Participant ideology: the case of New Labour Social Policy, 1997-2001

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship of ideology to policy-making on two levels: on the theoretical level, it advances a distinction between philosophical, commentative and participant ideology; on the policy level, it takes as its major case study the reforms initiated by New Labour in the Departments of Social Security, Health and Education and Employment between 1997 and 2001.

The thesis pays particular attention to the deployment of morphological analysis as a means to interpret and decode New Labour's policy practices and thereby opens up new areas for research on the role of ideas in politics. It also delineates the conceptual formulae for the core concepts of New Labour's ideology, stressing conceptual interconnections and contributing to interpretative and normative political theory. Using these to frame the analysis, it presents an account of New Labour's conceptual patterns easily accessible to political philosophers. Finally, the thesis counters the dominant modes of analysing ideology in social policy and shows the strong similarities between the morphological conception of ideology and standard forms of institutional and social policy analysis.

New Labour is shown to create the following patterns: Individuals have rights to the conditions of freedom as self-development, which generate duties sanctionable by legal and direct socioeconomic penalties on others. Where rights do not apply, individuals have personal responsibilities that are presented as supererogatory expectations. The conditions of freedom are to be distributed equally in a manner consistent with progress and social justice for all members of a community who, relating to each other ultimately on the basis of enlightened self-interest, are interdependent and working together across the spheres of a social conception of civil society, a strongly representative and government-dominated conception of democracy and a capitalist market conceived of as a common good. By so doing, each enjoys the freedom of self-development.

In loving memory of Mary Teresa Moore,
a woman of great kindness, strength and dignity

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Glossary

AA = Attendance Allowance: non-contributory benefit for over 65s with care needs.

Beacon schools: high performing schools receiving £105,000 over three years to fund best practice partnerships with local schools.

BSP = Basic State Pension: contributory benefit for pensioners.

CB = Child Benefit: non-contributory benefit for children.

CCCP = Childcare Partnership: local strategic body, representing all relevant childcare interests, charged with coordinating childcare services.

CCs = Community Chests: small grant fund for community activities in areas eligible for the NRF.

CCTC = Childcare Tax Credit: component of WFTC, providing 70% of costs for childcare

CE = Citizenship Education: national curriculum subject covering political literacy, social responsibility and voluntary activity

CHD = Coronary Heart Disease

CHI = Commission for Health Improvement: NHS inspection body

City Academies: independently managed schools established by business, faith or voluntary sponsors in partnership with the DfES and the local authority.

Community schools: schools ultimately run by local authorities but with operational self-management

Connexions: education and training advice and support service for 13-19 year-olds

CSR = Comprehensive Spending Review: three-year public expenditure planning process

CTC = Child Tax Credit: allowance for families with children, consisting of family and child components.

CTCs = City Technology Colleges: Independently managed, non-fee-paying schools in urban areas for pupils of all abilities aged 11 to 18. They are geared towards science, technology and the world of work.

CTF = Child Trust Fund: savings account opened for all children at birth, with government endowment(s).

DfEE = Department for Education and Employment

DLA = Disability Living Allowance: non-contributory benefit for under 65s with mobility and/or care needs.

DoH = Department of Health

DPTC = Disabled Person's Tax Credit: allowance for disabled people in paid work.

DRC = Disability Rights Commission: independent body charged with promoting equal opportunities for disabled people

DSS = Department of Social Security

Early Excellence Centres: sites for the development and promotion of high quality, integrated, early year services for young children and families.

EYDPs : Early Years Development Partnerships: strategic bodies, including all relevant local interests, responsible for delivering integrated local early education and day care services.

EYDP : Early Years Development Plan: strategic document for local early education services

EAZ : Education Action Zone: three to five year local partnerships, consisting of 2-3 secondary schools and feeder primaries, in deprived areas, established to develop innovative means of improving educational standards; competitive application process; allocated £500,000-750,000 from central government; required to raise £250,000 from business sponsors; may be led by actors other than the LEA or schools; strong emphasis on engaging parents and the local community.

EDP : Education Development Plan: strategic document for local education services

EZ = Employment Zone: local partnerships between public, commercial and voluntary organisations in areas of high, long-term unemployment; pool funds for training and provide Jobcentre Plus support and benefits; mandatory participation for over 25s on income-based JSA and unemployed for 12 months.

Foundation Goals – set of targets for the social and cognitive development of 4-7 year olds

Foundation schools: schools funded directly by government with control over admissions as well as operational management; allowed to select a proportion of their intake.

HA = Health Authority.

HAZ = Health Action Zone: seven-year local partnerships to facilitate joint-working between public, private and voluntary organisations in a bid to develop innovative ways to improve health in deprived areas and reduce health inequalities; designated by competition; strong focus on community involvement.

HImP – Health Improvement Plan : local strategic plan, drawn up by all relevant actors, for local NHS services.

HLC = Healthy Living Centre: a virtual or concrete site in which innovative means of improving health in deprived areas and reducing health inequalities are developed; strong focus on community involvement.

HMT =Her Majesty's Treasury

HO = Home Office

IB = Incapacity Benefit: contributory benefit for those incapable of work; short-term or long-term; recipients must submit to a functional capacity test.

ICA = Invalid Care Allowance: non-contributory benefit for people caring for a recipient of higher-rate AA or DLA for 35 hours a week.

ILA = Individual Learning Account : proposed as a savings vehicle for post-compulsory education; became a voucher in effect following lack of business interest; scheme terminated 2001 due to fraud.

IS = Income Support: income-related benefit for working age people on low income and not required to search for paid work; includes premia for children, disability and pensioners.

ISA = Individual Saving Account: tax-free savings vehicle

JSA = Jobseekers allowance: unemployment benefit; required to sign a Jobseekers Agreement and demonstrate availability and active search for paid work. Contributory for six months; income-related thereafter. Benefit sanctions applicable, gradually escalating from 1 to 26 weeks for failure to sign-on, prove active jobsearch, obey a direction, apply for or accept a job, or to apply for or accept a training scheme place.

LD = Learn Direct : free national helpline providing advice on further and adult education

Level 2 of National Qualification Framework: 5 GCSEs grades A*-C or equivalent, i.e., NVQ level 2 or GNVQ Intermediate level.

Level 3 of National Qualification Framework: 2 GCE A-levels or equivalent, i.e., GNVQ advanced level or NVQ level 3.

LSC = Learning and Skills Council: umbrella body responsible for funding, planning and co-ordinating post-compulsory education services.

LSP = Local Strategic Partnership: local body, including public, private, voluntary and community sectors, responsible for delivering community regeneration programmes; particular emphasis on integrating initiatives.

MIG = Minimum Income Guarantee: basic state pension plus income support for pensioners.

National literacy strategy: best practice and testing regime designed to improve literacy levels at primary school.

National numeracy strategy: best practice and testing regime designed to improve numeracy levels at primary school.

ND 50+ = New Deal for People over 50: voluntary labour market programme for over 50s in receipt of JSA for 6 months - personal adviser service, providing help with jobsearch skills and travelling to interviews, advice on in-work benefits and discretionary training

NDC = New Deal for Communities: community regeneration programme bringing together local people, authorities, community and voluntary organisations, public agencies and business to tackle multiple deprivation.

NDDP = New Deal for Disabled People: voluntary labour market programme - personal adviser service to help disabled people enter paid work and discretionary training.

NDLP = New Deal for Lone Parents: voluntary labour market programme for lone parents on IS with a youngest child over 5 – personal adviser service, providing help with jobsearch, advice on in-work benefits and childcare facilities and discretionary training.

NDYP = New Deal for Young People: compulsory labour market programme for 18-24s claiming JSA or signing on for national insurance credits for six months – four month Gateway of intensive jobsearch supported by a personal adviser followed by four Options -subsidised job, voluntary organisation placement, environmental task-force placement; . full-time education/training – and then further jobsearch in 'Follow Through': benefit sanctions applicable, ranging from 2 to 4 weeks, for failure to attend, accept or apply for jobs or an ND Option or giving it up without good cause.

NHSD = NHS Direct: national nurse-led helpline providing advice on health, illness and NHS access.

NIC = National Insurance Contribution: weekly flat-rate payroll payment, to finance national insurance benefits, from income between the lower and upper earnings limits; five classes according to status.

NICE = National Institute for Clinical Excellence: NHS organisation producing and disseminating clinical guidelines

NLTU/ND25+ = New Deal for the long-term unemployed: compulsory labour market programme for over 25s claiming JSA or signing on for national insurance credits for 2 years; six month jobsearch with personal advisor before the option of a subsidised job (6 months max) or full time education (52 weeks max)

NMW = National Minimum Wage: established in 1999 for people over 22 or between 18-21.

NFPI = National Family and Parenting Institute: publicly funded, independent organisation providing advice on family policy, parenting, etc.

NPH = National Parent Helpline: national helpline for advice on parenting.

NRF = Neighbourhood Renewal Fund: non-ring-fenced fund for local authorities to improve core public services in deprived areas.

NSF = National Service Framework: set of evidence-based clinical guidelines for particular services

OFSTED = Office for Standards in Education – inspectorate for pre-, compulsory and post-compulsory education.

PALS = Patient Advice and Liaison Services: service within the NHS to assist patients, carers and relatives, particularly with regard to complaints.

Patient Forum: local body consisting of patients, carers and families among others with which NHS trusts must consult on service performance and improvement; representative on trust board.

PC = Pension Credit: Introduced in 2003. Attenuation of the Income Support taper for pensioners to ensure a reward for those with modest pensions above the MIG.

PCG = Primary Care Group: management body, consisting of all family doctors (GPs) and community nurses within a local area; controls devolved budget and responsible for the purchase of secondary care and provision of primary care; contributes to local health strategy.

PMS = Personal Medical Service: alternative contract arrangements for GPs in deprived areas.

PSHE = Personal, Social and Health Education – national curriculum subject.

SEU = Social Exclusion Unit: cross-departmental body in the Cabinet Office, working to reduce social exclusion.

SG = Savings Gateway: savings vehicle for low income households, including government matching and financial advice.

SRB = Single Regeneration Budget : catalyst fund for local regeneration initiatives to attract investment by others; partnership working required; established 1994.

SKP = Stakeholder Pension: low-charge, regulated, second-tier private pension scheme for workers without occupational schemes.

Statutory Maternity Pay: minimum payment by employer for 18 weeks of maternity leave.

Specialist schools: schools specialising in a particular area of the national curriculum; receive an extra £123 p.a. per pupil; required to find sponsorship from local business; allowed to select 15% of students on aptitude; must share facilities with local schools.

SSP = Second State Pension: second-tier State pension to replace State Earnings Replacement Scheme; funded by NICs; aimed at low-moderate earners, carers and long-term disabled people; incentives for moderate earners to opt-out; credits for full-time carers of adults and carers of children under 6.

Statutory Sick Pay: minimum payment by employers to those off work for up to 28 weeks owing to incapacity.

SuSt = Sure Start: local programme designed to work with parents in deprived areas to improve pre-schoolers' development.

UfI = University for Industry : brokerage service for employers and post-compulsory learners, facilitating diverse learning formats

Voluntary aided schools: schools run by voluntary or religious organisations with control over admissions.

Voluntary controlled schools: schools linked to a religious organisation; ultimately under local authority control; operational self-management.

WFTC = Working Family's Tax Credit: allowance for low-paid workers with children, when working over 16 hours a week.

WiC = Walk-in Centre: NHS centres offering fast, nurse-led services for minor conditions.

INTRODUCTION

Participant ideology is the field of conceptual meaning created by recurring patterns of conceptual terms and associated policies found in the discourse of politicians as they participate in formal political processes under real-time conditions. It takes as its starting-point the frequent connections made between political concepts and policy proposals or achievements by politicians in speeches, statements and policy documents. Standardly, these are studied separately. Conceptual terms are treated as expressions of their political philosophy or ideology and the policy choices as the product of the interaction of such commitments with political circumstances. This thesis contends that such conceptual terms and their associated policies can and should be studied together. In so doing, it views the policies in the same way in which they are presented by politicians – as expressions of the concepts. Thus, the policies are containers of conceptual meaning, helping to define concepts as much as any conceptual arguments. The regular association of certain conceptual terms and arguments with certain policies then creates a multidimensional field of conceptual meaning, i.e. an ideology on Freeden's morphological definition. The special status given to this field of meaning, defined as participant ideology, is required because, while it explores the meanings created through the interaction of conceptual terms and arguments with associated policies, such policies may also be the product of political circumstances. Thus, they are potentially the product of constraints which do not reflect the original desires of the politicians in question. Furthermore, realising that we are studying the use of conceptual terms in the course of political communication, the purpose of which is primarily the mobilisation of support and neutralisation of opposition, the precise conceptual terms and arguments employed may involve compromises to meet expected audience reactions. As a result, neither conceptual terms and arguments nor policies may be simply read off as face-value representations of the conceptual commitments of politicians. In both cases, further empirical evidence is necessary.

Nevertheless, these regular connections between conceptual terms and arguments and policies are evident in political discourse and should be studied in their own terms for the following reasons. Careful and detailed analysis of the conceptual fields actually created by powerful actors, such as the New Labour core executive[1] to be

[1] 'New Labour', a term attached to the Labour Party since 1994, is used merely for ease of reference.

studied here, enables participants within a political context, including producers themselves, to determine whether they are acceptable or not from the point of view of their evaluative commitments. As regards New Labour, one can evaluate whether what the 'third way' means in practice, i.e. in terms of the conceptual patterns created during participation in political processes, is acceptable. It is, as it were, the delineation of their conceptual record. As will be seen, such evaluative engagement is endangered by the effects of endless and instantaneous political communication in a 24-hour media age with its emphasis on rapid rebuttal and soundbites. It is also more generally hindered by a failure to pay sufficient attention to the patterns actually created, rather than those assumed to be there on the basis of the alleged commitments of ideological producers, or weakly supported interpretations of them by analysts or other participants in political processes. Furthermore, such evaluative engagement with support for, or contestation of, such patterns would proceed more effectively if the process of interpretation were to be separated from that of criticism. Interpretation, and pinning down one's opponents in their own terms, are vital pre-requisites to effective challenge.

As with all studies of ideology, the study of participant ideology not only facilitates but encourages evaluative engagement with one's political context by reminding us that politics has a crucial linguistic and evaluative dimension. It does so first in its study of the connections made between political concepts and policies. By reconnecting political concepts with the concrete features of political life and thereby showing that they concern the approved patterns of concrete interaction between members of a society, it places them where they belong as part of the stuff of politics, not rarefied objects for elite delectation. It encourages evaluative engagement by all political actors by emphasising that conceptual fields are not only created by philosophers and theorists as they reflect upon their political context. All political actors, by their words and concrete action, create such fields of meaning just as most can offer, albeit at varying degrees of reflective distance, an account of the conceptual commitments that guide them explicitly or implicitly. Given the conceptual nature of such analysis, political philosophers should be encouraged to engage more directly with their political context. It should be of use to those engaged in applied political theory and facilitate more constructive engagement between political philosophers acting as public intellectuals, policy analysts and politicians. Finally, the study of participant ideology enables us to consider its existing role more effectively. Considering Freeden's work on New Liberalism and Gamble's on Thatcherism, it provides a point of

comparison with the philosophical and commentative ideologies they deem to be relevant. As regards ideological change, the distinction between types of ideology raises interesting questions about the relationship between them.

This thesis explains the phenomenon of participant ideology and delineates its creation through recurring patterns of discourse and associated policy by the New Labour core executive during its first term in ministerial speeches and statements and command papers within the Departments of Social Security (DSS), Education and Employment (DfEE), and Health (DoH).[2] It does so by exploring and using the morphological approach to ideology pioneered by Freeden. On this understanding, an ideology is a multi-dimensional and structurally specific framework of essentially contestable political concepts that are given determinate meaning. It reflects the widespread view in political theory that, while a grammatical representation of the structure of any political concept can be drawn, a range of substantive meanings can be created according to the ways in which the components are defined. Notably, Freeden follows Sartori in arguing that such definition can occur not only linguistically but also by reference to extra-linguistic objects, within which we may include particular practices or policies. A major part of this thesis concerns the way in which the conceptual analysis of policies can be undertaken.

The morphological approach also views ideology as constituted by recurring patterns of conceptual terms, arguments and associated policy, which are created by an identifiable group of loosely co-ordinated producers as they are affected by sociohistorical change. Extending the analysis of such patterns to those created by politicians rather than philosophers or public intellectuals, this thesis proposes a distinction between different types of ideology that follows from the different nature of these three classes of producers and incorporates the question of whether the ideology necessarily reflects the commitments of producers. Thus, one may speak of philosophical, commentative and participant ideology. Furthermore, as with all conceptions of ideology, Freeden posits that it is action-orientating, i.e. it inclines us towards certain courses of action and away from others through the establishment of particular meanings for political concepts that serve to (de)legitimise them. Such action-orientation holds for participant ideology, even though politicians may not be committed to it, given that it is partly the product of compromise. By creating such

[2] According to the implementation of asymmetric devolution, this research pertains to England.

patterns, for whatever reason, politicians constrain their future action because the field of meaning created has its own logic and inclines them towards the production of similar patterns in the future in much the same way as historical institutionalists have argued for policy.

Finally, the morphological approach is interpretative and views such interpretation in hermeneutic terms. It is interpretative for it seeks to determine the meaning of the concepts as they occur rather than their 'real' meaning as part of a normative exercise. In addition, the meaning is not immediately clear. Its key interpretative tools are the grammatical representations of political concepts of which MacCallum's 'X is (not) free from Y to do (not do) Z' is the most famous.[3] As a result, their delineation is of vital importance to any morphological analysis and will consequently be illustrated in this thesis. The interpretative procedure is hermeneutic in that it analyses intentional and unintentional meaning on the grounds that no single producer can be said to be in control of meaning, given its nature as a group product beyond the control of any one individual. Meaning is ultimately the product of the interaction between the object and the interpreter. Both these aspects are particularly pertinent in the study of participant ideology because it is created in real-time conditions by a group of producers involved in an ongoing process of political communication in which group members engage in multiple instances of production in relation to multiple audiences and multiple policies over time, reacting to the effects of previous actions. Thus, initial clarity and producer awareness of the patterns created are severely reduced.

The first chapter will outline Freeden's conception of ideology, demonstrating that participant ideology constitutes an extension of it. In the process, the precise remit of the case study will be outlined.[4] The second chapter will establish the conceptual formulae for the core concepts of New Labour's participant ideology, with their core position being justified in the chapters three and four, which delineate the participant ideology of the New Labour core executive in relation to the DSS, DoH and DfEE. It consists of the core concepts of social justice, liberty, equality and progress (discussed in chapter 3) and of community, civil society, democracy and the market (discussed in chapter 4). We will see that the participant ideology of New Labour is as follows :

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[3] MacCallum (1991). This is an abbreviated version as it includes 'be' and 'become' Z.
[4] Readers should consult the policy glossary for help with social policy acronyms and brief definitions of the policies under study.

On the basis of equal moral worth, individuals have general, as opposed to special, rights to the conditions of freedom as self-development, understood as the freedom to develop oneself as an autonomous participant in society and be rewarded for this. Such rights generate duties of social justice between individuals with the State, acting as guarantor. Hence, all individuals are subject to duties of social justice, which vary according to capacity and are sanctionable by legal or socioeconomic (e.g. benefit) sanctions. Beyond such rights, individual self-development is viewed as a matter of personal responsibility, albeit accompanied by supererogatory expectations sanctionable by moral (dis)approval and potential (dis)incentives, which would contribute to individual and social progress were they performed. Thus, the socially just distribution incorporates distribution according to needs and, given the emphasis on rewards, desert.

Constraints on freedom are addressed primarily as external, incorporating lack of welfare goods or means to them, but efforts are made to lift internal constraints via positive discourse and incentives as well as the lifting of external constraints. The level at which constraints are deemed lifted and rights fulfilled is given substantive content through the intersection of equality and progress with social justice. The conception of equality intersects with liberty, i.e. equality of opportunity, and concerns both outcomes and formal opportunities. Distribution above a certain platform is left to reflect the success of individuals. This platform combines a distribution of the conditions of freedom with two features: in some respects it is strictly equal and in others proportional to need; and in some respects it is absolute, i.e. set in relation to a standard not rising in line with the rest of the population, and in others relative but insufficient. However, the conception of progress, understood as gradual, beneficial advance in the conditions of freedom for all, affects the actual lifting of constraints. Given the nature of the modernisation process, divergence from distribution proportional to need is acceptable, owing to the importance of extra resources for those with high capacity to contribute to improvements, of ensuring short-term as well as long-term improvements and of guaranteeing the continued and ever-improving functioning of the main areas of interaction : the State, the market and civil society.

Both social justice and progress are to be achieved through the partnership that is community, i.e. mutually beneficial cooperation between all social actors, ultimately individuals, who relate to each other primarily on the basis of enlightened self-interest in individual liberty as self-development. Civil society is understood as a third sphere to balance the State and market within which individuals interact for social purposes on

the basis of agreement, valued as an arena for individual self-development and a contributor to democracy and the communal goal of individual self-development for all. Democracy is understood largely, although not exclusively, in representative terms with central government placed as the key representative of the people on the basis of election and subject to accountability arrangements. Finally, the market is conceived of as predominantly private, with actors competing, ultimately on the basis of skills, within the global knowledge economy. Progress will be achieved through actors working as a community with the State having an important role to play in macroeconomic policy and on the supply-side, overcoming market failures as well as unacceptable distributive consequences. However, it is also a common good, crucial for the achievement of other goals, thereby benefiting all directly or indirectly, and constituting a major area for the exercise of individual self-development.

CHAPTER 1
PARTICIPANT IDEOLOGY

According to Freeden, an ideology is an action-orientating and potentially dynamic, multidimensional, structurally specific framework of essentially contestable political concepts, which are given determinate meaning by their position within it.[5] It is constituted by recurring patterns of discourse, and sometimes associated policy, produced at varying levels of articulation and sophistication by identifiable groups as they engage in politics at varying distances from formal political processes and their sociohistorical context.[6] As a relatively coherent framework of meaning subject to logical and sociohistorical constraints, an ideology orients both its producers and, potentially, the audience at which it is aimed. Given that it may be challenged by alternative ideologies or affected by sociohistorical change, an ideology has the potential to be dynamic as producers seek to respond to these pressures, although they may decide to close it off from them. To analyse the morphology of an ideology one views the recurring patterns of discourse, and sometimes associated policy, produced across a wide range of examples as a text-analogue that blends intentional and unintentional meaning. It is then interpreted by combining textual analysis, using the tool of conceptual formulae, and awareness of the sociohistorical context in which it was produced.

This brief overview of Freeden's conception of ideology highlights four elements : morphology; manner of creation and development; function, i.e. action-orientation; and interpretative procedure. This chapter will explore each dimension in turn, using the New Labour case study as an example. In particular, it will show how morphological analysis can be applied to policy. It will also argue for a distinction between different types of ideology according to the nature of the producers and, hence, particular features of the manner of creation and development. It will be demonstrated that participant ideology can be understood as action-orientating. Particular features of its interpretative procedure will be outlined, incorporating a demonstration of how to assemble a text-analogue for study by setting out the one used for the New Labour case study.

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[5] This section, unless indicated otherwise, refers to Freeden (1996), Part I.

[6] 'Recurring patterns of discourse, and sometimes associated policy,' denotes that not all conceptual patterns make explicit reference to policy.

1.1.- Morphology

The morphological understanding of ideology conceives of it as a multidimensional and structurally specific framework of essentially contestable political concepts that are given determinate meaning by their position within it. As such, it has three crucial features : essential contestability, multidimensionality and structural specificity. Morphological analysis delineates the conceptual framework created in recurring patterns of thought, language and associated practices.[7] On the whole, it has tended to concentrate on ideational-linguistic patterns, merely noting associated policy. This research shows how it may be applied in a detailed and sustained fashion to policies on the grounds that they can be viewed as containers of conceptual meaning, once we consider what political concepts represent. Policies too can be viewed as essentially contestable and occur within recurring, multidimensional patterns within which one can detect priorities. Studying policies in this fashion affords the conceptions of the concepts a greater level of determinacy in their encapsulation of a specific 'politicosocial context of meaning and experience'.[8] From the point of view of ideological analysis of texts and policies, the analyst seeks to uncover the field of meaning created by the recurring patterns of discourse, and sometimes associated practice. As a result, she studies relational and conceptual meaning, not the causal or sequential variety usually applied to policy and frequently to their relationship with ideas.[9]

1.1.1.- Essentially contestable concepts

The view that political concepts are essentially contestable seeks to reflect, and enables us to deal with, the occurrence of conceptual competition, which arises from the potential for conceptual and linguistic terms to have different meanings in different contexts. This position should not be equated with relativism because it centres on the *possibility* rather than the *adequacy* or *correctness* of varying meanings in diverse

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[7] Only policies are considered in this thesis.
[8] Koselleck (1985), p.83-4.
[9] Policies may represent many other things depending on the questions we ask of them. Until we ask a question, all we have is matter; the question determines the nature of the object as subject matter. There can be as many descriptions of an object in these terms as there are questions. Actions need not be interpreted solely in terms of agent intention provided that, as Davidson argues, the action is recognised by its agent as intentional *on some level of description.* See Hollis (1994); Martin and McIntyre (1994); Davidson (1980); Ricoeur (1981).

contexts. Ideological analysis is sensitive both to the, perhaps contingent, existence of conceptual competition and the never-ending process of conceptual development, whether this be viewed as for good or ill. It seeks to stand back from participation in order to offer more grounded interpretations between participants. Essential contestability is then an heuristic device that enables this.

Freeden expresses essential contestability as the claim that concepts possess an 'ineliminable element' that is present in all conceptions and 'quasi-contingent categories' which are logically indispensable but substantively contingent. Thus, from study of empirical examples, one can form a conceptual formula that consists of a grammatical representation of its component parts and provides the analyst with an interpretative tool, i.e. the intension of the concept.[10] For example, MacCallum posits that all conceptions of liberty involve the formula 'x is (is not) free from y to do (not do, become, not become) z'.[11] Using Freeden's terms, the ineliminable elements are non-constraint and action - 'is...free from...to...' – and the indispensable categories are x, y & z. Different meanings or conceptions of liberty are created according to the ways in which the categories are filled. The process of filling these categories is subject to logical and sociohistorical constraints. The former reflect the rigours of a mode of reasoning and the limits of logic itself in terms of its application to the matter in hand or the discipline's stage of development. Sociohistorical constraints reflect the fact that the sociohistorical location of thinkers provides them with the raw material for substance and that the logical process must be given content to proceed. It also recognises that the latter must be brought to a close and may be overridden. Contestation concerns the adequacy of the conception, proceeding by claims of logical error/override or substance. Armed with the interpretative tool of the conceptual formula, the morphological analyst decodes the conceptions created.

Political concepts, then, are complex phenomena and use of the same conceptual term does not guarantee identity of meaning. However, Freeden, drawing on Sartori, also argues that extra-linguistic objects, such as practices, can be viewed as definitional components. Sartori distinguishes the intension of a concept, i.e. the conceptual formula outlined above, from its extension, defined as the list of all the things or the class of objects to which the term applies. As such, it can include not only linguistic components but also 'referents', i.e. 'real-world' or 'extra-linguistic' counterparts. Such referents

[10] Sartori (1984), p.24.
[11] MacCallum (1991), p.102.

can be included either in declarative, operational or ostensive methods of definition.[12] Freeden incorporates this concrete element of conceptual definition via the perimeter of a concept, which consists largely of policies and constitutes its main point of engagement with its sociohistorical context. As a result, such concrete objects can be analysed as containers of conceptual meaning.

However, it has always been Freeden's attention to apply morphological analysis to political practices.[13] This thesis, concentrating on the tendency of politicians to engage in conceptual definition by recurring association of conceptual terms and arguments with certain policies, demonstrates how policies can be studied as containers of conceptual meaning using the tool of the conceptual formula and, given the case study, some of the tools of social policy. Picking up the example above, if one were to study the recurrent practice of associating liberty and a particular policy, one would examine the policy in order to ascertain which concrete constraints were lifted and thereby which actions were facilitated by recipients. As a result, a greater level of determinacy in the meaning of liberty would be attained.

This type of conceptual analysis can be undertaken given the similarities between concepts and policies. Morphological analysis is concerned with recurring patterns of political concepts, which denote recurring patterns of interaction between members of a polis. Policies too represent and attempt to foster certain types of interaction.[14] For example, Deacon views the differential effects for different client groups and different forms of resolution via different policies or policy packages as a key feature of policy analysis. He also recognises that debates over the nature of welfare reflect assumptions on human nature and modes of interaction. If policies represent identifiable forms of interaction, then they also represent certain understandings of political concepts. The ideological analyst asks who, what, when, where and how as any other political analyst but conveys these in terms of political concepts. Hence, policies can embody political concepts even where they are not explicitly linked to them.[15]

Furthermore, policies can be understood as essentially contestable. Any individual policy can be analysed by itself in terms of its components and it is possible

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[12] Sartori (1984), p.29-33.
[13] Freeden (1996), p.81, note 54.
[14] Such representation need not be causal.
[15] This research is similar to King's exploration of how the values of liberal democracy have 'historically' been given practical meaning in social policies but does not seek to decide whether policies are consistent with the alleged implications of a particular ideational-linguistic framework, which depends on maintaining the separation between policies and the ideational-linguistic. See King (1999).

to examine different levels of specificity.[16] For example, within social policy, a common distinction is made between income transfer and the provision of services, with both possessing a wide range of forms and thus this level of analysis is very general. In the case of the former, these include tax credits, direct cash payments or vouchers. Analysing this in terms of Freeden's conceptual analysis, the ineliminable element is transfer of income. The quasi-contingent elements are, as we recall, indispensable categories. In this case, these include the method of transfer, the recipients, the conditions of receipt, the source of funds, the level and type of payment, the provision mechanism for goods etc. Furthermore, the filling out of these categories is subject to logical and sociohistorical constraints. The former refer to technical considerations and the latter to ethical considerations, political influences and changes in the sociohistorical context to which technical skills are applied.[17]

1.1.2.- A multidimensional framework

The multidimensional nature of the conceptual framework follows from the interdependence of concepts. MacCallum's formal definition of liberty demonstrates that the components of any concept may in fact themselves *be* concepts for if X is the individual, this depends on our understanding of individuality. Political concepts are rendered determinate in part by their interrelationships with other concepts and these interrelationships are subject also to logical and sociohistorical constraints. Freeden outlines this interdependence in the sense that the framework constitutes a field of meaning, referring to the meaning of the whole *and* of each of its parts and reflecting Gadamer's hermeneutic circle.[18] The meaning of the whole is not reducible to its parts for none of them has independent meaning. Each part is given meaning by its location in and hence relation to the whole. The process of establishing meaning is complicated. One works from assumed meanings for the whole and hence for the parts; then one examines the parts, revising assumed meanings as they seem to conflict and so on, hence the circle. Nor need this idea be limited to literary analogies, as Wittgenstein has argued in his description of ways of life as games consisting of particular players in

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[16] Barr (1998).
[17] See Stone (1997), Kingdon (1995) and Barr (1998) for arguments that the policy process is subject to such influences.
[18] Gadamer (1975); Freeden (2000).

particular relations to each other that are subject to modification given repeated interaction.

The idea of policies forming frameworks is not only common to policy analysis but also to political science and history more generally in relation to individual governments and also over time e.g. consensus and Thatcherism debates.[19] Furthermore, policies cannot be fully understood for the purposes of evaluation if they are analysed in isolation. Study of any one policy automatically raises questions about other related policies and the patterns created by their intersection. Indeed, the precise objects chosen to fill the quasi-contingent categories depend on policy choices elsewhere. For example, the level and conditions set for benefits depend on decisions made about levels of public spending, priorities between different areas and the overall balance between the social and the economic. Our evaluation of both their effects and their acceptability likewise depend on assessment of other policies. For example, even within benefits, interaction between income-related varieties regularly serves to undercut particular reforms and provision of services may lead us to view the benefit transfer as positive or negative. Thus, policies can only be fully understood when they are placed within the context of other policies and they necessarily occur in multidimensional frameworks. Placing this in the context of morphological analysis of recurring patterns of discourse and policy, the meaning of the conceptual framework, i.e. the determinate meaning of the concepts, will vary according to the nature of the policy framework.

Given the interconnections between policies and their potential to overwhelm the analyst, some type of analytic approach is clearly needed beyond the use of the conceptual formula. Within social policy over the last decade, the mixed economies of welfare approach has become the staple analytic method and two particular features lend it to morphological analysis : the awareness of complex interrelationships that defy clear boundaries and the importance of balance between multiple components.[20] The method enables analysts to focus on the details without being overwhelmed by them, for it provides a way of distinguishing the different components of the welfare economy just as much as formal analysis of political concepts does. As Johnson explains, this approach recognises the existence of four sectors in the production of welfare : State;

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[19] Hall (1993); Addison (1987); Pimlott (1994); Seldon (1994); Jones and Kandiah (1996); Gamble (1993); Kavanagh (1990).

[20] Johnson (1998); Burchardt and Hills (1997); Glennerster (1997); Glennerster and Hills (1998); Barr (1998).

commercial; voluntary; informal.[21] In order that we do not forget the recipient, these may also be viewed as the four spheres of welfare supply for any individual as he/she seeks to obtain a combination of welfare goods adequate for the particular life circumstances in which he/she finds him/herself. These are generally understood to encompass income, education, health, self-respect and affective relations. The key feature of such analysis is the balance between the four sectors, varying as it does over time and across as well as within services. This balance first concerns which sectors participate in the creation of the production factors of finance, regulation and provision. Second, it considers the balance between the different sectors in terms of relative participation in whichever areas they do participate and the interrelationships between sectors, e.g. the extent of government finance to voluntary groups or regulation of commercial enterprises. Third, using the mixed economies of welfare approach, it is possible to ask key questions of political theory such as the nature and priority between welfare goods for individuals; the terms on which they are to be obtained (i.e. form, quantity, quality, duration, means and conditions of acquisition), how they may be used; the nature, interrelations and priority between the different spheres of interaction in which they are to be obtained; and whether such aspects vary between individuals and who decides them. Thus, the mixed economies of welfare approach highlights the similarities between the ideational-linguistic and policy components of political concepts and mirrors the insistence of morphological analysis of ideology on the existence of a complex web of relationships.

1.1.3.- A structurally specific framework

While recognising conceptual interdependence, Freeden shows that certain concepts can be prioritised and hence the framework be understood as structurally specific.[22] Concepts can be viewed as core, adjacent or peripheral depending on their significance, determined by the frequency of their explicit use and their relative indispensability. In the case of core concepts, without them the entire framework would be radically different. For example, one may view non-constraint of individuals through the possession of property in a market as central to liberalism; whereas in democratic

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[21] Johnson (1998).

[22] Multidimensionality, balance and, sometimes, prioritisation are reflected in analyses of New Labour. See Levitas (1998); Deacon (2002); Clarke et al (2000); Driver and Martell (1998); White (2001).

socialism, the individual, the community and the State may be crucial while property and the market, being significantly managed by the State in the interests of the individual and the community, have been relegated to adjacent position. Likewise, some concepts may exist on the periphery on the grounds that they are marginal, i.e. their removal would not significantly alter the balance of the framework. However, the periphery is also the perimeter of the ideology, the point at which it intersects with the sociohistorical context. As such, it may also consist of policies and practices. While each may be marginal in itself, their combination has a strong effect on the meaning of the concepts that compose the framework, providing them with concrete levels of determinacy. Positioning within the framework as much as inclusion within it is again the product of logical and sociohistorical constraints.

Such prioritisation can also be applied to policy. Powell and Exworthy distinguish between policy streams, process streams and resource streams.[23] The first essentially concerns the discursive expressions of policy ends, aims and objectives. The second refers to the means, i.e. details of policy, by which they are to be achieved. The third denotes the resources allocated to the policy, financial or otherwise. As they argue, a policy end may exist but no means have been attached to it for political reasons, perhaps, or the end and the means exist but resources are low. It is possible to prioritise between policies on the grounds that they are only associated with a discursive stream, for example, rather than process and resource streams. Furthermore, degrees of importance may be explicitly attached to them. Alternatively, one could distinguish between policies within each criterion in terms of the amount of discursive emphasis, the amount and/or quality of the means and the level of resources.

1.2.- Manner of creation and development

Freeden's conception of ideology views it as created by groups of producers, who are sociohistorically embedded and engaged in interactive relationships with consumers and sociohistorical change. As a result, it is a potentially dynamic phenomenon that is the product of relatively autonomous agency and unintentional adaptation.[24] The range of potential producers is wide and, on this basis, it will be

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[23] Powell et al (2001)

[24] Unless otherwise stated, references are to Freeden (1996), Part I. The phrase 'relatively autonomous' draws attention to the scope of such autonomy, i.e. the areas and sub-areas in which it holds, reflecting the fact that a total lack of constraint is an impossibility within a social context.

argued here that one can distinguish between different types of ideology – philosophical, commentative and participant.

1.2.1.- Ideology as a group product

Ideology is produced by groups of loosely co-ordinated individuals or subgroups and is disseminated by and/or in the name of that group by its members.[25] As a result, such producers are deemed to 'hold' such an ideology, i.e. subscribe to and be oriented by the substantive meanings it expresses.[26] Considering Freeden's understanding of ideology as group product, this reflects the essential role played by groups in politics, which is an inherently collective activity. However, given that they are only loosely coordinated, it allows for the role of individuals. In this thesis, the group under study is the New Labour core executive and the points of production and dissemination are the command papers and ministerial speeches of particular departments during the first term. It demonstrates sufficient coordination to qualify under Freeden's description. Indeed, it is more than loosely coordinated given the concerted increase of coordination from the centre around the Prime Minister, his supporters and a group of important ministers. Thus, it has been widely argued that the power of Blair, his advisers and an inner core of powerful Ministers increased at the expense of the Cabinet and the civil service over the first term in both proactive and monitoring terms, not least owing to the increase in No.10's resources, the acceptance of the Conservative reforms to the civil service and the rise in HMT's already substantial position through the CSR as well as the Chancellor's political stature.[27] Nevertheless, it is still a group product and the group is more than a part of the core executive for two reasons. First, the description above refers to a group within the core executive that is itself susceptible to internal division as the Blair-Brown relationship testifies.[28] Second, there is no evidence that some civil servants are not included within it, despite the strong reliance on advisers. Third, this group's powers of coordination operate at a broad level, rely on delegation to others, which monitoring processes cannot wholly control, and will vary over time, given other

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[25] See also Freeden (2000).
[26] Who may count as producers is postponed to the end of the section. Action-orientation is explored in the next section.
[27] See Burch and Holliday (1999); Dunleavy (2001); Seldon (2001); Campbell (1995).
[28] Divisions may arise owing to personal rivalry, personality clashes, the rough and smooth of any relationship or policy differences. Ideological analysis studies the working out of such tensions through the patterns created in the documents under study.

issues and pressures outside the core executive. It will also vary according to policy area and, for example, whether it concerns a manifesto commitment or salient issue. Fourth, as we shall see later, given the ongoing nature of production within an overwhelming timetable, the actors' awareness of the patterns created is likely to be strongly curtailed. As a result, it is highly reductionist to argue that the patterns are created under the direct and detailed control of a small group who should simply be asked about them, quite apart from doubts about their powers of conceptual and policy analysis, or whose declared intentions should settle the matter. The conceptual patterns are created by core executive actors in policy documents and speeches that are co-ordinated but not determined by groups within it and reflect the interactions between actors. Given that the political outcomes of the core executive are standardly attributed to its members in political science and history, there is no reason why it should not hold for ideological analysis unless we mistake it for its philosophical counterpart.

1.2.2.- Ideology as a social product

Ideology is also a social product as the loosely co-ordinated producer group is embedded within a specific sociohistorical context. The production of ideology is an example of relatively autonomous agency and unintentional adaptation. The latter refers to the fact that we are not always aware of the ways in which we adapt to external influences or totally aware of the assumptions hidden within our conceptual framework. Relatively autonomous agency expresses the idea that producers operate within strategic and structured contexts.[29] Outcomes are the product not only of the agent's action but also how that action interacts with the actions of others. Agents operate within, without being totally bound by, the institutions in their society. That emphasises the nature of the contemporary political, economic and social systems and the pool of linguistic, ideational and cultural resources available to the actors, as well as the historical experiences in each of these spheres.[30] The institutional context structures action because the actions of agent A at time T is the product of three crucial features. First, it is conditioned by the result of *previous* interactions between agents and the subsequent development, if any, of their institutions up to that point. Second, it is conditioned by

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[29] Hay and Marsh (1999); Hay (1999a).

[30] Pierson (1994); Hall and Taylor (1996). These may also possess cross-national dimensions, especially in an era of increasing interconnectedness between countries owing to economic globalisation and the communications revolution.

the agents' expectations of other agents' responses and any institutional development, which are necessarily based in part on past experience. Third, it is the result of the agent's decision rather than being determined by such circumstances. The range of interaction across contexts and hence the contexts themselves are not uniform, being created by the interaction of multiple individuals and groups over time and in relation to vast institutions. Hence, selection must occur, reflecting the agent's interpretation of them according to particular criteria. However, this institutional context is not determinate because there is room for individual innovation and modification of roles and rules. Given that many are deliberately vague, new circumstances always arise and their multiplicity entails that conflicts will occur that require resolution.[31]

Ideological producers are engaged in two interactive relationships with their sociohistorical context, with consumers at the level of discourse and with the context itself, viewed as a state of affairs. The interactive relationship between producers and consumers reflects the linguistic dimension of ideology, which renders it an act of communication. Hence, it is produced for an audience and their reactions are crucial given that the conversation is ongoing.[32] Thus, during the production, the likely reactions of the consumers feature significantly and their actual reactions will be monitored and possibly inform future production. Consumers, themselves participants in political competition, will respond by direct challenge via another ideology; they may misinterpret it in the eyes of the producers as the result of its interaction with their own prior assumptions of its meaning and/or their reading of its parts; or they may simply fail to respond via disengagement. As a result, there is the potential for constant renegotiation.[33]

The second interactive relationship holds between producers and their sociohistorical context, understood as the institutions within their society. The degree to which the agent interacts with these directly depends on the nature of the recurring patterns that have been created. Those produced primarily in ideational-linguistic patterns will interact directly with ideational-linguistic institutions only whereas those produced in ideational-linguistic and policy terms will necessarily interact with prevailing political, economic and social institutions. In all cases, producers will also be influenced by their own lived experience of such institutions. How much will depend on

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[31] Hollis (1994).
[32] Gadamer (1975).
[33] See also Clarke et al (2000); Fairclough (2000).

the degree of self-consciousness they bring to their existence and of engagement with different ways of thinking and existing. As in the interaction with consumers, at any moment of production one is influenced by developments in institutions and one's experiences within them and by one's expectation of future developments and experiences. Again, results may not conform to one's expectations or desires and hence influence one's future production. This is particularly the case for those producing patterns that involve policy as well as discourse.

Freeden's interactive process of ideological production highlights the blend of communication and policy that is central to politics. Furthermore, this process reflects core executive analysts' arguments that the balance of resources between particular core executive actors and the actions in which they engage vis-à-vis those outside are the product of interaction between actors within the core executive and with those outside it at particular moments or over certain periods of time.[34] Nevertheless, core executive actors are not determined by such external circumstances. First, in general within the British political system, the power of the executive is such that it can achieve a considerable amount of what it desires within fairly broad parameters at the level of policy formulation and enactment. Hence, the existence and action of the group is still significant. Further, the multiplicity of the non-executive actors works against determinism on the grounds that, for it to hold, these groups must be united in opposition given the power of the central executive. Thus, it seems reasonable, following practice in political science and political history with regard to policy, to view the outcomes of core executive action as belonging to the executive while clearly being the result of strategic and structured agency.

Such interactions have clearly occurred during the first term as the New Labour core executive has communicated with the public under the coordination of the Strategic Communications Unit via statements and has produced a whole string of command papers and policy reforms, occasionally moving directly in response to perceived failings as in the substantial increase to health spending in 2000.[35] Furthermore, the various causal theses ascribed to the transformation of the Labour Party from 1985-1997, which involved changes in the recurring patterns of both discourse and associated

[34] Burch and Holliday (1996).
[35] See Dixon (2001).

policy, also illustrate this social aspect of ideology.[36] From these one can see interaction with the following. First, there were the Conservative policy reforms, notably the pursuit of free market economics, the introduction of quasi-markets to public services and the attempt to reduce public spending as a percentage of GDP, and their discursive strategy, particularly their promotion of Labour as irresponsible, militant and/or incompetent and themselves as efficient liberators, purveyors of affluence and protectors of common sense decency. Second, there were wider economic, political and social changes such as the shift towards a liberal globalised economy, the collapse of the USSR, the rise in individualism and reflexivity and changes in family structure and longevity. Third, there were the opponents within the Labour Party, variously Militant, the New Left and the unreconstructed subscribers to post-war revisionism, reflecting a broader interaction with the ideational and political history of the party itself. Fourth, there was the broader ideational context reflected by the media and the sprouting of think-tanks, particularly after 1989 on the centre-left. On the social policy side the strong influence of US writers such as Murray and Mead challenged later by Putnam, Etzioni and Ellwood in their various ways on the UK context has been well attested in the context of a community long dominated by Titmuss and Townsend. More broadly still, anglophone political theory was dominated by Hayek, Nozick and Rawls, albeit under challenge from Sandel, Habermas, Derrida and Young. Thus, the Labour Party interacted with changes in the immediate and broader political, economic, social and ideational context.

1.2.3.- Ideology as a dynamic phenomenon

The general notion of ideology as a social product and the exploration of Labour Party change gives rise to an important associated dimension of ideologies : they are potentially dynamic. The nature of an ideology at any point in time is the result of its producers' response to their reading of and interaction with their audience and sociohistorical change prior to that point *and* their expectations of likely future reactions and development. While an identifiable group produces it and particular occasions of production can be pinpointed for the purposes of assembling evidence, this production takes place within and interacts with its context. Change is then a matter of development

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[36] Shaw (1994), (1996); Hay (1999b); Heffernan (2001); Fielding (2003); Panitch and Leys (2001); Giddens (1998); Gould (1998); Mandelson and Liddle (1996); Deacon (2000), (2002); White (2000).

via contextualised action and response, particularly precipitated by encounters with difference and the unexpected or the unintended.[37] Conceptual change is the product of resolving encounters with the unexpected or unintended at the purely ideational-linguistic level or with regard to policy when conceptual patterns include it.[38] There is an in-built tendency towards resolution by adjustment given the action-orientating function of ideology to be explored below. An ideology would be unsuccessful if it failed to provide the producer with an adequate and acceptable normative map of the political world and to persuade others to adopt it and hence join in pursuit of the actions to which the ideology inclines agents. Likewise, frequent and substantial changes would leave both the producer and the audience clueless. However, this does not mean that producer actions are determined for, as we shall see, the variety of consumer responses and the nature of the ideological framework mean that producers possess significant leeway over what to change, if anything.

