major political ideology in the modern history of Britain – Old Labour, Thatcherism and New Labour – will be attempted to be defined by this methodological approach in turn. As mentioned in the Introduction, the contemporary literatures about each ideology are reviewed to see the historical terrain of political thought in the wider context as ‘historical form of inquiry’ in Bevir & Rhodes’ (2003, 2004b) term. In this process, a number of questions about each ideology raised by the literatures would be also addressed.

CHAPTER

2

Reviewing Old Labour: the Wilson and the Callaghan Government

First of all, the legacy of Old Labour tends to be at risk of being distorted because the period of government was far over two decades ago. Seldon & Hickson (2004) note that the successive Conservative government as well as New Labour have their own reasons to discredit Old Labour. Undermining the record of previous Labour government was an important foundation for the Thatcher government to justify their radical proposals. By the same token, this might be also a necessary for New Labour to advertise their novelty.

However, it is not clear what Old Labour usually refers to in British politics. Therefore, determining what 'Old Labour' is in order to analyse it is the first task in reviewing them. This will be followed by illuminating the ideological territory of the contemporary Labour Party to help understanding of the analysis. Finally, Wilson's and Callaghan's speeches and writing, as well as some Party documents are analysed based on the framework set in the previous Chapter: the recognition of major challenges to the contemporary society, the declaration of ideological objectives, political philosophy, major strategies, the role of the major actors, and the understanding of citizenship.

Which ‘Old Labour’?

The question of ‘which Old Labour’ depends on the period when the Party was in office. The Labour government in modern British history could be Attlee government of 1945 to 1951 (which is the first ‘Old Labour’ government with their own majority), or the Wilson government of 1964 to 70, or Wilson-Callaghan government of 1974 to 1979. The distance between New Labour and Old Labour could be quite different depending on which ‘Old Labour’ government (Allender, 2001).

As far as the Attlee government is concerned, New Labour frequently refer to this government whenever they speak their traditional inheritance as a Labour government and emphasises them as a founder of comprehensive public service such as the National Health Service and public education system. Therefore, the Attlee government is far from the example of ‘Old Labour’ which they had to challenge and change. This might be because the Attlee government is, indeed, far in the past and beyond the memories of most electorates so it is can be praised safely without risks of severe criticism (Riddell, 2004). Hence this is not the government to be compared with New Labour as ‘Old Labour’.

On the other hand, Labour government in 1960s and 1970s is ‘a land that time forget’ for New Labour (Baston, 2000, p. 87). These governments have been recognised as ones which New Labour want to bury in order to create new political terrain (Kavanagh, 2004). So the Wilson government in 1964 to 1970 and the Wilson-Callaghan government in 1974 to 1979 would be the government of ‘Old Labour’ having been criticised by New Labour. The Wilson government in the 1960s could, in particular, make good comparison with New Labour. This government came into power with a commitment for a new vision of the country, titled ‘New Britain’ after the three consecutive defeats of Labour in the previous elections. This was different from earlier Party electoral campaigns and appealed a wider set of voters (Coates, 1975) under the technological and cultural revolution at that time (see Bodanor, 2004; Fielding, 2003). This shows the striking similarities with New Labour. The Wilson-Callaghan government in the 1970s also provide important points as an ‘Old Labour’ government in contrast to New Labour as the most recent past of Labour.

Accordingly, in order to review the ideology of Old Labour, a range of speeches of Harold Wilson and James Callaghan in the annual Party conference from 1963 (when Wilson was elected as a Party leader) to 1978 (which is the last year Labour in power before New Labour) will be analysed. Party manifestos under their leadership and speeches in the annual conference of Trade Union Congress (TUC) as a prime minister are also included. The Party policy documents *Signpost for Sixties* (Labour Party, 1961) written by special Sub-Committee of the Party chaired by Wilson, and his speech in the annual conference in 1961 to present it, are specially added along with his writing *The relevance of British Socialism* (H. Wilson, 1964a). The whole list of speeches and documents are in the Appendix.

Ideologies in Labour: the Labour right and left

For better understanding of the Labour leaders' ideologies in 1960s and 1970s, it might be necessary to know the ideological territory of the Party during that period. As the period covers two decades, the ideological trajectory of the Party should be discussed as well. Drucker (1979) divides the ideological stands in the Party into four positions: socialism which focuses on nationalisation, consolidationism which was about the protection and the more efficient operation of publicly owned firms, revisionism, and corporate socialism which was based on the agreements between trade unions and government. However, consolidationism is closely associated with nationalisation (E. Shaw, 1996) and corporate socialism was the newly emerged approach in the Wilson-Callaghan government in the 1970s (the detail will be discussed in the sub-section titled 'Social Contract' in this Chapter). Therefore, the conventional ideological division in the Party in the 1960s and 70s could be, arguably, between the two opposite positions: the Labour right (revisionism) and the Labour left (traditional socialism).

The Labour right: revisionism

Revisionism, which is also called 'social democracy', 'state collectivism', and 'reformist state socialism', is, literally, the thinking which tried to revise traditional Marxism, since the capitalism which Marx criticised was fundamentally changed. Nevertheless, revisionists pursued a more socially just (or equal) society as well as they accept that the free market inevitably

causes low employment, inequality, and low investment on account of the uncertainty of it (Burkitt & Ashton, 1996; Vincent, 1998). However, they think, the neutral state with Keynesian management can tackle these problems by generating the confidence to trigger investment through state intervention for economic growth and full employment as well as public policy for the distribution of resources and opportunity for equality as well as the expansion of demands (Burkitt & Ashton, 1996; E. Shaw, 1996; Vincent, 1998). They also accept a role for the free market in a mixed economy to stimulate economic endeavour (Burkitt & Ashton, 1996; Vincent, 1998). Therefore the goals of the traditional socialist such as public ownership of means of production do not have to be the ends, but just means for the ultimate socialist goal – a just society (T. Jones, 1996; Plant, 2004). Anthony Crosland, one of the leading political and social theorists of Labour Party represents this position (Plant, 2004).

Revisionists had their climax after the wake of the heavy election defeat in 1959 by raising a serious debate on the further direction of Labour policy and the fundamental aspect of Labour's socialist doctrine (T. Jones, 1996). For Labour Party revisionists, the traditional socialist commitment – nationalisation and public ownership – was, in particular, regarded as the crucial obstacle to appealing to a much more affluent society than in the past. Revisionist proposals appeared unexpectedly with the bid by the leader, Hugh Gaitskell, to revise Clause IV of the Party Constitution, which was the formal expression of traditional socialist goal (public ownership) in the 1959 Party annual conference (T. Jones, 1996; E. Shaw, 1996). However, it was a premature attempt. Many traditionalists regarded the bid as a serious and intrigued attack on the Party's socialist beliefs and, consequently, Clause IV was retained, with a supplementary statement of principle, just as a face-saver for Gaitskell (E. Shaw, 1996).

The Labour left: traditional socialism

The traditional socialists criticised capitalism as a fundamentally unstable and unsustainable system generating mass poverty, unemployment and inequality. The only remedy being a planned economy by the state which is democratised through the wider expansion of public ownership rather than the free market dominated by egocentric private enterprises (E. Shaw, 1996). They dispute the argument of revisionists about foundational change of capitalism with Keynesian management, as Holland argues (in Plant, 2004), because of the growth of

multinational companies which undermine the foundation of Keynesian principle. Tony Benn, who was increasingly radicalised after 1970 and insisted the democratic control of economy by Parliament, was a leading politician of the Labour left (Bodanor, 2004; Plant, 2004).

The unexpected loss of the 1970 general election gave the chance to the Labour left to increase their momentum in the Party because they won whilst ignoring socialist commitments during the campaign. Subsequently, the defeat allowed the left to blame the leadership as well as revisionists for ignoring key traditional supporters and to insist the answer for the next election was a shift of Labour to the left (Baston, 2000). They also gained more power within the Party's policy-making institutions such as the National Executive Committee (NEC), mainly under the inspiration of Tony Benn (Bodanor, 2004; Holland, 2004; Taylor, 2004). This was possible partly due to the economic recession with rising unemployment and soaring inflation, which undermined revisionist optimism about the possibility of achieving sustained growth through Keynesian management (T. Jones, 1996). There was also the division of the Labour right on the issue about membership of European Economic Community (EEC) while the EEC issue as well as the government industrial legislation of the Heath government encouraged the unity of the left (E. Shaw, 1996).

Under these conditions, the left could enjoy greater influence over policy formation than they had ever possessed before (E. Shaw, 1996). This influence appeared with the NEC policy document, *Labour's Programme 1973*, which is the most left-wing document accepted by the Party conference since the early 1930s (Taylor, 2004). It contained a radical socialist industrial strategy, including the substantial expansion of public ownership in profitable industries; the compulsory planning agreement of remaining large private companies, with targets for investment, prices and exports; and withdrawal of membership from the European Common Market (T. Jones, 1996; Taylor, 2004).

Right or left? Ideological position of Labour government in 1960s and 1970s

What was the position of the Wilson government, which came to power after revisionists' climax at the end of 1950s, and the Wilson-Callaghan government, which was back to office under the predominance of the Left in the Party? The detail of their ideology will be discussed with the

analysis of a range of leader's speeches and documents starting from the next section but their ideological position is discussed briefly in this section to help understanding of the analysis.

When he was elected as leader of the Party in 1963, Harold Wilson successfully united the party while both sides, the right and left, were exhausted after the debate around public ownership (Foot, 1968). This was possible partly because of ambiguity between the left and right in his leadership style (Bodanor, 2004; Coates, 1975; Foot, 1968). It means, in other words, that he could satisfy both sides.

Some commentators interpret the Wilson government as a revisionist government because they regarded public ownership as a means to achieve an efficiently controlled economy rather than the socialist end, as well as accepting the existence of a mixed economy (T. Jones, 1996). Shaw (1996) even represents that Wilson government in 1960s as part of 'the golden age of Keynesian social democracy'. He argues that the central components of their policy were the Keynesian fiscal and monetary policies for economic growth and full employment, and the progressive taxation and expansion of public services for greater equality.

However, at least, in terms of industrial strategy, which was the central area of the debate between the left and right, it is hard to define the Wilson government as a revisionist government. In the initial documents such as *Signpost for Sixties* (Labour Party, 1961) and Wilson's writing such as *the Relevance of British Socialism* (H. Wilson, 1964a), the pre-eminent status of public ownership in industrial strategy was reaffirmed, and even though the existence of mixed economy was accepted, there was a shift of balance from the private to public (T. Jones, 1996).

In fact, on Gaitskell's unexpected death in 1963, Wilson took wide support from the Party Left without hesitation because he ran against Gaitskell for the leadership in 1960 and the left allied for him against revisionists (Foot, 1968). His rhetoric of 'scientific revolution' and 'dynamic economy' – which will be discussed in a later section – seemed to win favour not only with traditional working class, but also the affluent working class and middle class (Fielding, 1997). In this context, Wilson could also appeal to the Labour right because he could dispel their worry about the limitation of the Party in attracting a wider set of voters.

Was the Wilson-Callaghan government a traditional socialist government as they returned to power after the predominant influence of the left? A number of activists in the Party tended to think that the unexpected win of the 1974 general election was an endorsement of the left wing proposals. The 1974 February manifesto, *Let Us Work Together: Labour's Way Out of Crisis* (Labour Party, 1974a) includes key left wing policies under their controlling power over policy formation (Taylor, 2004).

However, it is also hard to define the Wilson-Callaghan government as a traditional socialist government. First of all, one of the key proposals of the left was rejected by Wilson. When *Labour's Programme 1973* was published, he made clear his opposition to the plans for the radical expansion of national control to twenty-five major manufacturing firms (T. Jones, 1996). Moreover, after Labour returned to power, Benn's radical proposal of industrial strategy, derived from *Labour's Programme 1973*, including a substantial expansion of public ownership and compulsory planning agreement of private companies, was diluted significantly through the cabinet. The government industrial strategy eventually appeared in the White Paper, *The Regeneration of British Industry* and the proposal of the expansion of public ownership lost its list of large manufacturing firms to be nationalised and the proposal for compulsory agreement was changed into voluntary agreement (Holland, 2004; T. Jones, 1996; Taylor, 2004)

How did this happen in spite of the victory over the 1974 February election under the initiative of the left? In part it was because the victory was not a real triumph. They won the election only because they gained more seats – not more votes – than other parties. Moreover, they even lost 6 percent of their vote since their defeat in 1970 and the 37 per cent of the vote, that Labour got, was the lowest since the beginning of the 1930s (Bodanor, 2004; E. Shaw, 1996). Furthermore, the responsibility for a core area of macro-economic strategy was placed with a new body, the Liaison Committee which was composed of representatives not only from the NEC (which was mainly dominated by the left) but also from the PLP, and the TUC (E. Shaw, 1996). Bodanor (2004) argues this was deliberately lead by Callaghan, to achieve the support of the trade union leaders, in order to fight off the assault of the left.

If Labour government in 1960s and 1970s was neither revisionist government nor traditional socialist government, what was their ideology? The detail of this story could be revealed through

the analysis of the range of leader's speeches and document between 1961 and 1978 which will be begun in the next section.

The challenges to the society in the 1960s and the 1970s

The Labour government returned to power in 1964 with one of the most positive interpretations of the contemporary situation in modern British politics with the well-known slogan, 'the white heat of scientific revolution'. However, this had been overwhelmed by economic difficulties, particularly since the second term of government, and the C-word, crisis, became predominant in their language in 1970s.

Scientific revolution

'The white heat of scientific revolution' was Wilson's slogan to unite the Party after the long troubling debate between the left and right over the decade, and to appeal much more to the electorate outside of the traditional working class (T. Jones, 1996; E. Shaw, 1996). The technological change in the previous 15 years was 'greater than in the whole industrial revolution of the last 250 years' (H. Wilson, 1963, p. 134) and the automation revolution was producing 'new machines are ... replacing not [only] muscle but two functions which hitherto represented man's unique contribution to the productive process, the human faculties of memory and judgement' (H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 41). This was presented as something inevitable, which society had to challenge:

Let us be frank about one thing. It is no good idea trying to comfort ourselves with the thought that automation need not happen here; that it is going to create so many problems that we should perhaps put our heads in the sand and let it pass us by. Because there is no room for Luddites in the Socialist Party. If we try to abstract from the automotive age, the only result will be that Britain will become a stagnant backwater, pitied and condemned by the rest of the world (H. Wilson, 1963, p. 134).

Therefore, this was illustrated as a revolution to which the Party ideology had to adapt deliberately and actively:

... we must harness Socialism to science, and science to Socialism (H. Wilson, 1963, p. 134).

... in all our plans for the future, we are re-defining and we are re-stating our Socialism in terms of the scientific revolution. But that revolution cannot become a reality unless we are prepared to make far-reaching change in economic and social attitudes which permeate our whole system of society (H. Wilson, 1963, p. 140).

Most importantly, discourse around this 'scientific revolution' held to an extremely optimistic interpretation. It was presented as an opened gate for the ideal future rather than an unavoidable pressure for change:

The scientific revolution presents British industry with a tremendous opportunity (Labour Party, 1961, p. 14).

This is an age of unparalleled advance in human knowledge and of unrivalled opportunity for good or ill. In ever-widening areas of the world the scientific revolution is now making it physically possible for the first time in human history to provide the whole people with the high living standards, the economic security, and the cultural values which in previous generations have been enjoyed by only a small wealthy minority (Labour Party, 1964).

However, this optimistic interpretation suddenly disappeared after 1964, 'economic difficulties' becoming dramatically dominant in most of the texts.

Economic decline to crisis

Economic difficulties had been the fatal condition of Labour government in 1960s and 1970s though the response of each government was different. Baston (2000, p. 90) points out 'the Wilson government 1964-70 attempted to deal with the problems of decline, and failed; the Wilson-Callaghan government 1974-79 wrestled with the problems of crisis, and succeeded'.

After the prosperity and affluence Britain enjoyed in the 1950s, owing to the worldwide boom since World War Two, the warning of economic decline was initiated by the Labour right and spread to other part of the political spectrum (Tomlinson, 2003). The initial diagnosis of economic difficulties was not very radical: it seemed to be a part of usual criticism of economic management failure by the previous Conservative government, which might be cleared up

through the return of Labour to office. It was put down to ‘the failure ... to meet the challenge or to exploit the opportunities of the scientific revolution’ (Labour Party, 1961, p. 61), ‘a deficit on our current balance of payments’ (H. Wilson, 1964c, p. 382), ‘the insufficiency of investment and innovation was the basic reason of our failure’ (H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 18), and ‘election year boom [which] is heading for a post-election “stop” – just as happened after the 1959 and 1955 general election’ (Labour Party, 1964).

However, when Labour government entered their second term in 1966, the economic difficulties seemed to remain as unmanageable as ever and, moreover, the economic prospects became darker after the outbreak of the seamen’s strike in July (E. Shaw, 1996). Under this gloomy condition, economic problems emerged as the main problem they faced:

No one can deny the magnitude of the crisis the Labour Government inherited in 1964 (Labour Party, 1966).

The economic problem has overshadowed our every act since we took office in October, 1964 (H. Wilson, 1966a, p. 167)

... it is clear that the 1960s have been a period of immense change and economic crisis for Britain. The politics of the 60’s have inevitably been heavily centred on the problem of economic management. The decade that lies ahead will not be free of economic difficulties (H. Wilson, 1969, p. 205).

After their unexpected return to office in 1974, the economic situation Labour government had to face was the most serious one since the war. This came with the international monetary disruption in the aftermath of the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system and the first oil crisis in 1973 which quadrupled the price of oil and worldwide inflation (Baston, 2000; Ellison, 2000; Fielding, 2004; E. Shaw, 1996). The Labour Party clearly stated that ‘Britain faces its most dangerous crisis since the war’ in the 1974 February election manifesto (Labour Party, 1974b) and it was directly quoted in Callaghan’s speech to two Party conferences (Callaghan, 1976, p. 186, 1978, p. 232).

In particular, Inflation was at the centre of the economic crisis. Inflation was the core obstacle for their objectives and the number one enemy they had to fight during the whole term of Labour government in 1970s:

... inflation is the enemy of everything we believe in, in this moment. By its very nature, it is above all the enemy of democratic socialism, of everyone who seeks greater equality, full employment, and social justice (H. Wilson, 1974a, p. 202).

... inflation is our great enemy. The threat to our objectives and ideals. It is inflation which has stopped us re-expanding the economy and getting rid of unemployment. In this sense inflation is the father and mother of unemployment. ... Our inflation more than twice that of our competitor (H. Wilson, 1975, p. 183).

The defeat of inflation remains the Government's number one priority. ... don't let's overlook the enemies that still lie ahead which if left unvanquished could still destroy the prospects of prosperity (Callaghan, 1977a, pp. 214, 217).

... why was there such gloom about Britain's prospects at home and abroad in those days? I give you the answer in two words – runaway inflation ... Inflation threatened to submerge not only our personal standards and our family living standards – it threatened our very institutions. And at the end, nobody was a penny piece better off. Most people were worse off (Callaghan, 1978, p. 232).

Their objectives

Tomlinson (2003, p. 193) says 'social justice and economic efficiency summarise the key aims of the Labour Party for most of its existence', this was the case in the Labour government in the 1960s and 1970s. New Labour usually accused Old Labour of focusing only on the equality while neglecting creation of wealth. However, what appears through the analysis of political texts of Old Labour is that economic prosperity was one of the major objectives in their ideology along with social justice. These two objectives had been stated a number of times in a range of speeches and documents, and the interrelated relationship between these two objectives were stressed a number of times in the Callaghan years:

We seek a higher standard of life for our people – but for all our people – based on a purposive expansion of production and the creation of a just society (H. Wilson, 1961, p. 102).

Our purpose is to create, on the firm base of steadily growing economy, a better society for all the people of Britain ... (Labour Party, 1970)

Our budgetary and social policies, have been governed by the pursuit of greater economic and social equality which has always been an ideal and objective of this Party (H. Wilson, 1975, p. 186).

The strategy and the priority is to create more wealth, and to do it with the agreement and the support of the trade union movement. Our social policy is concerned with the distribution of wealth. These two aspects of policy should not be regarded as being in conflict, nor should we put them in conflict with each other (Callaghan, 1976, p. 189).

The Next Three Years and into the Eighties – the document that was moved yesterday – sums it up like this: ‘We reject the idea that there is a choice to be made between a more equal, just and compassionate society and on with greater economic efficiency. The two go hand in hand’ (Callaghan, 1977a, p. 219)

... let me quote to you the underlying thought in the document *Into the Eighties*, which was agreed by you yesterday, although not much discussed. It says: ‘We reject the notion that we must choose between a stronger economy and a fairer, more just society. The two can and must go hand in hand.’ (Callaghan, 1978, p. 233)

However, there are two remaining issues which should be addressed with these two objectives, particularly when they are compared to New Labour’s. They are the relationship between the two in Old Labour ideology, and the definition of the ‘equality’ they were aiming at.

Economic prosperity for social justice

Even though economic improvement had been stated as one of Labour’s two objectives, it was frequently presented as a precondition of the other ultimate goal of Labour, social justice. Sometimes, it was even indicated as a means rather than end. However, these expressions tended

to be rhetoric to justify the priority of economic prosperity in the texts, particularly, given the economic crisis which was their most urgent priority:

For let us be clear, all our hopes for a better, a greater Britain, all our plan for social betterment, whither in the field of housing, pensions, education, health and welfare... are dependent on, and pre-conditioned by the need to get our economic machine into top gear, instead of idling so far below its true capacity (H. Wilson, 1964c, p. 381).

It was a decision for a New Britain, for a more positive and purposeful Britain – a Britain in which our economic resources would be planned and mobilised for the welfare of the British people as a whole ... (H. Wilson, 1965, p. 154)

The productivity, industrial modernisation, the sense of self-discipline and restraint for which we ask will provide the industrial base for social advance, for the assertion of a new system of privilege in this country, based on need and not birth, based, too, on a fair and equal chance in life for all Britain's children – everything that makes up our whole new vision of society (H. Wilson, 1966a, p. 169).

In the last five years most of our energy has had to go into dealing with the balance of payments problem, and into the reorganisation and modernisation of industry. But for us as socialist, technological achievements and the balance of payments surplus are not ends in themselves but only means. Means to those ends which we are in politics to achieve, human dignity and social justice (H. Wilson, 1969, p. 204).

For how often have all of us said that economic strength is not an end in itself. It is a means, but a necessary means, to the realisation of everything this Movement stands for (H. Wilson, 1970, p. 142).

While economic expansion had been recognised as a precondition for social justice, the contribution of equality to economic prosperity had been vague. Just a couple of times, the importance of fairness was emphasised in 1974 in order to justify calling for national unity or sacrifice of people, which was explained to be required to overcome the economic crisis:

Other parties which do not believe in fair shares deny themselves the right to call for equal sacrifices. Injustice is the enemy of national unity. The crisis we are facing demands a still

greater emphasis on social justice, as well as economic justice, than at any time in this generation (Labour Party, 1974b).

... just as the burdens and sacrifices will be shared at the beginning, when the going is hard, so the future benefits will be shared with fairness and social justice among all our people (H. Wilson, 1974a, p. 208).

Equality of opportunity or outcome?

Social justice for Labour had usually been about social equality (Drucker, 1979; Ellison, 2000; Tomlinson, 2003) but it is not easy to pin down the actual meaning of 'equality' for 'Old Labour'. Equality was ambiguously defined by Labour's theorists such things as a 'more classless society' by Crosland or 'equality of regard' (for debate on concept of equality in the Labour Party, see Drucker, 1979; Plant, 2004). In fact, the ideological stands are usually divided depending on the different understanding about the meaning of equality in the Left. One interpretation of equality is associated with equality of opportunity in meritocratic terms, and the other is equality of distribution. The latter could mean the equality of outcome but also, if narrowly understood, the protection of worse off by progressive tax system and comprehensive public service. As far as Old Labour is concerned, they had accepted both definitions of equality. For example, more opportunities were expected to be encouraged by education while social and economic equalities are also addressed through distribution of wealth and a fairer tax system. This was stated in the 'social equality' section of the 1970 Party manifesto:

The widening and extension of education is the best preparation that we can make for our people and our country for the world of tomorrow. Investment in people is also the best way of developing a society based on tolerance, co-operation and greater social equality. ... progress in the field of education must be accompanied by measure to deal with social and economic inequalities elsewhere. ... There is much more to do to achieve a fairer distribution of wealth in our community. A Labour Government will continue its work to create a fairer tax system ... (Labour Party, 1970)

However, differences of equality were emphasised in different periods of government during the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, equality as fair opportunity was frequently represented in the initial period, with Wilson's meritocratic term, 'white heat of technology':

It stands for social justice, for a society in which the claim of those in hardship or distress come first; where the wealth produced by all is fairly shared among all; where differences in rewards depend not upon birth or inheritance but on the effort, skill and creative energy contributed to the common good; and where equal opportunities exist for all to live a full and varied life (quoted from the declaration of the 1959 annual conference in H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 7).

It is a time for opportunity, opportunity for all our people, all our children, to break through man-made barriers of privilege and snobbery, and be free to give their talents and energies in service to their country (H. Wilson, 1964c, p. 385).

It was a decision that the old closed circle of opportunity based on family connections and school connections should go and should yield place to a land of opportunity for every boy and girl – for every man and woman ... (H. Wilson, 1965, p. 154)

This New Britain that we are building will be a Britain of opportunity (H. Wilson, 1965, p. 162).

Nevertheless, as the economic decline moved toward crisis, the concept of equality illustrated in speeches and documents tended to be more distributionist. Yet this was mainly a narrower version which focused on the protection of the worse off rather than the distribution of wealth:

I once said the those Opposition years ‘Among civilised men greatness amongst nations is judged ... by its treatment of the least privileged of its citizens, its young children, its old folk, its war disabled and those injured in factories or in the mines.’ (H. Wilson, 1967, p. 213)

What we as democratic socialists maintain is that when the going is toughest it is more than ever necessary to base our policies on social justice, to protect the weak, the poor, the disabled, to help those least able to help themselves, and to maintain and improve their living standards (Labour Party, 1974b).

Socialist have always preached that a civilised society can be judged above all by the social provision that it makes for the least favoured of our people, the standard of living it provides for those least able to help themselves (H. Wilson, 1974a, p. 203).

The major strategies

Public ownership, national planning, and social service had been, as Coates names them (in T. Jones, 1996, p. 23), ‘a democratic socialist trinity’ of Labour government in the 1960s. Public ownership and national planning were, in particular, the two wheels of Labour strategy (Coates, 1975; Ellison, 2000; T. Jones, 1996) to guarantee a better future in the age of technological revolution. And they were the alternatives to self-centred private enterprise and an uncontrolled laissez-faire economy. However, after 1973, the ‘Social Contract’ became a central strategy to escape economic crisis and to tackle runaway inflation.

Public ownership

Public ownership, as discussed, was centre ground in the debate between the left and right of the Labour Party. Public ownership had been the long-lasting symbol of socialist commitment for traditional socialists. This principle was formalised in the Party constitution in 1918 with the well-known Clause IV, which included public ownership of means of production as a Party aim (T. Jones, 1996). Yet revisionists considered it as a means not end itself and even, sometimes, a less valid means, particularly under the changed circumstance (Drucker, 1979; T. Jones, 1996). However, the central importance of public ownership as a primary objective of the Party was stated in the initial Party document (Labour Party, 1961) and Wilson’s writing (H. Wilson, 1964a) in the 1960s. Moreover, public ownership was represented as an essential strategy for the protection of the economy from the inefficiency of private firms and monopolies as well as modernising industry to face the challenges of technological revolution:

Where vast concentrations of economic power have created monopolies, the Government, on behalf of the people, has the right to insist that such economic empires be made accountable to public interest. That is our case for renationalising steel. Where competition creates not efficiency but chaos in a key sector of the economy, there too an expansion of public ownership may be necessary to put things right. (Labour Party, 1961, pp. 17-18)

Increased investment and greater development of science will not of themselves solve Britain’s problems. In the last resort our industrial effort depends on the nation’s human resources, the workers by hand and brain in every sector of industry. To train them and, having trained them, to give the fullest play to their talents: these are among the top priorities

for our industrial system today. Yet private industry has failed either to provide more apprenticeships or to modernise the system of training the apprentices in industry. The nationalised industries are making a magnificent response (Labour Party, 1961, p. 15).

Not only do we want more trained scientists; we want them more usefully employed. Think of the thousands wasted on the Government's costly prestige programme for Blue Streak and other guided missile, and the even greater number who are working not for the economic strength of the community or even in the service of the consumer but for the advertising manager ... This is why in putting forward our proposals for public ownership we put such emphasis on new publicly-owned industry based on science (H. Wilson, 1961, pp. 103-104).

Too many firms have shown evidence of hardened arteries, of an unwillingness to modernize, to move with the times. The greater merger movement, the wave of take-over bids instead of leading to rationalization of production has left too many industries in the hands of financiers rather than manager (H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 22).

However, in spite of the fundamental limitations of the private sector as quoted above, public ownership was not represented as an end. Furthermore, as Wilson's speech to the 1973 Party annual conference on Labour's 1973 Programme (H. Wilson, 1973, pp. 165-167) shows, public ownership was accepted in limited areas such as energy, ports, and shipbuilding, and the proposal for the substantial expansion of public ownership to the top 25 private companies was clearly rejected.

National planning

National planning, with public ownership, had been considered an essential strategy to replace wasteful and inefficient capitalism and to achieve socialist goals such as economic growth and full employment (Drucker, 1979; T. Jones, 1996). In addition, national planning was regarded as particularly important in the initial documents and speeches of the 1960s in order not only to tackle economic decline but also to take advantage of the scientific revolution:

If Britain is to regain her place in world production and recover her export markets, we must have a plan for economic growth. A national plan, with targets for individual industries – especially the key sectors which produce the tools of expansion – would enable every

industry and undertaking, publicly or privately owned, to plan its own development with confidence in the future (Labour Party, 1961, p. 13).

Since technological progress left to the mechanism of private industry and private prosperity can lead only to high profits for a few, and to mass redundancies for the many, if they had never been a case for Socialism before, automation would have created it. Because only if technological progress becomes part of national planning can that progress be directed to national ends (H. Wilson, 1963, p. 135).

... economic dynamic will have no sense without social purpose. ... Labour believes in economic and social planning. It believes in the mobilization by democratic means of the productive resources of the country for the purpose of expansion (H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 28).

The automation revolution in industry, like the atomic revolution, presents man with a choice between unrivalled misery or unrivalled prosperity. Properly controlled and deployed it can lead to unimagined increases in living standards for us and all peoples, including the hope of vastly increased leisure (H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 42).

... none of these aims will be achieved by leaving the economy to look after itself. They will only be secured by a deliberate and massive effort to modernise the economy; to change its structure and to develop with all possible speed the advanced technology and the new science-based industries with which our future lies (Labour Party, 1964).

With foresight, intelligence and effort – with planning – we can harness the new technologies and the powerful economic forces of our time to human ends. But, without planning, with a return to the Tory free-for-all, people became the victims of economic forces they cannot control (Labour Party, 1970).

However, compulsory planning agreement with private firms for direct national planning, which was a proposal from the Labour left, was rejected:

Some people – I have heard it expressed here – would like to see these agreements made compulsory. I am always a little dubious about the long-term success of shot-gun marriages. We have to convince the management of our larger firms and industries that Planning agreements are in their interest too: that they will be a major factor in encouraging the productivity and efficiency so vitally needed (Callaghan, 1976, p. 187).

Social services

Greater social equality had been accepted as a primary goal of the Party, and social services (including not only social benefits such as pensions, sickness and unemployment pay, but also other public services such as health care, education, and housing) had been broadly regarded as a major strategy to achieve it in Labour government (Coates, 1975; E. Shaw, 1996). A range of commitments for the significant improvement of social services were made in the initial Party documents and speeches in the 1960s (Labour Party, 1961, 1964; H. Wilson, 1964b).

However, economic decline put the implementation of these commitments under severe difficulties. public expenditure for social services was severely limited in order to meet International Monetary Fund (IMF) requirements after their intervention in the British economy (Baston, 2000; Coates, 1975; Toynbee & Walker, 2004). Yet Labour government tried to keep decent levels of social services as much as possible (Ellison, 2000; Fielding, 2004; Tomlinson, 2003). Emphasis on the importance of protecting vulnerable groups could be found in a range of speeches:

In sharp distinction to the policies of 1956-57 and 1961, we have shielded the social services from the cuts, for we feel that when it is necessary to tighten belts then above all is the time to protect those least able to protect themselves (H. Wilson, 1966b, p. 397).

Last year I gave Conference the figures for each of the social services, showing the tremendous increase in the resources the Government had by the time made available compared with the last full year of our Conservative predecessors. In the year since then, expansion had continued in every area of the social services (H. Wilson, 1968, p. 168).

We have a duty to the least privileged in our community. We have to do what is right simply because it is right. ... I hear so often, that we have cut the social service. We have not. What we have done is to restrain the rate of future increase. ... Last year I compared our total expenditure on the social services with our total expenditure on defence. After the January decisions, the social services will be rising and defence expenditure will be falling still more sharply than we planned a year ago (H. Wilson, 1968, p. 168).

Major resources have been devoted to the expansion of the social services. These reflect our concern for the pensioner. Concern for the disabled and the under-privileged. The one-parent family. The long-term sick. The widow (H. Wilson, 1975).

However, even though it was due to external constraints, the extent of social services as strategies for a more just society was limited to the passive form of equality: the protection of worse off, rather than the more active meaning of equality, which was distribution of wealth (Coates, 1975; E. Shaw, 1996).

The Social Contract

The Social Contract was a central strategy of Wilson-Callaghan government from 1974 to 1979 (Taylor, 2004). The Social Contract was a range of agreements between the Labour Party and TUC which was reached after the establishment of the Liaison Committee composed of the representatives from the PLP, the NEC, and TUC (Bodanor, 2004; E. Shaw, 1996; Taylor, 2004). In these agreements, the trade union promised the voluntary wage constraint to tackle inflation, and the Party promised price controls, and food and housing subsidies to reduce the burden on wages. The Party was also committed to increasing expenditure on social services and the wider distribution of income and wealth. Therefore, it was not only about wage and inflation issues but also the whole range of strategies in order to achieve the two objectives – economic prosperity and social justice:

The policies we have followed over the past six months, the policies which the next Labour Government will follow, are policies to strengthen the Social Contract. It is not simply, or narrowly, an understanding about wages. It is about justice, equality, about concern for and protection of the lower paid, the needy, the pensioner and the handicapped in our society. It is about fairness between one man and another, and between men and women. It is about economic justice between individuals and between regions. It is about co-operation and conciliation, not conflict and confrontation (Labour Party, 1974b)

Let me be quite clear. If we did not possess the Social Contract and an industrial strategy that has been agreed between the Government and employer and trade unions, with all the socialist measures that are involved in that Contract and in the industrial strategy, if we did

not possess this we would have no chance of forging a powerful British economy in the next decade (Callaghan, 1976, p. 189).

The Social Contract was never wholly about wages. It has led, let me remind you, to whole range of new measures and statues which have left the trade union Movement in a better position as an institution and organisation than it had ever been in before in history. ... I refer only to the industrial benefits that have accrued from the Social Contract. I do not refer to some of the social benefits. There are many still to take place (Callaghan, 1977b, pp. 434-435).

The political philosophy: the socialism of Old Labour

In accordance with the adoption of public ownership as an aim of the Party, socialism had been accepted as the basic philosophy of Labour members since 1918 when the new constitution of the Party and a new programme, *Labour and the New Social Order*, was agreed (Baston, 2000; Ellison, 2000; T. Jones, 1996). However, as with the concept of 'equality', the actual meaning of 'socialism' for Old Labour needs to be investigated.

First of all, they accepted the traditional Marxist criticism of capitalist society as being 'a meretricious society, a society where money counts more than man. ... [and] the verb 'to have' means so much more than the verb 'to be' '(H. Wilson, 1961, p. 102); 'a system of society in which a minority of our people, through birth or inheritance or social connection are allowed to regard this country as a kind of private game reserve, excluding technically qualified men and women from top positions' (H. Wilson, 1964c, p. 385); and 'the free market economy – free for some – the deification of money and property and of the riches and arrogance which money and property beget. Where wealth accumulates and men decay, but not the real wealth of production for use and service' (H. Wilson, 1973, p. 162).

Nevertheless, apart from this criticism, the socialism of Labour is far from Marxist, which is, as Panitch (1971) explains, the disintegrationist idea interpreting existing society as fundamentally fissured and focusing on class struggle. Wilson (1964a, p. 1) noted '... British socialism ... it owes very little to Continental socialism' and it was 'essentially democratic and evolutionary' (H.

Wilson, 1964a, p. 6). Furthermore, he stated that these democratic socialists believed in the democratisation of market, which meant public control over privileged, irresponsible, and ruthless private capital. In short, democratic socialists devote their efforts 'to transform the privileges of the few into the right of the citizen, and to subject irresponsible power to duly constituted public control' (H. Wilson, 1964a, p. 1).

In addition, along with the belief in public control over individualistic markets, they accept the interdependency of humanity:

The individual identity, the rights of a man and his family can only be restored and enhanced if individuals join together to control the apparatus they have created (H. Wilson, 1970).

No man, no institution, domestic or international, is an island (H. Wilson, 1974b, p. 507).

Modern society ... is now so inter-dependent and organised that it is fatally easy to disrupt it (Callaghan, 1978, p. 239).

The major actors: state and trade union

Since 1918 with the new Party constitution and a new programme titled *Labour and the New Social Order* (which was the origin of the socialist orthodox in the Party), the state had been regarded as the best actor for achieving their two objectives – economic growth and social equality (Ellison, 2000). As we can see in our discussion of major strategies including public ownership, national planning, social services, and the Social Contract, the state had always occupied the central role during Labour government in the 1960s and 1970s.

The trade union emerged as the other major actor in the 1970s as a partner of the state in the Social Contract. The Social Contract imposed shared responsibility between the state and the trade union (Taylor, 2004) for achieving economic growth out of inflation and crisis through the voluntary control of wage increases. This was the basic condition for comprehensive social services for a more just society.

On the other hand, the private sector had been regarded as a just target of control and regulation by the state. They had never been considered as actors to do something for the public objectives of Old Labour, not even for economic prosperity. In a range of discussions on strategic policies such as public ownership, and national planning, there had been no active role to play for the private sector. This extreme form of disregard of the private sector might stem from the fundamental distrust about private enterprise and the free market as appeared in some quotations from speeches and documents as seen in the previous section about political philosophy.

Citizenship

As Harris (2002) notes, the concept of the universal right of welfare for every citizen lay in Old Labour's approach, particularly in their commitment to universal social services discussed above. These statements about the social right of the citizen were also found in the initial Party documents in the 1960s among their commitments about social security:

We reject this complacent Tory acceptance of poverty in the midst of plenty. It is a disgrace which can be ended once we have the will to do so. That is why we believe that the time had come for a great step forward in Social Security. So far from accepting two standards of provision as inevitable, we hold that the privileges voluntarily conceded to some employees must now be transformed into the right of every citizen (Labour Party, 1961, pp. 24-25).

At its simplest, our aim is to extend to the whole community what the responsible citizen wishes for himself and his family: First and foremost, the opportunity to work and to be fairly rewarded for it. Second, to make provision against the day when age, sickness, injury or redundancy impairs his capacity to earn. Third, to know that during the misfortunes of ill health, the facilities of a modern and well equipped service will be available. Fourth, for his children to receive the best possible standard of education and training, developing their abilities to the full. Fifth, to have a home for his family, and to be able to buy or rent it at reasonable terms. Sixth, to make a just and reasonable contribution to the costs of the essential community services which he demands (Labour Party, 1964).

Some phrases shown in above quotations evoking the lexicon of the responsibility of citizens for their own welfare, such as ‘responsible citizen’ and ‘reasonable contribution to the cost’, resemble those of New Labour and Thatcherism. However, they were associated with different meanings and approaches. For example, ‘responsible citizen’ denoted not the obligation to help oneself or one’s family but to participate in democratic decisions which can affect one’s life:

We are working for an active democracy, in which men and women as responsible citizens consciously assist in shaping the surroundings in which they live, and take part in deciding how the community's wealth is to be shared among all its members (Labour Party, 1964).

‘Reasonable contribution to the cost of community services’ also did not mean ‘paying something for the service’. Rather, this was associated with the conversion from a flat-rate contribution system, which was out of date, to a wage-related system, which was much fairer.

... in modern expanding economy, flat-rate contributions are out of date. ... We must now move forward ... to a new, graduated system, in which benefits are wage-related and contribution are paid as a percentage of earnings (Labour Party, 1961, p. 27).

Discussion

Consequently, the ideology of ‘Old Labour’ government could be broadly categorised for two different periods of time: the 1960s and the 1970s. In the first period, with economic decline and challenge of scientific revolution, economic prosperity was thought to be achieved by rational economic planning and the expansion of public ownership over inefficient and irresponsible private enterprise. Social equality could be pursued through comprehensive social services. On the other hand, in the 1970s when the situation was getting much worse and tackling inflation was becoming an urgent task, a more active role was required for the organised citizen (trade union). The agreement to the voluntary wage constraint by trade union to reduce the inflation was placed in the centre of the strategy. This agreement was compensated through price control and subsidies for food and housing as well as universal social services under the Social Contract. National planning and the expansion of public ownership was also managed based on this

contract. The structures of ideology in the 1960s and 1970s are illustrated in Figure 3 and Figure 4.

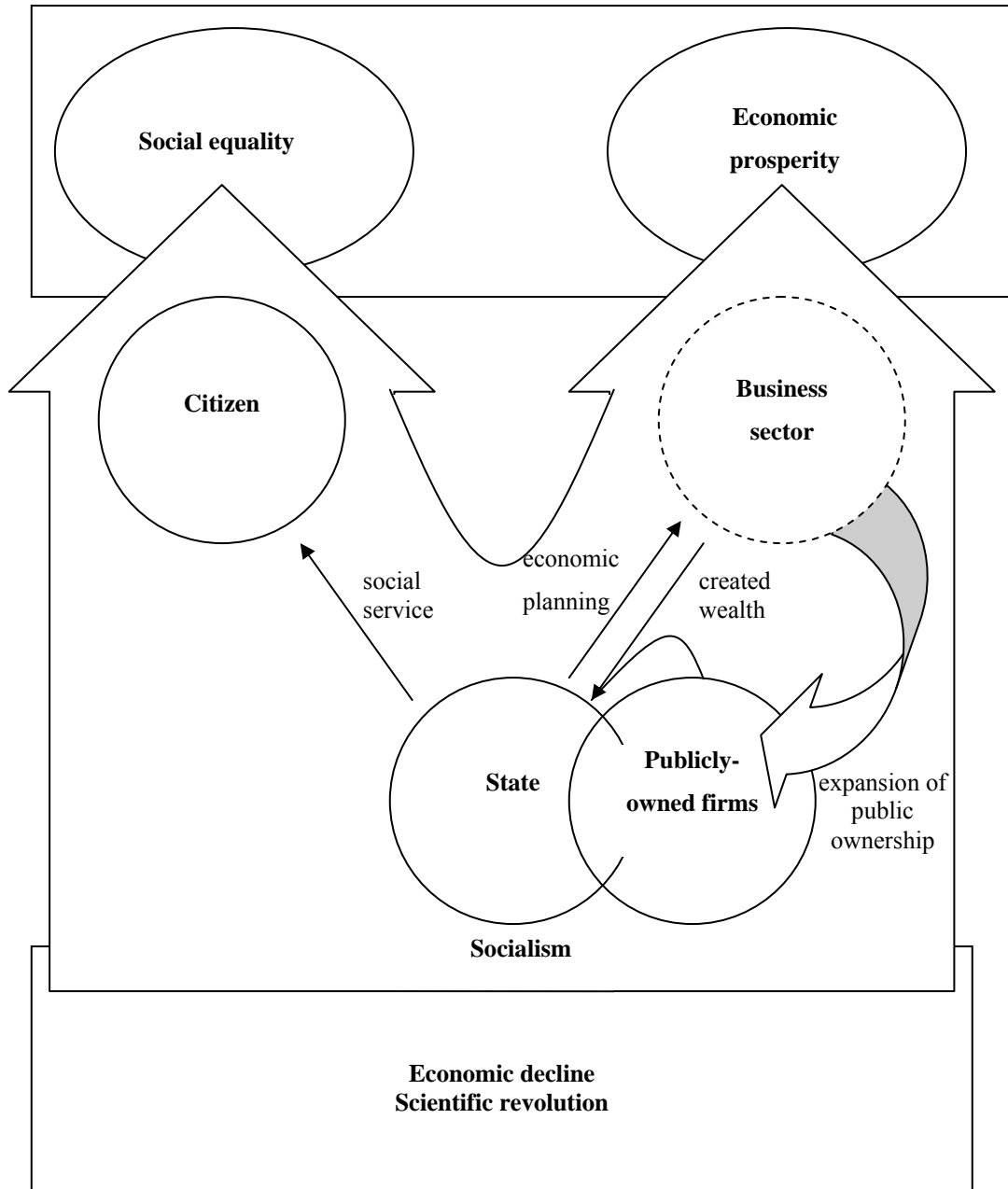


Figure 3 the structure of the Labour government ideology in the 1960s

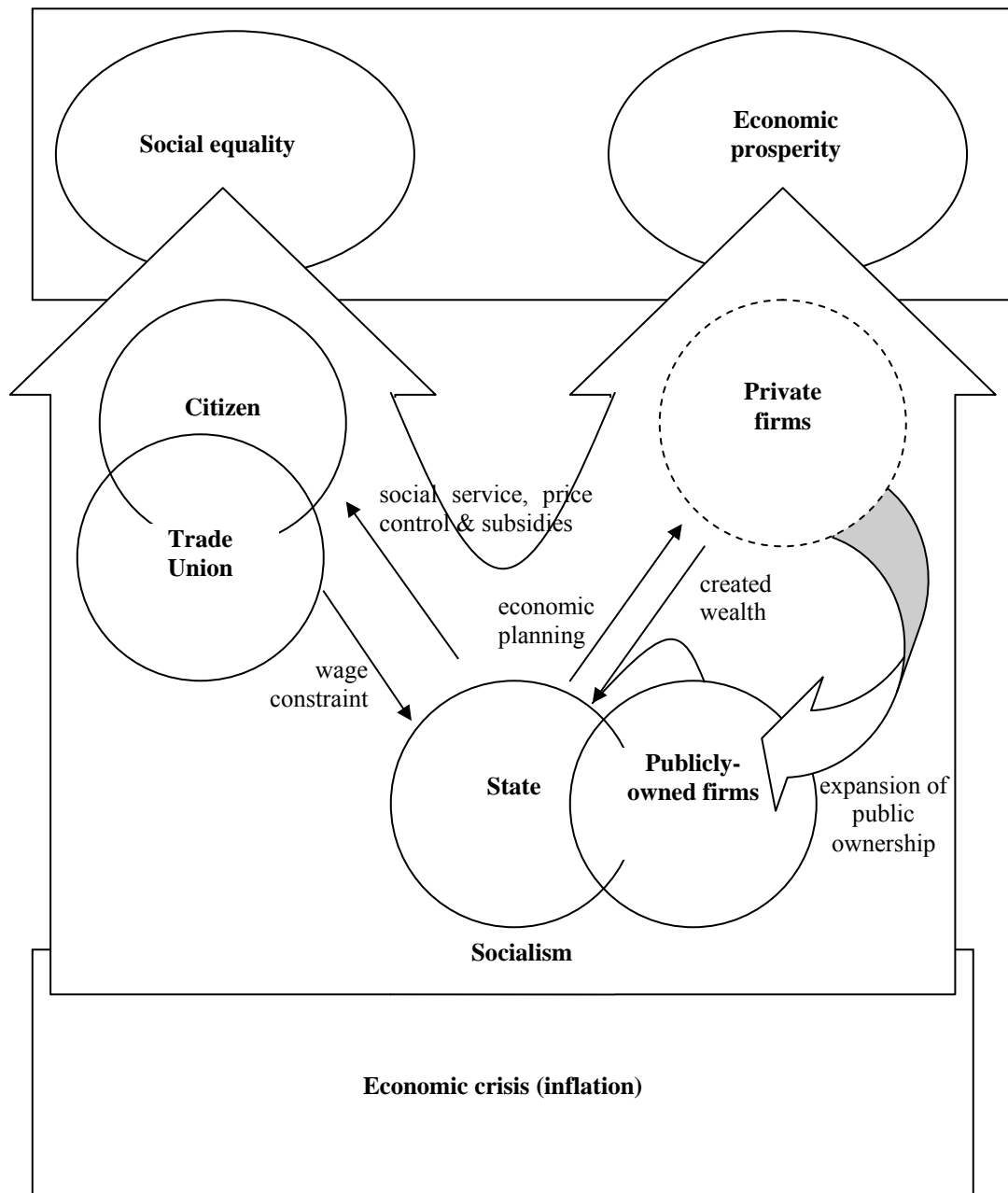


Figure 4 the structure of the Labour government ideology in the 1970s

Old Labour also had a dual objective: economic prosperity and social equality. The actor playing a central role in achieving these two objectives is always the state in Old Labour ideology. The state is regarded as the only actor that can pursue both goals at the same time. Social equality is

thought to be achieved through comprehensive social services by the state. National planning by the state and publicly-owned companies managed and controlled by the state were seen as key to creating economic prosperity. This is primarily because of the basic assumption of Old Labour's socialist philosophy, which regarded the private sector as self-centred and ignoring public interest. The business sector is seen by Old Labour as too inefficient, and inappropriate for creating economic prosperity.

However, the actual position of the private sector is highly ambiguous in the ideology. The significant and substantial expansion of public ownership for the replacement of the private sector was clearly rejected. This means that the basic necessity of a role for the private sector in a mixed economy, for economic prosperity, was accepted. However, the distinct role of them is still ignored in the ideology. This ambiguity of the business sector is demonstrated as circles with a dotted line in Figure 3 and Figure 4.

Furthermore, there is little direct relationship between the dual objectives. Even though (particularly in the later texts of Old Labour), the interrelationship between the two objectives was stressed, in the whole structure of their ideology, these two objectives failed to be connected systematically. While all strategies for both objectives are lead by the state (with support of trade union in 1970s), each strategy for each objective is divided from the starting point, for example, social services for equality, and planning and public ownership for economic prosperity. Although the Social Contract links the two objectives, the role for the economy is highly limited to a passive function (reducing inflation) rather than active (creating wealth).

So, this incompatibility between two objectives in Old Labour ideology is more evident under economic constraints. Economic prosperity is stressed as the precondition for social equality because created wealth could be fairly distributed. Nevertheless, as far as the limited resources – which tend to be much more restricted under economic difficulties – are concerned, there is no clear principle for the decision as to which objective should be prescribed greater resources. In other words, the dilemma Old Labour ideology faced in the real world was the question of priorities with restricted resources, whether to invest in enterprises whether owned publicly or privately, for the sake of economic prosperity, or to invest in social services to citizens for greater social equality.

Conclusion

After analysis of the speeches and documents of Old Labour, we found some differences from what some commentators have said about Old Labour. They neither neglected creation of wealth for a more decent society nor accepted the equality of outcome as their only ultimate goal. Rather, the positions are much more ambiguous. The relationship between social equality and economic prosperity tend to remain incompatible. The role of the business sector is far less clear, and the notion of equality ambivalent between meritocratic and distributionist definitions.

After the collapse of the Social Contract, which was the core resolution to tackle the economic crisis, Old Labour government concluded with the tragic scenes of the ‘Winter of Discontent’, such as flying pickets, waste piling up in the streets, unburied bodies, and disrupted food supplies. Even though this cannot be the whole story of the end of Old Labour government, it was the opening scene of the next era and another ideology: Thatcherism, which is discussed in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER

3

The Conservative Ideology: Thatcher and Major Government

It might be inappropriate to discuss ‘ideology’ in Conservative politics. Conservative commentators often say Conservative politics are more based on ‘common sense’ (Ball & Holliday, 2002), adaptableness (Holmes, 1989), or pragmatism (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997; Riddell, 1985; Willetts, 1992) concerning political practice rather than ideology. They often accuse Labour politicians of being ideologues and criticise their politics as dogmatic. However, ironically, Thatcherism, the most distinctly ideological title in Conservative politics, is one of the most studied topics in British politics (Kavanagh, 1997). Even some Conservative politicians condemn the Thatcher government for being ‘fervently ideological’ (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997, p. 383). Not surprisingly, this confusion mainly comes from different perspectives on concepts of ‘ideology’. Therefore, if we limit the meaning of ideology in this study to the conceptual morphology (Humphrey, 2005) defined in the Introduction to this thesis, the contradiction in studying Conservative ideology is avoided.

The Thatcher government is chosen for the analysis of Conservative ideology on account of its significance, as just mentioned above. Furthermore, as found in Chapter 1, the ideology of the Thatcher government has more importance than any other government, if we are to understand political ideology in UK politics. The Major government is also included, as it is placed within the historical context between the Thatcher and the New Labour governments.

Some questions need to be addressed before the analysis. The first one is whether Thatcherism is a break with traditional Conservatism. This is important as the ideology of the Thatcher Government is analysed as a Conservative ideology. This is examined through the discussion on the ideological traditions and terrain in the Conservative Party. The second question is about the consistency and the coherence of Thatcherism as an ideology, which will be discussed through the review of a range of literatures about it. The relationship between the ideology of the Thatcher and the Major government is discussed next before the analysis of their speeches, to finally define the conceptual structure of their ideology.

The conservative ideology and Thatcherism

The significance of Thatcher in Conservative as well as British politics cannot be emphasised enough. Even a number of simple facts imply this: Thatcher was the first woman as a leader of a party in power and Prime Minister, the only one to have won three successive general elections before Blair, and the longest-serving Prime Minister. However, this significance often leads to the accusation of being a break with traditional Conservatism. Gilmour & Garnett (1997) argue that the Thatcher Government was too dogmatic and ideological at the expense of a balanced approach to policy in the Conservative tradition. Also Gamble (1983) claims Conservatives tended to be the party of the community, protection, paternalism, and intervention rather than the market, free trade, self-help, and laissez-faire, which were core values of the Thatcher government.

This is an important point in the discussion of the ideology in the Thatcher Government because, if it is true, we must distinguish Thatcherism from the Conservative ideology. Then we may need a different discussion to find out more about general conservatism. If not, the ideology of the Thatcher government could be analysed as a part of conservatism or in the context of development in the Conservative ideology. This would be examined by looking back to the tradition of the Conservative Party as well as Conservative politics since World War Two.

Tory tradition

The Conservative Party has been, literally, the party to conserve. Traditionally the Establishment, the Union, and the Empire had been the three main pillars for the Party to conserve (Charmley, 1996). However, as a result of the franchise extension since mid-1880s, a new principle was required for the Party to survive in the tide of changes in political circumstance (Ball & Holliday, 2002). It was Disraeli who showed the new direction of Conservative politics with his symbolic speeches at the Manchester Free Trade Hall and Crystal Palace in 1872: ‘another great object of the Tory party, and one not inferior to the maintenance of the Empire, or the upholding of our institutions, is the elevation of the condition of the people’ (Evans & Taylor, 1996, p. 8; Willetts, 1992).

This means the acceptance of the inevitable state regulation and the intervention into private interest in order to improve the condition of the working class (Evans & Taylor, 1996). This philosophy of Disraeli was also emotionally presented in his novel, *Sybil* describing two nations which ignored each other and shared no common thought, and feelings as if they lived on different planets: the rich and the poor (Willetts, 1992, p. 11) ‘One Nation’ Toryism established a line of approach in the Conservative tradition from Disraeli’s thought (Charmley, 1996).

Salisbury might be placed at the other side from Disraeli in the Tory tradition (Evans & Taylor, 1996; Willetts, 1992). As the first Conservative leader who faced massive social change, he set up his political position as a defender of freedom, individual interest, property and social stability against the rise of the interventionist Liberals and Socialism. Even though Salisbury accepted the inevitability of the transfer to mass democracy, he conceived his role as being to slow the shift, to maintain order for the aristocracy and defend their interest (Evans & Taylor, 1996).

Disraeli and Salisbury show two different lines of Conservative politics in their history. Willetts (1992) summarises the traditional conservatism with three characteristics: the commitment to freedom, the principle of freedom in economic management, and the acceptance of the welfare state - to an extent. . If this is put into a spectrum of conservatism from responsibility of community to individual freedom, Disraeli represents the former value (more community value) and Salisbury represents more individual interest in conservatism. So it would be seriously misleading to accept one side as a ‘real’ tradition and accuse the other of a heresy.

Evans & Taylor (1996) also indicate that Disraeli and Salisbury shared the common ground to prevent the breakdown of social order through the profound social change. The difference between them is limited to their method, for example, between ‘sticks and carrots’, rather than their directions. Moreover, the social order for them means the defence of property rights and the basis for individual freedom, which is secured by the property right (Wilson, 1992). This might be the origin of Thatcher’s ‘property-owning democracy’ (Evans & Taylor, 1996)

Wets and drys

It is a common view in Conservative politics that there has been a cycle between two different strands in Conservative governments since World War Two. They are the followers of Disraelian ‘One Nation’ Toryism, called ‘wets’, and the descendants of Salisbury politics as defenders of the free market, named ‘drys’ (Evans & Taylor, 1996; Green, 2002; Kavanagh, 1990; Willetts, 1992). Wets are seen to be more collectivist, and believe in a greater role for government, such as planning or intervention, whereas drys are more neo-liberal, and believe in less government intervention but monetary management for sound money (Kavanagh, 1990; Willetts, 1992).

Conservative Government started with ‘drys’ dominance in the 1950s. The tone for the Conservative election campaign in 1950-1 focused on the argument that the current welfare system was reducing the incentives for a free-market economy by the inappropriate welfare benefit and level of taxation with a catchphrase ‘Set the People Free’ (Green, 2002). The next turning point to the wets appeared between 1957 when Macmillan became Prime Minister, and 1958, the beginning of the economic recession. This turn appeared with the introduction of the pay pause, and the establishment of the National Economic Development Council incorporating employers, trade unions and government followed the increase in grants to industry (Willetts, 1992). Consequently, the first full spin of the drys-wets cycle had been completed when the Conservative left office in 1964.

As a result of successive election defeats by Labour in 1964 and 1966, the Conservatives turned against their policies in office during the Macmillan government and the drys were getting more strength while raising the argument for the rejection of the social democratic political consensus since World War Two (Evans & Taylor, 1996; Gamble, 1983). After the crucial policy discussion in the Selsdon Park conference in 1970, which is well-known for the sarcastic remark

by Harold Wilson, 'Selsdon Man', referring to stone-age economic thinking, the 1970 manifesto claimed ambitious free-market reforms such as tax cuts, reduction of public expenditure, and declining any price and income control (Green, 2002; Willetts, 1992).

However, these radical programmes of the dries suddenly faced a dramatic 'U-turn' when the Heath government was suddenly confronted by the rise of unemployment and working-class resistance. Eventually, they returned to prices and income control and increased public expenditure (Gamble, 1983). Holmes (1989) points out the Heath U-turn policy was even more interventionist against the free market than the former Labour governments in terms of the radical increase in welfare spending, the involvement of trade unions in the policy process, the extension of nationalisation and the state control on economics, the Keynesian full employment policy, and the anti-market measures such as the issue of ration cards during the energy crisis and the comprehensive income policies.

Thatcherism is clearly regarded as a stronger economic liberalism than the traditional dries with the rejection of wets' One Nation politics by academics (Holmes, 1989; Jessop, Bonnett, Bromley, & Ling, 1988; Lynch, 1999; Willetts, 1992). The ideological strand of the Thatcher Government is often considered as a response of the Party against the disastrous end of the former Conservative government's 'U-turn' such as the surge in the unemployment rate and the successive electoral defeat in 1974 (Evans & Taylor, 1996; Holmes, 1989).

To sum up, in spite of its significance, Thatcherism is evidently placed within the lineage of Conservative politics as discussed through the Tory tradition since the nineteenth century and dries-wets cycles in the late twentieth. There are some breaks from the former conservatism, as Thatcherism was more directly influenced by continental philosophers such as Hayek, or American economists such as Friedman (Willetts, 1992). However, this should be seen as a new combination of traditional conservatism and free-market liberalism (Wilson, 1992) or a part of the development of Conservative ideology, rather than a departure or separation from their traditional politics.

Thatcherism as an ideology

Just as Thatcherism has been one of the most studied themes in British politics, as mentioned above, it has also caused widespread disagreement among academics (Evans & Taylor, 1996; Holmes, 1989; Jessop et al., 1988). Some commentators argue for the ideological significance of Thatcherism, while others express their scepticism about it as an ideology. In this study aiming to clarify the ideology of Conservative governments, it is vital to examine their ideological quality. The ideological quality, in this research, means the consistency and the coherence of their belief and ideas as well as the completion of the line of reasoning without contradiction between internal conceptual factors composing the whole ideology. It will be discussed first through a range of literature on Thatcherism, to help the understanding of the ideology of the Thatcher government in the later analysis.

The consistency in Thatcherism

There have been differing definitions and perspectives on Thatcherism between literatures based on the views that it is an ideological project, and those that see it as a personal political quality (for further discussion, see Jessop et al., 1988; Kavanagh, 1997). Their evaluations of the consistency of Thatcherism tend to depend on their approaches. For example, the studies defining Thatcherite ideology as a hegemonic project are more likely to focus on the high level of coherence of Thatcherism whereas literature having more interest in the pragmatic aspect of politics does not take its consistency as seriously.

Hall's (1983) definition of Thatcherism as an 'authoritarian populism' could be one of the well-known examples of the former approach. He explains it is authoritarian because it is a combination of themes of traditional Toryism such as duty, authority, standards, and nation, with the aggressive themes of neo-liberalism such as competitiveness, individualism, and anti-statism. He claims it is also populism as it made populist appeals against high income taxes, welfare-benefit dependents, and poor public services as if they were 'the enemy of the people' after the breakdown of Keynesian political economy. He sees this as a hegemonic project – deliberate,

coherent social engineering started with the economy, then moved on to other old institutions established by the post-war consensus (Kavanagh, 1997).