Ideological analysts track the ideology over time, for the constantly evolving nature of the context makes definitive judgments on moments of birth and demise difficult, for its seeds and effects can extend far into time.[39] However, the process of ideological development is usually gradual and the ideological framework thus displays relative stability despite its dynamism, with the result that analysis can take place. Dynamism is not necessarily synonymous with instability. Freeden reflects this developmental process in the notion of the perimeter as the channel for ideological change, a process that is itself a matter of relatively autonomous agency and unintended adaptation.[40] Producers respond to challenges in the form of unforeseen, unintended or undesired consequences of previous moments of production. However, this response is not simply determined by the nature of the challenges for several reasons. First, consumers are not uniform in their response, allowing room for producer selection over what to respond to. Second and following from this, challenges do not necessarily pertain to the same area or to both discourse and policy dimensions. Third, the producers must themselves interpret the nature of the challenges before responding to them. Fourth, the producers are afforded a degree of latitude over what aspects of the framework to alter in response to any given challenge as a result of the

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[37] Gadamer (1975)
[38] Ball and Farr (1989).
[39] Freeden (2000), p.311-2.
[40] Freeden (1996), Part I.

multidimensionality of the framework.[41] Recalling the morphological section, it must be added that structural specificity, i.e. prioritisation, secures similar room for manoeuvre. It is this insight that leads Freeden to posit the locus of ideological change as the perimeter, which is a combination of two features. First, it signifies the point of interaction with the sociohistorical context and may include concrete objects. Second, it signifies the periphery, i.e. those elements of marginal importance, simply conceiving of this in a different sense in order to show the interaction with the context. Thus, it represents the path of least resistance or easiest adaptation in response to challenges. While challenges may occur at any level, the response is channelled via the perimeter for it is here that it engages with the context and where the least significant and hence most easily changed components are located. Clearly, they can be ignored, and the ideology be closed. If not, relatively small and isolated changes will result in adjustments at the edges. If they are larger or more numerous, greater adjustments at the edges may be necessary and possibly elicit changes further in.

Sociohistorical embeddedness and dynamism lead to two conclusions. First, ideologies are not created in a fixed and determinate form and then applied, nor are they mediated by features of the sociohistorical context because they are themselves sociohistorical phenomena. The claim to fixity reflects the assumption that an ideology is created at considerable distance from formal political processes by philosophers and then adopted by public intellectuals and ultimately politicians so that it informs public policy by screening off certain ends and certain means as morally unacceptable. However, this is unduly limiting because relatively coherent conceptual patterns are created in recurring patterns of discourse and, sometimes, associated practices, by a whole range of actors at varying distances from formal political processes, at varying levels of sophistication, subject to different combinations of logical and sociohistorical constraints and susceptible to varying degrees of stability. As a result, it will be argued below that it is profitable to distinguish between types of ideology given the range of potential producers and the associated features of their conceptual patterns, not least because in this way we can begin to explore the relationships between them. We can thus ensure that, if we wish to evaluate socio-political arrangements and proposals on normative grounds, we are focusing on the right conceptual patterns.

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[41] Hollis (1994), p.79-80.

Second, embeddedness and dynamism highlight key considerations for judgments as to when there has been a qualitative change in the nature of the ideological framework and when we can decide that an ideology does not exist. In both cases, one must recall that ideologies are constituted by recurring patterns of discourse and, sometimes, associated practice. Qualitative change in the framework depends on the degree, distribution and nature of the changes in terms of whether we can ascertain that new recurring patterns have been created. Furthermore, when considering frameworks that do define concepts in relation to associated practice and deciding on the significance of changes in such practice, the framework may orient us towards specific actions, requiring them to be fixed, or towards certain types of action, permitting the use of policy instruments within a certain range. Therefore, the action-orienting aspect of ideology allows for deviations as it is not action-determining. All that needs to be demonstrated are recurring patterns rather than detailed one-to-one correspondence. One cannot, therefore, argue for framework change or against the existence of an ideology by pinpointing isolated deviations from recurring patterns of discourse and, where appropriate, associated policy or highlighting shifts within policy tool-kits, i.e. movement between similar policy instruments to which Hall draws our attention.[42] As a result, it becomes possible to conceive of pragmatic ideologues and ideological politicians, understood as agents who are oriented by an ideology but do not fail to take circumstances into account when deciding how to act. They demonstrate recurring patterns despite deviations.

1.2.4.- Nature of producers and types of ideology: philosophical, commentative and participant

The final dimension to consider with regard to the creation and development of Freeden's understanding of ideology is who is to count as a producer. Following Gramsci, he rightly argues that philosophers through to everyday people can produce relatively coherent frameworks of political concepts. The key difference, as his work

[42] Hall (1993). Hall suggests that movement between similar policy instruments is neutral provided that the objectives remain constant. While this is broadly accepted, it must be noted that this rests on the possibility of separating the means and the nature of the objectives. This is less feasible in social policy fields in which policy primarily creates differing relationships between actors and constitutes particular understandings of, for example, health, education and poverty. Here the relationship is not primarily between technical variables as is the case with macroeconomic policy. Thus, the conceptual patterns will be more sensitive to changes in social policy.

demonstrates in relation to philosophers and public intellectuals, is the degree of awareness, sophistication and relative detachment from their sociohistorical context, particularly in terms of concerning themselves with policy proposals at a general or vague level. As the consideration of the group and moments of production under study here suggested, politicians can also be included even when they are in fact engaging in the real-time formal political processes of government. Combining the idea of these three different producer types, who clearly operate within very different circumstances, with the previous section on the potential for conceptual patterns to be created by recurring patterns of discourse per se or in association with policy, different types of ideology can be distinguished on the following grounds : the nature of producers; their socio-political perspective; their production dimension; media of production; degree of sociohistorical detachment; balance between logical and sociohistorical constraints; degree of dynamism; and the degree to which the patterns created correspond to those that they desire to create.

Table A: Types of ideology

	IDEOLOGY TYPE		
	Philosophical ideology	***Commentative ideology***	***Participant ideology***
Producers	Political philosophers	Public intellectuals including political philosophers	Politicians, officials
Socio-political perspective	Idealistic	Practical idealist	Practical idealist or practical realist
Production dimension	Ideational-linguistic	Ideational- linguistic; some policy	Ideational-linguistic and policy
Production media	Academic texts, journals, lectures	Non-academic texts, journals, lectures, pamphlets, newspapers	Manifestos,pamphlets; speeches; official/policy documents; newspapers
Sociohistorical detachment	High	Medium-high	Low
Logical constraints – argumentation, precision, clarity	High	Medium	Low
Sociohistorical constraints – non-logical closure and level of indeterminacy	Low	Medium	High
Correspondence between expressed /desired patterns	High	High	Variable – subject to empirical evidence
Communicability	Low	Low-medium	High
Dynamism	Low	Medium	High

1.2.4.1.- Philosophical ideology

Political philosophers focus on the production of ideal, ideational-linguistic patterns, which are communicated via the media of academic texts, journals and lectures that are aimed primarily at other philosophers. They may be viewed as groups in the sense of 'schools' of thought insofar as they deal with the same issues in the same way and participate in intra-systemic debate. As producers, they are sociohistorically located but relatively detached. Sociohistorical location reflects the idea that they are participants in conversations with other philosophers of their day and live within a particular sociohistorical context. However, they are relatively detached to a large degree on several grounds. First, they partake in a conscious effort to abstract themselves from immediate circumstances and personal commitments. Second, they are at least aware of alternative frameworks and at best engaged with them. Third, they participate in conversations with other philosophers and theorists across space and time. Fourth, their focus is almost entirely on the ideational-linguistic dimensions of concepts rather than their concrete manifestations and, if the latter, at a very general level.

In line with their commitment to relative detachment and the nature of philosophical practice, a high premium is placed on logic and arguments are presented in dense argumentation that strives to reduce indeterminacy as far as possible through analytic precision and clarity. Hence, logical constraints are significantly more important than sociohistorical ones and this explains their focus on ideational-linguistic components. Given the commitment to ideal patterns, sociohistorical detachment and logic, one can assume close correspondence between the patterns expressed and those to which the producers are committed. Furthermore, the logical emphasis renders communicability to those who are not philosophers low. Given the degree of detachment and the fact that conversations are largely with other philosophers by fixed objects such as texts, the dynamism of the conceptual field is also low. Once created in textual form, the conceptual field is subject to refinement, revision and even alteration in response to challenges from others but there is a significant time lag to such a process in terms of initial production, challenges and responses.

1.2.4.2.- Commentative ideology

The producers of commentative ideology are public intellectuals, including political philosophers when they seek to apply their ideal patterns to a particular sociohistorical context. Thus, their perspective can be viewed as practical idealism as it reflects ideal commitments translated into practical arguments and proposals. It is termed commentative insofar as its producers stand outside formal political processes and offer commentaries, combining analysis and prescription, on what ought to happen. Given their desire to impact on the sociohistorical context, public intellectuals produce ideational-linguistic patterns that are associated with policies, either at a general or specific level through a variety of forms such as public lectures, pamphlets and the media, especially newspapers and political magazines. As can be seen from these examples, the main audience consists of policy-makers and other intellectuals, although a broader audience is conceivable if they can ensure access to the media. They may be viewed as groups for they tend to be associated not only with particular conceptual fields but often also in relation to certain organisations such as think-tanks, political parties or newspapers.

The key distinction from philosophers then is their greater engagement with the sociohistorical context insofar as there is an explicit intention to have purchase on the course of sociohistorical developments over the short- to medium-term rather than over the long-term as philosophers. Thus, they are participating in conversations with other theorists and more directly engaging with the events of their day. Hence, they are less detached from their immediate circumstances and personal commitments but still retain some detachment as they are not creating conceptual meanings as direct participants in the political processes. Similarly, they demonstrate not only an awareness of alternatives but also direct engagement with them, which limits the degree of detachment. Their relationship to other theorists across space and time affords them some detachment but is again limited by their more direct interaction with their sociohistorical context. They also show a greater willingness to link ideational-linguistic and concrete , i.e. policy, dimensions of concepts.

In line with their status as public intellectuals, a high premium is also placed on logic but their heightened engagement with their context reduces this compared to philosophers and is reflected in a lesser commitment to dense argumentation, precision and analytic clarity, with the potential for greater indeterminacy. In part, this different

balance between logical and sociohistorical constraints follows from the nature of their audience and media of production. It also follows from the 'practical' nature of their idealism. Their desire to affect the course of events within a sociohistorical context renders them more constrained by the non-logical features of that context, particularly in terms of policy and consumer reactions. Nevertheless, their commitment to practical 'idealism' means that one can assume a close correspondence between the conceptual patterns to which they are committed and those which they express, although, unlike philosophers, there may be some divergence between these understood as the patterns to which they are committed in ideal circumstances and those to which they are committed given the sociohistorical context. Communicability has increased compared with philosophers given the shift in balance between logical and sociohistorical constraints, the commitment to reach a wider audience and the particular media of production, which allow for less extensive elaboration. Finally, given their sociohistorical orientation, the conceptual fields produced by public intellectuals are more dynamic than the philosophical because they are not only subject to revision, refinement and alteration in response to other intellectuals but also to politicians, the media, the wider public and to policy results, both of which occur over a much shorter time frame.

1.2.4.3.- Participant ideology[43]

Participant ideology is produced by political actors as they participate directly in political processes under real-time conditions. As a result, they are creating conceptual patterns while participating in an ongoing political competition. Thus, there are strong

[43] The distinction between participant ideology and the ideologies produced by philosophers and public intellectuals is clearly reminiscent of Seliger's line on differences between fundamental and operative levels of ideology on the basis of ideological argumentation, particularly as the latter combines desired and undesired elements. See Seliger (1976). However, he highlights the differing forms of argumentation, stressing the emphasis on technical as opposed to conceptual styles of argument. He also highlights the idea of tension between the fundamental and operative dimensions that arises from disagreements over the specific policies and the inclusion of compromise positions. Seliger overstates the move away from conceptual argumentation as politicians employ conceptual terms and arguments frequently, even if they do so in a less sophisticated way than philosophers. Furthermore, the tension between the fundamental and operative levels of an ideology is better expressed as a tension between different views of what the operative ideology should be. The dispute turns on whether the particular policies adequately reflect the fundamental values or betray them per se or in the circumstances. It then concerns *which* policies can or should be connected. The study of participant ideology provides us with an indication of what the operative ideology is, to use Seliger's term. However, as Bevir argues (2000), he has missed the mutually constitutive aspect of recurring patterns of discourse and associated policy and thereby missed the real nature of the dispute. Arguably, this has occurred because he has failed to note the essential contestability of concepts, partly through speaking of them as principles, and the ramifications of this for the interaction between these fundamental principles and particular policies.

incentives towards adopting a practical realist perspective rather than the practical idealist one adopted by public intellectuals. Thus, patterns expressed reflect what it is realistic to create given sociohistorical constraints that include electoral competition. This may include incorporating elements to which one is not committed in order to maintain support. Nevertheless, this reaction is not determined and actors may choose to continue expressing recurring patterns to which they are indeed committed. Given their participation in formal political processes, which deal with authoritative decisions on public policy, they have a practical focus, combining ideational-linguistic and policy elements. Their media of production reflect those of political processes generally, e.g. speeches, press statements, official or policy documents, manifestos and pamphlets, and such communication is aimed at all relevant political actors within a society. The producers of participant ideology can be viewed as groups insofar as they are members of political organisations or political institutions or distinct groups therein.

Given that they are participating in formal political processes under real-time conditions, producers of participant ideology are clearly located within a particular sociohistorical context to a significant degree *and* are participating in an ongoing political competition. There is then little attempt to detach themselves from their immediate circumstances and personal commitments although it may be suggested that they possess greater overview and detachment than individual electors given their superior knowledge base. The competitive environment ensures that engagement with alternative frameworks is not reflective but combative. While conversations do occur in the sense of response to alternatives across space and time, these come a distant second to those within the sociohistorical context. Sociohistorical constraints, then, are more prevalent than logical ones. This is reflected in a tendency to less rigorously and extensively argued, less clear and less precise, production at the ideational-linguistic level. High levels of indeterminacy are, then, inevitable and in fact viewed as constructive for they enable a broad coalition to be developed and act as a buttress against the constant challenges. However, it also follows, in part, from the media of production, which do not allow for lengthy elaboration, and the breadth of the audience, as the need to communicate simultaneously with such a variegated audience reinforces the tendency to indeterminacy and its constructive value. Finally, given the ongoing competition and the need to respond to problems caused by loss of support and/or policy failure, the degree of correspondence between their desired conceptual patterns and those expressed is variable and requires additional empirical investigation. As

regards communicability, it is perversely high - for others think they can immediately relate to what is being produced – and low, given the indeterminacy. Finally, given the direct and real-time participation in a competitive sociohistorical context, the dynamism of the conceptual field is higher than its philosophical and commentative counterparts, for challenges are as constant as the moments of production as a result of the ongoing nature of the political process itself.

1.2.4.4.- Consequences for dynamism

The above distinction leads us to consider the idea of dynamism more closely. Freeden's comments have applied to combined changes, i.e. at the level of one's commitments and thus necessarily one's expressed patterns of discourse and policy. Nor is this unreasonable considering the fact that his analysis has concerned philosophers and public intellectuals, who generally lack the incentive to create a gap between what is expressed and what is desired. However, for participants in competitive electoral processes, there is a strong incentive to make adjustments to discourse and associated policy that do not reflect changes in commitments but the need to maintain support or get policies passed. Thus, the conceptual framework constituted by recurring patterns of discourse and policy potentially includes intentional elements that are desired and some that are undesired but deemed necessary. Nevertheless, the politicians' framework of desired and undesired elements can still be viewed as being held by them on the grounds that they incorporate the undesired elements within their patterns of discourse and associated policy. It is not necessarily held in the sense of reflecting the framework which they desire to realise and which operates as a constraint on their action. This desired framework, then, orients rather than determines their action even as regards the expression of recurring patterns of discourse and policy. It interacts with considerations of political circumstances to give rise to particular patterns of discourse and associated policy. Thus, what is potentially developing through interaction with consumers and the sociohistorical context could be either the conceptual framework to which one is committed and the one expressed in repeated patterns of discourse and associated policy *or* only the conceptual framework that is constituted by one's discourse and associated policies.

1.3.- Action-orientation

Let us now turn to consider the general function ascribed to ideology, i.e. action-orientation, paying particular attention to the way in which participant ideology can be viewed in this way. In relation to ideology, action-orientation refers to the inclining of agents towards certain actions and away from others with regard to social, economic and political arrangements within a society. Thus, it facilitates but also constrains.[44] It does so because it gives political concepts determinate meaning by means of their position within the framework and thus serves to legitimise certain actions over others because such meanings and their consequences for socio-political arrangements are given positive evaluative force. The nature of such consequences may be left relatively open in the case of a framework constituted only by ideational-linguistic components and specification will require interpretation of the sociohistorical context. Alternatively, they may actually be stipulated to some degree by a framework that attaches certain policies in the perimeter. In such cases, the policies may be general, as is the case of political theorists proposing the free market or nationalisation, or specific, as in the case of politicians connecting conceptual terms to policies proposed and/or enacted in actual political processes.

The action to which one is inclined is clearly political given that its ultimate objects are the implementation or maintenance of certain socio-political arrangements expressed to differing degrees of specificity. However, such action is also more broadly political in nature, being a response to whether it takes the form of active defence of, or challenge to, the status quo or continued compliance with it. The type of political action needed to realise particular arrangements will be influenced by the ideology itself, as it possesses a conception of politics and a conception of change. However, it will necessarily have certain dimensions. First, one will be inclined to action with others as politics is a social activity. Second, in the light of this and a recognition that human existence is, in part, communicative and evaluative, one will be inclined towards efforts to alter the ideology of others so that they join with us, in part through active persuasion, repeated and defiant expression of our ideology as a recurrent challenge to all and, possibly, public criticism of alternatives. Third, one will be inclined towards action leading to the achievement and maintenance of political power as this is essential if the socio-political goals are to become or remain institutionalised, although this may

[44] Mullins (1972)

occur at varying distances from formal political processes. It is best, therefore, to think of ideologies not as action-orientating but as politically orientating.

Let us now consider action-orientation in relation to participant ideology. So far, it has been shown that participant ideology is constituted by recurring patterns of discourse and associated policy. It is potentially dynamic as it is created by producers interacting with consumers and their sociohistorical context. Thus, it meets several of the key definitional components of an ideology. However, some might query how it is action-orientating given that it is created through the interaction between a conceptual framework which producers desire to express and institutionalise and consideration of their political circumstances. Participant ideology orients action by increasing the determinacy of meaning that political concepts possess and hence legitimising certain understandings and actions over others, constraining and facilitating action. To conceive of ideology this way is to apply the insights of historical institutionalists to conceptual patterns.[45] By establishing sources of external support and expectations for future development among consumers and producers, the created patterns generate their own logic. Future production is then, to a degree, path-dependent.[46]

A key question then is how can we ever hope to detect the desired framework that politicians wish to realise given that there are strong incentives for the framework they express to incorporate elements they do not desire? Detailed empirical analysis of political circumstances holds the key. Without it, we are left to hypothesise a link between particular moments of time, viewing one as an expression of intentions and one as a period in which intentions could be realised, such as occurs in the idea of comparing policy records to manifesto commitments. Only if it can be shown that the government acts in relatively unconstrained political circumstances or is actively resisting tightly constraining ones, is it reasonable to assume that the expressed patterns correlate to the intended patterns as there are weak incentives to include undesired elements.

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[45] Pierson (1994).

[46] This is particularly the case given the path-dependence and thus incremental development of policy. Thus, the policy dimension of the recurring patterns is path-dependent in and of itself. To apply these insights to the ideational-linguistic dimension is simply to see the similarities with the idea of fields of meaning or language games that is common in linguistic studies and central to Freeden's conception of ideology.

1.4.- Morphological interpretation

1.4.1.- Interpretative process

Morphological analysis views interpretation as hermeneutic, necessitating analysis of the intentional and unintentional meanings created by producers. These are considered for reasons that apply to any text or field of meaning. First, such a field consists of multiple interconnected parts. Consequently, meaning is not immediately clear, necessitating interpretation, and the producers may not be aware of all the connections created. Second, given the polysemy of words and essential contestability of concepts, the producers can never fully control the meaning created. There is always a 'surplus of meaning' as Ricouer terms it. Third, as a result, the meaning created by a text can be seen most clearly by comparison with alternatives. It is only in the encounter with others that we can see the nature of the object under study clearly.[47] Indeed, this encounter with others may even help producers to see implicit assumptions within the patterns they have created, i.e. those elements that one takes for granted. Fourth ideology is by definition created by a relatively co-ordinated group. The potential for control by any one author is reduced and thus it is not reasonable to look for the authentic meaning as philosophers do when analysing the text of a particular individual.[48]

This combination of intentional and unintentional meaning varies between different types of ideology. For philosophical ideology, the intentional outweighs the unintentional given the self-conscious and controlled nature of a production process emphasising logic and precision. For commentative ideology, the intentional is also strong as it is a similar process but greater unintentionality is possible given the association with policy and the intersection between such proposals and existing policies. Participant ideology, however, owing to its multi-focused and variegated production process, reverses the balance. Producers are subject to bounded rationality with regard to the actual patterns created and the potential for unintended meanings increases.[49] Participants are closely involved in certain areas. If they are able to step outside for a brief period, they can only reflect on the area in which they are involved and those closely connected to it. Even those in strategic positions are unable to turn

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[47] Gadamer (1975); Ricouer (1986).
[48] Freeden (2000).
[49] This derives from Bourdieu (1990).

their attention - while participants - to all areas at once, and, when distanced, demonstrate lack of detail. Thus, responses from agents are limited even when reflecting because they are either too specific or too general. Participants are also focused on 'doing', looking forward rather than backwards. Hence, their knowledge of what they have created over time is limited. Participants are also subject to further knowledge limitations. While they definitely possess 'know-how', i.e. for politicians skill in mobilising support for policies and guiding their passage in a 24-hour media age, it is questionable whether they possess the theoretical knowledge of the practice and its consequences, e.g. in the case of participant ideology extensive policy and conceptual skills. Thus, evidence of agents' intentions is insufficient and the patterns will tend to show high levels of unintended elements.

Finally, the meaning of the patterns is ultimately the result of the interaction between the text and the interpreter. Approaching the text with an assumed meaning for the whole based on initial reading, the interpreter seeks to examine the parts in the light of this. As a result, the overall meaning may be altered. Such interpretation continues in the light of alternative interpretations of the text and, in the case of ideology, different fields of conceptual meaning, including policy where appropriate. It also builds on an understanding of the contemporary and recent historical context. However, the analyst too suffers from interpretative limits, i.e. those arising from the inescapability of frameworks and bounded rationality of agents, although these are far less than those of producers owing to relative distance, engagement with multiple interpretations and the commitment to an academic level of analysis. They can be reduced by recognising that the text itself affords a limit of plausible interpretation. Better or worse interpretations are possible but ultimately the process has no conclusive end. The analyst can never become fully detached because analysis proceeds from an assumed meaning of the object as a whole, deriving from the analyst, which is then revised as the parts are examined and so on in an endless circle. Furthermore, during the interpretative process, both object meaning and analyst perspective are changed. It is a true conversation, aimed at understanding, not a communication that aims to convey a message to the other/object.[50]

[50] Gadamer (1975); Freeden (1996).

1.4.2.- Establishment of an ideological text

Given that ideologies are constituted by recurring patterns, it is clear that a wide range of examples must be assembled and studied. This is particularly relevant given the inadequate evidence base within the existing literature on New Labour ideology. A great deal of such work has emerged at article length, necessarily limiting empirical evidence, or has passed through policy areas at lightning speed.[51] Furthermore, analysts have tended to focus more on comparing New Labour to alternative frameworks or contextualising their emergence. In historical treatments, interpretations tend to reflect the causal thesis being proposed.[52] In contradistinction, this thesis will demonstrate the intricacy of New Labour's participant ideology substantiated across a larger range of documents than has been undertaken so far.

As a group product, it is also necessary to specify the producers. This proceeds largely on the basis of self-definition, being relatively simple in the case of politicians, but it may also occur through external observation of significant interaction or similarities between certain actors, as in the case of schools of political thinkers. Given that ideology is dynamic, it is necessary to specify a time limit in order to set a limit on research. The remaining aspects depend on the type of patterns being studied. In the case of textual patterns, it is simply a case of selecting an adequate range of texts. Where both texts and policies are studied, the textual dimension is still the focus but these must blend conceptual terms and arguments with policy references. The decision as to which policy areas and, within them, policies to study can be decided on the basis of 'flagship' status, i.e. those given most attention by the group and hence most associated with them. Finally, the essential tool of ideological analysis, the conceptual formulae, must be established or analysis cannot begin. This is a complex enterprise that has rarely been undertaken despite the support provided by analytic political theorists, and is of particular importance for those attempting to analyse policies. The exercise itself helps prevent us portraying our conceptions as full concepts and renders us attentive to cases when others do the same, a particular problem in critical social policy.

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[51] For the latter, see Driver and Martell (2002).
[52] Bevir (2000); Beech (2006); Finlayson (2003); Hay (1999b).

1.4.3.- Establishment of New Labour's ideological text

This research studies the conceptual patterns created in discourse and associated policies by the New Labour core executive during the first term in the policy areas of health, education and social security. Both ministerial statements and speeches and command papers constitute appropriate textual objects, blending conceptual terms and arguments with certain policies and being sufficiently frequent to produce a broad range of examples involving different producers, different areas, different times and different audiences.[53]

The precise policy areas and range of policies to be studied therein have been chosen on the basis of 'flagship policy status', deriving from the recurrent emphasis that New Labour and secondary analysts place on them. Nevertheless, in order to appreciate the remit of such flagship policies, it is also necessary to study their intersection with existing and unchanged areas, which are highlighted in the secondary literature. Their status though is derivative. In order to demonstrate this approach and set out the policy aspect of the primary material, let us examine New Labour's manifestos at the start and end of the first term and their command papers, supported by secondary analysts' accounts of the distinctive features of the policy record.[54]

No thesis could hope to analyse the full range of Government policy during a term. Social policy has been chosen on the basis that it is a key area for New Labour. Since the Policy Review, the Labour Party gradually accommodated itself to the Thatcherite settlement, particularly in economic and criminal justice policy.[55] While the degree of divergence in health, education and social security policy is questionable, they constitute *the* area, along with constitutional reform, that New Labour highlighted at the start and the end of their first term. In 1997, three of the five famous pledges and five of the ten contract points related to them . Blair's foreword gave education pride of place and a similar length to NHS and social security. In 2001, three of the five pledges, three of the five first term achievements and seven of the ten goals for the second term concerned them. Blair's foreword was dominated by the negatives associated with these

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[53] Heron's discussion of community (2001), for example, consists only of two speeches by Blair to voluntary and community group audiences.

[54] For example – Powell (2002); Appleby and Coote (2002); Political Quarterly (2001); Glendinning et al (2002); Glennerster (2001), (2003); Glyn and Wood (2001); Coates and Lawler (2001); Ludlam and Smith (2001); Levitas (2001); Millar (2000b). In the text that follows, only New Labour sources will be cited. However, the conclusions are consistent with the positions of the listed secondary analysts.

[55] Shaw (1996); Hay (1999b); Heffernan (2001).

areas per se and their interaction with economic policy. The central investment and reform agenda focuses on education, health and social security, reflected by a chapter for each as well as references in those on the economy and communities per se.[56]

These departments, however, cannot be analysed in isolation from the Treasury (HMT). In part this reflects its traditional power over economic policy and public spending. However, for New Labour policies in these areas constituted the new economic policy in which supply-side reforms are the only way for government to contribute to economic growth beyond monetary and fiscal stability. In 1997, education was portrayed as an economic necessity and the central plank of reforms in the DSS was welfare to work, which would ensure high employment levels, create savings for other services and help the economy. By 2001, the commitment to increased investment in health and education derived from the stable economic foundation and had been linked to the idea of rewards for those in work. Second, the more traditional interdependence of the economic and the social was explicitly accepted, i.e. the economy provides resources for social policy and the level of resources used by the latter affects the economy. As the sections on economic stability in 1997 make clear, the aim was to reduce the costs of unemployment and guarantee stable economic growth via monetary and fiscal stability and active labour market policies in order to commit more resources to health and education. By 2001, the stable foundation was assumed and led to the 'investment' half of the agenda for health and education.[57] In addition, HMT played a strong role in developing the tax and benefit reforms, as well as making work pay specifically, regulation of the spending process increased and its Chief Secretary tended to become head of one of the main departments studied.[58] As a result, the Comprehensive Spending Reviews (CSR), budgets, tax and benefit modernisation papers and speeches and statements by the Chancellor will be studied, giving rise to the exploration of broad macroeconomic and microeconomic policy, fiscal policy and the CSR process. Furthermore, key documents reflecting the intersection with the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) in relation to community regeneration and with the Home Office (HO) in relation to family policy and relations with the voluntary and community sector will be included. Of particular importance for community regeneration are the New Deal for Communities (NDC), the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), Local Strategic

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[56] Dale (2000), p.349; LP (2001), p.i, 2-3,6-7.
[57] Dale (2000), p.348-60; LP (2001), p.10-14
[58] This occurred with both Milburn (DoH) and Darling (DSS).

Partnerships (LSPs) and local finance streams such as the Community Chests (CCs) and the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF). Finally, turning to the HO, parental support services such as the National Parent Helpline (NPH) and the National Family and Parent Institute (NFPI) will be studied and policies towards voluntary and community groups, particularly the compact given its interaction with their involvement in other services.[59]

1.4.3.1.- Income transfers[60]

Three strands emerge from the documents in relation to New Labour. First, the preferred mode of income transfer between citizens was via participation in the labour market. Paid work was the best solution to lack of income and social security policies were to contribute to economic success by getting people back into paid work. Furthermore, the existence and continuation of private services was recognised and welcomed, despite being relatively small except for pensions. Second, the State represented a second mode acting to 'make work pay' by the National Minimum Wage (NMW), the 10p tax band and a range of tax credits[61]; to address the needs of children and disability via categorical direct payments[62]; and to assist those who have retired from employment and all workers as they considered this stage of their life via the Minimum Income Guarantee (MIG) of the Basic State Pension (BSP) plus Income Support (IS), the introduction of the State Second Pension (SSP) and Pension Credit (PC) and encouragement of market provision for those excluded from worthwhile occupational schemes by development of the Stakeholder Pension (SKP). This latter approach also pervaded the beginnings of asset-based welfare with the proposals for the Savings Gateway (SG) and Child Trust Fund (CTF) building on the development of the Individual Savings Account (ISA).[63] Finally, although less stressed, the State continued contributory benefits in recognition of interruptions to paid work resulting from specific contingencies, earned by National Insurance contributions (NICs) or credits and means-

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[59] SEU (1998), (2001); HO (1998a), (1998b); LP (2001), p.29

[60] The distinction between income transfers and service provision (benefits in kind) is standard in social policy and New Labour frequently distinguish between benefits and education, health *and* active labour market services.

[61] WFTC and DPTC were introduced and the former was to be split with the adult component, now open to all, becoming the Working Tax Credit and the child element being merged with all other child-related payments into the Integrated Child Credit. See HMT6 (2000a),LP (2001), p.27

[62] e.g. Child Benefit (CB), Attendance Allowance (AA) and Disability Living Allowance (DLA).

[63] The SSP, PC, CTF and SG came into operation after 2001 but are included given that the SSP was about to come into effect, the PC was well beyond the proposal stage and the latter two would be carried over.

tested IS for those whose income fell below a certain level, albeit raising these less than the other range of benefits on the whole.[64] Third, the family constituted a third mode of income transfer as was evident from the means-tested nature of tax credits and national assistance benefits for all categories, especially in the context of national insurance benefits remaining relatively static. Overall, policy continued the approach of the Conservative administrations but there was a substantial increase in the generosity of State payments related to low paid work, children, disability and pensioners with low incomes. With the exception of the latter, these combined with the extra measures represented by the New Deals, the childcare strategy and the various area-based initiatives outlined below and counterbalanced the decision not to reindex national insurance and assistance benefits and to continue the trend towards greater conditionality and anti-fraud measures for those of working age. Hence, New Labour's focus was on the market, tax credits, direct payments for categorical need and means-tested support for existing pensioners. However, given the interaction between benefits, the other areas must be studied. Furthermore, there are further questions raised by cash services, such as the relative balance between funding sources (i.e. insurance, taxation and charges) and the relationship between spending processes in the Treasury (HMT) and monetary and fiscal policy. Furthermore, there is the issue of the regulation of State and non-State schemes and non-State income provision via the NMW, pensions regulations, the anti-fraud initiative in social security and income treatment of familial members for tax and benefit purposes.[65]

1.4.3.2.- Provision of services

As part of a general commitment to lifelong learning, health improvement and employment opportunity, the Conservative move to quasi-markets remained with modification under New Labour in terms of provision of education, health and labour market services. As such, it raises issues such as the levels, sources and distribution mechanisms of central government funding, the manner and degree of regulation, the nature of the relationships between non-central government players; the type/degree of

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[64] e.g. Incapacity Benefit (IB) is contributory as is JSA for the first six months. Severe Disablement Allowance (SDA) was available until 2001. Dale (2000), p.366-9; LP (2001), p.25-8; DSS (1998a), (1998d), (1998e), (1999b), (2000); HMT (2001). On private provision, see Burchardt (1997), Burchardt and Hills (1997), Burchardt et al. (1999).

[65] Glennerster (2003); DSS (1998b).

consumer involvement beyond receipt of services; whether services are targeted or supplemented according to need; relationships with the private sector, i.e. profit and non-profit/voluntary bodies. In addition, State relationships with private, i.e. commercial and voluntary, forms of provision as part of the quasi-market must be examined.

Turning to sub-central government relationships, in health 'integrated care' replaced the Conservative internal market. As such, the purchaser-provider split was retained but contractual relationships stretched over longer-periods and duties to co-operate and opportunities for involvement in the functions of other players were introduced. This split was supplemented by a planning element given the refashioning of the HA role and the movement of all but integrated purchasing responsibility to Primary Care Groups (PCGs). Furthermore, accessibility was to be increased at primary care level by the introduction of NHS Direct (NHSD) and Walk-in-Centres (WiCs). In education, the different statuses and hence financial/managerial relationships between schools and LEAs/central government remained and the role of LEAs was altered to focus more on performance management as well as leading the production of the Education and Early Years Development Plans (EDP and EYDP). In further education and work-related training, the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) replaced the Further Education Funding Council and took over the training functions and funds of TECs , developing a lead role via local LSCs in the coordination of the various providers.

The central government roles of regulation and finance were also modified. In health, regulation, i.e. planning and accountability mechanisms, increased with the introduction of Health Improvement Plans (HImPs), the Commission for Health Improvement (CHI), the National Institute for Clinical Excellence (NICE) and clinical governance at all levels in addition to publication of performance indicators. The nature of target indicators underpinning regulation was also altered, incorporating qualitative features. In education, regulation by central government continued by involvement in the content, teaching and standard of education via a commitment to the National Curriculum, testing, publication of results, the literacy/numeracy strategies, OFTSED inspection and forms of direct intervention in the event of persistent failure. Similarly, LEAs were required to develop Education Development Plans (EDPs) in consultation with schools in order to set targets and Early Year Development Plans (EYDPs) for pre-school provision. In further education and training, centrally determined targets were also rendered concrete via local planning processes and overall provision was

coordinated by the LSC coordination and regulated via inspection by OFTSED (16-19 in school or college) or an independent inspectorate (post-19 college and all non-school/college training) as well as local LSC oversight. As regards finance, central government retained the commitment to funding directly from taxation with significant increases from 1999 and indirectly via Private Finance Initiatives (PFI). Allocation arrangement involved the CSR, Public Service Agreements (PSAs) with departments and a mix of direct and indirect funding to providers and purchasers. The distribution of finance was targeted in the sense that extra services have been provided for those in extra need in the form of the Health and Education Action Zones (HAZs and EAZs), Excellence in Cities (EiC) and Sure Start (SuSt).[66]

Turning to extra-State dimensions, commercial providers were left intact and their interaction with State provision encouraged in terms of spare capacity in health, both before and after the Concordat, and alternative, high quality provision in education with State regulation. However, there was a further role for private companies in PFIs, the targeted initiatives and the lifelong learning agenda in general. The voluntary sector was also encouraged to participate in these and to supplement State provision/finance. As such, its relationship to the State was enshrined in the compact in addition to the opportunities provided in the policies above and changes to tax relief.[67] Finally, the public represented the third crucial dimension to quasi-markets in education and health. While retaining a degree of choice in health and education, public involvement took the form of representation and survey input on planning/managerial bodies. However, it was also considered to be necessary at a more active informal level to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the services in the learn-to-help-yourself approach of public health; parental involvement in school contracts and homework guidelines; and participation in lifelong learning either via the New Deal or an Individual Learning Account (ILA) in conjunction with the University for Industry (UfI) or Learn Direct (LD) with its phone, internet and learning centre networks.[68]

Building on Conservative reforms, the labour market activation element of welfare reform was definitely a service for unemployed and economically inactive

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[66] Dale (2000), p.349-53,362-7; LP (2001), p. 17-19, 22; DoH (1997), (1998), (1999), (2000); DfEE (1997), (1998), (1999).
[67] See DoH (2000b); HO (1998b)
[68] Dale (2000), p.353, 360,363; LP (2001), p.21-2; DfEE (1997), (1998), (1999); DoH (1997), (2000); DSS (1998a)

people and bore similar traits to health and education services.[69] It was funded by central government and managed by a central government agency for individuals who do not pay for it but are offered it either compulsorily or voluntarily. It operated by assisting jobsearch primarily and, to varying degrees, enabling participants to update skills by training or job placements provided by private companies or bodies delivering State services and purchased/arranged by the central government agency. It was offered universally but differential funding and conditions followed priorities and in areas of disadvantage it combined with Employment Zones (EZs) involving extra-State bodies. The participant received a degree of choice over jobs/training chosen and in some cases choice over participation. Its key expression lay in the New Deals (NDs), programmes offered on a compulsory basis for the young and later older JSA-recipients and on a voluntary one for the economically inactive (i.e. lone parents and people with disabilities). However, one could view the combination of the National Childcare Strategy, the childcare tax credit (CCTC) component of WFTC and the development of pre-school education facilities similarly. Clearly part of establishing a pre-school stage in education, the State was working with private companies and voluntary groups via Childcare Partnerships (CCPs) to provide childcare and early learning facilities for potential workers, especially lone parents, with childcare responsibilities by guaranteeing their development and assisting with costs in, effectively, a targeted voucher in the tax credit.[70]

1.5.- Relevance of analysis of ideology as morphology and of its different types

The value of studying ideology follows from its action-orientation, reflecting the fact that human beings do not relate to their world simply as physical beings capable of means-end reasoning. They are also communicative, capable of second order reflection on and reasoning about their actions and circumstances, i.e. evaluation. Conceptual frameworks then constitute a crucial dimension of politics, in which political actors conceive of their political context in terms of whether the patterns of interaction in which they engage are acceptable on evaluative grounds and act on this, often by

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[69] Robinson (2000).
[70] Dale (2000), p.350,360-1,367; LP (2001), p.18,24-7; DSS (1998a), (1998d); DfEE/DSS (1998)

communicating it to others.[71] Ideologies, then, enable agents to deal with bounded rationality on evaluative terms by acting as a filter. Agents can screen out a whole range of potential actions on the grounds that they lead to morally unacceptable ends or involve morally unacceptable means and then choose between the remainder on the basis of which would most effectively achieve ultimate ends in morally acceptable ways. Nor is this simply argued by political theorists. A whole strand of work on the policy process argues that it is far from the neutral, rational, evidence-determined process that some political scientists may wish it to be while others in the profession are actively exploring the role of conceptual frameworks.[72]

Conceptual frameworks are, then, power resources for individuals, facilitating action. However, they are also a means towards further power resources, i.e. increases in support and reduction of opposition. Their communication and, in particular, their establishment as the dominant meanings for such political concepts are ways of getting others to support and/or comply with particular socio-political arrangements by causing them to view such desires as morally acceptable.[73] Conceptual fields act as important relational mechanisms between political actors at all levels and their political context *and* between political actors. The ability to determine the substantive meanings of language is a significant power resource. The way we think is in part determined by the linguistic resources available to us, particularly in the case of political concepts with positive evaluative force. To utter them is to legitimise their object and delegitimise alternatives. This power resource is most effective if one can ensure that one's meanings remain dominant over the longer term, moving it beyond substantial challenge, as it seems a natural feature rather than an ultimately contingent one. Thus, individuals may come to operate on the basis of such meanings as a matter of habit rather than reflective commitment, perpetuating and implicitly endorsing them. This will particularly be the case when reinforced by the continuation of practices deemed to embody the meaning, i.e. by its continued institutionalisation, but the meaning itself serves to orient people toward such practices in a positive vein.

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[71] Positivist social sciences, particularly in their behaviouralist variant as exemplified by Lane (1962), have failed to recognise and explore this for three reasons. First, by employing the notion of interest, they in fact incorporate a political concept into their founding theory. Second, where consideration has been given to ideas, the recording of the subjective accounts of agents fails to consider the possibility of background normative supports. Third, this latter point partly reflects a reliance on the evidence of dispute as evidence of the role of ideas, ignoring the existence of non-contested normative positions. See respectively Connolly (1993); Freeden (1996), Part I; Seliger (1976).

[72] Hood (2000); King (1999); Kingdon (1995); Stone (1997); Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1993).

[73] Thompson (1984) on Bourdieu.

Having explored the reasons to engage in ideological analysis, let us consider the value of the morphological understanding. As Freeden stresses, the morphological approach enables us to appreciate the intricacy of political thinking, even in the case of relatively unsophisticated producers, and, even in the case of philosophers, highlights the implicit assumptions made, particularly in terms of relations to other concepts. For instance, when reading anglophone analytic philosophy, it is common to encounter arguments according to which a particular conception of Y is rejected on the grounds of a particular conception of X that is not explored. While there are benefits to such separation, there is clearly much to be learnt from connection in the creation and critique of conceptual patterns.

Given its nature as a social product and a wide range of potential producers, the morphological understanding emphasises the central role of conceptual patterns in politics. Furthermore, despite being interpretative rather than functional or causal, morphological analysis can contribute to the exploration of the role of ideas in politics. Freeden's own work on the New Liberals and Gamble's work on Thatcherism have both highlighted the relevance of such action-orientating frameworks for this. One needs to be able to provide an adequate analysis of the framework in question before one can analyse its causal impact.

A similarly instrumental value can be appreciated in relation to political philosophy. Students of ideology employ the analytic tool of conceptual formulae to decode discourse and, as appropriate, practice and thereby delineate the field of conceptual meaning created therein, providing fine-grained interpretations that facilitate philosophers' application of their normative skills to them. This is particularly important given the move towards applied political theory. In addition, the more adequate interpretation and delineation of the conceptual fields created by politicians and ordinary people can assist public intellectuals, many of whom are political philosophers, to close the gap between them. In order to critique and to persuade effectively, we must pay sufficient attention to the pinpointing of the position of our opponent and our audience even if the construction of a normatively adequate position benefits from greater detachment. It is also considerably more effective if we commit ourselves to keeping the tasks of interpretation and critique separate.

This would also benefit social policy work, in which a strong strand of critique consists of authors arguing against New Labour from a substantive position of their own that is never explicitly justified, and frequently proceeding to deny that New Labour has

a conception of X or Y, largely on the basis that it is not the one that the authors accept. For example, despite noting that social justice is an important feature of New Labour discourse, Lister refuses to use the term to characterise New Labour on the grounds that its understanding of equality, which she frequently refers to as inclusion for similar reasons, is inadequate. Similarly, she shows a strong reluctance, as do Driver and Martell, to analyse rights in any depth, focusing instead on the limited nature of opportunity and the importance of responsibility.[74] Consequently, we miss the relationship between responsibility and social justice, the grounds for the differing types of responsibilities, the exact nature of the rights and the precise nature of equality, which is, as Fielding emphasises, relative.[75] Furthermore, a powerful critique of New Labour is weakened.

As regards existing treatments of ideology in social policy, the introduction of morphological analysis represents an important contribution. First, positing a field of meaning constituted by the interaction between essentially contestable concepts within a multidimensional framework, it enables us to overcome repeated assertions of tensions and paradoxes given that some scholars allege that particular concepts are irreconcilable.[76] As in the case of the libertarian conception of liberty versus the Marxist conception of equality, it is certainly true that some conceptions of certain concepts are irreconcilable but this does not hold for all their conceptions. Nor are reconcilable conceptions of allegedly irreconcilable concepts in an inherently unstable relationship. Since concepts are given substantive meaning from their position within a multidimensional and structurally specific framework subject to logical and sociohistorical constraints, tensions will not be revealed in the pressure cooker of government. The concepts will be given further substantive meaning or their meanings may change, potentially showing themselves to be out of line with the conceptions of other actors.[77] Finally, the morphological understanding enables us to overcome claims that there are competing discourses in relation to which no judgment can be made as to

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[74] Lister (1999), (2000), (2001)
[75] Driver and Martell (2002); Fielding (2003).
[76] Driver and Martell (1998), (2000), (2002); Clarke et al (2000); Fairclough (2000).
[77] Nor are the ideologies of socialism, conservatism and liberalism defined by reference to one central value as Driver and Martell claim, as Freeden has extensively demonstrated. It is also difficult to sustain such irreconcilability while demonstrating de facto reconciliation. The argument is really that *adequate* conceptions of particular concepts are in tension and the *inadequate* conceptions will slide in one direction or the other.

their relative balance.[78] As has been argued, such judgments can be made for textual and policy dimensions.