A number of commentators interpret Thatcherism as a coherent ideology with a combination of different ideological factors as Hall (1983) does. Gamble (1983) defines Thatcherism as a mix of authoritarianism – strong state – and economic liberalism – free market. British Gaullism appealing for popular support for unity, to overcome national decline; economic liberalism; traditional Toryism including Victorian values such as the virtues of authority, discipline and order; and Thatcher's political style as a populist and charismatic leader are a different set of components for Thatcherism in Marquand's (1988) conceptualisation .

Even among the Conservative commentators, a similar combination is found. Willetts (1992) argues that Thatcherism is an amalgam of the philosophical tradition embracing community values, and Liberal free-market conservatism representing individualism. Jessop, Bonnett, Bromley, & Ling (1988) also accept Thatcherism as a combined ideology of populism and authoritarianism but in a different context. In their research, they define Thatcherism as 'the change strategic line of the Conservative Party as organized under Thatcher leadership' (p. 5). They argue, in this definition, that we should not consider Thatcher as an entirely independent and consistent agent nor ignore Thatcher's personal impact.

If we go further than Jessop, Bonnett, Bromley, & Ling's (1988) points, considering more about environmental factors, we reach the approaches to Thatcherism which focus more on the pragmatic aspects rather than the ideological consistency. Lynch (1999) warns that perspectives seeing Thatcherism as a coherent political project might miss the political failures and the influence of external factors on it, although a too sceptical approach could underestimate the political significance of Thatcher. He argues that the ideological accounts often fail to recognise the importance of the tension between neo-liberal, cultural conservative thought, and the problematic notion of sovereignty and national identity.

However, the tension between political ideology and external factors is, as stated in the Introduction, a part of the theme of this study. This should be examined by separate analysis of them respectively, in order to find out their relationship, as carried out in this study. So the

meaning of Thatcherism in this thesis is limited to the ideology of Thatcher and her government, defined by the analysis of her speeches officially presented as a party leader or Prime Minister, and party documents under her leadership, like the ideologies of Old and New Labour Governments in other Chapters. Its coherence and consistence will be clearly examined in the analysis.

The rationality in Thatcherism

As Thatcherism is often defined as a mix of different beliefs, the contradictions between them tend to be pointed out as weaknesses of it as a coherent ideology. It is another important task for the analysis to clarify the conceptual structure of Conservative ideology. The discrepancies in Thatcherism which are usually criticised are between economic liberalism and authoritarianism; nationalism and anti-statism; and political rhetoric and policy outcomes.

While Gamble (1983) and Hall (1983) see Thatcherism as economic liberalism and authoritarianism as discussed above, they also highlight this as a chief contradiction within it. They argue that economic liberalism refers to freedom from government, so it means ‘rolling back’ of government, whereas authoritarianism might lead to the centralisation of government, i.e. the expansion of government control. However, Evans & Taylor (1996) explain that the strong state is necessary to establish the conditions for a transition to a true free market economy in a manner akin to the Marxist fashion of insisting on the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to remove bourgeois horizons for the ultimate freedom or emancipation of the people.

The second contradiction relates to the most dramatic event during the Thatcher government: the Falklands war. Marquand (1988) and Gamble (1983) indicate that Thatcher used nationalist language such as national pride to mobilise public support while, on the other hand, trying to cut the role of state service provision to their people. In particular, Marquand (1988) says that if the cuts in naval expenditure had been carried out as had been considered before the war, the victory in the Falklands war (which resulted in a great triumph and a more stable position for Thatcher as Prime Minister) would not have been achieved. However, the government roles expected by left-wing commentators (more social security and intervention) are different from those of Thatcherism (maintenance of strong defence and order for a stable society).

Finally, further aspects of the discrepancy in Thatcherism can be found between the political rhetoric and its outcomes. When Marsh & Rhodes (in Kavanagh, 1997) concentrated on policy outcomes, they found the objectives of the Thatcher government in a number of policy areas had not ended up with the intended outcomes. They conclude that Thatcherism is more a product of rhetoric than reality. Marquand (1988) also points out a paradox of the Thatcher government that, in spite of anti-statism in the Thatcherite ideology, the actual proportion of public expenditure in the gross domestic product was not cut. Yet the outcome of a policy can always be different from its intention, due to political failure or the influence of unexpected external factors. Therefore, the outcome itself cannot be a part of political thinking. Therefore it would be inappropriate to say that ideology contradicts the evidence of a policy outcome.

In consequence, the former two contradictions in Thatcherism between economic liberalism and authoritarianism, and between nationalism and cuts in public expenditure, provide further important points to be examined in this study. The roles of these different conceptual elements will be found; and whether they make a consonance or weakness in the whole ideological structure will be identified through the later analysis.

The Major Government and their ideology

When Michael Heseltine declared his intention to make a leadership challenge against Mrs. Thatcher, it was a critical time for her. This was followed by a number of signs presaging her downfall: the series of lost by-elections, the 'poll-tax' riots, and the Labour Party gaining record leads in opinion polls of 20 per cent (Charmley, 1996; Kavanagh, 1997). After the surprising resignation of Thatcher during the leadership election in 1990, John Major, who had just entered Parliament at the beginning of the Thatcher premiership in 1979, and had been a cabinet member for three years, became the leader of the Conservative Government as well as Prime Minister.

The position of Major in the ideological terrain of the Conservative Party had not been clear, and was controversial, as not only the right but also the left side of the Party had claimed that he was 'one of us' (Dorey, 1999; Gilmour & Garnett, 1997). Therefore, it is crucial to clarify his

position, to provide a better understanding of the ideology of his government in the later analysis. The discussion should begin at the starting point of the controversy, the leadership election in 1990.

One of us?: Major and the leadership election in 1990

One of the obvious reasons why John Major, who was a relatively weak candidate compared to others – Michael Heseltine and Douglas Hurd –, did win was Thatcher's support for him as a defender of her legacy (Dorey, 1999; Gilmour & Garnett, 1997; Kavanagh, 1997). This is also one of the obvious reasons why Major had been believed to be one of the Thatcherite. Thatcher won the first ballot with 204 votes against 152 for Heseltine, but Thatcher failed to avoid a second ballot due to being four per cent short of the requisite fifteen per cent of majority.

As there was no clear majority to secure a victory in the second ballot, Mrs. Thatcher had to stand down to protect her legacy and prevent Heseltine from being her successor. Hence she made it publicly known that Major, her Chancellor of the Exchequer was her choice for the Party leadership (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997; Kavanagh, 1997). Having got this strong support from Thatcher, Major won the election with 185 votes mainly from the right wing of the Party, while votes from the left side of the Party divided between Heseltine's 131 and Hurd's 56 (Dorey, 1999). The majority was still not enough to win outright under the rules but the victory of Major was confirmed, as Heseltine conceded defeat.

Apart from Thatcher's support, there was one other reason why Major won the election. Heseltine, the major contender on the other side, experienced strong hostility from the Thatcherite side. He left the Cabinet in 1985, protesting about her leadership. This event made it clear that he was pro-European and believed in a more active role for government, in opposition to Thatcherite policies. He also stood to challenge Thatcher for the leadership of the Conservative Party in the first place (Kavanagh, 1997). On the other hand, Major did not experience any kind of hostility. On the contrary, as mentioned, he was believed to be 'one of us' by both sides. At the time few MPs were aware of Major's views on many issues, He just looked like 'everyone's bank manager' according to a widely known remark (Charmley, 1996; Kavanagh, 1997).

Accordingly, it would be more appropriate to say that Thatcher chose Major not because he was a true believer in Thatcherism but because ‘there [was] no alternative (TINA)’. She could not choose Heseltine for obvious reasons, nor Hurd because of his old association with Ted Heath, who had been a major and severe critic of her premiership (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997) as well as his aristocratic and paternalist ‘One Nation’ conservatism which was the opposite of her political position (Kavanagh, 1997). Eventually, Major was the only option for her to minimise the damage to her legacy as much as possible.

The Major Government and Thatcherism

Despite Major’s ambiguity, his victory in the election was strongly welcomed by Mrs. Thatcher. Yet he was attacked by Thatcherite conservatives including Thatcher herself just three weeks later, over his decision to give Heseltine a post in the Cabinet and to replace the Poll Tax (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997). This was just the beginning. Thatcher accepted the presidencies of a couple of anti-Major groups in the Party such as the Euro-sceptical ‘Bruges Group’ and ‘Conservative Way Forward’ in 1991 (Evans & Taylor, 1996). Furthermore, Major was challenged for the leadership of the Party in 1995 by the Welsh Secretary, John Redwood who was one of the most prominent spokesmen within the right wing groups (Kavanagh, 1997). Although Major won the election by 218 votes to 89 for Redwood, with 20 abstentions or spoilt ballots, it was understood as a warning from the Thatcherite not to stray far from her legacy (Charmley, 1996).

This ongoing conflict with the Thatcherite could be one of the main reasons why Major politics has been believed to be a break with Thatcherism. Dorey (1999) provides five more reasons why he was initially considered a ‘One Nation’ Conservative: his own claim that he was a ‘social liberal’ (not ‘social authoritarian’); his aim stated in his early speeches to create ‘a country that is at ease with itself’ (not divided like under the Thatcher premiership); the assumption by leftist Conservatives that the 1990 leadership election meant a departure from Thatcherism; Major’s conciliatory and affable approach, which is regarded as a typical leadership style of the leftist Conservatives; and the humble social background of Major, who left school with few qualification and had not attended university.

However, the conflict between Major and the Thatcherite Conservatives was mostly over Europe. The debate over government policy on European integration began under Thatcher (Charmley, 1996). But it grew to be the major issue of contention within the Party in the 1990s, as the Maastricht Treaty was signed, and Britain disastrously exited from the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) membership after \$ 10 billion spent in vain defence of the pound (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997). The Conservative dissent over Europe was not a simple reflection of the dry-wets division (Kavanagh, 1997). It tended to be a more complex controversy highly dependent on progress in Europe and its effect on Britain. Even the Thatcher Government had been pro-Europe, as the European Community was initially viewed as an economic union to create the free single market. However, they turned hostile to Europe, as there was a growing fear that an emerging European super-state would violate Britain's sovereignty (Kavanagh, 1997). Therefore this issue might be an inappropriate criterion by which to judge the ideological position of the government.

In addition, other differences between Major and Thatcher mostly concern personality and style rather than substance (Dorey, 1999; Kavanagh, 1997). It is a widely accepted conclusion among academics that the Major government had been a continuation of Thatcherism rather than a break (Dorey, 1999; Evans & Taylor, 1996; Gilmour & Garnett, 1997; Kavanagh, 1997; Lynch, 1999; Pascall, 1997). The ideology of the Major government is even called 'Thatcherism without Thatcher' (Dorey, 1999, p. 226), with a range of Thatcherite policies: privatisation, tax cuts, abolishing the wage council, and curbing the trade unions' legal immunities (Dorey, 1999; Gilmour & Garnett, 1997; Kavanagh, 1997).

However, this verdict largely is based on the policy of the Major Government rather than analysis of the beliefs and ideas of his government. As mentioned in the last section, the evaluation of policies and ideology are different because there are a number of political issues between them, such as the discussion of agency and context (for details, see Introduction). This is the reason why their relationship is part of this study. So the appropriate comparison of ideology between Thatcher and Major governments can only be conducted through the direct analysis of their political beliefs and ideas.

Their ideology will be clarified through the analysis of official speeches by Thatcher and Major, delivered as leaders of the Party, and the election manifestos under their leadership. The speeches by Thatcher used for the analysis cover from 1975 when she was elected as a leader of the Conservative Party, to 1990 when she resigned. The analysis of Major's includes those from 1990 when he became a Prime Minister to 1997 when he left office. The Conservative Party manifestos in 1979, 1983, and 1987 under Thatcher's leadership and in 1992 under Major's premiership are also added to the analysis. The full list of speeches and documents is represented in the Appendix. The analysis is conducted with the criteria defined in Chapter 1: the definition of the challenges to the contemporary society, the ideological objectives, the political philosophy, the major strategies, the roles of major actors, and the interpretation of citizenship.

The challenges to the contemporary society

Following the former Labour Government, the Thatcher and Major era was also dominated by economic difficulties. A cycle of failed attempts to curb unemployment and revive economic prosperity, coming behind failures to control inflation became recurrent (Wilson, 1992). By the end of the 1960s, the economy had fallen into full-scale recession (Hall, 1983), and the collapse of the Bretton Woods exchange rate system and the oil crises of 1973 and 1979 made it deeper (Ellison, 2000). Therefore, domestic politics had been preoccupied by the management of economic crisis (Hall, 1983).

The key difference between the Thatcher and Major governments and the previous government was their interpretation of the situation. Although they indicated the world recession and the challenges from new industrialising countries in the Far East as external factors, the excessive state control and the power of the trade unions were largely blamed as core factors contributing to the economic difficulties and making them much worse. The cold war between West and East was considered to be a prime threat to Britain, and climate change was recognised as a potential but serious threat to the world.

The economic difficulties: inflation and unemployment

At the moments when Margaret Thatcher became the leader of the opposition and the Prime Minister, and when John Major came to office, the economic issue was identified as a major problem:

What is the challenge of our time? I believe there are two-to overcome the country's economic and financial problems, and to regain our confidence in Britain and ourselves (Thatcher, 1975a).

When we came to office in May 1979, our country was suffering both from an economic crisis and a crisis of morale. British industry was uncompetitive, over-taxed, over-regulated and over-manned. The British economy was plagued by inflation (Conservative Party, 1983).

On the left hand side, under “problems”, I had written:

-inflation

-interest rates

-unemployment

November 1990. Inflation was almost 11 per cent. Interest rates were stuck at 14 per cent.

And unemployment was rising fast (Major, 1994a).

Inflation and unemployment appeared as the paramount phenomena making the difficulties apparent. Inflation, in particular, had been indicated as the fundamental problem not only causing the economic trouble but also destroying jobs, and people's savings, so harming their hopes, morals, and independence, and even democracy itself:

When inflation runs riot, it is not simply cash that is carried away in suitcases, it is trust and honesty as well (Thatcher, 1982a).

Why are we Conservatives so opposed to inflation? Only because it puts up prices? No, because it destroys the value of people's savings. Because it destroys jobs, and with it people's hopes. That's what the fight against inflation is all about.(Thatcher, 1986b)

Our greatest economic challenge on entering office was to defeat inflation. ... Nothing erodes a country's competitive edge faster than inflation. Nothing so undermines personal thrift and independence as to see the value of a lifetime's savings eaten away in retirement

through spiralling prices. And nothing threatens the social fabric of a nation more than the conflicts and divisiveness which inflation creates (Conservative Party, 1987).

No society can be fair or stable when inflation eats up savings and devalues the pound in everyone's pocket. Inflation threatens democracy itself (Thatcher, 1987b).

When inflation rises, so do bankruptcies. When inflation falls, industry can plan again for a profitable future. Inflation creates strife, as different groups in society struggle to restore their living standards. It destroys jobs. It erodes savings and social benefits and threatens our currency (Conservative Party, 1992).

Inflation was also the problem that kept the Conservative Governments suffering until their last term. Even after it was curbed, it was an issue of concern until the last day of the Conservative government:

We took our eye off the ball. We allowed inflation to creep back. People who had worked hard, who had borrowed money to start businesses or buy houses were caught up in it (Major, 1993b).

We will keep inflation firmly under control (Major, 1996a).

Unemployment was also pointed out as one of the most devastating factors for the economy. It was defined as 'the greatest unsolved problem of our time' (Thatcher, 1982a) and 'the most intractable' (Conservative Party, 1983) nuisance. First of all, the policies under the former Labour Government were blamed for it:

One of the reasons why this Labour Government has incurred more unemployment than any Conservative Government since the War is because they have concentrated too much on distributing what we have, and too little on seeing that we have more (Thatcher, 1975b).

The answer is not bogus social contracts and government overspending. Both, in the end, destroy jobs (Conservative Party, 1983).

During the last four years, unemployment in the industrialised countries has risen more sharply than at any time since the 1930s. Britain has been no exception. We have long been one of the least efficient and most over-manned of industrialised nations. We raised our own

pay far more, and our output far less, than most of our competitors (Conservative Party, 1983).

However, as the unemployment rate had not fallen under the Conservative Government, other factors had been blamed as the causes. For example, the sharp increase in the working population was one of them:

Mr. President, it's going to take a long time to get employment up sufficiently, to get unemployment down as far as we all want. The task is even harder because we are going through a phase in Britain when the number of people of working age is rising. ... So even without the recession we should have needed a lot more new jobs just to stop the number of unemployed rising. That shows you the magnitude of the task (Thatcher, 1982b).

... first, more jobs are being created. As Tom King pointed out, over the last year more than a quarter of a million extra jobs have been created, but the population of working age is also rising very fast as the baby boom of the 1960s becomes the school-leavers of the 1980s; so although the number of jobs are rising, the population of working age is also rising, and among the population of working age a larger proportion of married women are seeking work, and so you will see why we need more jobs just to stop unemployment rising and even more jobs to get it falling (Thatcher, 1984b).

But the number of jobs is increasing. But the fact is ... the new jobs are not yet coming fast enough because there are still more people entering the workforce (Thatcher, 1985).

The other factors contributing to the increase in unemployment appeared to be technological advance and the industrial change following it:

... there has been a rapid shift of jobs from the old industries to the new, concentrated on services and the new technologies (Conservative Party, 1983).

Now, on top of that, new technology has caused redundancy in many factories, though it has also created whole new industries providing products and jobs that only a few years ago were undreamed of (Thatcher, 1984b).

At the end of the Major premiership, the situation regarding unemployment was seen to be improved:

We set out to create jobs. And we are succeeding. Unemployment is lower here than in any comparable country in Europe. In Britain it is falling (Major, 1996b).

The causes within: state control and trade unions

As partly mentioned above, state intervention and the trade unions had been indicated as the core domestic causes of the economic difficulties. They were blamed for the inflation, the low economic growth, and the reduced competitiveness of the national economy:

The unions win pay awards their members have not earned. The company pays out increases it cannot afford. The prices to the customer go up. Government print the money to make it all possible and everyone congratulates them on their success as an honest broker, with or without beer and sandwiches at Number Ten. It has been happening for years. The result has been the most uncompetitive industry, the lowest economic growth rate and the highest rate of inflation in the industrialised world (Thatcher, 1979a).

The state had been described as making national efficiency deteriorate, by occupying too many resources, destroying the incentive for success by taxation, causing inflation by borrowing and spending too much, damaging traditional values by excessive regulation, and increasing people's dependency by the monopoly of decision-making:

... the government share of the Gross National Product has steadily got higher and it's been higher than in Britain than in most other countries and today the state controls well over half our National Income. ... what I am describing is the actual experience of thirty years of concentrating on distribution, too much, really at the price of not putting enough into the growth of the economy and creating wealth. And so you can see that we've had problems really brought about by transferring far too much from the private sector into the public sector (Thatcher, 1975a).

... if you're going to take the heart out of people by taking away so much of them [sic] in tax, you will find very quickly that you will not have the incentive to get the extra growth (Thatcher, 1975a).

I believe there are several reasons for what is known as 'the British sickness'-and they are not a criticism of the people of this country. They are a criticism of the Government of this country. First, we have become the big spenders of Europe-spenders of other countries'

money. ... Under Labour the land of hope and glory has become the land of beg and borrow. ... Secondly, increasing interference and direction of industry have stopped it doing its job properly. ... They have destroyed profits (Thatcher, 1976b).

The Government has been borrowing vast sums of money, both within Britain and overseas. But even these borrowings were not enough. The Government turned to printing money in order to finance a public sector deficit that neither taxpayers nor lenders would finance in full. With a huge rise in the money supply, hyper-inflation became a real threat: ... Traditional values are also threatened by increasing State regulation. The more the State seeks to impose its authority, the less respect that authority receives. The more living standards are squeezed by taxation, the greater is the temptation to evade that taxation. The more pay and prices are controlled, the more those controls are evaded. In short, where the State is too powerful, efficiency suffers and morality is threatened (Thatcher, 1977a).

They have made things worse in three ways. First, by practising the politics of envy and by actively discouraging the creation of wealth, ... Second, by enlarging the role of the State and diminishing the role of the individual, they have crippled the enterprise and effort on which a prosperous country with improving social services depends (Conservative Party, 1979).

But it is not the State that creates a healthy society. When the State grows too powerful people feel that they count for less and less. The State drains society, not only of its wealth but of initiative, of energy, the will to improve and innovate as well as to preserve what is best (Thatcher, 1980b).

Competition is better for the consumer than State control (Thatcher, 1982b).

Every time the Government tries to plan too much it is physically unable to make the decisions, and if it were physically able to make them its judgment would sadly be wrong. It would meddle and stop the people who are capable of regenerating the future from doing so (Thatcher, 1988b).

Who has made people dependent? We have. By 'we', I mean Governments, planners, those who think wrongly that they have a monopoly of wisdom (Major, 1992c).

It's Whitehall. And town hall. Everyone likes to tie another knot. Good intentions - bad results. Piling costs on industry. Mr President, that has got to stop (Major, 1992b).

The trade unions had been partly blamed for encouraging the excessive state intervention in their own interest. Trade unions *per se* were not opposed, as it was accepted that 'a strong and responsible trade union movement is essential to this country and its rights must be respected' (Thatcher, 1977c) and 'a strong and responsible trade union movement could play a big part in our economic recovery' (Conservative Party, 1979). Yet an 'irresponsible' trade union movement had been described as 'the enemy of the society' making people suffer, destroying jobs, threatening individual freedom, and ruining Britain's chances of success:

It apparently allowed a handful of trade union leaders to dictate to the Government the level of public spending, the number of industries to be nationalised, what the tax system should be, the terms on which we can borrow from the IMF-and so on and so on (Thatcher, 1976b).

The real conflict would be between Union and people. Because it would be the people that would suffer. It always is (Thatcher, 1977c).

by heaping privilege without responsibility on the trade unions, Labour have given a minority of extremists the power to abuse individual liberties and to thwart Britain's chances of success (Conservative Party, 1979).

... this tiny group decided to use its undoubted power for what?-to delay Britain's recovery, which all our people long to see (Thatcher, 1982c).

What a tragedy it is when striking miners attack their workmates. Not only are they members of the same union, but the working miner is saving both their futures, because ... it is the working miners who have kept faith with those who buy our coal and without that custom thousands of jobs in the mining industry would be already lost (Thatcher, 1984b).

Why have we limited the power of trade unions? Only to improve productivity? No, because trade union members, want to be protected from intimidation and to go about their daily lives in peace-like everyone else in the land (Thatcher, 1986b).

We have also legislated five times to transform industrial relations, returning power from militants to ordinary union members (Conservative Party, 1992)

We'll be fighting to strengthen the rights of ordinary trade union members. ... They must have freedom to join the union of their choice - and fairness in union ballots and finances (Major, 1992b).

The causes without: world recession and globalisation

After the Conservative governments which had withdrawn state control and moderated the power of trade unions during Thatcher's premiership, economic difficulties still remained as the major challenge. Therefore other external factors were also blamed for the difficulties. The world economic recession was one of the factors, while the inefficiency of Britain's economy due to unrestrained government intervention was accused of making its impact on the economy more damaging:

... the world also has serious economic problems. Recession has hit the industries of many countries ... It has hit Britain at a time when years of low profits, of wage increases unmatched by productivity, of restrictive practices which denied a proper return on investment, have left firms ill-fitted to face hard times (Thatcher, 1980b).

Its origins go deep; but the 1970s were dominated by three things: persistent inflation, the oil price increase and great shifts in the pattern of world trade (Thatcher, 1981b).

Here at home, we have felt keenly the chill winds of world recession, a recession which darkens the whole globe (Thatcher, 1982a).

There are 2- million people out of work in the OECD countries. Every country in Western Europe has been hit by the recession. ... And the recession hit us harder because we were more inefficient. Pay had gone up regardless of output. Inflation was among the highest in the Western world-and we were bedevilled by strikes and restrictive practices (Thatcher, 1983a).

... while these things [new technologies] may have contributed to the speed with which the markets fell, we must look elsewhere for an underlying cause: to the uncertainties stemming from the continuing budget and trade deficits of the United States; to the persistent trade surpluses of Japan and Germany; to the resulting fear of protectionism; and to the fear of returning inflation (Thatcher, 1987a).

The world economy is showing greater strain now than it has for a decade (Major, 1992a).

But today even the world's most successful economies face difficulties. In the United States. In Japan. Throughout Europe - yes, and in Germany, too. (Major, 1992b)

The globalising economy and technical advance were seen as the contributing factors to Western recession, alongside the growing challenges from newly developing countries. They appeared as new opportunities initially, but, in the course of time, they became seen as unavoidable risks or threats that must be overcome to survive:

By the end of the 19th century the expansion of world trade, technological progress, and a revolution in communications, made it possible to speak of one world as well as one nation. ... But even more, trade has been a great engine of post war growth. All have gained from the greater freedom of trade and payments. Freer trade has meant lower prices, more competition and faster growth. And every consumer has benefited (Thatcher, 1981b).

Whether we like it or not, things are changing. They are changing in technology (Thatcher, 1982b).

Every country has been hit by the competition from the newly industrialised countries of the Far East. Every country has lost jobs in the transition from the old industries to the new technologies (Thatcher, 1983a).

The whole industrial world, not just Britain, is seeing change at a speed that our forebears never contemplated, much of it due to new technology. Old industries are declining. (Thatcher, 1986b)

Markets are global. Trade is global. So every major country must be prepared to take the necessary action to secure a sounder balance in the world economy (Thatcher, 1987a).

The opportunities in the 1990s will be unprecedented, so will the competition, not least from Eastern Europe, the Pacific Rim and even South America. ... The competitive atmosphere will be unforgiving and the lesson to be drawn from that is unmissable (Major, 1991a).

We live in a harsh and competitive world today - the most competitive decade we've ever known. And unless we're able to compete we'll face a harsh future (Major, 1992a).

We have to operate in the most competitive world we have ever seen (Major, 1993a).

At present, Europe, our biggest market, is stuck deep in recession. It's held back by social costs it can't afford. It's losing markets to Japan and to America and to the Pacific Basin (Major, 1993b).

The external threats: The Cold War and environmental issues

The conflict between the Western and Eastern blocs had been indicated to be the most serious and fundamental threat to Britain, until the collapse of the communist bloc in 1989. Thatcher's initial strong and antagonistic comments to the Soviet Union are well-known and this was how she got her name, 'the iron lady':

But just let's look at what the Russians are doing. ... They are not doing this solely for the sake of self-defence. ... The Russians are bent on world dominance, and they are rapidly acquiring the means to become the most powerful imperial nation the world has seen (Thatcher, 1976a).

The dangers to it are greater now than they have ever been since 1945. The threat of the Soviet Union is ever present. ... The Soviet forces are organised and trained for attack. (Thatcher, 1979a)

Soviet Marxism is ideologically, politically and morally bankrupt. But militarily the Soviet Union is a powerful and growing threat. (Thatcher, 1980b)

We face in the Soviet Union a Power whose declared aim is to "bury" Western civilisation (Thatcher, 1981a).

The invasion of Afghanistan and the suppression of dissent in Poland remind us of the true nature of the Soviet Union. (Thatcher, 1982a)

However, her tone was moderated as the negotiation for mutual disarmament started. She explained its necessity and welcomed its progress. Eventually, when the Soviet bloc collapsed, she praised the prevalence of freedom and declared the end of the Cold War:

In the weeks and months ahead we shall watch the new Soviet leadership earnestly for solid evidence of a willingness to work for genuine multilateral disarmament (Thatcher, 1982a).

... whatever we think of the Soviet Union, Soviet Communism cannot be disinvented. We have to live together on the same planet and that is why, when the circumstances are right, we must be ready to talk to the Soviet leadership. ... a major element in that dialogue must be arms control (Thatcher, 1983b).

Why then is it that we in the West seek to negotiate? For two powerful reasons:

- because the destruction and devastation of conflict would be so terrible for East and West alike that it must never happen, and
- because both sides want to spend more on the well being of their people and less on the weapons of war, but can only do so if each can secure its own defence.(Thatcher, 1984a)

When President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev meet in Washington they will sign a Treaty which, for the first time ever, will reduce nuclear weapons. ... It is good for our security and it is an important step towards a more peaceful and stable world. ... Soviet leaders now recognise that only greater open-ness, greater enterprise, more personal responsibility will bring the higher standards of living that the Soviet people want (Thatcher, 1987a).

The messages on our banners in 1979-freedom, opportunity, family, enterprise, ownership-are now inscribed on the banners in Leipzig, Warsaw, Budapest and even Moscow (Thatcher, 1989b).

We do not see this new Soviet Union as an enemy, but as a country groping its way towards freedom. We no longer have to view the world through a prism of East-West relations. The Cold War is over (Thatcher, 1990c).

On the other hand, even after the collapse of the communist bloc, Thatcher warned that the military conflict and threat had not disappeared. Moreover, Major repeatedly emphasised that there were risks and dangers due to the increased instability caused by the collapse and conflicts in other part of the world:

Mr President, in today's rapidly changing world you never know where conflict may arise (Thatcher, 1989b).

The republics of what was the Soviet Union have a chance to join the Western family of democracies but there is a risk, a risk that they could fall into a dark abyss of political conflict and economic hardship (Major, 1991a).

But let me also be blunt. There are still dangers ahead. The future is uncertain. The collapse of Communism has brought great opportunities. ... But there is still dangerous instability (Major, 1992a).

Today the threat of a massive surprise attack from Eastern Europe has gone. But we still face grave risks to our security. ... Within the former Soviet Union there remains a huge military force. Democracy and the rule of law are yet to be firmly established. Control over these armed forces and the massive nuclear capability is uncertain. The events in Yugoslavia show what can happen when Communism collapses in disorder. Increasingly threats come from outside Europe - as we saw so clearly in the Gulf. Many more countries are acquiring large stocks of modern arms. Some are trying to obtain nuclear, biological and chemical weapons (Conservative Party, 1992).

Now the cold war is over, but while the threat was there ... (Major, 1994b)

Currently, when the new Conservative leader David Cameron raises environmental issues as his central agenda to renew the Party, it is usually considered to be a move in the ideological position of the Conservative Party, to the centre. However, interestingly, it was Mrs. Thatcher, who is clearly recognised as having a far right position even within the Party, who raised the climate change issue in the United Nations at the end of the 1980s as a 'Conservative' issue. Major also kept this issue in his agenda:

Given our record, we are well placed to take the lead with other Governments in practical efforts to protect the wider world. We will work with them to end the destruction of the world's forests. We shall direct more of our overseas aid to help poor countries to protect their trees and plant new ones. We will join with others to seek further protection of the ozone layer-that global skin which protects life itself from ultra violet radiation. We will work to cut down the use of fossil fuels, a cause of both acid rain and the greenhouse effect (Thatcher, 1988c).

Mr President, when I spoke to the Royal Society about the environment over a year ago, I spoke about the global threat of climate change. I set out the magnitude of the challenge we face. Until recently, we have always thought that whatever progress humanity makes, our planet would stay much the same. That may no longer be true. ... They threaten to change

the atmosphere above us and the sea around us. That is the scale of the global challenge (Thatcher, 1989b).

Science is still feeling its way and some uncertainties remain. But we know that very high population growth is putting an enormous pressure on the earth's resources. Primitive methods of agriculture are extending deserts and destroying tropical forests and as they disappear, nature's capacity to correct its own imbalance is seriously affected. We know, too, that our industries and way of life have done severe damage to the ozone layer. ... Spending on the environment is like spending on defence-if you do not do it in time, it may be too late (Thatcher, 1990c).

One of the most important issues facing all countries is the threat of global warming. Effective action to combat global warming must be international action (Conservative Party, 1992).

The objectives

First of all, 'equality', which was one of the dual goals in the former Labour Government, together with economic prosperity, was clearly denied as an objective of Conservative Governments by Thatcher and Major. The aspiration for equality was described as damaging economic strength and people's welfare, and portrayed as an illusion that could not be achieved:

The promotion of greater equality, of course, goes hand-in-hand with the extension of the Welfare State and state control over people's lives. ... Now, how far has that process strengthened the economy? Because, if it hasn't strengthened the economy, you haven't the means to carry on, let alone improve your welfare (Thatcher, 1975a).

We are all unequal. No one, thank heavens, is like anyone else, however much the Socialists may pretend otherwise. We believe that everyone has the right to be unequal but to us every human being is equally important (Thatcher, 1975b).

No government can ensure equality. The road to the Communist state is paved with such fallacies ... (Thatcher, 1979b)

Equality not of opportunity, but of outcome. This was a mania that condemned children to fall short of their potential; that treated them as if they were identical - or must be made so (Major, 1991b).

Then 'Freedom' and 'prosperity' were stated as a new set of political objectives for Conservative politics:

What we have been concerned with is how we can tackle this crisis, how we can ensure the prosperity, the freedom-yes-and the honour of Britain (Thatcher, 1976b).

We shall do all that a government can to rebuild a free and prosperous Britain (Thatcher, 1978a).

What in the end are the objectives of the States which have come to make up the Community? The three most important are international peace and justice, economic prosperity and freedom under the law (Thatcher, 1979a)

... we are also respected because we stand up for the cause of freedom and the spread of prosperity throughout the world (Conservative Party, 1983).

Together we are building One Nation of free, prosperous and responsible families and people. A Conservative dream is at last becoming a reality (Conservative Party, 1987).

Nearly ten years in Government-and a resurgence of freedom and prosperity without parallel (Thatcher, 1988c).

Freedom and opportunity

Freedom was the value that most frequently appeared in Thatcher's speeches and was described as an ultimate goal of society. Freedom was explained as a part of human nature itself, as well as the foundation of society, which must be protected because it was the base of human dignity and moral society:

.. each citizen can develop his full potential, both for his own benefit and for the community as a whole, a society in which originality, skill, energy and thrift are rewarded, in which we encourage rather than restrict the variety and richness of human nature (Thatcher, 1975a).

We need a free economy not only for the renewed material prosperity it will bring, but because it is indispensable to individual freedom, human dignity and to a more just, more honest society. We want a society where people are free to make choices, to make mistakes, to be generous and compassionate. This is what we mean by a moral society; not a society where the State is responsible for everything, and no one is responsible for the State (Thatcher, 1977a).

We believe in political freedom as providing the only framework within which men and women can live lives worthy of their talents and of their human dignity (Thatcher, 1977b).

Free men recognise the limits placed on their freedom by the needs of others. They know that the problems of their neighbours cannot be ignored (Thatcher, 1979c).

All our economic interests, all our moral and spiritual needs reach out for freedom (Thatcher, 1981b).

... if political freedom, economic efficiency, and individual vitality were lost, then humanity would enter its darkest age (Thatcher, 1982a).

And we bring a new chance to the nation to fulfil its destiny-a free people, a great people, proud of their past, ready to adapt to the future.[fo 2] This is a broad and noble aim (Thatcher, 1983a).

For it is by force of ideas, not by force of weapons, that we seek to bring to others that freedom to choose which is fundamental to the dignity of man (Thatcher, 1984a).

Britain fought then to uphold freedom, democracy and Western civilisation itself (Thatcher, 1985).

We believe that individuals have a right to liberty that no state can take away (Thatcher, 1988c).

As found in the quotations above, freedom in Thatcher's speeches covered various meanings. It sometimes referred to freedom under the law, and political freedom, while mainly it meant the freedom of choice and economic freedom:

We who believe in the one true freedom-freedom under the law ... (Thatcher, 1979a)

Modern liberty rests upon three pillars. They are representative democracy; economic freedom; and the rule of law (Thatcher, 1979c).

At the basis of the Community's economic arrangements lies the principle of economic freedom. By this I mean the market economy, the free movement of capital, goods and people-all within a framework of just laws (Thatcher, 1979c).

At the heart of our belief is the principle of freedom, under a rule of law. Freedom that gives a man room to breathe, to take responsibility, to make his own decisions and to chart his own course (Thatcher, 1989b).

We must enshrine certain freedoms for every individual:[fo 6] - freedom

- of speech
- of worship
- of access to the law
- and of the market place; - freedom
- to participate in genuinely democratic elections
- to own property
- to maintain nationhood; and last - freedom
- from fear of an over-mighty state (Thatcher, 1990c).

The economic liberty even appeared to have the highest priority of any form of liberty:

It is economic liberty that nourishes the enterprise of those whose hard work and imagination ultimately determine the conditions in which we live. It is economic liberty that makes possible a free press. It is economic liberty that has enabled the modern democratic state to provide a decent minimum of welfare for the citizen, while leaving him free to choose when, where, and how he will make his own contribution to the economic life of the country. ... We should never cease to proclaim the superior virtues of systems based on economic liberty (Thatcher, 1979c).

Freedom was not only the political end for Thatcher but also a means to achieve another goal: prosperity. Freedom was explained to be a necessary condition, creating an incentive for people to create wealth:

we want a free economy, not only because it guarantees our liberties, but also because it is the best way of creating wealth and prosperity for the whole country (Thatcher, 1975b).

We also believe in economic freedom, because the evidence shows that a free economic system provides the individual and the community with the best hope of that material prosperity which is the legitimate aim of our peoples (Thatcher, 1977b).

The great surges of progress and prosperity in this country did not come directly from Government action. They were not based on national plans. They came from free men, working in a free society, where they could deploy their talents to their best advantage for themselves, for their countries and for the future (Thatcher, 1983b).

Tory freedom works. People have more money in their pockets-to spend or to save. You've only got to look at the supermarkets and shopping centres to see that living standards are higher than ever before in our history. Britain is prosperous again (Thatcher, 1987c).

Only a free people and a free economy have the capacity to meet new challenges, create new activities and find new solutions (Thatcher, 1990a).

Opportunity was another value presented as a political aim by the Thatcher and Major governments. It appeared occasionally in the initial speeches by Thatcher, but it was Major who liked to use it as an end in his speeches, along with freedom:

What's more desirable and more practicable than the pursuit of equality is the pursuit of equality of opportunity (Thatcher, 1975a).

... our Party is the Party of equality of opportunity ... (Thatcher, 1975b)

I should like to live in a world where opportunity is for everyone, where peace is truly universal, and where freedom is secure (Major, 1991c).

We believe that only the best is good enough for Britain, and that the best will only be accomplished if we give the British people the freedom and the opportunity they need to succeed (Conservative Party, 1992).

Now we must spread freedom and opportunity ever wider and ever deeper (Major, 1992c).

That's what Conservative Governments are for. To extend choice to parents. To extend freedoms to trades union members. Give new rights to tenants. More opportunities for people to own their own homes. More chance for parents to know how their children are doing at school (Major, 1993a).

In the game of life, we Tories should even up the rules; and give people opportunity and choice, to open up an avenue of hope in their lives. And by 'people' I do not mean 'some people'. I mean everyone. Opportunity for all (Major, 1996b).

Opportunity for all: the next Conservative Government is for them, as much as for anyone else (Major, 1997)

However, as these quotations show, the word 'opportunity' seems to be almost interchangeable with 'freedom'. Opportunity meant nothing without freedom in Thatcher's conceptualisation. For Major, just as opportunity had been described as the opportunity to choose, the opportunity to earn and the opportunity to prosper, so did freedom include the freedom to choose, the freedom to earn and the freedom to prosper. There were no substantial differences between two concepts in the texts:

... opportunity means nothing unless it includes the right to be unequal and the freedom to be different (Thatcher, 1975a).

A society of opportunity where people can better themselves and their families by their own efforts. A Britain that puts people in control of their own lives, to exercise their own choices in their own time, in their own way (Major, 1990).

What we can do is give everyone a better opportunity to make the most of their lives. That is one more reason why we will continue to ensure people keep more of what they earn (Major, 1992c).

Prosperity and ownership

Prosperity had been stated as the other political objective of the Thatcher and Major Governments. Prosperity meant the establishment of a healthy society, the fulfilment of people's aspiration, and the improvement of quality of life in their conceptualisation:

... our vision and our aims go far beyond the complex arguments of economics, but unless we get the economy right we shall deny our people the opportunity to share that vision and to see beyond the narrow horizons of economic necessity. Without a healthy economy we cannot have a healthy society. Without a healthy society the economy will not stay healthy for long (Thatcher, 1980b).

This Government, this Government of principle, are seeking the common consent of the people of Britain to work together for the prosperity that has eluded us for so long (Thatcher, 1981a).

... our vision is about much more than ownership and material things. We seek a world in which individuals can aspire to their own particular greatness. Where the quality of life is improved by the changed attitudes that prosperity and ownership can bring (Thatcher, 1985).

For the first time in a generation this country looks forward to an era of real prosperity and fulfilment (Conservative Party, 1987).

Our ambitions are - as they ever were - the ambitions of millions. To build a prosperous Britain (Major, 1993a).

Only Conservatives can deliver and build on Britain's stability and prosperity (Major, 1996a).

Moreover, prosperity, like freedom, was not only an ultimate end. It was also the precondition to make other things possible, such as better public service in health, education and social security, job creation, increased generosity of society and, eventually, more freedom:

... prosperity for the whole country. It is this prosperity alone which can give us the resources for better services for the community, better services for those in need (Thatcher, 1975b).

Expansion-leading to more jobs. Expansion-leading to higher wages. Expansion-leading eventually to more resources for the nation, so that we can have the same standards of social services as our more successful competitors enjoy (Thatcher, 1976b).

Only if we create wealth can we continue to do justice to the old and the sick and the disabled. It is economic success which will provide the surest guarantee of help for those who need it most (Conservative Party, 1983).

... now prosperity and having a stake in the future are not materialistic: because prosperity and a stake are bed rocks for improving the quality of life. ... But you know, you have got to provide money to look after ... the old, the sick and the disabled in a more generous way. ... They are the means through which we give voluntarily to those great charitable causes, which are so much a feature of our national life; they are the means to help others in the Third World whose plight is flashed so vividly onto our television screens. And didn't our people give so generously and wonderfully in the way in which it has become our custom to give. They are the means by which we exercise choice; and choice is the essence of liberty (Thatcher, 1985).

Founded on this new prosperity, we are building a better Health Service and providing more care for those in need. Living standards are higher than ever before. Our people have the protection of a stronger defence and more police (Conservative Party, 1987).

The prosperity brought about by our policies offers a wider choice to more people than ever before. ... Our Government has made enormous increases in the amount spent on social welfare to help the less fortunate-and so have individuals. As prosperity has increased, so the fundamental generosity of our people has prompted far more personal giving (Thatcher, 1988c).

... with it [ownership] goes wealth creation, which is the only way to provide for those who need help. Wealth creation and welfare hand in hand - those are the central pillars of the Tory temple (Major, 1992a).

Ownership was another concept stated as a political goal in Thatcher's and Major's speeches, such as the ownership of property, shares in industry, and savings. Ownership appeared to be what the prosperity of Britain meant to ordinary people, rather than a different political aim from prosperity, shown by the following quotations. In other words, people can get real benefits from national prosperity by earning and owning more:

Under a Conservative Government we hope that more of them will own a stake in industry and that more of them will own their own homes (Thatcher, 1977c).

... you will see that we have carried forward the historic task of all governments that love liberty, of extending ownership of property more and more widely among our people (Thatcher, 1983a).

The great political reform of the last century was to enable more and more people to have a vote. Now the great Tory reform of this century is to enable more and more people to own property (Thatcher, 1986b).

Now look at Conservatism in practice. This Conservative Government has been engaged in a crusade to bring property within the reach of every family in the land. Our dream is that what was once a privilege of the few, should be the expectation of the many (Thatcher, 1987c).

When I first came into politics we were talking about a property owning democracy and a capital owning democracy. The actual spread of capital, which I want ever-more widely, has not gone only in houses but in savings accounts and shares (Thatcher, 1988b).

The past 200 years has been the story of the evolution of democracy. The progressive extension of the franchise. The extension of wealth. The extension of choice. In the 1990s, I want the privilege of ownership and the luxury. I want then to be for all (Major, 1992c).

'Classless society' and 'a nation ease with itself'

It is well-known that Major declared a 'classless society' and 'a nation ease with itself' as his political goal when he became Prime Minister. As discussed earlier, this was one of the main reasons why he was considered to have some distances from the politics of Thatcher. However, the meanings of these words are not different from 'freedom' or 'opportunity' in his speeches. The 'classless society' and 'a nation ease with itself' for him had been nothing more than another way to describe 'freedom' just like 'opportunity':

... a classless society: not in the grey sense of drab uniformity - but in the sense that we remove the artificial barriers to choice and achievement (Major, 1990).

I spoke of a classless society. ... I don't mean a society in which everyone is the same, or thinks the same, or earns the same. But a tapestry of talents in which everyone from child to adult respects achievement; where every promotion, every certificate is respected, and each person's contribution is valued (Major, 1991c).

I had no doubt the first of these was to create a nation at ease with itself. ... We live at ease with others when each of us has the same choices. The same opportunities. Peace of mind. Simple human dignity. We're all entitled to that (Major, 1992a).

Political philosophy

New Right

There has been little disagreement with the argument that New Right thinking constitutes the foundation of Thatcherism (Evans & Taylor, 1996; Kavanagh, 1990, 1997; Wilson, 1992). As 'New Right' is often used as a term interchangeable with Thatcherism (Kavanagh, 1997), this thinking, as an ideology itself covers the all-encompassing ideological factors, including the interpretation of contemporary society, the role of government, and the economic strategy in the analytical framework used in this study for the analysis. Yet the discussion of the New Right in this study just focuses on the philosophical aspect in this section, because other factors are addressed in other sections.

The root of Thatcher's New Right philosophy is known to be the work of Friedrich von Hayek, the most significant thinker of the New Right (Wilson, 1992). He idealises the free market society in which all actions and choices are decided by free individuals under stable and strict rules (Gamble, 1983). In his view, government interventions and monopolies disadvantage not only the national economy but also people's prosperity by distorting the market (Wilson, 1992). This perspective is reflected in Thatcher's and Major's view on state interventions discussed in the former section. Their belief in the market's superiority is dominant in their speeches. The market system was described as letting people choose freely what was better for them, and encouraging competition, which makes entrepreneurs more likely to innovate and provide better

products at lower prices. Therefore, in the end, the market was described as benefiting all customers - not only the rich but also all ordinary people:

The capitalist engine is first and last an engine of mass production, which unavoidably means also production for the masses. It is the cheap cloth, the cheap fabric, boots motor cars and so on that are the typical achievements of capitalist production and not as a rule improvements that would mean much to the rich man. In brief, the material superiority of the free society gives its main benefits to the very people the Socialists claim to cherish (Thatcher, 1977a).

People must be free to choose what they consume, in goods and services. When they choose through the market, their choice is sovereign. They alone exercise their responsibility as consumers and producers. To the extent that the fruits of their efforts are taken away by the state, or other coercive bodies, they not only have responsibility taken away from them, but the ability to make their wishes felt (Thatcher, 1977d).

We believe in encouraging competition, free enterprise, and profits in-firms large and small (Thatcher, 1978a).

In industry just as in capital markets there is "One World". Moved by the invisible hand of competitive advantage, business enterprises now pay scant regard to national boundaries in their pursuit of efficient production. ... Freer trade has meant lower prices, more competition and faster growth. And every consumer has benefited (Thatcher, 1981b).

Mr. President time and again history beats out the same message. Competition is better for the consumer than State control (Thatcher, 1982b).

... I believed passionately that if the British character was allowed more free play it had marvellous characteristics which had served this nation very well in the past and would do so in the future (Thatcher, 1988b).

... the fourth essential, Mr Chairman, is an economy based on market principles and a right to private property. Wealth is not created by regulation and instruction, but by ordinary enterprising people (Thatcher, 1990c).

... we believe in free markets, we believe in private ownership. ... And because we've believed in it, millions of families up and down the land now have savings of their own (Major, 1994b).

The belief of Thatcher and Major in the superiority of the free market was based on their understanding of human nature. In the New Right philosophy, individuals are assumed to always be the maximisers of their own self-interest, by their own rational choice (Wilson, 1992). The free market is superior for New Right thinkers because it is the system in which the optimal compromise is always made between free individuals, able to choose what the best is for them under rational thinking. Furthermore, the free market was believed to always work better, in the philosophy of Thatcher and Major, because it was based on human nature: people want to choose for themselves, independently, and then they will be encouraged to do their best to earn and own more:

... what you find is, that people want to spend their own money to buy what they want when they want it (Thatcher, 1975a).

It was incentive-positive, vital, driving, individual incentive. The incentive that was once the dynamo of this country but which today our youth are denied. ... We Conservatives have to recreate the conditions cited by that wise French philosopher de Tocqueville-conditions which 'give men the courage to seek prosperity, the freedom to follow it up, the sense and habits to find it, and the assurance of reaping the benefits' (Thatcher, 1976b).

The strength of our policies is that they are founded on the best instincts of our people-an instinct for ownership, for thrift, for honest work and fair rewards (Thatcher, 1986a).

The desire to do better for one's family is one of the strongest and best motives in human nature (Thatcher, 1987c).

Because we give people the chance to better themselves, they accuse us of encouraging selfishness and greed.[fo 4] What nonsense. Does someone's natural desire to do well for himself, to build a better life for his family and provide opportunities for his children, does all this make him a materialist? Of course it doesn't. It makes him a decent human being, committed to his family and his community (clapping), and prepared to take responsibility

on his own shoulders. The truth is that what we are actually encouraging is the best in human nature (Thatcher, 1988c).

Not challenging the basic instincts of the individual - we will always go with the grain of human ambition. But answering better the aspirations of individuals. Opening up new doors and wider avenues so that their instincts and ambitions can be realised (Major, 1992c).

Put children together and what do you see. They run. They jump. They fight. They compete. It is their natural instinct (Major, 1994a).

Government is also considered a self-interest maximiser for New Right thinkers, due to the influence of the Virginia school of public choice theory (Kavanagh, 1990; Wilson, 1992). This is the fundamental problem of governments for them, because governments can produce unlimited expensive policies, not at their own expense, but at the expense of others –taxpayers (Kavanagh, 1990; Marquand, 1988; Wilson, 1992). Therefore governments spend more money on social policies in order to gain more consumers' votes in the next election, under mass democracy, which is, therefore, inherently inflationary. Moreover, since governments are self-interest maximisers like any other individuals, they always try to benefit themselves, but not by their own money but by taxpayers' money.

However, this approach was not found in the speeches of Thatcher and Major. Even though they fully accepted the inefficiency and disadvantage of state intervention, their condemnation of government did not go further than that. This is probably because they were the ones who ran governments – but who tried to reduce their government's spending – and they did not deny the basic role of government in providing health and education services as well as basic social security for the worse-off. This was found in the analysis in the section about the role of major actors below.

Individualism

Individualism appeared as the other basic philosophy of Thatcher and Major in their speeches, and it is also part of the context of New Right philosophy. It is the opposite of collectivism, which is rooted in mutual responsibility in society (Wilding, 1992). The Thatcher and Major governments denied collectivism and clearly stated that the individual or family was the central

unit of society, with people bearing the ultimate responsibility for their own lives (Pascall, 1997) rather than the community. Minogue (1988) argues that they offered psychological liberation from collective guilt to the affluent middle class in British society at that time. Community also was explained as being benefited by the achievement of individuals, not by collective activity in speeches and writings:

Now, it's not that our people are suddenly reverting to the ideals of laissez-faire. Nor are they rejecting the social advances of recent decades. It's rather that they are reviving a constructive interest in the noble ideals of personal responsibility, because in some respects the concepts of social responsibility have turned sour in practice (Thatcher, 1975a).

Some Socialists seem to believe that people should be numbers in a State computer. We believe they should be individuals. ... We believe that everyone has the right to be unequal but to us every human being is equally important. ... The spirit of envy can destroy. It can never build. Everyone must be allowed to develop the abilities he knows he has within him, and she knows she has within her, in the way they choose (Thatcher, 1975b).

The economic results are better because the moral philosophy is superior. It is superior because it starts with the individual, with his uniqueness, his responsibility, and his capacity to choose. ... In our philosophy the purpose of the life of the individual is not to be the servant of the State and its objectives, but to make the best of his talents and qualities (Thatcher, 1977a).

... it sees concern for self and responsibility for self as something to be expected, and asks only that this be extended to others. This embodies the great truth that self-regard is the root of regard for one's fellows. The child learns to understand others through its own feelings. At first its immediate family, in course of time the circle grows. ... If we had no desire for these things, would we be likely to understand and further others' desire for them? (Thatcher, 1977d)

But as Conservatives we believe that recovery can only come through the work of individuals. We mustn't forever take refuge behind collective decisions. Each of us must assume our own responsibilities (Thatcher, 1979a).

... a great nation is the voluntary creation of its people-a people composed of men and women whose pride in themselves is founded on the knowledge of what they can give to a community of which they in turn can be proud (Thatcher, 1980b).

For freedom belongs, not to a collective, not to this or that class, but to individuals, each and every one (Thatcher, 1985).

I wish to goodness more people would in fact take responsibility for looking after their own families instead of expecting others to look after them. It is not selfish. It is not selfish to have an ambition, to want to do more for your own family so that they have a better way of life than you had. It is not selfish to want to have enough over to help your own parents. It is not selfish to wish to benefit from your own efforts so that you may then have money over to give to causes which you choose or to choose a lifestyle and a way of life which you wish to choose (Thatcher, 1988b).

Personal effort doesn't undermine the community; it enhances the community. When individual talents are held back, the community is held back too. Encourage the individual and the community benefits. A parent's success is shared by his family, a pupil's by his school, a soldier's by his regiment. A man may climb Everest for himself, but at the summit he plants his country's flag (Thatcher, 1988c).

... what are the fundamental tenets of true democracy? For me they are these: -first, a sense of personal responsibility. People need to realise that they are not just pawns on a chessboard, to be moved around at the whim of politicians. They can influence their destiny by their own efforts (Thatcher, 1990c).

For I believe - strongly - that you, and not the Government, should be in charge of your life (Conservative Party, 1992).

The instinct for independence is a basic human instinct (Major, 1992c).

Without choice there is no freedom. Without choice there is no achievement. It's a basic fact of human nature. When people choose, they become committed (Major, 1993a).

Nationalism

Nationalism or patriotism is generally regarded as one of the elements of Thatcherism (Kavanagh, 1997; Marquand, 1988; Wilson, 1992). In particular, through the Falklands war, Thatcher could gain dominant political status in the Conservative party, as well as national popularity, through the nationalist appeal of the war (Charmley, 1996). Also, it is true that patriotic comments were often found in her early speeches. She emphasised the greatness of Britain (Thatcher, 1975b, 1976a) and past glories of the British empire and English literature (Thatcher, 1978b). She even declared that the Conservative Party was ‘above all, a patriotic party, a national party’ (Thatcher, 1976b). This, then peaked after the Falkland war (Thatcher, 1982c).

However, as Lynch (1999) points out, nationalism in Thatcher’s politics was an instinctive and short-term bid for populist appeal rather than the coherent philosophy of her ideology. Even though she used patriotic language initially, it was not associated with the consistent national strategy in her political ideology. Indeed, nationalist remarks in her speeches had mostly disappeared after her second term and there was no such strong nationalist comment in Major’s speeches.

Back to basics

In his 1993 Party conference speech in 1993, Major raised a new theme to define his conservatism, ‘Back to Basics’ (Major, 1993a). His original intention was to reunite his party and present an unifying basis for the Government’s legislative programme, such as in education and criminal justice (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997). Within this theme, he claimed that there had been moral decay in the fast changing society, and people should return to traditional moral values. However, this seemed to be an out-of-date idea as it appeared to idealise a conventional social order of the past, against the changes in modern society, for example, a traditional family model (Evans & Taylor, 1996). Moreover, it was not a good time for the Conservative Party to raise moral issues, as Lord Justice Scott’s inquiry into the sale of arms to Iraq was being carried out and the MP Stephen Milligan was found dead in women’s stockings the following month (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997). As a result, this moral theme was presented in his speeches on just a few occasions until 1994, for example, in Major (1994a), then disappeared afterward.

The role of major actors

The role of government

Even though state intervention was portrayed as one of the reasons for economic difficulties and ‘rolling back the state’ was one of the major strategies in the ideology of Thatcher and Major, this is far from a withdrawal or denial of the role of government. It was the redirection of the state’s role from a positive and active role such as in economic planning and state control over industries, to a negative and protective role such as in safeguarding citizens, maintaining a firm ground for the economy, and protecting the most vulnerable groups. These roles are clearly stated in the speeches of Thatcher, and in Major’s foreword to the Party Manifesto:

The State has, it seems to me, three main roles: first, to defend the population against its enemies within and without and to act as the force behind the law: In this, the State should have a monopoly of power, second, its function in social services, where it can play a big part but should not have a monopoly, and third, its role in the economy, where not only should the State refrain from a monopoly but its every activity should be scrutinised to be sure that it cannot be carried out more effectively by private enterprise (Thatcher, 1978b).

I believe in a responsible society Government's duties are clear: to protect Britain in a dangerous world; to look after those who cannot look after themselves; to protect law-abiding people from crime and disorder; and to protect the value of our currency - without which all spending pledges are worthless and all savings at risk (Conservative Party, 1992).

The foremost duty of government appeared to be the protection of their citizens. This included providing an equitable and enforceable system of law (Conservative Party, 1987, 1992; Thatcher, 1975b, 1978b, 1982b, 1983b) as well as firm defence against external threats (Conservative Party, 1992; Thatcher, 1976b, 1978b, 1982b) to safeguard citizens’ daily lives and free economic activity. As discussed earlier, freedom and prosperity could not be guaranteed without the appropriate level of security, in Thatcher’s and Major’s thinking.

The second role of government was described as that of an organiser of a fair and stable playground for economic players. Also, government was seen as a referee on the pitch, in the metaphor used by Thatcher and Major. Therefore, the referee (the state) must not become a

player, or they ruin the entire game (the economy). The role of referee in the economy included deregulating unnecessary restrictions, providing a fair and clear taxation system and lower tax, lowering barriers for small businesses and the self-employed, cutting red tape, and protecting the interests of pioneers and unfortunate failures:

The third role of the State is its involvement in the economy. ... Its task should be to ensure that as few obstacles as possible are placed in the way of our own pursuit of enterprise, not to try and organise how we should do that. Thus the State should be concerned with such matters as the enforcement of private contracts, the encouragement of competitive markets, the guarantee of fair trading, maintenance of incentives regulation of health and safety standards (Thatcher, 1978b).

The proper role of government is to set free the natural energy of the people, and that means real rewards for effort and skill. It means restoring a wide degree of freedom to the forces that make up human society (Thatcher, 1979a).

... we in Government cannot ensure that the pre-eminence of London will continue. That's up to you. But what we can do is to make certain that you are not constrained by needless regulation (Thatcher, 1981b).

It is Government's duty to provide: ... -a fair and clear system of taxation so that the producer is not harried by arbitrary and incomprehensible tax demands. -and a stable and honest currency and banking system so that the saver knows his money is secure. ... The task of Government is to provide the right framework in which industry and commerce can operate. Then and only then will enterprise be able to flourish (Thatcher, 1982a).

This Conservative Government has been both giving those incentives and clearing away the obstacles to expansion: the high rates of tax on individuals and businesses; the difficulties facing the small firm trying to grow, and the self-employed man trying to set up on his own; the blockages in the planning system; the bottlenecks on our roads; the restrictions on our farmers and fishermen; and the resistance to new ideas and technologies (Conservative Party, 1983).

The Conservative Government has created a framework in which once again enterprise can flourish - by cutting red tape, by denationalising state-owned companies, by removing

unnecessary restrictions, by abolishing exchange control, by enabling the City of London to become the foremost financial centre in the world, by keeping down prices through extending competition, and by ensuring access to open trade so that British exporters and consumers can both benefit (Conservative Party, 1987).

For us each person counts. We never forget those with their foot on the first rung of the ladder of opportunity. Or those who have been knocked off it by misfortune. The Government I lead will always protect their interests (Major, 1992b).

It's asking us, as the Government to play our part in creating the right economic environment for industry to let loose its own energies and compete on a level basis with the rest of the world (Major, 1993b).

Finally, protection of vulnerable people such as the disabled, unemployed and elderly was conceded as a government duty by Thatcher and Major. However, it was restricted to the most vulnerable people who were "least able to help themselves", in their language. Also it was believed that the provisions should not be supplied through a state monopoly, but through a mixed economy, with more involvement of voluntary and private providers. Hence, the appropriate role for government was as an enabler and facilitator, rather than provider. This would allow not only for service provision but also for service users to regain their independence:

The second role of the State is in respect of the social services. Whether it be in cash benefits, health, or education, the State should not be the only agency concerned. Voluntary organisations, private pension and insurance funds, personal health provision, and above all family and friends, will always have a vital part to play (Thatcher, 1978b).

... we must protect the most vulnerable from the extremes of the international climate (Thatcher, 1981b).

Conservatives believe equally strongly in the duty of Government to help those who are least able to help themselves (Conservative Party, 1983).

For an increasing number of public services the State should be an enabler and facilitator (Major, 1992c).

... governments can help those who have been out of work for sometime to regain the confidence and work experience they need (Major, 1995).

I believe it is time for the third great move forward in public welfare. To bolster social security with personal and family security. To build alongside State provision growing private wealth. To replace the insecurity of dependence for many with the security of independence for all (Major, 1997).

The Business sector

It was clearly stated in the speeches of Thatcher and Major, and in manifestos under their leadership that it was not government but the private sector that created more jobs, made the economy prosper, and increased the wealth of the nation. It was understood that entrepreneurs would do their job to the best of their ability, because this would be in their best interest, if the government let them:

Private enterprise is by far the best method of harnessing the energy and ambition of the individual to increasing the wealth of the nation, for pioneering new products and technologies, for holding down prices through the mechanism of competition, and for widening the range and choice of goods and services and jobs (Thatcher, 1975a).

Countries that are more successful than we are owe their economic achievements above all to free enterprise. And the benefits are not confined to a few of their citizens. They are spread among the many (Thatcher, 1977c).

Material progress depends on the genius, flair and application of our people in industry, trade and commerce. How products are designed and how their production is organised is a matter for management (Thatcher, 1982a).

The great surges of progress and prosperity in this country did not come directly from Government action. They were not based on national plans. They came from free men, working in a free society, where they could deploy their talents to their best advantage for themselves, for their countries and for the future (Thatcher, 1983b).

Government has no business running business. So it's up to you the professionals to perform, to keep the wheels humming, and to provide the vigour and the enterprise (Thatcher, 1986a).

... it is our passionate belief that free enterprise and competition are the engines of prosperity and the guardians of liberty (Thatcher, 1987b).

In the 1990s, the Government's task will be to provide an economic environment which encourages enterprise - the mainspring of prosperity (Conservative Party, 1992).

People accuse us - accuse us - people accuse us of being the business party. Well, you bet we are. We're for small business and we're for large business. We're for more business, not less business. When business booms, Britain booms, so we're for private enterprise and we're proud of it (Major, 1993b).

We know jobs for the future are created by enterprise, not government (Major, 1995).

Major strategies

Rolling back the state and the trade unions

Given their interpretation of the economic difficulties as mainly caused by excessive state and trade union power in economics, cutting their power and influence would be the obvious solution for Thatcher and Major, in order to bring about a recovery. Their strategy had, in particular, focused on 'rolling back the state'. This was conducted in three ways: curbing public spending, privatisation, and cutting tax. Reducing public spending was represented as the urgent and foremost task in order to control inflation. This meant the state needed to stop spending more than it earned through borrowing. Also, it had been described as a means, alongside deregulation, to allow the private business sector more freedom and opportunity to prosper:

We can't go on like this. We are paying ourselves more than the value of what we produce. We are spending more than we earn. The gap has to be bridged. ... The only way to safety is to stop borrowing and stop borrowing soon; ... it can concentrate all its economies on the Government's own spending ... the only common-sense answer is to reduce government spending (Thatcher, 1976b).

So if you ask whether the next Conservative Government will cut controls and regulations and keep interference in people's lives to a minimum, my answer is "Yes, that is exactly what we shall do (Thatcher, 1977c).

... inflation is a major problem which cannot be cured without curbing public spending (Thatcher, 1979a).

We can, however, make it easier for industry to adjust. First, we must control public sector borrowing, so that interest rates can fall. ... Second, the relentless growth of the public sector has put a crushing burden on the private wealth-creating sector (Thatcher, 1980a).

Countries which have overspent and overborrowed must reduce their spending and reduce their borrowing (Thatcher, 1982a).

Prosperity will not come by inventing more and more lavish public expenditure programmes. You do not grow richer by ordering another cheque-book from the Bank. No nation ever grew more prosperous by taxing its citizens beyond their capacity to pay (Thatcher, 1983b).

Yet when I looked around the Cabinet table last Thursday, as we brought to a conclusion the annual spending round, what I saw was a group of Ministers, regarding themselves not only as heads of spending Departments, but as members of a Cabinet united behind a single strategy-a strategy of keeping public expenditure under control, so that (as befits a free society) people may keep more of their own money to spend or save as they choose, a very worthy and laudable aim (Thatcher, 1984a).

How have we been able to do this without running into the financial crises which Labour's spending policies invariably set off? First, we have been prudent with the nation's money. We have slashed public borrowing and sought savings in government expenditure wherever they could sensibly be found. Second, we are engaged in steadily reducing the share of the nation's income taken by the State (Conservative Party, 1987).

You know, deregulation isn't just about making life better for business. It's about making life better for everybody (Major, 1992b).

We try to remove government from the everyday lives of people. We believe that every family should be entitled to enrich their own private corner of life, and then pass it on to their children without over-mighty taxation (Major, 1994b).

Privatisation was another major strategy to roll back the state. It was proposed as a way not only to make the existing national industries more efficient, but also to give private entrepreneurs more freedom to prosper. It was also combined with another major strategy: diffusing ownership by providing the opportunity for workers to own shares in the companies, so called, 'popular capitalism' or 'capital-owing democracy'. Furthermore, marketisation of the public sector had appeared as a part of privatisation, to make the existing national industries and public services more efficient and responsible to their customers (citizens) by putting them into competition:

Some of our economic problems now stem from nationalisation. ... The State's concern in economic affairs must be primarily to service the nation. Its task should be to ensure that as few obstacles as possible are placed in the way of our own pursuit of enterprise, not to try and organise how we should do that (Thatcher, 1978b).

More nationalisation would further impoverish us and further undermine our freedom (Conservative Party, 1979).

You have said it all week. Private business is still being held to ransom by the giant monopolist nationalised industries. ... The fact is that only when we introduce the spur of competition in the State owned industries do they begin to respond to the needs of the customer (Thatcher, 1981a).

Three and a half years ago defenders of the status quo tried to brand denationalisation as irrelevant. Now the critics are finding it harder to ignore the evidence of their own eyes. They cannot help seeing the new, long-distance coaches speeding down the motor-ways, at very much lower fares (Thatcher, 1982b).

... few people can now believe that state ownership means better service to the customer. The old illusions have melted away. ... A company which has to satisfy its customers and compete to survive is more likely to be efficient, alert to innovation, and genuinely accountable to the public (Conservative Party, 1983).

They work hard and conscientiously in the true spirit of service and I pay special tribute to the splendid efforts of Conservative councils up and down the country in getting better value for money through greater efficiency and putting out work to competitive tender. This is privatization at the local level and we need more of it (Thatcher, 1984b).

We believe also that it should be as common for people to own shares as it is for them to own houses or cars. The privatisation of British Telecom and many other firms extended share-ownership to hundreds of thousands who had never owned shares before. And there will be further measures to come (Thatcher, 1985).

... what's more, millions have already become shareholders. And soon there will be opportunities for millions more, in British Gas, British Airways, British Airports and Rolls-Royce (Thatcher, 1986b).

Over a third of the companies and industries which used to be owned by the State have been returned to free enterprise. Productivity and profitability have soared in the newly privatised companies. ... It is no mystery why privatisation has succeeded. The overwhelming majority of employees have become shareholders in the newly privatised companies. They want their companies to succeed. ... We will continue the successful programme of privatisation (Conservative Party, 1987).

Since we took office we have handed eighteen State Enterprises back to the British people—eighteen so far, more to come. We have encouraged ownership at home and ownership at work (Thatcher, 1988c).

We have returned to private enterprise two-thirds of the companies once owned by the state: 46 businesses employing about 900,000 people. ... But much greater economic efficiency is not the only gain. Employees have been able to take a direct stake in the newly privatised companies. ... We will continue our privatisation programme. ... We will bring private sector enterprise into the public services by encouraging contracting out and competitive tendering throughout government. ... We will maintain our programme of compulsory competitive tendering of local authority services (Conservative Party, 1992).

Over the years we've reined back the size of the state. Steel coal, gas, electricity, water, airways - all once leeches on the state for subsidy. Now they're in the private sector, yielding

taxes for schools, hospitals, police. It's a remarkable record - a smaller state, lower income tax and better services (Major, 1997).

Tax had been seen by Thatcher and Major as basically a burden on the success of individuals and businesses. This was the reason why cutting tax was described as one of the major elements of rolling back the state in order to reward and encourage hard work, people's independence, and a prosperous economy:

We must break out of restraint if we are to have a prosperous and successful future. ... We shall do it by following the example of other Conservative governments and cutting taxes as soon as we can (Thatcher, 1976b).

We shall cut income tax at all levels to reward hard work, responsibility and success; tackle the poverty trap; encourage saving and the wider ownership of property; simplify taxes - like VAT; and reduce tax bureaucracy (Conservative Party, 1979).

We've reduced the crushing burden of taxes on business (Thatcher, 1983a).

Lower taxation coupled with lower inflation makes everyone better off. It encourages people to work harder, to be inventive and to take risks. It promotes a climate of enterprise and initiative. ... There is a strong moral case for reducing taxation. High taxes deprive people of their independence and make their choices for them. The desire to do better for one's family is one of the strongest motives in human nature (Conservative Party, 1987).

... the top rate of tax ... is now lower than it was then because we believe that when tax rates are at sensible levels, people have the incentive to work harder and to earn more, hence a strong economy, a buoyant level of tax revenue and a budget surplus. So as a result, we are now steadily repaying the national debt (Thatcher, 1988a).

Our Party has always kept personal tax rates down. And in the next Parliament we will go on doing so. Lower taxes don't just mean richer people. They mean a richer life. A life with wider horizons, in which people can develop their interests. ... lower taxes give people more powerful choices, too. The chance to save for the long-term, to invest in the future. Building up a pension. Starting a business. Giving their children a good start in life - and passing on to them the fruits of a lifetime's work (Major, 1991c).

An enterprise economy rewards the industrious and thrifty. We believe that government should not gobble up all the proceeds of growth, and that those who create prosperity should enjoy it, through lower taxes and more opportunity to build up personal wealth (Major, 1992b).

My aim is to make the state smaller, but better. That's why our target is a 20 pence basic rate of tax - and for state spending to fall below 40 per cent of the nation's wealth (Major, 1997).

The control of trade union power was also important for Thatcher and Major, in order to address the influence of radical activists and militants, and minimise disruptions to businesses through strikes. Thatcher introduced a range of legislation to do this: the abolition of closed shops, the restriction of picketing and the introduction of the secret ballot (Thatcher, 1979a, 1980b). Major also introduced a series of reforms to trade unions including the need for written authorisation for union membership, the postal pre-strike ballot, and the independent scrutiny of it, the seven days' of notice of any strike, and the right to restrain the disruption of public services by illegal industrial action (Conservative Party, 1992).

Monetarism

Apart from rolling back the state, the chief government strategy for economic prosperity was to create a firm ground for the market to work better, by maintaining stability and controlling money supply. These are central policy of monetarism (Gamble, 1983). These monetarist policies such as defeating inflation and keeping sound money had appeared as a top priority, as well as the foundational conditions for the economic recovery and development in Thatcher's and Major's speeches:

SOUND MONEY and a fair balance between the rights and obligations of unions, management and the community in which they work are essential to economic recovery (Conservative Party, 1979).

So we shall not compromise our responsibility to provide a secure financial framework in which the free economy can flourish (Thatcher, 1982a).

We had to start by restoring honest money. Without that, nothing we tried to do could possibly succeed (Thatcher, 1983a).

Among other things, we agreed that lower interest rates are essential to sustain the recovery. As we have seen in the past week here in Britain, firm control of money can bring the rates down (Thatcher, 1984a).

Our success in the battle against inflation has been the key to Britain's economic revival. It required firm control of public expenditure, a substantial reduction in government borrowing, curbing the growth of money in circulation, maintaining financial discipline, stimulating competition and moderating trade union power (Conservative Party, 1987).

... it is time for all countries to go back to fundamentals. ... The first fundamental, sound money and low inflation. ... Second, prudent finance and living within your means, maxims easy to state but which require perseverance to apply (Thatcher, 1987a).

Buoyant investment has been a very good thing but too much consumption has been financed by too much borrowing so we have taken action to make sure that inflation is kept firmly in check because the defeat of inflation remains our top priority (Thatcher, 1988a).

The defeat of inflation has to be the overriding priority (Thatcher, 1989a).

First and foremost, I loathe inflation. To me inflation is not an abstract concept. It means the destruction of competitiveness for industry and commerce (Major, 1990).

A Government that secures two things: low inflation - and the right climate for business to succeed (Major, 1992b).

... success has another vital ingredient: getting public finances back under control (Major, 1993a).

We will keep inflation firmly under control (Major, 1996a).

Since government endeavours to keep full employment are understood to be doomed to fail by monetarism (Gamble, 1983), Thatcher and Major also made it clear that unemployment could be solved not by direct state intervention, but by economic recovery. Accordingly, the job for the government was monetary management to create a sound ground for the recovery:

We need to concentrate more on the creation of conditions in which new, more modern, more secure, better paid jobs come into existence (Conservative Party, 1979).

we are fighting unemployment by fighting inflation (Thatcher, 1981a).

The truth is that unemployment, in Britain as in other countries, can be checked and then reduced only by steadily and patiently rebuilding the economy so that it produces the goods and services which people want to buy, at prices they can afford (Conservative Party, 1983).

We all of us agreed that if we are to tackle unemployment, we have to persist with the battle against inflation (Thatcher, 1985).

Unemployment is a bitter experience. So I don't want a temporary cure. I want a lasting recovery. I want to come out of this recession safe from the threat of its repetition. That's why we're looking for long-term solutions (Major, 1992b).

The first was to get inflation down and keep it down. That's the only way to bring down unemployment and create jobs (Major, 1993a).

Jobs. We will continue to help businesses create more jobs, particularly for the young (Major, 1996a).

Diffusion of ownership

Along with rolling back the state, when monetarist policies were the core government strategy for economic prosperity, diffusion of ownership was the central policy adopted by the Thatcher and Major Governments to help this prosperity reach the people. In other words, people could enjoy the national prosperity by owning homes, shares, and savings. Moreover, ownership was the means, in their ideology, to make people free through financial independence. People could help themselves through ownership, without government intervention. On the other hand, this means people have to bear responsibility for what happens to them and their family. This reflects the individualism in Conservative ideology. Briefly, diffusion of ownership, in the ideology of the Thatcher and Major Governments, has a similar meaning to 'distribution' in left-wing ideology. The encouragement of home ownership by selling council houses appeared to be the first step towards diffusion and it was extended to ownership of shares, savings and pensions by a range of measures, such as privatisation and lowering taxes:

We would like to see the workers who help create the profits sharing them. ... Under a Conservative Government we hope that more of them will own a stake in industry and that more of them will own their own homes (Thatcher, 1977c).

To most people ownership means first and foremost a home of their own (Conservative Party, 1979).

It was Anthony Eden who chose for us the goal of "a property-owning democracy". But for all the time that I have been in public affairs that has been beyond the reach of so many, who were denied the right to the most basic ownership of all-the homes in which they live (Thatcher, 1980b).

Yet the family is the basic unit of our society and it is in the family that the next generation is nurtured. Our concern is to create a property owning democracy and it is therefore a very human concern. It is a natural desire of Conservatives that every family should have a stake in society and that the privilege of a family home should not be restricted to the few (Thatcher, 1981a).

Wherever we can we shall extend the opportunity for personal ownership and the self-respect that goes with it (Thatcher, 1982b).

We have given every council and New Town tenant the legal right to buy his or her own home. Many Housing Association tenants have been granted the same right, too. This is the biggest single step towards a home-owning democracy ever taken. It is also the largest transfer of property from the State to the individual (Conservative Party, 1983).

When you have something of your own, you take care of it-you do it yourself in the garden or in the house. As a property owner you respect the rights of others, and the rule of law which upholds them. As a property owner you understand your own responsibility (Thatcher, 1985).

Private ownership-of companies, of homes, of property of every kind-goes far deeper than mere efficiency. All of us in politics have dreams. It is part of mine to give power and responsibility back to people, to restore to individuals and families the sense and feeling of independence (Thatcher, 1986a).

what this Conservative Government has done is to make it easier for people to acquire independence for themselves: by introducing the right to buy council houses; by returning nationalised industries to the people in ways that encourage the widest possible spread of ownership; by making it easier to buy shares in British industry through employee share schemes and Personal Equity Plans (Conservative Party, 1987).

We can only build a responsible, independent community with responsible, independent people. That's why Conservative policies have given more and more of them the chance to buy their own homes, to build up capital, to acquire shares in their companies (Thatcher, 1988c).

In the 1980s we began a great revolution. Our aim was a life enriched by ownership, in which homes, shares and pensions were not something for others, but something for everyone. ... But this revolution is still not complete. In the 1990s we must carry it further. We must extend savings and ownership in every form. ... The pioneers of the property-owning democracy are the parents of the capital-owning democracy to come (Major, 1991c).

Alongside choice there is a second great foundation to the Tory approach - ownership. And with it goes wealth creation, which is the only way to provide for those who need help (Major, 1992a).

We have cut direct tax, given more and more people the opportunity to save, to own shares, own pensions, own homes. More than ever before, we have given families more independence and more freedom to choose (Major, 1996b).

I want to see everyone have these opportunities. To see the have-nots become the haves. That's why we started the sale of council houses. Why we've sold shares and spread savings. And it's why we're going to provide secure pensions for everyone (Major, 1997).

Law and order

As sound money was the essential condition for economic prosperity, law and order were the foundation for people's freedom, for Thatcher and Major. They claimed there would be no freedom in lawless anarchy. The rule of law provided standards for ordinary people to follow in safety, and order established the stable ground for people to enjoy their freedom, in this ideology.

Sometimes, a little freedom could even be suspended for the protection of the greater freedom that relied on law and order:

The third thing I believed in passionately was the human being's fundamental right to liberty, and that liberty would only work under a rule of law because it is the order of the law which enables freedom to work (Thatcher, 1977a).

... freedom we must have if this nation is to prosper, but freedom to make economic progress isn't absolutely everything. There must be freedom under a rule of law as well (Thatcher, 1979b).

People yearn to be able to rely on some generally accepted standards. Without them you have not got a society at all, you have purposeless anarchy (Thatcher, 1980b).

We are all in it together, because a breakdown of law and order strikes at everyone. No one is exempt when the terrorists and the bully boys take over. We look to the police and to the courts to protect the freedom of ordinary people, because without order none of us can go about our daily business in safety (Thatcher, 1981a).

The rule of law matters deeply to every one of us. Any concession to the thief, the thug or the terrorist undermines that principle which is the foundation of all our liberties (Conservative Party, 1983).

If the police and courts are lacking in the powers necessary to keep order in a free society and necessary to protect the weak against the strong, then we shall introduce measures which give them what they need. For our purpose is to support and strenuously to defend the institutions which are the foundations of a free society (Thatcher, 1984a).

For without the rule of law, there can be no liberty (Thatcher, 1986b).

We do sometimes have to sacrifice a little of the freedom we cherish in order to defend ourselves from those whose aim is to destroy that freedom altogether and that is a decision which we should not be afraid to take, because in the battle against terrorism we shall never give in. The only victory will be our victory-the victory of democracy and a free society (Thatcher, 1988a)!

The Conservative Party has always stood for the protection of the citizen and the defence of the rule of law (Conservative Party, 1992).

Public service reform and the Citizen's Charter

As long as they conceded the basic role of the government in public services including social security, health, and education, there had been no other option for Thatcher and Major but to make public services efficient by adopting market principles such as competition and choice, under their belief in the superiority of the free-market. It was Thatcher who started to promote more competition and choice in education (Conservative Party, 1983; Thatcher, 1982b, 1987c) and at the end of her premiership this was extended to other public services including health and housing (Thatcher, 1989b, 1990b). This policy was continued by the Major Government (Major, 1990).

The Citizen's Charter follows on from this development. The Citizen's Charter was a framework to import private sector management practices, to improve the performance of the public service by performance measurement, central inspection, competition, consumer choice and more information about standards (Conservative Party, 1992; Major, 1991b, 1991c, 1992a, 1992c, 1993a, 1994a). This programme was extended alongside competitive tendering and contracting-out of public services (Major, 1992c).

Citizenship

It could be said that there was no such a thing as citizenship in the ideology of the Thatcher and Major Governments. At least, there was no collective concept of citizenship. Under their individualism, the concept of citizenship based on collective responsibility and social obligation had been privatised (New Statesman, 1988). Citizen rights were replaced with the right to buy, like consumers in a free-market (Wilding, 1992), which could be gained through the diffusion of ownership. Social obligation was reinterpreted as voluntary generosity beyond the conventional 'bureaucratic definition of citizenship' (Hurd, 1988, p. 14). In this privatised concept of citizenship, responsibilities fell onto individuals or their families rather than society or community:

In turn the material success of the free society enables people to show a degree of generosity to the less fortunate-unmatched in any other society (Thatcher, 1977a).

In the community, we must do more to help people to help themselves, and families to look after their own. We must also encourage the voluntary movement and self-help groups working in partnership with the statutory services (Conservative Party, 1979).

The well-being of our people is about far more than the welfare state. It is about self reliance, family help, voluntary help as well as State provision. In a society which is truly healthy responsibility is shared and help is mutual. Wherever we can we shall extend the opportunity for personal ownership and the self-respect that goes with it (Thatcher, 1982b).

Freedom and responsibility go together. The Conservative Party believes in encouraging people to take responsibility for their own decisions. We shall continue to return more choice to individuals and their families (Conservative Party, 1983).

For I believe - strongly - that you, and not the Government, should be in charge of your life. That's what Conservatism stands for (Conservative Party, 1992).

Discussion

Three questions raised by the initial literature review in this Chapter should be addressed before further discussion. They are questions about the consistency and the rationality of Thatcherite ideology, and the continuity of ideology between the Major government and Thatcherism. Firstly, the analysis shows the great level of consistency of Thatcherism. From the interpretation of contemporary society to political objectives and major strategies, her presentations in her speeches and the manifestos under her leadership are shown to contain a range of constant factors in each analytical element, over more than a decade.

The analysis also shows the great level of coherence in the ideology of Thatcher. The contradiction of economic liberalism and authoritarianism has been highlighted. Yet while economic freedom was evidently a part of her ideological goal and strategy, at least, in the ideological dimension, authoritarian policies such as the centralisation of power were not

significant. Law and order, the most authoritarian factor in the ideology, is represented as one of

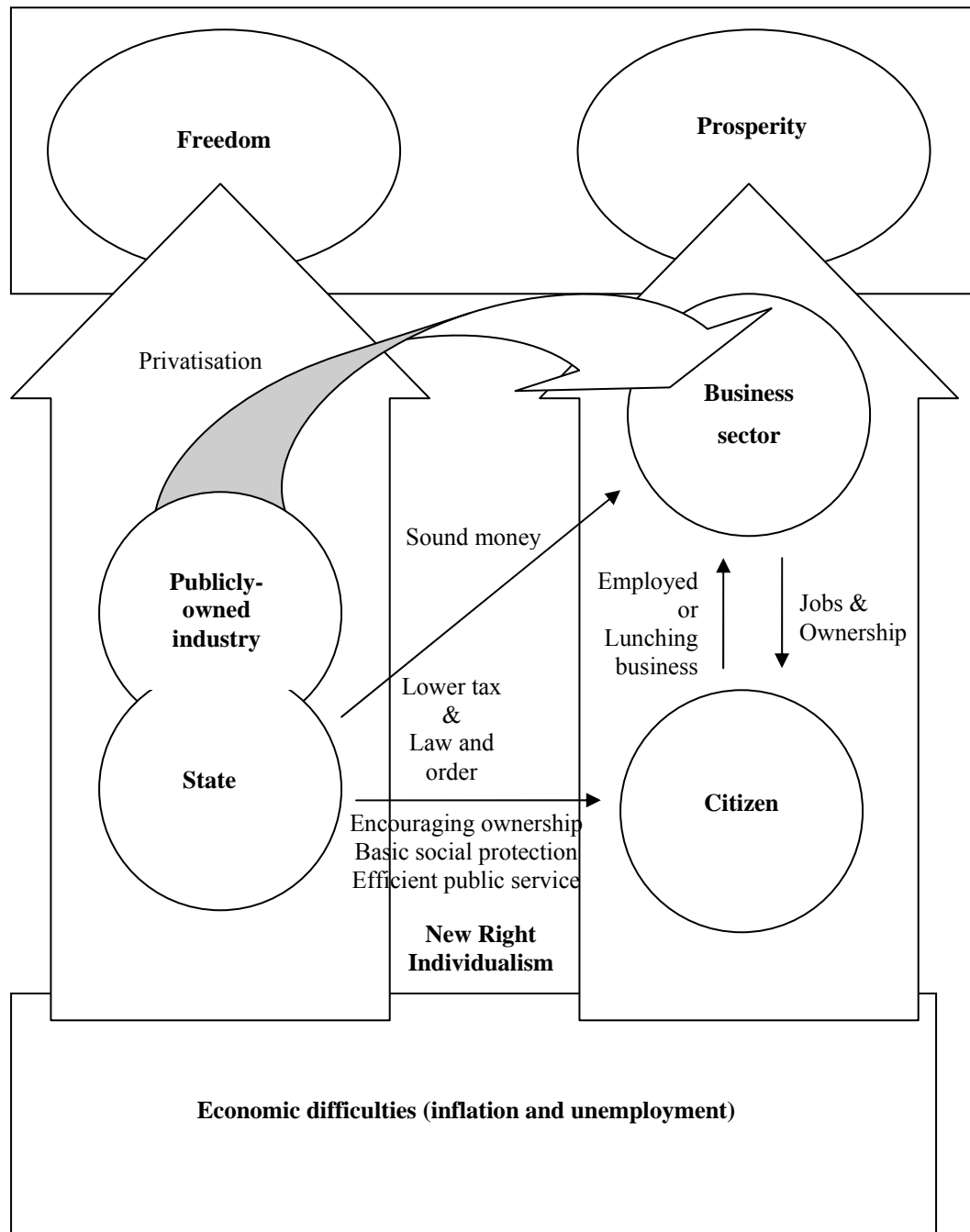


Figure 5 the structure of ideology of Conservative Government in the 1980s and the 1990s

the strategies to guarantee freedom in society and the economy, through a secure environment. The paradox between nationalist language and ‘rolling back the state’ was also indicated, but Thatcher’s initial nationalist utterances are revealed as temporary rhetorical remarks rather than

substantial factors in the ideology. Therefore, the claim of the paradox in the Thatcherite ideology is dismissed.

Conclusion

The continuity between the ideologies of Thatcher and Major is found far more dominant than difference. They share all of factors in every criterion with few differences. Citizen's Charter could be only distinguishing point in the ideology of Major government and Thatcher's but it could not be the unique feature of Major's. The core idea of the Charter which is the adaptation of market systems into public sector to improve its efficiency is already seen in Thatcher's. Consequently, the whole conceptual structure of the ideology of Thatcher and Major government could be visualised as Figure 5.

Compared to the ideology of Old Labour, one of the dual objectives in Conservative ideology is changed from social equality to freedom, while prosperity is left as it is. Furthermore, the roles for each objective are clearly divided between government and the business sector. The state has no direct role in prosperity, while it takes the central duty of extending and securing the freedom of citizens and the business sector through lower tax and the rule of law, in this ideology. Achieving prosperity is the primary role of the business sector, by economic activity, and the citizen by ownership. However, these two roles link to each other through the interrelationship between the dual objectives. Freedom is the foundational condition for prosperity under a free-market mechanism, while prosperity provides more freedom for people through economic independence.

In spite of the significance of Thatcherism in Conservative politics, it appears to draw on the lineage of ideologies in the Conservative Party. Also it is revealed to have a great level of consistency and coherence as a political ideology, through this analysis. Also, there is little difference between it and the ideology of the Major government. So these two ideologies could be summarised as follows: in order to achieve freedom and prosperity under economic difficulties (mainly due to too much state control), government should provide more economic liberty to the business sector, with policies for financial stability, as well as offering more

ownership to people, to create more incentives and independence. Then people would enjoy their freedom and prosper with the free market guaranteeing competition and choice, while allowing people to take responsibility for their own choices.

However, there has been no government that has suffered such a sudden and enduring political decline as the Major government in Britain (Kavanagh, 1997). The disastrous forced exit of Britain from the ERM significantly damaged the Conservatives reputation for economic competence, which had been their most symbolic feature, in contrast with Labour (Dorey, 1999; Gilmour & Garnett, 1997). They suffered a 20 per cent deficit in the opinion polls behind Labour (Kavanagh, 1997). It was just five months after the election victory in 1992. This was just the starting point of the downfall of the Major Government. The worst popularity ratings of any government since opinion measurement began, and catastrophic performances in local and European elections in 1994 followed, while, in the Opposition, new leadership emerged with Tony Blair and 'New Labour'.

CHAPTER

4

From 1994 to 2007: What was Blair's New Labour?

As discussed in Chapter 1, New Labour ideology had drawn considerable academic attention between 1990s and early 2000s. There had been a significant number of studies to find out its features or define the ideology while comparing to Old Labour or Thatcherism. Since 1997, when Tony Blair announced his resignation, New Labour has faced another historical task to renew their ideology with new leader Gordon Brown. However, in academia, compared to the level of interest at the beginning, there have been fewer attempts to reflect and clarify what was the ideology of Blair's New Labour.

This is probably an ideal chance to define New Labour ideology with the abundant evidence in a range of the political texts Blair left behind. However, it is true there are a number of studies to evaluate the New Labour government in the past decade (Kitson & Wilkinson, 2007; Rutledge, 2007; Sawyer, 2007; Wiggan, 2007; Wilkinson, 2007) but they usually focus on the policies and performances of New Labour government rather than the ideology. Moreover, although there are some ideological reflections of New Labour (MacLeavy, 2007; McAnulla, 2007; Page, 2007), their approach to the ideology of New Labour are not based on rigorous evidence.

In this Chapter, New Labour ideology is defined through the analysis of a range of political texts including speeches and writings by Blair since 1994 and the election manifestos of the Labour

Party under his leadership. This analysis is based on the framework established in Chapter 1 like the previous two chapters on Old Labour and Thatcherism. As the conclusion of the first half of the thesis, this is followed by the discussion to clarify the ideology New Labour compared to the other two historical strands of political ideology in Britain and to see what ideological elements makes distinctive difference between the three.

New Labour in historical context

The emergence of New Labour paralleled with the long painful process of reshaping Labour Party after three successive election defeats, and the 'civil war' that led to the break up of the Party with Social Democratic Party (SPD). Following the policy review under Neil Kinnock's leadership and the establishment of the Commission on Social Justice (Commission on Social Justice, 1994) created by the successive leader, John Smith, New Labour had made a successful campaign to reshape the Party (Buckler & Dolowitz, 2004).

Bevir (2007) distinguishes this initial period of New Labour prior to the 1997 election as a 'formative stage'. After Tony Blair was elected as leader of the Party in 1994, he persuaded the Party to change Clause Four from its symbolic socialist statement of 'equitable distribution' and 'common ownership' to 'the means to realise true (individuals') potential through the spreading of opportunity' (Buckler & Dolowitz, 2004; Gray, 2004). Also, along with this change, the influence of trade unions, which was traditionally the core of the Party, had been dramatically weakened in financial term as well as in a representational sense (MacLeavy, 2007).

One of the controversial points of this transformative move by New Labour is its relevance with the revisionist tradition of the 1960s and 1970s within the Party. As shown in Chapter 1, one of the divisions between commentators on New Labour relies on their interpretation of the association of New Labour with the Labour's past. For example, Wickham-Jones (2007) argues that the revisionist legacy represented by Crosland provides an iconic justification for New Labour to claim their inheritance of the Party's tradition. On the other hand, Page (2007) indicates New Labour does not have 'a song in their heart' which is used as a metaphor for the aspiration toward a socialist society which was not abandoned even by the revisionist.

However, this debate tends to be based on subjective judgements, as these differences are highly dependent upon which aspect they focus on within the revisionist tradition in their arguments. In terms of the historical context of the revisionist claim, which was the attempt to renew and change the dogmatic interpretation of the ideology of the party in order to adapt the party to the changing society, it is fair to say New Labour inherited this tradition. Likewise, as far as the actual contents of the revisionist claim are concerned, New Labour, which accepts the superiority of market – at least as a method for effectiveness and efficiency – is difficult to be synthesised with the same ideological faction that accepts that the market brings with it the inevitable consequence of harming society.

Moreover, in order to understand New Labour appropriately, it needs to be discussed in a wider historical tradition including the Conservative's since, as shown in Chapter 1, its ideology accepts some elements of them. Therefore, it is important to look at New Labour ideology while comparing it to two major political traditions – Old Labour and Thatcherism – rather than just within Labour politics. This is the reason why this thesis can provide an unprecedented chance to define the ideology of Blair's New Labour with the findings about the other two from previous chapters based on the extensive evidences through the analysis of political texts.

New Labour and third ways

One of the questions we need to address before the analysis of New Labour ideology is whether New Labour can be seen as a coherent political ideology. Leggett (2004) insists that New Labour fails to establish an overarching ideological narrative like Thatcherism. This might be because their own preference of pragmatic rhetoric to ideological principle (Page, 2007) but Leggett (2004) summarises these criticisms with three categories. These are: New Labour's failure to provide a coherent normative philosophy which provides a consistent ground for political action; no clear line of 'friends and enemies' like 'class war' of Old Labour and 'enemy within' of Thatcherism; and the absence of clear vision of the 'good society'.

However, it is highly inappropriate to criticise New Labour based on what they attempt to renew, which was the conventional political division between 'friends and enemy'. The other two

criticisms about the coherent political philosophy and the clear vision of society will be sufficiently examined in the following analysis. In fact, at least Leggett (2004), irrespective of the original intention or awareness of New Labour, admits they are far from empty political rhetoric as they are based on a cogent analysis of wider sociological changes like globalisation and individualisation. Moreover, Fairclough (2000) points out a level of consistency and commonality within political discourse of New Labour, in spite of some vagueness and contradictions.

This leads to the second question – the relationship between New Labour and the ‘Third Way’ since some criticism on the ambiguity of New Labour partly stems from the confusion in the third way debates. It is true Third Way is often used as an interchangeable term with New Labour. As the title of Tony Blair’s own Fabian pamphlet *‘The Third Way: new politics for the new century’* shows, the Third Way could be ‘the best label’ (Blair, 1998c, p. 1) of New Labour. However, it is hard for this ‘label’ to be specific, as the Third Way is ‘not one road but many’ (S. White, 1998).

White (1998) argues there are two lines of division amongst Third Way thinking. The first division is between ‘leftists’ who have more egalitarian stands and emphasise the role of income redistribution for equality of real opportunity, and ‘centralists’ who perceive the commitment to real opportunity in meritocratic terms. The second division of the Third Way is between ‘liberals’ who interpret a range of individual behaviour for which people should be held responsible to the community more narrowly, and ‘communitarians’ who interpret a range of individual behaviour more broadly.

Driver & Martell (2000) even point out some differences between two Third Way features in the areas of both politics and academia: Tony Blair and Anthony Giddens. Furthermore, McLennan (2004) indicates that the Third Way is inevitably vague and ambiguous because multiple interpretations are allowed as a ‘vehicular idea’. In other words, the Third Way is argued to be properly understood as a ‘vehicular idea’ to move from traditional social democracy, to its renewal with fellow-travellers regardless of some differences. Hence it is open to various interpretations by different ‘owners’ in diverse parts of the network, different from ‘final’ theory or ideology.

Therefore, in this study, the analysis is strictly limited to Blair's New Labour, which has a single 'ownership' between a range of 'Third Ways' in order to establish a fair ground of consistency. This limitation is also based on the 'Westminster model' as discussed in the Introduction. This means the data for the analysis is limited to speeches and writings delivered by Tony Blair and the party manifestos under his leadership. In addition, only literatures clearly indicating 'New Labour' before Blair's resignation are included in the discussion.

Defining New Labour

There have been two different types of approaches in studies that seek to define the New Labour ideology. The first one is the attempt to link a list of values with the ideology. MacLeavy (2007) argues New Labour focuses on a series of isolated 'values' rather than an all-encompassing political . Irrespective of their agreements with this argument, there are many commentators who associate New Labour with some values.

White (1998) presents 'opportunity' and 'responsibility' as the two central concepts of the Third Way and adds 'community' for New Labour. Le Grand (1998) attaches 'accountability' to the list of the values of White's (1998) and states CORA (Community, Opportunity, Responsibility, and Accountability) as New Labour's new acronym as a rival to Mrs Thatcher's TINA (There Is No Alternative). Powell (2000) and Lister (2001) claim another acronym, PAP (Pragmatism And Populism) as two characteristics of New Labour with criticism that there is a lack of a clear 'big idea', and an obsession with media headlines (M. Powell, 2000) while ignoring structural inequalities and redistribution issues (Lister, 2001).

The other approach to New Labour ideology is to place it on the historical ideology map. Fitzpatrick (1998) put the ideology of New Labour Government between state collectivism (Keynes-Beveridge welfare) and market individualism (market individualism) as market collectivism (benign authoritarian welfare) as discussed in Chapter 1. Bevir (2003) argues, in his interpretative approach, that New Labour conceives the dilemmas in broadly similar terms with the New Right, but based on different tradition. For example, he points out that, although New Labour accepts the New Right's challenges to the Keynesian welfare model, they advocate

network and partnership rather than turn to the market and monetarism of the New Right in order to deal with the challenges.

Other commentators attempt more complex mixtures of the major ideologies to understand New Labour. Freeden (1999) argues New Labour can be placed between 'three great Western ideologies': Liberalism, Conservatism, and Socialism. He claims New Labour accepts individual rights and are interested in enhancing private choice and human capacities, but rejects the extreme form of liberalism. In terms of Conservatism, they focus on material well-being, moral authority for social order, and individual duties toward society, but reject the Conservative respect for tradition. Finally, in Socialism, they accept a structural understanding of social groups but reject identifying these groups as social class.

Le Grand (2003) and Dean (2003) get into the debate at a more philosophical level. Firstly, Le Grand (2003) illustrates two axes representing different assumptions on the nature of human motivation and that of human agency between different ideologies. The horizontal motivational axis range from 'knight' (altruistic) to 'knave' (instrumental) and the vertical axis representing the nature of human agency from that of 'pawn' (passive) to 'queen' (autonomous).

Le Grand (2003) suggests that the New Right and New Labour meet the knavish (provider's) motivation and queen-like agency (recipient), while conversely, Social Democrats are the knightly providers and pawn-like recipient (p. 16). Although Dean (2003) changes some placement of the ideologies in the diagram (for example moves Social Democrat to the place with queen-like recipient and knightly provider), he agrees with Le Grand's (2003) placement in terms of New Labour.

However, having been shown that, there have been few comprehensive approaches to investigating New Labour, by considering various aspect of the ideology – not only key values or the philosophical ground, but also the objectives, assumptions about agency, and the understanding of citizenship at the same time. In this chapter, a range of political texts concerning New Labour are analysed with the analytical framework set in Chapter 1 - as with the two previous chapters about Old Labour and Thatcherism.

The political texts include a number of high profile political speeches by Tony Blair from the time he was elected as the leader of the Party in 1994, to his resignation as Prime Minister in 2007. It also includes some of his political writings and statements such as his Fabian pamphlet '*The Third Way: new politics for the new century*' (Blair, 1998c) and the joint statement, '*Europe: The Third Way*' (Blair & Schröder, 1999). Also analysed are the election manifestos of the Party under his leadership. The full list of the texts analysed is shown in the Appendix.

Challenges to the contemporary society

Globalisation & technological advance

Globalisation had been the key challenge facing Blair's New Labour. Globalisation affected people not only in terms of space, but also time. The world was seen to be moving closer together in every aspect such as economics, finance, security, communication, travel, and media (Blair, 1995b, 1998b, 1998c, 1999b, 2000d, 2001b, 2003d, 2004b; Blair & Schröder, 1999; Labour Party, 2001) and to face new global issue must be tackled together such as climate change and terrorism (Blair, 2001b, 2001d, 2003a, 2004b, 2004d, 2006c). This is because 'in the era of globalisation the world is more interdependent than ever' (Blair, 2003a) so 'the events elsewhere have a direct impact at home' (Labour Party, 2005).

However, this was neither seen as always good or bad. This presented both risk (Blair, 2000d, 2001e, 2002c, 2005c) as well as opportunity (Blair, 1994b, 2002c, 2004d, 2005b, 2005c, 2006e). This new reality of the world opens 'a vast reservoir of potential opportunity' (Blair, 2006e) but 'these new opportunities come new risks, new dilemmas' (Blair, 2005c) because The fast changes in globalising world 'goes through a period of uncertainty' (Blair, 2001e). Blair provided further explanation:

The reason is that for all its increased wealth and opportunity, nations like ours are faced with huge insecurity. Globalisation, technology, world trade, mobility, migration, mass communication and culture: there are benefits in it all, but they combine to change the world fast. And with the speed of change, people are

displaced, industries made obsolete, communities re-shaped, even torn apart (Blair, 2004b).

Therefore, even though Blair sometimes claimed it is 'driven by people' (Blair, 2001b) and 'the individual decisions of millions of people' (Blair, 2005b), globalisation was represented as a crucial reality that the government and wider political audience had to adapt to. This was illustrated to be inevitable (Blair, 1994b; Blair & Schröder, 1999; Labour Party, 2005) as the only alternative to globalisation is isolation (Blair, 2000a, 2001b, 2005d, 2006d). Most importantly, this was understood as the only way to maximise the national interest between the opportunities and risks that globalisation posed simultaneously without failing (Blair, 2002c, 2003b, 2004b, 2005b, 2005d).

Technological advances were highlighted in the text as the other side of globalisation in the fast changing world (Blair, 1994a, 1995b, 1999b, 2000b, 2000c, 2001b; Labour Party, 2001, 2005). This was often represented as creating a 'new economy' or 'knowledge-based economy'. This not only covered IT and communications (Blair, 1994a, 1995b, 1999b, 2000c), but also applied to every other industry, including traditional manufacturing and service industries (Blair, 2000c, 2001c; Labour Party, 2005).

Although sometimes it was illustrated with a new type of insecurity (Blair, 2000b), this new technological revolution was overwhelmingly understood as the great new opportunity - for a stronger economy (Blair, 1998c, 2000c; Labour Party, 2001), for raising living standards (Labour Party, 2001), and even for empowering people (Blair, 2006e). Therefore what mattered was how to seize these opportunities through more encouragement and investment for science, knowledge, and skills (Blair, 1999b, 2000b, 2004a, 2005d, 2006d, 2006e; Blair & Schröder, 1999; Labour Party, 2001).

Conventional challenges in growing expectations

While new challenges like globalisation and technological revolution were predominant in New Labour's ideology, the conventional ones did not disappear from their language such as inequality over generations (Blair, 1994b, 1995b, 2000e, 2004b, 2005d), unemployment (Blair, 2000d, 2000f), (child) poverty (Blair & Schröder, 1999; Labour Party, 2001) and under-

investment in public services (Blair, 2000e, 2005a, 2005e). Moreover, new forms of challenges arose through the social changes, such as work and life balance issues particularly for women (Blair, 1994b, 1998c, 2000d; Blair & Schröder, 1999).

However, the changes were not limited to these types of challenges. From the second term of the New Labour government, there had been increasing recognition of the growing demands on the conventional public services (Blair, 1997b, 2001c, 2001e, 2004b, 2005d, 2006a, 2006e, 2007b; Labour Party, 2005). This was partly explained by some social changes such as 'more people live longer' (Blair, 2001b, 2001e), due to 'advances in science and medical technology' (Labour Party, 2005).

These increasing demands were mainly a product of the growing expectations of people in 'a consumer age' (Blair, 2001b, 2001e). This meant people wanted services 'responsive to their needs and wishes' (Blair, 2004b); 'to be organized around them, not them around it' (Blair, 2006a). Furthermore, people want 'power in their own hands' (Blair, 2006e) 'to shape [services] to their needs, and the reality of their lives' (Blair, 2006e). Blair explained the reason why this change happened:

... the fact that people would turn out the same type of consumer product, that has shifted over the past 30 - 40 years to far more customised private services and goods for people. And in exactly the same way what is driving part of the change in public services is that people say look in every other walk of life you know the service runs after me, in the public services ... (Blair, 2007b)

Approaches to contemporary challenges in ideologies

In terms of New Labour's interpretation of the contemporary challenges, the approach in New Labour ideology has attracted more attention than its content in academic debates (Fairclough, 2000; Hay, 2002; Holden, 2001; Leggett, 2004; M. Watson & Hay, 2003). As Fairclough (2000) argues through linguistic analysis of New Labour's speeches and government documents, the challenges are usually presupposed 'as a fact', which 'we can't hide from' (Blair, 1994b).

In particular, as just shown above, globalisation was illustrated as a non-negotiable external constraint we had to adapt to for success, otherwise there was no other option but to fail. Watson & Hay (2003) suggest that by utilising this approach, New Labour were just following the Business School Theory. This theory is used to justify a systematic transfer of political power from state to markets so as to severely circumscribe other political choices, which offer an alternative to market-centred solutions. Consequently, they claim, New Labour 'left itself open to the charge that it had placed the interests of faceless overseas investors above those of British firms and, by extension, ordinary British people' (M. Watson & Hay, 2003, p. 299).

There is no doubt that the ideological argument of globalisation in the government needs to be critically examined. However, it is problematic to argue that the approach towards globalisation is a distinctive feature of New Labour ideology, which differentiates it from other traditional ideologies in British politics. Not surprisingly, as shown in Chapter 3, the discourse around globalisation and technical advance was found in Thatcherism as the Conservatives took a similar approach, but more pessimistically with regards to the unavoidable risks.

This may provide the same ground for the accusation of Watson & Hay's (2003) on New Labour, just seen above, to apply to Thatcherism. However, this approach was not confined to Thatcherism and New Labour. The similar approach was found even in Old Labour on 'the white heat of scientific revolution' as seen in Chapter 2. The parallels between the Old Labour approach towards the automotive age and New Labour approach towards globalisation is exemplified by this quote from Harold Wilson. Here, the phrase globalisation has been inserted to replace automotive age:

Let us be frank about one thing. It is no good idea trying to comfort ourselves with the thought that [globalisation] need not happen here; that it is going to create so many problems that we should perhaps put our heads in the sand and let it pass us by. Because there is no room for Luddites in the [Labour] Party. If we try to abstract from the [globalisation] age, the only result will be that Britain will become a stagnant backwater, pitied and condemned by the rest of the world (H. Wilson, 1963, p. 134 the words in the squared blankets are changed).

Accordingly, New Labour's approach to globalisation as an irresistible external factor to justify their renewal of the existing politics can be regarded as a common practice in other political

ideologies, at least, in Britain. The differences, in fact, are found on the far more optimistic and active orientation on the approach of New Labour than their predecessors. Old Labour's initial optimistic vision in 'the white heat of scientific revolution' was quickly overshadowed by the economic decline and crisis. Indeed, globalisation was also recognised in Thatcherism as discussed in the previous chapter. However, this was presented as a part of the explanations of the existing economic trouble rather than opportunity for success like New Labour.

The dual objectives of New Labour

In terms of ideological objective in New Labour, two phrases were dominant in their language – 'opportunity for all' and '(economic) prosperity'. These two objectives frequently appeared the dual goals that should be pursued at the same time in Blair's political texts, for instance, 'to build a modern Britain in which prosperity, and a decent, fair society go hand in hand.' (Blair, 1998b); 'to create a nation where fairness and enterprise go together ...' (Blair, 1999a); strong, fair and prosperous Britain for all' (Blair, 2000d); 'Our purpose has always been to marry enterprise and fairness' (Blair, 2000f); 'Fairness and enterprise go together' (Labour Party, 2001); 'power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many not the few.' (Blair, 2004e); 'stronger bond between the goals of economic progress and social justice' (Labour Party, 2005).

Opportunity for all & prosperity for more opportunity

'Opportunity for all' was indicated as the goal of New Labour with other equivalent concepts such as fairness, equal worth and social justice in Blair's language. Driver & Martell (2000) and Fairclough (2000) indicate – and also Blair himself emphasised – 'opportunity for all' is the political goal which contrasts with, the traditional socialist's value, equality of outcome. In other words, it shifts the meaning of social justice from the equality of outcome to the equality of opportunity.

However, as discussed in Chapter 2, the actual meaning of equality in Old Labour was not clear. There was no consensus in Old Labour to define social justice as the equality of outcome. Moreover, the aspiration for fair opportunity was found in a number of Wilson's speech in early

1960s. The actual difference in New Labour was to define social justice ever clearer – not anything else but equality of opportunity. The equality of outcome was evidently rejected as the political objective of the New Labour ideology:

The promotion of social justice was sometimes confused with the imposition of equality of outcome. The result was a neglect of the importance of rewarding effort and responsibility ... (Blair & Schröder, 1999)

The Left ... has in the past too readily downplayed its duty to promote a wide range of opportunities for individuals to advance themselves and their families. At worst, it has stifled opportunity in the name of abstract equality. ... the promotion of equal opportunities does not imply dull uniformity in welfare provision and public service (Blair, 1998c:3)

we achieve true equality - equal status and equal opportunity rather than equality of outcome (Blair, 2002a).

While New Labour rejected the equality of outcome, which was distribution of wealth, they accepted the distribution of opportunity to make one's own wealth particularly through employment. In Blair's speeches and writings, 'opportunity' often collocated with employment or other equivalent words, for example, employment opportunity for all, opportunity all to work, opportunity to gain better jobs, and opportunity in jobs (Blair, 1995b, 1998c, 2000d)

The other word which often collocated with opportunity for all was education, for instance, opportunity to secure the best education, opportunity to realise our potential in education (Blair, 1995a, 1998c, 2002a). Education was regarded as a key policy area to achieve both fairness and efficiency at the same time. This will be discussed further in the strategy section below.

More importantly, Opportunity for all was illustrated as a necessary condition for economic competitiveness in global and knowledge-based economy. In other words, economy cannot be successful unless all possible potential are exploited through opportunity for all:

A dynamic knowledge-based economy founded on individual empowerment and opportunity ... (Blair, 1998c, p. 1)

... we need every last drop of potential to be fulfilled, if Britain is to succeed (Blair, 2002c).

Indeed, a modern market economy needs the attributes of innovation, creativity, entrepreneurial spirit. These qualities thrive best when we can be critical of authority, when people can make the most of themselves without feeling constrained by their background (Blair, 2006b).

Not only opportunity for all was a prerequisite for economic success but also economic prosperity was explained as a requirement to achieve 'opportunity for all' in Blair's speeches. Particularly, in terms of 'opportunity to work', economic competitiveness could open more opportunities of employment for more people:

One the economy, we replace the choice between the crude free market and the command economy with a new partnership between Government and industry, workers and managers not to abolish the market, but to make it dynamic and work in the public interest, so that it provides opportunity for all (Blair, 1994b).

Without economic strength, there will never be a Britain where everyone can succeed (Blair, 2000d).

New Labour believes that a stable economy is the platform for rising living standards and opportunity for all (Labour Party, 2001).

Economic competence is the pre-condition of social justice (Blair, 2001b).

Prosperity gives people and nations a stake in the future (Blair, 2005b).

Prosperity and its partners in ideologies

As far as ideological objective is concerned, there has been a consensus throughout modern politics in Britain about economic prosperity not only in New Labour and Thatcherism, but also

in Old Labour. The historical task for political ideologies in Britain has been how to match the other ideological goal with economic prosperity. First of all, in Thatcherism, economic prosperity was coupled with freedom as seen in Chapter 3. Since this freedom mainly meant economic liberty, there was no problem with the mutual relationship between the two objectives. According to New Right thinking, economic liberty was a precondition for prosperity and prosperity provided more material affluence for more economic freedom.

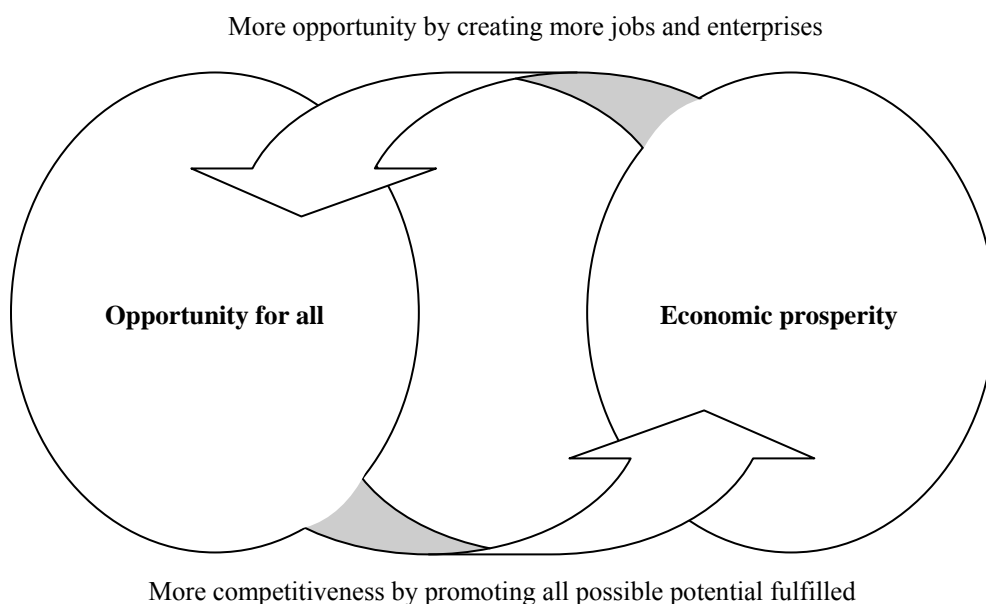


Figure 6 the relationship between the dual objectives of New Labour

However, this task has been more troublesome for Labour which has long-standing aspiration for social justice because, in the ideology of the left in general, social justice is regarded to contradict economic success. 'Social equality' was presented along with economic prosperity in Old Labour Ideology as objectives (Chapter 2). It was true that there was not direct contradiction between the two under the socialist philosophy because the market and the private sector were regarded inefficient so insufficient for economic success, and the state were solely right actor able to pursue not only social justice but also economic prosperity. Nevertheless, in reality, it was also true that, as they admitted the role of the private sector by rejecting further

expansion of the nationalisation, there was a degree of ambiguity in relationship between the two objectives. Moreover,, there was no clear definition of 'social equality' (see Chapter 2).

In New Labour ideology, this ambiguity was resolved by clarifying the definition of social justice as fair opportunity for all. In other words, economy cannot be successful unless every potential of people are realised through opportunity for all while economic prosperity provides more opportunities for education and job to exploit every potential of the people. This mutual relationship of New Labour's dual objectives can be illustrated like Figure 6

Political philosophy in New Labour

Communitarianism and Stakeholderism

As 'community' was found as a core concept of New Labour's basic understanding of society, it is not surprising that many commentators usually argue Tony Blair was highly influenced by the communitarian philosophy (Bevir, 2005; Driver & Martell, 1997; Fairclough, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 1998; Freeden, 1999; Heron & Dwyer, 1999). Communitarianism is based on the idea that individuals are created and sustained through their relationship with others within family and community (Fairclough, 2000).

This kind of interpretation of society were easily found in Blair's language such as 'we are part of a community of people' (Blair, 1994b); 'we are not simply people set in isolation from one another ... but members of the same family, same community, same human race' (Blair, 1995a); 'we all depend on collective goods for our independence; and our lives are enriched – or impoverished – by the communities to which we belong.' (Blair, 1998c, p. 4); and 'one of the great strengths of this country is our strong sense of community' (Blair, 2003d).

This idea distinguishes New Labour ideology from neo-liberal individualistic value based on competition between each other within the free market (Driver & Martell, 1997; Fairclough, 2000). Basically, in communitarian's context, individualistic competition of neo-liberal concept is socially destructive, so it should be replaced by the community value such as cooperation and mutual support (Le Grand, 1998).

However, New Labour's community value was different from traditional socialist one. Driver & Martell (1997) argues New Labour accept more conformist, prescriptivist, and moralistically conservative version of communitarianism rather than pluralism, voluntarism and socio-economically progressive version. 'Responsibility to community' in New Labour's language was associated with individual responsibility rather than responsibility of business which was emphasised in Old Labour (Fairclough, 2000). Socialism is sometimes redefined as 'social-ism' which is associated with the interrelationship based on reciprocal responsibility to each other as well as to community they belong to (Freedon, 1999) in Blair's political texts:

... human beings, members of a community and a society who owe obligations to one another not just to ourselves, who depend in part upon one another to succeed. That is the spirit of solidarity. That is the socialism I believe in (Blair, 1995b).

Socialism for me was never about nationalisation or the power of the state, not just about economics or even politics. It is a moral purpose to life, a set of values, a belief in society, in co-operation, in achieving together what we cannot achieve alone (Blair, 1995a).

Today our idea of society is shaped around mutual responsibility; a deal, an agreement between citizens not a one-way gift, from the well-off to the dependent (Blair, 2001b).

... ultimately, the change has to come from within the community, from individuals exercising a sense of responsibility (Blair, 2006b).

In addition, family was stressed as the foundation of community: 'strong families are the foundation of strong communities' (Blair, 1996); 'a strong family life is the basic unit of a strong community' (Blair, 1998a); and 'Strong families are the bedrock of a strong society' (Labour Party, 2005). Strong family was important because it was a basement to tackle crime: 'The truth is ... that the best two crime prevention policies are a job and stable family' (Blair, 1995a).

Moreover, family was regarded to be able to help each other most effectively: 'Families work best when the members of it help and sustain each other.' (Blair, 1994a) and 'Strong and stable family life offers the best possible start to children' (Labour Party, 2001). Furthermore, New Labour claimed that family should bare their responsibility rather than lay it down on the state: '... the responsibility of the individual to his or her family, neighbourhood and society cannot be offloaded on to the state.' (Blair & Schröder, 1999)

On the other hand, stakeholder idea is also often indicated as the other foundation of the New Labour ideology (Bevir & O'Brien, 2001; Burkitt & Ashton, 1996; Fairclough, 2000; Heron & Dwyer, 1999; Prabhakar, 2004; Thompson, 1996). Arguably, stakeholderism can be divided into two different approaches. The first one can be named 'stakeholder economy' or, in Prabhakar's (2004, p. 569) categorisation, 'Corporate governance stakeholding'. This approach focuses on the fundamental characteristic of companies as a social organisation. As Hutton (1996, p. 111) argues, the company is 'not only at the heart of the economy; it is at the heart of society' therefore every company is embedded in a broad network of reciprocal interest of community and society including employees, customers, local residents, as well as shareholders.

Therefore, according to stakeholder approach, for economic success of company, they have to consider this wider network as well as their responsibility to stakeholders such as employees, consumers, local community and society (Burkitt & Ashton, 1996). The recognition of this stakeholder approach in New Labour appeared in well-known Blair's Singapore speech (in Fairclough, 2000, pp. 87-88):

The creation of an economy where we are inventing and producing goods and services of quality needs the engagement of the whole country. ... We need to build a relationship of trust not just within a firm but within a society. By trust, I mean the recognition of a mutual purpose for which we work together and in which we all benefit. It is a stakeholder economy, in which opportunity is available to all, advancement is through merit, and from which no group or class is set apart or excluded. ... Successful companies invest, treat their employees fairly, and value them as a resource not just of production but of creative innovation. ...

The second approach of stakeholderism is 'stakeholder welfare'. Field (1996) argues that individual ownership (or control) of their welfare should be encouraged by incentives so that individuals bear their own responsibility for their own welfare. This approach also has a close relationship with the concept of social inclusion and communitarianism. In this approach, state has responsibility to provide jobs to those who are excluded in order for them to be included into mainstream society so that they take their stake to be responsible for their own improvement and welfare. At the same time, each individual also takes their responsibility to society through taking this stake (Burkitt & Ashton, 1996; Froud, Haslam, Johal, Shaoul, & Williams, 1996; Heron & Dwyer, 1999).

After the Conservative politicians heavily criticised the Singapore speech as a return of trade union movement, the word 'stakeholding' disappeared in Blair's lexicon. Nevertheless, the idea *per se* remained in New Labour's ideology within the concept of opportunity (stake) for all, communitarian approach as well as the role of state and business sectors, which will be discussed in the following sections.

Social liberalism

Communitarianism and stakeholderism might be the main point distinguishing New Labour philosophy from New Right thinking based on self-interest and the free market. Nevertheless, there has been also growing accusation that New Labour follow the individualistic approach of Thatcherism (H. Dean, 2003; Jordan, 2005; Leggett, 2004; Page, 2007). It is true that the concept of 'opportunity for all', one of the core ideological objectives of New Labour is based on personal fulfilment rather than collective sharing of resource. Moreover, we have already seen the interpretation of New Labour about the growing expectation of people as more individualised needs rather than collective ones.

However, it is difficult to say that this individualistic approach in New Labour is identical with the individualism of Thatcherism shown in Chapter 3. This is not only because communitarianism and stakeholderism are coexisted in the New Labour ideology. But also the understanding of the individualistic approach of New Labour *per se* was distinctive from that of Thatcherism. The Conservative's individualism parallels with neo-liberalism which is based on

the belief that individuals can maximise their self-interest if they are free from any social intervention.

On the contrary, the New Labour's might be best described by 'social liberalism' which 'rejects attempts to secure equality of outcome as illiberal whilst also rejecting untreated markets as unfair' (Buckler & Dolowitz, 2004, p. 26). In other words, whilst New Labour believed in individual liberty, it was regarded to be realised with appropriate public supports guaranteeing fair chance for everyone rather than in the free market:

Collective provision, not the market, is the best way of ensuring that the majority get the opportunity and security that the few at the top take for granted (Blair, 2001e).

... the reason for our struggle against injustice has always been to liberate the individual. ... we who understand, that freedom for the individual, for every individual, whatever their starting point in life, is best achieved through a just society and a strong community (Blair, 2004e).

The role of actors

Major actors in partnership

As has been shown in the two previous chapters, Old Labour disregarded the role of business sector even in economy and, likewise, the only minimal function of state was recognised by Thatcherism while any further role was denied as harmful. On the other hand, the major roles of the two actors were recognised together in New Labour ideology, and the partnership between them was stressed for improvement and innovation not only in economy but also other public services such as employment and education:

A third way in which government works in partnership with business to boost enterprise, education and employability (Blair, 1998b).

Not just because it is Government, business and employees coming together in partnership to look at a key economic issue (Blair, 2000c).

I ask for a genuine partnership with you to create the long-term strength we know this country is capable of; but for decades has been unable to achieve: the goals of full employment, rising prosperity, economic strength in a world of change (Blair, 2000b).