Second, morphological analysis enables us to reduce the unacceptable level of indeterminacy detected by White, as a political philosopher, on the grounds that New Labour does not express itself in a sufficiently clear and rigorous fashion.[79] Arguing that the concepts employed by New Labour could be extrapolated in different and contradictory directions and the associated policy instruments could lead to very different political projects, he declares that the patterns have not been rendered sufficiently determinate for judgments to be drawn as to the nature of New Labour's conceptual patterns. White is correct in his assessment that politicians will tend to express themselves in a manner that will strike philosophers as unduly indeterminate. However, this can be reduced by a thorough-going commitment to morphological interpretation of discourse across a wide range of examples and reduced still further by including the conceptual analysis of policy. This thesis will also demonstrate that politicians are not as weak as political philosophers suppose. Even where they are weak, they are unlikely to improve if political philosophers do not attend to their failings by engaging with their contemporary political contexts directly and, by direct critique, showing them how it should be done.

Third, morphological analysis sheds light on the repeated desire to explore the relationship between politicians' words and deeds, which really refers to the difference between what is allegedly implied by the conceptual patterns created by their discourse and the policies that actually result.[80] The real issue seems to be whether the conceptual patterns created by the politicians through recurring patterns of conceptual terms and arguments with associated policies are what the author thought they were or should be. Otherwise, it becomes a matter of demonstrating different patterns created by the politicians at different stages of the political process, explored below.

Let us now turn to the value of the distinction between types of ideologies – philosophical, commentative and participant - according to the nature, perspective and sociohistorical position of their producers and their production dimensions. It was stressed that such ideologies also differed according to the degree to which the frameworks created could be viewed as expressing the patterns to which the producers

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[78] Driver and Martell (2002), Ch.9.
[79] White (2001). Swift (2001) is equally unimpressed by politicians.
[80] Powell (2002b), p.29.

were in fact committed or reflected compromises. This distinction has consequences for the study of the role of ideologies in politics, the sources of politicians' conceptual frameworks, normative evaluation and critique of socio-political arrangements within societies and engagement with arrangements in such terms.

First, the standard way of understanding and studying ideology, particularly in political history and social policy, has been of conceptual frameworks deemed to be created at considerable distance from the sociohistorical context per se, as with philosophy, or at least from formal political processes, as for the more practically-oriented frameworks of public intellectuals, and then applied to it.[81] As such, these study the influence of philosophical and commentative ideology. Relying on the difference between these and the participant ideology created by politicians, this procedure is reasonable when they are out of office. However, when applied to politicians in office, the comparison tends to become one between the policies followed and the other forms of ideology rather than the conceptual framework created by the recurring patterns of discourse and associated policy. The distinction between types of ideology as well as the understanding of policies regularly associated with conceptual terms and arguments as containers of conceptual meaning enables the actual pattern created to be established in the same conceptual terms.[82] It then allows for a legitimate comparison to be made. Furthermore, by delineating the participant ideology created in office, for example, we can consider the degree to which it is consistent with the particular ideologies created by the following : the philosophical or commentative ideologies of groups of political philosophers or public intellectuals and of the public; and the participant ideologies of other parties, the producers' party in the past or sections of it in the present, the public or the producers themselves *before* they entered office.[83]

As these suggestions imply, one needs to consider the conceptual patterns created by different participants in politics and, with regard to politicians in particular, at different stages of it. Hence, we will be able to consider in more detail the range of

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[81] In political history, see Kavanagh (1990); Letwin (1992); Gamble (1994); Addison (1987); Pimlott (1994); Jones and Kandiah (1996). In social policy, see George and Wilding (1985); Clarke et al (1987); Levitas (1986); Driver and Martell (1998), (2002); Clarke et al (2000); Fairclough (2000).

[82] Speeches should be viewed only as indications of commentative and/or philosophical ideologies for the reasons outlined above.

[83] Study of ideologies created by the public would require deliberative and conceptually-informed fieldwork by political theorists who possess or work with those with qualitative research skills, being careful to avoid the limitations of behavioural analyses.

sources and their degree of direct influence by combining this evidence with empirical links. If we do not delineate the frameworks created in office in similar terms, i.e. discourse and, as appropriate, policy, and therefore recognise that conceptual patterns can be created by people at different stages of the political process, we will not be able to explore their causal potential or their similarity to previous ones because we will not be able to engage in the comparisons that are a pre-requisite of such analysis. Nor will we be able to offer grounded arguments for the influence of particular philosophers and public intellectuals on politicians. Following Gamble, it is reasonable to assume that politicians are subject to a range of influences, from philosophers and public intellectuals to political and economic circumstances.[84] As a result, their participant ideology is likely to be an amalgam of different sources and considerations and the best way to grasp their conceptual patterns is to study the patterns they themselves create. If we wish to explore potential sources, we can do so by comparing their participant ideology with the commentative and philosophical ideologies of those known to have had direct links with them and those who are so well-known that they can be deemed to have had an indirect effect. If we take into account the political circumstances in which their participant ideology was produced, we are also in a position to make judgments about degrees of influence.

By so doing, we would be able to develop further insights into the processes by which the three types of ideology interact and hence into ideological change. In particular, we should be wary of assumptions of direct correspondence between philosophical and commentative or participant ideologies even for the same group of producers as they render themselves at increasing distances from real-time political processes. For example, moving from the philosophical to the commentative via more direct engagement with the sociohistorical context, what is required in terms of policy within any given sociohistorical context is not necessarily the same as the general arrangements that are envisaged in the ideal patterns as this is developed on the assumption of an ideal world. Thus, the commentative ideology that follows from any given philosophical ideology will in fact most likely be a qualitatively different framework. This is also likely when we consider the relationship between a commentative ideology and a participant ideology that derives from it owing to political constraints. Given such qualitative difference, there is room for serious disputes and

[84] Gamble (1994). See also Clarke et al (1987).

hence potential for change in one of the frameworks owing to pressure from the other. Thus, ideological change may occur for certain producers and within the same ideological family owing to the interaction between types as well as between differences in, say, philosophical ideologies. In conclusion, we can see that it is not always profitable to restrict our consideration of conceptual frameworks to the ideal variety created by philosophers. There is important work to be done if they are to be applied to real-world circumstances, which is likely to require the development of a series of intermediary frameworks that are qualitatively different, and this raises new issues for ideological change.

The distinction between types of ideology that gives rise to the study of participant ideology reminds us that the conceptual meanings that have in fact become dominant may not be those to which *anyone* is in fact ultimately committed. As political scientists have always noted, the unintended or undesired outcomes of political processes are at least as important as the intended and the desired. This has important consequences for normative engagement with the socio-political arrangements within our society. In addition to having a grasp of the concrete ways in which abstract conceptual terms and arguments are cashed out, we must ensure we are evaluating the actual patterns created rather than those we intended or desired to create. If we fail to do this, we are missing our primary target.

The study of participant ideology is then the delineation by an observer of the fields of conceptual meaning created by agents as they act in, rather than reflect upon, formal political processes and their outcomes. It is as relevant as the study of the way political institutions do work, as opposed to how they ought to or how we think that they do. The relevance of studying participant ideology is to reveal any gap between the meaning of 'what ought to be' in theory, i.e. as we reflect on our situation prior to or instead of direct participation in the political context, and the actual meaning of 'what ought to be' in practice, i.e. those patterns of interaction that we either do accept or are asked to accept because they ought to be this way. This facilitates reflection on, and potential adaptation of, either the pre-action or in-action conceptual field, or both, at the ideational-linguistic or policy levels. The constant conflation of participant and commentative or philosophical ideologies of either the same or different actors prevents such reflection.

However, this opportunity for evaluative assessment and reflection can only be provided by an observer's analysis of the conceptual patterns created in action because,

as argued above, all participants in political processes under real-time conditions, be they producers or consumers, have far less control and knowledge of the conceptual patterns actually being created, by themselves and others, than an observer. A producer/consumer version of conceptual patterns created during participation can only consist of an incomplete approximation, either lacking in detail, in connections between elements or between the ideational-linguistic or policy aspects, or in general overview. Participants use such short-hand approximations to relate to one another. The observer version is the product of a lengthy process of ideological analysis over a range of areas, using a range of sources and setting these against a broad interpretative backdrop. For the purposes of assessment and reflection, it is essential to engage with the *actual* meaning of 'what ought to be' in practice as opposed to its *apparent* meaning. This applies as much to producers as to consumers.

Reflective, evaluative engagement with our sociohistorical environment must involve engagement with the conceptual patterns actually being created rather than a) just those to which agents are believed to be committed or b) those we assume are being created as the result of reliance on participant versions of such patterns, or their conflation with philosophical or commentative frameworks. Examination of such frameworks can be considered vital within democratic polities and, indeed, any polities that seek to ground themselves, in part at least, on a sense of popular legitimacy that goes beyond the mere operation of formal procedures.[85] It is easy to see why examination of the conceptual patterns actually created by the core executive is crucial within the British political context as it is the dominant actor within formal political processes and, therefore, the conceptual patterns it creates attain a dominant position, not least given the focus of the media.[86] As such, it can translate the policies that it desires into legislation with relative ease and then use the immense resources of the State to enforce them and the starting-point for all political discussion is what the core executive says and does.

Furthermore, the increased and endless channelling of political communication by a 24-hour media keen on dichotomies, individual issues and brief expression highlights a further reason to produce observer versions of the conceptual patterns

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[85] Continued use of conceptual terms and arguments suggests that such legitimacy is indeed sought by participants, which is not surprising given that humans tend to search for meaning and significance in action.

[86] Dominance reflects the view that the conceptual framework of the core executive is not uncontested and it is a social product as explored earlier.

created in action if we are to facilitate reflective engagement insofar as political communication has become more a case of rapid rebuttal than debate, of instant responses and adjustments to individual challenges as they arise, not reflective and coordinated resistance. It also derives from politicians' reactions to the increased individualisation of their audience. Transforming themselves into catch-all parties, they appeal to the broadest coalition of voters possible at the same time by combining cross-group messages, using similar terms at vague levels, with audience-specific ones that either use specially-chosen terms or emphasise clusters of those currently used that will achieve maximum effect.[87] The potential for high levels of indeterminacy, inherent in participant ideology, is exacerbated in such a context. As a result, accountability is reduced and core executive room for manoeuvre enhanced beyond its already strong institutional position. As opposition parties follow suit, the distance between the political elite and the electorate also widens. The complex, dynamic political process is reduced to a competition between different brands which compete for consumer loyalty, not informed commitment, and may or may not represent the same product. It also creates confusion as the brands change their packaging in response to evidence of falling consumption. The more vague and simple are the terms, the options and the alternatives presented and the more often are they changed, the more difficult it becomes for others to define what it is, make a choice or hold the political actors accountable. Likewise, the more individual issues are considered, the harder it is to see the full picture and assess both the desirability of the whole as well as the parts. This crucial lack of clarity prevents a necessary condition of democratic choice and accountability if we consider this to be the informed selection of A over B and the informed questioning and sanctioning of political actors. Such problems can be substantially reduced if analysts pay attention to the delineation of the conceptual patterns created in such real-time political participation over the course of a wide range of examples across agents, audiences, policy areas and periods of time, using the tools of political theory and policy analysis.

The study of participant ideology then seeks to facilitate a deeper and more sustained evaluative engagement between actors within political contexts by bringing them to awareness of the patterns created, rather than intended or assumed, and doing so in a way that allows for policy and hence the socio-political arrangements within their

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[87] Scammell (1995); Franklin (1998); Gould (1998); Webb (2000).

society to be conceived of in evaluative terms. In consequence, the real-world relevance of political theory can be brought home to those who engage in it for a living and those who practise it in a less reflective fashion. If the former do not engage with their sociohistorical context in this way, there is little hope of such contexts becoming the more reflective, evaluative and, ultimately, morally acceptable environments that they would have them be.

Conclusion

Participant ideology constitutes a development of the morphological form of analysis pioneered by Freeden and rests on the same distinctions from political philosophy, namely the different response to conceptual competition and the different position on the range of producers of conceptual meaning who can be subjected to analysis. Distinctions can be made between different types of ideological object, illustrating more clearly how this research is a subset of Freeden's existing work. Philosophical, commentative and participant ideology can be differentiated in terms of the situation of their producers, the balance between logical and sociohistorical constraints, the blend of intentional and unintentional meaning and the degree of precise argumentation as well as their intended audiences and media of production. The analysis of participant ideology builds on the work of other academics, namely political institutionalists, political historians and policy analysts, in order to become operative and then uses them for different purposes. However, these purposes are no less relevant to political analysis, for they can be shown to engage with questions raised about the power of the core executive within the system, the effects of the increasing mediatisation of politics and the nature of the third way. As such, the need for self-awareness as political participants and development of methods to attain this can be seen all the more acutely.

CHAPTER 2
DEVISING THE CONCEPTUAL FORMULAE

The crucial interpretative tool for the student of ideologies is the conceptual formula. However, in most ideological analysis, as in analytic political philosophy generally, it is left implicit. This chapter will establish the conceptual formulae for the core concepts of New Labour ideology that constitute the subject matter of this thesis.[88] As a precursor to ideological analysis, engaging in explicit elaboration serves to refine such studies and acts to prevent the promotion of our own conceptions of a concept as the full concept. À-propos participant ideology specifically, if we do not have the conceptual formulae clearly to hand, it is also extremely difficult to interpret policies and policy analysis in conceptual terms. The core concepts for New Labour participant ideology are social justice; liberty; equality; progress; community; civil society; democracy and the market. The conceptual formula for each will be established on the basis of the work of analytic political philosophers. In each case, the ineliminable element(s) and the quasi-contingent categories will be set out with a range of fillers for the latter.

2.1.- Social justice

Social justice is the key example of Barry's distributive principle, which concerns the division of goods between members of a given group.[89] Thus, Miller defines justice as the 'manner of distributing benefits and burdens among sentient beings'.[90] For Swift, the ineliminable element is 'what is due', what is to be accorded to each, and the key is to identify the goods owed and, consequently, the scope, content and grounds of the duties.[91] Such grounds may range from rights to desert or need, having the potential to conflict or to be blended to form mixed conceptions.[92] The

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[88] The reasons for designation as core concepts will be shown in chapters three and four.
[89] Barry (1990a), p.43
[90] Miller (1976), p.19. Rawls describes social justice as concerning the distribution of rights and duties as well as benefits and burdens, including political and civil rights in his first principle (1971), p.4,7. The formal freedoms protected by such rights can be incorporated as goods to be distributed as suggested below.
[91] Swift (2001), p.11.
[92] Miller (1976), p.24-8,73-82; Wiggins (1991), p.56. Miller categorises these bases as examples of the manner in which the goods may be divided along with equality, prioritarianism and maximin. Given that the latter can act as a way of allocating rights, deserts or needs distributions, it seems reasonable to

'benefits and burdens' can include not only material goods such as income and wealth but also intangible goods such as self-respect, rights or opportunities.[93] As a result, relational aspects such as decision-making processes can be incorporated insofar as they can be characterised in distributive terms because they are represented by identifiable parts of concrete processes.[94] Finally, Rawls highlights the procedural aspect of justice in his discussion of formal justice. Drawing attention to the lack of arbitrary distinctions and the idea of balance, he describes it as the impartial and consistent interpretation and application of principles.[95] Thus, social justice should be viewed as containing two aspects, the procedural and the substantive, i.e. the application and the content of the principles respectively. For the purposes of this discussion, attention will focus on the substantive, namely the nature and grounds of the distribution.

We must ask what is being distributed, to whom and, adapting him slightly, in what way it is being divided, i.e. on an equal, prioritarian or maximin basis, for example.[96] We should also ask what we are required to do in order to ensure that the distribution comes about, keeping in mind the relational nature of such duties.[97] However, there is also a temporal dimension. Nozick famously rejected social justice as a 'patterned' and 'ahistorical' notion which failed to consider how the distribution had arisen. Instead, he favoured a 'historical' conception of justice that focussed on how individuals had developed entitlements to goods that they had then voluntarily transferred to others.[98] Left-libertarian 'starting-gate' theories take a similar view, simply adding an initial redistribution at the beginning of life and thereby seeking to limit the influence of social inheritance.[99] Furthermore, both Dworkin and Cohen, in their considerations of equality of opportunity or equal access to advantage, respectively

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consider them as the manner in which the goods are divided and rights, desert and need primarily as bases for a certain division.

[93] E.g. Rawls's primary social goods are those that anyone would want, just as much as Barry's generalised resources. They are natural (e.g. health, intelligence) and social (e.g. liberties, rights, income and self-respect), distinguished according to whether the social structure can be deemed directly responsible for them - Rawls (1971), p.62,178-9; Barry (1990a), p.176-7.

[94] Young (1990), p.20-2. This thesis agrees with the broadness of Young's comments on justice but disagrees that this requires a firm distinction between distributive and relational/political justice as she terms it as a more concrete understanding of processes enables us to bring the two together.

[95] Rawls (1971), p.5,58-60,504.

[96] Miller (1976), p.24.

[97] There are also supererogatory expectations, sometimes referred to as duties, and duties relating to the intention or status of the individual and others relating to collective goods – Raz (1986).

[98] Nozick (1974), p.150-9. Despite his dislike of the term, it can still be characterised as a conception of 'social' justice as it concerns interaction within basic social institutions. It merely limits these to non-State arenas : the market, the family and civil society.

[99] Ackerman and Alstott (2004).

argue that, where the individual's situation is a result of choice, even if combined with bad option luck, she has no moral claim on others; where it is the result of natural or social circumstances beyond her control, the claim is justified.[100] Thus, the question of origins is also an intrinsic part of considerations of inherently backward-looking notions of desert. This historical perspective gives moral weight to the causes of the distribution. Alternatively, one may focus on current or future time perspectives. For example, Rawls focuses on life prospects, conjuring up a vision of the present and the future, while Anderson favours a lifecycle approach concerning a similar temporal perspective in her concern for the ability of the individual to participate in society over the short- to long-term.[101] Furthermore, the combination of present and future perspectives is an intrinsic part of distribution on the basis of need and interest. Hence, we must also consider whether the way it is to be distributed draws on a particular temporal dimension, understood as reflecting the causes and consequences of a certain distribution.

What, then, are the reasons for terming it 'social'? The answer is that distribution 'results from the major social institutions', which are pervasive from the start of our lives and have profound effects. Examples of such institutions include competitive markets, property systems and State organisations.[102] Social justice then contrasts with 'private justice' which concerns distributions arising from relationships between individuals when they are 'not acting as a participant in major social institutions'.[103] However, social justice is also 'social' in the sense that it applies to members of a given society. The form of participation may not be direct nor should it be equated with recipient status a-propos the welfare state. For example, in the case of the social security system, one may, at the same or different times, be a recipient, an administrator, a funder via taxation and a contributor to the process of defining its rules or enforcing them. As such, social institutions can be understood as constituted not only by their rules but also by individuals' conscious acknowledgement of and compliance with them.

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[100] Dworkin (1981); Cohen (1989).
[101] Rawls (1971); Anderson (1999).
[102] Miller (1976), p.22; Rawls (1971), p.7,274-84.
[103] Miller (1976), p.23. As Miller notes, it is questionable whether this line can in fact be drawn with any precision insofar as many private relationships have public consequences. The distinction is easier to maintain if we consider the private to designate relationships and distributions that do not necessarily or directly impact on the public sphere.

Following the above discussion, a conceptual formula for social justice can be derived :

On the basis of A, B owes C to D in manner E when interacting in F

where B and C are the agents, with the possibility that we may explore B in terms of individuals or a State institution; C is the object owed, which may be viewed both as a good per se and, derivatively, the actions required from B; A is the basis for the objects or duties represented by B, which will include the temporal dimension according to the basis adopted; E is the manner in which the goods are to be divided; and F represents the major social institution(s) in question. In this section, the different bases, A, and the range of possibilities for the goods/duties, C, will be explored. The consideration of E, the manner in which the goods are divided, will be postponed until the section on equality.

2.1.1.- Social Justice as desert

The key feature of desert as a moral claim is that of fitting treatment of particular individuals to their actions and/or qualities deemed valuable by others.[104] Its societal expression is the meritocracy in which differential levels of goods, particularly income and social position, in a social hierarchy are allocated on the basis of desert.[105] However, as noted above, it also plays a strong role in discussions of equality of opportunity that favour the reduction of certain differences but accepts those resulting from agent choices from a position of reasonable equality, either at the start of life or over time.

Miller distinguishes between two types of desert judgements, 'primary' and 'secondary'. The former relate to an activity or action already performed, either on a one-off basis or over time, for which the agent can be deemed responsible insofar as he undertook it voluntarily, i.e. in the absence of physical coercion and threats. The latter fit the treatment to an agent's qualities on the basis of anticipated performance of certain actions. In this case, the agent is deemed to be responsible for them insofar as he voluntarily chooses to develop and to deploy them with the assistance of a degree of

[104] Miller (1976), p.83; Barry (1990a), p.106-15.
[105] Goldthorpe (1997).

luck in terms of social and economic circumstances. In both cases, the voluntary act or development/deployment of certain qualities must be intentional but its motivation is irrelevant.[106] Furthermore, desert is clearly an agent-specific notion and is essentially backward looking, focusing on past actions per se or those leading to the development and deployment of certain qualities, even if it is their potential for future use that is valued. There is also a range of bases, which may vary from actions, efforts, skills, results in terms of actual contribution and intentions, or can be a complex combination of them. Furthermore, one must ask the type of contribution being valued and the spheres to which it applies.[107]

There are two further considerations. First, there is the 'mode of treatment', which may vary between spheres of distribution. This includes not only the nature of the reward (e.g. praise, recognition, income, positions of authority), its level and its manner of division, particularly whether it is to be set in comparative or non-comparative terms.[108] It also pertains to judgements made over : a) how far a claim of desert justifies a given distribution in the face of alternative claims such as need or rights; and b) how far it is possible or justifiable to recognise desert claims per se given questions over the voluntary nature of actions and joint enterprises.[109] Second, attention must be paid to the question of 'from whom' the desert is to be attained. This suggests individuals at first glance but it may also include major social institutions insofar as individuals are to receive their deserts through participation in certain social institutions organised in such a way as to guarantee them. Clearly, this raises the issue of the balance between the State, the market, the family and the voluntary and community sector.[110]

2.1.2.- Social Justice as Need

As Barry argues, it is best to understand the term 'need' as a verb rather than a noun and to recognise that the phrase 'A needs X' is in fact short for 'A needs X for Y'.[111] Needs are then, 'inherently instrumental'.[112] However, one must distinguish

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[106] Miller (2005), p.187-91, (1976), p.96-101.
[107] Barry (1990a), p.106-15; Miller (1976), p.102-21.
[108] Miller (1976), p.114-21,83-95, (2001), p.191-3.
[109] Miller (2005), p.191-3, (1976), p.102-114; Barry (1990a), p.106-115; Rawls (1971); Young (1990).
[110] This will be explored in sections on these different spheres of interaction below.
[111] Barry (1990a), p.48-9; Connolly (1993), p.62; Doyal and Gough (1991), p.39-40; Braybrooke (1987), p.29-30
[112] Goodin (1990), p.13.

between 'instrumental' and 'categorical' needs. The former relate to some contingent end whereas the latter refer to a fixed purpose in the absence of which the individual will suffer harm.[113] What is at issue is the definition and justification of the 'fixed purpose', conceived of by most analysts as a form of harm or, to express it in positive terms, human flourishing[114]. This is strongly associated with, if not simply expressive of, the conception of the person used, which may vary, for example, from the Marxist conception of the species being, the social animal of Aristotle to the liberal conception of the autonomous individual.[115]

Related to this in terms of reflecting the conditions of the conception being realised, needs may refer to physical and mental health and/or agency, including such elements as autonomy, intersubjective recognition and active and creative expression and/or capacities deemed functional for specific social roles.[116] Furthermore, as Doyal and Gough explore at length, such 'general' expressions of needs give rise to intermediate needs, understood as agreed ends that constitute the general need, and particular need satisfiers, i.e. the concrete goods that fulfil the needs. As they suggest in their consideration of their two general needs of physical survival and personal autonomy, one must consider the type of health, education, skills and role needs to be met.[117]

A second key feature of needs is their relativity. The first sense of relativity reflects their inherent instrumentality. The second sense is that of cultural relativity. This includes needs as relative to their understanding of harm or human flourishing but may also extend to the ways in which different cultures select need satisfiers on the basis of custom, climate or natural environment.[118] For example, the idea of biological

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[113] Wiggins (1991), p.10; Miller (1976), p.126-36.
[114] Barry (1990a), p.lxv-ix; Wiggins (1991), p.13.
[115] Connolly (1993), p.67-8. For example, such needs may be the 'prerequisites' for individuals' own 'plans of life', the 'preconditions of human action and interaction' and/or the conditions of physical and social functioning in relation to the basis social roles of parent, households, worker and citizen. See Miller (1976), p.151-3, Doyal and Gough (1991), p.50.69-74 and Braybrooke (1987), 36,47-8 respectively.
[116] Barry (1990a), p.48-9; Hamilton (2003), p.29-45. Hamilton's discussion of intersubjective recognition is evocative of Rawls' comments on the intersubjective and thereby inherently relational nature of self-respect (1971), p.178-9,440-1.
[117] Doyal and Gough (1991), p.51-69; Connolly (1993), p.53-5. For example, they take a biomedical understanding of physical and mental health but include perceived health as well as actually diagnosed conditions. Furthermore, they stress the importance of 'relevant' education that will ensure cognitive, linguistic and motor skills in general as well as those specific to social roles.
[118] Wiggins (1991), p.11; Ware and Goodin (1990); Doyal and Gough (1991), p.155-8.

needs itself may be mediated via certain social or cultural understandings.[119] In this sense, needs are 'essentially conventional'.[120]

The third sense of relativity is the relation of needs to particular social circumstances in terms of the realms of economic, technological, political and historical possibility over a particular time-span, i.e. their possibility-relativity. For example, the common understanding of health needs in social policy is that to have a health need is not simply to lack X insofar as one is below the threshold adjudged to constitute a healthy person but to do so in a context where it can be met. Hence, a needs-claim must be discussed partly in terms of considering alternative futures in which it either can or cannot hold and there must be some consideration of costs in either straightforward economic terms or in terms of opportunity costs.[121]

Finally, needs may be relative in another sense insofar as what one needs, in nature and amount, may be relative to how much of the good others have. This follows from the fact that some goods are subject to 'competitive utilisation', i.e. are 'positional goods' as Hirsch termed them. Such goods are competitively used and positional on the grounds that they are limited, either inherently or contingently, and the more one has, the more successful one is in the competition for social position and wealth. Such needs can then be described as competitively relative.[122]

The issue of needs, then, is extremely complex once the area is opened beyond the relational formula established by Barry. Before moving on to the consideration of rights, it is worth noting the relationship between needs and wants and the potential for conflict between need and other bases of distribution. The key distinction is that wants are 'intentional', i.e. their existence depends on the thought and intention of the agent, whereas needs are 'extentional', depending on how the world is irrespective of the agent.[123] Furthermore, it is possible to need something that one does not want and possibly never will. However, it is also common to want what one needs, experiencing it as a felt impulse. Needs can be felt as impulses and be rationally recognised as

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[119] Hamilton (2005), p.29.
[120] Goodin (1990), p.14
[121] Wiggins (1991), p.14,52-3; Barry (1990a), p48-9,lxv-ix; Wright et al (1998).
[122] Goodin (1990), p.18; Hirsch (1975). This understanding of needs pervades discussions of relative as opposed to absolute poverty. In the latter case, however, the need is still relative but relative to an allegedly objective level of goods required in order for the need to be met.
[123] Doyal and Gough (1991), p.42; Wiggins (1991), p.6.

essential for human functioning but wants lack the crucial feature of needs – they are not related to the constitutive elements of human flourishing.[124]

Turning to the potential conflict between need and desert, it was argued above that desert is a backward-looking notion favouring allocation on the basis of some action performed by the agent or some quality developed by her. While also a property of an individual, need, on the other hand favours allocation on the basis of the current state of the individual, i.e. the lack of a certain good, or seeks to ensure that no-one will experience such a lack in the future. It ignores the reasons for being 'in need'.

2.1.3.- Social Justice as Rights

Before considering the structure of a right, it is important to note the distinction between positive and ideal rights as Miller terms it. The former have institutional status, being part of an enforceable, public system of rules while the others do not and should be considered more in terms of claims of such special importance that they should be translated into positive rights. In considering rights as one of the principles of social justice, Miller views them as positive, i.e. conventional and enforced entitlements. They are contrasted not only with need and desert but also with ideal rights, which, he notes, are often claims for institutional realization of claims on the basis of need or desert. In this way, he suggests, it is possible for rights to be in conflict with desert and need insofar as one's deserts or needs do not cohere with existing positive entitlements. However, it is also possible for rights to be in harmony with both in the sense that positive rights are rights to needs and deserts. Thus, it is possible for a society to have a system of rights that enshrines the principles of need and desert.[125]

As Gewirth argues, a right should be understood in terms of the following formula : 'A has a right to X against B in virtue of Y' where the term 'right' represents a justified claim. The key features are then the agents, A and B, the good claimed, X, and the basis for the claim, Y. A's claim to B gives rise to a correlative duty relating to X. Thus, we must understand that the claim gives rise to the following : B owes X to A

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[124] Miller (1976), p.116-36. As Hamilton (2003 :25,31 61) notes, it is important to be careful when speaking of need as a 'lack' of something. One must ensure that this is not equated with an actual lack because it is still possible to say that someone has a need even when it has been met. Indeed, it is common to say that one's needs have been met. Need encapsulates the idea that if the good in question *were lacking*, the agent would suffer harm. However, some satisfaction of wants can be viewed as a general need in this sense.

[125] Miller (1976), p.73-82.

on the basis of Y = B is required to do/not do Z. These are then relational duties by contrast with those arising from duty-based arguments that stress the intention or status of the agent such as those proposed by Kant.[126] As such, all members of a moral reference group have both rights and duties. Before considering the dimensions of the right and the correlative duty or duties, it is worth noting that rights and duties hold between specific agents and have usually been associated with certain agents by contrast with the whole, represented by society or some larger entity, providing certain constraints on the pursuit of the aggregate interest in utilitarian terms.[127] This is reflected in Nozick's idea of rights as side-constraints, which can be broadened to involve more than negative duties of forbearance.[128] However, as is clear from discussions of rule-based utilitarianism, there can be a place for rights within such frameworks, albeit one in which they are susceptible to override in certain circumstances. Rights are not necessarily absolute and Gewirth's consideration of when rights are fulfilled, infringed or overridden takes on particular significance.[129]

Let us now consider variations on the nature of the right-holder.[130] One can be considered a right-holder by virtue of certain qualificatory criteria, which mark the holder as a being of ultimate moral value. This criterion can vary considerably from Hart's capacity for choice to Gewirth's prospective moral agency to considerations of sentience and capacity for pain.[131] Furthermore, claims to 'equal rights' or rights on the basis of moral equality are simply the preliminary to any moral claim that establishes the 'reference group', i.e. those to whom the claim in question is held to apply because they possess the relevant qualifying characteristic.[132] Finally, there has been substantial debate on whether only individuals can be right-holders or whether it is possible to consider collectivities, that are not reducible to their individual members, as right-holders both generally and in particular with reference to the multicultural debate.[133]

Considering the goods to which a justified claim is made, these may vary in the manner explored above in the opening discussion on social justice. There is also a key issue as to how much of the good must be obtained for the right to be considered

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[126] Gewirth (1982), p.2; Raz (1986), Ch.7.
[127] Mackie (1984).
[128] Nozick (1974), p28-9,238.
[129] Lyons (1984); Gewirth (1982), p.2
[130] The nature of the duty-holder will be explored below.
[131] Raz (1986), p.166; Freeden (1991); Gewirth (1982); Hart (1984)
[132] Barry (1990a), p.119-20.
[133] See Raz (1986), Kymlicka (1995), Young (1990).

fulfilled. Two points are worthy of note, both of which apply as much to the consideration of need and desert. First, it is important to distinguish between rights in general and specific terms, appreciating the way in which general descriptions of goods will be broken down into various specific rights. This can be considered in terms of a distinction between core and derivative rights, although this also covers the question of priority between different rights or the goods to which they obtain.[134] Second, rights may be differentiated in two ways – a) the amount of a particular good guaranteed to right-holders may vary when one considers the right in terms of specific goods that reflect the degree to which they are able to convert them into capabilities or b) people may have different rights insofar as disadvantaged 'social groups' are to be given extra rights to ensure they are sufficiently protected against the majority. This may be viewed either in terms of differentiated rights or, again, in terms of a variation in the specific goods that people are entitled to when general rights are rendered concrete, i.e. a dominant cultural group may be entitled only to non-interference from others while those in minority groups may be entitled to non-interference and positive assistance from the State and possibly extra opportunities for participation.[135]

Like rights, the duties generated by them can be increasingly complex and require careful attention by the analyst of ideologies, not least because they are often overlooked in rights discussions that tend to consider the relationship between two agents in isolation from the rest of the world. As noted above, a right gives rise to a relational duty to be performed by particular agents. First, these may be positive or negative, requiring others to act or to refrain from action respectively and, as with rights, can be discussed in general or increasingly specific terms. Second, as explored in relation to conflicts of rights, more often than not rights give rise to multiple duties.[136] The determination of duties involves a 'lengthy extrapolation' and rights conflict occurs because the duties, arising from a particular right or from different rights, are 'not compossible'.[137] Such analysis can be strongly aided by considerations of core and derivative rights in recognition of the fact that rights give rise to 'waves of duties' that can be ordered in terms of importance. Third, such multiple duties may apply to multiple duty-holders and both the nature of the duties as well as their allocation between duty-holders may be dynamic. In the case of duties, this reflects changes in

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[134] Raz (1986), Ch.7.
[135] Sen (1989); Young (1990).
[136] Raz (1986), p. 183-6; Waldron (1991), p.206-20.
[137] Waldron (1991), p.213.

circumstance that make some actions possible and others impossible. Linked to this, duty-holders may vary with circumstance also. An agent usually qualifies as a holder of any type of duty or, at least, can only be sanctioned for non-performance insofar as she is able to perform the duty without considerable cost to herself.[138] Combined with the recognition that a right can give rise to duties held by multiple duty-holders, it is clear that the multiple duties may only be apportioned to those capable of their performance and may also be allocated in proportion to their capacity to perform them. Indeed, it is possible to reflect this through an ordering of responsibility for the performance of all or some duties, setting some as primary duty-holders and others as secondary duty-holders who will be required to step in if primary duty-holders are unable to perform their duties or fail to do so. Thus, the duty-holders as well as the duties may vary with circumstances.

Such complexity also holds for the basis for the right, Y. As noted above, in part this relates to the qualificatory requirements to be a right-holder. Furthermore, as Raz argues, all rights claims are essentially claims to certain goods on the grounds that they serve a sufficiently important aspect of one's well-being.[139] However, as the distinction between general and special rights reminds us, it is also concerned with how rights are generated. A special right exists 'on account of the occurrence of some contingent event or transaction'.[140] Rights arise according to the agent choosing to perform the event or enter the transaction, with promising used as the paradigmatic case. There is, then, a strong association with agent choice and special rights. However, this should not be pushed too far as Hart also includes rights arising from special relationships, which can only be considered a matter of choice for parents in relation to their children and partners in relation to each other. In terms of the correlative duties, these are Rawls' 'obligations' that arise from voluntary action in accepting benefits or furthering interests, i.e. contingent events or transactions.[141] A key aspect beyond the event or transaction is that of the rights and correlative duties only applying to the specific parties involved. Furthermore, given the association with choice in a range of the examples, such special rights are generally 'alienable', i.e. the right-holder is entitled to waive the duty, releasing the duty-holder from the limitation. General rights, by

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[138] Gewirth (1982), p.209.
[139] Raz (1986), p.166. This applies to so-called choice conceptions of rights. The individual's interest in choice, as a moral being, is the sufficient reason for the claim to be considered justified. See Freeden (1991).
[140] Waldron (1988), p.116; Hart (1984).
[141] Rawls (1971), p.113.

contrast, do not arise on the basis of some contingent event or transaction or special relationship. Rather they are general moral claims deemed to hold in all circumstances, pertaining to the 'qualitative character' of some feature of the right-holders. They also apply to agents in general rather than to parties 'special rights' relationships.[142] Useful though this distinction is, it is important to note that special rights are ultimately dependent on one or more general rights. Waldron considers Hart and Nozick as paradigmatic examples of special-rights based arguments. However, in neither case is this strictly true. In the case of Hart, a natural or general right to choice is posited, which then gives rise to the possibility for special rights. Likewise, as Cohen has argued, Nozick's argument is based on a general right to self-ownership, which is essentially Hart's choice expressed in proprietal terms to buttress his focus on special property rights in his definition of justice.[143] In neither case are such general rights alienable.

2.2.- Liberty

MacCallum has argued that the concept of liberty should be understood as a triadic relationship between an agent, a constraint and an activity or state of being as expressed below :

X is (not) free from Y to do (not do; be, not be; become, not become) Z

where X is the agent, Y represents the constraints and Z the area of free action.[144] Conceptions of freedom differ according to how they fill the different categories of this conceptual formula with substantive content. This position was established in opposition to Berlin's thesis that there were two concepts of liberty, namely negative and positive liberty on the basis of the constraints to be overcome. The former focused on direct and intentional interference by others, including the State, whereas the latter highlighted the existence of internal barriers, such as a lack of rationality or authentic beliefs and desires. As Miller notes, Berlin in fact conflated three distinct ideas under the banner of positive liberty when he failed to distinguish between those understandings that broadened the notion of external constraints to include a lack of

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[142] Waldron (1988), p.16.
[143] Cohen (1995), Ch.3.
[144] MacCallum (1991).

means; those that accepted the idea of internal constraints but left the individual as the ultimate authority on their nature; and those that were the real substance of Berlin's attack, namely understandings that gave objective content to internal constraints and permitted State action to remove them.[145] The value of MacCallum's approach has been to provide a means by which conflation can be avoided.

However, MacCallum may be challenged on two grounds. The first concerns the view that Z is a feature of all conceptions of freedom. On Berlin's argument there was no necessary category of activity or state of being in 'negative' as opposed to 'positive' liberty. However, it is implied by his references to the freedom to do as one wants, which may be understood as self-determination, i.e. action on the basis of one's desires whatever they happen to be, as opposed to autonomy, i.e. action on the basis of one's rationally evaluated desires. Certainly, nothing is fixed by his 'negative' conception in terms of substantive *content* of Z. However, the category represented by Z does make sense at a general level and should thus be included. Furthermore, considering the work of those other famous proponents of 'negative' liberty, Hayek and Nozick, such freedom of self-determination is assumed to occur in the context of a market economy. To say that one has freedom to do as one wants is to raise the question of the context in which this is to occur. This context is easily deduced from a consideration of the types of activities that individuals are permitted to engage in without interference by others, reflected in the traditional liberal freedoms, namely the civil, political and economic liberties of a democratic capitalist society. Furthermore, 'negative' liberty theorists tend to present this context of their freedom as natural or as 'conditions' rather than a network of legal constraints on the freedoms of individuals to do some things in the interest of guaranteeing their freedom from the law and from others to do other things.[146] Once we see them as such, it is quite clear that while Z for 'negative' theorists is extremely broad, it is not boundless.

The second challenge is that MacCallum's formula can only express liberal conceptions of freedom as it only works for opportunity as opposed to exercise conceptions of freedom.[147] Taylor employed the exercise-opportunity distinction to contrast liberal and idealist conceptions. Liberal ones are opportunity conceptions because they rest on the removal of constraints to action but do not require agents to

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[145] Miller (1991); Van Parijs (1993); Sen (1989); Swift (2001).
[146] Miller (1991); Cohen (1991).
[147] Skinner (1991); Miller (1991); Taylor (1991).

exercise the freedoms in question. Exercise ones require that constraints be lifted *and* that agents must exercise their freedom to some degree, be this in terms of doing certain actions or distinguishing between their higher and lower desires.

In the first place, if we consider liberal conceptions at the highest level of generality, in terms of self-determination, the distinction does not hold. By removing the constraints and protecting the individual's sphere of self-determination, the individual will, by default, be self-determining even if she decides to do nothing at all. Hence, while they are not exercising the same capacities as Taylor's self-developing or self-realising agents, they are exercising their freedom.[148] The distinction then turns on the different nature of Z rather than anything more substantial. However, considered in relation to specific freedoms, such as participating in politics, there is a clear distinction between liberal and republican or idealist conceptions of freedom, which reflects the opportunity-exercise distinction. The latter conceptions *require* the individual to participate in politics, for example, whereas liberal conceptions allow the agent to *choose*. Having already considered the general Z of liberal theorists as self-determination that leads to choice over whether to engage in specific Zs, let us turn our attention to the republican and idealist conceptions.

The key specific Zs of republican liberty concern participation in a self-governing political community. As seen in Rousseau and De Tocqueville, participation may range from direct involvement in the legislative process to defence of the State or profession of a civil faith. However, such participation may be viewed in idealist or liberal instrumental terms.[149] On an idealist view, such participation is the means to the general Z of self-realisation whether the self is viewed as essentially social, as Aristotle argues, or individual and original, as Arendt proposes. On an liberal-instrumentalist view, political participation is a necessary condition of individual liberty in the liberal sense. Only in a self-governing political community in which individuals are subject to an enforced duty of political participation can they be guaranteed the conditions of their liberty to act according to their will.[150] Thus, on a general level Z is understood in

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[148] Exercise conceptions understand human beings as normally developmental.

[149] Skinner (1991).

[150] This follows, in part, from a republican perspective sharing similarities with liberals who view the lack of welfare goods as a constraint on freedom. In such conceptions, the law can be seen as a promoter of individual liberty rather than a form of interference. However, this overstates the contrast with 'negative liberty' theorists for whom laws over a certain range of actions are at least a necessary evil because they prevent what they consider interference with individuals by others or the State. Hence, the distinction concerns the scope of the law not the view of law per se. See Pettit (1991), (1997).

liberal terms as 'self-determination' but, with regard to specific Zs, some form(s) of political participation within a free state is required even if most Zs are still a matter of choice. Such liberal republicanism then combines opportunity and exercise components whereas the idealist variant excludes the former. This continues for all idealist conceptions according to which the essence of man must be realised whether this is social or individual and whether it is to be achieved in a particular sphere. It can also be applied to liberal 'perfectionist' ideals according to which individuals are to be autonomous understood as 'self-developing' rather than merely 'self-determining'. This involves at least living in accordance within one's reflective desires in the sense of 'taking the most effective means to given ends' by considering social circumstances and one's abilities and preferences; or it can be expanded to include living according to authentic desires, i.e. those formed in social circumstances that allow consideration of a substantial range of alternatives.[151]

Having outlined the republican and idealist conceptions, let us consider whether the challenge that MacCallum's formula cannot incorporate them in fact holds :

X is (not) free from Y to do (not do; be, not be; become, not become) Z

In defence of the charge, it is true that MacCallum chooses examples of specific Zs to demonstrate his point and he does focus a great deal of his attention on the removal of constraints. It would seem then that he is simply expressing an opportunity concept that deals with the lifting of constraints on specific Zs and ignores the question of exercise. Nevertheless, only the slightest modification of his formula is required to accommodate the opportunity-exercise distinction in relation to specific Zs. The key lies in 'to do (not do; be, not be; become, not become) Z'. Thus, the formula should read :

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[151] Rawls (1971), p.14,93,397; Taylor (1991); Connolly (1993). Key issues are the number and quality of options available in the social context and whether the choice context is parametric or strategic.
It should be noted that liberals may *promote* an ideal of autonomy without supporting an exercise conception of freedom. Thus, they identify internal constraints but seek to remove them by means of removing external constraints rather than imposing further constraints given that the 'self' is an active agent. Furthermore, one can distinguish between liberal conceptions according to whether they promote self-development and autonomy or self-determination, acting according to one's mere desires, on the basis of the attitude towards the existence of internal constraints that are to be lifted. It is not a case of the former being an exercise conception and the latter an opportunity one.

X is (not) free from Y to do *or* to do/not do Z.[152]

Hence when freedom is granted, i.e. X is free…

Republican/idealist :

X is free from Y to do Z but X is not free from Y_x not to do Z. [153]

Liberal :

X is free from Y to do/not do Z and X is free from Y_x not to do Z

As a result, there are *four* elements on which conceptions of freedom turn – the nature of the agent, X, the nature of the constraints, Y, the nature of the activities or states of being or becoming Z and whether the activity or state of being/becoming is something which the agent can choose. Some conceptions will combine the two as Skinner's liberal republicanism does. However, it should be remembered that at the highest level of generality *all* conceptions of freedom are of the form X is free from Y to do Z.

Before moving on to the issue of constraints, let us emphasise some of the points raised above that are of particular importance for analysts of ideology. First, one must distinguish between general and specific content for Z and, as regards the specific, be fully aware of the Zs one *is* free to do or to do/not do and those Zs which one *is not*. Second, it is perfectly possible for conceptions of freedom to overlap as is the case with idealist or liberal republicanism and liberal idealism. The blend of liberal and republican and/or idealist conceptions will be most easily seen if we consider the Zs that we are *not free not to* do (i.e. required Zs) as well as those we *are free* to do or not (unconstrained Zs) and those we *are not free* to do (prevented Zs). Thus, the value of MacCallum's formula lies in drawing our attention to the following issues :

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[152] At all times, read 'to do or to do/not do (to be or to be/not be; to become or to become/not become)' – this has been omitted for clarity of presentation

[153] Y and Y_x signify different constraints.

Where Z is general : X is free from Y to do/be/become Z

For specific Zs : a) X is free from Y to do or to do/not do (be/become) Z
b) X is not free from Y to do or to do/not do (be/become) Z
c) X is not free from Y to not do (be/become) Z

This is a specific example of Cohen's broader point that we should pay attention to the activities we are free to do and those we are not, as well as the issue of what limiting conditions are viewed as constraints and which are not.[154] As MacCallum argues, debates about conceptions of freedom turn on why certain Zs are to be valued and hence included and why certain circumstances are viewed as constraints and others are not. We must then delineate 'X is free..to do (not do...) Z' *and* 'X is not free...to do (not do...) Z' and, relation to a certain Z or all Zs, 'X is free from Y_P' *and* 'X is not free from Y_R'.