... I want to make is in respect of our relations with business. We will not always agree. But there is a vast area on which we can agree. The partnership we have tried to build with you over these past four years, is one I am deeply committed to. It is a founding principle of New Labour and it will not change (Blair, 2001c).

It will take sustained investment and a constructive long term partnership between the public and private sectors (Blair, 2001a).

Blair explained the partnership between the two is not only possible but also important because government and business shared the same interest and aspiration for more prosperity and opportunities. The business sector could get benefit from more skilled worker, more secured environment through, for example, government investment on education and employment while wealth creation by the private sector could benefited general public:

In the end, the interests of business and government converge. Both of us need wealth creation and enterprise to flourish. Both of us also need the highest levels of education and skills we can obtain and an infrastructure good both for business and the consumer. The whole country benefits from an extension of opportunity and the reduction of insecurity, poverty and social exclusion which follows. Whatever disagreements on particular issues, the partnership between us is essential and I intend to ensure it remains positive and firm (Blair, 2003c).

The role of state

While, in Old Labour, the state had the central and nearly monopolistic leading role in every area, not only public services but also economy (Chapter 2), in Thatcherism, the role of the state was highly restricted into protective and safeguarding role such as enforcing the law, maintaining monetary stability, and protecting the most vulnerable groups in society (Chapter 3). While New

Labour can be said, with the risk of oversimplification, to take moderate position between these two predecessors, their understanding of the role can be two-folded: the grounding role and enabling role.

The grounding role of the state in New Labour seems similar to that of Thatcherism. Yet, for example, whereas this role in economy for Thatcherism was mainly about monetary policy, for New Labour, it embraced economic stability, infrastructure, maintenance of the standard, and right framework in economy for long-term growth:

The Third Way recognises a new and different role for government. Not as director but as enabling of wealth generation. Not trying to run industry or protect it from proper competition; but stepping in, where the market fails, to equip business and industry to compete better in that market (Blair, 1997a).

Our job as a government is not to resist change but to help people through it. Our duty as a government is to take no short-term risks with economic stability (Blair, 2000b).

Government cannot make a business successful. But government must create the right framework to help business achieve healthy long-term growth (Labour Party, 2001).

... the role of the centre will be to set a framework of national priorities and then a system of accountability, inspection, and intervention to maintain basic standards across the country (Blair, 2001e).

Government has a vital role in equipping people to survive and prosper in these times. It helps set the right conditions for economic stability and the climate for business and investment. Government provides the structures and rules within which public services perform and are held to account. Government makes the laws and sets the framework for the administration of criminal justice and rules of immigration (Blair, 2004b).

Government does not create wealth but it must support the wealth creators. That is why our priorities are the national infrastructure of skills, science, regulation and planning, and transport (Labour Party, 2005).

... without strong performance management from the centre, including targets and standards for output, there is no way that we could justify the amount of money that we are putting in (Blair, 2007a).

While this grounding role is mainly for business sector, the enabling role of state is for citizens. When the government role for business was understood not making them success but providing right environment for them to succeed, The job of government for citizens was also to help them achieve rather than provide something directly. In other words, this enabling role is to provide opportunity such as education and employment as well as power to decide what they want in the public services:

... it is the duty of government to maintain a high and stable level of employment (Blair, 1994a).

... government has a vital role in promoting competitive markets, encouraging long-term research and investment, and helping to equip citizens with the skills and aspirations they need to succeed in the modern economy (Blair, 1998c, p. 10).

The primary role of government is not industrial ownership or intervention but investment in education and infrastructure (Blair, 2000b).

Government cannot achieve social inclusion for people, but it can help them achieve it for themselves, by transferring power and opportunity to local communities (Labour Party, 2001).

They want Government to empower them, not control them. And they want equality of both opportunity and responsibility. They want to know the same rules that apply to them, apply to all. Out goes the Big State. In comes the Enabling State (Blair, 2002c).

I believe in the power of government, not to control people's lives or dictate conduct except where necessary for the greater good, but to help people to help themselves (Blair, 2004b).

The modern role for government - the case for a modern employment and skills policy - is to equip people to succeed, to be on their side, helping them become more skilled, adaptable and flexible for the job ahead rather than the old Tory way of walking away leaving people unaided to face change (Labour Party, 2005).

Business sector

Beside the role of the state to provide proper ground for the private entrepreneurs to success, the business sector had the role to create more wealth. However, in New Labour's language, their responsibility was beyond this. Their role and responsibility included investing their own business for long-term development, providing more jobs, and even training their own employees:

Business needs to be confident, successful and profitable, to create wealth, maintain and generate jobs, and support sustainable economic growth. ... The challenge for business is to look beyond 'downsizing' towards innovation as the key to the competitive future (Blair, 1998c, p. 8).

... an economy should have as much competition and access to technology as possible. ... With stability, over time, has to come real improvements in productivity and investment from business itself (Blair, 2000b).

... enterprise creates the jobs people depend on (Blair, 2001b).

I say to business: you have a responsibility to train your workforce (Blair, 2006c).

The private sectors, together with voluntary sector, had the other role to play in society as providers of public services. This role was appreciated in New Labour ideology to contribute to make innovative, flexible, and, so, better public services. This reflects the view of New Labour about the business sector. Blair explained, even though the ethos might be different between

public and private sector, in terms of effectiveness of services, the contribution of the two would be the same:

When public services are delivered in partnership with the private and voluntary sectors, this should be on the basis of best value not worst labour standards (Labour Party, 2001).

For some services - telecommunications for example - the application of market forces was the answer. For others, partnership with other sectors has proved effective. Many services are now provided on contract or through partnerships with either the business or the voluntary sector. This diversity of provision increases flexibility and extends experimentation (Blair, 2004b).

In every other walk of life in the 21st century there is flexibility, diversity, an opening up for new ideas and innovation, a breaking down of the barriers between public, private and voluntary sectors. For public services to flourish as universal services, they need that same dynamism (Blair, 2005a).

It is true that the purpose and ethos of public services are different from those of business. However, how those public services are delivered, has many attributes in common with business. A service can be delivered effectively for the consumer or not. Cost effectively or not (Blair, 2006a).

... in today's world it is not about artificial barriers between public, private and voluntary sector. It is about recognising that in the world in which we live today the thing that matters is what provides the best service for the user of that service (Blair, 2007a).

On the other hand, even though the voluntary sector was often included one of the partner in service provisions, they were hardly recognised separately from the business sector. Even when they were mentioned, the strength of the sector was recognised in limited sense:

In the voluntary sector I think there is still a massive amount that we could do to open up services to the voluntary sector. ... Sometimes in relation for example to long-time drug abusers the voluntary sector does it better. They do it better than either frankly central or local government or the private sector (Blair, 2007a).

Citizenship

In terms of citizenship,, New Labour is often accused that they just follow the conception of Thatcherism which placed the responsibility for caring and protection on citizens themselves under the free market regime, as discussed Chapter 3 (see discussion on 'abandoned citizen' in J. Clarke, 2005; H. Dean, 2003). However, at least, ideologically, it was more complex.

It is true that the notion of citizenship in New Labour kept considerable distance from that of Old Labour which solely stressed the universal welfare right of citizen as shown in Chapter 2. According to Fairclough's (2000) analysis, the fifty per cent of the term, 'rights' (or equivalent expression) mentioned in the language of New Labour collocated with 'responsibilities' whereas this happened just twice while 'right' is mentioned thirty times in Old Labour's texts. Therefore, it was not difficult to find this collocation in New Labour's texts in the analysis of this study:

For too long, the demand for rights from the state was separated from the duties of citizenship and the imperative for mutual responsibility on the part of individuals and institutions. ... the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe... (Blair, 1998c:4)

... alongside opportunity there must be responsibility (Blair, 2000f).

New Labour believes that rights and responsibilities should be at the centre of reform of the welfare state (Labour Party, 2001).

Consequently, there was the strong bond between right and responsibility in the core of New Labour's citizenship. To put it more precisely, it was the mutual responsibility between citizen

and state. In other words, Government has the responsibility to provide opportunities for individuals and individuals have a responsibility to grasp those opportunities. This is the vital condition to follow the dual objectives of New Labour – opportunity for all and economic prosperity – at the same time. If either the government does not provide sufficient opportunities or citizen does not take them, the society would not prosper:

... without opportunity, responsibility was weak; that an unfair society was a less prosperous one (Labour Party, 2001).

Government has a responsibility to provide real opportunities for individuals to gain skills and to get into work that pays. But individuals also have a responsibility to grasp those opportunities (Blair, 2002b).

It is a simple equation - we give opportunity, we demand responsibility, and that's how we build strong communities (Blair, 2002a).

We give opportunity to all. We demand responsibility from all (Blair, 2002c).

So, these are the principles on which this plan is based: a duty and a responsibility on the citizen to respect the rights of others; a duty on the state to protect the vulnerable from significant harm and a duty to uphold the rule of law in a system that is efficient and fair (Blair, 2006b).

Clarke (2005) argue different conceptions of citizenship in New Labour. However, while diverse approaches of New Labour were found on citizenship in their texts, the differences were moderate and they could be more appropriately understood as extended notion from the core understanding rather than different concepts. For example, from responsibility of citizen side, the notion was expanded to, saying, 'conditional citizenship'. Because the responsibility of the state to provide opportunities is only meaningful for the citizen who takes their responsibility to grasp them, the counterpart rights of citizens civil liberty, tended to be limited or prioritized to people who follow this condition i.e. people help themselves, hard-working families or law-abiding citizen:

Families work best when the members of it help and sustain each other. The same is true of communities and of nations (Blair, 1994a).

... 'enabling' government strengthens civil society rather than weakening it, and helps families and communities improve their own performance (Blair, 1998c, p. 14).

... we put the victim and law abiding citizens first (Blair, 2001e).

My passion is to continue the modernisation of Britain in favour of hard-working families ... (Labour Party, 2001)

We're standing up for the people we represent, who play by the rules and have a right to expect others to do the same (Blair, 2001b).

We prize the liberty of the individual; but that means protecting the law-abiding majority from the minority who abuse the system (Labour Party, 2005).

... we need a radical new approach if we are to restore the liberty of the law-abiding citizen. My view is very clear: their freedom to be safe from fear has to come first (Blair, 2006b).

From the government's responsibility side, the concepts of citizenship based on the mutual responsibility between state and citizen was expended to 'empowering citizenship' (see J. Clarke, 2005). In New Labour's understanding, in order to make the opportunity through public services good enough to be taken by citizen satisfactorily, the government need to be more responsive to the needs of individual citizens. The increase in choice and voice of citizen in the service provision might be the way to make it more responsive. Ultimately, the power for the decisions might need to be given to the hand of citizen:

Citizens need a voice - we will work with local government to ensure that citizens' needs are the driving force in the procurement and delivery of local services (Labour Party, 2001).

They want Government to empower them, not control them. And they want equality of both opportunity and responsibility (Blair, 2002c).

Consumer expectations of Government services as well as others are rising remorselessly. People no longer take what is given them and are grateful. They want services that are responsive to their needs and wishes (Blair, 2004b).

They no longer want or expect Government to "solve" all their problems. They want the means in their hands to lead their own lives, make their own choices, develop their own potential (Blair, 2004c).

Going forward instead to power and resources in the hands of the law-abiding majority (Labour Party, 2005).

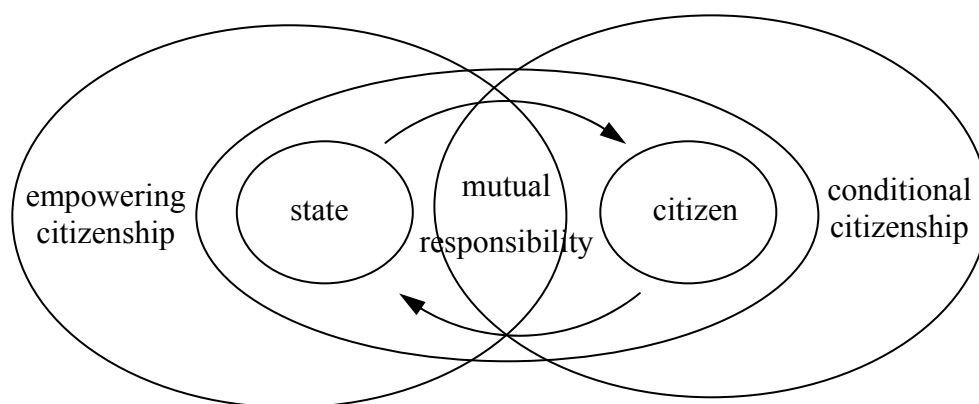


Figure 7 the relationship between different concepts of citizenship in New Labour

Although these two variations of citizenship in New Labour were expended from the different ends, they are conceptually linked to each other through the core notion of citizenship rather than separated. This means each conception of citizenship was established at the condition of the responsibility by the other part. For example, the power of decision could not be given to citizen if they are not hard-working or law-abiding. The more condition for rights of citizen might be difficult to be justified unless the quality of opportunities (services) the government provides are

satisfactory and responsive enough. This relationship between different concepts of citizenship in New Labour can be illustrated as Figure 7.

Major strategies

Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour in strategies

As we have seen in the two previous chapters, Old Labour and Thatcherism showed the striking contrast in their strategies for economic prosperity, the common goal of the two. For Old Labour (which fundamentally distrusted private enterprises as just self-interested in their socialist philosophy), the strategy for them to make the economic prosper was to maximise the leading role of the government by, for example, the expansion of public ownership and national planning whilst 'rolling back' the business sector.

On the contrary, Thatcherism was the exact opposite. They believed that the more the government does, the more the economy was disturbed. With this strong belief in the free market, what the government have to do was to maximise the space for private enterprises to do as freely as possible by 'rolling back state' which should be not a player but a referee in economy.

For Thatcherism as well as Old Labour, public services were the separated area from economy. Old Labour (which pursued social equality as the other objective in their ideology apart from economic prosperity) committed the significant improvement of social services for greater equality in their initial period. However, this was overshadowed by the economic difficulties and crisis, and the commitment was reduced to the protection of the vulnerable groups under the crisis (see Chapter 2). In Thatcherism, although this was included as a major strategy, they did recognise the social protection for the most vulnerable as one of the basic roles of the government as shown in Chapter 3. This means that, arguably, differences between Old Labour and Thatcherism in this issue were not as fundamental as usually regarded.

On the other hand, New Labour not only established a different dimension of the strategy in economy whilst accepting the active role of state as well as business. But also, they combined economic and public service strategy in order to pursue the dual objectives – opportunity for all

and economic prosperity – at the same time. In other words, New Labour neither accepted Old Labour's distrust with private enterprise nor agreed upon Thatcherism's scepticism in the active role of state. They appeared to believe in the central role of business to create wealth in economy as well as the active role of the state to maintain long-term economic stability whilst investing to promote knowledge and every potential of the people for long-term growth in new economy, of which where the market fell short:

Knowledge and skills, creativity and innovation, adaptability and entrepreneurship are the ways by which the winners will win in the new economy. We all have a responsibility to ensure that we are all equipped to succeed in it. That way we can all prosper (Blair, 2000c).

We must make Britain the best place to do business in Europe - a dynamic economy, founded on skills and knowledge, developing the talent of all our people, and contributing to sustainable development. That means investment by private and public sectors in infrastructure and skills, and the right competitive framework to support enterprise, small and large, manufacturing and services (Labour Party, 2001).

With new Labour, Britain can seize the opportunities of globalisation, creating jobs and prosperity for people up and down the country. We can only do so if we build a clear sense of shared national economic purpose, not just around economic stability but also investment in infrastructure, skills, science and enterprise (Labour Party, 2005).

This New Labour's strategy can be understood by endogenous growth theory (Buckler & Dolowitz, 2004; Kitson & Wilkinson, 2007; Wiggan, 2007). The key factors underlying growth are assumed to be internal to the market, particularly human capital and technological advance, and the government is supposed to play the active role to initiate supply-side measures for these factors in the model of endogenous growth theory (Buckler & Dolowitz, 2004). The major strategies of these measures were education and training as well as welfare to work in New Labour's texts. In addition, further investment on public service including these areas was

coupled with the reform for more personalised service in order to make the investment more effective.

Education and training

Education was clearly and continuously stated as the 'number one priority' of New Labour policy in a range of Blair's speeches and the party documents (Blair, 1996, 1997a, 1999a, 2001b; Labour Party, 2001, 2005). It also occupied biggest part of Blair's speeches at Labour Party Annual Conferences a number of times (Blair, 1995b, 1996, 1997b, 1999b).

This top priority of education is closely associated with New Labour's dual objectives: opportunity for all and economic prosperity. It was explained that under modern global and knowledge-based economy, discussed in the previous 'challenge' section, education was key policy area to achieve fair opportunity and economic competitiveness at the same time (Fairclough, 2000). In other words, government's investment in education and training is essential for individuals to extend their opportunity to gain higher-wage and highly-secured job. It was also crucial for economy to produce high-value-added products through high-skilled and high-educated labour forces to improve their competitiveness in the world market (Thompson, 1996).

Therefore, first of all, the success in the global economic competition was explained to be unable to achieve without fulfilling all possible potentials of every individual by developing them through first-class and lifelong education and training in a range of Blair's speeches and writings:

The main source of value and competitive advantage in the modern economy is human and intellectual capital. Hence the overriding priority New Labour is giving to education and training... (Blair, 1998c, p. 10)

We need to raise productivity. To do that we need to raise skills, to develop our most important national resource: people. This investment is the best guarantee of future prosperity for all (Blair, 2000e).

But our number one priority for spending is and will remain education. Why? Because in the new markets countries like Britain can only create wealth by brain power not low wages and sweatshop labour (Blair, 2001b).

... today its purpose is not to resist the force of globalisation but to prepare for it, and to garner its vast potential benefits. That's why education is Government's number one priority, why we are investing ... (Blair, 2005d)

Education therefore is now the centre of economic policy making for the future (Blair, 2005a).

Education was the central strategy of New Labour not only for economic success but also for opportunity for all. Education was sometimes demonstrated as a kind of opportunity, as the objective *per se*, to liberate individual's potential and also a means to achieve other opportunities such as better employment and higher earning in Blair's writings and speeches, and the party manifesto:

... we will make education the great liberator of our people (Blair, 1995b).

The more you learn, the more you earn. It is your way to do well out of life – your rout to jobs, to growth, to the combination of technology and know-how that will transform our lives (Blair, 1995a).

We owe it to every child to unleash their potential. ... They deserve an equal chance. A failed education is a life sentence on a child (Blair, 1999b).

... for most people education is their route to opportunity and fulfilment, we put the pupil first (Blair, 2001e).

The fight for a fair future must begin with our number one priority education. At every age, at every stage, education is the surest guarantee of a fair future (Blair, 2003e).

Every child can and should be able to fulfil their potential. We will achieve this by uniting our commitment to equal opportunities for all children with a reform programme which gives every child and young person, from pre-school to sixth-form or apprenticeship and beyond, the personalised package of learning and support they need (Labour Party, 2005).

Welfare to work

Welfare to work was demonstrated as the other part of major strategy to pursue opportunity for all as well as economic prosperity in New Labour's texts. Tax and benefit, particularly benefits for unemployed who able to work (which had been usually indicated as a major welfare provision of Old Labour by a number of Third Way commentators) was criticised in Blair's speeches as a waste on 'social failure', an encouragement of welfare dependency and unnecessary burden on economy. Moreover, for Blair, considering growing social demands, this did not seem to be sustainable:

It is wrong that we spend billions of pounds keeping able-bodied people idle and right that we spend it putting them to work to earn a living wage as a Labour Government will do (Blair, 1994b).

In the future, as people live longer, we can't afford good pensions and help for disabled people who can't work, with 4 million people on benefit, many of whom could work. ... That is why we need more radical welfare reform, getting more disabled people, more lone parents, more on unemployment benefit, into work, not to destroy the welfare state (Blair, 2006e).

Therefore, welfare to work strategy appeared as a major area of the mutual responsibility between state and citizen which was discussed in the citizenship section:

We have a ten-year vision for an active welfare state: to promote work for those who can, security for those who cannot ... (Labour Party, 2001)

... we refuse to pay benefit to those who refuse to work. Why? Because the welfare that works is welfare that helps people to help themselves (Blair, 2001b).

Government has a responsibility to provide real opportunities for individuals to gain skills and to get into work that pays. But individuals also have a responsibility to grasp those opportunities (Blair, 2002b).

On the other hand, welfare to work was illustrated as a more effective way to tackle poverty and social exclusion than traditional benefit system in modern economy as well as to provide opportunity for better life. Therefore this strategy was, like education, represented as not only a means to achieve other objectives but also objective *per se* – ‘opportunity for all’. It was believed that job gave people opportunity to move up, to participate in society, to escape from poverty, to realise their potential, and to earn respect:

... the people on benefits need and deserve better. Not more benefits, but help in getting off benefits. Welfare should be about opportunity and security in a changing world. It is about helping people to move on and move up (Blair, 1994a).

Prolonged unemployment also damages individual life chance in other ways and makes it more difficult for individuals to participate fully in society (Blair & Schröder, 1999).

Employment is not just the foundation of affordable welfare, it is the best anti-poverty, anti-crime and pro-family policy yet invented (Labour Party, 2001).

Our priority has always been getting the jobless into work. But we want everyone to have the chance to develop their talents and aspirations. We want to make social mobility a reality for all (Blair, 2002b).

The lone parent I met, for years unemployed and unemployable. Now not just in work through the New Deal but winning promotion. What mattered to her most? Not the money alone but the respect her child gained for her, seeing her work, grow in confidence, becoming a role model (Blair, 2003e).

... welfare reform is equally part of a genuine opportunity society - a driver of aspiration and social mobility, as opposed to the old concern solely for income redistribution (Blair, 2004c).

We will help people who can work into rehabilitation and eventually into employment, recognising the practical assistance to disabled people of the Access to Work scheme (Labour Party, 2005).

Investment and choice in public services

Under endogenous growth theory, the general strategy of the government is more investment on human capital and economic infrastructure. This was why 'investment was put before tax cut' (Blair, 2001e) in the New Labour strategy. The public investment appeared as an umbrella term in the strategy of New Labour. Although the top priority area was education, their investment was not limited to it. Their constant investment on education, health, transport, science, and police for economic strength, modern public service and fairness was often stressed:

... we are investing massively and sustainably in education, transport, science and technology. All this investment is vital. I said the British economy was strengthening (Blair, 2000e).

We will now: increase education spending ... increase health spending ... increase spending on our police ... increase spending on transport ... (Labour Party, 2001)

Without investment Britain will never get the modern public services it needs (Blair, 2001e).

The reason I argue that the problem is underinvestment and the solution is to invest in reform of public services is very simple. The underinvestment in education, the NHS and transport is there for all to see. The biggest constraint in the NHS is capacity. There is a huge programme of capital works in schools still being carried out. There is a vast need in all services for modern buildings, technology and equipment. And to attract more staff we need to reward them properly ... For reasons of equity and fairness too, I favour building up public services rather than pushing

people to go private. If we cut investment and let people pay, then the top ten percent may be able to afford it (Blair, 2002d).

We have to invest in the new generation of science and technology opportunities; we have to take our academic and vocational skills base to a new and higher level ... (Blair, 2004a).

However, the radical reform of public service was also stressed alongside of the investment (Blair, 2001a, 2002b, 2004c). It was said that 'investment must be matched by reform or it is wasted' (Blair, 2001a). The four principles appeared as follows:

The principles are clear:

- A national framework of minimum standards, inspection and accountability, with results published.
- Within that framework, power devolved down to the front line of delivery, to encourage diversity and local creativity.
- Changing staff conditions to allow much greater flexibility in employment.
- Greater choice to consumers. Services need to be customer-focused, designed around their users, with alternative choice of provision.

(Blair, 2001c; see also Blair, 2002d)

We have already seen the maintenance of minimum standard was regarded one of the roles of state in the 'actor' section above, and other rules such as the flexible working conditions and the devolution of power to the frontline workers were emphasized in other speeches about public service reform (Blair, 2002d, 2003d). However, among above principles, consumer choice was drawn considerable attention to in Blair's texts. This was appeared as a main means to give the power to the hand of citizen. The increasing diversity of providers for consumers to choose, not only state but also private and voluntary providers, was found as the core of the strategy. This meant the market system in public service whilst the service still remained as universal:

Just as mass production has departed from industry, so the monolithic provision of services has to depart from the public sector (Blair, 2002c).

... we must be bold on reform, opening up public services to greater diversity of supply, consumer choice and flexibility of working, ending the "one size fits all" idea of the past (Blair, 2003a).

These reforms all have one common purpose: to open the system, change the "one size fits all" concept of public services, give the parent or patient more choice and a better service ... (Blair, 2003d).

The choice is forward with new Labour to a health system with patients in the driving seat, free to all and personal to each of us (Labour Party, 2005).

In both the NHS and in education, there will in one sense be a market. The patient and the parent will have much greater choice. But it will only be a market in the sense of consumer choice, not a market based on private purchasing power (Blair, 2005e).

The idea is to put the user first, for example, the patient at the centre of the NHS; the parent and pupil at the heart of schooling. That is why market mechanisms choice, the encouragement of a range of different providers of a service, incentives, partnerships with private and voluntary sectors - have a key role to play. They are not contradicting the values of public service. They are actually helping make them real, retain their relevance, improve their implementation (Blair, 2006a).

they can exercise those choices and when they do, the money follows them and goes to the place that is then offering the service that the user wants (Blair, 2007a).

Discussion: what was new in Blair's New Labour

The novelty of Blair's New Labour

It has been a long journey of the historical approach on the major political ideologies in modern politics of Britain in the first half of the research. There has been long controversial debate over New Labour whilst comparing it to the other two major

ideologies in British politics – Old Labour and Thatcherism. As discussed in Chapter 1, the interpretation of commentator on New Labour ranges from the simple descent of Thatcherism to the renewal of the social democrat tradition in Labour in the changing society.

In order to develop more comprehensive as well as objective understanding of the ideologies, the all-embracing analytical framework is established through the review of the initial literatures on New Labour (Chapter 1). Then this framework is applied to the analysis of the political texts from 1961 to 2007. This includes the speeches and writings of Wilson and Callaghan from 1961 to 1978 in the Old Labour government (Chapter 2), those of Thatcher and Major from 1975 to 1997 in the Conservative government (Chapter 3), and, finally, in this Chapter, the Blair's texts from 1994 to 2007 in the New Labour government.

This could be one of the most comprehensive studies to define political ideologies of governments in modern politics of Britain. As far as the New Labour of Blair is concerned, the main findings in this study show the successful ideological renewal of Old Labour although it is true they accepted the significant part of Thatcherism. Until recently, there are still arguments focusing on New Labour's break up with Labour tradition. For example, Page (2007) claims that all of Labour governments before New Labour kept their firm commitment to achieve more egalitarian outcome.

However, in fact, as shown in Chapter 3, the meaning of 'social equality' in Wilson and Callaghan's political texts was not clear and, rather, it was evident that their notion of equality included equality of opportunity, to which New Labour was committed. More importantly, as discussed above, the commitment of the Old Labour government to 'social equality' thorough the improvement of social services was quickly shadowed by economic difficulties then reduced to the protection for the vulnerable. Therefore, it is difficult to say that the tradition of Labour governments in the past was the commitment for equality of outcome.

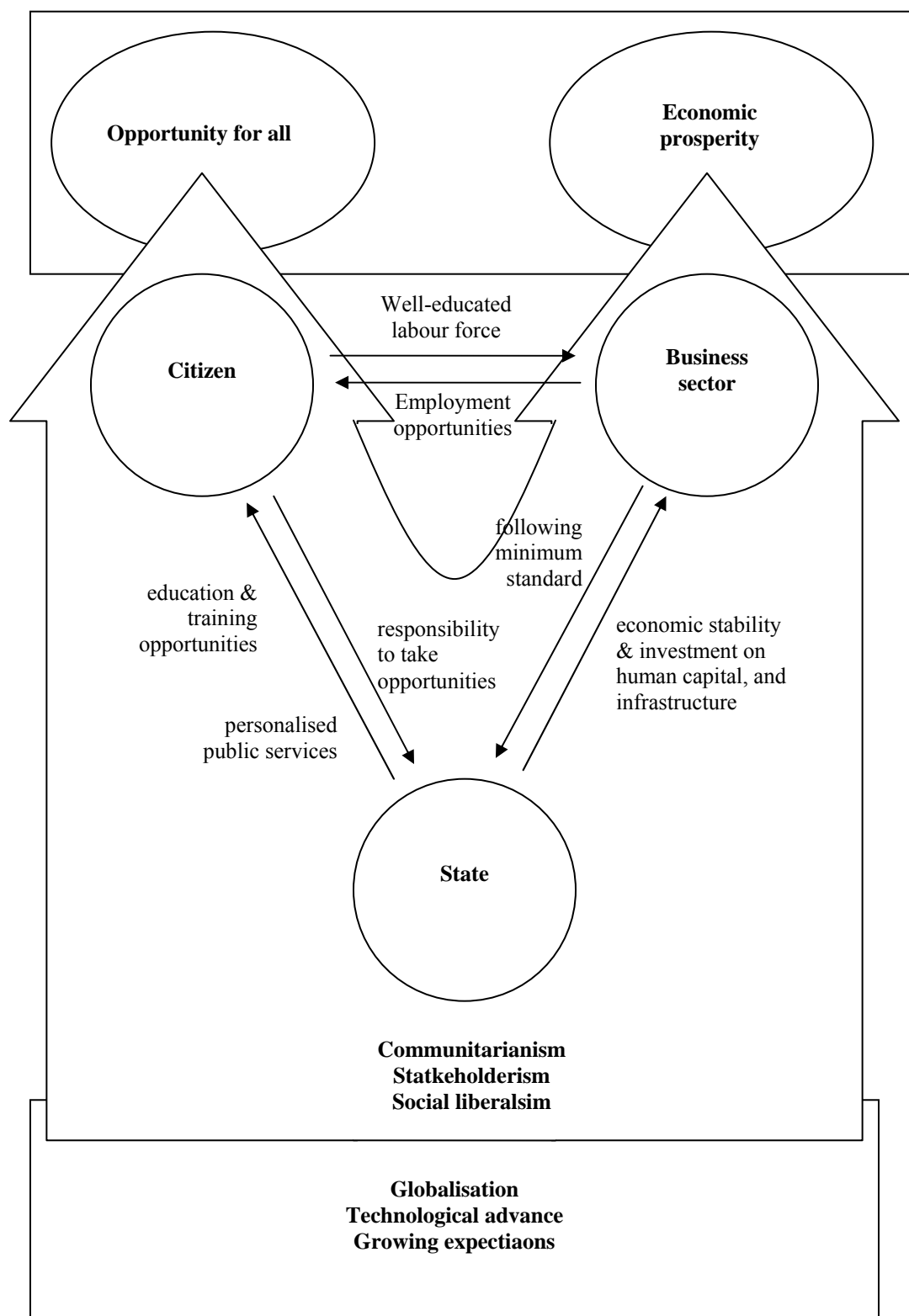


Figure 8 the whole structure of the New Labour ideology

Consequently, New Labour established a new comprehensive set of political ideology throughout the all-inclusive elements presented in the analytical framework whilst resolving some dilemma in Old Labour and keeping some distance from Thatcherism. The whole picture of the New Labour ideology can be illustrated as Figure 8 and the features in each element was found as follows

First, in terms of their interpretation of the challenges to the contemporary society, there was little significant difference in the approach of New Labour comparing to their predecessors. However, while the predecessors were overwhelmed by the successive economic problems, New Labour recognised globalisation, technological advance, and growing expectations as opportunities to succeed if the society was rightly equipped.

Second, in the ideological objectives, New Labour established the mutually complimentary relationship between the dual objectives (economic prosperity and social justice) by clarifying the meaning of the social justice as equality of opportunity. 'Opportunity for all' in New Labour kept a considerable distance from 'freedom' which mainly meant economic liberty as the other objective of Thatcherism apart from economic prosperity, which was the common objective in modern British governments.

Third, New Labour was different from traditional socialist idea as they accepted individualistic aspiration in the market system like New Right thinkers. However, they also stressed the importance of the reciprocal responsibility and interest within society in their communitarianism and stakeholderism unlike New Right philosophy of Thatcherism, which encourage uninterrupted self-interest maximising individuals in. Moreover, New Labour believed that the free market could not be enough to make individual aspirations and potentials realised so active public support were essential to provide fair opportunity for all. In this respect, New Labour's liberalism can be defined 'social liberalism' different from neo-liberalism of New Right.

Whereas, in Old Labour as well as Thatcherism, only one side of actors was dominant in the ideology whilst ignoring the other side, New Labour recognised the roles of the two major actors – state and private sector – in partnership. This partnership was based on

mutual contributions such as the grounding and enabling role of state for private sector, and responsibility of private sector as investor, employer, and provider for economic success as well as realisation of citizen's opportunity. The similar principle applied to the relationship between state and citizen in New Labour ideology. This was based on the mutual responsibility between them rather than just the responsibility of state like Old Labour or the responsibility of individual like Thatcherism.

Finally, in strategies, New Labour was found to follow endogenous growth theory between two extremes of the predecessors. Old Labour focused on maximising leading role of state through the expansion of public ownership, national planning, and the improvement of social services, whereas the Conservative followed the exact opposite such as rolling back state, the diffusion of ownership, and marketisation of public services. On the contrary, whilst letting the private enterprises lead the economy for wealth creation, New Labour recognised the active role of state investing public services to strengthen internal factors for economic prosperity. Education and training was the central area for the investment, and this was also opportunity *per se* for people to succeed together with welfare to work strategy. The diversity of provider was encouraged for greater consumer choice in public services. However, it was not just abandonment of citizen in the market system because this was the condition of further public investment for better service.

The loopholes in New Labour ideology

One thing needs to be made clear is that this appreciation about the novelty of New Labour ideology does not mean they are free from criticism. Rather, while resolving some dilemma in Old Labour, the other loopholes were found in their ideology. First of all, among their dual objectives, mutual responsibility, and endogenous growth approach, there is no place for people who cannot work, such as the fragile elderly, the severely disabled, even children.

Although New Labour established mutually complementary relationship between the dual objectives – economic prosperity and opportunity for all –, citizens who can grasp 'opportunity for all' and contribute 'economic prosperity' at the same time are limited to people able to work. Under mutual responsibility in citizenship of New Labour, the citizen

right to get personalized public service was conditioned on 'hard-working'. Within endogenous growth strategy, the investment on education and encouragement to work are meaningless for people who cannot work.

At least, protection for the most vulnerable people was found not only in Old Labour as a major strategy in social services but also in Thatcherism as one of the basic role of state. However, in New Labour, apart from the well-known slogan for welfare to work strategy 'work for those who can, security for those who cannot', there had been little space for those people in their language. Rather, social protection was sometimes accused of creating dependency culture and unsustainable burden on society. Moreover, as even New Labour's commitment of top priority of education was in the context of endogenous growth theory, the children tended to be regarded as future workers rather than citizen in their own account (Lister, 2003).

The other loophole of New Labour was the discrepancy between social responsibility and individualistic approach in the ideology. As discussed, New Labour's communitarianism and stakeholderism is the philosophical ground, which are different from the free market individualism in the Conservative. Even though New Labour believed in individual aspiration and liberty, they also accepted the essential role of proper public services in order to realise them. However, the overall approach throughout the New Labour ideology still remains highly individualistic. As shown in philosophy section above, individuals and their immediate families were regarded a basic unit to take the responsibility. Although state was recognised to have the responsibility to support individuals, it was placed as a counterpart to each individual rather than a centre of society or community. In other words, each citizen gets the government supports in the individual give-and-take relationship with the state rather than in the collective relationship between a member of society and the state. In this respect, although it is true individualistic approach of New Labour is not the same with that of Thatcherism, there is still little space for collective values such as solidarity.

Conclusion

Throughout the first half of the study, three major political ideologies of the government in modern Britain from the 1960s to the 2000s are clarified by the analysis of a range of political texts with the comprehensive analytical framework. In this analysis, distinctive features in each ideological element in Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour are identified and the whole structure of each ideology is established.

In this chapter, the ideology of New Labour is defined whilst comparing to those of Old Labour as well as Thatcherism analysed in the previous chapters. In conclusion, New Labour is found to establish the distinctive political ideology beyond the simple combination of the previous two. However, there are still significant loopholes are found in the ideology as there is little place for the most vulnerable members of society and the discrepancy between individualistic approach and their philosophical understanding about society based on communitarianism and stakeholderism.

In the second half of the research, the similar analysis is conducted in social care policies from the 1960s to the 2000s in order to find out the role of the ideologies determined in Part I. The same framework applied to the analysis of White Papers and Green Papers in social care in order to compare to the ideology of each government in each element. In the next chapter, the policy development of personal social services is outlined and the relevant studies are reviewed as the introduction of the second half of this study.

PART II

THE POLICY DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL CARE IN BRITAIN AND THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IDEOLOGIES

CHAPTER

5

Ideology and Policy

Development of Personal

Social Services

Although personal social service has played a vital part for more than 50 years, it has been one of the most underappreciated and neglected areas of the welfare state (Adams, 1996; Lowe, 2005). This might be because it has been viewed as a residual service caring for the most vulnerable members of society. Personal social services are usually understood as a last resort for some minorities in society, for example, disabled, neglect, or abused children or adults rather than majority of population who are included in other universal public services such as health and education (Hill, 2000). This has been the reason why personal social services have been relatively poorly understood even within social policy circles (Adams, 1996). In central politics, additionally, personal social services had hardly been an issue in British general elections, at least until 1992, partly because this is mainly regarded as a local government matter (Baldock, 1994).

However, this might be no longer the case. As the Government has already admitted, in fact, ‘Social Services are for all of us. At any one time up to one and a half million people in England rely on their help. And all of us are likely at some point in our lives to need to turn to social services for support, whether on our own behalf or for a family member.’ (DH, 1998, para 1.1). As people live longer, while more families are breaking down, social needs for support in their

daily lives becomes common in contemporary society. More and more, Caring becomes a central issue of people's lives and, therefore, the more central issue in politics.

These contradicting features of personal social services – having been underappreciated but becoming a more central issue – provide critical points for this study about the role of political ideology in policy development. It might be more difficult to find out the causal role of political ideology on policy development in other policy areas occupying the central political agenda for a long time. In these policy areas, the cause and effect in the relationship between the political debate and the policy change is more likely to be far more complex and confused. On the other hand, Personal social services show the relatively clear timeline of policy development through government changes. This is partly because social care issues have been relatively free from the central political battle though the relevant problems have evidently emerged.

However, as just discussed, the more personal social services become an important matter for people, the more they become a crucial issue for the future. This study on the role of ideology on the policy development of personal social services can contribute a vital part of this issue. Since this research is based on the constructivist approach which focus far more on changes than other approaches such as institutionalism and structuralism discussed in the Introduction. The findings of the study have significant implications for those seeking to improve on the current system.

This Chapter, as the introductory part of the second half of the research, starts with the definition of personal social services. Then other potential factors which can influence policy development of personal social services, such as social needs and resources are discussed whilst comparing to politics in social services. This follows the outline of the historical developments of the policy after the Second World War.

What is personal social service?

Since personal social service has been a relatively neglected area in social policy, it also an ill defined sector (Lowe, 2005). Its definition is particularly problematic as its remit often overlaps with those of health, crime (juvenile justice, in particular), and housing (Adams, 1996; Hill,

2000). So it is important to clarify what personal social service actually means in this research before further discussion in order to avoid any unnecessary confusion or ambiguity.

Adams (1996) provides useful tools to limit its meaning by literal words: ‘personal’, ‘social’, and ‘service’. It is ‘personal’ because personal social services deal with personal issues of lives when additional support requires rather than universal issues usually applying to everyone in the society like health and education. Also it is personal because the content of the services vary depending on the personal situation from domiciliary support to residential care or a mixed package of services. This indicates the distinguishing point between health and social service. For example, each patient having the same medical condition may need a different package of social service depending on personal circumstances such as housing condition, available support from other family members, and level of income, while requiring the same healthcare treatment.

Secondly, it is ‘social’, in how it tackles particular individual needs, because those needs have a social dimension. Protecting vulnerable children from any form of abuse and neglect, caring for elderly people no longer able to care themselves, and supporting disabled people to enable them to enjoy independent lives, all have a personal form of needs. However, they can develop into a social problem threatening the stability of lives among general public if those needs are significantly unfulfilled. Moreover, personal social services address social inequality issues by focusing their effort on the most vulnerable members of society in particular.

Finally, it provides various forms of ‘service’ and they are major part of its provision. This feature helps to distinguish personal social service from other social security benefits which usually provide cash and even housing. Personal social services are provided through personal contacts established at the time of delivery.

However, it is true that many issues relating to the definition of personal social services are still not very clear. The area between juvenile justice and social service in particular is not clearly defined. Yet this ambiguity comes from differences in the approach of juvenile justice rather than social services. If the approach focuses more on the rehabilitation of young people, juvenile delinquency is closer to being a personal social service area. However, if punishment is a central concern of the policy, it would become more about crime rather than social services.

In this respect, personal social service cannot be defined adequately just on its own account. This should include the consideration of perspectives or context in policy development. In fact, the domain of personal social service policy tends to depend on the approach of each government. Therefore the practical extent of personal social services will be much clearer after the historical review of the policy development since the World War Two in the next section.

Policy development of personal social services

The origin of modern statutory services titled ‘personal social service’ usually does not go back further than the publication of Seebohm Report in 1968 (Adams, 1996). However, not surprisingly, this form of services did not appear overnight. The emergence of the idea and the legal foundation of social care provision dates back to 1940s when the welfare state began (Wanless, 2006).

The foundation period of personal social services in 1940s and 1950s

Even though there was significant legislation establishing the legal foundation of personal social services in 1940s and 50s such as the 1948 National Assistance Act, the Children Act and the 1959 Mental Health Act, many argue this was a barren period for the development (Lowe, 2005; Sullivan, 1996). This claim is based on the fact that the concept of personal social service as a unitary policy area was not formed at that time. This ambiguity was reflected in the complex system of the delivery in the government. At the central government services for children was overseen by the Home Office and those to the elderly, the sick and the disabled by the Ministry of Health (Sullivan, 1996). This was even more complex in the local authorities. Responsibility for the services was usually divided between committees of health, welfare, education, and housing (Lowe, 2005; Sullivan, 1996).

Alongside this administrative complexity, the lack of professional identity in social workers was another factor contributing to the poorly defined personal social service area. Perceptions based on the Poor Law and Victorian values hostile to vulnerable members of society were still dominant not only within the general public and politics but also the workers in the social

services (Adams, 1996). Often the staff tended to adopt judgemental attitudes and assumptions. Needs were assumed to be met by self-help or support from family or relatives rather than public provision even on the social services frontline (Lowe, 2005). Finally, there was no agreed body of theoretical knowledge and criteria for an independent academic discipline of personal social services (Adams, 1996; Lowe, 2005). Therefore the staff was initially recruited from a various range of sources such as private charities and hospitals and there was a longstanding conflict between them (Lowe, 2005).

Furthermore, in reality, there were not enough resources even to fulfil the requirement of the services defined in the 1948 Children Act (Adams, 1996). This is also one of the reasons why this period often regarded as a period of neglect in the social services. After the 1948 National Assistance Act was implemented, many elderly people were still living in accommodation inherited from the Poor Law like former work houses until the 1950s (Lowe, 2005) and other domiciliary care such as meals on wheels was largely left to the voluntary organisations (Means & Smith, 1994). The social right to receive appropriate care was less clear cut for the elderly and disabled people (Salter, 1994).

However, it is also true that the legislation passed during this period established the vital legal ground and the basic responsibilities of local government for the further development of modern personal social services. In this respect, it was the crucial transitional period in moving away from Poor Law regime of social services, which usually meant a limited range of custodial institutions (Hill, 2000), to the general consensus on the preference for 'community care' which meant care outside residential settings and in their own homes (Wanless, 2006).

This transition did not begin until the 1946 National Health Service Act. Local authorities had the legal basis to provide care and aftercare to people suffering from illness and services to prevent health problems from the Act (Salter, 1994). Also this Act imposed the obligation for local governments to provide services to pregnant women and their child under 6 (Baugh, 1987). The responsibility of local government for provision of social services was set out in broader terms through the 1948 National Assistance Act (Wanless, 2006). The Act gave local authorities the duty to provide welfare services for substantially disabled people and residential care for elderly people who had no alternatives available to them (Salter, 1994).

The 1948 Children Act was the pioneering and revolutionary legislation at that time for the development of social services for children in particular (Lowe, 2005). It was mainly based on the report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Care of Children (Curtis Report) in 1946 following the inquiry on the tragic death of Denis O'Neill through the ill-treatment of his foster father (Baldock, 1994; Baugh, 1987). The Children Committee with its own chief officer and staff was set up by the Act and the duty to investigate cases of child neglect and to take formal procedures to bring children into the care of the local government were given to it (Baldock, 1994). This demand for specialist staff to undertake the child protection task by the Act was the crucial factor which led to the further development of social work, a new public service profession (Hill, 2000). This was consolidated with the introduction of the training course for social workers in the London School of Economics from 1954 (Adams, 1996).

Besides these broadened responsibilities and services of local government, the rights for the social care of the mentally ill and the mentally handicapped was profoundly extended during this period (Salter, 1994). The 1959 Mental Health Act, prompted by the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Law Relating to Mental Illness and Mental Deficiency in 1957, built the principle that the mentally ill should be treated in the same way as the physically ill as far as possible and this established the initial basis of current services for the mentally ill (Baugh, 1987).

The emergence and expansion of the modern personal social services in the 1960s and 1970s

Along with its first official use of the word, 'personal social service' in title, the publication of the Seebohm Report: '*Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Service*' (Seebohm Committee, 1968) is usually regarded as the origin of modern personal social services in Britain. It not only led to the establishment of the integrated social service department in the local authority and formed personal social services as one of the unitary public service areas, but also the dramatic increase of the service provision at that time.

However, this transformation did not simply happen through the report. Admittedly, the actual change by the report was limited to the administrative reform without any profound expansion of the responsibility of local authority on social services or social rights over social care (Bilton, 1979). The actual expansions had taken place through a range of legislations in the 1960s such as

the 1962 National Assistance (Amendment) Act, the 1963 Children and Young Person Act, and the 1968 Health Service and Public Health Act. They followed the series of the expansions started from those in 1940s and 50s discussed above.

The 1962 National Assistance (Amendment) Act allowed local government to provide meals on wheels directly for the first time, which was only available from voluntary organisation under the 1948 National Assistance Act (Means & Smith, 1994). The 1963 Children and Young Person Act was based on the 'Report of the Committee on Children and Young Persons', Ingleby Report in 1960 (Baugh, 1987). As the Report emphasised the preventive role of social service, particularly in juvenile crime issues (Cypher, 1979; P. Hall, 1976), the Act gave more power to promote the welfare of children and to take preventative action against family breakdown through the children's department established by the 1948 Children Act (Baugh, 1987). Fostering and adoption gradually replaced residential child care (Adams, 1996). The social care right of the elderly which was introduced by the 1948 National Assistance Act was strengthened further through the 1968 Health Service and Public Health Act by giving local government powers to provide home help, visiting, and social work and warden services even though the actual provision of services still relied on the discretion of the authority (Salter, 1994).

These extensions of personal social services are usually regarded as mainly driven by the growing concern about the rising juvenile delinquency and the increase in the number of elderly people who were occupying hospital beds without any alternative form of residential care (Baldock, 1994; Sullivan, 1996). Lowe (2005) points out some reasons why these concerns caused the expansion of social services rather than other harsher measures like punishments or encouragement of family responsibilities. The first one was the widely disseminated belief of the cost-effectiveness of preventive measures. This belief in juvenile delinquency was well reflected in the Ingleby Report. As far as the elderly and the disabled were concerned, it was more easily understood that, without any preventive measure, more cost had to be eventually borne by the NHS.

The development of social work profession, after the 'generic' training course for social workers was launched in the LSE, is regarded as the other background for the expansion of personal social services (Lowe, 2005). Following Eileen Youngusband's proposal, the 1962 Health

Visitors' and Social Workers' Training Act helped the settlement of the course with a standard and the unitary development of the new profession (Adams, 1996). Coinciding with this professional development, it is argued that the recognition within the social service staff also began to change. The new generation of social service professionals is regarded to have moved away from the judgemental assumption in 1950s to more understanding social and structural causes behind individual and family problems (Sullivan, 1996). Lowe (2005) also illustrates this development supported by the scientific advance such as new drugs which enabled the mentally ill to be treated safely within the community and a new approach which enabled Down's syndrome children to be educated.

However, the range of expansion of social services in early 1960s had not appeared sufficient to reverse the growing concern of juvenile delinquency. This led to the setting up of the new committee to 'review the organisation and the responsibilities of local authority personal social services in England and Wales' (Seebohm Committee, 1968, p. 11) in 1965. This was the Seebohm Committee.

The Committee's (1968) eventual recommendations were threefold. First, each local authority should have a unified social services department which brings together the professional workers from the children's department and the health and welfare departments they previously deployed. By 1968, the national picture of social services provision was chaotic as some local authorities provided welfare services through the health committee while others did so through a combined health and welfare department or solely the welfare committee (P. Hall, 1976).

Second, these departments should be headed by the director approved by the Secretary of State for Health and Social Security, whose responsibility was to ensure that the new social service departments were placed as a part of a network of services in the community rather than an isolated service provider. The recommendation that the Secretary's approve the appointment of all directors in the new unitary department was introduced in spite of its unpopularity among local government. This was because the Committee wanted to concentrate the responsibilities of the new departments into the single Department of State including training and inspections (Bilton, 1979). The final recommendation was that generic training and further research should be encouraged.

These recommendations were included in the 1970 Local Authority Social Service Act which passed in the last days of the Labour Government with the cooperation of the Conservatives (Sullivan, 1996). By the Act, social services departments in local authorities were established; the duty to employ adequate staff to help the director of social services carry out personal social services functions was posed; the united specialist approach including child care and mental health was introduced; and the rationale for a generically trained and organised social work profession was created (Adams, 1996).

However, the Act did not include every thing originally recommended by the Committee (Bilton, 1979). It did not enlarge the responsibilities of local authorities whilst excluding child guidance, education welfare and housing welfare services. It did not intend to see an increase in expenditure apart from some costs associated with appointment of a Directors of Social Services and other supporting staff (Bilton, 1979). Nevertheless, as soon as the social services departments were set up, a dramatic increase in service provision was experienced, arguably because the general accessibility of services was significantly improved (Cypher, 1979). The dramatic increase was not limited in the amount of services provided. It happened with the significant growth in the number of social workers mainly through the two administrative upheavals of the local government reorganisations of 1971 and 1974 (Adams, 1996; Lowe, 2005).

Furthermore, new duties of the new department had been given by the series of legislation passed around the establishment of the Act (Cypher, 1979; P. Hall, 1976). The power of the local authorities to provide domiciliary service, introduced by the 1968 Health Service and Public Health Act, was taken by the new united social services department of the 1970 Act.

Likewise, the responsibility imposed by the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act to decide whether to send a child placed in the care of the local authority by the juvenile court to a residential community home, to foster parents or to return him or her to their family (Baugh, 1987) became another duty of the department. The Act was the attempt to divert young offenders from being labelled as criminals to a more integrative and community-based alternative system focusing on responsibility for care rather than punishment for crime (Adams, 1996; Hill, 2000). It was the most significant piece of legislation of its kind but it was the peak rather than the start

of new era as the direction of the juvenile delinquency policy was reverted thereafter (Adams, 1996).

The expansion of responsibility of the new social services departments continued with the 1970 Chronically Sick and Disabled Person Act which made it mandatory for local authorities to find the disabled in the community and to inform them what services were available for them (Means & Smith, 1994). The successive expansion lasted until the 1973 National Health Service Re-organisation Act which put social workers in hospital under the umbrella of the social service department and placed the statutory duty on the local government to coordinate with the health authority in order to improve the health and welfare of residents requiring both services (P. Hall, 1976; Hill, 2000). This was the Act which tackled increasingly problematic issues in the cooperation between the health authority and local government due to the responsibility of health services overlapping between them (Adams, 1996; Wanless, 2006).

These series of expansions of personal social services resulted in a better standard of care in general and some evidence showed the satisfaction with the services was improved (Lowe, 2005). On the other hand, some argued they made the gap between the universalist aim of social services introduced by the legislations and the available resources from the government more evident. The spending on personal social services increased by 12 per cent per annum between 1970 and 74 (Sullivan, 1996) but it was regarded as far behind people's expectations raised by the expanded rights of social care. Particularly, the new duty of local government to publicise the services the registered disabled had the right to expect was seen to draw more anger than satisfaction on account of the failure to make sufficient funds available to provide the services (Adams, 1996; Lowe, 2005). The death of Maria Colwell in 1973 was generally accepted as a symbolic incident showing the restrictions of the new system.

Marketisation of personal social services from 1980 to 1997

Financial pressure appeared as the main concern in personal social services development in this period according to a range of social policy literature. As the economic difficulties dating from the mid-1960s deepened through 1970s, the pressure on welfare state budgets increased considerably not only through the decline of revenue from the slumped economy on the supply side, but also through the increase in demand due to, for example, the upsurge in unemployment

(Ellison, 1998). It became a more grave concern in the personal social service area because it had just experienced a sharp increase in expenditure following the series of expansions of social care rights and the accessibility of services among children, the elderly and the disabled during 1970s.

Accordingly, the trend of the expansion was reversed. The extension of local government responsibility on personal services was turned to the expansion of the responsibility of the individual and the family for their own care. This conversion was evident in the 1989 Children Act. While the Act was one of the most comprehensive pieces of legislation for children, consolidating previous laws and ensuring protection and interests of children (Adams, 1996; Hill, 2000), it made it clear that the prime responsibility for the care of children should lie with parents rather than the government (Lowe, 2005).

The other response of the Conservative Government to the financial pressure was to cap local government capital expenditure and it resulted in the shortage of residential accommodation in the local authority for the elderly and this led to the rapid growth in number of voluntary and private residential care schemes (Lowe, 2005). As more and more people appeared not to afford the growing private services, the Department of Health and Social Services amended the Supplementary Benefit regulations to make it easier for Income Support recipients to claim fees of the increased private and voluntary care (or nursing) home from the social security system in the early 1980s.

This triggered the further dramatic growth not only in the number of new homes in private sector but also in social security expenditure since the money for this residential care came not from the limited local government budget but from the open-ended social security system (Wanless, 2006). The expenditure on Supplementary Benefit rocketed from £10 million in 1979 to £459 million per annum by early 1986 as the number of the beneficiaries jumped from 12,000 to 90,000 (Means & Smith, 1994).

The Government turned for advice on this problem to the managing director in Sainsbury, Sir Roy Griffith and asked to review the way of public funding for community care and provide options for action in 1986 (Lowe, 2005). Eventually, he published his report (Griffiths, 1988)

and recommended that the funding for residential accommodation should be transferred back from the social security budget to local authority.

In addition, Griffiths (1988) recommend the local authority should have the core role in community care including the assessment of community care needs and the formulation of a community care plan in their community; the financial management of community care; the provision of information to consumers and providers of care; and the assessment of individual needs and the design of packages of care to meet the needs. Griffiths also emphasised that local government should no longer be a major provider of social services but an 'enabler' while having a responsibility to ensure that individuals receive care to meet assessed needs either from the public or private sector. This idea was revolutionary at that time (Wanless, 2006).

These recommendations were enacted in the 1990 National Health Service and Community Care Act. Local authority social services department have become the central coordinating and strategic agency for community care among various provider from public as well as voluntary and private sector involved (Sullivan, 1996). Yet it also means local authorities lost its status as a near-monopoly provider and became the purchaser of the services. The two key features of the community care reform were, in fact, the 'purchaser-provider split' and the shift in the balance of provision from the state to voluntary, private and informal sectors (Mary Langan, 1998) in order to promote the efficiency and consumer choice through market principle in personal social services. It was, in other words, marketisation of personal social services.

The efficient services could be encouraged through the marketisation but guaranteeing service standard was different matter. Actually, marketisation means more involvement of private and voluntary sector and less direct control of government on service provision. Therefore, not surprisingly the stronger central regulation on service standard was the other side of coin in the community care reform.

More centralised control and regulation on social serviced introduced by the 1984 Registered Home Act and monitoring system through the establishment of the Audit Commission and a new Social Service Inspectorate (Adams, 1996; Lowe, 2005). All private nursing homes for the mentally handicapped had to be registered with the district health authority and residential homes

with the local government under the 1984 Act. Systematic monitoring with statistics and qualitative data on management structure, staff, financial resources, service management, and delivery process had been conducted by the Social Service Inspectorate set up in 1985.

Many argues the community care reform – marketisation of social services and adaptation of case management – was more about the transition of paradigm of social service from supply-led or provider-led services to user-led or need-led service (Adams, 1996; Payne, 2000). This claim is still contentious as one of the directions of the reform was to strengthen the control in spending on social service, which entails the restriction on the social care right of service user. Nevertheless, it is true that some rights and voices of service users' more explicitly improved through a couple of pieces of legislations during this period.

The most evident beneficiaries were mental health patients. The 1983 Mental Health Act stressed provision of community services to meet their individual need and encouraged voluntary admission to hospital where possible (Means & Smith, 1994). Also Mental Health Tribunals set up by the Act improved the interests and rights of them (Adams, 1996). Also financial support became available to help them to leave hospital and to be treated in the community by the 1983 Health and Social Services and Social Security Adjudication Act (Baugh, 1987).

The 1996 Community Care (Direct Payments) Act allowed certain categories of people to receive a cash payment for the arrangement of services they need on their own. Although its take-up rate remained extremely low at that time, it was an important step forward in terms of user's involvement as it gave genuine power of choice directly to service users rather than another ambiguous 'consumer choice' which was practiced by the purchaser rather than the consumer in the community care reform in 1990.

Modernising personal social services under New Labour

Since the first landslide victory of the New Labour Government in 1997, 'Modernisation' has been the umbrella term representing the major changes in public services still in progress (Benington, 2000). As far as personal social services are concerned, the modernisation reform has been neither another marketisation or privatisation like the 1980s nor a return to the monopolistic state provision of public services as in the 1970s (Heron & Dwyer, 1999; Martin,

2000; Wanless, 2006). Initially, in practice, the New Labour Government not only made its distance from marketisation in the former Government by abolishing Compulsory Competitive Tendering which was its toughest measure, but they also made it clear they would not return to the universalist expansion of social care rights by rejecting the majority report of Royal Commission on Long Term Care (Royal Commission, 1999) which suggested free personal care.

The original reform plan of New Labour Government on personal social services appeared in its White Paper, *Modernising Social Services: Promoting Independence, Improving Protection, Raising Standard* (DH, 1998). When the reforms put into practice hitherto are considered, the plan could be divided into three directions. The first one was the cooperation and partnership not only between different public authorities by joint-up services but also between public authorities and other private sectors. This comes with the more rigorous centralist and managerial measurement to improve their standard of the services with a massive number of and various kinds of targets. The final one was to encourage the rights and independence of vulnerable people.

The most significant areas the Government has been trying to improve is the partnership has been social services and health. The 1999 Health Act was a remarkable step to tackle many organizational obstacles from a pooled budget, commissioning, and the integrated provision with 'one-stop' package between health and social service authorities (Bywaters & McLeod, 2001). They have put a range of administrative and institutional measures into practice, such as the responsibility of social services department to involve planning and managing health care provision by representation in Primary Care Trust (PCT), to participate the Intermediate Care initiative, and to operate the Single Assessment Process (Bywaters & McLeod, 2001; Wanless, 2006). Care Trusts which are single multi-purpose statutory bodies responsible for all health and social care in the community are one of the organisational developments to guarantee a greater level of integration.

Health and social care are not the only area in which partnership mattered. Also this issue is not restricted to statutory organisations. A series of comprehensive local initiatives to promote social inclusion such as Health Action Zones, and Sure Start have not been limited partnership projects within state authority. Various private sectors including voluntary and community organisations

have been involved to tackle health and education inequality in their community (Bywaters & McLeod, 2001; Painter, 1999). This wide range of partnership has been also encouraged through sets of standards led by central government such as National Service Framework and Local Area Agreement (Wanless, 2006).

Furthermore, these centrally-led frameworks with rigorous targets and measurement systems are not limited to encourage partnership. Rather it has developed to improve the overall standard of social services paralleled with the dramatic increase in number of voluntary and private organisations involved in service provision since the 1980s. The principal ground for a minimum standard and monitoring system was set by the 2000 Care Standard Act (Lowe, 2005; Wanless, 2006). The National Care Standard Commission was established as the responsible body for the registration and regulation of care services. The Commission, Social Services Inspectorate, and Joint Review with the Audit Commission were consolidated into the Commission for Social Care Inspection (CSCI) which become a single body to evaluate and regulate all public and private providers in social care by the 2003 Health and Social Care (Community Health and Standard) Act (DH, 2003).

If the primary purpose of the minimum standard and the CSCI is to protect service users, the National Service Frameworks (NSFs) launched in 1998 are a much wider range of measurements to improve the standard of specific services in the long term (DH, 2007). NSFs provide a set of national standards developed with the assistance of the external reference group composed by various professionals and stakeholders for each service or care group including mental health, older people, and children. Local Area Agreement (LAA) and Local Public Service Agreement (LPSA) are the other examples of the proactive initiatives for better social service particularly at local level. They cover various issues such as improving local public service delivery system, providing a framework for new relationships between central and local government, and encouraging greater partnership between various organisations in the community (DH, 2005b).

Finally, the development of direct payment system and carer's rights could be regarded as one of the major direction of social services policy of New Labour. Direct payment, which was introduced by the former Conservative Government but which remained in the extremely low take-up range, was extended as new guidance made it a duty for local government to offer direct

payment for eligible people. More service users could enjoy greater control on their own services through direct payment.