Having introduced the notion of constraints, it is now time to consider the possible variations for Y in MacCallum's formula. As well as being external or internal, on some conceptions their origins may differ but the remedy for both is external. Furthermore, conceptions can be distinguished according to whether they seek to lift all types of constraints or only those caused in a certain way. Considering external constraints, there is debate over what should be included, often referred to as the distinction between 'formal' and 'real' or 'effective' freedom. As suggested above, Hayek and Nozick both consider only external barriers in terms of physical restraint, coercion and legal rules. In terms of the distinction, the legal rules guarantee formal freedoms, i.e. one is free from the constraint of the law. By contrast, Van Parijs and Sen respectively highlight the constraining dimension of lacking resources and capacities to act in the way desired and thus have the chance to achieve Z.[155] To be guaranteed such resources and capacities is to have 'effective' freedom, i.e. formal freedom + resources/capacities. With regard to these, the ideological analyst must delineate the understanding of the good in question and the level at which it is considered a constraint. For example, as regards education and health, there are a range of understandings available and, as with money, a range of levels that may be intended.

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[154] Cohen (1991); Miller (1991).
[155] Van Parijs (1990); Sen (1989).

Thus, external constraints vary between physical restraint, coercion, laws and the lack of certain welfare goods.

However, the formal-effective distinction frequently collapses. Premised on the lack of economic goods preventing me from enjoying a trip to Mexico, it overlooks the fact that it is the laws and/or conventions requiring me to pay for such a trip that ultimately prevent me from obtaining it. The resolution lies either in altering the nature of the formal freedoms so that no money or less money is required within existing institutions, adding institutions to provide services for no money *or* ensuring that individuals are guaranteed certain levels of money.[156] What the consideration of formal and effective freedom really highlights is whether conceptions consider economic resources and welfare goods as constraints on freedom or not.

Turning to internal constraints, these are most commonly considered in idealist conceptions. However, as we have seen, they are a key issue for liberal conceptions that promote an ideal of autonomy and, if we consider Hobbes' arguments on the freedom of the will, arguably apply, albeit to a lesser extent, to those that promote self-determination. The key idea is that the agent may be constrained by features internal to herself such as a lack of rational capacity per se or as a result of pathological or irrational motivations, weakness of will, an incorrect assessment of the rational action for herself as an individual or as a human being with certain essential characteristics, or a rejection of such essential characteristics. The constraints vary in relation to the particular ideal. For example, autonomy requires both reflective capacity and information as well as a range, in quantity and/or quality, of options and relevant skills. Further, it also requires that individuals are not subject to pathologically irrational motivations. Regarding authentic desires, both Taylor and Connolly highlight the need for the removal of internal constraints of lack of rational capacity, information and pathological motivations but emphasise the interaction between the formation of desires and beliefs and the process of socialisation and the social structure. As a result, they add a further dimension of external constraint to be removed so as to prevent the range of desires formed as being inauthentic.[157] Finally, moving to the self-realisation category, the individual can be viewed as completely mistaken as to her 'real' freedom, which is

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[156] Swift (2001), p.55-9. The same applies for education and health, even though Swift cites illness preventing me from applying for a job as a paradigm case of an agent lacking effective freedom. This is only true when the changes outlined in the text will not remove the illness. If the illness is curable or preventable, this is not the case as is evident from arguments over healthcare and health policy.
[157] Taylor (1991), Connolly (1993).

achieved via realisation of the distinctively human characteristics. Thus, the individual's thoughts may themselves be adjudged a constraint to be removed by external control of their action and the closing of space for critical reflection.

What is clear from the examples given is that such internal constraints are to be removed by external constraints being imposed or lifted as the internal is viewed as a reflection of the external. This is suggested by the observations of Taylor and republicans such as Pettit on the internal effect of living in certain external conditions (i.e. an insufficiently diverse environment or a dictatorship respectively). It also follows from consideration of the way in which laws and coercion, both forms of threat, affect one's freedom by altering the balance of one's calculation in relation to a certain action. Furthermore, the consideration of the lack of economic and welfare resources as a result of societal arrangements clearly points to the interaction of external conditions and internal capacity.

This relation between external and internal constraints is most apparent when the internal are to be overcome by the imposition of external constraints, i.e. the agent will be prevented from doing something or required to do something by means of physical force or personal/legal coercion. Thus, the internal is to be affected by the realisation that certain activities will be prevented or are punishable. However, it is also evident from the removal of external constraints when alterations to the social environment result in a greater range of options and the guarantee of certain levels of economic resources and welfare service provision. In this sense, the external constraint consists of the lack of certain external arrangements, which is causally linked to the internal constraint. In the examples given, the internal constraint can be the lack of *desire* to do Z as well as the internal *capacity* to do it. Thus, although we may distinguish conceptions of freedom on the basis of external and internal constraints, it must be remembered that the ultimate source of internal constraints may be external.

A second important distinction to be made with regard to constraints, be they external or internal, is whether their origin is natural, individual or social. Such issues are present in Connolly's distinction between a constraint and a limit, i.e. constraints that should be a matter of concern and those that should not on his conception of freedom.[158] A constraint that should be lifted is one which is an obstacle to an agent's action *and* is either the result of a deliberate act of another or their negligence and/or is

[158] Connolly (1993); Miller (1991).

potentially alterable by individual and/or social action at a cost that is not so high as to be prohibitive. A key question then is to establish which obstacles to action are viewed as constraints and which as limits.

However, these distinctions between limits and constraints also raise the important issue of the candidates for constraints to liberty on the basis of whether they are the result of individual or collective action or negligence, which implies that they can be either individually or collectively remedied. For example, Hayek and Nozick understand constraints only in terms of the direct results of deliberate and intended action(s) by an identifiable individual, limiting the constraints to physical constraint and coercion.[159] By contrast, social democratic writers, such as Plant, argue that individuals can be viewed as constrained by the unintended but foreseeable outcomes of actions by identifiable individuals *and* of collective systems of interaction such as the market. This may necessitate an alteration of the goods held by individuals via a process of redistribution *or* an alteration of the context itself by reducing or replacing the market as the dominant production system. The contrast rests in part on whether one can conceive of an individual or a collective agent such as the State acting to remove the constraint.[160] Hence, constraints can be distinguished according to who is viewed as responsible or able to remove them, i.e. individuals *qua* individuals or *qua* a collective representative within a system of interaction. The characterisation of the relevant actions above also highlighted a second set of distinctions according to whether actions were intended or unintended but foreseeable; by referring to negligence, whether they are acts of commission or omission; and whether the outcomes are the direct or indirect effect of the actions in question.

Connolly's position also raises the idea of possibility, i.e. that the constraints *can* be lifted and so the situation remedied, not only as a matter of ability but also of opportunity cost, as the cost may be prohibitive given what is required to achieve removal of the constraint. Hence, the question of 'possibility' in political, economic, technological, historical and moral terms, raised earlier in relation to needs, applies as much to the characterisation of obstacles to action. Given the range of possibilities listed here, we are reminded that decisions on whether one can and should lift certain constraints intersect with a whole range of other value positions as well as technical considerations. For example, in his discussions of circumstantial luck and its effect on

[159] Hayek (1991); Nozick (1974); Steiner (1991).
[160] Plant (1980).

desert judgements, Miller has observed that it is impossible to remove the influence of social and economic circumstances on freedom, at least from any recognisable liberal pluralist perspective. One can only reduce them. Thus, the point at which social and economic circumstances change from constraints to limits, i.e. they cannot be removed at a non- prohibitive cost, is extremely important when considering liberal egalitarian positions.[161] Of course, it would be perfectly possible to remove them if other values or the concept of liberty itself were defined in a different way.

Finally, let us turn to X, the agent of freedom. This may be an individual or, as in certain aspects of the republican position, a collective agent, i.e. a state that is free from interference of certain types by other states. Where it is an individual, this may be either an empirical or noumenal one, as posited in idealist conceptions with the result that the empirical self can be viewed as a constraint. The nature of noumenal selves will vary according to whether the ideal and empirical selves can be universal, applying to all human beings, or particular, i.e. denoting for example, members of certain states, races, culture and personal characteristics (e.g. age, sex, physical and/or mental ability). In the case of collective agents, they may be viewed as collections of individuals or as ontological entities in their own right that take priority over the individuals of which compose them.[162]

2.3.- Equality

There are two key aspects of equality, both of which reflect the following quadradic formula :

A is equal to B in respect of C to level D.

Numerous writers draw a distinction between 'moral' equality and 'distributive' equality, with the former, focussing as it does on status, offering no guide in itself to the distributive good(s) and principle(s).[163] Moral equality may give rise to an equal distribution of a variety of different goods from formal rights or formal contribution to the social calculation of a utilitarian system or to an equal distribution of welfare,

[161] Miller (2005), p.191-3.
[162] Swift (2001).
[163] Barry (1990a), p.119; Swift (2001), p.93-4.

resources, advantage or capability.[164] One should also add 'status' given the focus of Miller and, implicitly, Walzer in his notion of complex equality[165]. Not only must such broad terms be broken down into their constituent parts but also, when applied to the policy level, one must consider the understanding of the good being used *and* how this is to be achieved, i.e. by outcome, provision (including resources, availability and quality) and process.[166]

When human beings are deemed to be morally equal, they are considered to form a single moral reference group to whom the principle in question is to be applied without arbitrary distinction.[167] This designation of a reference group is based on one or more qualifying characteristics shared by all members of the group in much the same way as has been discussed in relation to rights.[168] Thus, in considering moral equality, it is clear that C stands for the qualifying characteristic(s). Furthermore, these may be possessed to varying degrees with a certain level being deemed necessary if one is to qualify, i.e. D. Turning to distributive equality, this holds that moral equals should receive or be guaranteed an equal distribution of various goods, such as those outlined above, to a certain level. The two are related as follows :

On the basis that A and B are equal in respect of C to level D (i.e. moral equality), A is equal to B in respect of E to level F over time, T (i.e. distributive equality)

where A and B are the agents in both cases; C refers to the qualifying characteristic for moral equality and D for the level required; E refers to the good to be distributed on an equal basis to level F; and T is the time-span over which this equal distribution is to occur as explored below.

The discussion of moral and distributive equality, particularly in the variables C and F, highlights an important issue. As various writers have proposed, equality in both senses may theoretically be understood as 'identity' or 'similarity', although the latter is

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[164] Nagel (2002); Sen (1989); Dworkin (1981a); Arneson (2002); Cohen (1989).
[165] Miller (1995). Complex equality is achieved when the distributive criterion that guides each autonomous sphere, on the basis of the good's social meaning, is respected. Thus, no one good can be converted across spheres, becoming dominant. As Miller notes, the animating idea is that of avoiding an overall ranking of status through the multiplicity of autonomous spheres. See Walzer (1983).
[166] Le Grand (1982)
[167] Barry (1990a), p.119.
[168] Williams (1973).

undoubtedly the more common. Thus, members of the moral reference group may share only one qualifying characteristic, while being different in every other respect, or they may share far more, possibly even be identical, i.e. one can pinpoint no difference between them. The same goes for distributive equality.[169] Thus, one may be equal to another by virtue of receiving the same rights as others or rights in the same area but cashed out in terms of slightly different goods and/or to slightly different levels. As Cohen notes in relation to the equal distribution of goods, one may also adopt a comprehensive or partial position according to whether one proposes that both external and internal goods should be guaranteed to an equal level or simply external goods.[170] Furthermore, given Sen's critique of Rawls' and Dworkin's commitment to an equal level of resources for each on the grounds that equal resource distribution must be sensitive to the differing capacities of individuals to achieve certain functionings, a concern for distributive equality may take the form of differing distributions of the same good between people on the grounds of their differing circumstances.[171] Thus, one may opt for identity or similarity at the level of the qualifying characteristic, the good to be distributed equally and/or the amount to be distributed.

Let us now return to the goods to be distributed equally, E, in order to address the distinction between equal opportunity and equal outcome for such goods that has been a key battleground within egalitarian liberal circles and between them and socialists for decades. In the case of equality of opportunity, it is the opportunity for the good in question that is to be equally distributed; in the case of equality of outcome, it is the good itself. Thus, equal outcome refers to the situation in which each member of the reference group is to have an equal amount of the good in question.[172] With regard to equality of opportunity, it is important to recall the discussion of liberty since equality of opportunity is in fact an expression of the intersection of the concepts of equality and liberty. There it was argued that a distinction could be made between external constraints that included formal barriers or a lack of goods. In conceptions of equality of opportunity that only consider formal constraints, no distribution of means such as welfare goods is undertaken. Thus, there is no concern for substantive equality of outcome in any sense. In the case of conceptions that include a lack of welfare goods, for example, as a constraint, there are distributive consequences that result in a certain

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[169] Williams (1973); Tawney (1964); Nagel (2002); Sen (1989)
[170] Cohen (1995), p104-10.
[171] Sen (1989).
[172] Sen (1989); Cohen (1989); Arneson (2002); Gosepath (2001).

guaranteed level of such goods. Where these are to be guaranteed only prior to adulthood by means of service provision and cash-grants on majority, as in left-libertarian theories outlined in the section on social justice, there is no concern for equality of outcome. However, where it applies across the lifecycle per se or for outcomes that are the result or where the position of children is to be guaranteed in part by additions to parental income, substantive equality of outcome is a feature.[173] The question is then the goods concerned and the level at which they must be guaranteed. Thus, the distinction between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome can only be sustained for certain understandings of equality of opportunity and is closely related to the conception of liberty involved. Where equality of outcome is relevant for equality of opportunity, the argument concerns the level and range of goods for which equality of outcome should be guaranteed as well as the basic principle of whether divergence from total equality of outcome should be accepted and, if so, on what grounds.[174] For the essence of equality of opportunity, be it formal or substantive, is that individuals should be free from certain constraints to compete for goods and receive the goods and thereby positions within the social hierarchy that they can.[175]

Before leaving the consideration of equality of opportunity and equality of outcome, two things must be noted. First, in relation to equality of opportunity, the relevance of the goods distributed to participation in a competition for position in the social hierarchy renders the goods in question positional. Thus, the more one possesses of such goods, the more comparative advantage one obtains within the competitive process. Therefore, while goods may indeed still have purely personal advantages in terms of their intrinsic benefit or their benefits beyond the competition, they also have a necessarily positional dimension. This applies as much for goods like health as those of education, although we may wish to distinguish them by the directness of their influence on our comparative advantage. On this basis, the relative distribution of such goods is as important as their absolute distribution.[176] Second, the references to

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[173] Anderson (1999); Dworkin (1981a), (1981b); Cohen (1995), p.104-10; Hirsch (1977), p.5.

[174] For example, conceptions of substantive equality of opportunity view some of the following as morally arbitrary factors that should not affect an individual's access to welfare goods beyond a certain level : the effects of social and economic circumstances, those of natural ability, and those of choice and effort, being considered largely the product of one's socio-economic circumstances. See Swift (2001).

[175] Arneson (2002).

[176] Hirsch (1975); Goodin (1990); Swift (2001), p.115-7.

conceptions of equality of opportunity that apply either up to adulthood or across the lifecycle raises a further dimension of distributive equality, namely the time-span.[177]

Let us now consider the level of goods that are to be guaranteed. This is important for conceptions of equality of opportunity insofar as the degree to which certain factors constrain individuals is as important as their nature. First, it was noted that restrictions on the degree to which constraints to liberty might be lifted could exist for reasons of other moral commitments or political, economic or technological circumstances. Second, we have already seen that equality may refer to identity or similarity and this holds for the levels of goods also. Thus, the level and even the nature of the goods to be distributed may be strictly or proportionally so.[178] Thus, everyone may get the same share of the pie or more may go to the person who has not eaten for two days. Beyond this, distribution may, of course, be totally equal insofar as such strict equality applies to all goods and to all levels. Short of this, levels may be absolutely or relatively equal. This distinction draws on the social policy conception of absolute and relative poverty. The former denotes those who have less than an absolute level of goods while the latter refers to those who have less than a level set relative to the one reached by some reference point for the rest of the population.[179] The absolute level does not rise in line with the level for the population whereas the relative one does. While such relativity is central to conceptions conventionally termed egalitarian, with this effect being reinforced by the dichotomies established by priority and sufficiency advocates, this is not necessarily the case. Rather equality is inherently concerned with relativity in terms of comparability not necessarily relative comparability.[180]

Just as even libertarian conceptions promote a certain type of equality, namely of formal rights, so too they frequently promote a certain level, namely absolute floors of welfare goods to prevent destitution as noted in discussions of absolute poverty and safety-nets. In such cases, individuals are equal to each other insofar as each is guaranteed an absolute level of goods. The absolute level is universal.[181] As a result, both Frankfurt's sufficiency and Parfit's priority conceptions should be considered as conceptions of equality. Frankfurt promotes a level that is enough, which everyone

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[177] Gosepath (2001); Lamont (2003).
[178] Lamont (2003); Gosepath (2001); Arneson (2002). Proportionality usually refers to need but this is a contingent not a necessary association.
[179] See Alcock (1997).
[180] Miller (2004), p.191-3; Swift (2001), p.106-10,118-21; Gosepath (2001); Frankfurt (1987); Parfit (2002).
[181] Sen (1989); Gosepath (2001).

should be guaranteed. Hence, they are all equal with respect to this level. Meanwhile, Parfit proposes a distribution that favours those most in need, however defined, but does not strive for total equality. Rather the focus is on the absolute position of the worst off. The idea of a cut-off level is introduced insofar as it is a diminishing principle, i.e. the importance and level of priority decreases as individuals approach a certain point. Thus, all individuals are entitled to priority up to a certain level with respect to which they will then be equal. The aim of prioritarianism is to move individuals up to that level. It is, as it were, a strategy to reach sufficiency.[182] In conclusion, examination of the level of goods requires consideration of two pairs – i) strict or proportional equality; ii) absolute or relative equality.

2.4.- Progress

The concept of progress is one example of a range of conceptualisations of change.[183] Its remit can be seen most effectively by consideration of its contrasts. Thus, as a form of change, it contrasts with stability and in so doing is associated with the future rather than the present and/or the past. More specifically, it denotes beneficial change or advance as opposed to decline. When contrasted with cyclical conceptions of change, the emphasis is on unidirectional and potentially irreversible change. These directional and durational aspects raise the issue of what determines them. Thus, conceptions of progress and change in general may differ according to whether such change is the result of the direct application of human will, the indirect result of human interaction or an inevitable unfolding of history in which humans have a role but no conscious control. Or it may be argued that it will result from the exercise of human will to speed up and accelerate the latent force of progress. Furthermore, such advance may be voluntary or determined in another sense, i.e. that of the exercise of compulsion by other agents as opposed to history. Thus, conceptions of progress may be voluntarist or evolutionary or determinist or a blend of the former with one of the latter. Strongly connected to this distinction between human will, evolution and determinism is the idea of whether the conceptions of progress are teleological or not, i.e. whether there is a

[182] Frankfurt (1987); Parfit (2002). This applies particularly to the non-strict version but also to the strict version *qua* diminishing principle.
[183] This section is based on Nisbet's exhaustive study (1980).

determinate or indeterminate end or goal to be reached. This is the case for determinism but not for voluntarism and evolution.

On the basis of a wide-ranging survey, Nisbet holds that progress should be understood as human 'advance...,stage by stage, to some still unfulfilled end or goal'.[184] In so doing, he emphasises the idea of slow, gradual, continuous and stage-by-stage cumulative advance over time. Thus, progress denotes a particular view not only on the direction of change but also on the process, including its speed, degree and frequency. Given its association with slowness and gradualism, it is clearly contrasted by radicalism and revolution, despite the fact that both often denote beneficial change. However, Nisbet also stresses that often conceptions of progress posit the means by which it is to occur. In so doing, he distinguishes broadly between theorists such as Spencer, Turgot and Smith that see free individuals interacting in capitalist societies as the means to progress and those – such as Hegel and Saint-Simon and Comte - that view State power as a means to progress per se or an aid to its inevitable unfolding.

We are still left wondering about the nature of the advance, i.e. beneficial change in what. For Nisbet, this may be considered in terms of any one or more of the moral, spiritual, intellectual, material, economic, political, and social conditions of individuals and or societies. Within this, we can see a difference between those that relate directly to the perfectibility of human beings in terms of their own internal natures and those that relate directly to the perfectibility of their environment. Not only may these not be mutually exclusive but some may be valued for instrumental and/or intrinsic reasons. Thus, individual freedom may be both the primary means and goal of progress, which also facilitates other forms of progress such as the economic and the intellectual, which in turn contribute to the increase in individual freedom. Likewise, the State may be viewed as a means to perfect human beings and as an expression of such perfection insofar as it represents the ethical ideal that human beings are to realise. As we can see, there is no clear distinction between the means and the end of progress given the range of types possible for each and their presumed causal connections.

Finally, it is worth noting the strong connection between progress and knowledge. Those who prioritise freedom in a capitalist society do so, in part, owing to the assumption that it will lead to developments in knowledge on how to control and overcome the natural world and regulate the social world adequately, which will in turn

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[184] Nisbet (1980),p.8

enable increases in freedom. Likewise, those who focus more on the role of the State tend to posit that knowledge of human perfection and the means to achieve it either exist or can be developed and should be enforced so that human beings can be perfected. Thus, knowledge plays a significant role in all conceptions and there is, then, a strong rational association, although it need not result in the exclusion of aesthetic and spiritual life.

This discussion identifies the ineliminable element of progress as 'gradual advance' in the sense of moving forward from one state of affairs or type/level of something to another that is qualitatively or quantitatively better. Closely associated words are advancement, development, increase and improvement, which can be viewed as expressions of progress where they refer to gradual processes. As with the other concepts discussed, progress is predicated of an agent, who may be an individual or a collectivity such as a society. Furthermore, it must be gradual advance in terms of something in particular, which may be expressed generally as an overall state of affairs, at varying level of determinacy according to whether the conception is teleological or not. It can then be broken down into its components with increasing degrees of specificity in terms of types and levels of goods or condition.[185] Finally, this gradual advance will occur by certain means, which according to their nature, may represent the intersection between progress and democracy, market and civil society. As noted above, the means and the advance itself may be viewed as the result of human will or a deterministic process of evolution or historical development. Thus, one must consider if it occurs as a result of will or necessity.

The above considerations give us the following formal definition:

A voluntarily/necessarily advances gradually from B to C by means of D

where A is the agent; B and C denote different states of affairs or different types/levels of certain goods/conditions within the same state of affairs; D stands for the means by which it is achieved; and the relative balance of human will and necessity in the advance must be considered. As regards the agent, this may include individuals as well as society, despite the emphasis on the latter in Nisbet's work. Individuals too can

[185] Again, we recall that the process of substantive definition will not be achieved by a neat, once-and-for-all filling of the categories presented in the formal definition. Several candidates may be placed in any of the categories and they can be filled at increasing levels of specificity.

advance gradually and continuously, in an open-ended or teleological way, across a range of spheres as a result of their own conscious choices, the unintended consequences of their actions, the hand of history or the force of others.

2.5.- Community

Drawing on Frazer's work, it will be argued that interdependence and a subjective relation between agents are the ineliminable element of the concept of community. Such interdependence can occur across a range of spheres of interaction, at different levels of society and to varying degrees of frequency between members, who must be distinguished from non-members even if the boundaries of the community are not necessarily sealed. It is, therefore, necessarily accompanied by quasi-contingent categories denoting these spheres of interaction and the agents. However, there is also a subjective relation between members that is deemed to follow and/or maintain such interdependence. Furthermore, as Swift reminds us, community is associated with a goal, raising the need for a quasi-contingent category to recognise this.[186]

Exploring communitarian conceptions of community, Frazer posits that the common elements are relations between whole persons who share certain things and are oriented towards the centre of the community. However, the key is in fact interdependence. For example, in her discussion of philosophical communitarianism, Frazer highlights the emphasis of writers such as Sandel and Taylor on the dependence of the individual on the community in which she lives for her identity and aspects thereof such as language and culture. The issue at hand for these writers is not the mere fact of these things being shared but, as the multiculturalism debate shows, that their continuation depends on others continuing to interact in the same way. The linguistic and cultural practices that give rise to the identity are shared in the sense of being social or collective practices with particular effects on individuals. This collective nature emphasises the interdependence of such relationships.[187] In the case of political communitarianism, Etzioni and Putnam stress the interdependence of individuals given that they are embedded in social relations. Their actions have consequences for each other and, as such, need to be ordered if social existence is to be stable. This is achieved

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[186] Frazer (1999), Chs.1-2 – this source holds for all references to Frazer. This section also owes a great deal to Mulhall and Swift (1996) and Swift (2001), Part 4.
[187] Sandel (1982); Taylor (1985).

by the recognition of certain rights and duties, which are enshrined and enforced formally by the State if needs be but, wherever possible, informally through a combination of individual commitment and self-restraint and informal social control through the expression of (dis)approval. Furthermore, there is a central role for a wide range of local associational activity. First, it is valued as a way of generating trust in others' reciprocity, thereby increasing the willingness to abide by the duties in question. Second, it demonstrates the benefits of interaction with others on the basis of certain rights and duties. Third, it ensures the most extensive reach for informal social control, which can only work among individuals known to each other, preferably over several spheres of action.[188] Such associational activity is inherently collective, rendering members interdependent, insofar as multiple individuals are required for its existence.

Thus, the 'sharing' aspect of community should in fact be understood as interdependence, expressing the view that certain features or activities are inherently shared. Members of any community depend on each other for its existence and any benefits they obtain thereby. In a sense, the interdependence central to community stresses the collective aspect of any set of relationships. However, as Frazer emphasises in her definition of the communitarian conception, a subjective relation between members is an important part of the concept.[189] Individual members are to perceive themselves as such and develop subjective orientations towards the community as a whole and/or its members. It is not merely the objective situation of interdependence that is crucial but members' realisation of that and its expression in their response towards others. This subjective relation must then be considered an ineliminable element of the concept.

The discussion of interdependence and the subjective relation has raised two quasi-contingent categories, namely the spheres of interaction and the members themselves. However, the interdependence of community applies not only to the objective relationship between members but also to a goal. To an extent, this has already been implied through reference to the idea of participation within collective practices having a role in the self-constitution of the individual and the idea that members of the community depend on each other for the existence of the collective practice in question and whatever benefits they derive from it. In addition, it is obvious that the goal itself may simply be the continuation of the collective practices for their

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[188] Putnam (2000); Etzioni (1996).
[189] See also Fielding (2000), Olsson (1998), Swift (2001); Deakin (2001); Edwards (2004).

own sake, enjoining a collectivist approach to morality. Hence, the goal or purpose of community must be included as a quasi-contingent category within the conceptual formula. As a result, the latter can be established as follows :

Subjectively related by S, all Ms are interdependent with respect to C for purpose P

where Ms represent the agents; C stands for the spheres of interaction; P denotes the purpose; and S expresses the subjective relation.

The question of the members is important given that the concept of community necessarily involves drawing a boundary between members and non-members as Frazer emphasises. Indeed, as she notes, such boundaries may be tightly or loosely drawn and considered fixed or malleable. Reflecting general questions in political theory, we must ask how far the community extends in terms of members. For example, it may be universal or particularist and, as regards the latter, coterminous with the nation-state or extend beyond it or constitute a sub-section within it.

Turning to the spheres of interaction, these may vary in kind as well as nature. Considering the former, Frazer notes that interdependence may refer to structured and formal and/or unstructured and informal relations. For example, Fielding shows the importance of informal, personal, small-scale relations while Etzioni, arguing that the whole of society can be viewed as a community, embraces the formal and the informal, albeit prioritising the latter.[190] However, Frazer also argues one should examine the density of such interaction, i.e. its frequency and duration, and whether it is multiplex or simple, i.e. the number of spheres of interaction it covers and/or the degree to which it concerns any particular sphere. Finally, it may occur at different levels, i.e. macro, meso and/or micro. For example, community may refer to local level activity only; or it may refer to all the individuals within a nation-state at all levels or primarily at this national level.

Regarding the nature of the spheres of interaction, community may intersect with concepts denoting broad areas, such as democracy, the market and civil society. To draw a distinction between the community and, say, the State and hence democracy is to posit a particular conception in terms of limiting C to certain domains. Both democracy and the market are social relations entailing interdependence between individuals and

[190] Fielding (2000); Etzioni (1996).

could then be conceived of as communities. In the case of community and civil society, these may intersect or exclude each other depending on the conception, as Frazer demonstrates. For example, community is frequently understood as referring to social, rather than economic, associational activity, the core of the currently dominant conception of civil society. Alternatively, they may be opposed, as in the early sociological distinction between community, understood as denoting face-to-face, personal, small-scale, non-market and non-political interdependencies, and civil society, understood as referring to impersonal, instrumental and large-scale interaction, be these social, political or economic.

However, community could intersect with all three concepts of the market, democracy and civil society, as implied by Etzioni's reference to everything being called a community even at the macro level. For example, the three spheres could be viewed as communities themselves but also as part of a broader community given the interdependence between the spheres themselves. The concepts remain conceptually distinct, however, for the following reasons. First, the concept of community stresses the subjective recognition of and orientation towards such interdependence by members whereas the others do not. Second, it highlights interdependence rather than interaction per se. While it is certainly true that a recognition of interdependence may motivate actors to engage in certain forms of interaction and that by doing so new interdependencies result, the idea of interdependence involves more than interaction, particularly, as noted above, issues concerning its continuation. By contrast, the other concepts delineate the precise nature of the particular form of interaction.

This consideration of the intersection between community and such usually disparate concepts such as the market leads us to the question of the subjective relation between members. Frazer establishes a broad range of possibilities : affection, solidarity, concern for others as persons rather than as role-fillers and interest in mutually beneficial and reciprocal interaction. Furthermore, given the idea, raised by philosophical communitarians, of the objective interdependence constituting the individual to some degree, one should include self-identification. According to the inclusion of mutually beneficial and reciprocal interaction, the subjective relation may ultimately be self-interest and hence a more liberal conception of community could be created.[191] Alternatively, the subjective relation may be that of identification with other

[191] This need not be egoistic.

members on the grounds of the constitutive effect of community membership. Community may, then, refer to a 'discovered' subjective relation crucial for identity along the lines of philosophical communitarians or, as both Frazer and Swift emphasise, it may refer to a relation that is to some extent voluntary and chosen primarily on the basis of self-interest as expressed by proponents of an actual or hypothetical social contract with at best contingent relevance for identity.

The discussion of the subjective relation reminds us that the goal or purpose of community, although inherently related to interdependent interaction between members relating to each other on certain subjective grounds, need not give rise to moral collectivism. While the goal may be nothing more than the continuation of the community, it may be justified in terms of its benefits to individuals and hence be compatible with moral individualism. Likewise, the goal may itself have individual content as is commonly the case in liberal conceptions of community. As such, individuals may be viewed as capable of detaching themselves from the community mentally in order to evaluate it or they may be taken to be constituted by it and inextricably immersed as philosophical communitarianism holds.

Building on the points made on possible intersections between community and other concepts and on the potential for liberal conceptions, such interdependence may be viewed as giving rise to a certain distribution of rights and duties, i.e. it may intersect with a particular conception of social justice. For example, within the multicultural debate, considerable effort has been focussed on determining what the rights and duties of members of ethno-cultural communities are to one another, e.g. whether they have the right to leave or the duty to remain. Likewise, within political communitarianism, both Etzioni and Putnam have stressed the duties that derive from interdependence, especially at the local level, as well as the rights that, according to Etzioni, liberalism neglects per se or has historically failed to emphasise. The difference between such conceptions and liberal ones turns on the manner in which such duties and rights have been arrived at and how they are to be justified to their members.

2.6.- Civil society

The most common contemporary anglophone understanding of civil society is as 'associational life' within the social sphere, distinguished from the political and the

economic.[192] However, there is a much longer history that shows us more clearly the nature of the concept. There is a long social contract tradition of civil society as a political association, thus denoting a 'set of governmental institutions exercising authority over a given national community'.[193] While the 'massive, spontaneous network of human interaction outside and distinct from politics and civil government' gradually emerged within liberal thought but without being called civil society, as in the work of Smith, Tocqueville and Mill, this non-political sphere began to be referred to as civil society by Hegel.[194] In the latter's hands, civil society was understood as the realm of differentiated and particular interests, especially in terms of the market and public ideas, that stood between the immediate, affectionate relations of the family and the universal ethical relations of the State. Participation in it enabled individuals to fulfil their needs and form their identities through mutual recognition, facilitating spread and diversification of relations in the process but also risking the sphere's destruction given the clash of particular desires, unless the State established and enforced universal rules.[195]

The Hegelian distinction between State and civil society continued through Marx, although civil society now referred exclusively to the system of production and the State was an instrument of the dominant economic class. Furthermore, its positive associations were dropped in favour of an emphasis on conflict and dehumanising conditions to be remedied by altering the production system and removing the need for the State as a purveyor of force and ideology to suppress the masses in the interests of the ruling class. Under Gramsci, the ideational aspect of the Hegelian conception of civil society returned to the fore as it came to denote the realm of ideas by which the ruling classes exercised cultural leadership. The solution to the problems of the economic sphere, no longer part of civil society, was to combine cultural critique and action by political agents and workers' rather than to focus predominantly on the economic dimension, and transformation was to occur through the progressive absorption of State functions by voluntary associations.[196]

Under the influence of Hegel, Marx and Gramsci, the separate non-political domain of society central to much liberal writing became identified with civil society in

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[192] Edwards (2004), p.20.
[193] Harris (2003b), p.16,15-19; Keane (1988), p.35-9; Kaviraj (2001),p.289-90.
[194] Harris (2003b), p.35,23-5; Seligman (2002), p.17-19; Keane (1988), p.40-4,62-4.
[195] Femia (2001), p.132-5; Bobbio (1988), p.80-4; Keane (1988), p.50-5; Kaviraj (2001), p.298-300; Seligman (2002), p.25; Khilnani (2001), p.23-4.
[196] Femia (2001), p.139-42; Bobbio (1988), p.82-94.

various ways. After a brief union between this non-political sphere and the conceptual term in early twentieth century British liberal thought, the two were separated and the latter lost to anglophone liberalism until its re-emergence to define a set of 'autonomous social and economic institutions outside the sphere of government' in the writings of Habermas and Dahrendorf.[197] While its reference to the economic and social spheres has continued in some conceptions, particularly in writings directed towards democratisation in Eastern Europe, in liberal democratic countries it has become synonymous with a sphere of interaction independent of the State and the market as exemplified in the writings of neo-Tocquevillians such as Putnam, Hirst and Keane.[198] Here voluntary association with others, formally in terms of self-governing associations and, in addition for Putnam, informally and even highly sporadically, is viewed as an essential precondition of effective representative democracy and of the effective resolution of economic, political and social problems. Thus, Putnam posits that only through regular social contacts and networks of myriad sorts at the local level can individuals come to trust each other to reciprocate and hence combine to resolve collective action problems efficiently and effectively. Society needs a combination of trust within associations (bonding capital), across associations (bridging capital) and at the interface between associations and other social institutions such as the State and the market (linking capital).[199] Although the State is viewed as a necessary condition of stability and order and, as regards welfare, funding and performance management, the primary means of social organisation is to be that of voluntary association. Thus, the State is only to be considered where it is clear that voluntary association will be inadequate. Furthermore, where the State and/or the market is deemed necessary, voluntary association is deemed essential to provide the trust between individuals that is essential for their effective operation, by reducing the likelihood of free-riding and hence reducing transaction costs. It also contributes to the development of practical civic skills (e.g. deliberative and organisational capacities) and civic virtues (e.g. active participation in public life, trustworthiness, reciprocity, obedience to the law, industry, independence, courage).[200] Hence, opportunities for this type of activity and for

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[197] Harris (2003a), p.1; See also Khilnani (2001), p.15-6.
[198] Gellner (1994); Putnam (2000); Hirst (1993); Keane (1988).
[199] Putnam (2000), p.22; Edwards (2004), p.33.
[200] Putnam (2000), p.338-40; Gutmann (1998), p.25.

involvement by local associations or national associations in such formal and/or national interaction should be maximised.[201]

However, alternative conceptions continue. First, there is that of a 'partnership' between State, market and civil society that seeks to strike a balance rather than prioritise the latter as the associationalists propose. Tasks are apportioned according to the functional capacity of each sphere.[202] Second, there is civil society as 'the good society' understood as the associationalist thesis viewed in terms of the intrinsic value of voluntary social interaction at a small-scale level in which individuals engage in frequent interaction across a range of areas, using informal means wherever possible. Thus, all dimensions of interaction should be modelled, as far as possible, on such a basis.[203] Third, one could argue that the 'good society' is one in which political institutions are just and effective and that such institutions create trust between members of society either alone or in combination with those favoured by associationalists. Thus, civil society becomes a blend of political and social interaction or moves back totally in the direction of the political.[204] Fourth, a more distinctive conception is that of civil society as the 'arena for argument and deliberation' of Gramsci, Habermas and the critical theory school. Civil society is then the 'public sphere' where free and equal individuals engage in non-violent discussion of the common good, seeking to reach agreement on the basis of reasoned argument. This is threatened by the 'privatisation of the public' via commercialisation of communication channels, the degeneration of political communication into soundbites, few opportunities to participate and a lack of information, inequalities in social resources that affect the capacity of many to participate and, linked to this, the tendency of the responsibilities of work and family to reduce the time and energy of individuals have for such participation.[205] Fifth, one may combine the associationalist and ideational conceptions as Walzer has done, defining civil society as 'the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks – formed for the sake of family, faith, interest, and ideology – that fill this space' but also describing this as the

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[201] Such work dovetails with the social policy literature on voluntary and community associations in welfare provision in which the former denote formal organisations, in which members provide services to non-members, and the latter denote those organised, often relatively informally, on the basis of mutual aid among those who live within a certain geographical area . See Halfpenny and Reid (2002).
[202] Edwards (2004), p.11.
[203] Edwards (2004), p.33-48; Putnam (2000), p.136,147; Etzioni (1996).
[204] Edwards (2004), p.39; Bell (1998), 261-2; Rothstein (1998).
[205] Edwards (2004), p.55-69; Habermas (1984)

'arena where a conception of the good is worked out'. Thus, on a liberal assumption of pluralistic and voluntarily entered associations and networks, albeit supported by substantial socioeconomic redistribution and reforms to the State and the market, different conceptions of the good will be subject to contest by others.[206]

On the basis of this discussion, we can outline the key components of the conceptual formula. The first element, suggested by the term society, is that of a web of relationships. The second, represented by the term civil, is that of the manner in which such interaction occurs. It is this dimension that has varied so considerably over time. In its identification with the political, it denotes a web of interaction that operates on the basis of laws, contrasted with the 'state of nature' which operated according to the natural distribution of physical strength and individual disposition to exercise it. In its identification as a counter to the political, it refers to either one or two modes, namely the market and social relationships between the economic and the political. The market, as will be explored later, operates on the basis of prices while social relationships, when differentiated in this fashion, operate on the basis of either agreement and/or attachment. The basis varies because the concept of civil society may intersect with a liberal conception of freedom, which views such relationships as primarily or exclusively the result of voluntary action, as displayed by the choice to enter or at least to remain within them; or it may intersect with an idealist conception of freedom, which posits such relationships as constitutive of the individual so one is not free to choose with regard to such memberships but rather free to realise oneself within them; and/or it may intersect with certain conceptions of community and social justice so that one's interdependence with other members of the group in question denies one the freedom to leave the group because it gives rise to certain duties.

In addition to the operative basis for the designated sphere, there is also the issue of the primary purpose for which such interaction takes place. In the case of civil society as political interaction identified with the State, the purpose, as seen from the contrast with the 'state of nature', is a system of laws that secure stability and the potential for co-operation either under the auspices of the State or as a result of individual choices as expressed through the exercise of rights. Although the State may involve itself in a wide areas of interaction, it does so on the basis that such involvement is essential for its primary purpose of creating and maintaining a viable system of laws.

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[206] Walzer (2002), p.153,162,172-3.

When civil society is identified with the market, the focus switches to the pursuit of economic self-interest, primarily in terms of monetary profit. A wide range of goods can be exchanged but the primary motive behind such exchange is monetary profit, not their wider distribution per se.

When civil society is identified with the social sphere, the primary purpose is often not political or economic, consisting of providing members or non-members with leisure, religious or welfare activities. In all cases, political and economic activities are only required if these spheres impinge directly on the activities of the group. However, the primary purpose may be political, e.g. a social association or network is established primarily in order to influence the State with regard to a particular cause or set of causes. By contrast with the State, the main interest lies in the content of the system of laws, not the creation and maintenance of the system of laws itself. Similarly, participation in the market may be required insofar as an association or network is established for the purpose of achieving a good that will not be effectively or efficiently acquired by political or purely social means. By contrast with market activity, the primary interest lies in the distribution of the good in question, given its benefit to those who acquire it, and monetary profit is either precluded or viewed purely from the point of view of enabling greater quantities of the good in question to be produced in the future[207].

Thus, the following formal definition of civil society suggests itself :

Xs and Ys interact in relation to Z on the basis of B for purpose P

where X and Y are the agents; Z is the sphere of interaction, e.g. political, economic, cultural, religious, leisure etc; B is the operative mechanism for interaction, i.e. laws, prices and agreements and/or attachments; and P is the purpose for which such interaction occurs, i.e. continuance of a political system, profit or a range of non-political and non-economic goods, particular laws or the effective and efficient distribution of certain goods.

Considering civil society as a set of political institutions, it is clear that associated concepts such as democracy, aristocracy and monarchy are concerned with particular ways of organising the distribution of power within civil societies. If

[207] Putnam (2000), Chs.2-7; Gutmann (1998), p.10-13; Edwards (2004), p.24-32.

incorporating the market, civil society is usually associated with a particular conception of the market in the form of a variety of capitalism. As regards civil society as the social sphere only, several variations must be considered. First, it may be formal or informal interaction, often expressed by reference to associations and networks respectively. Second, the range of purposes may be strictly limited or open. Third, they may include or exclude voluntary or constitutive associations per se or those with certain internal arrangements as well as primary or intimate associations or networks such as family and friends.[208] Fourth, such associations may be constituted on a philanthropic or mutual aid basis.[209] Fifth, secondary and/or tertiary associations may be included or excluded. In secondary associations, central organisational functions are undertaken by members acting together through a network of regular local, regional and national meetings and other forms of interactive, often face-to-face, communicative and decision-making processes. Tertiary organisations are dominated by professional staff and members participate primarily by providing funds and receiving and responding to newsletters or specific requests from the centre of the organisation.[210]

Finally, there are two important intersections with other concepts for this social conception of civil society. First, there is an intersection with equality insofar as both associations and individuals may vary in terms of resources and hence capacity for effective action.[211] Second, civil society interacts with conceptions of democracy and the market, paralleling the historical interaction between the spheres. The precise intersection with equality reflects the conceptions of both the other concepts and there is both a conceptual and historical intersection between civil society in terms of the scope of the democratic sphere and the role of the State vis-à-vis civil society.[212] This is very much a changing historical and conceptual relationship. Particular attention must be paid to the balance between State, market and civil society as means of organising society rather than simply noting that civil society is given a role. The relationship between the three is neither static nor generally one of equal power.

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[208] Kaviraj (2001), p.319; Gutmann (1998), p.10; Edwards (2004), p.4; Deakin (2001), p.5; Putnam (2000); Etzioni (1996)

[209] Deakin (2001), p.10. This reflects the distinction between voluntary and community associations noted earlier.

[210] Skocpol (1999), p.461-71; Putnam (2000), p.49-52.

[211] See Skocpol (1999), p.499-503; Walzer (2001), p.172-3; Putnam (2000), p.340-1,317. Association resources include organisational capacity, finances, staff numbers and skills, member numbers and educational and economic resources, and links to political actors.

[212] Skocpol (1999), p.504-5; Lewis (1995); Deakin (2001), Ch.2; Putnam (2000), p.413-4; Hirst (1993), p.128-31.

2.7.- Democracy

There are two key elements to the concept of democracy, power and the people, which can be taken to mean power by the people, for the people or of the people.[213] Insofar as 'by the people' implies participation whereas the others do not, it could be argued that participation by the people in ruling is a contingent element of the concept of democracy, albeit one usually included. Nevertheless, it can be countered that it is difficult to separate rule 'of the people' from rule 'by' some of the people. Furthermore, in the case of rule 'for the people', i.e. in their interests, the people participate insofar as they are a necessary consideration for rulers. Therefore, they may be said to participate in abstract as opposed to concrete terms, as Canovan argues was the case in pre-modern European attempts to add democratic legitimacy to monarchy, creating a fusion of these usually disparate concepts.[214] Thus, participation by the people must be viewed as a quasi-contingent category, covering abstract and concrete forms.

The two key components of power by the people, i.e. that the people rule, immediately draw our attention to a quasi-contingent category, namely the object of such rule, understood as its scope, i.e. the areas of interaction within the society that are subject to democratic control.[215] However, as social contract theory reminds us, in a democracy, the people thereby rule themselves and consequently democracy necessarily intersects with liberty. Democratic rule places constraints on action via its laws across certain spheres of interaction and itself constitutes an area of unconstrained action in terms of the conception of political freedom.

This notion of intersection reminds us of another usual form, namely between democracy and equality. Adapting Barry, a democratic procedure is

> 'a method of determining the content of law so that the preferences of citizens have some...connection with outcomes in a way that each counts equally.'[216]

The guarantee of equal contribution to the outcome has always been a crucial aspect of democracy, enshrined most often in the guise of 'one person one vote', applying to the

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[213] Held (2003), p.2-3
[214] Canovan (2005), Ch.2.
[215] Held (2003), p.2; Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987), Introduction.
[216] Barry (1991), p.25.

casting of the vote and a range of equal formal rights. However, the intersection with equality may go beyond this in some conceptions on the grounds that socioeconomic circumstances affect one's capacity to exercise rights and are hence relevant to considerations of democratic equality.[217] Thus, consideration must be given to the degree to which individuals from different socioeconomic positions have the means to participate.[218]

So far then, democracy is a simple case of 'The people rule Q' through some form of participation. However, three further issues arise. The first is the conceptualisation of 'the people' as Canovan has explored.[219] The second is the nature of participation and hence the manner in which the people 'rule', which, moving beyond the abstract-concrete distinction, may involve the direct and/or indirect concrete forms of involvement and representation and occur at different levels of democratic rule and different stages of the law-making process. The third is how the people rule, in terms of the actual process of ruling.[220] As political scientists emphasise, the key is sovereign democratic power both in terms of determining and enforcing the law. Thus, consideration must be given to the processes used to determine the laws, both in terms of whether they are predominantly aggregative or deliberative and, where aggregative, whether they rest on the majority principle. Turning to the enforcement aspect, this raises the issue of governing modes such as political accountability, bureaucracy, networks and quasi-markets that are often referred to in contemporary work on the topic as forms of holding to account those who implement democratic decisions, including workers in public, and hence ultimately democratically controlled, services.