Carers had been neglected although they play a vital role in personal services as the majority needs were actually fulfilled by them rather than other formal providers. Yet they could have their own rights assessed and obtain services, including direct payment in the 2000 Carers and Disabled Children Act. Furthermore more carers' needs such as employment, life-long learning, and leisure activities had to be taken into account in the assessments and this rights and available services for them had to be conveyed by local authorities under the 2004 Carers (Equal Opportunity) Act.

What drives policy development in personal social services?

We can find some remarkable changes from the review of policy development in personal social services above, for example, from a focus on civil rights in social care in the 1960s and 1970s to the control on the cost of care in the 1980s and 1990s; the extension of social services in state provision by the 70s and the rapidly growing involvement of the private and voluntary sector together with the more powerful control from the centre on services quality from the 1980s onward; and the growing emphasis on service users' choice and involvement in services provision from the 1990s.

There are two contradictory interpretations summarising this process of policy development in personal social services in Britain from the 1940s to today. Some argue this has been the process of established but suddenly diminishing rights of social care in favour of free-market society after the 1970s (Baines, 2004; Ellison, 1998; Esping-Andersen, 1996) and others claim this has been the growing empowerment of service users away from state- and market-led services toward a service more responsive to them and more involved in the shaping, delivering, and evaluating services (Adams, 1996; Wanless, 2006).

However, the interpretation of the policy development and the analysing of the determining forces of the development are different matters although both are partly related. While these two

issues are often confused in academic discussion, in other words, defining features or directions of policy development process and investigating the causal factors to determine them should be strictly distinguished when the actual question to answer is how the development has taken place.

Within the literature about the policy development of social care, there are two distinguishing stances regarding the identification of the major forces to determine the particular direction of the development. On the one hand, as we have seen from some examples in the review above, many commentators explain the process of policy development with the continuing tension between the growing social needs in personal care and the limited resources available. On the other hand, there are other studies focusing on more complex political dynamics between various actors under certain environmental factors.

Constant tension between growing needs and limited resources

Many argue that, while describing the developing process of social care policy, it is eventually or partly determined by government control on the growing needs of personal support under the financial constraint for the services (Baugh, 1987; Evandrou, Falkingham, & Glennerster, 1990; Lewis, 1999; Salter, 1994). Salter (1994) demonstrates that, in particular, personal social service policy has been developed through the government's control on demand through changes in the way needs identification and services are accessed on one side, and on supply through finance and resource allocation on the other, while they confront the effect of the continuing expansion of rights to social care.

These claims generally have two assumptions. Social needs for social services are continuously growing and available resources to fulfil these needs are highly limited. Growing social needs are usually described with a range of social changes that have continued since the post-war period. Demographic changes with an aging population and a low birth rate would be more directly influential factors on the growing needs as the elderly are one of the conventional client groups of social care (Adams, 1996; Hill, 2000; Wanless, 2006). Other social changes including family structure, such as increasing family break-up, single member family, and lone parents, have an impact on the rising need for social services and these diminish the capacity for care for individuals (Hill, 2000; Wanless, 2006).

While there are some frustrating trends in these figures from the 1940s to present, there are, overall, more factors which would have affected the level of the social needs. A range of figures showing the changing structure of the family indicate the significant decline of the care capacity in families (see, for example, Babb, Butcher, Church, & Zealey, 2006). Moreover, in fact, there are more changes to diminish the care capacity of families such as the growing numbers of employed women, who traditionally have the central role of informal care in the family.

Therefore, it would be a less contestable claim that there has always been growing social needs for caring. However, the level of available resources for social care is a highly political issue rather than the inevitable environmental factors determining the development social services. Limited resources in personal social services are usually illustrated with a limited level of social expenditure on it compared to the growing social needs (Lowe, 2005; Sullivan, 1996). Nevertheless, to be exact, the amount of expenditure on personal social services is ‘effect’ determined by government decision rather than the ‘cause’ influencing it.

In fact, strictly speaking, the total available resources in contemporary society for social care depend on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which is the whole amount of value produced within the national boundary rather than the government expenditure already politically determined within GDP. In this context, since the current level of spending on social care is just around 1 per cent of GDP in Britain, there are sufficient places the level can be significantly increased. Therefore there has been highly limited spending on social services causing the profound gap between need and resources not because there has been limited resources available in the first place but because it is limited by the government’s political decision.

Political dynamics in the policy development

Payne (2000) argues that social work (or care) changes result from the interaction between various social groups based on the power relation between them. This is the common explanation in the literature for social services policy development whilst showing a range of political interactions during the policy making process and its enforcement or implementation (Adams, 1996; Baldock, 1994; Ellison, 1998; Evandrou et al., 1990; Lowe, 2005; Means & Smith, 1994; M. Powell & Hewitt, 1998; Sullivan, 1996; Wanless, 2006). These studies reveal some political dynamics in the policy development of personal social services.

These dynamics include, for example, the development and movement of social workers' organisations (Adams, 1996; Bilton, 1979; Evandrou et al., 1990; Lowe, 2005; Sullivan, 1996); the ideological terrain in contemporary society such as rising radicalism in the 1960s (Adams, 1996); the general concern of the public at the time, such as juvenile delinquency issues in the 1960s (Adams, 1996; Baldock, 1994); the influence of new theory such as new public management in the 1980s (Ellison, 1998); and the political accidents triggering certain institutional changes, for example, the regulatory change to allow funding for residential care by social security system in the 1980s (Baldock, 1994; Haynes, 2007).

It is true that there have been a lot of political stories behind the major changes in the policy development in social care the same as any other policy areas. However, while there have been at least the three significant shifts in the development of personal social service policy since the end of World War Two as discussed above, there seems to be few grounding factors to explain these developments throughout the last decades in these studies. If we just list a range of factors relating to each change it would help the systematic understanding of the causal factors on the policy development. In fact, particular events cannot directly link to the policy change. They are always mediated by the political interpretation of the government before the actual policy change takes place.

In fact, in the literature about the policy development in social services, while there are various political interactions described relating to the changes by the 1970s, the political ideology of government tends to be a major concern after the 1980s (Adams, 1996; Ellison, 1998; Lowe, 2005; Payne, 2000; Sullivan, 1996; Wanless, 2006). However, there has been a lack of evidence and analysis to find the influence of ideological changes on policy development and the causal relationship between them. This is the core question which this second half of the study addresses.

The analysis of the key policy documents

Throughout the review of policy development in personal social services since the post-war era in Britain, a number of significant shifts in the political direction are revealed. After the

establishment and expansion of the modern personal social services following the foundation of them in the 1940s and 50s, the tendency was reversed though marketisation reform in the 1980s and 90s. Then a distinctive set of policies under the term ‘modernisation’ have been put in place since New Labour came to power in 1997.

Besides a number of the studies arguing about the causal factors of the development are examined there have been two different approaches. First of all, many studies focus on the growing social needs and the shortage of resources in particular. However, as far as the availability of resources is concerned, even though, for example, there are some influences of the economic conditions, the level of spending on social care is determined by the political decision of the government. Secondly, there are other studies interested in the wider political dynamics such as social movement, growth of a certain ideological stance in the field, popular concern over a particular issue, and unexpected political accidents. However, ultimately, all these factors have to be mediated by the government in order to make an effect on the policy change. Moreover, some significant factors could have a dominant influence on a particular political circumstance but their impact is usually limited to certain changes rather than applicable to the general policy development diachronically.

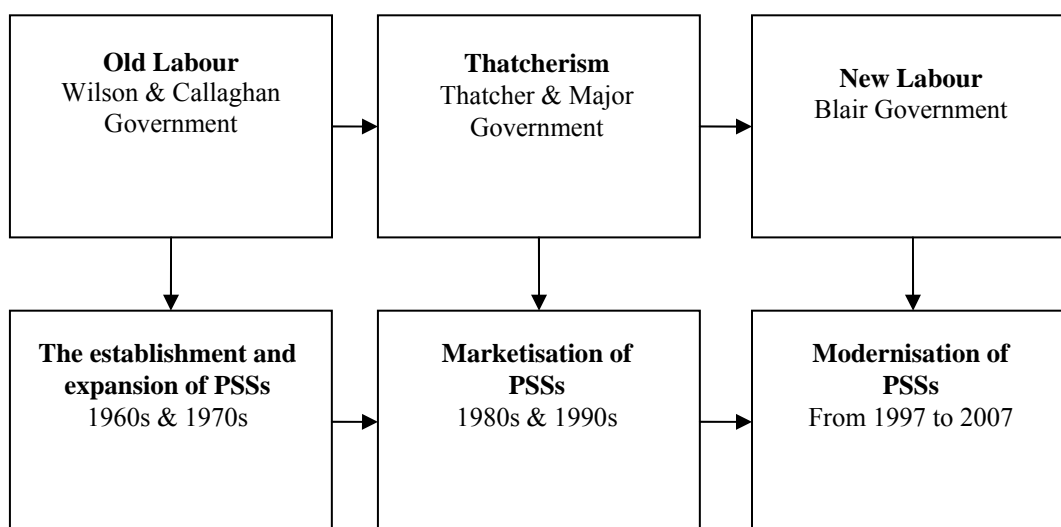


Figure 9 the structure of the approach in the study

This provides the important implication of this study. As stated in the Introduction, the study attempts to explore the effect of the political ideology of the government as a central factor in the considerable shifts in the policy development of personal social services. Following the clarifications of the ideology in each government since the 1960s in Part I, the policy approaches of each government in the area of social care are defined and compared to the central ideology in the second half of the study. The overall approach of the study can be illustrated by Figure 9

In order to investigate the policy approaches of each government, the texts of the key policy documents in personal social services were considered. These policy documents are strictly limited to White and Green Papers for valid comparison through the analysis of the equivalent documents across the different governments unless specified as an exception. These Papers are assumed to have the principal mediating role between the ideology and the policy in this study. In fact, the government presents their grounding argument through these Papers for the broad change of policies in a certain area including how they interpret contemporary challenges; what the objectives they want to achieve by the changes are; and what strategies they have to achieve them. Moreover, a White Paper is the institution which literally leads to the policy change as an official proposal of them in Parliament. A Green Paper is, in addition, a crucial source to show the genuine intention of the government in the policy area and also usually evolves into a White Paper.

In the analysis of the documents, a similar framework to the one used in Part I is applied in order to allow a closer comparison with the ideology in each element. Therefore, the analysis focuses on following points: what challenges to social care were recognised; what objectives were identified; what philosophical thinking the approach was based on; what roles of actors were assumed, how the rights and responsibility of citizens were understood; and what strategic directions were chosen. Also similar a methodological approach is applied in the text analysis. Within each analytical element in the framework, strands in the contents are identified within a certain qualitative extent synchronically and diachronically throughout the documents in each government. Then they are reinterpreted within the whole context of the policy direction and put into the all-encompassing structure of the policy approach.

Since the purpose of the analysis in Part II is not only to define the whole structure of the government approach but also to compare their strategic choice to the ideological position, the review of contemporary literature in personal social services has a distinct role in the research. In each analytical element, a range of contemporary recognitions and arguments are identified through the extensive review of the literature. The primary purpose of the review is to compare the government approach with contemporary academic thought in order to put the choice of the government and the influence of the ideology in context. Therefore, ideological implication in the diverse coeval arguments is discussed in the review where appropriate.

CHAPTER

6

Ideology and the Establishment of Personal Social Services in the 1960s and the 1970s

As discussed in Chapter 5, the 1960s and 1970s was the period of the establishment of personal social services in Britain. This is mainly because the new united personal social services department was set up in every local government and it was the moment that personal social services were officially formed as one of the unitary social service areas. Along with the significant expansion of responsibilities of the local authority and social care rights by a range of legislation in 1960s, this administrative change led to the high rate of consecutive increase in the expenditure of personal social services in the 1970s as discussed in the previous chapter.

This development might be seen far more dramatically if compared to the situation of economic crisis starting from the 1960s. In other words, the most significant expansion of personal social services happened during the worst economic circumstances in British modern history. This is one of the reasons why the establishment and expansion of personal social services is difficult to understand solely by the consideration of the environmental factors. Also this is the reason why the relationship between political ideology and development is attempted to be discovered in this study.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the key policy documents – White Papers and Green Papers – in personal social services are the subjects for the analysis to see the ideological influence on the

development in the 1960s and 70s. First of all, in what context the documents were produced and what implication they have in the development are discussed. Then they are analysed within each element of the analytical framework established in Chapter 1. In each section, a review of the contemporary academic opinion of personal social services (or welfare services⁴) comes first. Then the approach of the government is identified through the analysis of the documents. The discussion to examine the relationship of the political ideology in the Government with this follows the analysis.

The policy documents and the development of personal social services

Since World War Two, the development of personal social services has tended to focus on a certain group which has been identified at different times as having special needs – such as children, the elderly, and mentally disabled (Holgate & Keidan, 1975). The group drawing attention in the early 1960s was children, in terms of juvenile delinquent in particular. The Ingleby Committee (1960) was appointed by the Conservative Government in 1956 and published their report in 1960. It was the first formal study of the comprehensive social services for families and the preventive social work with families was legitimated in the 1963 Children and Young Person Act (Cooper, 1983). The Labour Party in opposition appointed the Longford Committee with the same theme and their report *Crime – a challenge to us all* was published in 1964 suggesting the abandoning of the concept of criminal responsibility for young people under sixteen and treating their criminality on welfare lines (Holgate & Keidan, 1975).

The White Paper, *The Child, the Family and the Young Offender* (Home Office, 1965) was published in 1964 after the Labour Party came to power. It was the combination of Ingleby and Longford thinking with a new set of the recommendations to address both young offenders and children in need of protection (Bilton, 1979; Cooper, 1983). However, its radical proposal to

⁴ Before the term ‘personal social services’ was used in the Seebohm report (1968), ‘welfare services’ was the term widely used to refer to it.

abolish juvenile courts in favour of family councils run by the local authority children's departments triggered heavy criticism (Holgate & Keidan, 1975). This resulted in a modified successor, *Children in Trouble* (Home Office, 1968). As the Government accepted that young offenders should be treated on a professional and informal basis by social workers before legal procedures (Heywood, 1973), this proposal of the White Paper was reflected in the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act.

Meanwhile, personal social services for the mentally disabled and people with mental health problem were also reviewed in the early 1970s. Two White Papers published in early 1970s: *Better Services for the Mentally Handicapped* (DHSS, 1971) and *Better Services for the Mentally Ill* (DHSS, 1975). However, the comprehensive review of the whole of personal social services was carried out later in the 1970s. This was revealed in both the Green Paper, *Priorities for Health and Personal Social Services in England* (DHSS, 1976) and the White Paper, *Priorities in the Health and Social Services: The Way Forward* (DHSS, 1977)

The White Papers and the Green Paper are analysed to reveal the influence of the political ideology of the 'Old Labour' Government in the 1960s and 1970s as they are directly written by the Government department responsible for the implementation (or discussion) of a new set of policies. Even though one of the White Papers, *Better Services for the Mentally Handicapped* (DHSS, 1971) was not published by the Labour Government, it is included in the analysis because, as it is stated in the Foreword, 'much of the groundwork for this Paper was done under the previous (Labour) Government' (DHSS, 1971, p. ii). Also, more importantly, this is because it is placed in the context of the series of reforms throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as discussed. However, the difference in the background of the document with other Papers is carefully considered in the analysis.

The reports of the committees such as the Ingleby report or the Longford report are not included in the analysis although they made a profound contribution to the development of personal social services. It is true that many recommendations of the reports have been legitimated but they are inappropriate for the purpose of the study, which is to look at the influence of political ideology within government policy process. Unlike White and Green Papers, they are written by independent committees not by the government. However, they are reviewed as a one of the

pieces of contemporary literature on personal social services. Actually, they are considerable ones in the study not only because they have had significant influence on the policy but also because they were often more comprehensive studies than anything else. It is, moreover, an important point of the analysis to compare of the reports and White or Green Paper they result in, for example, The Ingleby report (1960) and *The Child, the Family and the Young Offender* (Home Office, 1965).

However, there is an inevitable exception in the study of the 1960s and 70s as there was, unfortunately, no Green or White Paper for the most profound development, which was the establishment of new unified social service department by the 1970 Local Authority Social Service Act. Therefore some texts of the Seebohm report (1968) are included in the analysis particularly, in terms of their strategic choice as well as the recognition of the challenges and the philosophy in the background of it. The differences and distance between what the report recommended and what the government actually accepted are also carefully regarded in the analysis. From the next section, the analysis of these documents follows the review of the contemporary discussion in academics in each element.

The challenges to the personal social services

The divided and ineffective structure in service provision

One of the most dominant problems of personal social services among the contemporary relevant literatures in the 1960s and 70s was the complexity of the structure in the service provision (A. Forder, 1975; A. Forder & Kay, 1973; Griffith, 1966; P. Hall, 1976; José Harris, 1970; Holgate & Keidan, 1975; Titmuss, 1967; Townsend & Wedderburn, 1970; Wistrich, 1970). It was indicated that the responsibilities in personal social services areas had been divided not only in the central government but also in the local authorities. Within central government departments, by the early 1970s, the Ministry of Health was responsible for health and welfare services in local authorities while the Home Office had a similar responsibility for local authority children's departments and the probation services. The Department of Education, in addition, was concerned with health and welfare in schools. In local government, before the new unified social

service department was set up, the function of personal social services had been divided mainly into the children's and welfare departments, whilst related with the health, education, and housing departments. The poor coordination and even rivalries between these departments at both central and local level appeared to be a major concern in personal social services.

This division of services and the lack of coordination between them were recognised as the core barriers to make social services meet growing social needs appropriately. As the social service functions were divided not by client groups who needed the services but by professional groups or administrative departments, it was seen to be impossible to adopt the comprehensive approach for individuals or families who usually had multiple and interdependent needs (A. Forder, 1975; Griffith, 1966; P. Hall, 1976; José Harris, 1970; Holgate & Keidan, 1975; Townsend & Wedderburn, 1970; Wistrich, 1970). Furthermore, Titmuss (1967) argued that as social work skills were fragmented into too many small department by the statutory functions, this not only led to the ineffective use of trained staff but also the lack of adequate professional career opportunities.

Many explained this complex and fragmented structure was the result of the fragmented development of personal social services. Different legislation for different functions had been enacted and new institutions for their implementation were set up at each time (A. Forder, 1975; P. Hall, 1976; José Harris, 1970). However, Forder (1975) argued that there had been the separated interest of each professionals behind this such as medical social worker, probation officers, and welfare officers in children's departments because these professionals could have enjoyed more autonomy and influence in their service area by the segmentation of the services. Also it was true when the integration of personal social services was considered, there was considerable opposition insisting this could damage professional development. This is discussed further in the strategy section below.

The growing social needs

Another great concern of many commentators in the 1960s and 70s was the rapid growth of social needs due to demographic change toward an aging society (Eyden, 1973; P. Hall, 1976; R. A. Parker, 1970; Seeborn Committee, 1968; Speed, 1974; Titmuss, 1963); the increase in the number of mother who were working (Holgate & Keidan, 1975; R. A. Parker, 1970; Titmuss,

1963); and change of household structure, the growing number of household living alone in particular (Holgate & Keidan, 1975)

Demographic change was recognised as one of the most fundamental matters as it was argued to disturb the balance between the dependent and the independent in the population. This meant there would be more and more needs for care with less and less resources. Parker (1970), for instance, demonstrated that the number of elderly over 75 would grow twice (35 per cent) as fast as the whole population (17 per cent) in the next two decades while the Seebohm Committee (1968) recognised that the elderly over 65 already represented approximately one in eight of the population and about a third of them are 75 or more.

More working mothers with young children necessitated an increase in the demand for childcare as well as a decrease in supply of informal carers. Holgate & Keidan (1975) pointed out there were nearly 5 million married women who were working and 1 million of them had children under five. Also they pointed to the rise in number of more vulnerable household such as lone parent family which reached one in ten of all family and single households, particularly among the elderly, which had more than doubled in the past two decades. In addition, the growing conviction rate in young people which had increased more than doubled that of two decades before still attracted great attention in the personal social services following the 1950s (Ingleby Committee, 1960).

The shortage of resources

The more the increase in social care needs became apparent, the more the shortage of resources was seen acute in the contemporary literatures in 1960s and 70s (Eyden, 1973; Griffith, 1966; Holgate & Keidan, 1975; Marshall, 1965; R. A. Parker, 1970; Political and Economic Planning, 1961; Seebohm Committee, 1968; Titmuss, 1967; Townsend & Wedderburn, 1970). Various evidence showing how the provision of services fell short of the required level were presented by studies into services for children, elderly, and other domiciliary services. For example, Parkman and Power, who were asked to investigate the level of children's needs and service provision by Seebohm Committee (1968), concluded that at least one child in ten would need special help whereas at most one child in twenty-two is receiving such help. Townsend & Wedderburn (1970) found in their survey of elderly 65 or over that, while many old people depended on

services from local authority such as home help and meals on wheels, the numbers of people who actually needed those services were twice to five times as many as those of people who were receiving them.

The shortage of resources was not limited to service provision. The lack of staff was also seen as serious. Griffith (1966) pointed out that 12 per cent of posts for childcare officers were vacant in 1964 and they were suffering because of the lower status compared to other chief officers and the small proportion of the expenditure. Parker (1970), furthermore, indicated the shortage of staff in the field of residential care who were usually filled by older single women before they started to decline by the growth of other employment opportunities for them.

The challenges recognised in the policy documents

The appreciation of the different challenges personal social services face in the contemporary society tends to have different ideological implications. This is because the general direction of the policy highly depends on what the challenges personal social services need to tackle are defined. It would be difficult to divide a number of studies discussed above into different ideological positions because most of them appreciate all of the three aspects of the challenges discussed above in their studies. This means there was the general consensus among the commentators that more personal social services should be provided to meet the growing social needs and more cooperation between different services was required.

However, what challenges were emphasized more than others may still have different implications. For example, the commentators who focus more on the significant shortage of resources might be closer to the interventionist stand than others as this is usually associated with the argument in favour of the extension of expenditure in personal social services. On the other hand, the structural problem of service delivery more likely to be used for the argument on the side of the more effective use of the existing resources rather than the expansion of them. Yet this should not be a simple judgement as the argument for structural reform which appeared in this period had much wider appeal than the claim for the effective use of existing resources. Nevertheless, it is also true this categorisation could be a good reference to look at the ideological implications in certain policy documents.

In this context, it is interesting that the shortage of service provision appears far more dominant among the other challenges in Green Papers and White Papers particularly in the 1970s. Such comments are found in every service area, for example, ‘only a small start has been made towards providing in sufficient quantity training centres for mentally handicapped’ (para. 55), ‘lack of places (in junior training centres)’ (para. 59), ‘more places (in adult training centres) are still needed’ (para. 64), ‘the increases (in places for young people who leave junior training centre) is still barely sufficient’ (para. 65), ‘no arrangements of this sort [residential accommodation]’ (para. 68), ‘facilities for residential care outside hospital are still nil or minimal’ (para. 72), and ‘Shortage of staff, particularly trained staff’ (para. 75) in *Better Services for the Mentally Handicapped* (DHSS, 1971).

This continued in the other two documents such as ‘Staffing levels are often less than adequate’ (para. 4), ‘the non-hospital community resources are still minimal ...’ (para. 2.8), ‘lack of facilities (for alcoholics) would be even more serious’ (para. 8.12), and ‘mental hospital are still considerably overcrowded’ (para. 11.1) in *Better Services for the Mentally Ill* (DHSS, 1975); and ‘(that) services (for elderly) at present fall short of them suggests a serious need for improvement’ (para. 5.9), ‘Inadequate domiciliary services causes misuse of hospital beds and unnecessary demand for residential places.’ (para. 5.10), ‘The most serious deficiencies in existing services for the mentally ill are in the local authority social services’ (para. 8.11), ‘Local authority (day care for pre-school children) facilities are concentrated on those who have priority need, and they have long waiting list’ (para. 9.16), and ‘there is substantial unmet need for residential care (for young offenders). ... there are serious shortages of specialised accommodation’ (para. 9.19) in *Priorities for Health and Personal Social Services in England* (DHSS, 1976)

This might be seen as more striking if it is considered that this dominant appreciation of the shortage of resources appeared when the Britain was suffering from one of the worst crisis in her history as discussed in the introduction. Moreover, this situation is clearly stated in the White and Green Papers from 1975 and the severe constraint in personal social services by this circumstance was also apparently recognised: ‘In present economic circumstances there is clearly little or no scope for substantial additional expenditure on health and personal social

services, at least for the next few years.’ (DHSS, 1975 para. 8), ‘services have also been severely affected ... by restraints on the financial resources available’ (DHSS, 1975 para 11.3), ‘the growth of public expenditure must be severely restrained’ (DHSS, 1976 Foreword), ‘for some years at any rate public expenditure will need to be constrained in the national economic interest.’ (DHSS, 1976 para. 1.10), and ‘the recent rapid growth in overall staff numbers cannot continue.’ (DHSS, 1976 para. 2.1).

However, it also appears clearly that the constraint was inevitable out of the choice of the Government even though they did not want it. They even showed their intention of further expansion of personal social services as long as economic circumstance would allow. More needs of families and communities by economic pressure were also appreciated: ‘If the economic situation improved and there were – say – a rate of annual growth in real terms resources after 1980 about double the rate that there will be for the rest of this decade, there would be scope for progress in most of the priority areas’ (DHSS, 1976 para. 11.9), ‘we cannot hope to make significant and rapid changes in the desired directions without a more rapid growth of resources.’ (DHSS, 1977, p. vii), and ‘economic circumstances add to the pressures on families and communities for whom the health and social services must provide support and help’ (DHSS, 1977 para. 1.15). In addition, the growing social needs were also recognised, particularly by demographic change (DHSS, 1976, p. 38, para. 1.6, 1.7, 9.2 and 11.4; 1977)

Surprisingly, the structural problem of service provision was hardly mentioned in the White and Green Papers in the 1960s and 70s in contrast to its dominance in the contemporary literature. However, it must be taken into account that this was not because the Government did not recognise this issue seriously but because there was a certain context relating to the publication of White and Green Papers. As mentioned in the introduction, there was no White or Green Paper for the most significant reform in the structure of personal social services in the 1960s and 70s: the establishment of the unified social service department. Moreover two White Papers (Home Office, 1965, 1968) published before the reform was about the services for children which was the area already having their own ‘unified’ organisation, ‘children’s department’ by the 1948 Children Act and the rest of White and Green Papers were published after the reform. The terms of reference for the Seebohm Committee (1968) actually came from the words in the

Child, the Family and the Young Offender (Home Office, 1965 para. 7): 'to review the organisation and responsibilities of local authority personal social service in England and Wales, and to consider what changes are desirable to secure an effective family service'. And the Committee were well aware of the relevant issues around this:

Organisational issues are of crucial importance when considering the effects of divided responsibility upon policy, use of resources, public accessibility, accountability and co-ordination. The more fragmented the responsibility for the provision of personal social services the more pronounced these problems become. At the policy level difficulty arises over the co-ordination of the work of different but interdependent departments. The setting of priorities and the planning of future developments tends to take place without sufficient regard to the implementations for other departments concerned with similar problems and providing partially alternative or supporting services. ... (Seebohm Committee, 1968 para. 98)

The objectives of personal social services

The statement of objective in any policy area might be one of the most straightforward components showing the ideological stance. This is also true even in personal social services. The most ideologically apparent approach appeared in so called 'radical social work' in the 1970s (Cannan, 1975; Case Con, 1970; Leonard, 1975). Services in the welfare state were accused of being a means to help provide a more efficient workforce and military and to use the withdrawal of benefits as a threat under certain condition, such as strike, for social control (Case Con, 1970). So the radical social workers argued that the real aim of social work should be the change in the economic base of their client (Statham, 1978).

The other end of ideological position in the 1970s is found in the approach seeing personal social service as the measure to lift casualties of modern society up to 'normal life'. In other words, the objective of personal social service is to help individuals having difficulties under certain conditions or the families with them, such as children in trouble, frail elderly, disabled people to live as 'normal' as possible (Eyden, 1973; Marshall, 1965; R. A. Parker, 1970; Seebohm

Committee, 1968). As it assumed a certain 'norm' of society and aimed to keep it, the objective in this approach might be summarised in one phrase, 'social control' as the radicals criticized. However, there is a different context as this is more passive form of social control which is mainly about preventing society from unacceptable disaster rather than an active form of it which is like a means of threat or prevention from radical social change like the critics accused.

There could be a spectrum within this perspective. A position emphasising solely the rescue of social casualties in industrial society might be placed closer to the end of the opposition to the radicalism. On the other hand, the commentators who argued for a more active role for personal social services, for a more preventive and promotional approach to improve individuals or family's quality of life (R. A. Parker, 1970; Political and Economic Planning, 1961) could be placed closer to the middle. And the argument that the role of personal social services as one of the means of income distribution (Marshall, 1970) might be positioned nearer to the left.

The objective of personal social service policy in White and Green Papers in the 1960s and 70s are found to be closer to 'social control'. There was the prime emphasis on personal social services being mainly to help people keep a normal life in their community as long as possible in every area. For example, services for young offenders was to 'make him into a law-abiding and useful citizen' (Home Office, 1965 para. 43) and 'protect society from juvenile delinquency' (Home Office, 1968 para. 7). The aim of services for mentally or physically disabled people and their family was to help them to maintain a normal social life or as nearly normal a life as possible (DHSS, 1971 para. 40; 1976, pp. 45, 54 para. 8.2). Likewise, services for the elderly were to maintain independent lives in their own homes or their community for as long as possible (DHSS, 1976, p. 38 para. 1.2 and 5.3). In children's services, it was 'to help families provide a satisfactory home for the child, and to enable children to stay with their families except where it is against the children's interests.' (DHSS, 1976 para. 9.11)

The philosophy under the policy approach

The philosophical ground under discussion in the 1960s and 70s on personal social services had been influenced from three different theories. The first one was the psycho-analytic approach,

which came from Freudian psychology and developed from the early twenty century (Bailey & Brake, 1975; A. Forder & Kay, 1973; Heywood, 1973). This primarily focused on the individualistic aspect of the problem addressed by personal social services. Conversely, there was the increasing interest in the contribution of sociology explaining the wider environmental influence on the issues (A. Forder & Kay, 1973; P. Hall, 1976; Heywood, 1973). Finally, although it mostly appeared out of formal social work education and academic circles, there was considerable discussion about the radical social work influenced by Marxism and it affected the various movements in the claimants' unions, the tenants' association, the Mental Patients Union, the Women's Liberation Movement and the Gay Liberation Front (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Statham, 1978).

On the one hand, when the needs for social care are understood to be driven by individual failure in the psycho-analytic perspective and quasi-medical model of intervention, such as casework, is preferred to any other forms of services (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Heywood, 1973). Clients are usually defined as a malfunctioning personality in this approach (Cannan, 1975). For example, Philp (1963) claimed in his study on 129 'problem families' that 'emotional immaturity' was found in the most of his cases as a condition of their problems. Emotional immaturity is, he explained, a result of unsatisfactory childhood experiences. He did not deny general social services but argued that these services could achieve little because they dealt only with the 'symptom' of problem so the services should be supplemented by casework to tackle underlying difficulties.

On the other hand, in radical social work (Case Con, 1970), the problems of clients are claimed to be rooted in capitalist society, which is based on private ownership and the interests of a minority ruling class instead of the vast majority working class, and the fundamental causes of social problems would endure unless a workers' state came. Traditional social work based on the psycho-analytic theories and practice was criticised as a model of individual and family pathology which ignored the socio-economic environment (Cannan, 1975; Leonard, 1975). More importantly, original social work values such as self-determination and the dignity of client were understood to be unable to be achieved in the capitalist system (Leonard, 1975). Therefore it is argued that the role of social workers was to encourage the client's recognition of the oppressive

economic and political structure, and help to increase their control over the structure (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Leonard, 1975).

Even though many did not agree with these radicals' claims, there was the general acceptance that the failures of the socio-economic structure – at least the wider environment – were behind the social problems identified by the contemporary commentators (Heywood, 1973; Hunt, 1974; Ingleby Committee, 1960; Seebohm Committee, 1968; Statham, 1978; Titmuss, 1963). Titmuss (1963). For instance, they explained growing social needs with the increase in uncertainty of industrialising society by unemployment, technological advance, and cultural change. The Ingleby Committee (1960) even argued that it is rather surprising to see so few young people got into real trouble and so few families broke down under the growing insecurity in society. Similar approaches were generally found in White and Green Papers in the 1960s and 70s, even on mental health issues which is the area most likely to be influenced by quasi-medical model in personal social services:

A child's behaviour is influenced by genetic, emotional and intellectual factors, his maturity, and his family, school, neighbourhood and wider social setting. (Home Office, 1968 para. 6)

Action by society to deal with children in trouble should take account of each child's family and wider social background... (Home Office, 1968 para. 49)

A child's capacity to learn and develop may be restricted through social deprivation. (DHSS, 1971 para. 11)

There is growing recognition of the relationship between behaviour and environment; and indeed there are probably few aspects of public and private activity that have not been held to have some effect whether direct or indirect on our psychological well-being. (DHSS, 1975 para. 1.1)

Changes in the nature of the problems for which individuals consider they need psychiatric help imperceptibly change society's general concept of what is mental illness and what is not; how far behaviour can be regarded as eccentricity and a reflection of individual personality; how far behaviour calls for punishment and how far for treatment. But we

should beware of overemphasising this, particularly in the context of current psychiatric practice in this country (DHSS, 1975 para. 1.2).

There is no hard evidence to confirm that the incidence of mental illness is increasing but undoubtedly there are features of modern industrial society which many people feel make them more vulnerable to mental stress: high rise flats for families with young children; production line work with no job satisfaction; the break-up of the large family unit; overcrowded living conditions; the pressures of advertising with its suggestions of 'norms' of happiness, friendship and sexual satisfaction and the consequent feelings of inadequacy among those who have not achieved them. (DHSS, 1975 para. 1.5)

Reference has been made already to the wide range of social and environmental conditions which may increase vulnerability to mental illness. The precise weight to be attached to them can rarely be established: poverty, unemployment, lack of job satisfaction and poor working conditions, bad housing, are themselves often a cause of marital stress and breakdown in family life (DHSS, 1975 para. 1.17).

Family factors play a key role; sometimes these are themselves the result of poor environmental conditions but this is not always so. Further research is required into which family factors are most significant and how best to deal with them. Recent studies have already identified some: these include severe social disadvantage, family discord, poor child rearing practices, parental mental disturbance, parental criminality, one-parent families, large family size, unwanted pregnancy, and placement of the child in residential institutions (DHSS, 1975 para. 7.4).

The actors and providers of services

It was true that there had been an argument since the 1960s, often in one phrase, 'mixed economy of welfare' saying social services such as health, education, and other services should be provided not only by the public but also by the private sector. However, there was the general assumption that the public sector (usually local government) had the prime responsibility to fulfil their duty to provide an adequate level of social care imposed by a range of legislation enacted from the late 1940s to the 1960s among most of the literature in the 1960s and 70s on personal

social services. The (local) Government was widely regarded as the public body have the duty as well as the accountability to their electorate about their social needs (Eyden, 1973; A. Forder, 1975; Ingleby Committee, 1960; Marshall, 1970; Seebohm Committee, 1968) apart from radicals condemnation on state representing the interests of the ruling class (Cannan, 1975; Case Con, 1970).

There were also the suggestions that role of local government (or statutory body) should not be limited in only provision of services. The Seebohm Committee (1968 para. 478) claimed that local government (the social service department) need to see themselves as part of a network within the community. In other words, they should have more inactive role such as mobilisation of community resources including provision of support and opportunity to voluntary sector, and management of coordination between various organisations, also including volunteers. Even Titmuss (1967) proposed cooperative ‘enabler’ as a new role required for social service professionals.

This reflected a wide range of appreciation of the role of the voluntary sector already seen to make a great contribution to personal social services rather than the private sector (Griffith, 1966; Holgate & Keidan, 1975; Ingleby Committee, 1960; R. A. Parker, 1970; Seebohm Committee, 1968; Wistrich, 1970). Parker (1970) indicated that some care services had developed from various forms of voluntary effort. Others (Holgate & Keidan, 1975; Seebohm Committee, 1968) demonstrated the pioneering role of volunteer organisations to develop services in new areas which statutory bodies often ignored or avoided. Their role was also valued as they shared the demands, in rapid growth local authorities alone would find it difficult to cope (Seebohm Committee, 1968). Moreover, they were regarded as a key to realise other values in social services such as more practical democracy in their participation (Holgate & Keidan, 1975; Seebohm Committee, 1968; Wistrich, 1970) and wider choice by the variety of services provided (Seebohm Committee, 1968).

However, their participation was not always considered positively. While the Seebohm Committee (1968) valued the wider role of voluntary organisation, they clarified that they could not replace the professional statutory sector (para. 499) and also warned that their growing involvement should not result in a lower standard of services (para. 305) or a loss of the critical

and pioneering role of the voluntary sector (para. 495). Furthermore, there was concern that this should not be the excuse for the cheaper option or the neglect of the local authority's responsibility (Holgate & Keidan, 1975; Seebohm Committee, 1968). In other words, the role of voluntary sector was accepted only as a supplementary to the statutory. The role of for-profit sectors was little recognised. They were hardly mentioned in most of the literature, even if mentioned, the role was considered unusual (Holgate & Keidan, 1975).

In White and Green Papers, as a Government's policy document, the prime role of the state is basically assumed as a service provider. However, there was also wide range of appreciation of the role of the voluntary sector in terms of their contribution to the contemporary services (DHSS, 1975 para. 1.20; 1976 para. 6.2; Home Office, 1965 para. 44; 1968 para. 8, 40, 278, and 279). They were praised sometimes because of their freely-motivated spirit (DHSS, 1971 para. 277; 1975 para. 3.29) or their constructive criticism (DHSS, 1971 para. 282) but more often because of their pioneering role in service development statutory bodies find difficult to fulfil (DHSS, 1971 para. 281; 1975 para 3.32, 3.36, and 3.37) while for-profit sectors were hardly mentioned. Therefore suggestions for a more active role of local government such as mobilising and encouraging more involvement of voluntary services were often found:

The Government attaches great importance to the further development of partnership between public and voluntary bodies in meeting these needs, and the public system will therefore include both local authority and voluntary homes (Home Office, 1968 para. 31).

...also local authorities' social service departments may need to give a lead in identifying needs and suggesting to volunteers how their particular interests and skills can be most effective (DHSS, 1971 para. 306).

It is the concern of the social services department to see that all services are mobilised in helping the mentally ill and in supporting their families (DHSS, 1975 para. 3.15).

As well as involving voluntary organisations in the planning of their services, local and health authorities have statutory powers to give them direct support both financially and by making facilities available, and the Government hopes that this means of encouraging voluntary effort will be used as fully as resources permit (DHSS, 1975 para. 3.39).

Health and local authorities should give every support to voluntary bodies in their work of harnessing community effort (DHSS, 1976 para. 1.23).

However, there was some concern about over-use of them which could make them lose their voluntary spirit (DHSS, 1971 para. 306) and the recommendation that their role should be limited as complementary because they were not professionally trained and should not be means of filling deficiencies in the statutory services (DHSS, 1975 para. 3.31). Yet local government encouraged the more inactive use of voluntary organisations and these seem to be regarded as the additional resources they needed to use under financial constraint:

Leaving aside the special problems of cruelty and neglect, the situation seems to demand such strategies as:

- using ancillary and voluntary workers to economise on scarce professional resources;
- making maximum use of community resources such as foster parents, child minders and the often forgotten aunts and grandmothers...;
- making maximum use of voluntary and community organisations, ...
- developing new resources such as day centres and intermediate treatment centres which can make full use of staff who are not attracted to professional training in the caring professions;
- exploring the use of the media to supplement professional work, for example by providing advice to mothers, finding foster parents or helping to raise standards of child minding.

(DHSS, 1976 para. 9.30)

... support for voluntary effort and encouragement of self-help schemes may represent better value for money than directly provided services and may also provide the means of continuing preventive work. By their diversity and the ingenuity they bring to the task, voluntary organisations can be an important adjunct to the authority's own direct services in getting help to people in need (DHSS, 1976 para. 10.4).

Voluntary effort provides a much needed addition to total resources (DHSS, 1977 para. 2.11).

The citizenship in personal social services

Citizenship in personal social services was not a popular issue among academics in the 1960s and 70s. This might be because the full responsibility of the state for the determination of social services after the Beveridge Report was still widely assumed at that time. Even when the citizenship issues were discussed, it is rather about how to protect citizen's right against the growing dominant power of statutory authority in social care (Brooke, 1970; Statham, 1978; Wistrich, 1970) and the advocacy of client's interest or participation of them for the more responsive decision-making to fulfil their needs (or rights) (A. Forder & Kay, 1973; Seebohm Committee, 1968)

Besides, a more sophisticated discussion on citizenship on social care appeared in the Ingleby (1960) and Seebohm Reports (1968). There was the debate on the caring responsibility of parents for their children and of family for the elderly. In fact, they never denied the primary responsibility for caring for their own family member: 'The primary responsibility for bringing up children is parental ...' (Ingleby Committee, 1960 para. 8) and 'The care which a family gives to its older members is of prime importance and nothing is quite an adequate substitute.' (Seebohm Committee, 1968 para. 294). However, they made it clear that the duty to assist the family in order for them to fulfil the responsibility was on the state: 'the State's principal duty is to assist the family in carrying out its proper functions' (Ingleby Committee, 1960 para. 12), and '... the social services and the social service department in particular, should make every effort to support and assist the family which is caring for an older member.' (Seebohm Committee, 1968 para. 294).

In White and Green Papers on personal social services in 1960s and 70s, there was the general acceptance of the basic duty of the statutory authority to provide services to meet citizen's rights. Further, in terms of the family duty, there was more sympathy for how difficult it is for the family to carry out their caring responsibility by themselves. Therefore the duty of the state to support appeared as the primary concern of the government:

The basic duty of local authorities towards children in their care will remain that of providing the care, protection, guidance or treatment which they consider appropriate in the interests of each child (Home Office, 1968 para. 30).

A family with a handicapped member has the same needs for general social services as all other families. The family and the handicapped child or adult also need special additional help (DHSS, 1971 para. 40)

Some families may be able-and indeed wish-to undertake the demanding task of care. But in these cases it is essential that they receive support and advice from professional staff and that services should be organised to give them effective relief: to enable them to go on holiday and to cope with more urgent domestic crises which may make continued care impractical from time to time, or simply to allow them some respite from the sheer physical and emotional strain (DHSS, 1975 para 1.28).

Furthermore, there were more attempts to guarantee more protection of client's rights such as the encouragement of discussion between professionals and clients (or his/her family), and the emphasis on more participation in decision-making:

The individual and his family ... should be encouraged wherever possible to discuss with the professional staff involved the various needs and the way in which these might be met (DHSS, 1975 para. 1.32).

While the choice of treatment is a matter for professional judgment, the patient and his family have to find the choice acceptable. (DHSS, 1975 para. 2.7)

The statutory services, no matter how comprehensively they are planned, cannot by themselves provide a complete answer to the needs of mentally ill people. The general aim of enabling the mentally ill to participate as fully as possible in the life of the community will only be achieved if other members of the community recognise and support it (DHSS, 1975 para. 2.24).

Relatives of this important group of mentally ill people have now formed their own organisation which is seeking to identify the particular difficulties experienced and ways of helping the families to manage, and to bring these to the notice of statutory authorities. This development is very much welcomed by the Government. A great deal can be learnt from the experiences of families about ways in which services can be make more responsive to individual needs, and their voice needs to be listened to when policies and priorities are being determined. (DHSS, 1975 para. 3.40)

However, interestingly, different kinds of comments were found the White Paper in the late 1970s when the economic crisis had deepened:

One of the main aims of the new initiative on prevention is to encourage individual members of the public to accept greater responsibility for their own health (DHSS, 1977 para. 2.1)

Strategic directions of the policy

Coordination versus integration

As far as the strategy in personal social services policy is concerned, the most significant strategic choice of the Government was the setting of a free-standing unified social service department in the local authority. However, there is no White or Green Paper for this change yet we can consider the Seebohm Report (1968) which recommended the unified department instead. It was true that there were some differences between the 1970 Local Authority Social Service Act and the Report, for example, the takeover of welfare functions of education and housing department in local authority was excluded. However, as the core idea of the proposal, the unified social service department was accepted, we can find ideological implications in the choice through the text in the Seebohm Report including their argument for the proposal.

Since the structural complexity and inefficiency were widely recognised in the 1960s and 70s as we saw above in the challenge section, there were a range of a range of discussions on how to improve the coordination or integration of various service provisions (M. J. Brown, 1974; A. Forder, 1975; Ingleby Committee, 1960; Marshall, 1965, 1970; Titmuss, 1967; Wistrich, 1970). One of the alternatives was coordination through a joint committee with representatives from various different social service committees or a new appointment of a designated officer who was responsible for the cooperation between them. Marshall (1965), for instance, claimed that complete administrative integration would hardly be possible because the responsibility of services for various clients such as abused children, homeless, lone parents, and disabled people were profoundly different on account of the special knowledge they called for. Therefore he suggested that social workers should work as a team with a designated leader while remaining in different organisations. The other alternative was the integration of all relevant services into the

new unified social service department. Titmuss (1967) suggested the establishment of departments of social services at the local level embracing all the functions of existing children's departments and welfare departments, and mental health services from health department.

The argument for the coordination with the separated departments tended to be based on the specialist claim which was closed to psycho-analytic approach which was concerned that the administrative integration of social services might damage specialists' skill and knowledge, well developed in the separated organisations divided by specified area (M. J. Brown, 1974). Underlying problems relating to personality and relation issues, which specialist treatment such as casework was required to address, was regarded more important than general human needs relating to the social and economic circumstance. On the other hand, in the recommendation of the unified social service department, this specialist social service was not considered as the appropriate direction of personal social services and more comprehensive human need was prioritised. This strategic difference in the recommendation of the Seebohm proposal was apparent in the text:

Although significant progress has been made in the past as a result of introducing separate administrative arrangements for assisting particular groups in need, we do not regard this necessarily as a permanent blueprint for future development. In different periods of development other approaches may be more appropriate. At this point in time we consider that most progress in providing good personal services will come through greater integration. (Seebohm Committee, 1968 para. 166)

There was considerable agreement that the barriers between different kinds of training and specialisation should be lowered. ... (Seebohm Committee, 1968 para. 510)

... we consider that a family or individual in need of social care should, as far as is possible, be served by a single social worker. In support of this proposition it can be argued that the basic aim of a social service department is to attempt to meet all the social needs of the family or individual together and as a whole. The new department, by escaping from the rigid classifications implied in the present symptom-centred approach, will provide a more effective "family" service. ... (Seebohm Committee, 1968 para. 516)

The unified department as a panacea

The proposal of the unified social service department was not only about comprehensive social services to tackle the structural problem of service provision. This was also regarded as a solution for the shortage of resources in social services against a growing social need. The Seebohm Committee (1968 para. 147-150) clearly expected that the unified department would lead to an increase in recruitment and training (as in-service training became more feasible), the better deployment of them, better career structure, a bigger budget due to the comprehensive responsibility as a major committee and the revelation of more needs by better accessibility hitherto unrecognised or unmet. In other words, the establishment of the unified department was deliberately expected not only to use the existing resources use effectively but also to attract more resources.

This expectation of the committee was widely agreed by other commentators. The new integrated social service was expected to secure a bigger budget by creating a new balance of power among other big spending local government departments, having more influence on policy decision, and attracting more public demand through raising public awareness, reducing stigmatisation of users, and detecting more needs effectively (M. J. Brown, 1974; Cypher, 1979; Kahan, 1974; R. A. Parker, 1970; Wistrich, 1970). Furthermore the new department was presumed to attract a more high quality workforces by widening career opportunities with a better career structure as well as making social work recognised as a professional discipline with a higher status and authority (José Harris, 1970; Wistrich, 1970).

The expansion and rational planning of personal social services

With the recognition of rapidly growing social needs and the deficiency of resources in personal social services, not surprisingly, one of the major stresses in the policy of the White and Green Papers was the expansion of social service provision. Even in first two White Papers on policy for juvenile delinquency, the welfare of children was the top priority (Home Office, 1965 para 42; 1968 para. 14). A range of emphasis and commitments for expansion of social services were found as follows:

In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary to develop further our facilities for observation and assessment, and to increase the variety of facilities for continuing treatment, both residential and non-residential. ... (Home Office, 1968 para. 20)

The family will also need practical assistance of many kinds. This may include home help, domiciliary nursing, laundry service for the incontinent, sitters-in, play centre, day nursery, nursery school, youth club, and temporary residential care for the handicapped person during emergencies or holidays. ... (DHSS, 1971 para. 143)

What is needed is faster progress to overcome the present deficiencies. This will require money and more trained staff. (DHSS, 1971 para. 198)

The services in which the greatest expansion is needed are adult training centres or sheltered workshops, residential homes for children and residential homes for adults. (DHSS, 1971 para. 201)

In the four years 1971-72 to 1974-75, these resources and local authorities present plans should allow building starts for nearly 10,000 new places in adult training centres, 750 new places in homes for children and 3,500 new places in homes for adults. New buildings would increase revenue costs during this period by an average of something under £2 million each year over the previous year at 1970 prices. This is slightly higher than the present annual increase which is likely in 1971-72 to exceed £1.5 million for the first time. The annual increase would rise progressively during the four-year period (DHSS, 1971 para. 207).

... the Government's broad policy objectives ... is an expansion of local authority personal social services to provide residential, domiciliary, day care and social work support (DHSS, 1975 para. 2.22).

Even after the economic constraint was seriously recognised in the late 1970s, the commitments to the expansion, while limited, did not stop in the later Papers (DHSS, 1976, 1977). Rather, it was placed as the major strategy. This includes the increase in general expenditure (DHSS, 1976, p. 54 para. 4, 5, 1.12, 1.15, 1.18, 5.12, 10.8, and 10.9), the expansion of a number of facilities (DHSS, 1976, pp. 38, 62 para. 6.8, 6.9, 6.10, 7.10, 7.13, 8.12, 8.13, 9.26, and 9.27; 1977 para. 1.15), the further development of various services (DHSS, 1976, p. 45 para. 5.11, 5.13, 6.11, 6.12, and 7.2; 1977 para. 1.14, 2.18), the improvement of quality of existing services (DHSS, 1976 para. 7.14, 7.15, and 8.16), and the more training and recruitment of social service staff (DHSS, 1976 para. 10.5)

At the same time, the more economic use of resources was encouraged, particularly, among staff and the provision of services, such as the development of more economical methods of service provision (DHSS, 1976 para. 14, 1.20, and 8.14), better management (DHSS, 1976 para. 1.21, and 2.2; 1977 para. 1.5), training focusing on efficiency of resource use (DHSS, 1976 para. 2.5). However, the key was the rational planning. In fact, the purpose of the publication of the later two Papers (DHSS, 1976, 1977) was ‘to provide the detailed information that will enable the right choices to be made and effective planning to be achieved’ (DHSS, 1976 Foreword) while the expenditure was severely limited. Also good planning was stated as a ‘key’ in social service policy (DHSS, 1977, p. 21)

Conclusion

In the analysis of the texts in White and Green Papers in 1960s and 70s, the clear ideological implications of the government in personal social services policy toward expansion of social care rights and service provision was found. The Government explicitly recognised that the deficiency of resources in social services was one of the main challenges they had to tackle and there was a clear duty of the state to support families with difficulties in order to carry on their life as normally as possible. Under this recognition, there was fundamental understanding that people faced their unbearable difficulties because of the environmental factors in society rather than individual fault. Therefore the Government accepted their primary role to provide appropriate services to meet social needs while appreciating the role of the voluntary sector but limited to being supplementary. The establishment of the new unified social service department was one of the results of this general understanding. Therefore there was the intention not only to provide more effective services but also to strengthen the status of the social service among other public service areas so as to attract more resources and employees. Moreover, the expansion of service provision was still a major direction of policy until the late 1970s even though there was the economic restraint. Rational planning was considered as a major solution for the limitation rather than any other measures implying reduction of services. This is summarised in Figure 10

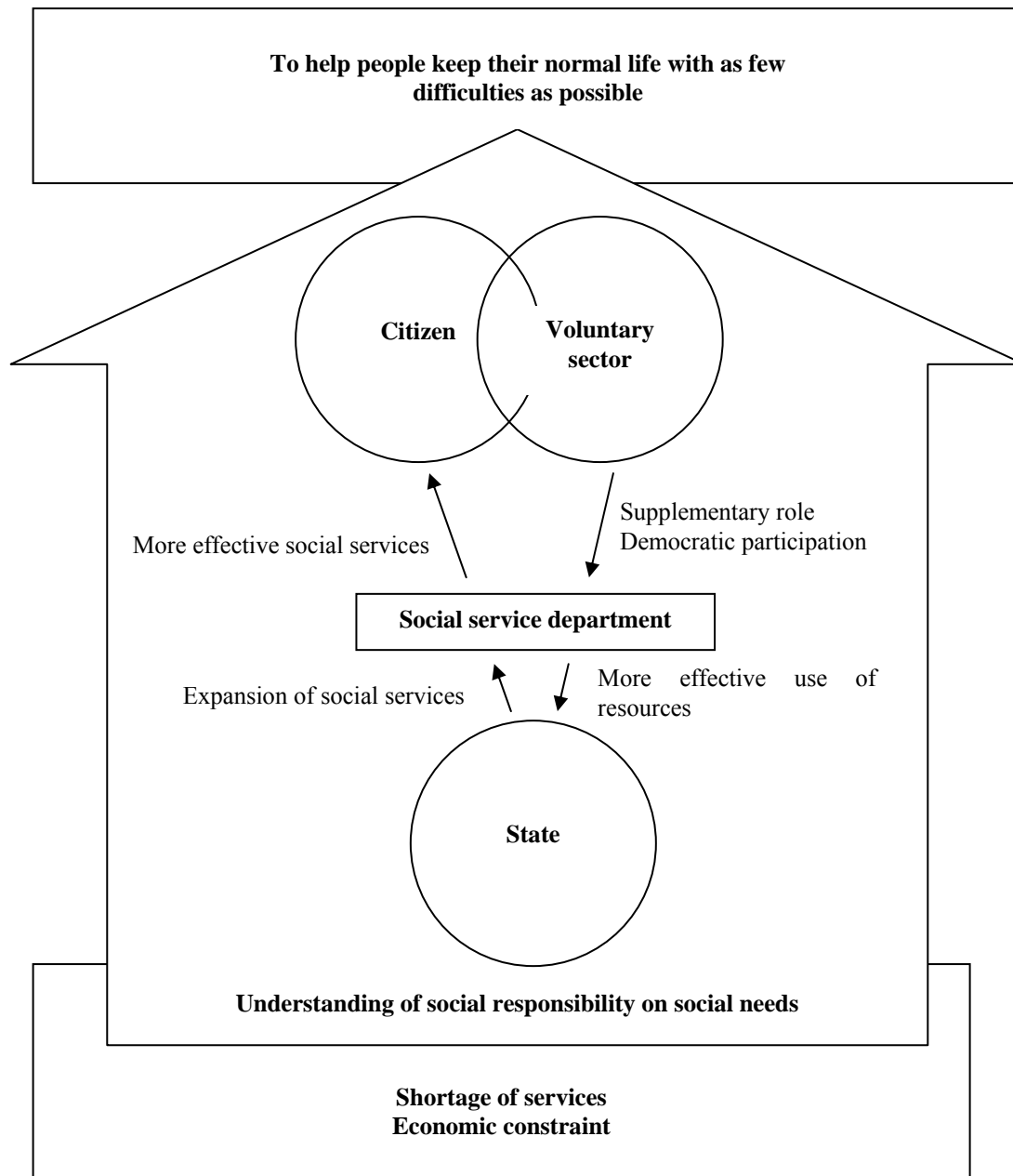


Figure 10 the structure of the policy approach in personal social service policy in the 1960s and the 1970s

Therefore, although it was true that the most significant event in the 1960s and 70s, the establishment of the new social service department, happened without explicit intention to invest in more resources for it (José Harris, 1970), it is hard to say that the following expansion of

social services took place against the government's will. Rather, this clear ideological implication within the policy consideration reflected in the White and Green Papers provides a more satisfactory explanation to the expansion of social service primarily in the public sector during one of the most significant economic crises in Britain than any other structuralist argument. This also appears to be a useful tool to understand the greater constraint on personal social services against growing social needs due to the enduring economic difficulties in the Thatcher years described in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER

7

Community Care Reform and its Ideology in 1980s and 1990s

Following the establishment of the modern system in the 1970s, personal social services in Britain once again experienced the turbulence of reform in the 1980s and 90s. The trend of the significant expansion of rights for social care dating from the end of the 1940s was reversed. The state no longer had the prime responsibility of service provision but became the enabler for other providers – private, voluntary sector and informal carer usually in family and neighbourhood – which were getting a much bigger role than ever before in caring. Moreover, this change coincided with the growing burden of individuals and their families for their own care. This was the clear direction of the reform had taken mainly by the 1990 National Health Service and the Community Care Act, under the Thatcher and Major Governments as shown in Chapter 5.

It is widely argued that this was inevitable because of the long-lasting economic constraint in Britain at that time (Ellison, 1998; Knapp, 1981). However the story does not seem to be so simple. Firstly, even though the personal social services had suffered from economic constraint since 1960s, and they were getting ever deeper after the oil crisis of 1973, it was not until the Thatcher Government that the fundamental structural change of social services became apparent. Secondly, it was true that social services drew more attention because of the sharp growth of the expenditure in the 1970s, but it started from on a very small level at the first (Webb & Wistow,

1986; T. White, 1981). Throughout 1970s, the proportion of personal social services in the total public spending had only increased from 0.9 per cent (1969/70) to 1.8 (1979/80) whereas, for example, spending on education had grown from 7.9 per cent to 10.8 in spite of the decrease in the school-age population (T. White, 1981). This means the marginal increase in social services spending was unlikely to be a notable burden on the government while it could still make big difference in the field (Barclay, 1982). Moreover, when the rise of social needs and the vulnerability of people under difficulty due to economic constraint are considered, the economic recession cannot automatically justify the reduction of the social service responsibility of the state.

This shows the explanation for the policy change in personal social services would not be sufficient only with the economic factors. This is one of the reasons the role of ideological factors in the policy development in 1980s and 90s being closely examined in this Chapter. This is conducted through the analysis of text in key policy documents – Green and White Papers – on personal social services under the Thatcher and Major Governments. This follows the extensive range of contemporary academic discussion in the area for comparison with the strategic thinking and choices of the government, like the previous chapter. Firstly, we look at the details of the key documents and move on to the discussion and the analysis in each analytical element including the contemporary challenges to social services, the policy objectives, the philosophy under the development, the role of major actors, the major strategies, and the concept of citizenship in social care reform.

The key policy documents of social services development

When it comes to the number of Green and White Papers, the Conservative Government in the 1980s and 90s seems to have had much less interest in personal social services. The Labour Government in the 1960s and 70s had one Green Paper and five White Papers including *Better Services for the Mentally Handicapped* (DHSS, 1971), which was published under Heath Government but the main work done by the Labour Government. By contrast, there had been just

three of them (one Green and two White Papers) in the area under successive Conservative Governments during a similar period.

The first one was the Green Paper *Care in the Community : a consultative document on moving resources for care in England* (DHSS, 1981a). It was the first ministerial document concerning the financial method for community care since it became one of the major issues in personal social services since the 1950s (Ramon, 1982). Policy guidance *Care in Action* quickly followed and most of the proposals were nationally implemented for the frail elderly, and people with learning difficulties and mental health problem to live in non-institutional settings (Cooper, 1989).

The Green Paper (DHSS, 1981a), as its title shows, narrowly concentrated on financial issues to move people in long-term care needs into a community setting, whereas the White Paper *Growing Older* (DHSS, 1981b), which was published in the same year, dealt with the comprehensive issues relating to the ageing population. This covered a much wider policy area, such as pension issues, but as it mainly addresses social care issues for the elderly, it is a good resource to see the initial understanding, position, and basic strategies of the Thatcher Government in the area.

However, the most significant document in personal social services in this period was, without any doubt, the White Paper *Caring for People: Community Care in the Next Decade and Beyond* (DHSS, 1989). This was one of the most significant policy documents in personal social service history in Britain and the first clear government statement of the goals and means of community care (Davies, 1994). The ground work was done by Griffiths who was asked 'to review the way in which public funds are used to support community care policy and to advise me on the options for action that would improve the use of these funds as a contribution to more effective community care' (Griffiths, 1988). The main proposal of his report, *Community Care: an Agenda for Action* (Griffiths, 1988) was reflected in the White Paper.

The analysis of the ideological influence in the policy development of personal social services is based on the text from these three Green and White Papers. Yet Griffiths Report (Griffiths, 1988) would be considered as a supplementary text where appropriate, similar to the Seeborn Report

(Seebohm Committee, 1968) because of its significance in the development. The analysis follows the scrutiny of the contemporary discussion of academics based on literature in the next section.

The challenges to the contemporary personal social services

The growing social needs

The constant increase in social needs had been one of the most common concerns in the 1980s and 90s following the 1960s and 70s including aging population and other social changes such as shift of family structure and culture. If there are some differences from the previous period, some counter argument against the pessimistic demographic prediction is found in the literature of the 1980s. Many indicated the fast growing elderly population, particularly the ‘very elderly’ (80 or 85 and over) as they are usually regarded as relatively heavy users of social care (Challis & Davies, 1985; Davies, 1988; Finch & Groves, 1980; S. Green, Creese, & Kaufert, 1979; Knapp, 1981). However, Barclay (1982) pointed out there had been an offsetting decrease in the number of children, ‘the second main group of social service clients’(Barclay, 1982 para. 6.7). Jefferys (1983) also argued there was socially a constructed panic over the aging issue whilst presenting evidence showing the majority of elderly had reasonable health so the increase in the number of very elderly would not be that significant.