On the basis of this discussion, the following conceptual formula presents itself :

Through D in stages $X_1,X_2...X_n$ at level E, the people, P, rule Q by means of M

where P denotes the subject and hence the constitution of 'the people'; D stands for the manner of participation; $X_1,X_2...X_n$ for the stages of the policy process and their substages and E for the level of activity; Q signifies the scope of the rule; and M represents the mechanism(s) by which rule is achieved. Having established the nature of the formal definition, attention must now be paid to the issues raised by the quasi-

[217] Christiano (2002).
[218] This applies also to pressure groups included below.
[219] Canovan (2005).
[220] Mayntz (1993).

contingent categories of the people, the scope of rule, the nature of participation and the process of ruling. [221]

2.7.1.- The People, P

It is clear that, as 'the people' represents a collective group, the concept of democracy necessarily intersects with that of community. Democracy can be viewed as an example of communal interdependence expressed via political mechanisms and ordered by the laws they produce. However, Canovan draws our attention to a series of important distinctions. Although 'the people' is a collective noun, it may represent either a collective body that transcends its contemporary members over time or solely in the contemporary context, or a 'collection' of 'transient individuals', roughly corresponding to the population.[222] As such it reflects the distinction between moral collectivism and individualism. On the transcendent interpretation, one may include Hegel's idea of the absolutist State as the ultimate expression of the will of moral right, Rousseau's concept of the general will, and the Marxist proletariat dictatorship and ultimate unanimity of communism. Nevertheless, even in the case of 'the people' as a 'collection of individuals' on liberal interpretations, a combination of direct and indirect institutional mechanisms are utilised to create a 'corporate body', as advocated in republican thought. As a result, decisions reached by this process are deemed to be made by the people.[223] Finally, it must be remembered that 'the people' as a contingent collection may consist not only of individuals but also, as a great deal of twentieth century liberal work has stressed, groups. Thus, pluralism, democratic elitism and the New Right's critique of these all emphasise the crucial role of interest groups within democratic arrangements viewing direct political participation by citizens *qua* individuals as primarily a case of voting in general elections.[224] Hence, we must also consider the degree to which 'the people' are viewed as a collection of individuals or of groups.[225]

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[221] Liberty and equality have not been included given that they intersect. However, the scope of democratic rule and participation and the comparative position of individuals in terms of democratic rights must be considered in this respect.
[222] Canovan (2005), p.2-5,7,36.
[223] Canovan (2005), p.96-9,83-90.
[224] Held (2003), Chs5-7; Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987), Chs.1-2; Lively (1975); Dahl (1989) Schumpeter (1967); Brittan (1975); King (1975).
[225] This is explored further below.

Canovan also observes that 'the people' may be used to refer to *all* or *some* members of a given population.[226] For example, it may denote the 'common people' or 'the poor', especially referring to those excluded from the franchise, or 'ordinary people', i.e. citizens entitled to vote but whose influence on public policy is subverted by the elite, i.e. political representatives, pressure groups, officials and/or professionals.[227] Alternatively, it may denote the enfranchised section of the community as it regularly did in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain. This association with (dis)enfranchised sections of the population reminds us of the extent of suffrage, which may be limited or differentially distributed to certain groups according to various criteria. Alternatively, as in twentieth century liberal practice, it may be universal, open to all on the basis of birth and/or residence subject to immigration controls with disagreements concerning the degree to which individuals and pressure groups should determine or influence policy.

2.7.2.- Ruling – scope, participation by the people and mechanisms

2.7.2.1.- Scope of rule, Q

The domains in which rule may be exercised cover the civil, political, socioeconomic, familial and cultural. Conceptions of democracy differ in the domains chosen and the degree to which democratic rule is to be applied within them. For example, New Right theorists and classical liberals promote a relatively limited scope for democratic rule within the civil and the political, considering its role in the socioeconomic as one of guaranteeing the law of contract and property rights. By contrast, pluralists place no necessary limit on the scope of democratic rule with neo-pluralists promoting its application to the socioeconomic sphere to overcome the effects of unequal resource bases on individual and group participation. As such, they move close towards the spectrum of social democratic to communist thought on the need for democratic rule in the productive and/or allocative side of the economy. However, as feminists such as Pateman have argued, democratic rule should also recognise that 'the

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[226] Canovan (2005), p65-79,96-9.

[227] Often such references have been negative as in the case of Plato, Hobbes and Schumpeter on the grounds that the people in this sense are ignorant, irrational and often poor. They are then a danger in terms of being ripe for manipulation, violence and/or serious policy errors.

personal is political' and, therefore, regulate relationships within the home, prevent female discrimination in the civil, economic and formal political spheres, and create public policy that responds to the particular barriers faced by women as they participate in other spheres owing to their responsibilities in the home. Finally, writers on the politics of difference and of multiculturalism have argued for democratic rule to incorporate the cultural sphere, not least by guaranteeing respect, protection and support for minority ethno-cultural ways of life and value systems.[228]

2.7.2.2.- Nature of participation, D, in stages $X_1, X_2 ... X_n$ at level L

In addition to the distinction between abstract and concrete forms, the manner of participation, D, falls into two broadly distinctive categories of involvement and representation, which denote direct and indirect forms respectively. However, this distinction is not total. For example, representation includes involvement in terms of voting for a representative. Likewise, involvement may collapse into a form of representation. In order to overcome the coordination problems raised by multiple domains and levels to rule for involvement, delegates may be sent to different arenas to express the views of the body they represent or exercise discretion subject to strong accountability by the body represented.[229] Given this potential combination of direct and indirect participation, it is important for the analyst of ideologies to consider the scope of each and, in cases where both apply, the balance between them. Their scope may vary between or within areas, levels and policy stages in democratic rule.[230]

2.7.2.2.1.- Direct participation – involvement

There are many possible forms of direct participation beyond voting such as standing for election, providing government with advice or views via membership of an advisory committee as a public or group representative, response to a consultation;

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[228] Given the remit of this thesis, attention will centre on the socioeconomic, but the political aspects of the welfare state will be considered as well as the position of women and other disadvantaged groups within this sphere. Cultural considerations are clearly relevant but, given Young's comments on the complexity and fluidity of social groups when considered from the subjective point of view, this requires an extensive treatment of its own complete with qualitative research.

[229] See Held (2003), p.144-7,263-71.

[230] Policy stages – initiation or priority-setting, formulation or strategy-setting, deliberation, approval, implementation and enforcement, and evaluation.

contacting one's political representative or being involved in the implementation of government policies through participation in the establishment of local strategy or the delivery of certain services, engaging in activity outside the formal political arena to name but a few.[231] Conceptions of democracy will then vary according to the range of direct participation to be allowed and encouraged. However, these examples clearly have the potential to affect decision-makers directly. Yet they will affect the decisions made within formal institutions indirectly, if at all, as only representatives participate in them. This highlights the key distinction between direct and representative conceptions of democracy, i.e. whether citizens decide the nature of the laws under which they live, principally through voting at the approval stage of the legislative process. Conceptions of direct democracy may then vary according to whether this requires direct, decisive participation in the other policy stages and in all institutions[232]. Thus, the decisiveness of direct participation in relation to the nature of the laws is a central issue. Hence, one must consider the remit of decisive and non-decisive forms of direct participation.

As suggested by the opening examples, a second aspect of direct participation concerns whether people participate directly *as individuals* or *in groups* and the balance between the two as emphasised by the twentieth century liberal democratic literature on the appropriate role for pressure groups.[233] The role of pressure groups is important for conceptions of democracy given the benefits and harms routinely ascribed to them. For example, pressure groups may be viewed as a means to increase opportunities for citizen participation, particularly disadvantaged minorities, given the ease of creation, as an important counterbalance to the power of government and/or as a means to effective policy owing to the maximisation of information and collaboration. Alternatively, they can be viewed as reinforcing existing inequalities of socioeconomic goods, as increasing government power given its control of who enters policy networks and how

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[231] Birch (2001), p.104-5; Grant (2000), p.140.

[232] Budge (1993).

[233] See Dahl (1989); Brittan (1975); Grant (2000), p.42-58; Lively (1975). Their actual centrality for liberal democratic processes has been widely attested in political science – e.g. Rhodes (1997).
A pressure group 'seeks as one of its functions to influence the formation and implementation of public policy', understood as 'a set of authoritative decision taken by the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, and by local government.' – Grant (2000), p.14. Both companies employing lobbyists or with internal sections dedicated to contact with policy-makers and think-tanks are included within this definition. See Grant (2000), p.7-14; Stone (1996), p.1-5,105-27. They can be distinguished as sectional groups, committed to furthering members' material interests, or cause groups, promoting principles or beliefs. They may also be 'representative' or 'promotional' according to the role of members in furthering their interests.

much influence they wield and as harming public policy as a result of short-term, particularist interests.[234]

2.7.2.2.2.- Indirect participation – representation

Pitkin defines representation as the 'making present of something which is nevertheless not literally present'.[235] On a political understanding, it is the citizen who is literally absent from certain elements of the formal processes that determine public policy. Pitkin draws our attention to the key components of conceptions of representation. First, there is the issue of how one is authorised as a representative, such as election, selection, appointment or self-designation. As well as being limited to citizens, there may be qualifying characteristics that the representative must fulfil as is the case in 'descriptive' conceptions that seek to achieve 'accurate correspondence or resemblance', to some degree, between the representative and the represented according to certain characteristics ranging from age, gender and class to general or specific policy preferences.[236]

Third, one must consider who is being represented and what about them is being represented.[237] On a political understanding, citizens are represented per se or with regard to specific features about them such as inclusion in a constituency or particular interest group. Furthermore, it may be citizen wishes or interests that are being represented. Such interests may be viewed as transcending individuals, applying to the 'nation' as a whole, or as related to individuals but to be determined through a combination of individual wishes and the representative's judgment or solely by the representative. Furthermore, as the negative characterisations of 'the people' highlighted earlier, this is partly related to the position taken on the capacity of citizens to deal with political questions.[238]

Fourth and following from this, attention must be paid to the relationship between the representative and the represented, which concerns how the action of the representative is determined and the extent to which such action is circumscribed. On

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[234] See Grant (2000), p.214-33. Thus, pressure groups may be peripheral, specialist or core insiders according to the range and degree of their influence or outsiders – Grant (2000), p.15-25.
[235] Pitkin (1967), p.144. The major source for this section is Pitkin (1967) but see also Birch (2001).
[236] Pitkin (1967), p.60-90; Powell (2000).
[237] Pitkin (1967), p.210-11, 127-31, 154-66.
[238] This is a key dividing line between proponents of direct or participatory democracy and pluralist, democratic elitist and New Right conceptions of representative democracy – Budge (1993)

the 'authorisation' and 'trustee' views, the boundaries of representative action are determined within the authorisation process but thereafter the representative is free to act as she sees fit. However, accountability conceptions set further limits on the degree to which representatives may act. In its strictly formal sense, the representative may act as she sees fit, subject to the authorisation conditions, provided that she submits to some form of accountability mechanism. In a more substantive sense, the notion of accountability may involve considerations of the type of behaviour in which the representative should be engaged in terms of viewing herself as 'acting for' the represented in some concrete way as well as the importance of the formal accountability mechanism.[239]

The key dimensions of accountability are who is accountable, to whom, for what, by what mechanisms and whether the agent is liable to sanctions.[240] Considering the object of accountability, this may involve 'political' or 'operational' matters, distinguishing the priority and strategy stages from implementation, covering use of funds, processes and outcomes.[241] This distinction between stages reminds us that political representatives and those who work for them can be considered accountable, particularly those employed in public services. The inclusion of the latter gives rise to a broader understanding of potential accountability mechanisms. While traditional work has emphasised the political mechanism of taking views into account, giving an account, justifying the approach taken and working to address grievances or rectify problems, recent work on the provision of public services and the complexity of policy fields has emphasised the multiple mechanisms by which governments can seek to ensure that providers of such services are accountable, understood as charged to carry out the wishes of the government and hence the people and being required to demonstrate performance, rectify failings and submit to sanctions. As a result, managerial, quasi-market and disclosure mechanisms have been required, rendering public service providers subject to multi-centric accountability, i.e. to multiple audiences from government to users, and liable to multiple sanctions, i.e. from government penalties to user complaints and ultimately loss of customers.[242] Thus, the traditional political conception of being 'called to account' to other political

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[239] Pitkin (1967), p.38-59.
[240] Barberis (1998), p.466-7.
[241] Johnson (1999), p.158.
[242] See Barberis (1998); Quirk (1997); Mulgan (2000). These alternative mechanisms are discussed as means of ruling below.

representatives and thereby the public with political sanctions must be considered only one possibility, albeit the most important when considering the accountability of political representatives in formal political institutions as opposed to those who work for them. Finally, even within this political understanding, representatives can be viewed as accountable to multiple audiences insofar as they are accountable to constituencies consisting of multiple individuals and to their political parties, themselves capable of generating multiple lines of accountability.[243]

What about the degree of discretion afforded to representatives within an accountability conception that emphasises their role of 'acting for' the represented? A representative as 'delegate' is bound entirely by the wishes of the represented, existing merely owing to the need for a division of labour, or is accorded discretion in relation to new and/or controversial issues provided subject to repeated political accountability mechanisms with strong sanctions. A less circumscribed conception posits the representative as exercising judgment in order to promote what she considers to be in the objective interest of the represented in a way that the represented either does or will agree with or is likely to do so over time *and* to explain to the represented the reason for any divergence between their respective judgments of his interest at the time in question.[244]

Finally, one must consider the relationship between the representative and formal political institutions insofar as representation may occur outside these. As used here, a political representative is one who is a member of a formal political institution on the basis of election. A non-political representative is not a member of such an institution unless she has been invited to participate directly in some component thereof by a member of such an institution or an agent of such a member, who has the authority to do so. Thus, for example, it will be shown that New Labour place considerable emphasis on including representatives of local business, relevant professionals and community/voluntary groups on formal partnership boards in health and education. These are considered non-political representatives, who are invited by agents of central government to participate directly and in a decisive fashion at this level of the policy process. As a result, they are relevant to the consideration of a conception of democracy, bridging the direct and indirect forms of participation by the people.

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[243] Pitkin (1967), p.147-9.
[244] Pitkin (1967), p.121-7,133-9,145-6,154-66. This is sometimes referred to as the contrast between a deliberative conception of representation and a mandated one.

2.7.2.3.- Means of ruling, M

The means of ruling relates to both the process by which policy is determined and by which it is enforced. The former can be broken down into aggregative and deliberative forms or a mix thereof. Aggregation may be achieved via voting, according to a particular system, or survey techniques. Both deliberation and the aggregative process can occur in the context of varying amounts of time and level and quality of information for participants. For example, relatively uninformed and often highly particular public opinion may be aggregated on the basis of no or brief deliberation. Alternatively, aggregation may follow or be supplanted by agreement on the basis of deliberative fora in which a representative sample of individuals discuss a particular issue in detail with a large amount of high quality information to hand.

Turning to the process of enforcement, this concerns how one guarantees the implementation of policy intentions and incorporates a range of modes that may be mixed together.[245] First, there is managerialism, a modern version of hierarchy. Rule by administrative orders within a bureaucracy is replaced by rule by performance indicators, complete with rewards and sanctions, in the context of a clear split between policy/strategy and implementation/delivery and devolved operational responsibility. Second, there is the use of markets and market mechanisms. Control is achieved via forms of competition and cost-consciousness, privatisation in terms of the shifting of responsibilities onto private agents and consumer choice, complaint and redress mechanisms.[246] This may result in markets, in which consumers and producers interact directly, or quasi-markets, in which central government provides funds and regulates providers, either directly or via local actors, at the same time as users exercise choice between them on the basis of performance information. Third, there is Rhodes's concept of the network. According to this, control is achieved via peer pressure among actors working together in stable, self-organising or externally-organised interactions. Finally, one may rule by cultural change or 'governmentality', to use Foucault's term. Control is achieved through successful attempts to get actors to internalise the requirements made of them so that they comply voluntarily.

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[245] See Peters (2000); Clarke et al (2000); Rhodes (1997), (2000b); Hood (2000); Bartlett and Le Grand (1993); Börzel (1998); Ling (2000).

[246] i.e. individuals, families, voluntary and community groups as well as commercial organisations.

2.8.- Market

A market is a production and allocation mechanism operating on the basis of voluntary, price-based exchanges of particular goods and services between buyers and sellers, who deal with each other in person or by means of a variety of distance-communication mechanisms. In a competitive environment, the decentralised decisions of buyers and sellers creates a balance between supply and demand, which generates the price of the goods in question, i.e. the amount of the customary medium of exchange required by the seller for the exchange to take place. Price, then, is the key coordinating mechanism of the market The centrality of price-based exchange and its decentralised, largely uncoordinated origins contrasts with the centrality of planning as the coordination mechanism in a non-market system, be this centralised or decentralised. Such exchange is voluntary insofar as buyers and sellers choose which exchanges to enter and market relationships are inherently reciprocal insofar as one good is exchanged for another or for a certain amount of the customary medium of exchange.[247]

From this discussion, it would appear that there are two ineliminable elements for the concept of the market : price-based exchange and competition. Given that it occurs between a multiplicity of agents with respect to particular goods, quasi-contingent categories representing these must be added. However, this misses a crucial dimension, namely property, i.e. the relationship between an agent and an object that affords the agent legal protection of his right to make 'the final decision over the use of an object'.[248] Market exchanges presuppose such property rights. Without them, agents would lack the ability and the right to exchange goods in this way.[249] Thus, the conceptual formula must be viewed as having three ineliminable elements : price-based exchange, competition and property. From the discussion above, the following presents itself :

(A, B, C, D...*N*), who own H and compete with each other,
exchange a given amount of H for a given amount of J
with (V, W, X, Y...*N*), who own J and compete with each other

where (A, B, C, D...*N*) and (V, W, X, Y...*N*) are the agents and H and J are the goods traded.

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[247] See Mankiw (2002), Chs.1,3-4; Waldron (1998), p.9-10; Reeve (1986), p.5.
[248] Waldron (1988), p.47.
[249] Reeve (1986), p.95,110. Cohen (1996), p.72.

The first key question to be considered then is which goods are subject to market or non-market coordination mechanisms. Nor is this a clear-cut matter for there may be mixed systems with the market in a dominant, equal or residual position for instrumental reasons or according to assertions regarding the incompatibility of the intrinsic or social meaning of the good and market-based exchanges.[250] Consideration of the goods traded raises its obverse, the goods not subject to such exchanges in line with Esping-Andersen's exploration of decommodification, i.e. the situation in which 'a service is rendered as a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market'. This does not entail the end of 'labour as a commodity' but a state in which individuals can enjoy a 'socially acceptable standard of living independently of market participation'.[251] Where, for example, health and education services are provided free at the point of use, decommodification is higher than where such services must be purchased from earnings.[252] Thus, the degree to which goods are subject to market exchanges raises the issue of its balance with other allocative mechanisms such as public services.

Esping-Andersen's work concentrates on the position of the individual vis-à-vis the labour market. In essence, it concerns the decommodification of consumption from the point of view of the individual as the State will guarantee a 'socially acceptable standard of living' out of general taxation. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily decommodify the production side.[253] In a market economy, the State relies on product markets for the various services *and* on the overall state of the economy insofar as its revenues come from taxation. Hence, the State operates within a market economy, which will thus affect the decommodification of individuals via State activity.[254] Thus, we must consider the degree to which the decommodification of individual consumption can be or is supported by the decommodification of collective consumption and keep in mind that collective consumption is necessarily embedded within the dominant production and allocation mechanism within the society so that, while the balance may vary between these elements, there can be no separation. As a result, the reminder that

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[250] See Williams (1973), Walzer (1993).
[251] Esping-Andersen (1990), p.22,37.
[252] Esping-Andersen's work focuses on income maintenance programs. Its detailed and wider application to health and education services would be valuable.
[253] See Doyal and Gough (1991), p.82-3..
[254] This has been the dominant approach to the welfare state since 1976, reflected in the switch to cash-limited budgets, a concern for efficiency and the de-indexation of benefits. It is often referred to as the positioning of the welfare state as 'economic handmaiden' to the economy as per the 'industrial achievement' model of Titmuss (1974).

'the logic of any welfare system can only become clear' if we study the interplay of the private and public expands beyond provision of welfare services and goods to include the relationship between the State and the market.[255]

Returning to the goods or commodities subject to market exchanges, not only do these include service but they also range from the physical (e.g. equipment; land; natural resources; technology) and financial (e.g. insurance; equity; pensions; bonds) to labour (i.e. members of the workforce) and the skills and technical knowledge possessed by individuals.[256] Furthermore, they may be traded for consumption or production/investment.[257] This production-consumption distinction parallels that between supply and demand respectively and hence the two sides of the economy. As such, it is important for the analysis of economic policy, which may vary between predominantly demand-side activity as followed by post-war British government or predominantly supply-side activity as followed by British governments after 1976.

Turning to the quasi-contingent categories denoting the agents, these may be filled not only by individual agents but also by corporations of varying sizes and organised on hierarchical or decentralised lines, i.e. legal persons. The latter may be privately or State owned, having been constituted by private individuals or corporations or by the State itself. However, it must be noted that corporations may be collectively owned by the State but operate within market environments, thereby creating a mixed or market socialist economy as opposed to a pure market one consisting only of private individuals and privately-constituted corporations.[258] Furthermore, even within public organisations, such as the NHS, components parts may be collectively owned but exercise operational self-management within quasi-markets as outlined in the section on democracy. Thus, price-based exchanges may occur between private and public corporations, between individuals and, clearly, between such corporations and individuals.

There are three important cases of frequent intersection between the market and other concepts, viewed as positive or negative. One is with liberty as was made clear by

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[255] Esping-Andersen (1990), p.103.

[256] The latter are variously referred to in political theory terms as 'internal' as opposed to 'external' goods, 'personal endowments' or 'natural assets'. See Cohen (1995), p.107, Nozick (1974), p.213. In social policy, they appear most frequently in references to human capital and asset-based welfare. See Becker (1993), Regan (2001).

[257] Investment denotes their addition to the stock of productive assets with the aim of raising future productivity.

[258] See Waldron (1986); Roemer (1992); Arneson (1992); Bartlett and Le Grand (1993).

outline of the market's operation via decentralised decision-making between buyers and sellers via the price mechanism as such decentralisation suggests a degree of choice. Traditionally, market relationships have been presented by their supporters as purely voluntary and criticised on the grounds that it exacerbates socioeconomic constraints given its distributive consequences. As discussed in the section on liberty, the issue is rather which constraints are lifted and to what degree and which are not. In particular, it should be noted that participation in the market may in fact be required.

The second intersection is with equality. This can be seen from a consideration of market competition. Perfect competition denotes a situation in which there are multiple buyers and sellers so that each has only a negligible impact on the market price. It may be continuous, (e.g. one-off, perhaps repeated exchanges), or periodic (e.g. exchanges occurring over a longer period but with definite time-spans). It may also be 'potential' rather than 'actual', i.e. competition as contestability, a key aspect of quasi-markets and mixed economies of public service provision. In this situation, the market is potentially competitive insofar as it is easy for other buyers or sellers to enter the market and for existing actors to be forced to leave by financial collapse if they fail to succeed in their purchase or sale. Given that contestability refers to market exchanges over a period of time as opposed to the one-off variety, it also reminds us that there is an important time-span to such exchanges.

However, perfect competition may be limited insofar as there is only a small number of buyers or sellers; or because one side may offer a range of only slightly different products; or because one side is able to affect the price directly as their actions have a significant effect on the balance between effective supply and demand. As a result, it raises questions concerning the comparative resources available to competitors as well as their number. Furthermore, there will inevitably be losers in a competition for scarce goods coordinated by the balance between effective price and demand, which relate to the preferences of those with the material means to give them effect. Given the continuous nature of the market, such results have a tendency to be cumulative and can result in exclusion from participation where resources fall below a certain level or conditions of existence deemed unacceptable. As a result, the distributive consequences of market competition create a second point of intersection with equality.

Third, there is the intersection between the market and the State.[259] Even within laissez-faire conceptions of the market, the State is needed to enforce exchange relationships and protect both market and wider rights. This may extend to more extensive State involvement via monetary and fiscal policy to State ownership within strongly mixed economies. The role of the State within many conceptions according to the protection of property rights leads us to consider the concept of property itself. Its ineliminable element is 'ownership', understood as the right to 'access to and control of...resources' and accompanied by the quasi-contingent categories of the subject (A) and the object (B) such that

A owns B = A has the right to access and control B.[260]

This right to property is subject to a range of interpretations and the specific rights involved can be wide-ranging.[261] However, Christman summarises them broadly within the notion of control rights (i.e. the rights to possess, use, manage, alienate and transfer B) and income rights (i.e. the right to gain income from the resource).[262] Therefore, it is necessary to explore the extent of both types. The case of self-ownership, relevant to this study given the emphasis on human capital and labour, serves as a useful example. Understood as the right 'not to be forced to supply a product or service to anyone' and hence the right to deploy one's talents and abilities as one wishes, Nozick argues in favour of broad control and income rights, viewing the abridgement of income rights by taxation as the equivalent of forced labour while Christman and Waldron propose broad control rights but more limited income rights on the grounds that the benefits flow from the interaction of the agent's exercise of her talents and social decisions over the nature of the societal framework and the market.[263]

As suggested above, it is necessary to include the quasi-contingent categories of the agent or owner and the goods owned in the formal definition. While the range of agents is the same as discussed for the market above, the potential for a split between owners and managers of corporations with regard to State ownership applies also to private corporations via shareholders relations with managers as argued by Crosland.

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[259] This is not a necessary connection as a market could exist on a small scale according to conventions and informal sources of enforcement as within tribal societies.
[260] Waldron (1988), p.31,35. Given the earlier discussion of rights, they will not be explored here.
[261] See Waldron (1988), p.295-6,49,435-6.
[262] Christman (1991), p.29-30; Nozick (1974), p.171-2.
[263] Cohen (1995), p.214; Nozick, (1974), p.169ff; Christman (1991), p.31-40; Waldron (1988), p.399-405.

This split constitutes the division of control rights and is best captured, drawing on Cohen and Nozick, by the notion of 'full' as opposed to 'partial' ownership. A 'full' owner of a good can withdraw it from the use of others when one chooses, albeit suffering the penalties outlined in any contract, and when the contract is up, the good will automatically return to her. A 'partial' owner enjoys certain rights of use over the good subject to contract but these cease automatically when the contract ends.

Before closing this conceptual section, there are several important points that must be made concerning the use of the term market, motivation, the effects of market participation and the nature of work. First, we must bear in mind that common use of the term 'market' in political theory refers in fact to the 'market economy'. This, of course, consists of a wide range of market sectors, distinguished by the goods for sale, which can then be broken down into individual markets. Furthermore, such markets are often interconnected insofar as they represent production or consumption aspects of the economy. Overall, a market in this sense should be understood as a bundle of price-based relationships between different agents. Throughout the text, it will be made clear when references are to the market economy as opposed to particular markets for certain goods.

Turning to motivation, a standard critique of markets since Marx has been that they encourage and indeed reflect the selfish impulse in human beings that is then expressed in egoistic profit-maximising behaviour.[264] In classical economic thought from Smith onwards and its modern-day associate of rational choice, this has been rejected on the grounds that such behaviour is 'nontuistic' rather than 'egoistic'.[265] An agent acts primarily with an interest in her goals rather than those of others and these interests may be egoistic or altruistic. Furthermore, this does not result only in individual benefit. By the operation of the famous 'invisible hand', trade is mutually beneficial, making all better off than they would otherwise be. This is deemed to arise owing to the possibility of specialisation and hence a division of labour that enables people to concentrate on activities where they have a comparative advantage and efficiency gains are held to derive from the effective conveyance of information among multiple actors by means of the price mechanism.[266] Thus, production and potential surpluses increase, which can then be either redistributed or left to 'trickle down'.

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[264] Marx (2000).
[265] Smith (1981)
[266] Mankiw (2002), p.52-3; Hayek (2000), Ch.4.

Hence, it is possible to marry 'tuism', a concern for the interests of others, and 'nontuism' in a market. The dispute, then, concerns the acceptability of the content of such 'tuism', in terms of resources and relations. In this sense, the market intersects with the concept of community as members of the community are interdependent insofar as all have a role in the market and all benefit from it.

Furthermore, market relationships may have more than a purely instrumental dimension. For example, Smith presented the market as being more than a neutral arena of exchange in which individuals engaged solely for the purposes of satisfying their material and economic needs. Through the process of exchange individuals were also constituted insofar as the exchange embodied a process of mutual recognition between buyer and seller.[267] This idea was developed further and most famously by Hegel for whom the sphere of civil society, understood as the market and wider social institutions, was an arena in which individuals expressed themselves through their labour and were constituted by mutual recognition through exchange. The system of property and exchange across society was an 'instantiation of..(a)..web of recognition'.[268] Weber too highlighted the moral dimension of the market in exploring the view of work as an expression of human dignity within the protestant ethic that was deemed to suffuse capitalism.[269] Hence, participation in the market may be seen and valued for reasons of recognition and subjectivity, self-expression and dignity.

Furthermore, a strong emphasis on productive activity tells us very little in itself. For example, within socialist thought, work or productive activity is viewed as a key element of humanity, the fulfilment of which is highly prized, and is realised only when humans engage in the constitutive web of recognition that is the production system.[270] Thus, the latter is as central for socialists as for capitalists. The dispute between theorists such as Smith and Marx concerns its nature in terms of the type of work it provides, the features of humanity it encourages and the conditions of existence it guarantees for individuals.[271] For Smith, seemingly any work would suffice, since the invisible hand would guarantee increased prosperity overall, encouraging self-reliance, creativity and independence without destroying the innate moral sentiments of natural sympathy and compassion. For Marx, work would be creative, varied and self-

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[267] Smith (1981); Seligman (2002), p.17-19.
[268] Khilnani (2001), p.23-5; Hamilton (2003); Femia (2001), p.133.
[269] Weber (2000).
[270] Freeden (1996), p.429-30.
[271] Smith (1981); Marx (2000).

controlled, distribution would be organised according to need through the common ownership and planning of production and, thereby, the isolation, acquisitiveness, aggression and disrespectfulness of individuals in the capitalist system would be replaced by equality of respect and condition and solidarity. Clearly, this reflects the fundamental difference of production system, capitalism or socialism, and reminds us that where work is strongly emphasised, we must explore its nature in great detail.

Conclusion

This elucidation of the conceptual formulae for the core concepts of New Labour participant ideology has demonstrated the complexity of political concepts and, by so doing, the need for students of ideology to pay particular attention to the conceptual tools that they are using. Such attention to conceptual formulae, albeit implicitly, is a standard feature of analytic political philosophy undertaken to perceive the key areas for debate and thereby enhance the rigour of argument. For the students of ideological analysis, working to develop the conceptual formulae serves to remind us of the potential range of conceptions as well as showing us the key dividing points in the formula itself. As such, it renders us more alert as we approach interpretation. For those who study the conceptual patterns created within non-standard texts, such as political speeches, texts and concrete objects such as policies, this is crucial. Where people are not speaking directly in sophisticated philosophical terms, one cannot hope to interpret them in such terms without these formulae.

CHAPTER 3
SOCIAL JUSTICE, LIBERTY, EQUALITY and PROGRESS

Broadening White's work on welfare contractualism, this thesis argues that for New Labour the duties of social justice are held on the basis that individuals are owed the conditions of freedom as self-development, understood as the freedom to develop oneself as an autonomous participant in society and be rewarded for this.[272] This can be broken down into rights to minimum conditions of self-development, in order that constraints on this freedom be removed, and levels above this that reflect one's success in terms of rewards for results. Freedom as self-development in these terms is owed to individuals as a matter of rights on the basis of equal moral worth. There is then a key intersection between the concepts of social justice and freedom. Clearly, given the right to minimum conditions and the right to reward, i.e. distribution on the basis of needs and on the basis of desert beyond this, the balance struck between these potentially conflicting bases is crucial – at what point is it decided that needs have been met and how far are deserts limited.

The wider question of the level at which the constraints on freedom are deemed to be lifted and the rights fulfilled is given substantive content through the exploration of the intersection of social justice and equality and the influence of another core concept, progress. It will be shown that New Labour subscribe to a conception of equality that intersects with liberty, i.e. equality of opportunity, and blends both strict and proportional elements as well as absolute and relative ones. In particular, it will be argued that it concerns outcomes as well as formal opportunities in accordance with the substantive understanding of liberty. However, the distribution of the conditions of freedom is also affected by the commitment to progress, which is to be achieved by a particular process of modernisation. Its component parts have significant consequences for the distribution. First, it allows for divergences from proportionality according to need given the importance of proportionality according to capacity to contribute to improvement and the need for short-term improvements. Second, it will affect the level of resources deemed to be necessary for rights insofar as the modernisation process itself requires resources and the effective functioning of State, market and civil society needed will have consequences on the degree to which resources are available.

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[272] White (2000).

As a result, this chapter will set out the conceptions of social justice, liberty, equality and progress created by New Labour through the intersection of their discourse and policies. The concept of social justice will act as the overarching frame with the other concepts being explored at the point at which they intersect.[273] This framing position for social justice, however, is merely an organising device and does not reflect a foundational status. The core concepts are to be given equal weight.

3.1.- New Labour and social justice

Social justice has been chosen as a core concept on the grounds that New Labour place a strong emphasis on fairness and social justice within their discourse and that it can also reflect the considerable attention given to responsibilities insofar as these will be demonstrated to be primarily relational[274]. Considering the first aspect, a key New Labour phrase is the combination of 'economic dynamism with social justice' and it is hard to avoid references to 'enterprise and fairness'.[275] The overall approach is best summarised below:

> 'The Government is serious about creating a fairer society : one in which all citizens have the opportunity to maximise their potential and in which all can share in the growing prosperity of the nation'
>
> 'Economic prosperity and social justice both depend on people being able to develop their potential.'[276]

Despite the fact that social justice is emphasised by analysts, references to fairness are more frequent[277]. As Blair terms it, the 'Government was elected to build a modern Britain and a fair and decent society' and the term pervades the command papers and press notices, demonstrating that it incorporates a wide range of fields of interaction.[278] Now the question must arise as to whether social justice and fairness should be treated

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[273] Community will serve this purpose in the next chapter.
[274] See Powell (2002); Bevir (2000).
[275] Blair (20/01/98), (18/01/00); Brown (18/05/99); Blunkett (30/01/98); Driver and Martell (2000), p.150; Panitch and Leys (2001), p.287-9; Dickens et al (2003). On social justice, see also Blunkett (19/07/99), (03/03/99), (16/09/97); DoH (2000a), p.106; DSS (1999b), p.1
[276] HMT (1999b), p.23 and DSS (1999b), p.22
[277] See Powell (2002).
[278] DfEE/DSS (1998), p.2. On fairness, see also DSS 1998d:iv; SEU 2001:7; DoH 1998:9, 12, 1997:17-18; Dobson 31/03/99; Milburn 26/06/00; Darling (23/09/98).

as equivalents, for not everything that is fair is just.[279] Fairness denotes conduct according to the rules of the game, be they prescribed or conventionally assumed. Hence, it may apply to games of football, to which we would be disinclined to ascribe the term 'just' in any sense. By contrast, social justice can be viewed as a species of fairness, applying to conduct, including distribution, that is according to morally justifiable rules of interaction within social institutions. Social justice and fairness may, therefore, be synonymous but not necessarily so. However, for New Labour, they generally are. Not only are they used to characterise the very same sets of reforms at general levels, as is clear from the two quotations above, and interchanged within the same document but are explicitly employed as equivalents :

> 'It is...injustice and waste that the Government is determined to tackle. It is morally wrong and economically foolish to allow a whole generation to be written off....Fairness and enterprise go hand in hand.'[280]

Beech holds the key to this approach. As he argues in relation to New Labour's use of opportunity, this is the 'practical way of enunciating its concept of liberty'.[281] For example, an opportunity is merely a situation in which one is not prevented or constrained from acting and lack of constraint is the ineliminable element of liberty. The same is true for social justice and fairness insofar as they can be synonymous terms and their use by New Labour confirms this.[282] Thus, they employ colloquial synonyms far more than lofty abstract conceptual terms.

Second, the placement of social justice as a core concept also reflects the considerable emphasis on responsibilities that analysts have detected in New Labour. Particular attention has been paid to the promotion of 'mutual responsibilities'.[283] For example, Blair argues that there is a 'new political agenda...founded on mutual responsibility' and Brown expounds a notion of 'responsible citizenship' involving responsibilities for individuals and businesses.[284] A frequent theme of the command papers and overall discourse is the notion of 'deals' or 'contracts' set out in terms of

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[279] See Barry (1990a).
[280] DSS (1999b), p.viii.
[281] Beech (2006), p.156
[282] This also occurs with 'progress' and 'improvement' as explored later and is evident in the references to 'deals' like the New Deal.
[283] Lister (2000); Deacon (2000).
[284] Blair (18/01/00); Brown (08/05/00).

'mutual' or 'shared' duties.[285] Such responsibilities fit within the frame of social justice on the grounds that its ineliminable element is that which is owed and, as will be shown below, the duties owed to others and the areas left as matters of unenforced but encouraged personal responsibility arise from the rights of others, i.e. they are relational.

Having established social justice as a core concept, let us consider the content that New Labour give to it, recalling the conceptual formula outlined earlier :

> On the basis of A, B owes C to D in manner E when interacting in F

F, to recall, constitutes the major social institutions, which, for the purposes of this research, include the market, the State, particularly the welfare state broadly understood, and civil society. Furthermore, it has been suggested that B and D are citizens. Thus, this discussion will consider the following - C, what is owed; A, the basis for this; and E, the manner in which C is to be divided between agents.

3.1.1.- The good that is owed, C – liberty as self-development

Opportunity is a key term in New Labour discourse and is the expression of their conception of freedom.[286] Before proceeding, let us recall the conceptual formula of freedom :

> X is (not) free from Y to do (not do, be/not be, become/not become) *or* to do/not do (be/not be, become/not become) Z

The opportunity to develop one's potential is central to New Labour's conception of social justice and constitutes Z for their conception of freedom:[287]

> 'Breaking down barriers...we...build a Britain where there is opportunity for all...to make the most of themselves and realise their potential.'[288]

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[285] See DSS (1998a), p.80; DoH (1999), p.8, (2001), p.2-5; DfEE (1999), p.14, (1997), p.55.
[286] e.g. Lister (2000); Le Grand (1998); Beech (2006),p.140-53.
[287] See Powell (2000), p.46; Buckler and Dolowitz (2000),p.305-7.

Buckler and Dolowitz argue that the individual is owed the opportunity to develop her potential whatever it happens to be. As most analysts have concluded, that is not the case. Individuals are owed certain types of opportunities, particularly those related to paid work.[289] Nevertheless, this socioeconomic aspect must not be exaggerated. In the first place, the opportunity to develop one's potential applies also to those who are unable to engage in paid work. For example, immediately following the quotation on social justice depending on being able to develop one's full potential, the opportunity to be guaranteed to older people is 'to live a secure, active and fulfilling life', 'to pursue active lives' and 'play a full and active part in society'.[290] The overall approach for people with disabilities is 'to provide the benefits and services which are needed to enable disabled people to fulfil their potential' and so that they can 'lead a fulfilling life with dignity'.[291] Thus, the famous distinction between 'work for those who can, security for those who cannot' should not be equated with 'opportunity for those who can, security for those who cannot'.[292] The distinction between work and security applies to the source of income and not to only some being considered free or capable of freedom as self-development.

Furthermore, the importance of care, voluntary and community activity and public involvement must be recognised, particularly given the policy reforms. For example, despite the fact that labour market reforms encourage the combination of caring and paid work and that caring for children occurs most frequently in terms of parental responsibility, there is no doubt that it is viewed as a valuable form of activity with social consequences and reforms serve to ease specific external constraints.[293] Thus, 'good parenting benefits us all', i.e. children's development and society owing to the reduction of children creating 'serious social problems' such as 'offending and drug misuse'.[294] As discussions of community in the context of Putnam and Etzioni highlight, there is also strong encouragement for voluntary and community activity,

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[288] Brown (05/12/00). See also : Brown (15/05/00), (04/11/97), (15/05/99); Blair (08/02/01), (07/06/00), (24/03/98), (22/06/00), (26/04/01); HMT (1998c), p.9, (1999a),p.5; DfEE (1997), p.3,9,17-18, (2001), p.4; Blunkett (16/09/97), (15/01/98), (11/06/99), (19/07/99); DSS (1998a), p.19,28-9,80.
[289] Buckler and Dolowitz (2000),p.305-7. In contrast, see Wissenburg (2000), p.233-5; Powell (2000), p.44-6; Dean (1998), p.225; Driver and Martell (2002), p.183; Freeden (1999); Finlayson (2003), p.139.
[290] DSS (1999b), p.22, (1998e), p.98, (1999b), p.134; Harman (09/01/98); Darling (23/09/98).
[291] DSS (1998d), p.1, (1999b), p.107; (1998a), p.2; (1998d), p.9.
[292] DSS (1998a), p.3.
[293] See Lewis (2000)
[294] HO (1998b), p.6. See also Brown (15/11/00), (15/05/00)

particularly volunteering.[295] We will 'make our lives more fulfilled' as well as benefit others and society in general if we donate both money and time as part of a giving age of active citizens. Finally, a key plank of reform within the NHS and, to a lesser extent, education and social security, has been the increase of public involvement, particularly in terms of citizen and consumer voice over services provided and received. Thus, reforms served to ensure that individuals 'have their say' and exercise more 'influence' as well as being entitled to complain and seek redress .[296]

New Labour's conception of freedom will be shown to consist of the freedom to participate autonomously in society and be rewarded for this, i.e. their understanding of Z, unconstrained by legal or statutory restrictions and a lack of welfare goods and with support to overcome internal constraints such as attitudes and desires, i.e. their understanding of Y.[297] In line with the definition of social exclusion discussed below, such constraints are considered problematic when they 'combine to trap individuals and areas' and as such constraints in one area serve to constrain individuals in other spheres of activity also.[298] In general, external constraints, one component of Y in their conception, are to be overcome largely by the guaranteed provision of relevant, quality-assured, diversely provided services that are either free at the point of use or supported by State funds to some degree, and accessible to all across the lifestage in the areas of economic activity, income, education and health. Furthermore, information and advice services and moments of choice are essential and rewards, in the form of money and ladders to further achievement, must be guaranteed where applicable. With regard to caring, voluntary and community activity and public involvement, additional specific external constraints were to be overcome through support services for caring and government action to create or stimulate an increase in formal opportunities for the other two areas. In this section, the nature of Z will be explored generally and specifically with the latter outlined primarily through consideration of the way in which external constraints to freedom are to be lifted as these set boundaries on the type of activity as much as the discourse itself does. This will be followed by consideration of

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[295] See Heron (2001).
[296] DfEE (1997), p.55; DoH (2000a), p.12 ; DSS (1998a), p.74, Blunkett (04/12/97).
[297] This is often referred to as 'substantive', rather than 'formal', freedom – e.g. Driver and Martell (2000), p.151. Given that formal constraints such as laws operate via substantive penalties and that the issue concerns the nature of constraints, it is better to avoid this dichotomy and concentrate on the constraints.
[298] DSS (1999b), p.23. To avoid repetition, this will not be explored in the sections that follow but must be bourne in mind.

New Labour's conception of internal constraints, a further component in their understanding of Y. In both cases, the idea of constraints on freedom deemed acceptable and unacceptable by New Labour will be considered.[299]

3.1.2.- Social participation

The designation of one element of New Labour's conception of the freedom to self-develop as social participation reflects the regular contrast set up between opportunity and social exclusion as well as the substantive areas to which it is connected.[300] Social exclusion is defined as a 'complex multidimensional' problem in which lack of opportunities in paid work, income, education, health and services 'act together to create a cycle of disadvantage', which traps people, can 'persist throughout people's lives', 'be passed between generations' and has a tendency to concentrate in particular geographical areas. Insofar as it persists across people's lives, policy reforms must concentrate on key stages of the lifecycle, i.e. childhood, working age and old age, and pay particular attention to the first of these given its significance for lifetime opportunities.[301] There is also a strong association between overcoming social exclusion and paid work opportunities : 'the answer to social exclusion is economic opportunity' and worklessness is 'one of the most profound and problematic causes of poverty and social exclusion for men and women of working age and inevitably their children'.[302] Thus, the key is to provide 'opportunities to work, to learn, to make a contribution'. The focus on children concerns the development of their potential to participate in society in the future with a strong socioeconomic emphasis.[303] However, it is worth remembering that 'paid work is the surest route out of poverty' only for 'those able to undertake it'.[304]

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[299] As noted chapter 2, one must consider not only the nature of the constraints to be lifted. One must also examine the level of goods that must be provided before one is considered to be free of such constraints. This will be explored in the section on equality.

[300] It is also regularly contrasted with responsibility, an issue to which we will return in the section on internal constraints and the duties of social justice.

[301] See DSS (1999b), p.2-3,22-5,138,141-3; SEU (2001), p.7,17-8; HMT (1999a),p.3-8, (1999b), p.2, (2000a), p.8, (1998c), Ch.3.19; Levitas (1998); Hills et al. (2002). New Labour use the terms poverty and social exclusion in very similar ways , construing the former as 'poverty of opportunity'. As befits his position as Chancellor, Brown uses poverty in its more conventional sense of lack of income in his speeches, for example when arguing that benefits are not the answer. When used together, poverty reverts to its income sense and social exclusion covers the wider opportunities noted. See DSS (1999b), p.21-30; Brown (27/05/99), (05/12/00).

[302] For quotations, see Brown (1998), Col.1103; HMT (2000a), p.15; DSS (1999b), p.23. See also Levitas (1998), Lister (2000).

[303] DSS (1999b), p.21; Lister (2003).

[304] DSS (1998a), p.3. See also p.19, 2.

Furthermore, the strategy counters 'poverty of opportunity at whatever age it occurs' and details the causes of social exclusion for older people, setting out very similar areas to those of working age, except for paid work.[305] Likewise, 'People with a long-term illness or disability are more likely to be excluded from society', which is to be overcome again by attention to similar areas.[306] Thus, a key element of the potential that one is to be free to develop is social participation with a strongly but not wholly socioeconomic nature.

Given the causes of social exclusion, the general freedom to develop in terms of social participation consists of the following specific opportunities : paid work (for those of working age who can), income, education and health.[307] The external constraints on this freedom are primarily, although not exclusively, lifted by positive government action in the form of relevant, quality-assured public services free at the point of use across the country.[308] Where mixed economies of provision exist, the government provides funds to cover or contribute towards costs. New Labour's conception includes familial constraints in these areas, given the role ascribed to parents in lifting the constraints on children, and, as we shall see in the section on equality, living in a disadvantaged area is deemed to constitute an extra constraint necessitating proportional governmental action. However, it was also noted that it encapsulated other valued areas of activity. In relation to these areas, the lifting of external constraints in other areas is accompanied by the lifting of area-specific constraints, through dedicated support services for caring and increased opportunities and information for the others.

As regards paid work, employment opportunity rather than employment itself is offered according to the 'modern definition of full employment', which requires people to be 'adaptable' and retrain where necessary.[309] This involves being guaranteed the means to employability and jobsearch. Thus, productive economic activity rather than employment is ensured or, as it were, participation in the effective as opposed to the formal labour market.[310] Such activity occurs within the context of a divergent labour market offering employment in the high-skill knowledge economy and its low skill

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[305] DSS (1999b), p.21. See further p.2, 144ff.
[306] DSS (1999b), p.106. See also DSS (1998e), p.9-12,15-18,39-41.
[307] Poor housing and crime are also mentioned but these are beyond the scope of this thesis.
[308] The quality aspect will be explored in the sections on equality and progress.
[309] Brown (15/05/00). See also : HMT (1997), p.28-9; Blair (20/01/98); Levitas (1998); Lister (2000), (2001)
[310] e.g. Glyn and Wood (2001), p.54.

counterpart.[311] New Labour emphasise the former but are by no means unaware of the latter as analysts suggest by drawing attention to its existence.[312]

The modern definition of full employment highlights the move from traditional full-time and relatively secure employment, countered by helping people to retrain, as seen in the training elements of some of the New Deals and the lifelong learning drive. The increase in part-time and flexible employment is also recognised, being reflected in the 16 hour qualifying criterion for tax credits.[313] Significant attention is also given to the fact that much paid work is low paid and low skill, given that earnings levels correlate to skill levels. As a result, reforms to make work pay were introduced, e.g. the 10p tax band, NMW and tax credits.[314] Finally, it was explicitly acknowledged that many of the jobs entered by former benefit claimants are low skill, particularly given that service jobs predominate and the tendency for this to result in low wages.[315]

These two features of paid work were also reflected in the manner in which external constraints were lifted. Active labour market services extended those inherited from the Conservatives, increasing jobsearch and training provision with a particular emphasis on taking into account different lengths of unemployment, different circumstances, given their extension to the economically inactive and different stages of the lifecycle, via schemes for young and older people.[316] Where appropriate, they also included action to overcome specific barriers. For example, in the case of disabled people, employer discrimination was countered by a publicity campaign and the establishment of the DRC to deal with individual complaints, a non-compulsory, tailored New Deal was established and benefit rules altered to reflect the 'dynamic' nature of disability.[317]

For lone parents, in addition to a non-compulsory New Deal, the particular constraint was deemed to be a lack of formal provision of childcare in the absence of informal support and was lifted by a series of supply, demand and regulation reforms. Thus, the National Childcare Strategy was established, consisting of supply-side

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[311] See Goos and Manning (2003); Reich (1997); Brown and Lauder (1997); Green (2002); Giddens (2000), p.65-75

[312] e.g. Blair (26/09/00); Brown (1997), Col.304; Blunkett (03/03/99). See also Finalyson (2003) and Fairclough (2000).

[313] See HMT (1998a), p.25, (1999a), p.12, (2000a), p.19; DSS (1998a).

[314] See HMT (1998a), (1997); Brown (27/05/99).

[315] See HMT (1998a), p.7-8, (1998b), p.3,13, (1999b), p.18; Brown (1998), Col.1104, (19/10/99); DSS (1998a), p.13,23,30; Harman (09/01/98). A disabled person's condition often fluctuates. See Burchardt (2000b).

[316] Robinson (2000).

[317] DSS (1998d).

reforms, such as funding streams for providers and free, part-time, public nursery education places for all 4 year olds, the demand side reform of the CCTC that covered 70% of costs for WFTC recipients, and an increase in regulation via national daycare standards and improved inspection.[318]

However, overall active labour market services were heavily skewed towards jobsearch and hence 'employment-first', despite the emphasis noted above on the lack of skills as a crucial factor in unemployment. Training elements were relatively sparse. Services for non-JSA recipients and JSA recipients prior to New Deals emphasised jobsearch in terms of activity and courses offered as did the first four months of the compulsory New Deals for JSA recipients. The voluntary ones for the economically inactive and those over 50 years as a whole included only discretionary training and even the compulsory New Deals provided full-time education and training as only one option of four with the other three guaranteeing one day a week. Furthermore, the level provided was relatively low, being Level 2 unless a case could be made that local demand required Level 3.[319] As a result, the low skill aspect of much paid work opportunity for such people was reinforced, just as the provision across the lifecycle evokes the world of movement in and out of employment. Thus, for New Labour, the opportunity to work was a guarantee of participation in a divergent labour market, covering paid work and searching or training for it. One was guaranteed an active role in the effective labour market with the prospect of entry into the formal one.

Turning to income opportunities, these are related to paid work given that it is the 'best route' out of poverty for those who can, and , therefore, parallel the divergent nature of the labour market. However, income constraints are lifted primarily via income-related benefits from the State particularly for older people and disabled people who are entitled to 'security' via minimum income guarantees.[320] Children are also an important category , emphasised by the commitment to end child poverty through a combination of State and parental action, because 'the effects of poverty and low income on children's life chances are complex and multidimensional'.[321]

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[318] DfEE/DSS (1998); Darling (06/11/98); Lewis (2003).
[319] See Theodore and Peck (2000): Finn (2003); Millar (2000); Rake (2001).
[320] i.e. IS plus premia along with extra costs benefits for disabled people and BSP plus IS for older people. JSA is income-related after 6 months and equivalent to IS when contributory. IB, SDA and ICA are below IS levels so can be topped-up. Constraints are then lifted via income-related IS.
[321] HMT (2000a), p.8; See also DSS (1999b), p.5-7,58; HMT (1999b), p.12-15; Darling (18/07/99). It is reflected in CB and IS premia.

People of working age, who are not severely disabled and hence capable of economic activity, were guaranteed 'financial support' via JSA or, given childcare responsibilities or disability or illness forcing withdrawal from employment, via IS or IB respectively.[322] In all cases, partner status was taken into account according to the predominance of means-tests. Thus, such services take into account different circumstances, in terms not only of extra costs but also prospects for self- or parental provision via employment, and cater for all across the lifecycle.

Education was strongly associated with the labour market, both in its nature and the level aimed at through the predominantly State-provided services that lifted external constraints to educational self-development. It is 'the key to prosperity...for each of us as individuals' in the new knowledge economy[323] and the education opportunities guaranteed are primarily, although not exclusively, vocational. The lifelong learning papers, concerned with 16-19 education but also adult and work-based learning, emphasise vocational learning and certification both in terms of discourse and policy despite their references to a broader conception.[324] For example, the compulsory and examined elements of Key Skills for over-16s were communication, application of number and IT, i.e. those most strongly associated with employability.[325] For those under 16, the human capital aspect of compulsory schooling received discursive attention but the vocational slant was more evident from policies.[326] Although there were opportunities for creative skills and 'skills for life', i.e. PSHE and CE, to be developed within the non-core curriculum, the vocational element was dominant. For example, the core curriculum consisted of English, Maths, Science and IT, reflected in the tests at 7, 11 and 14, on which schools were judged and the establishment of national targets for performance in English and Maths at age 11, supported by national strategies. Not only was the latter aspect to be extended to early secondary school but EAZs were allowed to disapply other elements of the curriculum in order to concentrate on these areas.[327] While skills in English and Maths 'provide the bedrock for all subsequent learning' and their lack can result in problems for individuals in day-to-day

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[322] HMT (1998d), p.149; (1999c), p.3.
[323] DfEE (1998), p.7. See Driver and Martell (1998),p.164-5 and Ainley (1999) . The human capital aspect of economic policy is explored in chapter 4.
[324] See DfEE (1999), p.3-13; Blunkett (17/11/99). See also Coffield (2000) and Tight (1998).
[325] Hodgson and Spours (2003). The others were working with others, improving one's own learning and performance and problem-solving.
[326] See DfEE (2001), p.8,42, (1997),:p.10.
[327] Blunkett (13/02/98), (04/02/98), (14/05/99); DfEE (1997), p.63, (2001), p.50-2; Gewirtz (1999); Allen (1999); Buckingham and Jones (2001).

life,[328] these are also the key basic skills demands of the economy along with IT. Furthermore, New Labour worked to widen the options at post-14 by increasing vocational learning and shifted the balance of specialist schools towards engineering, science and business in addition to existing CTCs and new City Academies.[329] Even Blunkett's comments on the importance of creative skills must be contextualised by the appeal to the importance of creative industries and repeated references to the need for creative and adaptable individuals in the new economy.[330] Thus, the vocational relevance of traditionally non-vocational subjects is also stressed in addition to the focus on basic skills in the context of a discourse that primarily associates learning with earning. As a result, the education opportunity offered is primarily, although not exclusively, vocational.[331]

This is reinforced when we consider the level at which provision aims. Assuming that provision free at the point of use suggests priority, for adults in general this takes the form of the basic skills strategy as well as plans to screen JSA recipients amid the stress that they are the principal constraint on social participation for adults in the community regeneration papers.[332] In addition to the emphasis on literacy and numeracy in compulsory education, the following were introduced: free courses, a national campaign and helpline, a national curriculum and assessment regime and increased provision in disadvantaged areas via family learning centres and generally via a network of learning centres.[333] However, for young people, a higher level was deemed necessary for social participation according to the community regeneration papers, the level of training given to participants on the NDYP and the performance assessment criterion for secondary schools : Level 2, i.e. 5 GCSEs at A*-C or its equivalent.[334] Finally, the emphasis on 'lifelong learning' also fits with the need to move between jobs, upskilling or reskilling as one goes. As well as reforms at the post-compulsory stage, the pre-compulsory stage was deepened via nursery education, free at the point of use, for all 4 year olds and plans for 3 year olds, Sure Start in disadvantaged

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[328] Blunkett (11/09/97), (27/09/00).
[329] DfEE (2001), p.48; Blunkett (13/05/99), (06/07/00), (24/01/01).
[330] Blunkett (14/05/99); DfEE (1998), p.54; Blunkett 11/11/99), (11/05/00)
[331] Skills are discussed further in chapter 4. Elliott argues that New Labour attributes primarily extrinsic value to education, rendering it an example of 'training' or at most 'instruction' – Elliott (2001).
[332] See Blunkett (22/05/00), (03/06/98), (01/03/01); SEU (2001), p.36-7. Originally only part of compulsory New Deals, there were plans to extend screening and help to voluntary ones and pilots applying it to all JSA recipients after 13 weeks, complete with benefit rewards and sanctions, were established.
[333] DfEE (1997), p.18-21,39, (2001),p.28-34/56, (1999), p.60-3; Blunkett (27/09/00); SEU (2001), p.37.
[334] Blunkett (17/12/98); CPAG (2001), p.655

communities, educational elements being incorporated with childcare and Foundation Goals to bridge nursery and early primary school.[335] Thus, external constraints on educational opportunity were lifted through provision free at the point of use across the lifecycle that was fully integrated with the needs of the modern economy.

In the case of health as an area of self-development as well as contributing to other areas of activity, New Labour have a socio-medical understanding. Throughout the command papers, it is presented as the absence of disease given the emphasis on the treatment and prevention of avoidable *illness* and consequently avoidable, premature deaths rather than the promotion of optimal health.[336] For example, the first policy aim is health improvement defined as increasing the length of lives and the number of years free from illness or limiting incapacity and the second aim is to overcome the fact that poorer people are ill more often and die sooner.[337] As a result, service provision to remove constraints must broaden :

> 'it's not enough to treat them (i.e. people) when they fall ill. We've got to do more to stop them falling ill in the first place.'[338]

The constraints on such freedom are considered to be a combination of the social factors, i.e. the components of social exclusion especially as revealed in risk factors, and the fixed individual characteristics, lifestyle choices and health service provision elements of the medical model.[339] In addition to dealing with social exclusion per se, such constraints were to be lifted via public provision of advice and treatment, i.e. preventative and curative services, when necessary free at the point of use according to clinical need.[340] Such services were guaranteed for all with particular attention to each lifestage with additional services for children such as Sure Start and school nurses, the NSF for elderly people and the focus on elective surgery, relevant to elderly people but also those of working age. Increasing in significance given the national strategy and

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[335] HO (1998b),p.6-14; DfEE (2001), p.18-27.

[336] A premature death occurs before average life expectancy and particularly before 65 years. Cancer and CHD targets originally applied to under 65s but were extended to under 75s – see DoH (1998), p.6, (1999), p.viii.

[337] DoH (1998), p.5,9, (1999), p.6-7, 41-2; Dobson (06/07/99); Milburn (12/06/00), (28/02/01). References to 'illness' and 'ill health' as equivalents to 'poor health' pervade sections on the health determinants. See DoH (1998), p.16-26,Ch 4, (1999), p.41-52,Chs 5-8.

[338] DoH (1998), p.2

[339] DoH (1998), p.16-26, (1999), p.41-52.

[340] DoH (1998), p.23. This holds less for dental and ophthalmic services and a flat-rate payment is required for prescriptions, although income-related benefit recipients and people with certain conditions are exempt.

requirements for local health bodies to conduct health needs assessments and incorporate such dimensions into service planning, preventative services denoted support services, such as screening and prescription for risk factors, and active health education via GPs, HAZs, HLCs, Sure Start, school nurses and a national campaign.[341] However, curative services to remove symptoms continued to dominate reinforcing the discursive stress on illness and, hence, the medical model despite consideration of social causes. For example, as well as retaining the bulk of the budget and benefiting most from capital investment, there was a strong secondary care dimension in the strategies to overcome the four big killers and secondary care dominated both the waiting time initiative, given the main targets were for elective surgery, and the quality drive.[342] Thus, both the lifting of constraints and the discourse on health create a socio-medical conception. Health is viewed as the absence of disease and constraints are lifted through attention to epidemiological risk factors and curative services as well as social causes.[343]

Before turning to the wider areas of social participation and their specific constraints, it should be noted that New Labour clearly include familial constraints for children. Parents are repeatedly told that they are responsible for their children in terms of income, education and health. Public services support them in their efforts to provide for their children in these terms. Constraints on income for children are to be lifted via public income provision and parental employment status and parents are to ensure school attendance as well as pay maintenance on separation and care for their children on pain of legal sanctions, fines and/or intervention. This parental role is presented as lifting constraints on children's self-development given the fact that they relate to the crucial areas and, as we shall see, are argued for on the basis of children's rights.[344]

Finally, considering the wider areas of social participation, in addition to income provision, constraints on caring were lifted via support for parenting skills both at school and during adult life, increased provision of support services such as early years and childcare and differential treatment for benefit recipients of working age with responsibilities for caring for children, despite the emphasis on re-entering the labour

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[341] DoH (1999), p.28-9,33-9,81-2, (1997), p.29,77.DoH (1997), p.34,255-8, (1999), p.120-2.
[342] Glennerster (2003), Hunter (2003), DoH (1999), Chs.5-8; Appleby and Coote (2003).
[343] See Hunter (2003) for definition of the models.
[344] Brown (05/12/00), (1998), Col.1107; HO (1998), p.4; DSS (1999a), p.6, (1999b), p.7; HMT (1999b), p.15; DfEE (1997), p.55.

market.[345] For example, lone parents are subject to a voluntary New Deal only and NIC credits are paid for full-time carers towards the BSP and the SSP. Likewise, those undertaking full-time caring for adults were deemed to deserve recognition for their contribution to society, reflected by moves to ease constraints such as NIC credits for the SSP as well as the BSP and continuation of ICA for those of working age.[346]

For voluntary and community activity, constraints were lifted by encouragement of greater opportunities owing to increased tax reliefs for individuals and businesses; funds direct from government for such involvement in community regeneration such as the Community Chests and the NRF; rhetorical support for employers to give employees a day's paid leave for such purposes, the BBC's 'Timebank', public services to use more volunteers and older people to get involved in such activity. In addition, as will be explored more in the section on civil society, significant effort has gone into providing more opportunities for voluntary and community groups and, in community regeneration, local people to become involved at all levels of area-based programmes as well as local partnerships in education and health.[347]

Finally, as regards the two dimensions of public involvement, ease of consumerist participation was supported by the introduction of PALS and the new charter in health and improvement of the social security appeals process as well as the retention of the right to appeal school admission decisions and the stress on the right of parents to complain within the home-school contract. As regards citizen participation, formal opportunities and information were improved. In education, parents were to be guaranteed 'greater say' over school and local education decisions via more parental representation on school boards and LEA committees while in health, where the process was most advanced, opportunities rose, ranging from representation on national bodies such as the CHI to Patient Fora for all local health organisations and the National Patient Survey Information constraints were lifted via increased publication of performance and service provision by local education and health bodies. The omission of social security in this regard is notable.[348]

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[345] DSS (1998a), Ch 7; DfEE/DSS (1998).
[346] DSS (1998e), p.39-43, (1999b), p.107-8, (1998a), p.37-8
[347] Blair (02/03/00); Brown (15/11/00), (09/02/00); Blunkett (18/06/98), (19/11/97), (09/05/00); SEU (1998), Ch.5.26-8, (2001), p.51-3.
[348] Blunkett (04/12/97); DoH (2000a), p.93-4, (1997), p.11; Milburn (09/03/98); Lister (2000).

3.1.3.- Autonomy

In addition to the emphasis on the development of one's potential through social participation, great stress is laid on the role of the individual. For example, the lifelong learning agenda seeks to create a 'culture of self-improvement' and welfare reform aims to overcome 'passive dependence' (i.e. on the State) by 'helping...(people)...to lead independent and fulfilling lives'.[349] Furthermore, as suggested above, contracts involving responsibilities for individuals as well as other actors are a frequent feature. However, this individual input has wider relevance given references to individuals making 'informed decisions' or 'choices' about aspects of their lives on the basis of 'information on the..opportunities available' and 'good and consistent advice and support'.[350] There is a strong emphasis on the provision of choices, information and advice because people want 'to retain control over their lives' in the midst of change and insecurity.[351] Combined with a lack of formal restrictions in most cases, by such means are external constraints to autonomy lifted.

First, let us consider the areas in which the formal constraint of a requirement to participate was lacking.[352] Subject to moral persuasion and incentives, individuals can choose whether to engage in full-time caring for children or adults, voluntary and community activity, public involvement, productive economic activity, if they were lone parents or disabled people, or saving. They can also choose whether to use early years, childcare, post-compulsory learning, income and, except for extreme circumstances, health services:[353]

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[349] DfEE (1998), p.13; DSS (1998a), p.9 – see also p.81. See also : Blunkett (26/04/01), (19/05/99), (07/06/00); Brown (04/11/97), (15/04/99), (08/05/00); Field (15/01/98).

[350] Bk (30/06/99); DfEE(1999), p.51-2;Blair (26/03/01); DoH (2000a), p.89,(1999), p.7;DSS(1998e), p.91

[351] Blair (24/03/98). See also DSS (1999b), p.23,32. This is also a key theme of saving reforms – see HMT (2000b). One might add also 'in circumstances of increased complexity' for income services.

[352] The status of these areas as personal responsibilities will be discussed in the section on internal constraints.

[353] See HO (1998b), p.22, Blunkett (30/01/98), (02/05/01); DfEE (1998), p.13; HMT (2000b), p.1,25; DSS (1998e), p.83. An alternative to income services is to obtain income via family or friends where appropriate or, subject to legal sanctions, the informal labour market. Personal advisers for benefit recipients primarily offered them the choice of seeking for paid work over other activity – see DSS (1998a), p.28, (1998d). Health services are not chosen by patients in emergencies and people with severe mental illness can be committed to hospital or institutions where they are deemed to present a risk to themselves or others.

> 'It's not the Government's job to tell people what to do. It is the Government's job to spell out the facts and quantify the risks on which individuals can make informed decisions.'[354]

The reference to saving is part of a more general freedom to spend one's money as one chooses :

> 'We prefer to let people make their own choices and manage their financial affairs to suit their own circumstances.'[355]

Hence, individuals receive cash benefits not vouchers and expenditure is subject to moral persuasion and the working of a tax system that 'sends critical signals about the...activities that a society wishes to promote and deter.'[356] As such, it guarantees incentives such as the retention of the majority of one's earnings and tax credits and reliefs and the disincentives of indirect taxation. Considering relationships, individuals are free to make their own decisions within the context of Government encouragement for marriage on the basis of stability for children :

> 'This Government believes that marriage provides a strong foundation for stable relationships. This does not mean trying to make people marry, or criticising or penalising people who choose not to. We do not believe that Government should interfere in people's lives in that way. But we do share the belief of the majority of people that marriage provides the most reliable framework for raising children.'[357]

Finally, there is no formal constraint on the use of private provision. In health, it is explicitly protected while in education it is accepted given the possibility of people turning towards private schools.[358] It is also implicitly protected for pensions and childcare/early years education, given the role of the private sector in the arrangements, and for general income protection and labour market search, given references to the growth of the former and involvement of private recruitment agencies in New Deal projects.[359]

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[354] DoH (1999), p.vii – see also p.29-31.
[355] DSS (1998e), p.83. This is considered of great importance by those promoting independent living for disabled people through the receipt of cash not care. See Morris (1997).
[356] Brown (1997), Col:311
[357] HO (1998b), p.30. See also DSS (1998c), p.13.
[358] DoH (2000a), p29; DfEE (2001), p.8.
[359] DfEE/DSS (1998), p.33; DSS (1998e), p.3-6, (1998a), p.15; Blunkett (03/11/97).

In cases where there are legal or direct socioeconomic constraints, such as benefit sanctions for JSA-recipients and legal action against parents failing to ensure children attend school, autonomy is guaranteed with respect to its other dimensions, namely choice between different options on the basis of informed reflection.[360] Considering the notion of 'informed reflection', in relation to use of early years, childcare, lifelong learning and health services, the approach is 'to maximise individual choice and flexibility by providing clear information and advice'.[361] There is a crucial information component to choice-making, as references to 'right decisions' and 'right choices' suggest.[362] Thus, there is a rational and reflective component that fits the designation of autonomy as self-rule according to reason by contrast with self-determination according to want. In the case of social security, the role of the Personal Adviser was crucial, providing information and discussing options with jobseekers in the light of capacities and needs, giving lone parents information on childcare provision and financial assistance, making disabled people aware of schemes and financial support and ensuring that all benefit recipients received what was due to them.[363] As regards choices over expenditure, decisions to invest in savings accounts and pensions were supported by improved information and advice services.[364] In education, parental and post-16 choice of provider was facilitated by information on performance and services offered from schools directly but also in a coordinated and comparative fashion by LEAs for State schools and the local LSC for all post-16 learning. Furthermore, those aged 13-19 received advice from school careers advisers and the Connexions service while for all post-16 learners the Learn Direct helpline provided information and advice.[365] In health, the information strand of NHS services facilitated choices over lifestyle and curative treatment as explored in the section on social participation. Once inside the service, medical practitioners were required to inform patients of options and PALS was created to support the NHS Charter in giving individuals information on services.[366] Turning to social contribution, choices over full-time caring were facilitated by information on paid work alternatives, support services and help with caring skills,

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[360] DSS (1998a), p.31; Blunkett (19/05/99); DfEE (1997), p.57. This does not hold for required payment of NICs and direct taxation or part-time care for children to be discussed in the section on duties.
[361] DfEE (1999), p.40
[362] DSS (1998e), p.31; DoH (1998), p.30; DfEE (1999), p.52
[363] Blunkett (29/03/01), (28/01/98); Field (15/01/98), (26/11/97).
[364] DSS (1998e), p.85-95
[365] Blunkett (20/05/00); DfEE (1999), p.40
[366] DoH (1999), p.88-93, (2001).

particularly for parents via the national parent helpline, family learning centres and, for future parents, via PSHE lessons.[367] For voluntary and community activity, details of opportunities were spread via a national website and for public involvement performance information and the new mechanisms were publicised.[368]

However, autonomy also requires options. As noted above, the diversity provided by private and public provision was formally guaranteed. In the case of voluntary and community activity and public involvement, the increase in opportunities outlined served to facilitate choice over participation. In the case of public provision, choices were to be secured by the guarantee of diverse providers. For example, in education, given the continuation of open enrolment and increased variety of schools, parents can choose between providers.[369] Such diversity and its facilitation of choice was also a key aspect of childcare, early years and lifelong learning provision, reflecting the mixed economy approach and, for the latter, different types of public providers.[370] In health access to the NHS was open to choice, including not only choice between GPs but also use of NHSD and, where applicable, WiCs instead and choice over timings for secondary care given the introduction of booking systems.[371] Furthermore, within public services, individuals were also guaranteed moments of choice. Services were required to 'reflect the specific needs of the individual, as well as the general needs of the many',[372] being 'responsive', 'tailored' or 'personalised' for individuals.[373] Thus, jobseekers were to choose between job vacancies provided by local labour demand, reflecting the broader choice of employment for all individuals, even if this was gradually reduced over time for jobseekers subject to formal sanctions.[374] Similarly, those over 14 were able to select GCSEs within the national curriculum range that was expanded with the inclusion of more vocational options and in health emphasis was placed on involving individuals in decisions about their treatment and support by stressing informed consent.[375]

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[367] DfEE/DSS (1998), p.7-17.
[368] Brown (09/02/00).
[369] DfEE (2001), p.81,86 (1997), p.66; Blunkett (15/03/00).
[370] DfEE/DSS (1998), p.5; DfEE (2001), p.21, (1999), p.43
[371] DoH (2000a), p.89,18; Dobson (30/09/99); Milburn (27/09/00)
[372] DSS (1998a), p.73
[373] DfEE (1999), p.22,40, (2001), p.6,15, (1997), p.38; DSS(1998a), p.24; Blunkett (18/07/00); DoH (1997), p.55, (2000a), p.17; Harman (08/06/98)
[374] e.g. personal limits on types of occupation or travelling distance were reduced.
[375] DfEE (2001), p.53; DoH (2000a), p.88

New Labour's conception of freedom is the freedom to participate in society autonomously. Information, advice and options are provided for individuals to make 'informed decisions' within a range of social options with certain formal and substantive constraints lifted. However, cultural constraints such as moral persuasion remain in place as do the indirect socioeconomic constraints of (dis)incentives. Furthermore, as regards each good as outlined in the discussion of social participation, the difference between options is not wide. For example, schools differ largely in terms of governance arrangements, curriculum emphasis and ethos while choice between GPs has been reduced to the patient-doctor relationship given the union of GP practices within PCGs across local areas.[376] It is also clear that such choice occurs within a competitive context given capacity constraints. The exercise of autonomy, not achieving successful results, is emphasised even where this results in goods of inferior quality as many have argued in relation to schools.[377] Finally, the influence of individual skill, perspective and travel ability on the exercise of choice, emphasised by education discussions, are incorporated through the efforts to remove external constraints to social participation and internal constraints as discussed below.[378]

3.1.4.- Meritocratic Advancement

The final aspect of New Labour's conception of freedom reflects the emphasis on meritocracy noted by many analysts.[379] Much attention has been paid to Blair's speech in the 2001 election :

> 'to break down the barriers that hold people back, to create real upward mobility, a society that is open and genuinely based on merit and the equal worth of all.'[380]

This theme is also evident in the many references to forward movement via 'pathways' and 'routes' and to upward movement, principally in terms of 'ladders'. Blunkett

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[376] See Fitz *et al* (1997), Walford (1997), Mays and Dixon (1999). Around 30% of schools are able to select either totally or partly and schools beyond LEA control can determine their own admissions arrangements, creating a two-way choice. Both LEAs and schools operate over-subscription criteria – see Chitty (1997), Webster and Parson (1999), Hatcher (1998), White *et al* (2001), Vincent and Tomlinson (1997).
[377] ESC (2003).
[378] Noden *et al* (1997), Ball *et al* (1997), Reay and Ball (1997).
[379] Levitas (2001), p.455-9; Driver and Martell (2002), p.85; Bevir (2000), p.288-9
[380] Blair (08/02/01). See also Blair (07/06/00); Brown (15/05/00).

describes the Sure Start programme and paid work in general as providing 'pathways' or the 'route' out of poverty.[381] Similarly, Blair presents the overall strategy as seeking to ensure that 'every individual can ascend a ladder of opportunity,'[382] which includes the 'ladder of achievement' that is the 'ladder of lifelong learning' and the 'earnings ladder'.[383] Furthermore, Brown stresses that such ladders must recognise a wider range of potential, from 'analytical intelligence' to 'skills in communication, language and working with other people', and be available throughout the lifecycle, as reflected in the insistence on lifelong learning.[384]

The meritocratic element is also expressed by references to the necessity of reward because it is 'time to reward the efforts of those who want to work their way up'.[385] The main areas of such rewards are paid work and savings. The government is committed to 'rewarding work and rewarding work at every level' and ensuring people have the 'chance to keep more of what they earn' through reforms to make work pay such as the NMW, tax credits and the 10p tax band and the decision not to increase direct taxation.[386] The means to achieve such rewards were provided through public active labour market services and lifelong learning provision for adults. The latter consisted of a mixed economy of fee-charging public, private and voluntary providers offering services beyond basic skills and employers providing work-based learning as well as the introduction of ILAs to encourage individual saving.[387] In the case of caring, credits for the BSP and SSP acted as financial rewards, as did ICA as an earning-replacement benefit.[388] In relation to pensions, the Government sought to 'reward both hard work and thrift', including caring full-time for adults and children to the age of 6, by introducing the SSP to guarantee an income above the MIG in retirement for those earning under £9000pa or with interrupted earnings, ensuring that the MIG was tapered away to ensure that moderate savings were not penalised via the PC and working with the market to establish the SKP for those on low and/or interrupted earnings and

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[381] Blunkett (07/07/99), (03/03/99). See also DSS (1998a), p.3,19; HMT (1999b), p.31; Field (22/10/97).
[382] HMT (1998c), Foreword. See also HMT (1999a), p.5; Brown (08/05/00).
[383] DfEE (1998), p57, (1999), p.48; HMT (1997), p.5, (1998b),p.6, (1999a), p.7
[384] Brown (15/05/00). See also : Blair (08/02/01).
[385] Brown (1998), Col.1102
[386] Brown (1998), Col:1097, (1999), Col:186. See also : HMT (1998c), p.150, (1999c), p.4; Blunkett (26/04/01); HO (1998b), p.21; Brown (27/05/99).
[387] DfEE (1999).
[388] BSP credits were available for any parent caring for children until age 16 but SSP credits were only available until children were 6.

without occupation provision.[389] Indeed wider savings reforms continued the theme of 'the Government will reward you for your efforts'[390] through the establishment, with the market, of savings vehicles providing a worthwhile return for low income individuals, such as the CTF and SG complete with Government endowments and matching funds respectively, and the ISA for all savers as well as continued use of tax reliefs for individual pension contribution and tax incentives for business investment.[391] Finally, although the discursive dimension was lacking, it was quite clear in education that it was a 'ladder of progression' and 'of achievement', quite apart from the income rewards connected to successful productive economic activity.[392]

Freedom as meritocratic advancement, then, involves forward or upward movement via ladders and pathways, which was to be rewarded by increased income in the case of paid work and savings income or progression to the next stage in education. This was achieved through a combination of direct positive action by the State in terms of provision, indirect positive action through facilitation of individuals and market providers and forbearance in the case of direct taxation rates. However, financial rewards may not be large given the continued existence of the poverty trap, albeit moved higher up the income distribution.[393] Given the rewards in question, this is a case of distribution on the basis of primary desert, i.e. for past actions, and , given that the rewards follow from successful activity, rewards are earned for results rather than effort, skill or mere action. As Blair and Brown emphasise rewards for 'efforts' and the need for potential and ability to shine through, it is clearly assumed that such results are a reflection of effort and ability. Thus, certain forms of brute luck and option luck in general are ignored or deemed acceptable. They are reflected in varying rates of local labour market demand, the risks associated with savings vehicles, the impact of employer decisions on the results of lifelong learning and employer flexibility within the anti-discrimination legislation for disabled people, particular for people with mental health or learning difficulties, in a competitive job market given the acceptability of

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[389] DSS (1998e), p.3-4, (2000a), p.1-3,17-19
[390] DSS (1998e), p29,3-4; HMT (2001), p.2
[391] HMT (2000b), (2001); Brown (1999), Cols.177-8.
[392] DfEE (2001), p.54, (1998), p.57; Blunkett (21/11/00). In other areas, there was no explicit reference to rewards, only the implicit assumption that one would be better off if one engaged in a healthy lifestyle and used the NHS as appropriate. As regards caring, the provision of IS without paid work requirements could be viewed as a reward. Voluntary and community activity and public involvement received no rewards beyond moral approval.
[393] For example, PC is counted as income for CTB and HB, resulting for many in tapered withdrawal and a lower reward overall, although moves were made to reduce this effect. See Clarke (2002).

hiring decisions turning on productive capacity. [394] As with autonomy, one is still free even if one is unsuccessful and subject to conflicting demands that limit the time and energy, i.e. effort, one is able to dedicate to any one activity.[395]

Finally, such rewards are derived from a combination of the market and the State as seen in the case of rewards for paid work. Employers pay wages according to the regulation of the NMW and the State tops up income via tax credits as appropriate and affects take-home pay by direct taxation. For savings, the minimum comes from the State for those whom the market has not served and from a combination of the two for those just above. All those above the minimum derive rewards from a combination of their performance in the labour market, the performance of their savings vehicles in the market and State taxation policies. In education, the reward of progression is provided by the State for those under 19 in full-time education and from a combination of the individual, employer and the State for those in employment. Thus, rewards for paid work, savings and education are derived from the State and the market working in tandem. Meritocratic advancement is to be achieved through participation in society in which individuals, supported by State provision and information services, develop a clear idea of the options available, their own strengths and weakness, the means to overcome them and then decide on a course of action, applying themselves with as much effort as they can muster and remaining resolute even in the face of failure. Prudent risk-taking is the order of the day.[396]

3.1.5.- Internal constraints

New Labour's conception of freedom as self-development in terms of autonomous and meritocratic social participation incorporates not only external constraints but also internal ones such as capacity and attitudes or desires. Capacity constraints have been indirectly dealt with in the exploration of external constraints insofar as the provision of education, health and parenting services has been discussed above. The focus of this section will be internal constraints in terms of desires and motivation to act upon them.

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[394] See Glyn and Wood (2001), SCWP (2002), Barr (1999), Keep (1997), Winch and Clarke (2003); DRC (1996), (2002b), (2002d).
[395] For an interesting consideration on such influences and saving, see Emerson and Wakefield (2001) and Evason and Spence (2003)
[396] See HMT (2000b); Dean (1999), Giddens (1998), p.116.

The importance of internal constraints has been highlighted by analysts concerned with New Labour seeking to alter the way in which people conceive of themselves via resocialisation or cultural management and in terms of the relationship between New Labour and the 'moral underclass discourse' of US writers on social exclusion, which focuses on the causal effects of attitudes and morals.[397] In New Labour discourse, it is most evident via the consideration of the problem of 'low expectations' for children and young people in further education, the 'passive dependency' of long-term benefit receipt by those who are capable of paid work and the responsibilities discourse, particularly with regard to the benefit sanctions for JSA recipients and legal proceedings against social security fraudsters and parents failing to ensure that children attend school.[398] It also occurs more broadly via the appeal for all participants in the education service to raise their expectations and for individuals to take responsibility for their future via investment in savings and pensions, lifelong learning and a healthy lifestyle.[399] Low expectations, passivity and irresponsibility combine with lack of opportunities and poverty to create the self-perpetuating 'cycle of disadvantage' of social exclusion. However, it is important to go beyond mere observation to consider the causes and solutions presented because several different discourses surround social exclusion and the notion of an underclass. These can be distinguished according to whether the problem was caused by one or more of the following : the existence of a deviant subculture, the availability of State benefits per se or means-tested benefits in particular, a lack of sanctions and socioeconomic constraints; whether individuals are, consequently, anti-social or not, rational and calculating or irrational, aspirant or defeatist; and whether the solution is the imposition of sanctions related to paid work in order to alter attitudes, severe cuts to or cessation of State benefits, moves towards universal benefits and/or the lifting of socioeconomic, i.e. external, constraints.[400]

First, it is necessary to note that New Labour do not consider individuals as subject to the same internal constraints.[401] Significant sections of the socially excluded have positive desires. For example, we are told that lots of lone parents, disabled people and long-term unemployed people want to work but are held back by external

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[397] See Finlayson (2003), p.144-66; Newman (2000); Gewirtz (2001); Levitas (1998),Ch.1; Deacon (2003).
[398] DSS (1998a), p.80, (1998b), p.11; Brown (2000), Col.863; DfEE (1997), p.5
[399] e.g. Blunkett (06/01/01); DSS (1998e), p.iii; DfEE (1999), p.15; DoH (1999), p.8
[400] Deacon (2002), Levitas (1998).
[401] This parallels Le Grand's work on motivation – see (1997). See also Levitas (1998), Deacon (2002) on New Labour.

constraints and most social security claimants are honest.[402] Where 'poverty of aspiration' exists, it is connected to 'lack of opportunity', creating a 'self-reinforcing cycle of decline'.[403] Likewise, New Labour seek to 'support parents so that they can better support their children' in the context of significant 'pressures', implying that, whatever their relationship status, parents are already doing so and, furthermore, often succeed.[404] Finally, the 'broad majority of people' want to improve their own and their families' health but have been held back by the external constraints discussed above.[405] However, New Labour also pinpoint a 'minority' of jobseekers who play the system, social security fraudsters, 'irresponsible parents' who fail to ensure children's attendance at school or to pay maintenance and families who have such serious problems that sanctions such as parenting orders or children being taken into care must be employed.[406] Nevertheless, as Field cautions, one must be aware of this 'darker side' of human nature without becoming obsessed by it and ignoring broad 'common decency'.[407]

Thus, internal constraints vary according to whether, to adapt Dean slightly, people are 'artful dodgers' or 'passive clients'.[408] In the case of the latter, individuals retain the desire but not the motivation to act on it given the pervasive lack of opportunity, i.e. the existence of socioeconomic constraints, that is to be countered by the reforms outlined above. As such, benefits were not severely cut or withdrawn nor were means-tested benefits reduced in scope. In general, public service provision was extended and/or reorientated and incentives for participation increased. In addition, people are repeatedly told that they can succeed now that New Labour have removed the barriers to social participation, autonomy and reward in the context of implicit or explicit contrasts with the situation under the Conservatives.[409] For example, Harman emphasises that people have been 'written off', 'trapped on benefit' and 'thrown on the scrapheap' with their 'aspirations' bypassed.[410] Furthermore, across the range of areas, they are told that the remedy is, in part, their responsibility, emphasising the importance

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[402] See Brown (05/01/98), (26/01/99); Blair (11/02/98); HO (1998b), p.22; DSS (1998a), p.23,26,12, (1998d), p.15, (1998b), p.12; Harman (09/07/97), (09/01/98); Field (26/11/97).
[403] DfEE (1999), p.60. See also Brown (27/05/99), Blunkett (29/09/99), Blair (30/06/00).
[404] HO (1998b), p.3-6,55. See p.5-9 where all families are deemed to need support. A similar positive picture of parents is evident in education. See Blunkett (01/08/97), HO (1998b), p.1,48.
[405] DoH (1998), p.28
[406] Blunkett (26/08/99), (29/09/99); DSS (1998b),p11-12, (1999a), p.1-4; HO (1998b), p.40-3.
[407] Field (04/12/97). See also (18/01/98).
[408] Dean (2003).
[409] As noted in the section on reward, the incentives may not be very great.
[410] Harman (01/12/97), (08/06/98); See also Harman (22/07/97), (14/07/97); Field (26/11/97)

of activity. Encouragement is needed because lack of opportunity has caused a habit of low expectation as people have resigned themselves to their fate, even as the desire to be self-developing remains. Given the solution, people are viewed as rational and capable. It is assumed that they will take up the opportunities under these circumstances. It is also implied that resignation was rational in the circumstances given the repeated references to barriers and traps to be overcome. People were resigned, not defeated. This is an 'adaptive' account of social exclusion, in which people respond to socioeconomic circumstances in terms of a deep-seated and quasi-permanent alteration in their behaviour so the solution must combine measures to change circumstances and attitudes.[411]

For the 'artful dodgers', in terms of causes, direct reference is made to the 'disaffection' caused by long-term unemployment and New Labour criticise the allegedly responsibility-free approach of a section of the left, raising an indirect connection.[412] Turning to the remedy, given the threat of benefit sanctions and/or legal proceedings, it would seem that such internal constraints are to be lifted by compulsion. In the first place, one must consider the degree. For example, even for jobseekers, a key group, the balance between carrots and sticks is firmly tilted towards the former with benefit sanctions tightly circumscribed and indeed rarely applied in the context of improvements to active labour market services and work incentives.[413] Second, however, we must ask why such sanctions are imposed. Is it in order to overcome the internal constraints within artful dodgers, understood as their refusal to develop themselves, and hence an example of strong paternalism? Is New Labour's conception of freedom an exercise one, according to which one is freed but then required to engage in certain activities in order to realise one's true best nature?

Given their conception of freedom and their commitment to progress explored later, New Labour do possess an ideal view of human flourishing, namely the individual who continually develops herself through autonomous and meritocratic participation in the spheres of action discussed. Given the provision of means for this purpose, including the dis/incentives of being worse/better off, and moral dis/encouragement, they also promote a certain way of living. However, it is the contention of this thesis that the imposition of direct socioeconomic and legal sanctions is promoted *not* on

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[411] Deacon (2003).
[412] DSS (1999b), p.143; Brown (08/05/00); Blair (30/06/00). The reference to disaffection echoes Blair's mantra of being tough on the causes of crime as well as crime itself.
[413] See Lund (2000), Fergusson (2000), Fielding (2003), p.199

freedom grounds but on social justice ones. As will be detailed below, these activities are viewed as duties of social justice, owed to others on the basis of their rights to the various components of self-development. They are then other-regarding not self-regarding duties and the sanctions follow on the basis that, as duties of social justice, non-compliance must be directly punished. Hence, the approach to the artful dodgers is, in fact, the same as for the passive clients with all individuals subject to such sanctions if they do not fulfil the duties of social justice irrespective of the cause. Furthermore, this allows us to consider more clearly the status of the 'personal responsibilities'.[414] The former are activities left to individual decision but with respect to which she is supported and encouraged, not least through their presentation as things that she ought to do. However, no direct legal or socioeconomic sanctions will be visited for non-compliance. The sanctions will be cultural, i.e. moral disapproval, and indirectly socioeconomic, i.e. the prospect of less favourable outcomes, partly owing to the provision of incentives and rewards for such activities. As such, these can be viewed as supererogatory expectations attached to the pursuit of a conception of human perfection and hence involve sanctions which can be ignored, in the case of cultural ones, and which may not in fact occur, in the case of indirectly socioeconomic ones. It is then a case of soft paternalism and, as such, fits within opportunity conceptions of freedom rather than exercise ones. Legal and direct socioeconomic sanctions that cannot be avoided attach to the duties of social justice, so as to remove external constraints on the freedom of others. Cultural and indirect socioeconomic sanctions that can be avoided apply to self-regarding supererogatory expectations, so as to remove internal constraints on one's freedom.

3.1.6.- Recapitulation on liberty

New Labour's conception of liberty is, then, the freedom to develop one's potential in terms of participating in society autonomously and being rewarded for this. Although there is a strong socioeconomic element, it also includes areas such as caring, voluntary and community activity and public involvement. Both external and internal constraints are deemed to need lifting. The former incorporate a lack of various welfare goods as well as legal or statutory restrictions incurring socioeconomic penalties. They are to be lifted primarily via direct government service provision or facilitation. Internal

[414] See Le Grand (1998a).

constraints are understood as the attitudes and desires that have, in most cases, understandably arisen given persistent external constraints. They are overcome through the lifting of the latter through encouragement by way of discourse and socioeconomic (dis)incentives. Individuals remain constrained by certain forms of brute luck and by option luck in general as well as by the cultural and indirect socioeconomic constraints that are the flip-side of the encouragement deemed necessary to overcome internal constraints.

3.2.- The basis, A, on which liberty is owed – rights – and further considerations of the duties of social justice

A key trope of New Labour and third way discourse is 'rights and responsibilities'.[415] However, in analyses of New Labour, the focus tends to be set on the conditionality of such rights with the result that responsibilities take centre stage and the frequency of the term opportunity leads to it replacing any discussion of rights.[416] One problem of this approach is the resulting tendency to consider mutual responsibilities and the conditionality of rights without considering their basis. Exploring the concept of rights, we see that, on the basis of equal moral worth, all individuals have rights to freedom that generate duties in others. Given that the freedom owed to individuals is complex and requires the lifting of numerous constraints, the rights of any individual are multiple, generating correlative duties on others, and this complex of rights is held by all individuals according to equal moral worth. There is, then, a web of mutual rights and responsibilities, as New Labour would term it, which requires a balance to be struck between the rights to social participation, autonomy and meritocratic advancement given that, as components of freedom, they must be secured simultaneously rather than sequentially.[417] Although it will be shown that such rights are ultimately based on need, i.e. what is needed for freedom, it is clear that the meritocratic element introduces desert insofar as the freedom to gain the rewards of one's actions is a key component.