However, in terms of other social factors, there had been more diverse concerns in the 80s and 90s than in the 60s and 70s over social changes causing more social needs by weakening the capacity of families for informal care (Barclay, 1982; Davies, 1988; Finch & Groves, 1980; S. Green et al., 1979; Knapp, 1981; A. Walker, 1981). The discussion of the shift of women’s status in society and labour market was one of them. They had been traditionally regarded as the core reserve army of carers. However, greater opportunities in the labour market together with the growing importance of women’s earning in the family due to economic constraints and unemployment, and the change in the conventional role division between genders by the influence of the campaign for sexual equality had been often indicated as a influential factors in creating this change in the status. Furthermore, there had been other factors damaging the caring

role of family appearing in academic literatures in the 80s, such as increase in geographical mobility making considerable physical distances between the elderly and their children; smaller family size including a decrease in single daughter and an increase in lone parent family; the growth in divorce and remarriage weakening traditional family ties across generations. Medical progress and the higher survival rate of physically and mentally frail people was also one of them.

The lack of provision

While the growing need for personal social services was generally recognised by academics in the 1980s and 90s, there was also a general consensus that these needs exceeded the contemporary service provision (Barclay, 1982; Bilton, 1979; Mary Langan, 1990; Lelliott, Sims, & Wing, 1993; Madden, 1990; Pritchard & Cunliffe, 1983; Scrivens, 1979; A. Walker, 1981; Webb & Wistow, 1983, 1986; T. White, 1981). For example, Webb & Wistow (1983) pointed out that many local social service departments even failed to secure the 2 per cent minimal growth requirement for personal social services, which was stated by the previous government in the late 1970s. 27 per cent of them received less growth than the necessary amount to maintain the existing service level in 1978/79 and, in 1981/2, this number increased to 67 per cent. Barclay (1982 para. 7.21) illustrated this situation ‘... social workers [are] sometimes incapable of meeting authority’s statutory obligations ...’.

There had been some particular concerns over the level of service provision in the community setting. After the closures of a number of institutions for people with learning difficulties and mental health problems, there was a growing worry about the shortfall of provision for the discharged people in the community (Madden, 1990). Some still indicate there was a significant number of people inappropriately placed in residential institutions including hospitals due to insufficient community services (Lelliott et al., 1993; T. White, 1981). This problem was not limited to services for learning or mental disability. A decrease in the level of other community services such as home help and day care centre against growing number of the elderly was also demonstrated (Mary Langan, 1990; A. Walker, 1981).

The collaboration between health and social services

The complex and divided service structure within the local authority, which was one of the most dominant issues of personal social services in the 1960s, had hardly been an issue in the 1980s since the establishment of a unified social service department. However, the problem of collaboration between health and social services drew more attention and this had been the most common criticism against the reform. The division of responsibilities between health and social services was considered not only unsolved (Cypher, 1979) but also ever deeper due to the reform (P. Hall, 1976; Wistow, 1982).

Even though they did not directly blame the Seebohm reform, many indicated this lack of collaboration between the two closely related services areas was recognised as one of the major challenges which should be addressed for further development (Dant & Gearing, 1990; Pritchard & Cunliffe, 1983; Webb & Wistow, 1986). This was considered a particularly important issue, not just for more integrated services for client but also for the community care policy, which was understood in many cases as the move from institutional hospital care to care in the community setting. The details will be discussed in the strategy section below.

The interpretation of the Government about the challenges

The recognition of the growing social needs particularly relating to the aging population was found in the Conservative government documents, not surprisingly, mainly from the White Paper, *Growing Older* (DHSS, 1981b p. iii para 1.1, 1.2, 1.7, and 8.2) and it understood the greater demands on social services. Other social factors damaging caring capacity within family such as change in family structure and greater geographical mobility were also identified. There are some examples:

We have had the needs of the growing numbers of elderly people – particularly the very old and frail – very much in mind in maintaining a high level of spending in the health and personal social services (DHSS, 1981b, p. iii).

Moreover, the cost of pensions represents only a part of the taxpayers' and ratepayers' money which public authorities devote to the care and support of elderly people. Special housing; health care in the community and in hospital; social services

and help in the home; and subsidies for fuel and travel are obvious examples (DHSS, 1981b para 1.7).

Variations in family structures and ways of living are emerging, altering the traditional family context in which older people live. An increasing number of families are the outcome of more than one marriage, and there may, in future, be more one-parent families. These changes, combined with the continuing mobility and consequent separation of younger and older generations, could reduce effective family support for many elderly people (DHSS, 1981b para. 9.4).

Most people needing community care are elderly and there is an increasing tendency for elderly people to live alone. ... Growth will be greatest amongst the very elderly who are also most likely to be disabled and in greatest need of community care (DHSS, 1989 para. 8.10).

However, while they sometimes indicated there were many people with learning difficulties and elderly people staying unnecessarily in residential settings (DHSS, 1981a para 3.1 and 3.3), the shortfall of statutory service provision was barely admitted in the policy documents. This was rather understood as a problem of collaboration (DHSS, 1981a para. 4.3 and 5.4) or ineffective allocation of existing resources (DHSS, 1989 para. 1.6, 3.6.2, 8.5, and 8.15):

It has ... been suggested that joint planning has been inhibited by the failure of staff of different authorities to understand the difficulties and different circumstances of their opposite numbers (DHSS, 1981a para. 4.3).

.... the arrangements for public funding have contained a built-in bias towards residential and nursing home care, rather than services for people at home (DHSS, 1989 para. 1.6).

... the provision of such services is uneven and poorly co-ordinated and there is tendency to match clients to services, rather than services to client needs (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.6.2).

... they [the arrangements for residential care from social security fund] have serious drawback. Their unintended consequences has been that priority has not been given to developing services to enable people to be supported in their own homes, with a consequent restriction on the choice available to individuals, their families and the professional care services (DHSS, 1989 para. 8.15)

The objectives of social service policy

If the discussions of the objectives in the 1960s and 70s was about the radical question on the role of personal social services within wider society, then those in the 1980s and 90s were more about the extent of statutory service ought to cover. This ideological divergence was well described in the Barclay Report (Barclay, 1982 para 7.3 - 7.7), which was one of the most comprehensive studies on their role in the 1980s – in fact, the role of social workers who are the main profession concerned.

Barclay presented two distinctive forms of objective depending on the ‘views about what ought to be the relationship between collective provision and individual forms of self-help; what ought to be the scope and policies of other services; and who ought to qualify to receive these services’ (Barclay, 1982 para. 7.3). One was the welfare state approach having the fundamental assumption that the state has an obligation to provide comprehensive services to respond to a wide range of social needs whatever they cause because all citizens have a right to these services. The other one was the safety-net approach saying state provision should be limited to the minimum and complementary to the informal caring network including families and neighbours which should be the primary source of care.

Bebbington & Davies (1983) also offered a similar classification of approaches with the concept ‘target efficiency’. It has two aspects with ‘vertical’ and ‘horizontal’. Higher horizontal efficiency referred to the higher service uptake rate by those in the target group and this was mainly stressed by the universalist as a necessary condition for social services to perform its function effectively. Vertical efficiency was more vital for selectivists as this is about the level of concentration of the resources on target group – i.e. the necessary condition for efficiency within

a narrower service goal. Compared to Barclay's (1982) distinction, horizontal target efficiency relates more to the welfare state approach and the vertical one to the safety-net.

The positions of many commentators in the 80s and 90s (Challis, 1981; Dalley, 1996; Knapp, 1987; M. R. Olsen, 1986; Owen, 1986; Sainsbury, 1986; Webb & Wistow, 1987) were closer to the stands of the welfare state approach. Challis (1981) presented, in his study on criteria for the assessment, a comprehensive range of the objectives in social services such as fulfilment of basic needs of the client for comfort and security; compensation for disability ; maintenance of independence; psychological well-being; reduction of isolation within community; a supplementary or complementary role for the family relationship; and the development of a social relationship for help and assistance. Webb & Wistow (1987) argued a more fundamental aspect of the objectives such as defence of the rights and well-being of (vulnerable) individuals; the promotion of the social environment, maintenance of a reasonably acceptable way of life; and equality of access to opportunity.

However, others were more sceptical about these kind of objectives. Pinker (1982) argued social services (or social work) has neither the capacity nor the mandate for these comprehensive goals for the community at large. This kind of perspective was also reflected in the Griffith Report saying public service can indentify an 'actual and potential carer' or 'where ... caring networks have broken down', and these points were where public services were 'desirable to fill the gap' (Griffiths, 1988 para. 3.2 - 3.3). He limited statutory services to a supplementary role and dealt more with the 'vertical efficiency' of the services.

The emphasis on the independence of vulnerable people in the Government policy document sometimes seems to show a more comprehensive approach on the role of social services:

Strengthened primary and community care services will help elderly people to live independently in their own homes; services for those who are mentally ill, including in some cases residential, day care and other support, will enable them to keep in touch with their normal lives; and services for mentally handicapped people will enable them to live with their families, or failing that in a supportive local community setting (DHSS, 1981a para. 2.1).

The aim of the Government's policies is to enable elderly people to live independent lives in their own homes wherever possible ... (DHSS, 1981b para. 2.1)

Helping people to lead, as far as is possible, full and independent lives at the heart of the Government's approach to community care (DHSS, 1989 Forward).

However, it is clear that this was not understood as a primary job for the statutory service, for example, 'The increase needs of increasing number of older people simply cannot be met wholly – even predominantly – by public authorities or public finance' (DHSS, 1981b para. 9.6). The Government's objective statements were, therefore, more about vertical efficiency rather than the comprehensive fulfilment of social needs:

... the primary aim is a service in settings more appropriate to the needs of individuals being cared for (DHSS, 1981a para. 7.1).

The aim is to provide the care best suited to the needs of the individual, in the most effective and economical way possible (DHSS, 1981b para. 7.3).

We believe that the proposals in the White Paper provide a coherent framework to meet present and future challenges. ... This offers the prospect of a better deal for people who need care and for those who provide care. Our aim is to promote choice as well as independence (DHSS, 1989 Forward).

The aim should be to ensure that all the available resources are put to best use, consumer choice and involvement are enhanced, and flexible services are provided which are tailored to individual need (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.5.4).

Philosophy under the policy development

The discussion on the fundamental perspective of social care was far more popular in the 1980s and 90s than any previous period as many considered the policies of the Thatcher Government as more of an ideological project (Biggs, 1994; Dalley, 1996; B. Hudson, 1990; Hunter, 1993;

Jordan & Jones, 1995; Lunt, Mannion, & Smith, 1996; Trnobranski, 1995; West, 1984). If we draw a line between the philosophical terrains in this period, in spite of a risk of oversimplification, it would be one between market individualism and collectivism. Yet the emerging empowerment discourse made this division more complex.

Market individualism vs. collectivism

Market individualism could refer to the wide range of perspectives having basically more interest in the heterogeneity of individuals, so more emphasis on individual responsibility, innovation through competition, greater choice. This may include consumerism and familism. Consumerism could also embrace various forms of approaches such as belief in neo-classical market principles, managerialism, and New Public Management (NPM).

Some coherent reasoning for consumerism can be drawn from various interpretations of the contemporary literature (Biggs, 1994; B. Hudson, 1990; Hunter, 1993; Jordan & Jones, 1995; Lunt et al., 1996; Marsland, 1996; McGrath & Grant, 1992; Trnobranski, 1995; Wistow & Barnes, 1993) as follows: ‘consumers can enjoy better quality of service more suitable for their individual flexible needs through the encouragement of greater competition between more diverse service providers’. Therefore, according to consumerism, state provision should be minimised not only for more space for private participation, but also for the disaggregation of public bureaucracies which can wield their monopoly power for their self-interest against consumers.

So Griffiths (1988) argued that ‘there is value in a multiplicity of provision, not least from the consumer’s point of view, because of the widening of choice, flexibility, innovation and the competition it should stimulate’ (Griffiths, 1988 para. 3.4) and the government ‘should encourage a proportionate increase in private and voluntary services, as distinct from directly provided public services’ (Griffiths, 1988 para. 4.6) Marsland (1996) also emphasised the majority of consumers should be encouraged to opt into an independent market.

However, there had also been a wide range of criticism of this consumerism approach. Many indicated that the actual choice was not practical for consumers due to various reasons such as the vulnerability of social service consumers, and the division between consumer and purchaser

by the policy (Biehal, 1993; Hunter, 1993; Lewis, Bernstock, & Bovell, 1995; North, 1993; T. Smith, 1989). More fundamentally, Forder, Knapp, & Wistow (1996) demonstrated that the social care market was unlikely to avoid market failure theoretically because of its structural imperfections on account of the barriers to entry and exit such as higher rental or mortgage costs, property market boom and the falling number of volunteers as well as information imperfection on account of the elusive measurement and monitoring of service quality.

Others argued that more competition between a greater number of providers damages the much-needed cooperation and trust for effective service provision (Hunter, 1993; G. Wilson, 1994). Biggs (1994) was particularly concerned by the rise of ‘failed individualism’ which consider people being dependent on others for basic social survival as a being ‘failed individual’ as opposed to the praise for ‘succeeding individuals’, who enjoy their independence and choices.

In terms of social care, familism was regarded as another major form of market individualism (Dalley, 1996; West, 1984). Familism was interpreted as a perspective seeing the family as the best place for mutual caring and responsibility because of the natural kinship and understanding between its members (Dalley, 1996; Finch, 1984). This, rather, traditional form of familism was wedded to market individualism because the basic individual unit and its immediate family was regarded as the bedrock of capitalism for wealth, private property, and reproduction of labour force for market, and opposition against collectivist welfare provision which weaken Victorian values of family and individual responsibility. There were also other perspectives on social care issues which could be member of the market individualism family such as professionalism in social casework practice which focuses on individual matters rather than environmental or social factors (Webb & Wistow, 1987), and the medical model on disability limited its intervention to personal medical treatment and rehabilitation rather than other social issues (Ramon, 1982).

On the other hand, collectivism is basically associated with an egalitarian approach based on collective responsibility for social problems, having more interest in ordinary social needs rather than personal preference, and championing universal social provision being generally accessible according to needs (Dalley, 1996; Scrivens, 1979). The normalisation approach to social services (H. Smith & Brown, 1992) could be seen as a collectivist perspective considering its commitment to equal citizenship rights. It came from the understanding of the cause of disability

which blames social stereotypes about disabled people rather than physical or mental impairment and aimed at every aspect of life of these people – living, working, and spending leisure time – in the same places and in the same fashion as non-disabled people. Other perspective focusing social and environmental factors such as the social model and structuralist approaches, for example, on mental health issues (Ramon, 1982; Tudor, 1991; Wistow, 1982), can be considered closer to collectivism.

Empowerment and independence agenda

The reason why a philosophical discussion of the 1980s and 90s should not end up with the plain dichotomy between market individualism and collectivism lies on the empowerment agenda emerged from both perspectives: the consumerist approach and democratising services (T. Smith, 1989). Firstly, in consumerism, there were elements developed from the consumer movement beyond simple market choice such as the emphasis on listening and responding to the individual (Madden, 1990; I. F. Shaw, 1984). Wistow & Barnes (1993) illustrate different types of consumerism, for instance, the development of consumer feed back; maximisation of opportunity, self-realization, and independence among disabled people; and user movement challenging the traditional ‘expert’ status of medical and social service professionals. These represent empowerment discourses in consumerism philosophy beyond choice in the social care market. They also indicated the consumerist reform of the Conservative Government showed a mixture of approaches to consumer involvement and choice (Wistow & Barnes, 1993).

However, not surprisingly, this is not an exclusive agenda for consumerism. Rather, collectivist traditionally had more initiatives against individualists in terms of empowerment issues such as citizen representation and participation. This approach appeared in the debate on the contemporary social care reforms. North (1993), for example, criticised that the Conservative government reform resulted in the empowerment of purchasers rather than service users and argued that the actual empowerment of users could not be achieved by consumerist reform but by the the establishment of a participatory democracy within local social care services.

This collectivist participatory approach also links to the understanding of disabled and elderly people’s right just as an ordinary citizen and this includes an independence agenda (Beresford & Campbell, 1994). Independence for them was defined to have control over help with daily living

which means participation in society and personal relationships as citizens (Morris, 1994). In this approach, the concept of 'care' was challenged; the disabled and elderly people should not be just regarded as 'dependent' people who need to be 'care for'. Instead, care should be understood as 'care about' someone who focused on bilateral or multilateral human relationships with the sense of loving rather than unilateral care provision.

In fact, the typical image of the caring relationship with a dependent elderly person and a young carer was often not true. Wilson (1994) showed an amount of carers were actually elderly people, those aged 60 to 75 from General Household data. Wilson (1993b) found clients and carers felt more supported by good personal relations with staff while practical help was said to make just a marginal difference in his interview, which meant 'caring about' was more valued than 'caring for' in practice. Caldock (1994) suggested, in addition, the term 'services' was suitable rather than 'care' since the former might refer to something to receive as their right within their control while the latter tended to be associated with dependent and passive recipients.

The philosophical ground of the government on social care policy

As many contemporary commentators indicated, the Government's philosophy on social care based on market individualism is apparent in the text of White Papers. The consumerism approach is found in *Caring for People* (DHSS, 1989). It is clearly stated that they encourage more competition between more providers for better services and consumer interest:

The Government believes that people welcome this mixed provision of care, and that it encourages innovation, diversity, proper attention to quality and the interests of consumers (DHSS, 1989 para. 2.21).

Stimulating the development of non-statutory service providers will result in a range of benefits for the consumer, in particular:

- a wide range of choice of services;
- services which meet individual needs in a more flexible and innovative way;
- competition between providers, resulting in better value for money and a more cost-effective service.

(DHSS, 1989 para. 3.4.3)

The familism of the Government was also evident in *Growing Older* (DHSS, 1981b). Family is described the 'principal source of support and care' and is 'irreplaceable' as the 'best place' for caring:

These spring from the personal ties of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood. They are irreplaceable (DHSS, 1981b para. 1.9).

Most elderly people want to look after themselves, but when help is needed families are, as they have always been, the principal source of support and care. They are usually best placed to understand and meet the wide variety of personal needs which arise and their support is irreplaceable (DHSS, 1981b para. 6.7).

On the other hand, empowerment discourses, including not only consumer's right to choose but also participation in decision making, are also found in both. However, the interesting point is that consumers' choice and participation appeared in a limited sense. Choice can be exercised 'subject to the availability of resources' or 'contribution towards the cost'. Even users' representatives could not get exclusive status as citizens. They can be 'consulted' with an equivalent status to other private providers:

... aged or frail, people living in residential accommodation are individuals with the same rights as everyone else to personal dignity, privacy and freedom to exercise choice. They are entitled to choose their own general practitioner and to receive the health care they need when they need it, including timely admission to hospital. They should be enabled to take part as much as possible in the day-to-day activities in the home; and relatives, friends and former neighbours should be encouraged to involve themselves in the life of the home (DHSS, 1981b).

The Government believes that, subject to the availability of resources, people should be able to exercise the maximum possible choice about the home they enter. The preference of relatives and other carers should also be taken carefully into account. If relatives or friends wish, and are able, to make a contribution towards the cost of care, an individual may decide to look for a place in a more expensive home. The

arrangements made by the social services authority should be sufficiently flexible to permit this (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.7.8.).

Authorities should also consult with, and take account of the views of, private and voluntary sector service providers, and representatives of services users and carers in drawing up their plans (DHSS, 1989 para. 5.7).

Furthermore, when it comes to the independence agenda, it is true that the Government repeatedly stated ‘independent lives’ as their objective as seen in the previous section. However, when we see their approach based on familism, their term ‘independence’ seems to be associated with independence from statutory service by informal care rather than independence for control over own daily lives as a right of a citizen with social support.

Enabler, providers, and mixed economy of care

The changed of the role of state

Even though it was true, in some extent, that a wider government role such as in the mobilisation of community resources and coordination between various organisations within community was considered, its prime duty and responsibility of social care provision was generally taken for granted during the 1960s and 70s as seen the previous Chapter. However in the 80s and 90s, this basic idea had been seriously challenged and changed. A state-monopolist approach was often accused of diminishing community moral, encouraging dependency, and expanding the phenomenon of the underclass (Marsland, 1996). although not all criticism of the monopolistic role reached this extreme, the bureaucratic features of state provision were often understood to be inevitably removed from flexibility and to become impersonal (Owen, 1986).

These concerns are associated with the greater emphasis on the active role and responsibility to encourage various sources of care provision i.e. mixed economy of care. For example, Barclay Report (1982 para. 3.40) argued ‘social services departments, through their social workers, have a responsibility for creating, stimulating and supporting networks in the community’. In fact, the Griffiths Report (1988 para. 5.2) confirmed ‘the major responsibility for community care rests

best where it now lies: with local government' and it suggested various roles of statutory authority including the assessment of individuals' needs as well as the community needs; setting local priorities and objectives; designing a package of care and arranging the delivery; and, in the end, 'the designers, organisers and purchasers of non-health care services. The former primary role as direct providers was abandoned and replaced by the role to maximise possible use of voluntary and private sector bodies to widen consumer choice, to stimulate innovation and to encourage efficiency' (Griffiths, 1988 para 1.3.1 - 1.3.4).

The Government accepted this local government's 'enabling role' but Griffiths' suggestion was not the first. This idea had already appeared the White Paper in 1981, 'The Government sees the primary role of the public services as an enabling one, helping people to care for themselves and their families by providing a framework of support' (DHSS, 1981b para. 6.10). However, this role was more widely clarified in 1989 White Paper after Griffiths' proposal:

The Government also endorses Sir Roy's vision of authorities as arrangers and purchasers of care services rather than as monopolistic providers. In future, social services departments will have the following key responsibilities:

- carrying out an appropriate assessment of an individual's need for social care (including residential and nursing home care), in collaboration as necessary with medical, nursing and other caring agencies, before deciding what services should be provide;
- designing packages of services tailored to meet the assessed needs of individuals and their carers. The appointment of a "case manager" may facilitate this;
- securing the delivery of services, not simply by acting as direct providers, but by developing their purchasing and contracting role to become "enabling authorities";
- establishing procedures for receiving comment and complaints from services users;
- monitoring the quality and cost-effectiveness of services, with medical and nursing advice as appropriate;

- establishing arrangements for assessing the client's ability to contribute to the full economic cost to the local authority of residential services.

(DHSS, 1989 para. 3.1.3)

Another important point worth paying attention to is that the responsibilities of the government were defined in the explicitly limited sense, 'within available resources' (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.3.1; Griffiths, 1988 para. 1.3). Moreover the statutory duty to arrange services was specified under the residual approach. In other words, publicly-funded social services were regarded as the last resort after it was confirmed that all other alternatives were not available:

Decisions [on care arrangement] will need to take account of the local availability and patter of services as well as any sources of support available in the community – whether from family, friends, neighbours or local voluntary organisations ... (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.3.1)

Mixed economy of care

The argument for the change of the government role in social care arose with the emphasis on the diversity of service providers and the competition between them. It was claimed that this mixed economy of care is to appreciate and encourage the present contribution and potential of the non-statutory sector; to prevent the dominance of providers' interest and promote consumers'; and to develop a cost-effective provision of care (Bessell, 1981; Hadley, 1981). However, this by no means came without criticism. For example, while he appreciated the innovative feature of non-public providers and benefits to consumers of the contracting-out system by competition and choice, Knapp (1987) was sceptical about their long-term efficiency. He explained that non-public services looked more efficient because they had historically taken less difficult and dependent clients which would not be the case any longer as the change of trend by public sector placing more dependent people into them. Also he acknowledged the falling number of highly-motivated volunteers by the loss of independence and greater burden of provision.

Many critics went further and raised more fundamental questions about mixed economy of care (Biggs, 1991; Cooper, 1988; Deakin, 1996; Glennerster, Falkingham, & Evandrou, 1990; Mary Langan, 1990; Lewis, Bernstock, Bovell, & Wookey, 1996; Lunt et al., 1996). Glennerster,

Falkingham, & Evandrou (1990) summarised these criticisms well by the reference to the United States' experiences in the social services market which showed time consuming and expensive contracts procedures; very few real competitors; another monopoly or oligopoly by large organisations; technical difficulties in measuring contract compliance; adverse selection bias toward less difficult cases; and damage on continuity of care by repeated bidding. Biggs (1991) argued that consumers lost their influence on care provision as the focus of 'boundary transaction' moved from the negotiations between provider and consumers to those between purchaser and providers through the mixed economy.

As seen in previous section about the consumerism of the Government, more innovation by competition and suitable services by consumer choice were what they expected through the mixed economy of welfare. So a number of commitments for the maximum use of private and voluntary providers in service provision and support for development of them are often found in the Government key policy documents (DHSS, 1981b p. iii para. 8.10 and 9.9; 1989 para. 1.11, 1.12, and 3.7.3). Moreover the Government's money-saving perspective of these independent sectors is found in the following texts:

Money may be limited, but there is no lack of human resources. Nor is there any lack of goodwill. An immense contribution is already being made to the support and care of elderly people by families, friends and neighbours, and by a wide range of private, voluntary and religious organisations. We want to encourage these activities so as to develop the broadest possible (DHSS, 1981b p. iii).

Commercial organisations can help, particularly through fund-raising (DHSS, 1981b para. 1.10).

Private and voluntary organisations, including particularly religious, charitable and friendly organisations and trades unions, have a long tradition of providing residential care. ... It is essential that their contribution should continue and expand. Some voluntary and private homes cater for a particular group of elderly people, for example former employees of a firm. There is scope for industrial companies and other large employers to consider whether, as part of their continuing responsibility

for employees after retirement, residential accommodation should be made available for those who may need it towards the end of their lives (DHSS, 1981b para. 7.10).

The Government will expect local authorities to make use wherever possible of services from voluntary, “not for profit” and private providers insofar as this represent a cost effective care choice (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.4.1).

Voluntary and private sectors

Voluntary sector involvement in social services with a complementary role had been generally welcomed as they were understood to have more innovative, participative, and flexible features in contrast to the heavily bureaucratised and professionalised public sector (Webb & Wistow, 1987). However, the approach of their involvement as a substitute to statutory care provision attracted huge criticism. Many of them argued that statutory responsibility was not replaceable by the voluntary sector as their relationship is not contradictory but complementary to each other (M. R. Olsen, 1986; T. White, 1981). They also pointed out that more dependence on the voluntary sector could result in an unbalanced provision of care since more volunteers and sponsorship was attracted in affluent areas than where greater need is placed (Cooper, 1988; Hatch, 1981; Mary Langan, 1990).

On the contrary, Knapp, Koutsogeorgopoulou, & Smith (1996) suggested that the socio-economic status of volunteering was not always positive and, rather, there was an inverse relationship based on their findings from a national survey on voluntary activity. In other words, they found more voluntary activity in lower income groups. Nevertheless it was only true with their wider definition of volunteering including informal care. As far as formal voluntary work was concerned, their evidence, instead, proved the adverse bias of voluntary care provision against greater needs.

Furthermore, there were the concern that voluntary sector would lose their unique features traditionally praised. It was indicated that the more voluntary organisations joined service provision, the more they use paid staff so the less significant cost-saving was expected (Cooper, 1988; Hatch, 1981). More importantly, voluntary organisations were worried about losing their independence as their increasing involvement in care provision under contract with statutory

authorities means they are more dependent on them financially (Cooper, 1988). This also influences other key roles of the voluntary sector such as campaigning and advocacy (Deakin, 1996). Lewis (1993) found in his survey many members in the organisation felt their activity was getting dominated by the provision of care.

As just seen above, the Government's approach to mixed economy of care includes encouraging the development of the voluntary sector and maximum use of them in service provision. Particular appreciation of the valuable role of the voluntary sector and commitments for more support for them are often found in the text of in 1981 White Paper (DHSS, 1981b para. 6.13, 8.5, and 9.10). In 1989, statutory authority was asked to change its relationship with voluntary sector to a contractual one (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.4.13) but to keep grant type support for other roles such as advocacy, campaigning, and education (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.4.14).

However, as previously seen in the Government approach on mixed economy of care, the involvement of voluntary sector was not considered a supplementary role but a primary substitute to statutory provision. Moreover, as we can see in the following text, the Government perception of the voluntary sector was explicitly about additional or primary resources for caring or mobilising them, rather than an innovative and participative role. This makes sharp contrast with what we find in the understanding of the previous government about the voluntary sector which valued their high morals and unique contribution while being relatively cautious not to see them as an additional resource:

... it is easier to harness the energy and resources of the voluntary sector if people are in the community, rather than in hospital (DHSS, 1981a para. 3.7).

Whatever level of public expenditure proves practicable, and however it is distributed, the primary source of support and care for elderly people are informal and voluntary (DHSS, 1981b para. 1.9).

Much can be done by voluntary organisations, working alone or in partnership with the public authorities... (DHSS, 1981b para. 6.9)

Voluntary organisations can make a vitally important contribution, particularly in helping to mobilise informal help on discharge ... (DHSS, 1981b para. 8.5)

The other non-public provider, the private sector attracted far less attention from academic literature but more severe criticism on their role in service provision. While their massive extension throughout the 1980s was recognised (Challis & Hugman, 1993; B. Hudson, 1990) they are widely condemned for their biased interest in affluent clients and cream skimming against difficult and expensive ones – service provision not based on needs but affordability (Cooper, 1988; Deakin, 1996; Jefferys, 1983). However, on the contrary, a different perspective of the private sector in social service provision was found in the Griffiths Report: ‘The best examples show how services can respond very flexibly to meet the particular needs of individuals in a way that is acceptable to them and takes full account of their personal circumstance’ (Griffiths, 1988 para. 4.5). This perspective seems to be reflected in the Government approach for the expansion of private provision in social care seen above.

Strategies in personal social service policy

Community care as a core agenda

As far as personal social services are concerned, ‘community care’ was at the centre of policy development as well as academic debate throughout the 1980s and 90s. It is interesting because there had been a kind of ‘consensus’ about community care in the previous period as the right direction for social care policy since it emerged in the 1950s. At that time, community care was generally understood as a shift of place of care from a Poor Law style large institution to a homely setting or home within the community i.e. care *in* the community.

However, while this kind of community care still mattered, the discussion around ‘community care’ was getting more complex forms. The first one could be the move of care responsibility from the state to ‘community’ – family, relatives, and neighbours – i.e. care *by* the community. Yet, in fact, the actual policy proposals for community care were appeared more about a decentralisation agenda. This includes a range of government funded community care projects

conducted in various regions in the 1980s. As each kind of community care had different issues as a policy agenda, it would be appropriate to discuss them one by one

Care in the community

Even if there were no longer any Poor Law type, inhuman, large institutions, it was still important issue to replace inappropriately hospitalised or institutionalised vulnerable people such as people with learning difficulties and elderly people back into their own community not very different from those in the 1960s and 70s (Bessell, 1981; Davies, 1981; Lelliott et al., 1993; Madden, 1990; Ramon, 1982; T. White, 1981). Yet there was also a striking difference in the discussion. That was the arising criticism in the 1980s and 90s against some policies for care in the community, which had a near consensus status in previous period.

The first target of the criticism was the impetuous closure of institutions without proper development of community support under the name of 'community care' (Chapman, Goodwin, & Hennelly, 1991; Knapp, 1987; Mary Langan, 1990; Scull, 1986; Webb & Wistow, 1987). Community care was, the point of view of the central government, the shift of more care provision from expensive NHS facilities to local authority institutions and, from the local authority perspective, the pressure to substitute cheaper care options such as day care and domiciliary care for the expensive local institutional care (Webb & Wistow, 1983). Knapp (1987) pointed out this de-institutionalisation moved forward faster than anyone had expected and there was not enough time for the development of a community care service to adapt and respond it.

There were also questions about the claim that community care is a cheaper substitute (Knapp, 1987; O'Shea & Blackwell, 1993; I. Philp et al., 1995). Knapp (1987) indicated that there were the 'hidden' costs, such as housing grants, social security and day care costs for community care and O'Shea & Blackwell (1993) added their argument about more costs for informal care. This will be discussed further below.

Some critics went further. They were sceptical about community care itself. Goodwin (1989) raised questions about the origin of community care policy. He argued that common knowledge about the development in mental health on account of a new drug treatment was exaggerated as there was, in fact, no significant curative effect. He claimed that institutional care for mental

health was deserted not because of modern enlightened thinking but because of the failure to increase its capacity to match rising demand. In addition, Chapman, Goodwin, & Hennelly (1991) pointed out the ignorance of the client views about community care and quality of service. Higgins (1989) argued, moreover, that ‘community care’ is an unhelpful concept because of its ambiguity as it could mean care at home, daily care in another place, or even institutional care within community.

However, there was a renewal of the demand for care in the community. Morris (1992) claimed that disabled and elderly people could have a better quality of life within the community almost without exception while disapproving of other feminist criticism on community care which will be addressed below. Dalley (1996) made an interesting suggestion for collectivist alternative form of community care satisfying a number of collective care principles – responsibility for own life choices, responsiveness to needs and preferences, opportunity for a wide range of personal relationships, integration and normalization, and economical security. This was the group living model with people having various levels of dependency, sharing not only care and support but also communal life while supported by a living-alongside or regular-coming carer.

Care by community

Community care had not only been a matter of place where people were cared for since the 1980s. In community care, sometimes called community social work or community-centred approach, maximising the capacity of the community to provide care was regarded as an alternative to meeting growing social demands on caring (Barclay, 1982; Hadley, 1981). Moreover, ‘care by community’ was sometimes understood to be a more effective and sensitively humane way of care than care by ‘professional’ (Butcher, 1986).

Barclay (1982), in particular, claimed in his well-known report on the role and tasks of social workers that ‘if social needs of citizens are to be met in the last years of the twentieth century, the personal social services must develop a close working partnership with citizens focusing more closely on the community and its strengths’ (para. 13.1) and members of the public should be regarded ‘as partners in the provision of social care’ (para. 13.2). In this respect, community was defined ‘as a network, or networks, of informal relationships between people connected with each other by kinship, common interests, geographical proximity, friendship, occupation, or the

giving and receiving of services – or various combinations of these’ (Barclay, 1982 para. 13.6) and ‘An important feature of community is the capacity of the networks of people within it to mobilise individual and collective responses to adversity’ (para. 13.7).

Severe criticism of this claim mainly came from the question of the meaning of ‘the community’ in practice (Finch, 1984; Finch & Groves, 1980; S. Green et al., 1979; J. Higgins, 1989; Jefferys, 1983). These critics pointed out, when it comes to care by the community, it was not the ‘community’ who provide care but identifiable groups and individuals: women. They recognised, in reality, the majority of the caring burden already fell on women’s unpaid or low-paid labour and so claimed that further pursuit of community care was nothing more than additional sacrifices from women. Finch (1984) concluded ‘no non-sexist version of community care seems possible’ (p. 12).

The proposals and projects for community care

The actual community care which appeared in proposals and government pilot projects in the 1980s was more complex form than just ‘who cares where’ issue. As an alternative form of care replacing large, slow, and unresponsive bureaucratic and institutional care, generally two different decentralised forms of community care models were presented at that time. The first one was the localised geographical patch team system which was the allocation of social work staff to a limited geographical area (Barclay, 1982; Hadley, 1981). The more active participation of informal and voluntary community network and effective response to unique local needs were expected in this model.

However, the model which was adapted into regional pilots and well documented in empirical studies was the other one – the so called ‘Kent Community Care model’ (Challis, Chessum, Chesterman, Lockett, & Woods, 1987; Challis & Davies, 1985; Chesterman, Challis, & Davies, 1987). This was the decentralisation of resources rather than geographical area. Accordingly, this model included the following points: devolution of control of resources to individual field workers; defined caseload and expenditure limits to ensure accountability; and the provision of more flexible, responsive, and coherent individual packages of care. If the patch team model was a more generalist approach, this Kent model was a more specialist one focusing on special client

groups with complex needs and adapting a specialist case management concept which will be discussed below (Goldberg, 1987).

The empirical studies to evaluate a range of community care schemes in various regions such as Kent and Gateshead, found a number of advantages of this model although there was some variation between the regions (Challis et al., 1987; Challis & Davies, 1985; Chesterman et al., 1987; Rushton, 1990). They were longer survival rates, lower admission rates to hospitals or institutions, higher satisfaction and quality of care, and less stress and disturbance of care. However, in terms of cost, there was a mixed picture or no significant differences. For example, in the Kent Scheme, the model cost less for local authority but more for the NHS while there was no significant difference in Gateshead comparing to standard service provision. When other benefits were considered, this model was generally accepted as, at least, a cost-effective alternative. Yet many highlighted that this would be by no means cheap option (Butcher, 1986; Dant & Gearing, 1990; Glennerster et al., 1990; Lewis et al., 1995). They argued that, in order to achieve the benefit of the model, it required substantial investment.

Community care of the Government

First of all, community care was the central concept of the Government reform on personal social services, as seen in the title of the Green and White Papers: '*Care in the Community*' (DHSS, 1981a) and '*Caring for people: Community Care in the Next Decade and Beyond*' (DHSS, 1989). Yet what matters is, as just seen in the contemporary discussion, which kind of community care it was. It was found in the text that community care for the Government was particularly '*care in the community*':

Most people who need long-term care can and should be looked after in the community. This is what most of them want for themselves and what those responsible for their care believe to be best (DHSS, 1981a para. 1.1).

Community care services play a vital role in enabling elderly people to remain in their own homes and in preventing or deferring the need for long term care in a residential home or hospital (DHSS, 1981b para. 7.2).

Community care means providing the services and support which people who are affected by problems of ageing, mental illness, mental handicap or physical or sensory disability need to be able to live as independently as possible in their own homes, or in “homely” settings in the community (DHSS, 1989).

The actual policy strategy for care in the community was no more than a further development of various services available in the community such as domiciliary care, day care services, respite services, and sheltered housing. Other decentralised forms of community care, such as the geographical patch team system, the devolution of resource to field level, limited caseloads, were not included in the Government’s form of the community care. Although there are some words like ‘flexible’ services or delivery, the resources control was no further devolved than the local level and there was no mention about the reorganisation of social services departments. Moreover, a specific grant to develop community care, suggested by Griffith Report was also rejected:

to promote the development of domiciliary, day and respite services to enable people to live in their own homes wherever feasible and sensible (DHSS, 1989 para. 1.11).

Community care means providing the right level of intervention and support to enable people to achieve maximum independence and control over their own lives. For this aim to become a reality, the development of a wide range of services provided in a variety of settings is essential. These services form part of a spectrum of care ranging from domiciliary support provided to people in their own homes, strengthened by the availability of respite care and day care for those with more intensive care needs, through sheltered housing, group homes and hostels where increasing levels of care are available, to residential care and nursing homes and long-stay hospital care for those for whom other forms of care are no longer enough (DHSS, 1989 para. 2.2).

There is great scope for establishing clear policy frameworks and guidance for resource use, and for increasing the provision of more flexible and intensive personal care services for people who would otherwise require institutional care (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.6.2).

The Government believes that the range and diversity of domiciliary care services can be greatly increased by enabling those responsible for planning, managing and delivering the services to operate flexibly. Delegation of responsibilities for recourse management to local level, and the encouragement of tendering for certain services are means of stimulating the growth of new domiciliary and day care services in the independent sector (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.6.3).

The Government gave careful consideration to Sir Roy Griffiths' case for a specific grant but concluded that a large scale specific grant is not necessary to secure community care objectives (DHSS, 1989 para. 8.25).

Some criticism of care in the community was appreciated by the Government. For example, it was stated that 'Ministers will not approve the closure of any mental hospital unless it can be demonstrated that adequate alternatives have been developed' (DHSS, 1989 para. 7.5) in order to prevent the victimisation of patients with mental health problems by community care policy. However, the intention of the Government for care *by* the community is ever clear. This was the move of care responsibility from a statutory service to the community: 'Care *in* the community must increasingly mean care *by* the community' (DHSS, 1981b para. 1.9) and 'in many cases it would both be lower and better value' (DHSS, 1981a para. 3.7). We can also find the concept of 'community' being used as something not in the public sector in the following text:

Much can be done within the community, independently of public authorities, to organise help with the many minor everyday tasks which can present difficulties for elderly people (DHSS, 1981b).

Providing adequate support and care for elderly people in all their varying personal circumstances is a matter which concerns – and should involve – the whole community: not just politicians and officials, or charitable bodies (DHSS, 1981b para. 1.11).

Nor should community care be seen as the prerogative of public services (DHSS, 1989 para. 2.21).

Case management

Case management is a social work method, originally developed in the United States and Canada in response to service fragmentation, poor resource targeting, a lack of collaboration between various services and the difficulty of coordination between statutory and informal care (Biggs, 1991; Dant & Gearing, 1990; Levick, 1992). This was introduced in Britain mainly through a range of Government funded community care projects, including some discussed above (Challis, Chesterman, Traske, & Richard, 1989; Davies, 1988; Levick, 1992).

Like community care, case management in the 1980s and 90s had various different approaches but there were also common features between them. Most of the approaches included the following points: a care manager who is responsible for needs assessment, planning a package of care, and constant monitoring and evaluation for a certain case or client (Dant & Gearing, 1990; Davies, 1988; Huxley, 1993). A number of commentators presented a range of conditions for successful case management based on empirical evidence from community care projects in Britain (Cambridge, 1992; Challis et al., 1989; Levick, 1992; Wistow & Barnes, 1993) or experiences from the United States and Canada (Dant & Gearing, 1990). While a range of community care projects in Britain proved a number of advantages such as longer survival, better quality of life, and less admission to institutional care as was seen above (Challis et al., 1989), the most common conditions for this successful result included the devolution of resource control to care manager level including funding as well as service supply. Cambridge (1992), in addition, introduced further conditions such as comprehensive and multidisciplinary assessment; facilitating user involvement; a mixed economy of care; and the independency of the care manager.

Challis, Chesterman, Traske, & Richard (1989), in particular, demonstrated two different case management models. One was the ‘complete model’, which was adapted by the community care projects, including not just an administrative function but also the wider roles of care manager including assessment, counselling, and supporting and advising carers. The other model was the ‘administrative model’ which incorporated the administrative roles – service arrangement and coordination – into the central tasks of care manager. The latter was, they said, more likely to be

adapted into common practice but it would be a more expensive form of service delivery without further benefit.

There were some expectations about the introduction of case management, as a client-centred approach, to reveal existing unmet needs and provide more accessible and acceptable levels of services, and, at the end, to empower the wider public (Levick, 1992). However they did not come without criticism. For example, Wilson (1993a) concluded in his study that case management was exceedingly time consuming and a source of stress. He added that care managers were trapped between incompatible roles: producing satisfactory packages of care within a rationed service provision. Moreover, Caldock (1994) pointed out that there was a fundamental contradiction within case management between the emphasis on user choice and participation, and the stress on cost-effectiveness.

Furthermore, Biggs (1991) raised a question about the method from its origin, arguing case management was developed from the unique circumstances of the United States where caring was inadequately and partially funded by insurance companies, which was not the case in Britain. On the other hand, Osborne (1991) was critical about not adapting the case management model from the other country, Canada, in which budgets devolved into consumers, case managers were employed by consumers and so was a far more empowering model for service users.

The Government, in their White Paper, explicitly mentioned the introduction of case management into social services:

People's care needs may change over time and therefore need to be monitored. Where an individual's needs are complex or significant levels of resources are involved, the Government sees considerable merit in nominating a "case manager" to take responsibility for ensuring that individuals' needs are regularly reviewed, resources are managed effectively and that each service user has a single point of contact. The "case manager" will often be employed by the social services authority, but this need not always be so (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.3.2).

Case management provides an effective method of targeting resources and planning services to meet specific needs of individual clients. The approach has been

successfully employed in a number of schemes and projects, some of the best known of which are in Kent, Gateshead and Durham (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.3.3).

Even though the community care projects are mentioned as above, the model the Government actually adapted was far from what the evaluators (Challis et al., 1989) expected. The role indicated for case management was limited to the ‘administrative model’ excluding wider tasks for care managers such as counselling and advising for a ‘complete model’. Even administrative tasks could be divided into different managers in each stage:

To be effective case management should include:

- identification of people in need, including systems for referral
- assessment of care needs
- planning and securing the delivery of care
- monitoring the quality of care provided
- review of client needs.

It is not essential that the same manager should undertake all these tasks for a particular client but a clearly identified individual should be designated for each function (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.3.4).

The conditions for successful case management commonly indicated in the contemporary literature, such as the devolution of resource control to care managers, was appreciated by the Government although it would not be applied to every case. However, the point was at the effective use of existing resources rather than the sufficient use to meet clients identified needs, which was the main point of the literature. This reminds us of Wilson’s (1993a) findings showing the stressful position of the care manager between user’s need and rationed resources:

The Government also sees advantage in linking case management with delegated responsibility for budgetary management. This need not be pursued down to the level of each individual client in all cases, but – used flexibly – is an important way of enabling those closest to the identification of client needs to make the best possible use of the resources available (DHSS, 1989 para.3.3.5).

Planning

Planning in personal social service was generally understood as the process of indentifying existing demand and available resources and then determining what needs should be met and how (Webb & Wistow, 1986). This process was regarded as being particularly important when there was scarcity of resources and universally considered explicit criteria for service was the crucial point (Scrivens, 1979). Barclay (1982) claimed that planning was one of the core roles of social workers along with counselling to fulfil their responsibilities.

Since the local planning was introduced as one of the measures in the Government reform, there had been some expectation that this would lead to user empowerment. Levick (1992) argued that any unmet or inadequately met needs and local social service policy to tackle them would be revealed publicly through this planning. Hence he expected this would trigger a wider local debate about service provision issues. Hudson (1992) also indicated that there was an opportunity for users and carers to become involved in the planning and service delivery process and this could encourage focusing on practical outcomes to improve the quality of their lives beyond that of the services.

In the Government White Paper, as discussed, planning was stated as one of the new measures:

... local authorities will be expected to produce and publish clear plans for the development of community care services, consistent with the plans of health authorities and other interested agencies. The Government will take new powers to ensure that plans are open to inspection, and to call for reports from social services authorities ... (DHSS, 1989 para. 1.12)

However, its context looks rather different to what had been expected in the literature. The focus of the planning was neither revealing unmet needs nor consultation with users and carers. It appeared to be a method to ensure that national policy and priority is implemented by the local authority, such as the increase in use of the non-statutory sector and non-residential care, and that the role of local authority shift to being an enabler. In short, planning was accepted as an effective central control tool over local authorities:

Social services authorities will be expected to make clear in their community care plans what steps they will be taking to make increased use of non-statutory service providers or, where such providers are not currently available, how they propose to stimulate such activity. In particular, they should consider how they will encourage diversification into the non-residential care sector (DHSS, 1989 para. 3.4.5).

The Government will bring proposals before Parliament to:

- require local authorities to draw up and publish plans for community care services, in consultation with health authorities and other interested agencies;
- enable the Secretary of State for Health to call for reports and information from local authorities where he has reason to think these may be needed, and to specify the form in which they are to be provided;
- enable the Secretary of State for Health to issue directions and give guidance over the full range of personal social services activities by local authorities.

(DHSS, 1989 para. 5.3)

Local authorities will need to have clear plans for the development of their community care provision against which their performance can be monitored and assessed. The purpose of such plans will be to enable social services authorities to:

- set out strategic objectives and priorities and, over realistic planning periods, set specific targets, in collaboration with relevant agencies;
- take account of the needs of people who have been in hospital a long time, and need help to re-establish themselves away from large institutional settings;
- assess other local needs, taking account of the results of assessments in individual cases;
- organise their move away from the role of exclusive service provider to that of service arranger and procurer;
- ensure that service arrangements respect and preserve individual independence, include adequate quality control systems, offer freedom of choice, and provide services in a sensitive and responsive way;
- monitor performance; and inform the public.

(DHSS, 1989 para. 5.6)

Collaboration between health and social services

As discussed in the Challenge section, poor collaboration between health and social services had been widely recognised particularly since the establishment of the social services department. And it became a more important issue as the move of inappropriately hospitalised people into a community setting became one of the major government policies on community care. The Green Paper *Care in the Community* (DHSS, 1981a) was published mainly for this issue. Hence, various suggestions for this purpose were suggested in the Paper such as joint finance, a lump sum payment from health to local authority, the transfer of hospital buildings, the pooling of funds for a client group, the central transfer of funds, establishing a NHS fund, and placing responsibility for a client group into single authority (DHSS, 1981a para. 6.3 - 6.27). Other proposals were presented in the White Paper, *Growing Older* (DHSS, 1981b) such as liaison officer between the two authorities.

However, many criticised the government approach (Benington, 2000; R. Higgins, Oldman, & Hunter, 1994; Nocon, 1989; Webb & Wistow, 1986). Webb & Wistow (1986) claimed that joint finance could not be successful without a sufficient and consistent increase of funding in the social service department because there was a fundamental concern about the end of the joint finance programme which meant the more significant cut, the more local authorities had to compensate. Nocon (1989), moreover, found systematic ignorance in the joint planning between health and local authorities and from each of them. R. Higgins, Oldman, & Hunter (1994) draw some lessons from their study on a local community care project, namely that more inter-agency training and education, clearer objectives and joint management, and more explicit resource availability were required for successful collaboration.

However, no significant measure appeared in the 1989 White Paper (DHSS, 1989) for the improvement of collaboration. Rather, joint planning was replaced by a planning agreement between the two authorities so aims, funding, and further collaboration were left to their discretion (DHSS, 1989 para. 4.25 and 6.10).

Citizen, another provider and consumer

Responsibility as informal carers

The ultimate protection of citizen rights being the principal responsibility of the state was generally taken for granted not only in the academic literature but also in the text of the Government documents in the 1960s and 70s, as discussed in the previous Chapter. The principal duty to care for citizens was considered to fall on the state. However, in the 80s and 90s, this was challenged profoundly and the primary duty of care appeared to move to the citizen, particularly, in the name of ‘community care’ (Phillipson, 1994), as seen in the discussion on ‘care by community’. Barclay (1982 para. 13.14) claimed that ‘The citizen has more often been encouraged to think of his rights as an individual than of his responsibilities as a member of a community’. Madden (1990) insisted that the dependency culture of the welfare state could be prevented by emphasizing the duties of the family and the community. Yet this was not only a responsibility issue but also a matter of money and resources. The community care approach which meant the active use of informal resources with formal ones was argued, although not cheap, to ‘make sense’ (Barclay, 1982 para. 13.22) and ‘good value for money’ (Barclay, 1982 para. 13.68) particularly under circumstances such as increasing demand with constrained resources.

However, this recognition of citizens as informal care providers was not all about the request for primary responsibility for caring. It was also the appreciation of the reality that the majority of the care burden had been already shouldered by informal carers (S. Green et al., 1979). As the substantial proportion of them were found to be suffering from significant stress and difficulties (Goldberg, 1987), many commentators emphasised public support for carers. Yet there were different extents and points of the arguments. While the greater support for informal carers was often justified in order to maintain or encourage their caring capacity rather than to lift the burden (Barclay, 1982; Goldberg, 1987; S. Green et al., 1979; Griffiths, 1988; Owen, 1986; A. Walker, 1981; Webb & Wistow, 1983, 1986), others raised the fundamental question about this principle responsibility claim.

The latter was based on another reality about caring. While the majority of the care burden was placed on the family and the community, again, the majority of them fell on a particular group of people: women (Bebbington & Davies, 1983; S. Green et al., 1979). It was argued that informal caring in the community was accepted and encouraged at the expense of the basic rights and opportunities of women to work, or even, to marry, as the significant and constant burden of caring was falling on them from children to the elderly throughout their lifetime (Finch & Groves, 1980; J. Walker, 1988).

Rights as consumers

The severe challenges to the rights of citizens and the emphasis on duty were not the whole discussion on citizenship in social care during the 1980s and 90s. Another type of right was encouraged and praised in the name of 'consumer choice'. In other words, as a part of consumerist approach, consumers were believed to enjoy their right to choose better and more suitable care services for their individual needs from various providers who could be more innovative and flexible under competition than the self-interested and monopolistic bureaucracy. However, much the same as the discussion over consumerism, this argument attracted extensive criticism.

For instance, North (1993) claimed the consumerist approach diminished the right of citizenship on its own account by defining service users as greedy consumers and considering access to services as a privilege rather than a right. However, more critics aimed at the reality of social care market in which consumerist principles were unlikely to work. Biggs (1991) and Means & Langan (1996) pointed out that, in fact, there were few real choices for care service consumers. For the very elderly or people with disabilities, when the service was usually given at a point of crisis, going elsewhere was not considered a realistic choice, despite any dissatisfaction they may feel.

Further criticisms brought attention to the actual proposal of the Government for a social care market which let the local authorities buy the services for the users rather than allowed the consumers to do so for themselves. They disapproved of this proposal because those who had the choice, control, and negotiation over services were the purchasers (the statutory authority). Therefore, the consumer was even considered more excluded and disempowered than in the

previous system (Biggs, 1991; Cornwell, 1996; Knapp et al., 1996; Levick, 1992). Wilson (1994) pointed out that the practical situation of care managers namely that they could not solely respect consumers choices due to the demands for strict rationing with a fair distribution between rising demand and constrained resource.

On the other hand, as seen in the empowerment agenda in the philosophy section, the consumerist approach was not only about choice ‘at the point of sale’ in the market. If this is not a real option for consumers, the importance of the ‘voice’ of the consumer through assessment, planning, and complaint procedure would be more considerable in social care (Lewis et al., 1995). Hence, there were a number of pieces of literature presenting methods and matters for effective and substantial user participation (M. Barnes & Wistow, 1994; Bewley & Glendinning, 1994; Biehal, 1993; Bowl, 1996; Hartley Dean, 1993). The most common lesson which could be drawn from these studies was that what really matters in terms of user involvement is information and power. They concluded that, based on their findings from some pilot projects, the empowerment of consumers could be no more than rhetoric unless clear information was given to users about available services; eligibility for them; the quality and performance of them; and having the substantial power of decision-making on planning and management transferred to user representation equivalent to that of professionals.

The conception of citizenship in the government

The reality of social care, the majority of the burden falling on informal carers’ shoulders, was largely appreciated by the Government and their commitments to help and support are found in the text. However, as seen in the philosophy section above, their approaches were based on the idea assuming the primary caring responsibility of the family and community. Accordingly, this reality is described as the desirable – ‘always will be’ (DHSS, 1989 Forward) – and morally right thing to maintain – ‘it is right that they should be able to play their part’ (DHSS, 1989 para. 1.9) – rather than change it. This leads to the limited extent and purpose of their commitment for support to carers no more than ‘to continue to carry out their [caring] role’ (DHSS, 1989 para. 1.9) and ‘to maintain their valuable contribution’ (DHSS, 1989 para. 2.3). While this is even regarded as ‘right and a sound investment’ (DHSS, 1989 para. 2.3), there is no mention about the lost rights and opportunities of carers, for example, in employment:

The greater part of care has been, is and always will be provided by families and friends (DHSS, 1989 Forward).

The Government acknowledges that the great bulk of community care is provided by friends, family and neighbours. ... However, many people make that choice and it is right that they should be able to play their part in looking after those close to them. But it must be recognised that carers need help and support if they are to continue to carry out their role ... (DHSS, 1989 para. 1.9)

to ensure that service providers make practical support for carers a high priority. Assessment of care needs should always take account of the needs of caring family, friends and neighbours ... (DHSS, 1989 para. 1.11)

While this White Paper focuses largely on the role of statutory and independent bodies in the provision of community care services, the reality is that most care is provided by family, friends and neighbours. The majority of carers take on these responsibilities willingly, but the Government recognise that many need help to be able to manage what can become a heavy burden. ... Helping carers to maintain their valuable contribution to the spectrum of care is both right and a sound investment. (DHSS, 1989 para. 2.3)

As far as the consumer right issues were concerned, as already shown in the philosophy section, the Government approach seems to be limited to 'choice' in the market without any further measure to make this choice real to the vulnerable client. The attempt to give the purchasing role to the local authorities rather than directly to consumers might be interpreted as their being considered protectors, morally superior than the market, with the interests of vulnerable clients in mind (B. Hudson, 1990). However, as we saw in some criticism, it is unlikely to have substantial meaning with the practical dilemma of care manager with the constraint on resources while facing growing demands.

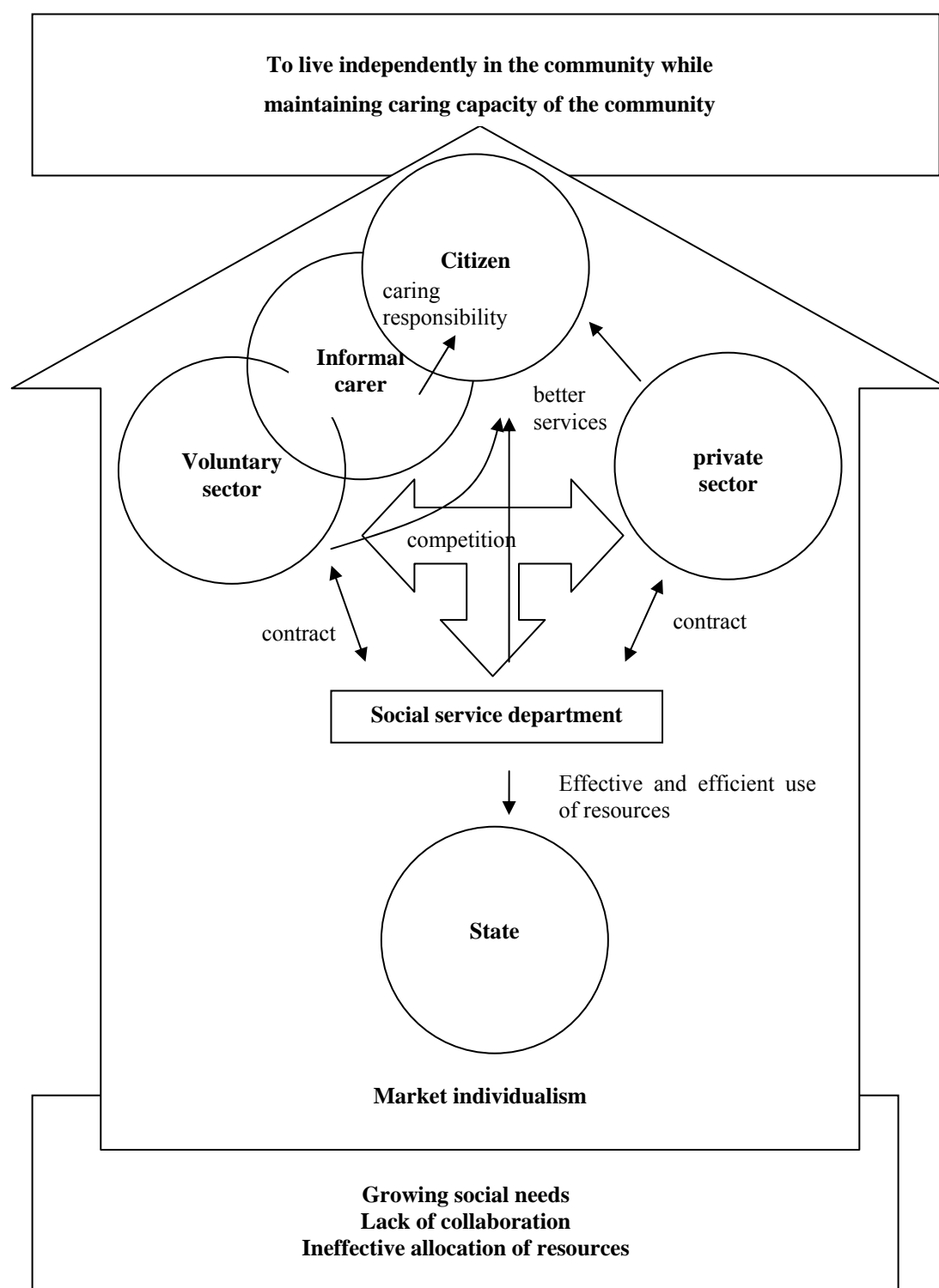


Figure 11 the structure of the policy approach in the personal social service reform in the 1980s and the 1990s

Moreover, in terms of the consumer ‘voice’, as seen in the discussion on empowerment as well

as planning in previous sections, Government consideration of user involvement was limited to ‘within available resources’ and, more importantly, the planning process was found to be considered as a method to control local government rather than to encourage user participation in the text.

Conclusion

Through the analysis of texts in the key policy documents of the Conservative Government in the 1980s and 1990s, the coherent structure of the approach is found behind another profound policy development of personal social services following its establishment in the 1960s and 70s as illustrated in Figure 11. While growing demands on social care from an aging population and social changes were acknowledged by the Government, they did not accept that it was their responsibility to address these demands. They limited their role to strictly within a residual level. Instead the effective and efficient use of available resources was understood as the more serious objective of the government.

This was based on the Government philosophy of familism and consumerism. The family was thought to be the best place for caring, and they should not and cannot be replaced by the Government. So the Government’s job was instead believed to be the encouraging of the development of diverse service providers and competition between them in order to promote better services and choices for the family or ‘the community’ to maintain their primary responsibility of caring. The voluntary sector was more valued for providing a good contribution from ‘the community’. In this context, the right of citizenship was replaced with the obligation for caring as a member of ‘the community’. Their right was defined as the right to choose from what was available.

The ideological choices of the Government in policy reform became ever more evident through comparison with the comprehensive review of contemporary literature on personal social services. Between the arising discussions for alternative approaches to bureaucratic state care provision from different perspectives, the Government rigidly clung to the consumerist option. While there had been various arguments about ‘community care’ what the Government applied

to their policy was the particular combination of community care coherent with their familism philosophy: care *in* the community based on care *by* the community. Even though the model suggested by the government-funded case management projects was the ‘complete model’ (Challis et al., 1989), the model utilised by the Government was the ‘administrative model’, which was the minimalist option just requiring the managing of a mixed economy of care.

This coherent set of choices in the policy development of social services shows the visible influence of the political ideology of the Government which was analysed in Chapter 3. Its residual objectives and market individualism in social service policy are evidently associated with the commitment for freedom and the New Right philosophy: ‘to let people (do) what they want to do and (choose) what they want to choose in the market without paternalistic intervention of the state’. The limited managing role of local government in the social care market, not as a provider and but as an enabler is mirrored by the Government’s perspective of the state in the economy – not a player but a referee under their monetarism and emphasis on law and order. The citizenship in the social service shares exactly the same ground with the Government ideology: the right of citizen was defined as the right to buy with primary responsibility on the family.

Consequently, the central role of the ideology on the policy development of social care during the 1980s and 90s seems to be self-evident and the understanding of this influence provides a better understanding of the reform rather than solely considering the environmental factors, such as economic constraint, although it was most significant in this period. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the latter could not provide the complete picture of the government’s response to the effects of the continuing expansion of social rights, political expectations and demands on social care accompanied by economic restriction.

CHAPTER

8

Caring for Independence: Social Care Policy and New Labour

After 10 years of Tony Blair's premiership, the status of the social service today in Britain seems to be far from bright. Although even one of the most well-known critics of his politics admitted on his resignation 'Blair's Britain is a better place to live in...' (Toynbee, 2007) not only because of economic success but also because of better public services, the gloomy term 'crisis' is far more familiar in social care. This is not a new story but the recent debate over the 'care crisis' did not come from anywhere else but the government independent regulator on social care, the Commission for Social Care Inspection (CSCI) in their annual report in 2006 (CSCI, 2006). They revealed more and more people are forced to find and pay for their own care out of the social care system and the total amount of this cost for elderly care might reach £ 3.5 billion in 2005/06 which is equivalent with the forty three per cent of the government spending in this area. Following their further findings, nearly three-quarters of local authorities in England were planning to tighten their rationing on social care (Carvel, 2007), their concern was becoming more serious in the third annual report with the finding that more than seven hundred thousand people struggled to cope with the basic routines of daily life without proper help to maintain a decent standard of wellbeing (CSCI, 2008).

The insufficient government funding to keep up with the ageing population and the rising cost is mainly blamed (Carvel, 2008). This shows an interesting contrast with other public service areas

such as health and education which has enjoyed the remarkable increase of investment since 1997 (Drake, 2000) as well as other aspects of social service development regarded as unprecedented level of user-empowering and individualised service (Wanless, 2006). Like the previous two chapters about those of Old Labour and the Conservative Government, this Chapter examines the role of ideology in this development of a personal social service policy under New Labour with an analysis of the text in key policy documents: Green and White Papers. First of all, the documents for analysis are defined and their context discussed. Then there will be an analysis of these texts using the framework established at the beginning of this study – challenges, objectives, philosophy, actor, citizenship, and strategies – following which they are compared with contemporary literature.

Key documents and policy developments in personal social services

There have been four Green and White Papers on social care policy or relating to it since 1997, when New Labour came in power. The first comprehensive plan for social service reform was demonstrated in the White Paper *Modernising social services promoting independence, improving protection, raising standards* (DH, 1998). This presented an extensive government programme for improving partnership between various agencies, empowering users, and reconstructing the role of social care workforces (J. C. Humphrey, 2003). The next publication relating to social service policy was the Green Paper, *Every child matters* (DfES, 2003). This paper, which emerged out from the public inquiry on the tragic death of Victoria Climbié, shows a holistic approach to children including poverty and, mainly, education (Williams, 2004) but it also covers social care policy such as child protection. It is for this that, the paper is included for analysis.

In the past few years, there were two more consecutive publications presenting an up-to-date long-term vision of social service policy: *Independence, Well-being and Choice: Our Vision for the Future of Social Care for Adults in England* (DH, 2005a) and *Our health, our care, our say: a new direction for community services* (DH, 2006). The Green Paper (DH, 2005a) is an ambitious document setting the vision of social service for the next decades in order to tackle the

challenges of an ageing population (Scourfield, 2006). And it was developed into an integrated White Paper in the following year encompassing health and social care (DH, 2006). This shows a new level of integrated vision of the two areas as well as better prevention (Wanless, 2006).

There are, in addition, other strategic policy documents possibly equivalent to Green or White Papers such as *Caring about carers: a national strategy for carers* (DH, 1999), *The NHS Plan: a plan for investment, a plan for reform* (DH, 2000), and *Improving the life chances of disabled people* (Cabinet office et al., 2005). These publications embrace particular parts of social service policy development. The first published 'national strategy' for carers (DH, 1999) propose a substantial policy package to support them. *The NHS Plan* (DH, 2000) is an important document not only for health policy but also for social service as this presents a radical policy change to address the old divisions between health and social care. A joint report with the Department of Work and Pensions, the Department of Health, the Department for Education and Skills, and the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister for the new strategy of disability policy (Cabinet office et al., 2005) introduces a social model of disability perspective, replacing the conventional medical model. This document also focuses on the social and environmental barriers to disabled people rather than the individual medical conditions and impairments, bringing them into a wide range of government policies including a social service for disabled people.

However, since these proposals and approaches are included in the Green and White Papers, the focus of the analysis is also more about the overarching ideological approach within social service policy development, these strategic policy documents covering specific parts of social services are not analysed separately. Also the report of the Royal Commission on Long Term Care (Royal Commission, 1999), which could be equivalent to the Seebohm Report (Seebohm Committee, 1968) of the 1960s and 70s, and the Griffiths Report (Griffiths, 1988) of the previous government, is discussed as one of the contemporary studies on social care rather than as a supplementary policy text since its major proposals were rejected by the government unlike its predecessors. It is true that many of the other recommendations in the report were accepted but that was a technical rather than an ideological or strategic adaptation of the idea of the Royal Commission.

Challenges to the contemporary social care policy

Increasing social needs

The constantly growing social demands for personal social services still remains one of the major challenges to social care policy following the previous Labour and Conservative Governments in Chapters 6 and 7. Ageing population is, not surprisingly, often indicated as a one of the major factors for this (Chevannes, 2002; Daly & Lewis, 2000; Joffe & Lipsey, 1999; Royal Commission, 1999; Wanless, 2006; Wright, 2000). The Royal Commission (1999) presents the finding that while the population is expected to reach its peak by 2030, the group aged 85 and over would have the biggest relative increase in older people, which means the number will be three times that of the current level. While Hill (2000) argues the overall social care demands would just slowly be changed, counterbalanced by the fall in the number of children, Joffe & Lipsey (1999) estimates a further £15 billion investment will be required for residential care alone as the oldest group is major user of care service.

Other conventional contributing factors for growing social needs, social and economic changes have also appeared in various literature since the late 1990s. They include the change of the family structure, including family break-ups, and the increasing number of women participating in the labour market (Blackman, 1998; Hill, 2000; Holloway & Lymbery, 2007; Mary Langan, 1998; Lewis & Giullari, 2005; Royal Commission, 1999; Wanless, 2006). As has been discussed in the previous chapter, these changes are supposed to increase social demands by weakening the capacity for caring within the family. Holloway & Lymbery (2007) points out the recent pattern of the supply of informal carers, who are more likely to be a partner in an older couple rather than a daughter or daughter-in-law, who were common carers in the past. Therefore, today carers are more likely to have not only the responsibility for caring for others but also their own care needs.

The growing level of inequality and poverty could be novelty factors increasing social needs claimed in social care literature after the Conservative Government (Dowling, 1999; Drake, 2000; McLeod & Bywaters, 1999). Dowling (1999) illustrates that the rapid increase in income inequality peaked in 1992 with the biggest increase in child poverty. He claimed this was

because of ‘a restructuring of welfare’ (p. 247) such as the limited public spending and static social security benefits. Besides this, the worsening financial situation of elderly people is also mentioned (Baldock, 1997; Deeming & Keen, 2002; Royal Commission, 1999; Wanless, 2006). The declining relative value of the pension benefit by the pension reform (Baldock, 1997) and assets tied up in ‘bricks and mortar’ (Royal Commission, 1999 para.1.4) by the selling of social housing were blamed. Deeming & Keen (2002) found in their survey of people on average and below-average household incomes that many of pensioners were unable to afford the domiciliary care services they needed and many people in their fifties were also unlikely to afford them in retirement.

On the other hand, some argue that social demand would significantly increase further on account of the higher expectations (Joffe & Lipsey, 1999; Wanless, 2006). Joffe & Lipsey (1999) claim that growing expectations about the quality of life and levels of independence amongst new generations would make the cost of care multiply.

Resource constraints

It has been the long-standing dilemma in many social care literatures that resources have been always limited compared to the rising demands. There has been no exemption in the contemporary literature under New Labour as many of them mention this point (Baldock, 1997; Daly & Lewis, 2000; Drake, 2000; Ellis, Davis, & Rummery, 1999; Hardy, Young, & Wistow, 1999; Haynes, Banks, Balloch, & Hill, 2006; Joffe & Lipsey, 1999; J. Johnson, 2002; Mary Langan, 1998; Lymbery, 1998). At national level, New Labour’s pre-election commitment not to increase rates of income tax was indicated as a major contributing factor for these constraints while other conditions such as the formidable amount of national debts (Drake, 2000) and global economic competition (Baldock, 1997) were also appreciated.

At local level, as the inadequate level of funding of local authorities became apparent (Hardy et al., 1999; J. Johnson, 2002; Lymbery, 1998), tighter eligibility criteria and greater charging for social services were reported. The significant number of care home closures caused by these constraints is revealed (Haynes et al., 2006; J. Johnson, 2002), Blackman & Atkinson (1997) illustrated the situation where individual cases were considered depending on the availability of resources rather than assessed needs. Furthermore, Lunt & Baldwin (1997) found that the vast

majority of local authorities had been reviewing and changing their charging policies in social care since the full implementation of the Conservative community care reform in 1993 and charging for services was increasingly accepted as a norm. Thirty per cent of local councils even appeared to charge against Income Support (J. Johnson, 2002). Also the widely spreading trends of 'top-ups' for publicly-funded care services (one in three people receiving local-authority funding services) were reported (J. Johnson, 2002; Wanless, 2006).

Criticisms on the community care reform in 1990s

Meeting growing social needs against limited resources is a rather traditional challenge in the social care area and can be recognised anytime in modern history of Britain, however, the wide range of criticism which has arisen after the community care reform of the previous Conservative Government in 1990s is something new. As discussed in Chapter 7, this reform was based on the consumerist idea that quality of service could be improved by more competition between various providers and choice by user. Therefore, a mixed economy of care had been encouraged while case management was adopted to manage them effectively. It was true that there was a deal of empirical research which showed some of the achievements of the intended aims of the reform such as the improvement of targeting and productivity which meant more days staying in community; needs-led assessments, the development of a mixed economy of care, deinstitutionalisation; and the better involvement of users (Carpenter et al., 2004; Davies, 1997; Hardiker & Barker, 1999; Henwood, Wistow, & Robinson, 1996; Ryan, Ford, Beadsmoore, & Muijen, 1999).

However, there has been an extensive range of criticism including the failure of its market-based idea and mechanism in the literature between the mid-1990s and the mid 2000s. Baldock (1997) explains how different social care is from other commodities in the market by nature. He points out that personal social services are produced and consumed almost simultaneously so the distinction between producer and consumer becomes blurred as well as its productivity largely depending on collaboration between the two. Knapp, Hardy, & Forder (2001) also present a number of reasons why social care has difficulties with market-like competition: difficulties of measuring outcome; the 'experience good' nature of care; unbalanced power and information

between provider and users and associated risks of exploitation; the compulsory nature of some services; and the often slow achievement of outcome objectives.

While some commentators repeated many of Knapp et al's (2001) points (Filinson, 1998; Scourfield, 2006), other studies provided more evidence (Andrews & Phillips, 2000; N. Johnson, Jenkinson, Kendall, Bradshaw, & Blackmore, 1998; Nicholls, 1997). Their findings shared a common trend of the social care market in practice: the quasi-market structure established by the reform was particularly beneficial to larger (often corporate) providers because the purchaser usually preferred block contracts with them to avoid uncertainty and risks as well as lower the cost. Hence this often results in a monopoly or cartel. This point was also repeated in other studies (Deakin, 1996; Hardy et al., 1999; Knapp et al., 2001; Mary Langan, 1998; Lunt et al., 1996).

Therefore the findings of Hardy et al's (1999) study into four local authorities in England is not surprising. None of the domiciliary care users had been offered any choice between different providers. While most care home users had a choice, they did not feel there was a real alternative but to accept typical care. Additionally, others pointed out other reasons for the limited choices for users (Cambridge & Brown, 1997; Forbes & Sashidharan, 1997; Mary Langan, 1998; Mackintosh, 1997). They indicated difficulties for some social care users to enjoy their own choice such as people with learning difficulties or mental health problems; and the nature of the quasi-market where the purchaser, not the user, chooses the services. Moreover, the other way to make the service more responsive to users, user involvement, was also seen to be highly limited. In the study of managers in health and social care agencies (Chevannes, 2002), professionals were found to effectively 'manage' older people rather than involve them in the process. Other studies point out other reasons of the lack of user participation (Hardy et al., 1999; Rummery & Glendinning, 2000): the inactive nature of users due to their illness and/or disability; and gate-keeping practice by case managers under limited resources.

In fact, because of financial constraint, case management, which was introduced in community care reform in order to ensure a needs-led service arrangement, was reported to fall short of its rhetoric (Lewis, Bernstock, Bovell, & Wookey, 1997; G. Parker & Clarke, 2002; Postle, 2002; J. Powell, 1999; Tanner, 1998). One of the achievements in community care reform in other studies,

better targeting, was also pointed out as the failure of preventative intervention because services became intensified into clients with the highest needs. This also meant that case management became, as mentioned, a gate-keeping mechanism in front of limited recourses, as well as a simple administrative practice dominated by the language of priority and eligibility criteria rather than the flexible arrangement to meet individual complex needs.

As these core mechanisms of market-based reform had been brought into question, likewise, its effects on service quality had been in doubt. Hardy & Wistow (1998) identified a number of practical concerns, particularly in terms of the relationship between the purchaser and the provider, and service quality under the quasi-market system. They are: difficulties to accredit various providers, inflexibility of contracts, inappropriate types of contract without any stability for the provider, often too many providers for a single user, and inadequate monitoring. There was also a common criticism that the genuine feature of the market-based system to drive down the cost is often achieved at the expense of service quality (Knapp et al., 2001; Scourfield, 2006). Furthermore, the quasi-market is accused of weakening collaboration between various agencies, which is required for better service, while encouraging competition between them (Cambridge, 1999; Filinson, 1998; Lewis et al., 1995; Lunt et al., 1996; Nicholls, 1997).

Finally, questions over the market-based reform of social care system reached its final destination, the core value of its idea – efficiency. The split of purchasers and providers was frequently criticised for bringing the transaction cost higher while making service delivery more bureaucratic as this requires more effort and time from the local authority for a range of additional activities such as negotiating, commissioning and monitoring rather than face-to-face work with a client (Cambridge & Brown, 1997; Scourfield, 2006). This claim is supported by empirical evidence from other studies (Challis, Weiner, Darton, Hughes, & Stewart, 2001; Nicholls, 1997).

The division between health and social care

The fragmented responsibility of long-term care between the health and social services still remains one of the biggest obstacles for comprehensive and effective service (Glendinning, Halliwell, Jacobs, Rummery, & Tyrer, 2000; Joffe & Lipsey, 1999; Keene, Swift, Bailey, & Janacek, 2001; Lewis, 2001). This division is accused of confusing users and being irresponsive

to their complex needs. Lewis (2001) particularly raised concern over the 'intermediate group' who are larger in these days than in the past as the number of frail elderly people had increased. She argues that they are often stuck and ignored between the two sides of boundaries as they are in need of constant nursing care but not constant medical attention, or regularly need the two but not all the time.

While the organisational division between the NHS and the local authority and the professional conflict between medical professionals and social workers are widely recognised, the divided responsibility between the two authorities, especially in terms of financial burden are most commonly indicated in a range of literature (Baldock, 1997; Hiscock & Pearson, 1999; Joffe & Lipsey, 1999; Lewis, 2001). It is not only a matter for users, as NHS care is free, but the local authority social service is often charged for and means-tested but also for the two authorities as there has been the long-standing struggle over responsibilities in social care policy development and the mutual suspicion of passing over responsibilities without appropriate funding transfer.

Whereas these claims are not new, the community care reform of the previous government is criticised for adding a new barrier between the two (Glendinning & Means, 2004; Hiscock & Pearson, 1999; B. Hudson, 2000b; B. Hudson & Henwood, 2002). While its market-based nature which encouraged competition rather than collaboration in terms of the relationship between them is indicated, the withdrawal of the financial support from the social security budget is also considered to stir up the existing struggle over the responsibility of social care between the NHS and the local authority as this removed the previous financial guarantee for the service.

Undervalued social work profession

The deprofessionalisation or the devaluation of the social work profession has emerged as a new issue in social care since the end of the 1990s. Some studies expressed grave concerns about the situation of social workers in the frontline such as the unprecedented level of stress or even recruitment crises (J. C. Humphrey, 2003; C. Jones, 2001; Jordan, 2001). Most of all, deskilling and deprofessionalisation of social work by the growing dominance of the managerial approach are widely indicated by a number of commentators (Beresford, 2001; Butler & Drakeford, 2001; Ellis et al., 1999; J. C. Humphrey, 2003; Mary Langan, 1998; Lymbery, 1998; Skerrett, 2000;

Syrett, Jones, & Sercombe, 1997). They claim that the administrative nature of managerial practice, such as categorising clients by formal eligibility criteria, is squeezing out professional judgement.

Social worker's general hostility towards 'aggressive management culture' was found in Syrett et al's (1997) study. Participants showed the solid agreement that job satisfaction in their work derived from human contact with clients and colleagues not from financial or bureaucratic management. On the other hand, Ellis et al (1999) found street-level bureaucracy, defined by Lipsky to explain inflexible and irresponsive social service practice in the 1970s and 80s, had re-emerged to a limited extent through the community care reform requiring tighter gate-keeping role for social workers.

Situation of social care

In conclusion, the situation of social care which appeared in a range of literature in the initial period of the New Labour Government was quite depressing. The Royal Commission condemned the existing system as 'particularly characterised by complexity and unfairness ...' (1999 para. 4.1). First of all, the ambitious rhetoric of the previous government, 'needs-led' social services and consumer choice were not considered to be achieved, mainly because of the limited budget (Baldock, 1997; Blackman & Atkinson, 1997; Mary Langan, 1998; Nicholls, 1997; Syrett et al., 1997). The significant loss of home care places, followed by their closures under the financial restraints (Haynes et al., 2006; J. Johnson, 2002), and the large scale closures of NHS psychiatric beds was argued to have lead to 're-institutionalisation' rather than 'de-institutionalisation' as this meant just move from the NHS to private institutions (Hatfield, Ryan, Simpson, & Sharma, 2007).

Moreover, social care was found to be ever intensified for people in the greatest need away from prevention and rehabilitation (B. Hudson, 2000a; Joffe & Lipsey, 1999). The trend of the increase in the contract hours of home care services to single households and the decrease in the number of households receiving them had appeared more evident. Wright (2000) also found that informal care often collapsed after the burden became extremely heavy without any appropriate formal support and ended in institutional care which penalized the family as this usually required top-up payments for an acceptable level of service.

Furthermore, Parker & Clarke (2002) highlighted figures from the annual British General Household Survey from 1985, which showed little change in terms of carer support. The number of carers devoting at least 20 hours per week to caring for someone without a minimum of a two-day break since start of caring had dropped just 3 per cent in a decade and still occupied over half (54 per cent). Ungerson (2000) illustrated the vicious circle of women who were dominant not only in informal unpaid carers but also formal paid carers who were suffering from low-wage and deskilled labour which was attractive for women due to its domestic and flexible nature.

The challenges recognised in the policy documents

There were various challenges indicated throughout the key policy documents of the New Labour Government such as the inflexibility of the existing service provision (DH, 1998 para. 1.4; 2005a para. 4.10), lack of proper information for users (DH, 1998 para. 2.3), intensity of care service on those in the greatest needs (DH, 1998 para. 2.6), and undervalued social work staff (DfES, 2003 para. 1.19; DH, 1998 para. 5.3; 2005a para. 11.8). However, different challenge tended to dominate in different documents.

For example, the lack of standards appeared to be the prime challenge to the contemporary social care system in *Modernising social service* (DH, 1998). In the Foreword, it is stated “One big trouble social services have suffered from is that up to now no Government has spelled out exactly what people can expect or what the staff are expected to do. Nor have any clear standards of performance been laid down.” This absence of clear standards is felt to result in the unfairness of the service through the inconsistency of criteria and the various levels of service between different authorities or cases (DH, 1998 para. 1.4, 2.3, and 2.25). Also the existing regulations without clear standards are demonstrated to cause the lack of coherence between the health and social care services and the uncertainty in service quality (DH, 1998 para. 4.6 and 4.7). The lack of standards relating to social care staff is also pointed out in qualification, training, education and practice (DH, 1998 para. 5.3).

As far as *Every child matters* (DfES, 2003) is concerned, poor collaboration over child care issues is the major concern. The lack of information sharing between different agencies and across local authority boundaries, duplicated assessment in each authority, and the fragmentation of responsibility are demonstrated (DfES, 2003 para. 1.19, 4.1, and 5.2).

In following Green (DH, 2005a) and White Papers (DH, 2006) on social care, increasing social needs is the major problem referred to. In *Independence, well-being and choice* (DH, 2005a), various factors influencing social demands are demonstrated such as an ageing population (DH, 2005a Preface, Foreword, para. 2.4, 2.9-2.12, and 2.16); the growing social expectation for a higher quality and more independence of life (DH, 2005a Preface, and para. 2.4); social changes, including greater geographical mobility and increasing family break-ups (DH, 2005a Preface, para. 2.6, and 2.8); the growing number of people with disabilities and mental health problems (DH, 2005a Foreword, para. 2.13 and 2.14). Among these various concerns, the dominant one is the ageing population (DH, 2006 Foreword, para. 1.19, 1.20, and 5.6).

However, other concerns widely discussed in a range of literatures, such as the various lessons of the previous market-based community care reform from the limited resources and service provision, are barely acknowledged in the government documents. Insufficient resources in formal care services, in particular, have been discussed extensively in the literature, not only as a major problem itself but also a fundamental factor influencing the limited achievement of the previous reform to a needs-led approach; the intensified service provision limited to people in the greatest need; and the widespread distressing situations of informal carers. However, these points are barely mentioned in any of the Green and White Papers of the New Labour Government.

Objectives of social care policy

The first line of ideological dichotomy in terms of the objective of social care policy in the late 1990s and 2000s appeared in the conventional ultimate question: the extent of state responsibility to support people who need care. This discussion was well presented in one of the most comprehensive study on long-term care in the initial period of New Labour Government: between the majority and the minority report of the Royal Commission (Royal Commission, 1999).

The majority report argued that social care should be universally provided to anyone who needed care and to give significant help even to people in modest situations. They says “We consider that the only fair and practical way forward is to make entitlement to state financial support more

universal than now... The aim must be to bring significant help particularly to people with relatively modest means whom the present system does not serve well.” (Royal Commission, 1999 para. 6.27). Wanless (2006, p. 215) also defined the similar aims of the social care system which was “to identify those needs of individuals and those who care for them that are supported (by the State)” then “to ensure individuals so identified can receive support, advice etc consistently and with confidence about its sustainability”.

On the other hand, Joffe & Lipsey (1999) put it in a ‘note of dissent’ in the report, saying “Universal welfare provision discourages thrift and self-reliance.” then presented the more residual form of the objective: “Elderly people, within budgetary limits, should be given what they want. They should be empowered and their priorities met. ... The state's contribution needs to be clearly targeted and perverse budgetary incentives must be eliminated.” (para. 17). As shown, this closely relates to the discussion of citizenship as well as funding issues in social care. Therefore, further discussion will continue in citizenship and strategies section below.

The other line of the discussion in terms of the objective of social care was about the outcome of the service, i.e. ‘what should be achieved for people who receive the care’. It could be the question between palliating the greatest needs of targeted people and promoting independence of wider range of people in needs. So this dichotomy could be parallel with the previous discussion between selective – targeted services for people in the greatest needs – and more universal objectives – the independence for a wider number of people in vulnerable situations. However, as Davies (1997) put it, this could be the prioritisation issue. So people with more opportunity to be helped to be well cared for at home could be prioritised for the effective promoting of independence rather than people with a higher dependency while, for effective relief, this should be the reverse.

Furthermore, the meaning of the independence is another matter as it has some different contexts in different claims. In fact, the ‘independence’ agenda had been developed through the disability movement (Ellis, 2005; Spandler & Vick, 2006). Disability writers and activists had argued the goal of social service provision should be autonomy rather than on-going dependency. The crucial difference of this ‘independence’ from that of community care reform in the previous Conservative Government was if the latter one was more about the independence from state

social services, the former one was to achieve control over their own lives through proper support from the state. The other meaning of independence relates to ‘being at home’. Some studies found that elderly people, in particular, usually wanted to maintain their independence ‘at home’ while some prefer institutional care (Means, 1997; Wanless, 2006).

In the key policy documents on social care of the New Labour Government, as far as the objective is concerned, ‘independence’ was the overwhelmingly dominant agenda (DH, 1998 para. 1.8, 2.11, 2.12, and 2.24; 2005a Preface, Foreword, para. 1.3, 2.2, and 3.6; 2006 Foreword, para. 1.5, 1.26, 1.29, 5.1, 5.11, 6.25, and 9.3) while improving the life chances was the central goal of the policies for children (DfES, 2003 Foreword; DH, 1998 para. 3.7). However, there had been various meanings of independence in the documents, particularly in *Modernising social services* (DH, 1998) such as being at home (para. 2.7), rehabilitation rather than “keep them going” (para. 2.12 and 2.24), employment (para. 2.18), and prevention from being dependent (para. 2.24). But the words more frequently collocated with ‘independence’ were ‘control’ or ‘choice’ especially in the latter Green and White Papers:

... we must continue adapting this support to ensure it meets people’s expectations of a high-quality service and their aspirations for independence. ... Our task now is to continue this transformation right across the field of social care for adults so people are given more choice, higher quality support and greater control over their lives (DH, 2005a Preface).

We want to give individuals and their friends and families greater control over the way in which social care supports their needs. We want to support carers to care and individuals to live as independently as possible for as long as possible (DH, 2005a Foreword).

In the modern world social care should provide this support, wherever possible, in a way that maintains the independence of the individual and leaves them in control (DH, 2005a para. 2.2).

Exercise of choice and control: through maximum independence and access to information. Being able to choose and control services (DH, 2005a para. 3.6).

Our vision is to translate what people have said into a new strategic direction. A strategic shift that helps people to live more independently in their own homes and focus much more on their own well-being. A strategic shift aimed at supporting choice and giving people more say over decisions that affect their daily lives (DH, 2006 para. 1.26).

This ‘control’ or ‘choice’ sometimes appeared in the text of the documents with the more ultimate form of objectives so with a rather blurred meaning like ‘greater control over their lives’ but also it was presented with a rather practical meaning which is the choice of how social care supports their needs:

many more people will be able to have real control over their care support ... (DH, 1998 para. 2.24)

giving them more choices and helping them decide how their needs can best be met ... (DH, 2005a para. 1.4)

People will have real choices and greater access in both health and social care (DH, 2006 Forword).

A fundamental aim is to make the actions and choices of people who use services the drivers of improvement (DH, 2006 para. 1.5).

A strategic shift aimed at supporting choice and giving people more say over decisions that affect their daily lives. The more people have the right to choose, the more their preferences will improve services (DH, 2006 para. 1.26).

changing the way the whole system works by giving the public greater control over their local services and shifting health services from acute hospitals into local communities (DH, 2006 para. 9.3).

This could be the reason why the New Labour’s ‘independence’ in social care policy is often criticized as an individualistic approach to social care needs rather than the universalistic and collectivistic version of ‘independence’ (Burton & Kagan, 2006; Tanner, 2003). **Figure 12** from

the White Paper *Our health, our care, our say* (DH, 2006) evidently shows the Government's term, 'control' – from its caption – is about intensifying the professional – i.e. formal or statutory – service into the people in highest risk while the majority of people with long-term needs are to be excluded in the statutory support for self-care. As this is also related to the empowerment agenda, further discussion continues in following section.

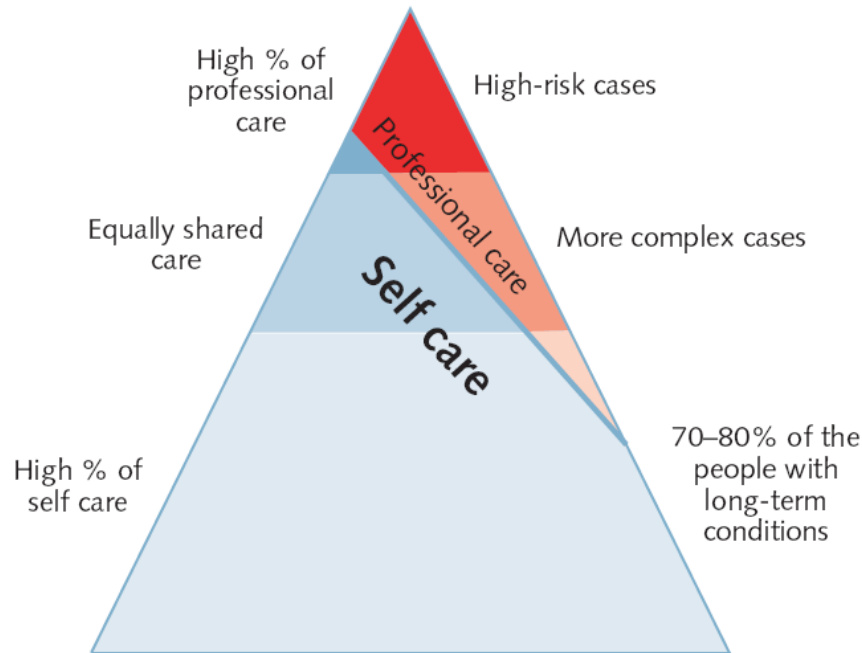


Figure 12 Empowering and enabling individuals to take control (DH, 2006, p. 111)

Philosophical debate in social care

Empowerment in new individualism, collective involvement, and anti-oppressive practice

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the empowerment agenda in social care had been developed not only from collectivist approach but also from market individualism based on consumerism in the 1980s and 90s. This trend is considered to have continued (John Harris & McDonald, 2000; Waterson, 1999) but to have become more complex. While consumerist empowerment, which appeared in the market-based community care reform in the 1990s, was often criticized as rhetoric rather than real empowerment, as ignoring ultimate issue like

inappropriate resource distribution (Arksey & Glendinning, 2007; Beresford & Croft, 2004; Heffernan, 2006; Skerrett, 2000), a more collective understanding had been driven from the disability movement based on the 'social model' approach. In contrast to the 'medical model' which sees disability as being caused by medical and personal impairments, this social model is based on a different understanding: disability is the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by the social, economic and environmental factors preventing participation as full citizens (G. Parker & Clarke, 2002; Statham, 2000).

However, the actual policy the campaign of disability movement tried to achieve was a rather individualistic form of option. This was cash payments instead of conventional services so that users could enjoy their own choice about the service they needed (Glendinning et al., 2000). This new individualistic approach could be distinguished from the narrow-minded egoism seen in consumerism as it embraced the more positive aspects of individualism such as self-fulfillment (Sevenhuijsen, 2000). Morris (1997) argued that "To support a system in which the individual who needs the help has the power to determine how that help is delivered is not to support an individualist right-wing agenda. Rather, it is about promoting collective responsibility for protecting individual rights." (p. 59)

Nevertheless, not everyone agreed with her claim. Scourfield (2007b) argued that, in a cash payment scheme, citizens were expected to become not only autonomous and independent but also, in order to enjoy them, managerial and enterprising individuals. So this, he proclaimed, tended to disadvantage vulnerable people who were unlikely to be innovative or sufficiently enterprising. In addition, Cowden & Singh (2007) pointed out the historical background of this kind of user group campaign, the New Social Movement which had emerged paralleled with the development of New Right. Therefore, their language of 'user' became "a passenger on the vehicle of 'welfare retrenchment'." (Cowden & Singh, 2007, p. 18). Accordingly, they emphasized that, on the one hand, these movements had their successes to strengthen the voice of users, particularly in disability and mental health, which were largely ignored in the past; on the other hand, they tended to be driven by managerial rather than democratizing imperatives in which welfare might be developed and expanded.

In this respect, other commentators claiming a collective form of empowerment in social care are interested in more active participation in the service process. For example, Barnes (1999) stressed the collective action of users sharing common experiences of oppression, disadvantage or exclusion. She distinguished this active involvement of users in public service decision-making systems from consumerist choices to maximize individual self-interest. Postle & Beresford (2007) suggested a participatory or direct democracy through self-organization such as community action groups, voluntary organizations and self-help groups. They expected this could challenge more immediate issues including discrimination, poverty and stigma of vulnerable groups who tended to be marginalized in representative democracies.

The most radical perspective, in terms of user empowerment, is probably ‘anti-oppressive practice’ in the discussion of social work theory. This theory stems from a range of anti-discriminatory social work practice such as anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-heterosexist practice (A. Wilson & Beresford, 2000). A number of commentators proclaimed the fundamental issues social work should challenge for their vulnerable clients such as inequalities or alienation (Beresford, 2001; Beresford & Croft, 2004; Butler & Drakeford, 2001; Ferguson & Lavalette, 2004; Jordan, 2004). For example, Butler & Drakeford (2001) proposed social work should “mobilize the hard resources (such as money, housing and educational/employment opportunities) as well as the ‘soft resources’ of therapy” (p. 17) for its emancipator and transformative ideal. However, Wilson & Beresford (2000) pointed out that this approach often failed to address their own oppressive status on service users as social workers and this could make their clients more passive by, for instance, controlling knowledge of ‘oppression’.

Ethics of care in feminism

Apart from the diversion over the empowerment agenda between individualistic and collectivistic approaches, feminist commentators, who focused on the exploitative feature of caring work for women within informal settings in the 1980s and 90s, as discussed in Chapter 7, developed a new way to understand care ethics (Parton, 2003). First of all, they denied the division of people who were independent of and dependent on others because the ultimate independence would be isolation and, in fact, there was no one who was not dependent on others. Therefore they refused the concept of the ‘normal’ and ‘independent’ citizen as opposed to

vulnerable people who had unwanted dependency and appreciated the principle of mutualism which the virtue of respect and trust was centred upon across generations and different social groups (G. Parker & Clarke, 2002; Sevenhuijsen, 2000; Williams, 2002).

This also went beyond the conventional understanding of the division between rights and responsibilities which were contradictory against each other as it was argued that “s/he has to find balances between different forms of responsibility (for the self, for others and for the relationships between them).” (Sevenhuijsen, 2000, p. 10). Therefore rights, for example, around pay and hours, were understood as the prerequisites to allow people to carry out their responsibilities to care for themselves and others (Williams, 2002). Consequently, less working hours and greater flexibility of employment were argued for, for more balance between personal lives, caring and work, not only for women but also men (Lister, 2002; Williams, 2002). In this context, caring is considered an important part of life and an opportunity to learn and practice respect, trust and tolerance rather than burden or threat.

New Labour’s philosophical ground of social care policy

First of all, the text was often found to describe care as a part of our life and mutual relationships within society:

... all of us are likely at some point in our lives to need to turn to social services for support, whether on our own behalf or for a family member (DH, 1998 para. 1.1).

most of this care and support we give freely to one another is part of basic relationships between us as social, caring people. As much as we can be, we are here for our children, family, friends and neighbours when they need us and we hope that they will support us in turn when we need them. The strength of our society and community is that it is built upon these practical expressions of the love and concern which form part of our close reciprocal relationships (DH, 2005a Forword).

However, this kind of description bears some resemblance with the familism approach to care which regards the family as not being the only place to have the primary responsibility for caring for their member but also the best option for proper care. Even though the Government’s

understanding has some distance from the familism perspective of caring, it is also far from ethics of care in feminism as it seemed to be no more than the appreciation of the significant contribution of informal carers. The following texts show this limitation more evidently:

This matters to us all. Social services and social care for adults touch all our lives at some time or another and, because of that, they are not about 'other' people. They are about families and friends, neighbours and communities, in the towns and in the countryside in every corner of England. ... Because we forget the bedrock of care, carried out by family, friends and neighbours at our peril. The nation depends upon the emotions and care that we all give to the people we know. If this relationship were to disappear, organised social care could not cope. We must never forget that (DH, 2005a Forword).

Most of us will at some point in our lives need support, whether for ourselves or on behalf of someone in our family, a friend or a neighbor. Often this care and support will be provided by family, friends and neighbours themselves and we should never forget the important contribution made by informal caring.

In fact, the distance of New Labour's philosophy of care from the feminist care ethics was already explicit with their adherence to 'independence' discourse as seen in the previous section. So, not surprisingly, 'independence' was found as the central value of the social care policy of New Labour:

We believe that the guiding principle of adult social services should be that they provide the support needed by someone to make most use of their own capacity and potential. All too often, the reverse is true, and they are regarded as services which do things for and to dependent people (DH, 1998 para. 2.5).

... social care should be about helping people maintain their independence, leaving them with control over their lives, and giving them real choice over those lives, including the services they use. Services must recognise the changing world, our changing attitudes and our ageing population (DH, 2005a Forword).

Our society is based on the belief that everyone has a contribution to make and has the right to control their own lives. This value drives our society and will also drive the way in which we provide social care (DH, 2005a para. 1.1).

Good services will not only improve the lives of the individuals involved, but will also have a positive impact on the well-being of the entire community. If adults who receive social care become more independent, they will have opportunities to contribute more (DH, 2005a para. 2.3).

We want to create a different environment which reinforces the core social work values of supporting individuals to take control of their own lives and to make the choices which matter to them (DH, 2005a para. 4.1).

The care and support that we provide for people should enable them to make the most of their lives (DH, 2006 para. 1.2).

... we are committed to a health and social care system that promotes fairness, inclusion and respect for people from all sections of society, regardless of their age, disability, gender, sexual orientation, race, culture or religion, and in which discrimination will not be tolerated (DH, 2005a para. 1.27).

Apart from the last example, these descriptions conjure up an individualistic approach to the empowerment discussed above as the achievement of the ‘independence’ appeared to be limited to an individual level. However, it is also far from the consumerist form of empowerment as this ‘independence’ is interpreted as self-fulfilment by taking ‘control of their own lives’ and ‘making a contribution’ to the community rather than the choice between competitive providers in care market which was found in the text of the previous government. The other difference between New Labour’s independence and that of the Conservative government is that the former is presented to be achieved through the proper public social services whereas the latter is more about not being dependent on statutory services.

Moreover, the importance of user involvement is also recognised in the text of the documents even though it is, again, limited to the individual case level rather than collective participation in

the decision-making at the higher level. This is also described as a way to achieve user's independence effectively:

“We are proposing to put an entirely different dynamic in place to drive our public services: one where the service will be driven not by the managers but by the user.”
... The Prime Minister's vision demands that all public service providers, including providers of social care, seek to deliver personalised services that offer true choice, excellence and equality (DH, 2005a para. 2.1 - 2.2).

People do not want to be held back by their need for support. They tell us that they want services which help them maintain and develop their independence (DH, 2005a para. 2.5).

These proposals, part of the Government's wider reform programme, will allow us to accelerate the move into a new era where the service is designed around the patient rather than the needs of the patient being forced to fit around the service already provided (DH, 2006 Introduction).

All public services should put the person who uses them at their heart (DH, 2006 para. 1.1).

Choice means people will increasingly determine what services they want, and where (DH, 2006 para. 7.2).

Actors and their partnership in social care

From competition to partnership

While there were some commentators who praised its effectiveness and the accountability of the direct provision of social care from the statutory authority (Scourfield, 2006), the mixed economy of care, which had been enthusiastically encouraged since the previous government, had already become an undeniable reality at the beginning of the New Labour Government. For example, in publicly funded domiciliary care, the amount of service provided by independent

providers including private companies and voluntary organisations reached 64 per cent by 2002 in terms of the number of contract hours (J. Forder et al., 2004). This was only 5 per cent in 1993 when the market-based community care reform was fully implemented.

This remarkable expansion of independent sector – mainly for-profit providers – had been deliberately and even forcefully persuaded by the Conservative government to encourage more competition between various providers for higher quality of services to be chosen by users, as has been shown in the previous chapter. However, in the 2000s, a more collaborative type of relationship between providers, rather than competition, attracted more attention from the contemporary literature. This was partly based on the different view of private sector, which was generally assumed as simply a rational profit-maximiser in care market in the past.

While there was still some research which presumed that voluntary organisations were a more desirable provider than private companies (Hatfield et al., 2007), Kendall's studies provided some evidence showing the different outlook of private providers as they were found to have the motivation not only reflecting their desire for the financial reward but also social imperatives of meeting the needs of their clients (Kendall, 2001; Kendall et al., 2003). Even in his latter study with his colleagues, they were found to be less likely to have a hostile relationship with the local authority than the voluntary sector, even though they usually felt a competitive relationship with the rest of the providers (Kendall et al., 2003). He argued that the local authority was responsible for allowing private providers to express their caring aspirations through appropriate arrangements for feedback and the recognition of their competence.

One of the central mechanisms of this arrangement is the contract system and this is the area which drew a number of empirical studies in terms of the relationship between the various agencies in social care (J. Forder et al., 2004; Knapp et al., 2001; Mackintosh, 2000; Ware et al., 2001). It was true that by the end of 1990s, as many commentators pointed out, the level of competition and flexibility in a mixed economy of care could not be achieved because of the wide spread practice of block contracts (Deakin, 1996; Lewis et al., 1997). However, in many studies in the 2000s, block contracts were considered to be a more practical and desirable form of arrangement to build a more trusted, long-term, and sustainable partnership between the purchaser and the independent providers (Kendall, 2001; Mackintosh, 2000; Ware et al., 2001).

Independent sectors

As far as independent providers in social care are concerned, the voluntary and commercial sectors respectively attracted the concerns of academics on particular issues. In terms of the voluntary sector, many had discussed their distinctive ethos and roles of advocacy, representation and campaigning tending to be damaged by the development of ‘contract culture’ (Craig & Manthorpe, 1999; Hoad, 2002; J. Powell, 1999). Milligan & Fyfe (2005) found an increased binary division between voluntary organisations. While some developed grass-root organisations which were underpinned by the idea of mutuality and trust in the participatory decision-making process, so closely associated with empowerment and active citizenship, others adapted into the corporatist model led by a professionalised workforce and highly trained volunteers with hierarchical structure, more associated with the passive forms of citizenship.

On the other hand, in terms of the commercial sectors, there had been growing worry over the financial instability of private providers and particularly the increasing closure of care homes since guaranteed state support through the social security budget was withdrawn in 1993 (Andrews & Phillips, 2000; Darton, 2004; Joffe & Lipsey, 1999; Knapp et al., 2001). This was regarded as having resulted in a poor quality of service, unsustainable service provision, and insecurity of service users. Moreover, Darton (2004) pointed out that inadequate funding from local authority and the implementation of the national minimum standard tend to disproportionately damage small sized, owner-managed homes which had more homely environments for users.

The strategic leadership and partnership in social care market of New Labour

Most of all, New Labour appeared to encourage more diversity of providers. This was described as the way to adopt a ‘more flexible approach’ and use ‘the wider resources of the community’ (DH, 2005a para. 5.6); to offer ‘good-quality services’ and make ‘individual choice reality’ (DH, 2005a para. 7.6); ‘to develop new models of care’ (DH, 2005a para. 9.8) and ‘services that responded to need’ (DH, 2006 para. 1.46); ‘to meet the rising expectations and needs of an increasingly elderly, diverse and culturally rich population.’ (DH, 2006 para. 7.28); and to strengthen ‘local community capacity’ (DH, 2006 para. 7.29). As you can see, while some language similar to consumerist discourse like ‘choice’ was found, there was also an innovative

and community development context recalling the description of the voluntary sector in the documents of Old Labour discussed in Chapter 6.

Moreover, there were further differences from the consumerist approach in the diversity of providers. Partnership, which was a collaborative relationship between them rather than competitive, was seen dominant in the texts (DH, 1998 para. 6.29, and 7.3; 2005a para. 8.7, 8.14, 9.8, 12.2, 12.8, and 12.11; 2006 para. 2.71). This also appeared with a range of partnership initiatives to achieve collective goals in the local community through partnership working with a wide range of community organisations, for example, local strategic partnerships (LSPs), local area agreements (LAAs), and local public service agreements (LPSAs) (DH, 2005a para. 8.10 - 8.11, 8.14 and 10.8; 2006 para. 2.26). Another difference of New Labour's mixed economy of care is not to exclude the public sector as one of the major providers. Following the clear statement 'to remove any distorting effects there are in the current system for authorities to use one sector over the other' (DH, 1998 para. 7.24), government agencies was always counted together with other voluntary and independent sector as a major provider (DH, 2005a Forward, para. 1.6, 5.6, 8.14, and 9.8; 2006 para. 1.46).

In terms of the role of government, first of all, the ultimate responsibility and comprehensive role of government in social care was reclaimed in the key policy documents of the New Labour Government:

The Government accepts that it has responsibilities for ensuring the effective delivery of social services ... (DH, 1998 para. 7.3)

The Government has a duty to help people maintain good health and to avoid disease and poor health (DH, 2006 para. 1.19)

They [PCTs and local authorities] have a vital role in making sure public resources are used effectively to promote health and well-being and to support high-quality services (DH, 2006 para. 7.26).

Local authorities have the power to promote social and economic well-being, and there are duties on both local authorities and PCTs to co-operate in promoting the

well-being of children which were introduced by the Children Act 2004 (DH, 2006 para. 2.78).

The main responsibility for developing services that improve health and well-being lies with local bodies: primary health care practices, PCTs and local authorities (DH, 2006 para. 7.25).

Furthermore, the roles of government were stated as ‘key strategic and leadership roles’ (DH, 2005a para. 1.6) including ‘strategic needs assessments to plan ahead’ (DH, 2005a para. 7.5), ‘promoting the development of market’ (DH, 2005a para. 7.6), ‘adequate monitoring arrangements’ (DH, 2005a para. 8.16), leading and coordinating ‘the activities of different service providers across the public, private and voluntary sectors in their community, designing services around the needs of people rather than those of the providers’ (DH, 2006 para. 7.27). This also evokes the role of case manager in the community care reform of the Conservative government discussed in the previous chapter but this is the role on a collective and operational level rather than on an individual case level.

This wide range of the local authority’s central and strategic roles appeared in the texts describing ‘commissioning’: “They [local authorities] have a vital role in making sure public resources are used effectively to promote health and well-being and to support high-quality services. This range of functions is generally referred to as ‘commissioning’” (DH, 2006 para. 2.76). These strategic roles in commissioning included: building ‘community development, social capital and inclusion’, arranging ‘prevention, enablement, and early intervention services’, organizing ‘support and care services’; and building ‘collaborative partnership’ (DH, 2005a para. 8.7). Also its central functions were described in the roles of newly introduced post, the Director of Adult Social Services (DASS) as follows:

The development of the role of the DASS forms an essential part of our vision for the future of adult social care. We expect that each DASS will have seven key roles:

- providing accountability for spending on social care and delivering quality services;

- providing professional leadership for the social care workforce and championing the rights of adults with social care needs in the wider community;
- leading the implementation of standards to drive up the quality of care;
- managing a process of cultural change to implement proactive, seamless and person-centred services;
- promoting local access and ownership and driving forward partnership working to deliver a responsive, whole-system approach to social care;
- delivering an integrated approach to supporting communities by working closely with the Director of Children's Services to support individuals with care needs through the different stages of their lives; and
- promoting social inclusion and well-being to deliver a proactive approach to meeting the care needs of adults in culturally sensitive ways.

(DH, 2005a para. 7.3)

As far as the independent sector is concerned, while the private sector was hardly mentioned in the documents, like those of previous governments, the importance of the voluntary sector was widely appreciated (DH, 1998 para. 6.29; 2005a para. 12.1, 12.4, 12.8, and 12.11; 2006 para. 7.93, 7.95, and 8.52). The role of voluntary groups focused on service innovation such as 'developing the well-being agenda' (DH, 2005a para. 12.1), making 'some excellent examples of a holistic, person-centred approach, connection with local communities' (DH, 2005a para. 12.8) and 'to harness skills and creativity' (DH, 2005a para. 12.11); social inclusion such as to 'create opportunities for all citizens to contribute to society' (DH, 2005a para. 12.1), 'ensuring that people access the services they need' (DH, 2005a para. 12.4); and another complementary role to statutory service with 'better relations with particular groups' or 'expert knowledge in a specific area' (DH, 2006 para. 7.94). This echoed, again, the recognition of the voluntary sector in the policy documents of the Old Labour government in terms of innovation and participation, as discussed above, rather than the Conservative government which expressed their interest in voluntary contribution as an additional resource.

Citizenship in caring

Social rights, civil rights and procedure rights

So far as citizenship in social care is concerned, one of the notable features of academic debates in the 2000s could be the reappraisal of Marshall's discussion of citizenship (Ellis, 2005; T. Evans & Harris, 2004; John Harris, 1999; Rummery, 2006; Rummery & Glendinning, 2000). In his argument, Marshall distinguished two different dimensions of citizenship between social rights and civil rights (T. Evans & Harris, 2004). The former was understood to be a passive form of citizenship as it could be attained through the consumption of a service which is provided with state power as the 'caretaker'. Civil rights were considered as the far more active dimension of citizenship since they were associated with making voices, creating groups, and organising movement – i.e. practising a form of power. However, at the same time, civil rights were also regarded as negative as this was about protecting the rights such as freedom of speech and assembly by law from any threat on them. On the other hand, social rights were interpreted as positive since they were about achieving distributional justice through the attainment of a fair share of resources in society.

The establishment of modern social services under the Seebohm Report (Seebohm Committee, 1968) was based on the concept of social rights. As discussed in Chapter 6, the state's primary responsibility of service provision to people who need them was nearly taken for granted. However, this approach was widely criticised for ignoring the potential of state provision by professionals to be irresponsible to users who did not have the power to choose or have a voice in a social rights context (John Harris, 1999). Moreover, in fact, there were historic events leading to the profound restriction on social rights in 1997. The right to a service for assessed needs was believed to exist under the 1970 Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act but the House of Lords ruled that the local authority could adjust the level of services with the consideration of own resources (Blackman, 1998; Ellis, 2004).

In this context, the disability rights movement, which focused on the expansion of social rights in the past, came to turn their interest to the other dimension of citizenship: civil rights (Ellis, 2005; Rummery, 2006). Accordingly, the anti-discrimination campaign and movement for legislation to protect their rights became increasingly the centre of the struggle of disability activists. However, Ellis (2005) pointed out its limitations not only as a negative process, as discussed

above, but also an individualistic approach to freedom and rights which is based on an independent and fully competent citizen model rather than a collective and distributional justice.

Another alternative concept of citizenship to social rights which had been discussed in academic literature about social care since the end of the 1990s was ‘active citizenship’, which arose from New Right claims against the social rights approach (T. Hall, Williamson, & Coffey, 2000; John Harris, 1999). While condemning the state provision of social care based on social rights as irresponsible and immoral, they placed a new emphasis on individual responsibilities for self as well as others within the family, neighbourhood, and community. In this respect, a rights-centred concept of citizenship was replaced by a duty-centred one. Hall et al.(2000) pointed out that this active citizenship of the New Right ‘invoked a notion of community that was wholly compatible with (and ultimately premised on) private property and the acquisitive instinct; a community sustained by the voluntary actions of public-spirited individuals and the values of good neighbourliness.’ (p. 464). However, it is an inevitably individualistic approach to citizenship as it emphasized personal rather than collective responsibility for care (John Harris, 1999).

On the other hand, if active citizenship, New Right’s alternative to social rights, focuses on the responsibility side of citizenship, the other alternative based on the rights side of citizenship beyond the bureau-professionalism of social rights could be ‘procedural rights’ (John Harris, 1999). Whereas active citizenship tends to ignore state responsibility for social care, disregarding citizen’s rights to receive the appropriate care they need, procedural rights are to achieve fair access to service, participate in the service process, and control the way to deliver the services they need. Harris (1999) argued that this rights claim had ‘the advantage of focusing greater clarity on seeing the service user as the owner and potential enforcer of rights.’ (p. 931). However, Ellis (2004, 2005) indicated that the limitation of the approach to be no more than the rights to readily accessible services with fair system and clear information rather than the substantive right to attain distributional justice with fair share of social resources.

Perspectives on carers

It had still been widely recognized in academic literature under the New Labour Government that the majority of caring had been carried out by informal carers with little formal help. Wanless (2006) estimated there were at least 3.4 million carers for the elderly including 680,000 people

(20 per cent) providing more than 20 hours per week who were usually eligible for formal support but only about 65,000 people (2 per cent) appeared to receive services. Moreover, in terms of the service process, Heaton, Arksey, & Sloper (1999) found carers were not properly considered in discharging procedures while Kersten, McLellan, George, Mullee, & Smith (2001) found carer's needs were underestimated not only by professionals but also by the cared-for person. The Carers' struggle was not limited to caring. Carers spending more than 20 hours per week on caring were found to lose 10 per cent of their earning capacity compared to non-carers in similar conditions (Carmichael & Charles, 1998).

While carers' contributions have usually been appreciated and most of commentators fully agreed with the importance of formal support for them, perspectives on carers vary. Twigg's typology of the different approaches to carers provides an useful tool to understand this diversity (in Pickard, 2001). According to her, there could be four different models of carer: carers as resources, co-workers, co-clients, and superseded carers. In terms of citizenship, each model is based on a different understanding of the rights and duties of carers.

First of all, the carers as resources model assumed that the primary responsibility of caring is shouldered on family members or neighbours. So their contribution is basically taken for granted. As you can see, this model is based on the active citizenship discussed above and this was reflected in the approach of the previous Government shown in Chapter 7. The superseded carers model is the other end of spectrum because it places the primary responsibility of caring on state. In this model, the existence of the carer is ignored in the service process, so people in caring need can enjoy full entitlement to statutory support as well as carers for them being able to benefit from this because they do not need to worry about the forced responsibility of caring. This approach is closely associated with the social rights of citizenship. The co-worker model and co-client model share similarities as they accept the necessity of the carer's contribution in caring and carer-specific service to support them but the difference between the two is found in the purpose of the service. In the co-worker model, carers are supported in order to ensure the continuation of their caring whereas the needs of carers *per se* are centred with those of the cared-for people in the co-client model. Therefore, while these two models are arguably based

between active citizenship and social rights, if the co-worker model is closer to the former, co-client model to the latter.

The most frequently considered perspective between these four models in the studies about social care since the end of 1990s has been the co-worker model of carer (N. Clarke, 2001; Heaton et al., 1999; Holloway & Lymbery, 2007; Joffe & Lipsey, 1999; McKee et al., 1999). These studies argued (or assumed in their empirical research) the inevitability and significance of the carer's contribution and suggested policies in order to secure the continuation of this contribution such as the consideration of the emotions of the carer in intervention, training programmes for carers, and respite care. In addition, it was argued that, while this approach gives some level of the carer's responsibility for caring to state, the level of resources for support would be a fundamental issue in this approach (Arksey, 2002; Wanless, 2006). Wanless (2006) indicated there was a potential reduction of formal support if additional investment for carers was not properly addressed as this might mean simply diverting existing resource.

On the other hand, the superseded carers model of approach was explicitly recommended in the Royal Commission Report on Long-term care (Royal Commission, 1999). They suggested that 'the assessment process to be "carer blind" in the best sense: so that the existence of a carer will not lead to the failure to offer services, or lead to their withdrawal.' (Royal Commission, 1999 para. 8.25). They assumed that if a proper level of support was provided to cared-for people irrespective of the existence of carers, this enabled carers have a more flexible form of break than formal respite care as they could have one more freely if they wanted. However, Wanless (2006) presented evidence that the impact of the increasing of formal services for older people was not significant enough to reduce the level of informal care. Therefore, he argued that the carer-blind approach was not as effective as the provision of carer-specific services in terms of supporting carers.

The citizenship in social care of New Labour Government

As we already saw in the previous section, the commitment to the ultimate responsibility of the state for social care provision was found in the texts of the key policy documents of New Labour. More often than not, statements calling for collective responsibility on caring were also presented in the texts such as "Any decent society owes to every child a safe and secure

upbringing, and to every elderly or disabled man or woman the right to live in dignity, free from fear of abuse. These duties must be given greater effect in future.” (DH, 1998 para. 1.4), and “The underpinning belief that every individual can expect support and care in times of need is a fundamental value of any good society.” (DH, 2005a Preface).

However, this is not the whole story of citizenship in New Labour’s social care as there are the other kind of statements emphasizing the primary responsibilities of individual for their own well-being (DH, 2006 para. 1.24, and 2.1), and caring for their family (DfES, 2003 para. 3.12; DH, 2005a Forword). Consequently, the responsibility for caring appeared as a mutual duty between the state and the individual and this seems to be based on the residual responsibility of the state which means the state takes the responsibility for caring only after individuals fail to cope. This approach was apparent in following text and similar statements were repeated in elsewhere in the documents (DH, 2005a para. 3.2; 2006 para. 1.24 and 4.3-4.4):

The underpinning belief that every individual can expect support and care in times of need is a fundamental value of any good society. ... As much as we can be, we are here for our children, family, friends and neighbours when they need us and we hope that they will support us in turn when we need them. ... But such care is not always enough. In our modern society where people can become isolated, where extended families move around the country, work means that people are away from home and our lives seem to separate us from our neighbours, there are times when family and friends are not around to help. There are also times when the needs of individuals are beyond what is possible for a family to manage without additional support (DH, 2005a Forword).

So far as citizen rights are concerned, between the various dimensions discussed above, procedural rights were dominant in the documents such as making a choice about one’s own care (DH, 1998 para. 4.29; 2006 para. 8.42), maintaining control of service provision (DH, 2005a para. 2.2; 2006 para. 5.15), involvement in the service process (DH, 1998 para. 2.43; 2005a para. 4.11, 5.2, and 9.5; 2006 para. 1.39). For example, it was stated that “We will shift the whole system towards the active, engaged citizen in his or her local community and away from monolithic, top-down paternalism.” (DH, 2006 para. 1.39) and “People will be supported to take

better control of their care and condition through a wide range of initiatives” (DH, 2006 para. 5.15).

In terms of carers, the Government appeared to recognise them well and praise their significant contribution to caring such as ‘Carers are the most important providers of social care’ (DH, 1998 para. 2.10.), ‘a sign of the values we hold dear as a community’ (DH, 2005a para. 3.1), and ‘a strength of our society and community’ (DH, 2006 para. 4.3). These comments sound similar with those of the previous government. However, the differences of New Labour’s were that the needs of carers were also recognised such as ill health and financial disadvantage (DH, 1998 para. 2.22; 2006 para. 1.21, and 5.49). Further, the provision of support for carers was committed a number of times (DfES, 2003 Introduction, para. 3.7, 3.9; DH, 1998 para. 2.11, and 2.23, ; 2005a Preface, Forword, para. 5.2; 2006 para. 5.52-5.55). This included:

- empowering carers so that they have more say about the types of services that they and the person they care for need
- considering how best carers who work can be supported so that they can remain in employment
- considering how the health needs of carers can be better met by the NHS and especially primary care groups
- looking to see how communities can better support carers especially through volunteering
- looking at the specific needs of other groups such as young carers and ethnic minority groups.

(DH, 1998 para. 2.23)

However, this government approach was evidently found to be based on the co-worker model between the various approaches discussed above as it was affirmed that one of the major goals of carer support is ‘to enable informal carers to care or continue to care for as long as they and the service user wish’ (DH, 1998 para. 7.6) because “If this [informal caring] relationship were to disappear, organised social care could not cope.” (DH, 2005a Foreword) Furthermore, the support for directly helping carers to do their caring job better was included in the list of programmes in the documents such as training courses (DH, 2005a para. 5.3; 2006 para. 5.56).

Strategies in social care policy

Strategies for empowerment and independence in personal social services

As discussed above in the sections about objectives and philosophy, the concepts of empowerment and independence had been central to the discussion of social care under the New Labour Government. As various perspectives and approaches are involved in this discussion, strategies for empowerment also varied. First of all, they distinguished between two different strategies: choice and voice. If the choice strategy focuses on the demand side of social care provision, the voice does on the supply side. In other words, the former is to encourage consumer choice between existing services provided by others whereas the latter is to increase user's influence on the process of provision. Further strategies could be also divided depending on the dimensions they involve such as practice (or individual) level, operational (or local) level, and policy (or national) level. The choice-centred approach tends to be associated with strategies on a lower level and strategies on a higher level would relate more to the voice-centred approach. However, in practice this is not always the case and a rather more complex relationship is found.

The choice-centred and individualistic approaches such as cash payment schemes, direct payment in particular, had been one of the most popular forms of strategies dominating most of the discussion. This was not only due to the influence of the independent living movement of disability groups but also this was accepted as a major strategy of the New Labour Government with a higher priority (DH, 1998 para. 2.11; 2005a para. 13.2; 2006 Foreword). As discussed earlier, this individualised funding scheme was believed to be a significant way to empower (disabled) users through taking the control back in service provision for the disabled rights movement (Scourfield, 2007b).

This argument echoed with the further benefits of the cash payment scheme for users such as higher satisfaction, self-confidence, cost-effectiveness was also presented in other studies (Baldock, 1997; Rummery, 2006; Spandler & Vick, 2006; Wanless, 2006). It was moreover regarded to lead to a more effective way to combine health and social care services (Glendinning et al., 2000) and the improvement of needs-led assessment not only for direct payment recipients but also for other social services through cultural change (Lyon, 2005). In addition, this cash

payment scheme was seen to replace the case management model of the previous government, in which the professional case manager created a package of care for the user, with the ‘brokerage model’, in which users arrange a package of service while the case manager just took a mediating role, giving advice i.e. more a user-led approach (Cambridge et al., 2005; Foster, Harris, Jackson, Morgan, & Glendinning, 2006; Payne, 2000).