As suggested above, rights frequently occur with responsibilities in New Labour discourse :

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[415] See Bastow and Martin (2003), p.3-12; Dean (2003); Giddens (1998), p.68, (2000), p.52.
[416] e.g. Driver and Martell (1998), p.163; Lister (2000).
[417] This idea was inspired by Hewitt (2001) with his conceptualisation of a basic needs approach to welfare as the fulfilment of common needs *before* the fulfilment of individual needs.

> 'The new contract between citizens and society is made up of rights but also of responsibilities.'[418]

It is a 'something for something' approach.[419] Everyone has the 'right to participate in society'.[420] For example, children have both the 'right to the financial and emotional support of both their parents wherever they live' and 'a right to an education that meets their needs'.[421] Parents have a 'right to expect...support' from government and the home-school contract sets out what parents 'have a right to expect' as well as their responsibilities.[422] Similarly, healthcare is pronounced 'a basic human right', which includes the 'right to first class services', and the mutual responsibilities of the public health contract exist to 'enable people to claim the right of better health'.[423] Finally, disabled people have a 'right to support which will enable them to live independently and with dignity' as do all unable to engage in paid work and both disabled people and lone parents are deemed to have been denied the 'right to work'.[424] All individuals have the 'right to expect that the government will do what it can to help them into work'.[425]

Furthermore, in the case of community regeneration and childcare, for which the term 'right' does not appear explicitly, equivalent expressions abound. For example, the goal of the former is that 'no-one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live' and the National Childcare Strategy seeks to 'ensure good quality, affordable childcare' in order 'to ensure that all children have the best start in life' and 'to ensure that no parent is prevented from taking up work, education or training'.[426] The verbs 'should' and 'ensure' are regularly used in relation to areas where we have already seen the term 'right' appear. For example, the principles of the NHS, which seek to fulfil the 'basic right' of healthcare, are replete with the term 'ensure', i.e. these things *must* be guaranteed and it is elsewhere described as 'Everyone...should have the health care they need for themselves and for their families.[427] Similarly, the reforms to fulfil the

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[418] Blair (24/03/98). See also Blair (18/01/00), (26/04/01); Brown (08/05/00), (15/04/99); DSS (1998a), p.80, (1998b), p.19; HO (1998b), p.4.
[419] Blunkett (05/04/00), (07/12/99), (14/03/01)
[420] DSS (1999b), p.30; Harman (09/01/98).
[421] DSS (1998a), p.60; Blunkett (23/11/99). See also Blunkett (05/11/97), DSS (1998c), p.2,7,9,12,45, (1999a),p.6,15,18,21; Darling (09/01/99).
[422] HO (1998b), p.2; DfEE (2001), p.86
[423] DoH (2000a), p.3; Milburn (28/10/99), Dobson (09/06/98); DoH (1999), p.8
[424] DSS (1998d), p.9, (1998a), p.63; Brown (1997), Col:309
[425] Darling (23/09/98).
[426] SEU (2001), p.8,24; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.6, Blunkett (19/11/98).
[427] DoH (2000a), p.22. See also Dobson (13/11/98).

right to education are to 'ensure quality' and an alternative description for the right is that 'every boy and girl...should have the opportunity to develop their potential to the full'.[428] In Opportunity for All, the 'right to participate' is also described as the commitment to 'ensure' that all members have the opportunity to participate.[429] In such cases, then , it is reasonable to view 'should' in such contexts as an alternative way of expressing the rights of individuals and 'ensure' as an expression of the things to be guaranteed for the right.[430]

This position is strengthened when we consider the equivalence of 'right' and 'opportunity'. First, it is suggested by the correlation of both with the term responsibility. Second, it is made explicit by both Blair and Brown. The former declares that there is a 'covenant of opportunities and responsibilities' in a community because :

> 'you can't build a community on opportunity or rights alone. They need to be matched by responsibility and duty'

and Brown argues that the 'British way' embodied by New Labour is :

> 'to offer the unemployed new opportunities as we are doing. It is to offer these rights in return for the duty to take up the rights as we are doing.'[431]

Third, the rights referred to above relate to the programmes of reform expressed in the command papers and speeches, where, as we have seen, are pervaded by the provision of 'opportunity'. As Blunkett argues :

> 'If their school is failing it denies...(children)...opportunities for which they have a right.'[432]

Before moving on to consider the relationship between rights and duties, let us recall the conceptual formula of a right :

> On the basis of X, B has a justified claim to C against A

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[428] DfEE (1997), p.15, (2001), p.4 and see also p.11,31,42.
[429] DSS (1999b), p.98. See also DoH (1999), p.2, (1998), p.9; DSS (1999b), p.1,29-30, (1998a), p.2
[430] Pensioners are 'entitled to a decent level of security', i.e. the MIG, and carers 'entitled' to State pension credits – see DSS (1998e), p.3,7, (1998d),p.42.
[431] Blair (30/06/00); Brown (04/11/97); Darling (23/09/98).
[432] Blunkett (20/05/97).

As established above, the object of rights for New Labour is the freedom of self-development via autonomous and meritocratic social participation. This results in specific rights to the conditions of such freedom, i.e. the means by which constraints will be removed. As we have seen, such means are extensive and take into account variations in circumstances. As regards the basis the rights, X, there are three dimensions. First, such rights are accorded to individuals on the basis of their equal moral worth.[433] For example, Blair proclaims that the 'equal worth of all' is the 'central belief that drives my politics' while Brown posits it as the 'the starting point'.[434] At the very least, this results in universalism within the reference group: e.g. 'equal rights, equal responsibilities' and 'equality of opportunity'.[435] Second, it is clear that this is an interest-concept of rights as explored in the conceptual section. Individual self-development is portrayed in a highly positive light and the inherent connection between the concept of interest and the future is captured both in the sense of 'development' and the lifecycle orientation of social exclusion. Third, insofar as the specific objects of the rights are the conditions of freedom, they are 'instrumental' to it and can, therefore, be conceptualised as needs. Furthermore, New Labour make repeated reference to needs both in traditional areas such as the receipt of NHS care, targeting, allocation of resources and children as well as the 'skill needs' of individuals and children, accessibility needs such as for choice over when and where to enter the NHS and parental needs for childcare and general advice and support.[436] In a manner fitting autonomy, in all cases 'Services need to reflect the specific needs of the individual as well as the general needs of the many'.[437] Thus, it is clear that liberty as self-development is of fundamental importance to the individual's well-being, giving rise to rights to its conditions. Given that it is the freedom to develop oneself via autonomous and meritocratic social participation, the needs in question are human, social and agency ones rather than purely biological.

Thus, it is reasonable to argue that these are indeed rights to the conditions of, i.e. what one needs for, liberty. It would seem, then, that the key distributional principle

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[433] Buckler and Dolowitz (2000), p.305-7; Hewitt (2001); Driver and Martell (2000), p.148-9.
[434] Blair (30/06/00), Brown (15/05/00). See also Blair (28/09/99), (18/01/00), (08/02/01).
[435] Blair (28/09/99), Brown (15/05/00).
[436] See Milburn (07/10/98); SEU (1998), Foreword, DoH (1999), p.44, DSS (2000a), p.5; DfEE (1997), p.26, DoH (1997), p.25; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.9-10; DfEE (1998), p.17, Blunkett (15/07/99); Dobson (16/07/99); HO (1998b), p.5, DfEE/DSS (1998), p.9-10.
[437] DSS (1998a), p.73. This is commonly evoked in terms of 'personalisation' or 'tailoring' – e.g. DfEE (2001), p.5; DoH (1997), p.55, (2000a), p.26; DSS (1998a), p.3.

was need. While this may ultimately be the case, the question of how goods are to be distributed is not, therefore, settled. Not only is there the question of the levels required for the rights to be met, as will be discussed later, but, as suggested above, the general right to liberty as self-development gives rise to intermediate rights to social participation, autonomy and meritocratic advancement. Desert is then necessarily involved if the latter is to be fulfilled.[438] So too must the need requirements for autonomy, which we saw included the provision of diversity in various terms. Thus, the right to social participation, particularly in terms of the level at which it is deemed to be fulfilled, must be balanced by the requirements of fulfilling the rights to autonomy and meritocratic advancement and vice versa. Blunkett makes this clear when describing the New Deal as

> 'a something for something approach which is a fair deal for the taxpayer and fair to the hundreds of thousands of New Dealers who keep their side of the bargain.'[439]

The reference to the importance of fairness to the taxpayer in the context of New Labour discourse reminds us of the opportunity to advance and be rewarded for this because one of the key constraints was taxation beyond a certain level.[440] It also reminds us of the limitation on autonomy provided by indirect taxation. Thus, the individual's right to keep a certain amount of the reward for productive economic success, as part of the very right to meritocratic advancement, and have her autonomy limited beyond a certain degree by indirect taxation, must be balanced by the right of New Dealers to the conditions of social participation, autonomy and meritocratic advancement. New Labour, then, promote simultaneous fulfilment given an overall reform programme that pays attention to social participation, autonomy and reward. Thus, for New Labour, a socially just distribution of liberty is one undertaken on the basis of individuals' rights to its conditions, understood as needs, which include some distribution on the basis of desert. It is, then, a case of rights to needs and, derivatively, deserts. As a result, the conception of social justice involves a multitemporal perspective. The general basis of needs for liberty as self-development refers to the

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[438] Bevir (2000), p.288-9.
[439] Blunkett (30/11/00). See also DSS (1998c), p.6,45.
[440] This approach was suggested to me by comments on the right not to be exploited by White (2000) and Fielding (2003:183-201).

present and the future but incorporates reference to the past through the notion of desert.

The final aspect of rights to consider is whether they are to be conceived of as general, i.e. held in all circumstances by all qualifying individuals, or special rights, i.e. the result of a contingent event or transaction or of a special relationship. The discussions of the conditionality of rights would seem to lead us in the direction of special rights.[441] Thus, certain duties have to be performed before one can be said to have a right and the rights one holds reflect the duties owed in the sense that, for example, 'everyone...who can work has both the right and the responsibility to do so'.[442] Thus, it might seem that the duty is morally prior to the right. In order to consider this issue, let us reflect on the nature of the duties owed. As suggested above, there are two types of responsibilities within New Labour discourse and policy, only one of which should be considered as duties of social justice. Those most strongly emphasised in the literature are those for which there are direct socioeconomic or legal sanctions. The others, often referred to in the literature in terms of individual responsibility, are actions deemed to be a matter of personal responsibility.[443] Thus, it is decreed that the individual has no claim on others for their fulfilment and action is encouraged via moral suasion, added to the incentive of reward in some cases, but they are ultimately a matter of choice as suasion can be ignored and less favourable outcomes may not occur. As discussed in the section on autonomy, the individual responsibilities of a healthy lifestyle, lifelong learning, early years education, saving, voluntary and community activity and the use of parenting support services are all examples of these. This overall approach is expressed in relation to public health :

> '...as citizens we can balance the rights we can expect from the State, with the responsibilities of individuals for their own future.'[444]

However, given the attachment of, ultimately avoidable, cultural and indirect socioeconomic sanctions, it seems reasonable to view these responsibilities as supererogatory expectations. When interpreting New Labour, then, it is crucial to establish which type of responsibilities we are talking about. For the term responsibility

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[441] Driver and Martell (1998), p.63; Dean (1998), p.222; Plant (2003).
[442] Brown (15/04/99).
[443] Le Grand (1998a).
[444] DoH(1998), p.8

can refer to the duties of social justice or personal responsibilities accompanied by supererogatory expectations. Furthermore, the latter, in marking out areas of personal responsibility as well as activities in which people are encouraged to engage, demarcate a clear area in which one cannot claim rights beyond the overall conditions of autonomous and meritocratic social participation.

However, there is a raft of individual responsibilities over which no choice can be exercised without direct socioeconomic or legal sanctions that is most notable within the area of social security and active labour market policy. These should be considered duties of social justice given their explicit link to fulfilling the rights of others and the nature of their sanctions. Thus, parents have a duty to ensure their child's school attendance and to provide financial support to their children even if they do not live with them;[445] users of the NHS must not evade prescription charges nor abuse NHS staff;[446] JSA recipients and compulsory New Deal participants must comply with requirements;[447] parents receiving the Sure Start maternity grant must attend regular medical appointments for their children;[448] benefit recipients must not defraud the system and, therefore, must provide supporting evidence on income, disability, sickness or child needs, declare income sources for income-related benefits, submit to verification and checks, report circumstance changes and, from 2000, attend a work-related introductory interview with a personal adviser before receiving benefit if they are new claimants for IS and IB;[449] and all those in paid work must pay NICs and direct taxes, be they income, company or capital gains.[450] There is then, as Plant terms it, a 'generalised' duty of paid work, i.e. of economic self-provision, *or* 'work-related activity' for those capable of paid work but unemployed and receiving JSA;[451] a duty not to defraud the social security system; a duty to ensure one's children's school attendance, provide adequate care and contribute financially even if one does not live with them; and a duty to pay direct taxes where one is able, including NICs that create a

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[445] DfEE (1997), p.55; DSS (1998a), p.60. Children can also be removed by social services in extreme cases of inadequate care.
[446] DoH (2001), p.2-3.
[447] DSS (1998)p,39. See policy index for details.
[448] Brown (1999), Col.184.
[449] DSS (1998a),p.80, (1998b), p.16-19,30; DSS/DfEE (1998), pp.2-3,9-12.
[450] Brown (1997), (1998).
[451] Plant (2003); DSS (1998a), p.31. The case of those unemployed but with sufficient means to forgo all JSA or not to qualify for income-related JSA will be discussed below.

right to non-income-related contributory benefits and hence also constitute part of the duty of economic self-provision.[452]

Having considered the nature of these duties, one must now consider the reason for their existence. Given the noted emphasis on rights to opportunity, it is reasonable to argue that they are relational duties that correlate to such rights. However, this is also made explicit. In the case of parents and children, they are explicitly correlated to children's rights.[453] For example, sanctions for failure to ensure school attendance arise because parents 'cannot deny their children the right to a decent education' and children are deemed to have the 'right to the financial and emotional support of both their parents wherever they live'.[454] Considering individuals more generally, intervention for failure to reform sufficiently is to fall on schools and health organisations owing to the rights of children to a decent education and patients to first-class services.[455] Turning to social security, there is constant reference to the interconnections between the behaviour of different individuals within a system that guarantees the rights of jobseekers, disabled people unable to engage in paid work, people with caring responsibilities and elderly people as explored above. New Labour place great emphasis on the fact that failure to fulfil the duties required of them affects the entitlements of others.[456] Thus, failure to seek paid work or comply with wider benefit duties and fraud are all presented as taking funds away from those who are entitled to them. In the case of fraud, it is not a 'victimless crime' but 'takes money away from genuine claimants and undermines public support for the system', including active labour market services.[457] It, therefore, affects the very system that guarantees such rights as well as the rights of certain individuals.[458] Likewise, overall welfare reform suggests a refocusing or expenditure from those who are capable of paid work to those who are not and to those with children. Thus, for example, in relation to disability, a package of

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[452] See Harman (22/10/97). It is clear that Beveridge's national insurance system itself created unconditional payments only on the basis of past NICs. It also involved conditions of availability and active search for paid work for the unemployed, which were diluted by the Attlee government, and was itself underpinned by a means-tested system of national assistance. (White 2000:509-12; Harris 1999:23-4)

[453] Powell (1998).

[454] Blunkett (29/09/99); Brown (05/02/01).

[455] Blunkett (25/05/97), Dobson (06/08/99).

[456] The rendering of personal responsibilities as rights is viewed similarly as seen in discussion of the partnership in pensions – DSS (1998e).

[457] DSS (1998b), p.20,12,23. Indeed, for Field, the worst aspect is that it is 'theft from the people who are properly entitled to benefit' (16/05/98).

[458] The same is said to be true of inefficient administration (DSS 1998a:75) and, given its appearance in the fraud green paper, mistakes by clients, which government attributes to the complexity of the system (DSS 1998b:11,25).

reforms to increase benefits for those with the greatest needs, provide jobsearch assistance and incentives for disabled people as well as require work-related interviews and a tightening of NIC requirements for IB are described as follows:

> 'The proposals...will refocus expenditure, with more resources going to those in greatest need and expenditure reduced where it is not meeting objectives. ...Spending on benefits for people with a long-term illness or disability will continue to rise, in real terms, as we meet increasing demand and seek to do more for those in greatest need. This package of changes will release funds to help meet these challenges.'[459]

This approach is also evoked in the first green paper on welfare reform, which seeks to 'spend money in the fairest and most effective way' with funds increasing for severely disabled people, for example, who are key representatives of 'those who cannot' engage in paid work, but funds being reduced for the 'cost of economic failure' represented by long-term unemployment and benefit dependency for those capable of paid work.[460] Thus, funds move from certain groups of benefit recipients to others in the overall direction of tax and benefit reform to favour disabled people, pensioners and families with children.[461] In all these cases, the duties of recipients and alterations to them are shown to have consequences for the satisfaction of what have been shown to be the rights of others. As such, they correlate to the rights of others to whom one has a special relationship, i.e. children, and of those who are one's moral equals, i.e. other members of society. Furthermore, both the direct and indirect consequences of actions are relevant. Individual actions are deemed to affect not only specified individuals directly, i.e. our children, but also identifiable groups of individuals within the wider group of moral equals indirectly as these actions interact with those of others within a system.[462] As we shall see in the next chapter, it is this interdependence that is key to the concept of community.

Let us now return to our consideration of the conditionality of rights. It has been argued above that the simultaneity of rights and duties sanctionable by direct legal and socioeconomic penalties should not be viewed solely from the perspective of the individual right-holder and the government in terms of the former's rights simply

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[459] DSS (1998d), p.23.
[460] DSS (1998a), p.iv.
[461] Piachaud and Sutherland (2002).
[462] Piachaud (1999), p.87.

reflecting her duties. Rather they should be viewed as duties of social justice, which are the correlatives of the rights of one's moral equals, organised within a system, and those to whom one stands in special relationships. Nevertheless, it might still be argued that, if we have duties to exercise our rights, then for New Labour the duty is morally prior to the right and such rights are special rights. For example, we have the right to engage in productive economic activity and, therefore, to receive the conditions of such activity, including income if we need it while we are out of work, but we are also required to engage in such activity. In contradistinction, it can be shown that, for New Labour, rights are morally prior and are general rights. With the provision of the conditions, one's right has been fulfilled and one can now be viewed as able to choose and hence subject to moral responsibility and the imposition of penalties.[463] One can be required to engage in such activity, i.e. to exercise one's right, and penalised for not doing so when one has the means to do so. As Blunkett declares about parents' relationships with schools : 'With power comes responsibility' so the home-school contract consists of rights and responsibilities.[464] Likewise, Blair argues :

> 'Give people the opportunity to go on and make something of themselves, give each of us a stake in Britain and we have the means and the moral authority to demand responsibility in return.'[465]

Thus, it seems more appropriate to view the question of conditional rights less as a case of special rights but as one of general rights. The content of such rights, understood as the conditions of freedom as self-development, is guaranteed for all individuals irrespective of past behaviour. However, such rights can be overridden in cases where individuals do not exercise them when such exercise is required as a duty arising from the rights of others. As argued above, the rights of others include not only the rights referred to in this discussion, i.e. the right of disabled people to benefit income as a condition of social participation, but also the right to meritocratic advancement, which includes the right of those in paid work not to be unduly constrained via taxation. As the welfare reform papers demonstrate, there is a balance to be struck not only between the different needs - and hence rights - of benefit recipients but also between these rights and the rights of taxpayers, given individuals' rights to

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[463] This general idea has been considered, albeit not in relation to New Labour specifically, in Lund (2000), Hewitt (1998), White (2000); Giddens (1998), p.97.
[464] Blunkett (07/07/97).
[465] Blair (30/06/00). See also DSS (1998a), p.71; DfEE (1997), p.66

meritocratic advancement, which includes monetary reward via wages, and autonomy, which includes the freedom to spend our money as we choose.

Having established the importance of rights as the basis for social justice and duties attracting direct legal or socioeconomic penalties, let us consider some aspects of such duties and rights that have arisen from the discussion. First, we have distinguished between areas of personal responsibility accompanied by supererogatory expectations and the duties of social justice, with the former acting to demarcate a sphere in which individuals do not have a justified claim to be guaranteed the good in question. Nevertheless, as seen in the consideration of liberty, for example in the area of lifelong learning, the conditions of reward, autonomy and social participation must be guaranteed as a matter of social justice, resulting in government action to provide them either via direct provision of services free at the point of use or the guarantee of vehicles for autonomy and reward and support where appropriate. Thus, even in areas of personal responsibility, the individual can have a right to support in terms of the conditions of such activity.

Second, the references to the social justice duties of parents with regard to their children reminds us that the right of the individual gives rise to multiple duties that may be performed by different agents according to capacity. Thus, the parent must ensure school attendance but the State must provide the education service for the child to attend in a way that guarantees the child and its parents autonomous and meritocratic participation.[466]

Third, this example also raises the idea of primary and secondary duty-holders. Hence, the primary duty for ensuring school attendance belongs to the parent but, in the absence of fulfilment, the State will step in to enforce it, acting as a secondary duty-holder. This also holds for areas of personal responsibility. For example, individuals should provide for themselves and their families economically via paid work but , where they are unable to do so, the State will provide 'financial support' as well as active labour market services. This applies also in the case of children where parents are deemed to have the 'primary responsibility' for financial support but the State provides general support via CB and will step in when families are unable to provide for themselves, i.e. for those in greatest need.[467] Thus, the State guarantees fulfilment of the

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[466] See also HO 1998b:4-5 on intervention in extreme circumstances.
[467] HMT (1998d), p.149; DSS (1998c), p.17, (1999a), p.1,6; HO (1998), p.4; Brown (1998), Col.1107

rights to freedom as self-development both by enforcing duties on individuals and taking over their responsibilities where appropriate.

Fourth, the attribution of duties varies according to the agent's capacity. In the example of the duty of self-provision above, this is merely an alternative description of the duty to engage in paid work. However, for those who are currently unemployed, this is altered to the duty to engage in 'work-related' activity. Similarly, those who cannot engage in paid work are not required to engage in productive economic activity but are required to comply with benefit conditions. Furthermore, those engaged in paid work are not deemed to have the same duties as the unemployed. While the latter are required to engage in 'work-related activity', comply with general benefit conditions and pay indirect taxes due on expenditure the former are required not only to engage in paid work and pay indirect taxes but also to pay direct taxes. Hence, the nature and number of duties vary. Finally, the attribution of duties varies according to one's familial position. Thus, there is no requirement to engage in productive economic activity for anyone who is capable of paid work but not engaged in it and not receiving work-related benefits. Where this derives from investment earnings, it can be argued that the duty is being fulfilled. Where it derives from partner's earnings, it can be argued that the duty is, in effect, deemed to be performed by her. Given the emphasis on joint assessment in benefits and tax credits, it would appear that one is released from duties on the basis of the actions of one's partner.

Fifth, within this complex of duties, it is clear from the discussion of the means to overcome the constraints on freedom, the majority of such duties are positive as opposed to negative. Hence, they require positive action from individuals rather than the negative action of forbearance. However, notable exceptions include government forbearance with regard to increasing taxes to penal rates and introducing restrictions on the use of private welfare services. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that even where duties of the government are posited, these are in fact duties between members of the society with government acting both as an enforcer and a coordinator, establishing clearly where the rights, duties and areas of personal responsibility lie. As Blair describes the welfare state, it is 'a contract between citizen and State' but this is really a 'contract between us as citizens' because 'we all contribute through taxes and charges' and 'we benefit'.[468] This positioning of government as representative of the people and

[468] DSS (1998a), p.v.

coordinator of their claims, which will be considered further in chapter 4, underlies the appeals to 'deals' and 'fairness' as opposed to social justice. Such terms evoke the relationship between individuals rather than those between individuals and social institutions because New Labour see the latter as ultimately reducible to regular interactions between individuals.

3.3.- E, the division of the conditions of liberty – equality and progress

The manner in which the conditions of freedom are to be divided so as to be socially just is the consequence of three things. First, as mentioned in the section on liberty, the commitment to meritocratic advancement requires a cut-off point at which the rights of others are deemed to be fulfilled and individuals left to retain and control as many resources as they are able. As emphasised in the section on rights, the commitment is to the simultaneous not sequential fulfilment of the conditions of the three dimensions of liberty. Second, the socially just distribution is also influenced by the intersection between social justice and the concepts of equality and progress. New Labour's conception of equality is that of equality of opportunity, reflecting the intersection of freedom and equality. As such, it combines a platform reflecting the equal moral worth of individuals with acceptable differences of outcome above this according to their understanding of meritocratic advancement. The ideal platform consists of a sufficient, relative level of welfare goods in relation to which individuals can expect State support as they strive to attain them. However, the actual platform, i.e. the point at which the external constraints created by the possession of welfare goods below a certain level are viewed as lifted, is lower than this. As a result, individuals are entitled to an absolute or relative level of income equality, according to their capacity for productive economic activity, so as to ensure social participation and the promise of relatively equal rewards for obtaining paid work. As regards education and health, individuals are guaranteed a combination of absolutely and relatively equal service provision to facilitate achievement of relatively equal levels of education and health outcomes. As regards autonomy, individuals are guaranteed only absolutely equal levels for services. In all cases, the conception of equality incorporates both strict and proportional equality as suggested by the commitment to 'progressive universalism'[469].

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[469] Refer to p.25 for the following distinctions – strict or proportional equality; absolute or relative equality.

Nevertheless, owing to the importance of progress, the division of goods must also be proportional to capacity to contribute to overall improvement in absolute terms as well as relative improvements for those in extra need. As a result, divergences from the division of goods proportional to need are permitted. Furthermore, in the case of equality and progress, the level of distribution of services and improvements proportional to need and relative to the rest of the population are circumscribed by the need for strictly equal levels of services and improvements for all. 'Progressive universalism' then reflects the intersection of a commitment to these conceptions of equality and progress. The point at which rights are deemed to be fulfilled and a socially just distribution achieved is then determined by the interaction of the New Labour understanding of liberty, equality and progress. In this section, emphasis will be placed on the concepts of equality and progress given the discussion of meritocratic advancement above. A full understanding of the conception created for each will be outlined with consequences for the socially just distribution of the conditions of freedom made explicit at appropriate times.

3.3.1.- Equality

The analysis of equality and New Labour, particularly in terms of an alleged move from equality of outcome to equality of opportunity compared to its predecessors, has become a staple of the literature. Nevertheless, its discursive prominence has rarely been examined, it has rarely been linked to the other concepts with which it occurs, most notably liberty, in any detailed way and its analysis has been unduly influenced by the conceptual commitments of authors.[470] As this section will show, New Labour's conception of equality is far more complex than existing treatments have allowed for and can easily be given concrete content.

Let us recall the conceptual formula established for equality :

Given that A and B are equal in respect of C to level D,
A is equal to B in respect of E to level F over time, T

The first part of this formula concerns moral equality, viewed as a basis for the second part, i.e. distributive equality. Given that the analysis of equality occurs as part of the

[470] As examples of the latter point, see Lister (2000); Driver and Martell (2002), p.185,196-7

exploration of the manner in which the object of social justice will be divided, it is clear that E is liberty as self-development via autonomous and meritocratic social participation. It is then duly broken down into the various goods to be guaranteed to individuals in order that the constraints on their freedom are removed and thus their rights fulfilled. Furthermore, in accordance with that discussion, the time period, T, is over the lifecycle, and the agents, A and B, are individuals. Thus, the focus of this section will be the nature of moral equality, i.e. the first part of the formula, and the level of distributive equality, F, particularly in terms of the following distinctions – strict or proportional equality and absolute or relative equality.

Brown offers the most extended exploration of equality in New Labour discourse. Proclaiming that the 'starting point is a fundamental belief in the equal worth of every human being and our duty to help each and everyone develop their potential to the full', he argues for a 'view of equality of opportunity' that is 'lifelong' and gives rise to 'a duty on government...to continuously and relentlessly promote opportunity... for all of the people all of the time'.[471] In so doing, he highlights the interconnection of equal worth, equality of opportunity or opportunity for all or 'everyone' and 'each'. Thus, everyone is to be guaranteed equal opportunity to develop their potential on the basis of equal worth. These five interwoven expressions are the key recurring themes of New Labour documents. Blair makes more reference to equal worth than Brown but both are extremely fond of 'opportunity for all', in general and in relation to specific areas, and the five expressions pervade the other documents under study.[472] Moral equality on the basis of individual humanity then gives rise to universal rights to the conditions of freedom. There is then strict equality at the formal level.

Turning to distributive equality in terms of the goods to be guaranteed in order to lift constraints, it is important to note that New Labour present these as positional goods. This is evident from their interconnectedness in constraining freedom through the concept of social exclusion. The goods in question are deemed necessary to overcome constraints to freedom in the areas of economic activity, where appropriate, income, education, health and childcare. Constraints in any one of these areas, owing to

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[471] Brown (15/05/00).

[472] For example : Blair (28/09/99), (07/05/00), (18/01/00), (14/03/01), (26/04/01); Brown (1997), Cols.303-5, (1998), Col.1106, (22/04/98), (15/04/99), (16/02/00), (08/05/00); DfEE (1997), p.3,9-11, (2001), p.3-6, (1999), p.6-8; HMT (1998c), Ch.6.1; DSS (1998a), p.10-11,47,79-80, (2000a), p.1-3, (1998d), p.1-5; DoH (1997), p.11, (2000a), p.4,27,106-8, (1998), p.82-3; Dobson (16/04/98), (09/06/98), (29/03/99), (06/08/99); Milburn (06/03/00), (12/04/00), (28/02/01); Blunkett (07/07/97), (15/01/98), (08/03/99); DfEE/DSS (1998), p.13-14; HO (1998b), p.2-5

a lack of goods, can act as a constraint to any other, indeed they are viewed as mutually reinforcing. As a result, constraints in the other areas are all logically and discursively linked to economic activity, i.e. one's participation in the labour market. Thus, they affect one's success within it in terms of obtaining employment. Furthermore, if we continue the connection between the other areas and economic activity into employment, they affect one's success in employment and hence one's position on the earnings and employment ladders. As a result, goods other than education are viewed as positional goods, even if the emphasis on the former is strongest.

Moving to the level of goods that will remove constraints to freedom, as Blair argues, a commitment to 'true equality of opportunity' involves a 'platform that recognises the equal worth of all our citizens' and the 'fair playing field', which he links to merit and hence to what this thesis has described as the meritocratic advancement of liberty.[473] Thus, at the substantive level, New Labour's conception is not one of strict equality of condition and outcome in which everyone receives the same. There is a cut-off point beyond which differences are deemed acceptable. The platform is a recurring theme in income services, which seek to provide guarantees of 'minimum' or 'decent' levels for the 'vulnerable', namely elderly people, disabled people and families.[474] It also occurs in relation to the rewards for paid work such as tax credits for families with children and disabled people and the 'floor' under wages that is the NMW.[475] Similarly, Blunkett argues that 'standards are at the heart of creating equality', referring to educational outcomes and Dobson proclaims that the 'best services' should be 'available to all – quality and equality', as shown by a concern to 'raise the standards of all to the best', referring to the service outcomes of NHS provision.[476] In policy, this is borne out by recourse to central intervention where service providers are deemed to be failing, determined largely by performance below a certain level, as will be further explored in the section on progress.[477] Furthermore, as noted in the section on freedom,

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[473] Blair (08/02/01).
[474] See DSS (2000a), p.25,1, (1998e), p.2-4,30-34, (1998d), p.9-10; Brown (2001), Col.302.
[475] See Brown (27/05/99), (05/01/99), (08/05/00), (2000), Cols.864-5, (2001), Col.302;.DSS (1998a), p.26,30-1; HMT (2000a), p.15. The existence of IS as an implicit minimum for all is recognised in DSS (1998e), p.19.
[476] Blunkett (08/03/99); Dobson (09/06/98). See also : Dobson (13/11/98); DoH (1997), p.5; Milburn (14/09/00)
[477] The health papers focus more in quality and the education papers on standards, although references to the other term are present. This is of little significance because, as Dobson suggests, quality will be 'at the heart of the new NHS' and be achieved by mechanisms to 'set standards, deliver standards, monitor standards'. See Dobson (01/07/98). It thus fits perfectly with the 'standards agenda' in education. See DfEE (1997), p.4-5, (2001), p.6-7. The same discourse and process occurs in lifelong learning, childcare,

everyone is to be guaranteed access to local active labour market, income, education, health and childcare services. Thus, within this conception of equality of opportunity, everyone is to be guaranteed a certain level of equality of outcome, understood in terms of income and access to local services of certain standards.[478]

This platform and hence the conception of equality is proportional to some degree, taking into account extra costs or needs.[479] Thus, while ensuring strict equality in terms of guaranteeing access to the relevant services and income for all as mentioned above, legitimate differences in terms of the level of income and service provision must be taken into account if one is to be considered free from constraint to self-develop. While this is most notable in terms of income, it also occurs in relation to service provision given the commitment to area-based initiatives on the basis of extra need. This is best illustrated discursively in Brown's discussion of 'progressive universalism', whereby everyone is given something but more goes to those in need.[480] As a result, equal rights to the conditions of freedom must be understood as rights to the conditions of freedom proportional, to some degree, to need and, therefore, legitimately different. For example, the extra costs or greatest needs of people with disabilities and/or children are to be recognised through non-contributory benefits for all (e.g. AA, DLA and/or CB) and either IS premia or tax credits (e.g. DPTC, WFTC and/or CTC) according to employment status.[481] As regards pensioners, the MIG was introduced to help those in greatest need.[482] Furthermore, income-related benefits and tax credits are themselves a means of targeting resources to those in monetary need, complete with premia for extra costs, and the McClement's scale equivalises such levels between household types. Finally, the idea pervades income services policy as highlighted by Hewitt's designation of 'differentiated minima', i.e. the 'enhanced' minima for elderly and severely disabled people, the 'in-work' minima for those in employment and the 'out of work' minima for

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the New Deal and social security services. See DfEE (1999), p.7-9, DfEE/DSS (1998), p.5-6,13-15, DSS (1998a), p.16,24,31,71-2, Blunkett (08/07/00). See also Blair (07/03/00), (09/01/98), (18/01/00); Brown (1997), Col.315, (18/05/99), (15/05/00); DSS (1998a), p.4,43-5, (1999b), p.viii,6,50-1,161.

[478] See Fielding's characterisation of post-war revisionism as between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome – Fielding (2003), p.177-8. See conclusion for discussion of this choice of terminology.

[479] The decision as to whether something is sufficiently proportional to need, which underpins considerations of the degree, is an extremely complicated task, concerning resource levels and programme design and requiring a detailed investigation of how far lack of achievement is due to the individual.

[480] Brown (15/05/00). See also DSS (2000a), p.5,26; DfEE (2001), p.15; Beech (2006), p.154-8.

[481] DSS (1998d), p.1-3, (1998a), p.57-9; Brown (1998), Col.1107, (07/09/99), (15/11/00)

[482] DSS (1998e), p.7,31-3, (2000a), p.1-4).

those capable of paid work but not engaged in it.[483] The latter are those 'who can' engage in paid work while the former are those 'who cannot'. For those capable of paid work, it is a key area of freedom, valued for its monetary and non-monetary effects, so their needs are different to those incapable of it. Furthermore, given that they are deemed not to suffer from medium- to long-term constraints owing to active labour market provision, they are in less need of State support owing to their greater capacity.[484] Thus, equal rights are rights to different levels of income, which reflect different degrees and types of need, and to a combination of active labour market services and reforms to make work pay for those who can engage in paid work.

Looking beyond income services, the overall approach was one of 'more targeted programmes in the areas of greatest need' and 'providing targeted support for people who have felt on the margins of society'.[485] Thus, the NDC was introduced to be followed by LSPs, with a combination of education, health and employment action zones established in areas with high rates of low attainment, poor health and unemployment;[486] Sure Start was set up to help parents in disadvantaged areas with caring for their children; the childcare strategy included efforts to increase provision in such areas also via Neighbourhood Nurseries; New Deals were introduced for certain groups; central government intervened where it determined that education and health service provision was substandard; and in all these areas more resources went to those with greatest needs both in terms of responding to demand and via central government allocations in education and health.[487]

This 'progressive universalism', given that it involves proportionality in relation to extra needs and costs, is broadly consistent with a relative conception of equality as it concerns the position of those with greater needs relative to others. [488] So, let us now turn to whether New Labour's conception of equality is absolute or relative and sufficient or insufficient. The academic literature has rightly emphasised the existence of a minimum threshold, sometimes characterised as an example of Frankfurt's idea of

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[483] Hewitt (2001).
[484] DSS (1999b), p.29.
[485] SEU (1998), p. Foreword, Ch.6.1; Blunkett (08/03/99).
[486] In education, this developed into extra help for children struggling in school and targeted policies aimed at individual children. See DfEE (2001), p.31,58, Blunkett (26/02/01). In health, it also applied to public health policies in general.
[487] SEU (1998), Ch.4.3-15, (2001), p.35,44-8; Blunkett (23/06/98), (23/03/99); DoH (1999), p.44,129, 28, (1997), p.59, (2000a), p.66; Dobson (11/08/98), (21/05/99); HO (1998b), p.13-4; Brown (05/12/00); DfEE (2001), p.25, 55-6.
[488] There is a further dimension concerned with the commitment to 'progress'.

sufficiency.[489] However, it has often erroneously been contrasted with a concern for equality, understood relatively and encompassing not only differences between those above the minimum established by New Labour but also higher minima set at levels relative to those at the top as well as those in the middle.[490] First, the contrast is really between different conceptions of equality. Second, the key issue is the level of relative equality to be gained and, in particular, its reference point, e.g. to the median, average or top 10% of the population. New Labour's conception of equality is not a purely absolute one as references to minimum thresholds and sufficiency may imply. The importance of relative equality for New Labour has been strongly argued by Fielding and this thesis concurs.[491] However, it holds that New Labour create a mixed conception of relative and absolute equality according to which some elements are guaranteed to an absolute minimum level and others to a relative one. It will also offer a more detailed and conceptually integrated examination of New Labour discourse and policy. Furthermore, Beech's characterisation of the conception as generous sufficiency and non-strict prioritarianism, which captures the progressive universalism aspect explored above, requires refinement. In particular, it is necessary to decide what the level of sufficiency is, whether it is relative or absolute and, most importantly, if it constitutes the level at which New Labour view rights as fulfilled. As suggested above, this thesis will argue that the sufficiency level is relative but the actual relative and absolute levels considered to extinguish rights claims in the contemporary context are less than the sufficiency level.

First, it is necessary to demonstrate the importance of relative equality for New Labour overall before proceeding to unpack the intricacies of their overall conception of equality. The idea of a gap to be reduced and the need for improvements faster than the national average for the disadvantaged in health, educational and neighbourhood outcomes was a common discursive theme and was supported by the extra needs policies outlined above.[492] Thus, national targets sought to improve the average level achieved and were accompanied by resources to facilitate faster improvement by those

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[489] Frankfurt (1987).
[490] Beech (2006), p.154ff; Driver and Martell (2002):p.176-7; Lister (2000); Levitas (2001).
[491] Fielding (2003).
[492] SEU (1998), Summary:8-9, (2001), p.8,12; DfEE (1998), p.7, (1999), p.43, (2001), p.15,31; DoH (1998), p.5,12,29; Dobson (11/08/98), (29/03/99); Milburn (12/06/00); DSS (1998a), p.63.

furthest from it.[493] This also applied to service provision in education and health where performance assessment frameworks established average national targets to be achieved with a combination of extra resources and, where appropriate, central government intervention for organisations that did not achieve sufficient progress towards them. Although to a lesser degree, this also carried through into key aspects of provision such as the number of GPs, with moves to improve the situation in deprived areas via PMS and increased deprivation payments, and teacher:pupil ratios via the target to end classes with over 30 pupils for those aged 5-7 years.[494]

Second, although the specific relative inequality targets were not introduced until the 2000 CSR, it cannot be maintained that the concern for relative equality began then as some authors imply.[495] In addition to the references and policies mentioned, the areas that attracted targets for national average improvement, e.g. cancer and CHD death rates or Key Stage 2 results for 11-year-olds, displayed significant social gradients.[496] Furthermore, commitments to improvements for disadvantaged areas and groups relative to aggregate national target indicators were introduced in Opportunity for All 1999, albeit without numerical targets. Progress was to be published annually and cross-departmental action coordinated by the SEU. Third, considering the national and relative inequality targets themselves, they were all established in relation to a certain level within the population. Inequality targets were set relative to 60% median for income and the national average in employment, health and community regeneration indicators.[497] In education, the goal was clearly the target achievement rates for the national average. However, the levels of achievement were also set at a level relative to the average or median. Level 4 was higher than the median and average for Key Stage 2 results in literacy and numeracy for 11-year-olds and 5+ GCSEs at grades A*-C was 65% of the median and the average in 2001.[498] Nevertheless, such headline reference points ignored the relationship between the top and the bottom deciles, quintiles or

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[493] Targeting resources in the way outlined above does not necessarily reflect a relative conception of equality as it may be undertaken simply to ensure an absolute, and possibly proportional, level is achieved.

[494] DfEE (2001), p.9-10,12-14, 28-31,55, (1997), p11-12,18-21,25-6,28-31; DoH (1997), p.18,20,64-7 (2000), p.59-65,130-1; Milburn (07/10/98), (11/12/98).

[495] Shaw et al (2006), Appleby and Coote (2002).

[496] DoH (1999), Ch.2; DfES (1999), (2001h), (2003).

[497] DSS (1999b).

[498] In neither case did the median or average results outstrip these levels so the continued commitment to the targets were not rendered absolute over time. See DfES (2001c), (2001d). Furthermore, New Labour introduced targets for Level 5 at KS2 in the second term. Given their commitment to progress, to be explored later, and this action in particular, analysis of New Labour over 1997-2005 might create a different result, i.e. a prioritarian conception.

quartiles and other reference points beyond the one specified, e.g. income relative to the median or the average.[499] The sufficient level of relative equality was then less than these reference points.[500]

This brief consideration of the importance of relative equality has highlighted two important aspects, namely that relative improvement was to be attained by efforts to reduce the gap to national average or median performance and that this was later enshrined in specific inequality targets, expressed either in relation to achievement rates relative to the average (e.g. education and employment) or levels relative to the average or median (e.g. income and health). It is clear that the point at which New Labour would deem achievement to be sufficient is the national average or median levels and/or achievement rates as this is the level that government strives to achieve. As noted above, such points are relative to the rest of the population as they would rise automatically with changes in the population's achievement, be it the average or median as appropriate.[501] Thus, rights to the conditions of freedom are fulfilled when such sufficient levels are achieved. However, as the inequality targets make explicit, the actual level of relative equality aimed at in the current context and hence the point at which rights were actually viewed as fulfilled was less than this. They were relative but insufficient.

To explore this in detail, let us consider the case of income, the most commonly analysed area. It was argued in the section on liberty that income constraints to social participation, autonomy and meritocratic advancement were to be lifted in two ways: State provision for those unable to engage in paid work, and those economically active but unsuccessful; or a combination of State regulation and provision to guarantee a

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[499] Income – the ratio of the top decile to the bottom was 4:1 BHC and 5:1 AHC (2001). Education – the gap between the top 5% schools and the bottom 5% was 53% for KS2 Level 4 literacy and 78% for 5+GCSEs A*-C (2001). For life expectancy the gap between the best and worst HA was 6 years 4 months for men and 5 years 7 months for women (1998-2000) and for local areas it was 11 years and 8 years four months (2001-2003). For employment, the gap between the best and worst performing local areas was 31.5% for rates of economic activity and 14.1% for unemployment rates (2001). See Shephard (2003); DfES (2001c), (2001d); DoH (2002); Shaw et al 2005; National Statistics (2001b).

[500] On the whole, gaps were reduced between 1997-2001 and between 1996-9 and 2001-03, i.e. the three yearly assessment pattern for health. However, others increased. See DWP (2003), (2005); DoH (2005); Babb (2004).One ought not to characterise the conception of equality from the failures to reduce the gap if discourse and policies both signalled this direction and the results were not consistently negative. In such circumstances, to do so is to presume unequivocal knowledge of the complex world of social sciences and to ignore the potential for failure in the real world. However, one may relate the results, positive and negative, to New Labour's conception of progress given aspects of its discourse, namely a commitment to gradualism and improvement for all as well as for the worst off, and policy decisions that chime with this, e.g. levels of resource allocation and the overall balance of reforms.

[501] Income, as a percentage of the median, is relative only to changes in the bulk of the population not the top.

certain level of wages for those employed. The sufficient level, exemplified by New Labour targets, was 60% median income. However, the level at which New Labour lifted income constraints, by direct action in an area in which it has the final say, was not 60% median income for many groups (see table below).[502]

Table B: 60% median income *v.* actual income, 2000/2001, £/week

	60% MEDIAN INCOME[508]		**ACTUAL INCOME**								
			PEOPLE OUT OF WORK[503]					**PEOPLE IN WORK**[504]			
			Non-Disabled working age	Disabled working age[505]	Severely disabled working age[506]	Non-disabled pensioner	Disabled pensio-ner[507]	Non-disabled person (s)		Disabled Person(s)	
	BHC	AHC						16 hrs	30 hrs	16 hrs	30 hrs
Couple, no children[509]	176	153	81.95	118.40	175.70	121.95	180	81.95[510]	127.21	164.70	237.55
Single[511]	107	84	52.20	88.65	145.95	78.45	141.50	65.60	127.21	134.95	176.94
Couple, 2 children <11	257	225	158.10	194.35	251.85	-	-	194.95	248.14	240.9	294.1
Single, 2 children <11	188	156	130	166.45	223.75	-	-	194.95	248.14	240.9	294.1

Source: HBAI (2000-2001); CPAG (2000); Piachaud and Sutherland (2001) – author's calculations. BHC = Before Housing Costs. AHC = After Housing Costs.