However, these endorsements did not come without concerns. One of the most common worries was the low level of implementation (Fernandez, Kendall, Davey, & Knapp, 2007; Priestley et al., 2007; Rummery, 2006) and many blamed biased attitudes or perceptions of front-line staff (Fernandez et al., 2007; Foster et al., 2006; Spandler & Vick, 2006). Ellis (2007) found in observations of social workers. They tended to characterise their clients using simple stereotypes while dealing with conflicting demands on their time and resources. This ‘street-level bureaucracy’ appeared to be the main barrier for user’s independence through a more active and flexible use of direct payment. Certain groups of people like the elderly and people with mental health problem were less likely to enjoy this opportunity in this context as they were usually considered less capable or less in favour of the self-management of the services.

This leads to another issue. Statistics showed the imbalances of different client groups within the low take-up rate of the direct payment as young people with physical disability were the largest single group (Fernandez et al., 2007; Holloway & Lymbery, 2007; Leece & Leece, 2006). Leece & Leece (2006) found there was no statistically significant relationship between the take-up rate and the level of wealth and income unlike the common worry over two-tier system, when other practical contributing factors were considered, such as age, financial wealth and level of disability, for weekly income through social security benefits. However, by the same token, younger people with a higher disability were more likely to take the payment. Geographical imbalance of the take-up rate was also found relating to insufficiently supportive local environment such as under-developed local voluntary sector and the lack of supportive policies (Fernandez et al., 2007; Priestley et al., 2007).

Moreover, the cash payment scheme not only means the transfer of control over service provision but also all the burdens and risks of managing them are moved to users as many indicated (Cambridge & Brown, 1997; Scourfield, 2005, 2007b; Spandler & Vick, 2006;

Wanless, 2006). As users have to act as employers, they often face difficulties with recruiting and managing their own workers. This also means they lose certain amount of security and certainty in the direct payment scheme compared to traditional service provision. This also results in a poorer quality of service. Scourfield (2005) pointed out the level of risk including abuse the users of direct payment might bear in the current system as services purchased by users were neither monitored nor regulated under independent discourse in the current system. The low payment level in this scheme was particularly regarded to increase the risk of exploitation and abuse.

Finally, resource constraint was still seen to be a major barrier to the restricted provision of the direct payment (Fernandez et al., 2007; Foster et al., 2006; Spandler & Vick, 2006). This limit appeared not only to affect the practitioners' capacity to provide direct payment at a generous level but also to make them reluctant to do so because of the concern over the potential exploitation of resource use due to more choice and freedom encouraged by the cash payment system. Fernandez et al.(2007) explained that, if recourse to rationing meant tightening eligibility criteria, it could also undermine the likelihood of direct payment appropriateness because more users were more likely to have higher dependency.

While many argued these concerns were able to be tackled by a higher payment level and the more active involvement of user-run organisations in the service process (Rummary, 2006; Spandler & Vick, 2006), others raised more fundamental questions about this cash payment scheme. For example, some doubted the empowerment resulting from cash payment because the clients might be still marginal consumers within their vulnerable situation (Cambridge & Brown, 1997; G. Parker, 2002). Ungerson (1997) argued the inflexibility, routinisation and haste in service, which were intended to be tackled by the cash payment scheme, were, to some extent, resulted in by the lack of power of carers in the other part of their lives, rather than too much power in service provision. Then she indicated that direct payment with no protection and low payment for workers was likely not only to made this situation worse but also to damage the care relationship between employer and employee.

Furthermore, Burton & Kagan (2006) and Scourfield (2007b) indicated the limitation of the cash payment scheme as a individualistic approach. They claimed this approach ignored the collective

feature of social care which could be more effectively managed through strategic planning, regulations, staff training collectively rather than consumer choice in a marketised system.

On the other hand, others emphasised the ‘voice’ approach in user empowerment in various dimensions. For example, Olsen, Parker, & Drewett (1997) emphasised the importance of user involvement on a practice level, as their participation in strategic level decision making became less meaningful by the separation of this process from actual service provision by independent providers. An advocacy service for individual users from statutory practitioners or independent voluntary organisations was suggested for this level (Scourfield, 2007a; Stanley, 1999). Truman & Raine (2002) provided evidence of the effect of user involvement with staff in service provision for empowerment as well as the inclusion process of former mental health patients. Besides this level of approach, others claimed more collective form of user involvements (Carr, 2007; Forbes & Sashidharan, 1997; Postle & Beresford, 2007). They argued that user empowerment could not be achievable without acknowledging the basic rights of service users and recognising their disadvantaged position. So they stressed more political action based on the idea of contestation or protest; or a direct and participatory democracy.

In the key documents of New Labour in social care, as discussed above, an individualistic approach of user empowerment was dominant, particularly the cash payment scheme among other forms of it. The provision of better information, another form of strategy for empowerment, which appeared in the documents was limited to helping better informed individual ‘choice’ such as ‘information about people’s conditions and the services available to them’ (DH, 2006 para. 8.2). Even when they mentioned ‘voice’ in the text, it was mainly limited to an individualistic form of ‘voice’: complaints (DH, 2006 para. 7.4, 7.6, 7.10, 7.11, and 7.18 - 7.20).

On the other hand, the individualistic choice approach, cash payment system was described not only to give service users control of the service they received but also to improve the quality of service, to express what they like, and to increase cost-efficiency of services. In all, it appeared to be a core strategy covering various aspects of user empowerment as well as improving the quality and efficiency of services:

One way to give people greater control over their lives is to give them the money and let them make their own decisions about how their care is delivered (DH, 1998 para. 2.14).

Direct payments are giving service users new freedom and independence in running their own lives and we want more people to benefit from them (DH, 1998 para. 2.15).

Through the introduction of direct payments, which enable local authorities to give families the funds to buy the help they need, the Government is giving parents more choice over how they receive services (DfES, 2003 para. 3.7).

... we have already seen in social care how the use of direct payments, for example, has helped improve services and transform lives (DH, 2005a Preface).

We intend that the introduction of individual budgets will help promote the more effective use of the resources available to meet care needs (DH, 2005a para. 4.35).

By giving people an individual budget to buy services of their own choosing, we are giving them a greater opportunity to identify where services fail to meet their needs or the outcomes their vision demands. They will be able to transfer that share of the budget into something more appropriate. ... People who are currently the passive recipients of services become consumers with the ability to shape and control the services they are willing to buy and shift the culture of care planning (DH, 2005a para. 4.36).

There is some evidence from direct payments and In Control pilots that indicates that needs can be met, in more cost-efficient ways, if the support is available in the way the individual wants. The end result may then be less expensive than the traditionally assessed package of care (DH, 2005a para. 6.9).

Direct payments are a way for people who need social services to have more control over the service they receive (DH, 2006 para. 4.22).

It will also provide greater opportunities for people using services to control the quality of what is on offer and for providers to develop new and more flexible service models, which meet needs in, for example, a more culturally sensitive way or in a more appropriate location for a rural population (DH, 2006 para. 4.38).

A number of concerns over direct payment, which were discussed above, were also recognised in the documents such as the low level of implementation (DfES, 2003 para. 3.8), the imbalance of take-up rate between different client groups (DH, 2005a para. 4.23; 2006 para. 4.24) and the potential risk of having an unskilled workforce (DH, 2006 para. 4.41). The answers of the Government were separate counter measures for each of the issues such as the expansion of legal client groups (DH, 2005a para. 4.24), stronger measures to enforce further implementation (DH, 2006 para. 4.25 - 4.26), and the national approach to risk management (DH, 2006 para. 4.41 - 4.42)

The Government proposal for an individual budget also appeared to tackle some limitations of direct payment while expanding the scope of user choice by integrating other sources from the different services such as home adaptation and employment with the existing social care budget. It was true that this cash payment scheme was based on a market-based consumerist approach even, to some extent, more than the previous government's purchaser-provider split; since consumers receive money to buy service rather than services local authority buy for them. However, an individual budget moved in a slightly different direction as local authority's in-house direct service was also included in the 'choice'. In other words, this encompassed not only market based choice approach but also the voice approach based on statutory provision even though it was defined within an arranged budget by the authority:

People using direct payments can, at present, buy services from any provider but not from a direct care department of a local council. They can choose to receive a mixture of direct care and direct payments, but some councils tell us they would like people to be able to take all their care through direct payments and 'buy' services from the council. Introducing individual budgets would allow this sort of flexibility and provide an incentive for councils to match standards in the private sector and vice versa (DH, 2005a para. 4.37).

Although direct payments have helped to transform the lives of many people, it can sometimes be difficult for people to make full use of them because of the degree of responsibility involved in managing all aspects of a budget, for example in becoming the employer of a care assistant. For some people, direct payments in cash are likely to remain an attractive option, but for others we want to develop a system that has the advantages without the downsides (DH, 2006 para. 4.29).

Individuals who are eligible for these funds will then have a single transparent sum allocated to them in their name and held on their behalf, rather like a bank account. They can choose to take this money out either in the form of a direct payment in cash, as provision of services, or as a mixture of both cash and services, up to the value of their total budget (DH, 2006 para. 4.32).

Partnership for integrated service provision

Partnership in social care had drawn considerable attention from academic literature as well as the New Labour Government, as discussed above. Even though this is not a novel issue in social care, the word ‘partnership’ became one of the major themes in the discussion as the number of people with complex needs are increasing in social care, for example, due to not only social trends such as an ageing population and the increased longevity of people with severe disability but also policy trends like early discharge and deinstitutionalisation (Glendinning, 2003; Lewis, 2001; Statham, 2000; Wyatt, 2002). In a strategic term, partnership usually refers to a range of joint activities between various organisations but those between health and social care authorities had been placed at the centre of the discussion as we have seen in the previous section about the challenges.

Wanless (2006) listed the potential benefits which could be achieved through a greater partnership between the health and social care systems including improving effectiveness of services, reducing unnecessary admissions, increasing efficiency, minimising wasteful duplication, and mitigating the delays in transferring clients between different care settings, like the discharging process. However, so far as the evidence is concerned, the wisdom often taken for granted is contestable. The benefits of joint working practices between health and social care found in empirical studies tended to be limited to marginal areas such as quicker referrals and

assessment or targeting people at risk (L. Brown, Tucker, & Domokos, 2003; Drennan et al., 2005) and there had been no rigorous and conclusive evidence in terms of their effectiveness and efficiency. (L. Brown et al., 2003; Glendinning, 2003). Glendinning (2003) raised a question about the significant priority and investment for partnership between health and social services without a clear recognition of what clients wanted and got from integrated services.

However, while the importance of the partnership was generally assumed, a number of commentators discussed or suggested various ways for greater integration between health and social care, for example, through direct payment as mentioned above (Glendinning et al., 2000), joint commissioning (B. Hudson, 1999), a joint assessment process (Royal Commission, 1999) the deployment of delegates from social care to the Primary Care Group (or Trust) board (Glendinning, Abbott, & Coleman, 2001; B. Hudson, 2000b). On the other hand, the wholesale structural integration between them was ruled out by many commentators because of its high cost compared to the limited benefit (B. Hudson & Henwood, 2002; Joffe & Lipsey, 1999; Wanless, 2006).

Nevertheless, the fundamental issue behind these discussions could be two fold. The first one is the financial issue. On the supply side, Glendinning & Means (2004) revealed a strong view of the social care side: that care demands were often being ‘dumped upon’ the local social services by the health service without the transfer of resources. The long history relating to this illustrated that while the responsibilities of hospitals had been narrowed to within short-term acute medical treatment, local authority social services had been increasingly taking the rest of the responsibilities with limited resources increased neither by transfer from health service nor by support from the central government. The still insufficient resources for social care were often blamed for the lack of collaboration between the two services such as delayed discharge and inappropriate intermediate care (G. Parker, 2002). And this might be the reason why the proposal to diminish financial barriers between health and social care, such as a pooled budget was suggested (Royal Commission, 1999) and widely used in practice (Glendinning, 2003). On the demand side, the sharp contrast between the financial systems of the two services was also considered (Glasby, 2006; Lymbery, 2006). Whereas healthcare in the National Health Service is typically free at the point of use, social care is means-tested and often attracts high service user

charges. Because many people's needs could be placed on the borders of both 'health' and 'social' care, this was argued to inevitably lead to conflict over the responsibilities between the two areas.

This financial issue had been contributing the second fundamental issue in partnership: the long-standing conflict of the two different professions. This was presented to obviously be due to the far-reaching differences between social work and health in terms of their respective practice systems, theoretical ground, knowledge base, and organisational history, but also the unequal playing field between the two in terms of financial, professional, and political power both nationally and locally (H. Barnes, Green, & Hopton, 2007; Bywaters & McLeod, 2001; Lymbery, 2006).

Whereas doctors and nurses were seen to have distinctive firm ground as professionals and attract admiration and respect, social workers were often considered to have an uncertain professional status and to attract extensive condemnation from the media and the public whenever some high-profile cases break out, like that of Victoria Climbié in 2000. In practice, it was argued that social workers had always been struggling in partnership working because of the prejudices of health professionals who tended to narrowly circumscribe social work practice (Lymbery, 2006). Even in some empirical studies on the representation of local authority social care in the Primary Care Group (or Trust) board, it found the limited influence of the representative in decision making in spite of some progress in partnership working (Glendinning, 2003; Glendinning et al., 2001; B. Hudson, 2000b).

A medicine-centred approach in the partnership between health and social care appeared to worsen this conflict. Glendinning & Means (2004) demonstrated the widespread anxiety of local authority social services on the colonisation of social services by the NHS, grown from medicine-centred proposals and discussions focusing on the ancillary role of social care to health care such as intermediate care and hospital discharge. Lymbery (2006) pointed out that even though the majority of delayed discharges were not just caused by social workers, the local authority was the only organisation who had to bear financial penalty in the 2003 Community Care (Delayed Discharges etc.) Act. Moreover, this was also seen as a problem of different

perspectives on caring between social and medical model which are discussed above in philosophy section (Glendinning & Means, 2004).

The new Labour Government appeared in their key policy documents to see partnership as the one of the central agendas in order to improve social services to develop services ‘more sensitive to individual needs’ (DH, 1998 para. 2.48), ‘building and harnessing the capacity of the whole community to make sure that everyone has access to the full range of universal services’ (DH, 2005a Forword), services people can access ‘in places and at times that fit in with the way they lead their lives’ (DH, 2006 para. 1.5) and ‘seamless joint delivery for the user of services’ (DH, 2006 para. 6.47). The government’s proposals for this partnership were found to cover various organizations relating to social care such as housing, leisure, education, the volunteer sector like one-stop shops (DH, 1998 para. 2.52-2.53; 2006 para. 2.23 and 6.47-6.48), integrated information access (DfES, 2003 para. 4.3), common assessment framework (DfES, 2003 para. 4.16) and other local partnership initiatives such as LSPs, LAAs, and LPSAs which were shown in previous section on the role of government.

However, not surprisingly, one of their top focuses was the relationship between health and social care: “The Government has made it one of its top priorities since coming to office to bring down the "Berlin Wall" that can divide health and social services, and to create a system of integrated care that puts users at the centre of service provision” (DH, 1998 para. 6.5). While structural reorganisation, which was ‘always a tempting solution’ but ‘not provide[d] the answer’ (DH, 1998 para. 6.3), was ruled out, diverse strategies were found to encourage partnership between the two at various levels and stages. This included a pooled budget, lead commissioning, and integrated provision which echoed from other consultation documents *Partnership in action* (DH, 1998 para. 6.10; 2005a para. 8.12) as well as the new statutory duty of partnership, a local authority chief to participate in health authority meetings, and the Health Improvement Programme called for in the White Paper *The new NHS* (DH, 1998 para. 6.12).

Moreover, other new measures were also suggested to diminish the barriers between health and social care, such as the Joint Investment Plan (DH, 1998 para. 6.12), Partnerships for Older People Projects between local authorities, the NHS, and other local partners for prevention and integrated delivery across health and social care (DH, 2005a para. 8.6; 2006 para. 2.84-2.85), the

coterminosity between health and local government bodies (DH, 2006 para. 2.54-2.55), the integration of the Commission for Social Care Inspection (CSCI) with the Healthcare Commission (DH, 2006 para. 2.66), provision of integrated personal health and social care plan (DH, 2006 para. 5.27), and the establishment of joint health and social care managed networks and/or teams for people with the most complex needs (DH, 2006 para. 5.32). The appointments of new managing posts such as DASS, and Directors of Public Health (DPH) were expected to play key roles to lead closer cooperation between the organisations (DH, 2006 para. 2.56, and 2.59-2.60). Furthermore, although it was to a highly limited extent, some attempts to address the conflict between the two different professions in health and social care were found such as integrating workforce planning, skill development frameworks, and career pathways across health and social care (DH, 2006 para. 8.35-8.36, and 8.39-8.40).

Guaranteeing quality of services: regulation and control

Mixed economy of care regulation and control, as the government could not directly ensure safety and quality of service anymore because social care had been provided increasingly through non-statutory agencies, became a central issue in social care (N. Johnson et al., 1998). If the contract between the purchaser and provider was the dominant form of regulation at the beginning, the discussions over various ways to control and encourage quality of services in the government and academics had developed during the last couple of decades. N. Johnson et al.(1998) distinguish types of regulations depending on their purpose such as the regulation for probity, particularly on procedures and financial integrity, the protection of vulnerable users, and the improvement of service quality. They also divide in terms of stages in the delivery of services and explain different points the regulations have at each stage. The control at the input stage like the registration process with certain minimum requirements focuses on the matter of who is allowed to provide the services. Regulations applied to the process and procedures of service delivery such as service frameworks and codes of practice are more about how the services are provided. Then monitoring and inspections which usually evaluate the output of services look at what is provided.

Some types regulations, for example, for the protection of users could be of relatively limited form as a minimalistic approach, so comparably incontestable, but other forms of regulations,

particularly on quality of services would be far more complex and problematic (N. Johnson et al., 1998). One of the criticisms of this type of regulation in social care was about the difficulty of the measures (Baldock, 1997; Knapp et al., 2001) because there was not clear cut between service provision and consumption as more complex factors such as mutual relationship and emotional elements were involved in social care services.

If this is more about regulations on the service output, those on the service process also attracted a number of concerns. Because of the high uncertainty in social care service, as just discussed, it was argued that frameworks based on auditable rationality and evidence could squeeze out room for more important factors for service quality such as the discretion of professional judgements in the public sector (J. C. Humphrey, 2003; Parton, 2003; D. Watson, 2003) and motivations based on the sense of autonomy and ownership of independent providers (Kendall et al., 2003). Watson (2003) presented the example of the procedural framework in the private sector, ISO 9000, which caused concerns about its possibility to lead to the reduction rather than improvement of quality because of the excessive amount of administration and procedures which followed. He suggested democratising the process of the development and evaluation of performance to allow bottom-up and collective approaches rather than top-down and consumerist ones.

More questions stem from the validity and reliability of the information for the evaluation. Humphrey (2003) argued that there was trade-off between statistics and substance as numerous data such as demographic trends, consumer satisfaction, and service provisions were being used without clear ground on how to interpret and compare them. Cutler & Waine (2003) echoed his claims in their study on the star rating system. The subjective nature of inspectorate data based on qualitative methodology by different people was pointed out to have insufficient consistency to compare services in different authorities.

On the other hand, there were also fundamental questions about the idea of a regulatory regime for service quality. Firstly Smith and her college claimed the necessary feature of quality social care was 'trust' which characterised relationships between people based on honesty, integrity, understanding, and respect rather than 'confidence' which was limited to technical competence relying on hard norms and systems of regulation (Harrison & Smith, 2004; C. Smith, 2001).

Because of the considerable uncertainty in social care, trust, not confidence, was considered to make the services effective and efficient by maximising the user's experience of morally good outcomes and avoiding extensive transaction costs which could result from the immeasurable amount of monitoring and regulating practice required if there was no trust.

Finally, N. Johnson et al.(1998) posed the question of government motive in stressing regulatory mechanisms for quality assurance in social care. They argued this could be an attempt to shift the principal responsibility from the government to the service provider and divert public attention away from the resource issue, which could be more a fundamental matter in terms of service quality. This point of view was well described in Humphrey's (2003) study with metaphors which cropped up in interviews with regulators and social service directorates: shields, swords, and scapegoats: the regulator acted as a shield for central government to protect them from direct responsibility for any failure as well as swords to cut down bad practices and cut out a value for money pathway, and then made a local authority become scapegoat, when a scandal erupted, by blaming mismanagement or malpractice. In fact, Hardy & Wistow (1998) found in their study that resource constraint tended to penalise quality providers and restrict the ability of local authorities to meet needs appropriately.

The wide range of purposes of regulation in social care of New Labour Government appeared in the key documents including not only the protection and quality discussed in the literature but also consistency, fairness and efficiency in service provision such as 'greater level of consistency and fairness in social care' (DH, 1998 para. 2.31), 'greater consistency in the availability and quality of these services' (DH, 1998 para. 2.34), 'the protection of children' (DH, 1998 para. 3.15), 'to strengthen public protection' (DH, 1998 para. 5.15), 'improvements in both quality and efficiency of these services' (DH, 1998 para. 7.15), and to 'guarantee safety and deliver assured quality' (DH, 2006 para. 1.48). In addition this was also seen as the major tool to ensure the delivery of other government proposals and visions as follows:

In summary, we plan to work to support delivery of the objectives we have set out through:

- aligning headline targets across relevant services with the objectives and outcomes we want;

- working with the inspectorates, local government and other stakeholders to develop performance measures and indicators that reflect and underpin the objectives, promoting continuous improvement; and
- ensuring that regulation and performance assessment and management systems for social care, the NHS and other services promote these objectives and local joint working towards them.

(DH, 2005a para. 10.9)

Therefore an extensive range of regulatory measures was found in every stage in service provision from input to outcome with various methods. This includes minimum standards and registration processes with the Commission for Care Standards which had integrated into the CSCI (DH, 1998 Foreword, para. 4.8, and 4.25-4.27); inspection by a central regulator such as a Social Service Inspectorate, the Joint Reviews with the Audit Commission, which were integrated into CSCI afterward (DH, 1998 Foreword; 2005a para. 9.5, and 10.7; 2006 para. 8.21); the introduction of consistent eligibility criteria through guidance on Fair Access to Care (DH, 1998 para. 2.36); standardizing service provision through, for example, National Service Frameworks (DH, 1998 para. 2.34), Long-term Care Charter (DH, 1998 para. 2.49-2.50), National Priority Guidance (DH, 1998 para. 7.4) and the Social Care Institute for Excellence (SCIE) (DH, 2005a para. 9.3; 2006 para. 2.87); and standardized training of workforce and the introduction of a Code of Practice by the General Social Care Council (GSCC) (DH, 1998 para. 5.6, 5.8, 5.15; 2005a para. 11.2).

For fair and sustainable funding

The resource issue is seen to be the most fundamental issue in social care since it is usually argued that the demand is always in excess of the existing supply, as already shown in the previous section about challenges. It is also found to be one of the major factors across different issues in strategies just discussed above. Financial constraint appeared to affect the level of proliferation of the cash payment scheme, to be the central issue on the division and conflict between health and social care, and to be indicated as a reason for the degenerate motive of a tightened regulatory regime. More importantly, this financial issue is placed at the ground of

ideological debate in social care as seen in the previous sections about challenges, objectives, philosophy and citizenship.

Therefore, the funding system has been one of the central issues in social care during the last decades. Even though there had been a limited amount of literature because of the size of research required to discuss the recourse issue to an appropriate level, the two most comprehensive studies in long-term care for the elderly (Royal Commission, 1999; Wanless, 2006) made significant contributions to the debate in social care. The Royal Commission on Long Term Care was appointed by the Government to ‘to examine the short and long term options for a sustainable system of funding of Long Term Care for elderly people ...’ (Royal Commission, 1999 Chairman's Introduction). Sir Derek Wanless was commissioned by the King’s Fund ultimately ‘to to consider how such social care might be funded, bearing in mind the King’s Fund’ s commitment to social justice’ (Wanless, 2006, p. 1).

The extensive realm of options in funding systems was considered in these two studies (Royal Commission, 1999; Wanless, 2006). They covered a wide spectrum, from the fully privately funded system like private insurance to the fully publicly funded system without means-testing. Various proposals were suggested in between such as loans to prevent house sales, long-term care insurance in public-private partnership, limited liability to pay for certain years or with capping, exempting nursing care from means-testing, and a co-payment system with means-testing. However, each study recommended certain proposals be included as the best options available based on their stance. The Royal Commission was divided into the Majority (Royal Commission, 1999) and the Minority Report (Joffe & Lipsey, 1999).

The Majority Report (Royal Commission, 1999) suggested a major restructuring of the funding system. They divided long-term care cost into the following three elements: living costs, for example, for food, clothing, and heating; housing costs such as rent, mortgage payments and council tax; and personal care costs including any additional costs arising from fragility or disability. Free personal care without means-testing was recommended while the former two costs should be born privately unless means-test based support was required just like the existing system. They considered the balance between collective and individual responsibility in this recommendation as well as the unfairness of the existing distinction in the funding system

between health and social care, for example cancer and heart disease patients could get free health care whereas Alzheimer's disease patients might have to bear considerable cost of care only because they suffered from a medically incurable disease. They also argued this universalistic and collective approach would be 'the most efficient way of covering the risks of having to meet long-term care cost.' (Royal Commission, 1999 para. 6.36)

As much as 25 per cent of the resources in contemporary private long-term care were projected to be required to implement the free personal care of the Majority Report (Royal Commission, 1999). However, the Minority Report disagreed with the estimate (Joffe & Lipsey, 1999). They argued the standard of care people expected would rise dramatically paralleled with a growing living standard so this would hardly be satisfied by the public purse alone. Moreover, Joffe & Lipsey challenged the universalistic and collective perspective of the Majority Report. They claimed the money that came from individuals and their families for long-term care was far less problematic than public money because the former could spend less and save on other things whereas the latter had to compete against other for a desirable objective as well as 'the natural desire of taxpayers to keep taxes low' (Joffe & Lipsey, 1999 para. 25). Therefore they concluded that free nursing care in the NHS, with some alleviation of the means testing in social care, such as raising the threshold of means testing and loan scheme, would be the best option.

As is well known, the recommendation of the Majority was rejected by the Government in *the NHS Plan* (DH, 2000) which recommended only free nursing care in nursing homes. Accordingly, the division of the funding system between health and social care remained controversial and, rather, more apparent (Lewis, 2001) as we have already seen in the discussion on the partnership between the two areas. However, the recommendation of the Majority Report (Royal Commission, 1999) was not free from criticism. Glasby (2003) indicated three points. First, the recommendation ignored the fact that patients in the NHS were free from all charges including most of their 'living costs' and 'housing costs'. Second, the distinction between personal care costs and the others was still puzzling, for example, in the case of home adaptation. Third, free personal care could be attempted only with increasingly stringent eligibility criteria under a cash-limited budget.

On the other hand, Wanless (2006) accepted the concerns of the Minority Report on the potential effect of the free personal care in the cost, in terms of rising expectation about quality of life and level of independence people wanted to enjoy. Nevertheless, he shared some of the perspectives of the Majority in favour of the universalistic and inclusive approaches to means-testing based selectivist options. Consequently, his recommendation was the partnership model, in which anyone having assessed needs was entitled to a basic, minimum level of care by public fund without means testing. According to his report, this option was in partnership with users in funding as most of them would make some contribution of a modest level for care above the guaranteed minimum level with the benefit of matching support from the state. Also this partnership model could prevent more people from devastating situations such as being forced to sell their own homes due to their care needs. Finally it would be sustainable as maximum amount of cost could be capped in each individual case and eligibility criteria could be set in line with available funding although this model might be more expensive than existing means-testing based system.

In the key documents of the New Labour Government on social care policy, their desire for a more universalistic approach and inclusive service for low-level needs, as well as their concerns over a too selective service provision limited to people with the highest needs was found in some texts. However, this consideration tended to focus on the cost saving aspect, for example to prevent the situation intensifying and a higher level of care being required, rather than considering the expansion of support and funding, as you can find in the following quotations:

In future, greater focus should be placed on preventative services through the wider well-being agenda and through better targeted, early interventions that prevent or defer the need for more costly intensive support. ... More use of universal services could help people remain better integrated in their communities, prevent social isolation and maintain independence (DH, 2005a para. 5.9).

In the last decade, social services and the NHS have increasingly concentrated resources on people with the highest levels of need. Consequently there has been less investment in promoting the health, independence and well-being of the general adult population. This has resulted in a less proactive approach to identifying and

responding to needs as they emerge. Changing the focus to a preventative model of care by targeting people with low-level needs today, could prevent them from becoming part of the group of people with ‘greatest needs’ in the future (DH, 2005a para. 8.1).

There is a small but growing evidence base indicating significant potential benefits in low-level prevention aimed at improving well-being, and involving the range of local council services such as housing, transport, leisure and community safety, in addition to social care. Social care services can also help to prevent inappropriate use of specialist healthcare. For example, too many older people are admitted to hospital, often as an emergency, when this could be avoided if the right community services were in place (DH, 2005a para. 8.2).

There needs to be a greater focus on prevention and the early use of low-level support services ... (DH, 2006 para. 5.11)

Even though the budget issue was mentioned in the first White Paper (DH, 1998), the level of increase was limited to a modest level – just above inflation over three years – and new investment, titled the Social Services Modernisation Fund, was to support the reform stated in the Paper rather than the expansion of service provision. Also the funding issue appeared in the last White Paper (DH, 2006), and the problem in the partnership between health and social care (DH, 2006 para. 4.8) but they just stated their cautious position in considering the change of funding system because this had to ‘be delivered in the context of the wider agenda of local government reform’ (DH, 2006 para. 4.13).

Conclusion

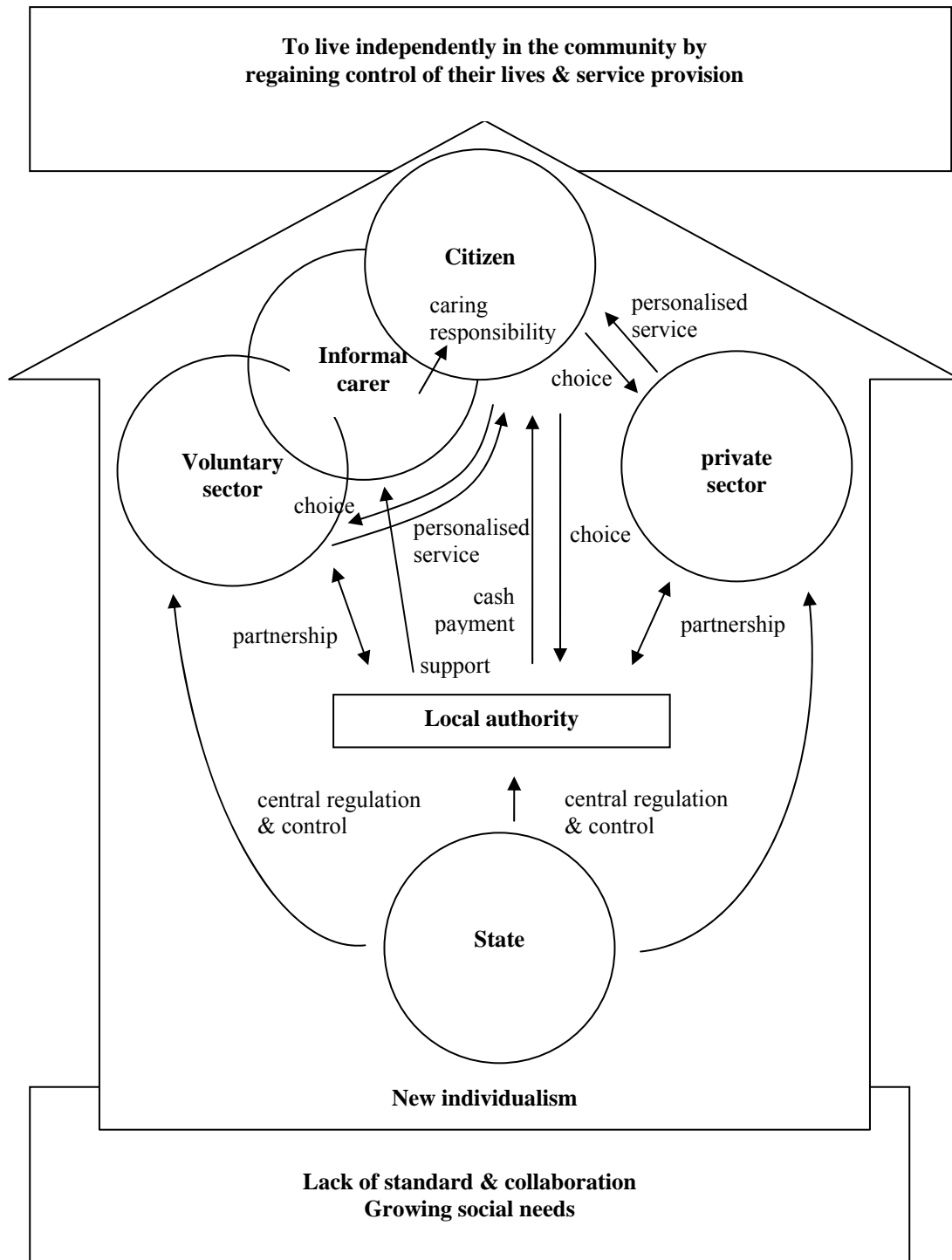


Figure 13 the structure of policy approach of the New Labour government in social care

Throughout the analysis of the White Papers and Green papers of the New Labour Government since 1997, we could find a consistent ideological stream reflected across every dimension of the social care issue such as the contemporary challenges to social care policy, the objectives to follow, the philosophical understanding of the care, the role of major actors, the application of citizenship to caring, and major strategies in social care policy. In other words, their strategic thinking and choices were based on a modest level of individualistic approach in each dimension, which was apparent when they were compared to a range of contemporary debates among academics on the issues. For example, while a level of devastating states was widely reported including the failure of the needs-led social service attempted by the community care reform in the 1990s, increasingly intensified service provision to people with the highest needs, and lack of support for carers mainly due to insufficient resources at the collective level, the government's recognition of the problem was limited to other issues such as the lack of standards and growing social needs caused by the change of the social trends.

So far as the objectives of social care policy are concerned, between the universal provision of social care and encouragement of the individual competence with selective provision, individual 'independence' was defined in the text as the Government's goal of their policy while it was premised on appropriate types of services. In their understanding of the empowerment, it was seen to be more associated with individual capacity rather than collective power although it was some distance from a consumerist one as the empowerment of the Government included not only choice but also self-fulfilment and involvement. The differences of the New Labour Government from the market-based individualistic approach of the previous government were evident in the partnership-based approach in the relationship between diverse actors and the reclaimed central and strategic role of the state. However, although their concept of citizenship was not defined within narrow consumerist choice, it tended to limit procedural rights rather than social rights which had been assumed by the previous Labour Government. Moreover, the responsibility of the state was found to be restricted residual duty.

This individualistic thinking was reflected in the central strategic scheme based on a choice-centred individualistic approach including direct payment which was expected to encourage user control and voice in service provision, service quality, and the cost-effectiveness of the service.

Yet, again, their new proposal, an individual budget, moved slightly further away from the consumerist approach as this included direct public provision as one of the choices. This distance from the previous government was also found in another central strategy of the New Labour Government, the stronger partnership between health and social care with the far more extensive range of measures from encouraging joint working to diminish the financial and organisational barrier. The comprehensive range of strong central regulation and control systems was also different from those of the previous government which basically relied on contracts between purchasers and providers. However, the difference did not reach the fundamental level as the Government rejected the recommendation of the Royal Commission for a universal and collective funding system (Royal Commission, 1999) and remained cautious of further consideration. This policy approach of the New Labour government can be illustrated as Figure 13.

This approach of the New Labour Government in their social care policy is found to be closely associated with their political ideology, discussed in Chapter 4. The ideological objective focus on individual competence through fair opportunity directly links to the independence in social care based on self-fulfilment. Public support focusing on education and welfare to work services as opportunities as well as tools to realise individual capability and independence bears a resemblance to the cash payment scheme centred as a new form of public support as well as a measure to encourage individual control and independence. Moreover, political ideology and approaches in social care share the same understanding of other elements such as the role of actors (not only the diversity of actors but also the partnership between them and the central role of the state), and citizenship (the concept of mutual responsibility between the state and citizen as well as a residual approach to the citizen rights).

This explicit role of political ideology in social care policy found in the analysis is similar to previous governments but furthermore, in the New Labour Government, the loophole in the political ideology discussed in Chapter 4 poses the dilemma between the approach and the reality in social care policy. In New Labour ideology, they follow the dual objectives ‘opportunity for all’ and ‘economic prosperity’ through employment and welfare to work policy in order to realise every citizen’s potential which will, in the end contribute to the national economy.

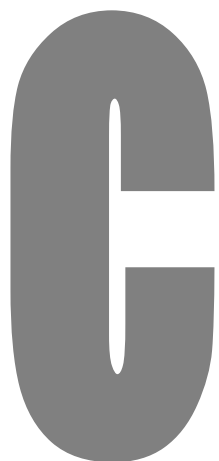
However, meanwhile, people with inevitably limited potential in economic terms such as people with severe disability and the frail elderly would be difficult to include in this process. This means policy confined to these vulnerable groups – i.e. social care – has far less priority in this ideological approach and so results in far less resources being allocated under the competition with other policy areas.

Therefore even though in New Labour's approach to social care policy, its objective, 'independence' echoes their ideological goals, the Government inevitably always struggles to achieve it on the account of the ideological dilemma. In order to achieve the independence of more people through social care, this has to be expanded to people with lower needs so that they keep their independence otherwise they risk intensive care or unnecessary admission in the future. However, this does not always mean cost saving. It is true that some studies present possible savings through reducing institutional and intensive care through prevention (see Wanless, 2006), yet a significant expansion of the range of services for low-level intervention are usually a prerequisite for these effects which are projected as a long-term consequence.

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Government's commitment to independence, because of the insufficient resources, the opposite consequences have been widely reported. As was already shown at the beginning of this chapter, the service provision has been increasingly intensified on people with the highest dependency. This means low-level services necessary to keep the independence of the elderly in every day life, such as home help service like domestic cleaning has been eclipsed by the narrowed personal care only for survival (Tanner, 2003). The eligibility criteria of local government has become ever restricted to critical condition and a number of old people in devastating situations on account of the ever higher burden of care cost, which has attracted considerable media attention recently, as shown in the introduction. Together with soaring fuel prices, the real choice many elderly today faces appears rather tragic – heat or eat (Channel 4, 2008).

This is 'social trade-off between the majority and the minority' as Humphrey (2003, p. 19) put it. While mainstream citizens enjoy better public support for their economic competence, vulnerable groups who have limited economic potential are more and more excluded from this process due to their lower priority, though the number of people in these groups constantly grows

on the account of social changes like ageing, smaller families, and increasing geographical mobility. This is obviously highly undesirable but the process is embedded in New Labour ideology and it has consequently emerged as a reality in the social care area. The implication to be drawn from this study is that a change of the ideological approach is essential to address this profound dilemma. This will be discussed further in the conclusion of this thesis, which follows.



CONCLUSION

New Ideology for New Alternative

There have been a number of attempts to define ideology, such as Thatcherism (B. Evans, 2002; Andrew Gamble, 1983; E. H. H. Green, 2002; S. Hall, 1983; Marquand, 1988), New Labour (Allender, 2001; Bevir, 2003, 2005; H. Dean, 2003; Freeden, 1999; A Gamble & Wright, 1997; J. Hudson, 2003; Jordan, 2005; MacLeavy, 2007; McAnulla, 2007; Page, 2007; Rubinstein, 1997, 2000; Wickham-Jones, 2007) as well as changes of ideologies across the governments in British modern history of Britain (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003). However, there has been a level of ambiguity in terms of the mythological approach used to define an ideology. Many studies do not distinguish the ideology and the policies implemented in the government while the relationship between the two is contestable as this study shows. Even though there are some studies which adopt a linguistic technique such as discourse analysis to clarify certain ideologies, for example, New Labour (Fairclough, 2000), they are not comprehensive enough to cover the all-inclusive aspect of the ideology throughout the whole period of the government.

Similarly, while there have been many studies looking at the policy development of personal social services, the discussion of the causal factors influence the changes has been highly limited. As shown in Chapter 5, many studies are no more than the interpretation of the implications of the development and others just focus on limited environmental factors or particular events rather than discovering a comprehensive explanation for the whole picture of the development across the governments.

In this respect, this study provides not only a clear picture of the three major political ideologies in modern history of Britain, but also significant insight into understanding the development of personal social services in the past decades based upon them. The ideological aspect of the government is rigorously distinguished from the policies in order to examine its influence on policy development. Therefore, the ideology is defined through the extensive analysis of political texts such as speeches and writings of the leader, and party manifestos so that it can be applied as an independent factor for the analysis. Moreover, as the ideology of each government is defined from their political texts delivered not only when they were in power but also when they were in opposition before coming to power through the all-encompassing and consistent framework, the defined ideologies provide a stronger implication for the causal relationship with policy implementation which takes place only after coming to power. Also this application of the consistent analytical framework makes the defined ideology of each government comparable to each other.

In the second half of the study, a similar framework is applied to the analysis of the policy approach in the policy development of each government in social care. This is not only for a comprehensive investigation on the approach to personal social service but also to make the findings comparable with the ideological differences of each government. In the analysis of the policy approach of each government, the key policy documents are used again, in order to distinguish the original approach and the policy outcome which can be, in many cases, unexpectedly different. However, these White and Green Papers are analysed as the institutions which mediate the approach of and the actual policies implemented by the government. While some studies analyse these key document, for example, Baldwin's (1997) work, there have been few attempts to do so with an all-inclusive framework across the governments in order to trace the changes.

The central role of the ideology in the policy development

The findings of this study support the theoretical understanding of constructivism in policy development. The analysis of political texts and key policy documents across the government

shows the significant relationship between the ideology of government and the strategic approach to personal social service policy. This means that the strategic thinking of the government, based on their ideology have a central role in their selective interpretation of the environment and their strategic action to address it in order to achieve the objectives they desire.

Moreover, the historical approach in this study also shows the recurrent process of policy development in the constructivist approach shown in Figure 2 (p. 37) in the Introduction. The strategic action of the previous government leads to intended as well as unintended consequences. In other words, the situation the previous government wanted to tackle could be resolved as they strategically intended in some part, or get worse in another. Sometimes, the policy even causes new problems. Then the successive government reinterprets the situation including the consequence of the previous actions, again based on their different strategic thinking in a selective manner. Then they have their own strategic action leading to some success and some failure, and other unexpected consequences passing to the next government.

For example, the major challenges to the personal social service area, which have appeared in relevant academic literature, are the shortage of service provision while the growing social needs exceed it. However, only the Old Labour government admitted this point whereas the Conservative just blamed the growing social needs and the New Labour government added various issues around service provision such as inflexibility and the lack of the cooperation but the shortage of resource.

This reflects their ideological differences not within the ‘challenge’ element but in a wider context, including different ideological objectives. The policy objective of the Old Labour government in personal social service was found to help vulnerable people keep a normal life, which they retain as long as possible. On the surface, the objective of the Conservative government looks similar as it appeared to be the independence of the people in the community. However, the objective of Old Labour government was based on direct government support whereas that of the Conservative was closer to being, rather, independent from government intervention. On the other hand, while independence was also presented as the policy goal of the New Labour government in social care policy, this meant regaining control of not only their lives but also the service to help the former.

These shifts in the policy objectives of social care directly link to those of the other part of ideological objective of the governments, apart from 'economic prosperity' which has been a common goal across the governments. The social equality in which state intervention was assumed in Old Labour was replaced by freedom in Thatcherism, which mainly meant economic liberty, for example, from the disturbance of state intervention. Then it was changed to 'opportunity for all' in New Labour, which meant the encouragement of individual achievement by the right support of the state.

In terms of the philosophical approach to personal social services policy, the collectivist values of the Old Labour government based on the responsibility of society for individual difficulties was changed to the market individualism assuming the heterogeneity of self-interest in every individual which could be best achieved by choice in the competitive market. While the social care policy of New Labour followed the individualistic approach, it was based on self-fulfilment by the right support from society to individual needs. This is also significantly associated with the ideological change of the government in philosophical thinking. While the socialism of Old Labour was about the collective adjustment of selfish capitalism, the New Right and individualism of the Thatcherite government was maximising self-interest through free choice and self-responsibility. On the other hand, New Labour's philosophical ground including communitarianism, stakeholderism, and social liberalism shared the understanding of mutual respect and support in the community for individual difference and responsibility.

The relationship between the central ideology and policy approach in personal social services is more direct in the role of major actors and the concept of citizenship. The principal role of the government in Old Labour, the enabling role in the Conservative, and leading role of the government in partnership with private sector in the political ideology are identical with those of the policy approach. The change of the status of independent sector from the marginalised role in Old Labour to the major role in the Conservative and New Labour are the same. Likewise, the changes of the concept of citizenship from universal social rights of the citizen in Old Labour to the primary responsibility of individual and consumer rights in the Conservative, then the mutual responsibility between state and citizen, were found in the central ideology as well as the approach to social care policy of each government.

Table 1 the comparison between the ideology and policy approach in social care across the governments

| | Old Labour government | | Conservative government | | New Labour government | |
|-------------|--|---|---|--|--|--|
| | ideology | policy approach | ideology | policy approach | ideology | policy approach |
| Challenges | - Scientific revolution - Economic crisis | - Shortage of service provision | - Economic difficulties - State control and trade union - World recession and globalisation | - Growing social needs - Lack of collaboration - Ineffective allocation of resource | - Globalisation & technical advance - Growing expectations | - Lack of standard & collaboration - Growing social needs |
| Objectives | To improve quality of life of people | | To liberate people by letting them do what they want | | To make people enjoy opportunity | |
| | - Social equality - Economic prosperity | - To help people keep normal life in the community by the public support | - Freedom (economic liberty) - Economic prosperity | - Independence (from state intervention) | - Opportunity for all - Economic prosperity | - Independence (by regaining control of their lives & service provision) |
| Philosophy | Collectivist value against individual selfishness | | Individual freedom & competition in free market | | Individual independence by support from society | |
| | - Socialism | - Collectivism | - New Right - Individualism | - Market individualism | - Communitarianism & stakeholderism - Social liberalism | - New individualism (individual independence with individualised support) |
| Actors | Principal role of state | | Active role of private with minimised role of state | | Leading role of state with active role of private | |
| | - State - (Trade union) | - State with contemporary role of voluntary sector | - State as referee - Private sector as player | - State as enabler - private and voluntary sector as provider | - Primary role of state in partnership with private sector | - Leading role of state in partnership with independent sector |
| Citizenship | Rights-centred citizenship | | Primary responsibility with rights of choice in market | | Primary responsibility of citizen with responsibility of state to help them | |
| | - Universal social rights | - Basic duty of state to meet social needs | - Privatised citizenship | - Responsibility as informal carer - Rights as consumer | - Mutual responsibility between state and citizen | - Responsibility of caring with procedure rights in services |
| Strategy | Maximising the role of state | | Minimising state to maximise space for private and efficiency | | Active and efficient support of state to help people take the opportunity to maximise individual achievement | |
| | - Public ownership - National planning - Improvement of social services - (Social contract) | - New integrated social service department - Expansion and rational planning of personal social services | - Rolling back state - Monetarism - Diffusion of ownership - Law and order | - Care in and by the community - Case management (administrative) - Planning (for central control) | - Education & training - Welfare to work - Investment & choice in public service | - Individual cash payment scheme - Integration and partnership in service provision - Central regulation & control |

The significant association between the central ideology and policy development is also found in the strategy. While the major strategy of Old Labour focused on maximising the role of state such as public ownership, national planning, and the improvement of state social services, the policies on personal social services were in the same context such as the establishment of new integrated social service department, and the expansion and the rational planning of service provision. By the same token, rolling back the state, monetarism, the diffusion of ownership, and law and order were the strategies of Thatcherism to minimise the role of state, while making the basic role strong to maximise free space for the private sector (or individuals). This similarly appeared in policy strategy on personal services, like the encouragement of not only care in the community but also by the community which meant individuals, families, and neighbours; the administrative model of case management to manage the mixed economy of social care efficiently; and even planning not for the rational control of service but for centrally enforcing the former strategies.

In terms of New Labour, active public supports with flexibility and individualisation for the encouragement of individual fulfilment was the key in the strategy of the ideology. This included education and training, welfare to work, further investment in public services with reform for individualisation. The policies of the New Labour government in social care show a similar context particularly in the expansion of cash payment scheme such as direct payment and individual budget. In addition, the New Labour government also attempted to use policies to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of service provision such as the integration and improvement of cooperation between various services, and the wide range of central regulation and control systems.

Constructivist approach to understand policy development

It is true, however, that ideational approach has limitation to show sophisticated aspect of policy development. In particular, ideological change of government does not fully explain how a certain policy change event occurred or why specific form of reform adopted. For example, as far as the establishment of the unified social service department in the 1970s, policy network approach (Marsh & Rhodes, 1992; R. A. W. Rhodes, 1997) might provide much detailed picture of the event since other professional networks such as the Seebohm Implementation Action Group of social workers proactively involved in the policy making

process (Cypher, 1979). Also, community care reform in the 1980s and 90s could be more sufficiently explained by ‘policy transfer’ (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996, 2000; M. Evans, 2004; M. Evans & Davies, 1999) since the introduction of case management, which was the major part of the reform, originated from those of the USA and Canada (Biggs, 1991; Dant & Gearing, 1990).

However, having said that, which theory explains a certain event better are likely to depend on case by case. In other words, many theories on policy making process have limitations to provide general understanding of diachronic policy development. This suggests one reason why we need to pay more attention to ideational approach, especially focusing on government ideology. No matter which external elements were involved dominantly, a certain policy change has to go through reinterpretation of government. This means, alongside recognising influences of other factors, it is crucial to understand why government take particular factors more seriously and how government interpret them. This study shows, at least in the development of social care policy, this tends to be highly determined by government’s own rationality of the ideology.

The other reason why understanding of the role of government ideology has central importance in policy studies is related with the current fast changing society. As discussed in the Introduction, contemporary policy makers and academics in social policy face constant and significant challenges arisen from rapid social changes not only domestically such as in labour market and family structure but also internationally by globalisation and the development of information and communication technology. These challenges require comprehensive rethinking and overarching new approach rather than patchy measures. In this respect, the findings in this study offer a considerable implication. Since ideology was found to have had the central role in policy development, the discussion or rethinking of ideology would be essential for social policy academics as well as policy makers to address ongoing challenges.

This is also the point to suggest why we should not ignore structural factors whilst focusing on ideas. It is true that we cannot have absolute understanding of our environments. On the extreme side of this, it could reach ontological doubt, for example, saying there is no such thing as an independently existing structure. There could be epistemological question otherwise like Bevir & Rhodes (2003), arguing that we cannot access structure beyond belief of agents, therefore what matters is shared belief rather than given fact. However, just as

cancer affects body regardless of recognition of it so does structural factors society. This means a certain structural change which had been hardly recognised in shared belief of society could suddenly appear with unignorable extent. For example, few actually predicted the collapse of communist bloc at such a full extent before it happened in the late 1980s.

Therefore, it is important to understand dialectical relationship and interaction between structure and agency as constructivist approach suggests. Even though actors inevitably interpret environment in selective manner based on their idea, objective aspect of structure are eventually reflected on the consequence of the action – policy implementation – which include intended as well as unintended outcome. In this process, agents, including policy makers and academics, can learn and develop their ideas and apply them into next policies or researches although this would be also conducted in selective manner influenced by existing belief. In other words, it might be impossible to fully understand contemporary environment because it is constantly changing; nevertheless, agents can consistently develop their idea through their actions on environments in order to maximise intended benefit of their next action or their understanding.

In this perspective, attempts of academics to improve their understanding of contemporary society as well as policy makers to address contemporary challenges can be recognised. In democratic society, generally speaking, in some extent, academics who suggest more plausible answer tend to be more acknowledged and political groups which offer more acceptable value and appropriate solution for the public tend to attract more support. This is because individuals in the society also develop their own ideas and understanding as strategic actors therefore the public are able to recognise which argument is better. The more these principles are rightly applied, the less the society might experience significant trouble. On the other hand, the more these principles are manipulated, for example, through dictatorship, corruption, media, or education, the more likely the public suffer from damaging effect of unresolved problem or inappropriate action. Under this assumption, ideas are always subject to examination against structure rather than free-standing from it.

New ideology for new alternative to the care crisis

In conclusion, this study shows the significant relationship between the political ideology and the policy development of personal social services in the government. Moreover, the central

role of the ideology of the government in policy development is found as this close association between the two appeared not in certain parts but in the most of the all-encompassing aspects of development such as in the objectives, philosophy, actors, citizenship, and strategy. These findings are summarised in Table 1.

Furthermore, this study makes a crucial contribution to the understanding of the policy development of personal social services. As the ideology of each government is defined through the analysis of political texts not only delivered in power but also before power, since the Prime Minister elected leader in opposition, this research shows the consistent and coherent feature of the political ideologies. More importantly, as these features unveil the antecedent of the ideology to the policy which delivered only after being in power, the significant association between the ideology and the policy also means the causal influence of the ideology on the policy. Therefore, this study proves that the change of political ideology is the central contributory factor to explain the policy development of personal social services. In addition, the defined major ideologies – Old Labour, Thatcherism, and New Labour – can be used for other studies to discover the causal role of the ideology in other policy areas because this analysis is conducted based on political texts regardless of particular policy fields.

In the couple of years since the C-word has appeared in the media about social care due to the shortage of resources, the so called ‘care crisis’, the government just recently published an consultation document (HM Government, 2008) on this issue under the premiership of Gordon Brown for public consultation about the future of personal social services. The document presents profound challenges to the sustainability of the current social care system due to the growing social needs from various social changes such as ageing population, medical advances, and rising expectations. For example, a £6 billion ‘funding gap’ is estimated in social care just to keep the same level of service (p. 14). While the ideological implication can be found in this interpretation of the government as discussed throughout this study, this reflects some realities the current social care system face together with the gloomy picture of the current situation shown at the beginning of Chapter 8.

The implication we can draw from the findings of this study for the current situation is that a fundamental rethink of the central ideology of the government is required beyond the change in the social care system in order to tackle the problem. This is because, as this study has shown, the close association of social care policy change with the shift of the political

ideology of the government, the limitation of the current system is not only a problem of the existing social care policy but also a matter of the current ideology of the government. In particular, the loophole of New Labour ideology is reflected in the discrepancy between the policy objective toward the individual independence and the reality of intensifying the service to the people in the greatest need as discussed at the end of Chapter 8. Therefore, the starting point for the ideological rethink might be the fundamental shift of understanding of society, for example, based on interdependence rather than independence as some feminists claim in the ethics of care discussion shown in Chapter 8. This would provide a critical implication for the Green Paper which seems to follow the policy approach of the Blair government in their consecutive commitment for ‘independence, choice and control’ (HM Government, 2008, p. 34).

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■ *Appendix:*

Analysed Political Speeches, Statements, and Writings

Old Labour

■ *Political speeches by Harold Wilson*

- Speech to the Labour Party Annual Conference, 1961
- Speeches to the Labour Party Annual Conferences, from 1963 to 1975
- Prime Minister's speeches to the TUC annual conferences, 1964, 1966, and 1974
- Prime Minister's speech to the Parliamentary Labour Party, 1974

■ *Political Speeches by James Callaghan*

- Speeches to the Labour Party Annual Conference, from 1976 to 1978
- Prime Minister's speeches to the TUC annual conferences, 1977 and 1978

■ *Key writings and statements*

- Labour Party. (1961). Signposts for the sixties: Labour Party.
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- Labour Party. (1964). 1964 Labour Party manifesto: Labour Party.
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Thatcherism

■ *Speeches by Margaret Thatcher*

- Speeches to the Conservative Annual Party Conferences from 1975 to 1990
- Speech at the Institute of Socio-Economic Studies, 15th September 1975
- Speech at Kensington Town Hall, 19th January 1976
- Speech at Zurich Economic Society, 14th March 1977
- Speech on Europe, 24th February 1977
- Speech to Greater London Young Conservatives, 4th July 1977
- Speech to the Bow Group, 6th May 1978
- Speech to Conservative Party Rally in Cardiff, 16th April 1979
- Winston Churchill Memorial Lecture, 18th October 1979
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 10th November 1980
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 16th November 1981
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 15th November 1982
- Speech to Conservative Rally at Cheltenham, 3th July 1982
- Speech in Cardiff, 23rd May 1983
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 12th November 1984
- Speech to Scottish Party Conference, 10th February 1985
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 10th November 1986
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 16th November 1987
- Speech to Scottish Conservative Party Conference, 15th May 1987
- Speech to Centre for Policy Studies, 28th April 1988
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 14th November 1988
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 13th November 1989
- Speech to the Aspen Institute, 5th August 1990
- Speech at Lord Mayor's Banquet, 12th November 1990

■ *Speeches by John Major*

- Speeches to the Conservative Annual Party Conferences from 1991 to 1994 and in 1996 (speech at the 1995 conference missed in the archive in Bodleian Library)
- Speech at Queen Elizabeth 2 conference centre, 4th December 1990
- Speech at 40th conservative Local Government Conference, 2nd March 1991

- Speech at Annual Conservative Central Council Meeting, 23th March 1991
- Speech at Confederation of British Industry Annual Dinner, 21st May 1991
- Speech at 61st Women's Conference, 27th June 1991
- Speech to Centre for Policy Studies, 3rd July 1991
- Speech at the launch of Opportunity 2000, 28th October 1991
- Speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, 11th November 1991
- Speech to 32th Young Conservative Conference, 8th February 1992
- Speech to the 15th anniversary dinner of the Adam Smith Institute, 16th June 1992
- Speech to Scottish Conservative Party Conference, 14th May 1993
- Speech to Conservative Central Council Meeting, 26th March 1994
- Speech to Women's Conference, 15th December 1995
- New Year Message, 30th December 1996
- Speech to Conservative Central Council Meeting, 15th March 1997

■ *Key statements*

- Conservative Party. (1979). 1979 Conservative Party manifesto: Conservative Party.
- Conservative Party. (1983). 1983 Conservative Party manifesto: Conservative Party.
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New Labour

■ *Speeches by Tony Blair*

- Speech for acceptance of the leadership, 1994
- Speech to the Labour Party Annual Conference, from 1994 to 2006
- Speech to the Labour Party Special Conference, 1995
- Prime Minister's speech to the CBI conference, 11th November 1997
- Speech by the Prime Minister Tony Blair at Lord Mayor's banquet, 10th November 1997
- Speech by the Prime Minister on the British Presidency, 6th December 1997
- Speech by the Prime Minister Tony Blair about the NHS, 9th December 1997
- Speech by the Prime Minister: New Britain in the Modern World, 9th January 1998

- Prime Minister's speech at the CBI Keidanren Discussion Forum, Tokyo, 10th January 1998
- Prime Minister's speech to the Local Government Conference, 8th February 1998
- Prime Minister's speech at the launch of the New Deal advertising campaign, 11th February 1998
- Civil Service conference speech, 13rd October 1998
- Speech by the Prime Minister Tony Blair about Education Action Zones, 15th January 1999
- New year speech by the Prime Minister at Trimdon, 29th December 1999
- Prime Minister's speech at the Knowledge 2000 Conference, 7th May 2000
- Prime Minister's speech at the CBI Annual Dinner, 17th May 2000
- Speech by the Prime Minister to the Chief Nursing Officer's Conference, 10th November 2000
- PM's Mansion House Speech, 13th November 2000
- Speech on the New Deal, 30th November 2000
- Speech by the Prime Minister: Reform of Public Services, 16th July 2001
- Speech by Prime Minister to the Confederation of British Industry, 5th November 2001
- Speech by the Prime Minister at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, 12th November 2001
- PM's New Year's message, 30th December 2001
- Speech by the Prime Minister about Public Services reform, 25th January 2002
- Prime Minister's speech on welfare reform, 10th June 2002
- Prime Minister's speech on tackling poverty and social exclusion, 18th September 2002
- PM speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, 11th November 2002
- Prime Minister's New Year Message, 1st January 2003
- Reform central to future of public services, 6th May 2003
- Prime Minister's speech on the launch of the Children's Green Paper, 'Every Child Matters', 8th September 2003
- Prime Minister's speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, 10th November 2003
- Prime Minister's speech to CBI conference, 17th November 2003
- PM speech on reforming the Civil Service, 24th February 2004

- PM's speech to the CBI, 18th October 2004
- Speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, 15th November 2004
- PM speech on the economy, 3rd December 2004
- Prime Minister's speech delivered at the Institute of Public Policy Research, 26th May 2005
- Speech on education at 10 Downing Street, 24th October 2005
- Lord Mayor's Banquet speech, 14th November 2005
- Education and regeneration, 18th November 2005
- PM's Respect Action Plan launch speech, 10th January 2006
- Speech to the CBI annual dinner, 16th May 2006
- 21st Century Public Services speech, 6th June 2006
- PM's world affairs speech to the Lord Mayor's banquet, 13th November 2006
- Speech at the CBI national conference in London, 27th November 2006
- Speech at the CBI conference, 24th January 2007
- Speech to the King's Fund on the National Health Service, 30th April 2007
- Our Nation's Future - Public Life, 12th January 2007
- Speech at the Public Service Reform Conference, 27th May 2007

■ *Key writings and statements*

- Blair, T. (1998). *The Third Way: new politics for the new century*. London: The Fabian Society.
- Blair, T., & Schröder, G. (1999). *Europe: The Third Way*. London: Labour Party.
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