Thus, the income constraints to liberty were consistently lifted at a level below 60% median income, including some cases of those associated with rewards for paid work. Although less than the relative sufficiency level, some of these incomes were

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[502] For disabled people, the HBAI experimented with an addition of 0.1% for the relevant family status benchmark, in which case only severely disabled single people would pass 60% median income BHC.
[503] For couples, calculated as one partner being disabled.
[504] Calculated with one partner in a couple in work.
[505] Calculated with low DLA care rate.
[506] Calculated with high DLA care rate.
[507] Calculated with low AA rate.
[508] Equivalised income, i.e. adjusted for different family sizes. The HBAI has experimented with figures for disabled people set 10% higher than those listed.
[509] Aged 18+ for IS.
[510] Partner can claim IS to top-up earnings.
[511] Aged 25+ for IS.

guaranteed in relative terms. In-work and out-of work income levels can be conceptualised according to the degree to which they rise relative to income levels in the wider population. Broadly speaking, there was a tendency for those incapable of paid work and those in paid work to be guaranteed relative income equality. For example, the pensioner MIG was indexed to earnings while other elements were increased in line with increases in median incomes, e.g. children (CB for the first child, IS premia and child parts of tax credits) and those in paid work (e.g. NMW and the tax credits).

This distinction between sufficient and insufficient relative levels was also repeated in health, education and employment. The relative but insufficient levels can be deduced from the targets established by New Labour for achievement rates set relative to the average as floors, i.e. the degree to which relative gaps were to be reduced or explicit minimum targets. For example, in education schools that failed to get at least 15% of pupils to the GCSE standard over three of the last five years were to be given a 'Fresh Start' and the level was to be raised to 20% in 2004 and 25% in 2006 in the context of extra support going to schools already below those levels.[512] Likewise, a target was to be introduced for KS 2, which was set just after the 2001 election at 65% of pupils.[513] In health, the inequality targets sought to close the gap for life expectancy between deprived areas and the rest and for infant morality between manual classes and the rest by 10%.[514] In employment, the performance of the 30 local government districts with the worst employment rates were to be reduced but no level was specified. Given that their employment level was 63.2%, the most we can argue is that the rate was to be higher than this.

As mentioned above, in health care and in education, for all ages, State providers were regulated in relation to a range of outcome indicators via performance assessment frameworks and in relation to practice via inspection, with support and intervention forthcoming for those deemed not to be improving sufficiently quickly compared to national averages, taking into account different levels of need.[515]

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[512] Blunkett (15/03/00); DfEE (2001), p.55; SEU (2001), p.9-10.
[513] HMT (2000d); DSS (2003), p.218.
[514] Milburn (28/02/01).
[515] E.g. education included truancy rates for example; the NHS assessment included waiting times, immunisation rates and primary care management, and efficiency, emergency admissions, survival rates for various conditions and death rates for certain types of surgery and admission in secondary care (DSS 1999b; DoH 2000c, 2002). This also applied to lifelong learning, early years education and childcare provision as will be shown in the section on progress.

Improvements to information services at local level were also monitored relative to requirements and such provisions were in place for performance by Job Centres and for all those in charge of area-based initiatives. Central government agreed to targets set in action plans at the outset, arrived at through consideration of national figures, recent area performance and reasonable expectations of improvement. Likewise, the target to end primary classes over 30 pupils with one teacher established a floor at least for children age 5-7 while resources were allocated to some degree for need given the formula used. In health, PMS and deprivation payments both sought to deal with a relative lack of GPs in deprived areas. Thus, it is clear that there are relative equality levels for outcomes in education, health and employment in terms of specific outcomes, provision standards measured by wider outcome measures and inspection of practices and some aspects of provision. However, there are no such relative targets for autonomy.

These relative but insufficient levels do not exhaust the conception of equality. To see why, let us return again to the case of income. As argued above, this can be explored by considering the manner of increases, whether they are relative to the rest of the population or not. Those out of paid work but capable of it were guaranteed absolute income equality, i.e. everyone is entitled to *at least* this level.[516] Income-related and contributory benefits remained indexed to prices, continuing to lose their relative value over time, and were in fact increased at a level just below inflation (e.g. all types of JSA, IS). Turning to employment, education and health, the same distinction can be seen.[517] The absolute element of equality in these areas was first reflected in the universal provision across local areas discussed earlier. Within these services, however, minima can be discerned that were not set relative to national targets.

Drawing on the section on liberty, for active labour market services minimum provision was assistance with job-search and discretionary training while autonomy was circumscribed for JSA recipients by requirements and for all by local labour market

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[516] This did not carry through to increases for disabled people for whom benefits rose in absolute terms only. However, sufficient relativity was secured via the guarantee of 60% median income. For less disabled people, those in disabled couples or single disabled people were also guaranteed 60% median income. Where only one person in the couple was disabled, this was not the case, arguably creating the incentive for the partner to find paid work, whether or not they had childcare responsibilities.

[517] Unlike income and the relative targets for outcomes in these areas, though, the absolute aspect of the conception cannot be understood in terms of actual minimum outcomes because these areas are not under the direct control of government in the same way as income levels were directly provided or regulated nor were they set as targets. However, this can be done in relation to certain aspects of provision, for example, funds and numbers of staff. These are under direct control insofar the former come directly from government and the latter could be orchestrated via ring-fenced funds or initiatives.

demand, reflected in part by varying local employment rates.[518] Turning to education and health, minimum provision was the lowest level of per capita allocation to LEAs and HAs respectively, adjusted for relevant costs and needs for each; the lowest level of GPs per 100,000 people adjusted for age and health needs; and the highest teacher:pupil ratios in schools.[519] In terms of practice, the overall approach to pedagogy was teaching according to compulsory frameworks for primary literacy and numeracy or optional 'work schemes', supported by best practice courtesy of the SEU, OFSTED, LEAs and specialist or beacon schools, and there was a strong preference for whole class teaching, setting according to ability and homework.[520] In health, professional practice was increasingly subject to best practice and inspection via NICE clinical guidelines and service frameworks, clinical governance within trusts and the CHI.[521] In terms of autonomy, the minimum choice available for health was between GPs given that Walk-in-Centres were only sporadically introduced. Likewise, in education, the minimum choice was between LEA controlled community and voluntary controlled schools and out-of-LEA-control voluntary aided schools given that there were no foundation schools at primary or secondary level in some regions.[522] With regard to faith, specialist and beacon schools, given the regional minimum and, for the latter two, national averages and the programme requirements, it is extremely unlikely that such schools were available in every local government area.[523] Finally, at secondary level, in some regions there were no grammar schools. As regards diversity provided by the availability of private health and secondary education, choices were, unsurprisingly, not available for all areas.

The New Labour conception of equality is, therefore, one of equality of opportunity across the lifecycle, reflecting the intersection between liberty and equality. Strict equality is guaranteed insofar as all individuals are guaranteed rights to the

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[518] CPAG (2000); Rake (2001); Glyn and Wood (2001); National Statistics (2001b).

[519] i.e. Health £100,622 per HA in 2001, average 45 GPs per 100,000 in the bottom HA in 2000; Education - £2350 per LEA and average 21:1 pupil to teacher ratio in the bottom LEA in 2001. See DoH (2001c), (2002); DfES (2004), (2001a)

[520] See Blunkett (13/04/98), (11/01/99), (23/03/99), (28/11/00); DfEE (2001), p.5,9,15,44-53, (1997), p.31-3,37-9,58-9,67.

[521] DoH (1997), p.18,30,40,58-61; Dobson (19/01/98), (25/03/98), (31/03/99). The same approach was taken for childcare and early education – see DfEE/DSS (1998), p.4,7,14-17.

[522] The minimum regional threshold for schools out of LEA control was 15%

[523] It was not possible to find information for the distribution of school types at a sub-regional level nor for the distribution of specialist and beacon schools at the sub-national level for 2001. This trend also continued in areas of mixed provision. For example, for early years education use of State services varied from 100% to 29%, suggesting differences in choice between State and non-State services – see DfES (2001a), (2001e), (2001g).

conditions of freedom. Considering the level of socioeconomic goods that form the object of such rights, a platform is to be guaranteed and thereafter differences of outcome and, given that life is a continuous game, inputs are acceptable. These are viewed as reflecting success in terms of economic activity, expenditure and investment, learning and healthy activity. Although New Labour seek to reduce gaps in relation to national outcomes that reflect the Government's priorities and hence can be viewed as levels of sufficiency, the actual platform is a blend of strict and proportional elements and consists of absolute and relative but insufficient levels. In line with the conception of freedom, those expressed in terms of outcomes that were associated with rewards, i.e. paid work and related income, education and health, were not guaranteed but efforts were made to increase the chance of success insofar as relative targets were set for achievement rates.[524] Nevertheless, relative elements still applied to quality of service provision for all. As such, they incorporated the social participation as well as meritocratic advancement elements of freedom. Other key components of social participation and all autonomy components were guaranteed to absolute levels, i.e. income, the nature of service provision and its diversity.

3.3.2.- Progress

Aside from Blair declaring that the central values of the government were 'freedom, progress and justice' and Brown characterising the Labour Party as the representative of the 'forces of progress and modernisation', the appearance of the term 'progress' is relatively rare in New Labour discourse.[525] However, as will be shown here, key dimensions of the concept are not. As noted in the conceptual section, the ineliminable element is 'gradual advance' and conceptualises an understanding of change as beneficial, unidirectional, potentially irreversible and either voluntary, determinist or a combination of the two :

A voluntarily/necessarily advances gradually from B to C by means of D

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[524] Success in achieving outcomes other than income has always involved the individual and has therefore never been 100% guaranteed. We may believe the level or rate of achievement should be higher and/or New Labour should do more. However, the conception of equality still concerns outcome in relative terms and is premised on relative and absolute dimensions of provision.
[525] Blair (06/02/98), Brown (27/09/99).

It will be demonstrated here that the intersection of discourse and policy creates a conception of progress, understood as gradual, beneficial advance to be achieved by a specific process of modernisation in the context of unidirectional, irreversible and voluntary change. This conception has consequences for the level at which the distribution of the conditions of freedom is deemed socially just. Differences in levels are acceptable not only on the basis of extra needs and costs and desert but also on the basis that they facilitate greater improvements for all at an absolute level and for the worst off at a relative level. There is then a second dimension to progressive universalism. The belief that everyone should receive something while more goes to those in need applies to improvements in outcomes as well as State help to ensure the conditions of freedom.

The idea of beneficial advance is expressed at the discursive level by the literally overwhelming references to 'improvement' and its variants. In the section on liberty, it was noted that Brown and Blunkett have a particular penchant for 'self-improvement'. More broadly, the CSR was presented as a 'contract with the people' that specified 'a promise of improvements in both the quality and the efficiency of the services the public pay for and use'[526] in pursuit of 'improvements in economic performance and social welfare.[527] As the targets in that document indicated, improvements were to occur across the range of spheres in which the freedom to self-develop was to be exercised and in which constraints to freedom were to be lifted.[528] Beyond this document, the target approach, as we shall see, continued in all these areas, not least by performance assessment. On the whole, targets for improvement were set in terms of outcomes, although the CSR did include some input targets, such as funds, and the general approach to improvement emphasised process targets in the sense of requiring steps towards what has been designated as best practice. More specifically, economic improvements were predicted on the basis of improvements in employment outcomes connected to improvements in work incentives, childcare quality and provision and employability or skill levels, according to school and post-compulsory education outcomes and service improvement.[529] Thus, progress was to be achieved,

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[526] HMT (1999c), p. Foreword.
[527] HMT (1998d), p.1
[528] Improvements were not only relevant to removing constraints to liberty but also to the levels of self-development to be achieved once the constraints had been lifted.
[529] Blair (19/01/99), (24/03/98); HMT (1998a), p.4; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.3.6,12-13; SEU (2001), p.36,49; DfEE (1997), p.11-13, (2001), p.9, (1999), p.8,12. Improvements in health, NHS treatment and care and rises in living standards and prosperity were also common features. See Dobson (30/09/97), (16/03/99),

predominantly in outcome levels, compared to the situation in 1997 across the areas under study in both aggregate and, as we saw in the section on equality, absolute and relative terms.[530]

However, progress is not only beneficial but also gradual advance. While this could be argued according to a negative view of the nature of the reforms, from any side of the political spectrum and, to the left of New Labour, of the amount of investment, it is also explicitly embraced. In a manner reminiscent of Giddens's comments on 'philosophic conservatism', welfare reform will not be 'big bang' but 'evolutionary' just as the lifelong learning programme will be achieved by 'change in an evolutionary way' that 'builds' on what works, i.e. what is already successful as part of a reform process that will 'take time'.[531] In health, there was a commitment to evolutionary change rather than upheaval, which went with the 'grain' of existing developments.[532] Furthermore, there was a general tendency to undertake long-term reform programmes such as the ten-year plans in health and community regeneration and the commitment to end child poverty in a generation. Finally, as will be seen below, the long-term was also evoked by references to the investment returns from focusing on children in general.

3.3.2.1.- Modernisation

Let us now turn to consider the means by which progress will be achieved and whether its direction is viewed as determined or voluntary. 'Third way' discourses, a characterisation enthusiastically embraced by New Labour for a time, stress 'change and the challenge of change', seeking to develop a means of managing it.[533] For New Labour, change is constant and incredibly fast. Blair is its most detailed exponent conjuring up evocative images. We are told that 'no nation can stand still when the world is turning' and that people are caught up in a 'whirlwind' or 'ever-turning kaleidoscope of change' in a world in a 'state of permanent revolution'.[534] The solution is to manage it, seeking out what works and guided by one's values in order to 'equip

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(11/08/98); DoH (1999), p.4-6, (1997), p.64-5,33-4,4, 17-18; (2000a), p.58; Milburn (12/06/00); Brown (10/06/99), (06/11/00), (05/12/00).

[530] See HMT (1998d).

[531] Giddens (1998), p.68. See DSS (1998a), p.20, DfEE (1999), p.22, (1998), p.45; Field (15/01/98).

[532] See DoH (1997), p5,76; Dobson (05/11/97), (01/12/97); Goddard et Mannion (1998); Webster (2003). In education, the 'standards not structures' approach would prevent upheaval and repeated reference was made to the need to 'build' on developments – see DfEE (1997), p.5,12,,24,66, (1999), p.6,13,52, (1998), p.10, (2001), p.14-17,24.28-31

[533] Bastow and Martin (2003) p.3-12,19-20; Giddens (1998) p.27,64.

[534] Blair (090198), (240398), (07/06/00).

people...to meet and master change'.[535] Thus, as will be argued further below, this is a revisionist conception of change whereby means alter in response to contextual changes but values remain the same : 'applying traditional values to the modern world'.[536]

The nature of the changes is a recurring theme within the command papers, acting as a prelude to the reform package. In part, as detailed in the section on the constraints to freedom, these concern the perceived failings of the system in its current state, including the rise in social exclusion and inequality, both per se and given wider contextual changes. However, considerable attention is paid to the nature of contextual changes. Welfare reform and education seek to respond to the shift towards a more flexible, divergent, strongly service-orientated labour market within a global economy. These changes are deemed to have created problems for systems based on different economic patterns. In social terms, all institutions are viewed as needing to respond to changes in family patterns, particularly related to the rise in women working, divorce and separation rates and the decline in the extended family; the shift in demographics towards an 'ageing society' owing to increased longevity; and changes in public expectations, particularly owing to the 'consumer age' with its demand for quick, convenient service over extended opening hours.[537] Finally, technological development was relevant to the economy and health care, viewed as transforming the former for the better and providing great opportunities but also significant costs if unchecked for the latter.[538]

New Labour present such changes, particularly globalisation, as processes that have occurred rather than the result of direct decisions by actors such as government or corporations.[539] The origins of these changes are then conceived of as evolutionary, arising from hundreds of voluntary individual actions over time. The changes themselves are also viewed as irreversible. For example, both Blair and Brown argue that the country must adapt to the consequences of globalisation because to do otherwise would result not in progress but decline.[540] Likewise, changes in family

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[535] Brown (08/05/00). See also Blair (30/06/00), (18/01/00); Brown (15/04/99); Field (04/12/97); Harman (18/03/98).
[536] Blair (30/06/00). See also Blair (24/03/98), (28/09/99), (18/01/00); Brown (04/11/97), (15/04/99); Fielding (2003); Bevir (2000).
[537] DfEE/DSS (1998), :Ch 1; DSS (1998a), p.1,10,16,99; DoH (1997), p.7, (2000a), p.26; Blair (13/04/99); Dobson (30/09/99); Milburn (04/04/98); Field (04/12/97), (18/02/98); Darling (23/09/98).
[538] Blair (09/01/98); Brown (19/01/99); DfEE (1999), p.65; DoH (1997), p.7
[539] Fairclough (2000).
[540] Brown (08/05/00), (12/06/97); Blair (16/09/98), (09/01/98)

patterns cannot be reversed.[541] Irreversible though they may be and replete with the potential for beneficial advance, New Labour argue that there is only one route by which the changes can be guaranteed to produce progress.[542] This is to be discovered by examination of the context and justified by appeal to it. New Labour give objective content to progress because there is, as the unlikely bedfellows of Thatcher and Marx would agree, no alternative.[543] Even if the changes have evolved through voluntary interaction, progress will be ensured via adherence to the correct path, referred to as modernisation. Here again, the revisionist conception of change can be seen.

The process of 'modernisation' is 'generalised', applying across policy fields, and is a key aspect of New Labour discourse either itself or via commitments to 'modern' institutions and services.[544] For example, 'The Government was elected to build a modern Britain'.[545] Accordingly, it is

> 'engaged in a wide-ranging programme of modernisation: modernising education, modernising welfare, modernising social services and...modernising the National Health Service. A modern approach to improving health and closing the health gap is a key part of this programme.'[546]

The substantive content of this modernisation project consists of the policy package that is the material under study. It has been explored to some degree in the section on liberty and will be further elaborated in the next chapter and to some degree in this section. However, the major focus here will be the approach to reform more than its substance.

Furthermore, social and individual progress in general is tied to such modernisation and requires action as a community, a key theme of the next chapter. Partnership is required between the spheres of interaction, namely civil society, democracy and the market, as well as within them. It must also involve actors at all levels, including individuals. Both the individual duties of social justice and the duties of supererogation are included even if non-compliance for the latter attracts only

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[541] HO (1998b), p.2,52
[542] See Finlayson (2003), p.66
[543] See Bastow and Martin (2003), p.22.
[544] Finlayson (200), p. 66,92-5. Fairclough (2000) also stressed this discursive emphasis but has not unpacked it to the same degree of sophistication and policy detail.
[545] DfEE/DSS (1998), Foreword.
[546] DoH (1999), p.5. See also : Blair (09/01/98), (15/01/99), (07/07/99), (09/03/00), (14/03/01); Brown (27/05/99), (11/06/98), (1997), Cols.305, 310-11, (06/11/00), (2001), Col.295; Blunkett (17/06/98), (23/11/99), (20/09/00); DSS (1998a), p. 2,19-23,80-1; DoH (1997), p. 2-5, (1998), p.9, (2000a), p.7-9; Dobson (09/12/97), (16/07/99); Milburn (17/11/98), (12/06/00).

cultural sanctions and the indirect sanction of less progress for the individual and, possibly, the community as a whole. Thus, there is a strong interaction between progress and community, between progress and individual freedom as self-development and between progress and the three spheres of interaction mentioned.

For the purposes of this chapter, the process of modernisation will be discussed in relation to public services given their importance for the lifting of external constraints to freedom. Thus, the understanding of economic progress, significant for the funding and nature of public service improvements, will be explored in the section on the market, and the manner in which progress is a social phenomenon as much as social justice will be illustrated in the section on community.

The modernisation approach for public service progress has several dimensions. First, there is a strong planning element during which evidence is gathered on contextual changes and best practice and fed into a multi-level collaborative planning process. Second, this gives rise to reform packages that blend coordination models, i.e. the quasi-hierarchy of performance management, the quasi-networks of partnership and quasi-markets. Third, this is combined with investment from the State in terms of increased funds given the establishment of the necessary coordination mechanisms. Finally, this entire process is to be continuous, demonstrating that there is no end-point.

3.3.3.- Information or evidence

Considering the planning process, let us turn to the information stage. As noted above and in line with the revisionist concept of change, investigations are undertaken with regard to contextual changes. In some cases, such as tax and benefit reform, public health and basic skills, this takes the form of published, formal in-depth reports.[547] In other cases, it is expressed in the documents themselves owing to departmental study and consultation as in education and health. However, there is a second dimension beyond such contextual study given the commitment to best practice or, as it is frequently termed, 'what works'.[548] Dobson captures the overall approach :

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[547] The Acheson report underpinned the public health papers as did the Moser report for basic skills. The Wanless report on the NHS at the end of the term is a notable example.

[548] Blair (24/03/98), (09/03/00); Blunkett (09/01/98), (11/01/99); DfEE (1997), p.12, (2001), p.44; Dobson (05/11/97), (16/07/99); DoH (1997), p.10, (2000a), p.29; SEU (1998), Ch.2.20, (2001), p.57-8.

> 'Performance is being closely monitored. Best practice is being identified and will be spread...There will be rewards for those who hit their targets and sanctions for those who do not.'[549]

Inspection plays a key role in identifying as well as spreading best practice and the increase in performance measurement outlined below has contributed to the identification of best practice as well as the focusing of attention on under-achievers.[550] Evidence of best practice will also come from the private sector given its involvement as outlined below. Having been established, it is spread via inspection bodies and respective departments but also by the designation of service leaders or 'beacons', who receive extra funds in recognition of their success and as means for them to spread it.[551] Both these and other organisations are also to be allocated extra funds to facilitate further improvements in general or specifically. For example, monetary rewards were not only a feature of the National Performance Fund introduced in the NHS Plan but were also available for HAs meeting their targets earlier.[552] In education, while this has been associated more with lighter inspections and permission to innovate, the schools involved, beacon and specialist schools, both receive additional funds.[553]

As a result, it is clear that a great deal of time must be given not only to the identification and dissemination of good practice but also the innovation that facilitates its development. Progress is then to be achieved by the dissemination of successful innovation :

> 'We want to make current best practice the norm, and we want some...to go beyond this, so that the best...provide a leading edge.'[554]

The establishment of best practice by means of innovation is also more widely applicable in terms of piloting or 'prototyping' reforms before national rollout. For example, the NDC began with 17 'pathfinders' that would be 'showcases' and 'models'

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[549] Dobson (16/09/98).
[550] See Dobson (18/09/99); Blunkett (14/06/99), (18/09/98); DoH (1997), p.65. The SEU in the DfEE also plays a strong role, combining this with international evidence – see DfEE (1997), p.38.
[551] See Dobson (14/07/98); Milburn (24/11/99); Blunkett (16/12/98), (08/12/99). In health, this is supplemented by NICE's clinical guidelines and NSFs. In education the SEU and designated specialist schools also play this role.
[552] DoH (2000a), p.63-5, (1997), p.30-1; Milburn (30/06/00)
[553] See DfEE (2001), p.6-7,14-17,47-8; Fitz et al (2002); Rudd (2001). The same process was followed in further education, childcare and early years learning – see DfEE (1999), p.8-9,43-5,57; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.15-19
[554] DfEE (2001), p.42

for successful regeneration just as the first round of action zones were variously described as 'testbeds for innovation' and 'trailblazers' or 'laboratories' and 'prototypes'.[555] Similarly, the New Deals were all introduced via pilot schemes. All are deemed to provide evidence of 'what works'.

This is, however, innovation in a 'single direction of change', i.e. certain types of innovation.[556] As regards policy piloting, Walker has argued that the NDDP shows this to be 'prototyping' insofar as the aim is to test implementation not overall viability.[557] In the case of education and health, innovations occur within the overall school improvement and epidemiological approach to professional practice.[558] Indeed, freedom to innovate is given to those judged successful within the existing dimensions of performance and process via indicator scores and inspection respectively. It is then innovation within bounds.[559]

'What works' and the innovation that creates it is, then, more circumscribed than it at first appears. Furthermore, such evidence guides or informs policy rather than determines it.[560] For example, despite the governmental commitment to evaluation, the next stage of policy has often been undertaken *before* the evidence from the evaluation has been completed and in other areas programmes were adopted without evidence.[561]

3.3.4.- Planning

The information generated from such investigation and from consultation processes is then fed into a multi-level process of strategic action-planning. Boyne defines planning as the 'attempt to influence the future by forecasting changes...setting objectives, and developing strategies' and proceeds to question only whether New Labour can be viewed as engaging in a sufficiently 'rational' version, understood as one supported by the rigorous, systematic and comprehensive application of scientific

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[555] SEU (1998), Summary:12, Ch.4.14; Blunkett (23/06/98); Dobson (30/09/97), (25/06/99). See also Field (04/12/97) on the importance of piloting as well as trying to predict unforeseen consequences .
[556] Webster (2002), p.241; Fergusson (2000).
[557] Walker (2000).
[558] Goldstein (1998), (2001); Hunter (2003); Speller et al (1997).
[559] Innovation is not an 'empty signifier' as Newman (2000) maintains.
[560] Davies et al (2000); Sheldon et al (1998); Sanderson (2002).
[561] Nutley and Webb (2000). For health, see also : Leese (2001), Ovreteit and Gustafson (2003) Appleby and Coote (2002), MacIntyre et al (2001) Shekelle et al (1999). For education, see also : Brown et al (2000), (2003), Blatchford et al (2003), Coe and Fitz-Gibbon (1998), Fitz-Gibbon (1999), Goldstein and Woodhouse (2000).

methods.[562] Certainly, given the consideration of evidence for 'what works' detailed above, New Labour's approach cannot be classed as 'rational' in these terms and hence differs quite considerably from the planning processes of the 1960s and 1970s. However, this does not mean that it can be reduced to 'bright ideas'.[563] Central government's commitment to this process is best evidenced by the CSR but also by the development of national plans or strategies for the NHS, neighbourhood renewal and childcare.[564] Furthermore, every command paper sets out principles on which reforms are based and a general strategy with some documents assuming foundational status such as the first welfare reform paper.[565]

While these documents are indeed largely promotional in tone, they involve the setting of objectives, SMART targets and strategies.[566] The latter include conceptions of good practice to be supported by performance management, mechanisms to identify and spread good practice and the setting of relationships between relevant actors. Within the framework set, details are worked out at the departmental level and communicated to lower tiers. These local actors are then required to engage in investigations of their own context, viewed as a localised version of the national picture, and develop action-plans complete with targets, strategies, self-assessment practices and control arrangements for actors under their influence, which is then checked by the higher level. For example, LEAs form Education Action Fora with all relevant actors to produce Education Development Plans for the next three years that are checked by the DfEE. LEAs then take the lead in overseeing the plans developed by individual schools within the remit of the EDP.[567] At each level the national plan is translated, subject to oversight, into an ever more localised form.

3.3.5.- Mixed models of coordination

The planning process outlined above gives rise to strategic plans and action-plans that bear remarkable similarities across policy areas. In so doing, they demonstrate

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[562] Boyne (2001), p.73-6; Makin et al (2002), p.66-70.
[563] Harrison and Wood (1999)
[564] HMT (1998c), DoH (2000a), SEU (2001), DfEE/DSS (1998)
[565] DSS (1998a); DfEE (1998); DoH (1998)
[566] Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Timed – HMT (1998d), p.1.
[567] DfEE (1997), p.26-9. See also : DoH 1997: 22,28,32-9,45, 1998:40-1, 1999:27-9; DfEE 99:32-3, 38; SEU 2001: 46-8; DfEE/DSS 1998:38-41. The partnerships running area-based initiatives do the same, preparing action-plan bids and being monitored by departmental organisations. See, for example, Barnes and Sullivan (2003); Dickson et al (2002).

a mixed model approach to the question of coordination, combining quasi-hierarchy in the form of performance management, quasi-networks in the form of 'partnerships' and quasi-markets.[568]

3.3.5.1.- Quasi-hierarchy

The first recurrent pattern of the plans was the establishment of performance management, i.e. the process by which explicit standards and performance indicators are set, which concentrate on quantifiable outcomes, for organisations that have been separated from each other according to function and exercise some degree of responsibility over their affairs.[569] The standards and indicators give rise to targets and performance is monitored via performance assessment and inspection.[570] Thus, each level within the multi-level planning process also served as a means to monitor delivery of the plans by lower level actors via collection of information on performance according to indicators and targets and via inspection; to establish, spread and reward best practice; and to offer first targeted support and then intervention to those under-performing.[571] For example, building on the Conservative legacy in health, a new performance assessment framework was introduced, the CHI was established to inspect organisations and a chain of performance management from the DoH via HAs to local trusts and PCGs was set up, which even penetrated the organisations themselves in the form of clinical governance.[572]

3.3.5.2.- Quasi-markets

The second recurring feature of such plans was the continuation of quasi-markets, as in health and education, or mixed economies, as in childcare and social services, although it was not emphasised to the same degree as performance

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[568] Exworthy et al (1999); Le Grand (2002); Rhodes and Bevir (2003).
[569] The consequences for professional organisation will be considered in the section on the power of central government in chapter 4.
[570] This is part of the definition of new public management or managerialism - see Makin et al (2002), Clarke et al (2000), Hood (2000). It is usually combined with elements of quasi-markets, which will be explored below.
[571] It has been widely argued that performance management skews admissible evidence in the direction of the quantitative and that the specificity aspect requires the breaking up of complex areas, inclining actors towards a problem-solving approach that eschews systemic solutions. See Elliott (2001), Lister (2000).
[572] DoH (1997), p. 28-31,39,48-51,60-5, (2000a), p56-7,66-8. See also : DfEE (1999), p.8,17,21,38-45, (1997), p.25-33; SEU (2001), p.49-50; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.13-17, 38.

management and partnerships. In education, open admissions and operational management for schools were retained, accompanied by reforms to increase secondary school diversity.[573] In health, competition was transformed to contestability according to which purchasers were able to change providers periodically or in response to consistent underperformance as expressed in the move towards longer-term contracts between PCGs and hospital trusts.[574] In childcare, a mixed economy of provision was maintained insofar as both public and private providers existed and individuals were subsidised by the State in certain circumstances but generally spent their own money on provision.[575]

A notable aspect of New Labour's approach to improvement in the public sector, however, was the introduction of a mixed economy. Thus, central government contracted improvement responsibilities out in the case of failing organisations and specific aspects of provision. For example, in education, private and voluntary providers were permitted to overtake failing schools and LEAs, in the case of the latter following assessments by private consultancies, or to be involved in EAZs including as leaders.[576] In the case of targeted initiatives, the delivery of the New Deal was contracted out in some areas.[577] In terms of general provision, capital investment was available largely according to the Private Finance Initiative according to which consortia were contracted to finance, design, build, maintain and, in some cases, operate new buildings for health organisations and schools.[578] Finally, there was a role in health for the private and voluntary sectors for the provision of certain clinical services not only to reduce waiting times but on a longer-term aid basis as expressed in the concordat.[579] In education, albeit not under actual contract, private schools were required to share their facilities and ideas with local schools to facilitate their further improvement as part of their continued charitable status.[580]

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[573] DfEE (1997), p.71, (2001), p.86-7; Barrow (1998).
[574]DoH (1997), p.71-2; Le Grand (2002)
[575] DfEE/DSS (1998), p.39-40. There are also mixed economies in second-tier pensions, early years education and lifelong learning provision and, to a lesser degree, education and health given the existence of residual private markets, as will be explored in chapter 4 – see DSS (1998d); DfEE (2001), p.24-5, (1999), p.15,42-3.
[576] Blunkett (26/01/99), (21/05/99), (24/05/99), (08/10/99); DfEE (2001), p.7,49.
[577] Blunkett (03/11/97), (17/06/98).
[578] Dobson (11/08/97), (16/07/99); DoH (1997), p.70; Milburn (13/11/00); DfEE (1997), p.70, (2001), p.81; Blunkett (230697).
[579] Dobson (17/11/97); DoH (2000a), p.96-9, (2000b).
[580] DfEE (1997), p.72

3.3.5.3.- Quasi-networks

The third aspect of the plans was a commitment to partnership between different sectors, i.e. public, private and voluntary providers, as well as between public providers.[581]

> 'Partnership is a key element of the Government's approach to a wide range of issues. Partnerships...are at the core of the way the Government carries out its work.'[582]

Specific partnerships, however, should be viewed as 'institutionalised networks' given the multi-level planning and performance management outlined above that prescribes their formation and then monitors their actions.[583] They also take several forms. First, there are the formally 'institutionalised' bodies such as CCPs, combining public, private and voluntary providers and relevant user representatives to create the local strategic plans and action-plans and then oversee local performance management.[584] Second, it is also used of the interaction between different sectors and individuals whether this takes the form of general agreements on role as in the case of lifelong learning or pensions or is underpinned to some degree by actual commercial contracts such as in the case of public-private relations in health care.[585] Hence, we may make a distinction between institutional and quasi-institutional networks according to whether a formal body is constituted or an underlying arrangement is established. In all cases, the focus rests on the need to recognise and act on the recognition that co-operation is necessary even where it is to be underpinned by actual commercial contracts and even where it signifies a particular division of labour between the State, the market and civil society, the nature of which will be explored in the next chapter.[586]

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[581] As we shall see in chapter 4, this constitutes New Labour's understanding of community.
[582] (DoH (1999),p.8. See also : DoH (1997), p.10-11, (2000a), p.44-5, 96-8; HMT (1998c),Ch.3.33; DfEE (1997), p.3-4,12-13, (2001), p.17, (1999), p.4; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.37,39; SEU (1998), Ch.2.3; DSS (1998a), p.15-16,20.
[583] Rhodes (2000b); Bevir and Rhodes (2003); Davies (2002).
[584] DfEE/DSS (1998), p.40. This applies also to early years, Sure Start, action zones, NDCs and LSPs and, in effect, the local collaborative planning arrangements for health and education. See DfEE (1997), p.5,39; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.37-41; HO (1998b), p.14; DSS (1998a), p.47; SEU (2001), p.25-8,44-8; Blunkett (22/10/97), (21/05/99), (15/01/98); Dobson (25/06/97); DoH (1997), p.25-7.
[585] DfEE (1998), p.17,25; DSS (1998a), p.33-40; DoH (2000a), p.96-8; Milburn (13/11/00)
[586] DoH (1998), p.35.

3.4.- Investment

A fourth recurring feature of the plans is investment, a term which New Labour use to conceptualise expenditure. This is seen most clearly in the CSR, where investment targets or commitments accompany outcome and process ones. It is necessary because

> 'we recognise that effective support also requires investment. That is our deal...Growth will be dependent on the availability of resources, but as they become available, they will be targeted on meeting our overall strategic objectives.'[587]

First, investment depends on the economic context. Thus, given the need for macroeconomic stability, tight Conservative spending plans must be kept for two years and later investment in the two CSRs, particularly in 2000, is argued to derive from strong economic performance and Government economic management.[588] Second, the Government will 'spend wisely'.[589] Expenditure will conform to the 'new principle for funding public services: 'money for modernisation'',[590] which signals the outcome targets and process reforms noted here. It will also be directed at areas deemed crucial for individual, economic and social progress, i.e. 'good' not 'bad' spending.[591] For example, Blair set education and health as the areas of priority, signalling a significant reprioritisation of resources in this respect, in the 1998 CSR. They were also the beneficiaries of the Conservative spending plans being overly harsh and of substantial increases in investment in the 2000 CSR.[592] However, even in social security, spending was to be reoriented towards active labour market policy, supported by the Windfall Tax, and towards families with children and those who cannot engage in paid work.[593] These areas are also linked to broader returns, particularly over the medium- to long-term.[594] For example, investment in education, i.e. human capital, is repeatedly linked to the future performance of the economy and both community regeneration and welfare

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[587] DfEE (1997), p.14
[588] Hills and Burchardt (1998), p.48-9; Brown (27/05/99), (2000), Col:860,869-72, (2001), Col.295,306-7. The need for stability will be discussed further in chapter 4.
[589] HMT (1998c), p.Foreword; Harman (09/07/97); Field (15/12/97).
[590] HMT (1998c), p.Foreword. See also : DfEE (2001), p.7,78; DoH (2000a), p.8-9; Dobson (140798), (131198), (231298); Milburn (140798), (280300); Brown (1998), Col.1097, (270999), (080800); Blair (18/01/00).
[591] See HMT (1998c), Ch.1.15; Powell (2000), p.52-3
[592] See HMT (1998d), p.1, (2000c); Emmerson and Frayne (2001b).
[593] HMT (1998c), Foreword, Ch 20
[594] Lister (2003).

reform will reduce social costs in the future.[595] However, Brown offers the most notable example in his focus on children as the country's future :

> 'Today's young children...are our future teachers, our scientists and our doctors, our employers and our workforce. Our country's future lies with the hopes, dreams and potential of our children.'[596]

Such broader and long-term benefits require long-term plans and investment as evidenced by the plans outlined above and the discursive emphasis. In part, the focus on children and education reflects the medium- to long-term perspective, particularly in terms of a 'preventive' strategy.[597] It is supported at the policy level by the emphasis on early years and compulsory education, the slant towards 16-19-year-olds evident from the 1999 White Paper despite the broader focus of its predecessor, the greater resources and emphasis attracted by the NDYP to be explored further below and the tax and benefit reforms to support families with children. However, the long-term perspective is also a general feature of investment as Brown, as Chancellor, best expounds in describing the CSR as :

> 'a root and branch appraisal of how we can improve the efficiency of government in meeting our objectives....The review will ensure that our public spending decisions reflect our long-term priorities, and meet the country's long-term needs.'[598]

The overall approach is that of the 'investors' from the Commission for Social Justice and Giddens's 'social investment state' given the long-term perspective and the areas of investment.[599] However, given the need to prove the return on the investment by measurable improvements towards target levels, there is also a strong interest in the short-term. For example :

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[595] HMT (1998c), Ch.6.1, (1999c), p.3-4; DfEE (1997), p.3,15, (1998), p.7,10, (1999), p.10,64; (SEU (2001), p.8; HO (1998b), p.3-15. Broader benefits for the economy and society are also stressed for public health, the NHS, childcare and family policy - see DoH (1998), p.6-12, (1999), p.4-5; HMT (1998c), Ch.3.11; DoH (1997), p.9, (2000a), p.33ff; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.2,4,11; HO (1998b), p.6-7,14-15.

[596] Brown (15/11/00). See also : Brown (15/05/00), (2000), Col.295; Blair (09/01/98), (20/01/98), (15/01/99), (26/09/00).

[597] HMT (1998c), Ch.3.18-22.

[598] Brown 12/06/97. On children and long-term investment more generally, see also : DSS (1998a), p.57-8; Brown (15/05/00), (1997), Col.314-15,304-6, (11/06/98), (18/05/99), (2000), Col.858-60; (2001), Col.295; Blair (09/01/98), (20/01/98), (15/01/99), (26/09/00); DfEE (1997), p.4, (2001), p.10,18-21; HMT (1998c), Ch.1.11.

[599] See Levitas (1998), p.32-40; Powell (2000), p.42; Lister (2003); CSJ (1994); Giddens (1998), p.117, 64, (2000), p.52-3.

> 'The...process of planning and delivering measurable improvements year by year must apply throughout the NHS.'[600]

However, it is also reflected in many reform programmes being accompanied by a timetable with interim targets and the annual nature of performance assessment and publication. There is then a short-term orientation that arises from the need to ensure 'accountability' :

> 'publishing these new agreements is an important step to improving democracy and accountability...They show what we as a Government will deliver in return for the investment you have made in public services....By publishing clear, measurable targets, we are making it possible for everyone to judge whether we meet them. To ensure that you are in the best position to do so, we will report annually on the progress we have made in delivering the public services for the future that we are promising here.'[601]

The Government must be seen to be aiming at the long-term but making demonstrable achievements over the short-term as well as setting out clearly the targets, means and investment.

3.5.- Continuous improvement

The final aspect of the modernisation process is a commitment to continuous improvement via the components already described. In this sense, analysts have rightly described the New Labour approach as focussed on 'becoming' rather than 'being'.[602] This fits with the conception of liberty as self-development and indeed reflects the close proximity of the concepts of liberty and progress within the overall ideological framework.

The importance of 'continuous improvement' became explicit in the NHS Plan and the last education Green paper, in which we read that the framework of support and pressure was 'designed to make continuous improvement for all schools in all circumstances a reality'.[603] However, it was a theme from the start of the Parliament

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[600]DoH (1997), p.77. See also DoH (1998), p.43, (1999), p.128; DSS (1998a), p.47
[601] HMT (1998c), Foreword. Accountability will be explored in chapter four.
[602] See Lister (2003); Fergusson (2000); Paterson (2003); O'Brien (1999).
[603] DfEE (2001), p.9. See also DfEE (2001), p. 14-17,85; DoH (2000a), p.4,20,60,64.

given the belief that schools needed to be 'challenged continuously' to achieve more via the performance management techniques outlined above and the above NHS commitment to annual improvements .[604] Indeed, the entire process of drawing up targeted strategic and action plans and submitting to annual performance assessment embodies the commitment to continuous improvement. Furthermore, the focus on targets and improvement combined with the development in policy resources and the scope of reforms evident from the 1998 and 2000 CSRs suggest that all targets, not just those for literacy and numeracy, were only 'staging posts on the way to even higher levels of performance'.[605]

3.5.1.- Individual progress

Before considering the effects of the commitment to progress via such a modernisation process for a socially just distribution, the intersection of progress and individual freedom, given its understanding as self-development, must be briefly considered. Individuals are entitled to have certain external constraints lifted and to be supported in the removal of certain internal ones so that they may be free to self-develop. The exploration of this freedom as self-development understood as autonomous and meritocratic social participation has highlighted several elements that present the process of individual progress in terms similar to the process of modernisation. For example, constraints on autonomy were to be lifted via advice and information services in the context of moments of decision for the individual. As such, the individual was facilitated in making rational decisions about her future, reminiscent of the evidence and planning stages of modernisation. While performance management was lacking, there were clear moments in which the individual performance was assessed, such as educational tests and success in productive economic activity as well as the implicit self-assessment of income levels and health status. Furthermore, the lifting of constraints on freedom had a clear lifelong perspective, given its association with social exclusion and the state of the labour market, with individuals facilitated to act over the long-term and thereby encouraged to think in such terms as well as to view. improvement as a continuous process of responding to ongoing contextual changes.

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[604] DoH (1997), p.28,77; DfEE (1997), p.12-13,60. See also DfEE (1999), p.43-4; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.17.
[605] DfEE (2001), p.10

Indeed, this was reinforced by the stress on the personal benefits of both the duties of social justice and the personal responsibilities. It is true that certain actions were subject to legal and direct socioeconomic sanctions on the grounds of others' rights, but all the areas of activity were presented as beneficial for the individual in terms of progress, i.e. individual self-development.

3.5.2.- Distribution

The final dimension of New Labour's conception of progress, its distribution, brings us full circle to the question of how the commitment to progress affects the manner in which the conditions of freedom and goods beyond this are divided in order to be considered socially just. In the section on equality, it was argued that New Labour subscribed to 'progressive universalism', understood as distribution that ensured something for everyone but more to those in greater need. It was also noted that New Labour were committed to closing the gap between the outcomes of the worst off and the rest of the population, first through faster rates of improvement and later in the term in relation to specific targets.[606] Indeed, New Labour can be viewed as committed to 'progressive universalism' with regard to improvement as well as general distribution. For example, in public health, the policy strategy was 'to improve health and reduce health inequality'.[607] This involved improving the 'health of all and the worst off in particular'[608] and was expressed in the commitment to aggregate national targets and to improvements above the national rate, which later took the form of explicit inequality targets :

> 'We will not seek to narrow the health gap by slowing the drive for further progress in improved health amongst the many. So to achieve our vision of narrowing health inequalities we will need to improve the health of the poorest sections of our society very significantly indeed.'[609]

This overall approach is supported by the headline use of aggregate targets for improvement at all levels and the commitment to 'continuous improvement' for every public service organisation as set out above. It is also clear from the combination of

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[606] See HMT (2000c); Milburn (28/02/01)
[607] DoH (1997), p.4, (1998), p.5
[608] DoH (1999), p.viii
[609] DoH (1998), p.56

universal and targeted policies to ensure improvements across the distribution. Hence, resources and programmes are targeted on the worst off but this occurs within the constraints not only of universal provision but also of universal improvement. It is not an example of improvements for the worst off in the context of no deterioration in the absolute position of the better off but rather in the context of absolute improvements for the latter.[610] Furthermore, recalling the section on income rewards, such improvements apply as much to in-work incomes and are reflected in discursive commitments to raising standards of living but also in the policy of holding income tax rates steady. It is, then, a levelling up rather than a levelling down strategy.[611]

However, progressive universalism must be understood as reflecting the intersection between equality and progress. More should be given to those who can be shown to contribute significantly to progress for all and the worst off. Divergence from proportionality according to extra needs or costs is acceptable. First, it has already been noted in the section on innovation and best practice that extra resources are to go to those who perform well, contributing therefore to overall improvement, and/or those who develop best practice, contributing via performance management and partnership to the improvement of the whole, including the worst off. It was also observed in that section that this applied within the worst off group insofar as area-based initiatives were allocated on the basis of need *and* capacity for improvement, particularly but not exclusively for the first wave. Second, the section on investment emphasised the importance of both long-term and short-term improvements. The former were particularly associated with the young in terms of a preventive strategy that would clearly produce more returns than one that dealt only with consequences later on in life. This was supported in policy by the emphasis on education for those under-19 and extra resources for families with children, thus intersecting with proportionality according to extra costs. It has also been shown to be a key feature of the New Deal reforms with the percentage of funds per se and per capita, as well as the service provided, being significantly greater for the NDYP than the others. Furthermore, the general idea of

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[610] Plant (1999), p.64

[611] It is not unreasonable to argue with Fielding (2003:204-5) that this approach makes the achievement of relative progress gradual at best given the moving target represented by improving aggregate outcomes (e.g. 60% median income, average life expectancy), targeted resources on the worst off that constitute around 0.5% of mainstream departmental budgets and extra resources, albeit around 0.3% of mainstream departmental budgets, going to the already successful (DoH 2003, 2001c; DfES 2004). Indeed, relative improvements have been gradual, if at all, and are considerably less than absolute ones. The issue of how quickly such relative improvements should be made turns in part on the urgency as expressed by the size of the gap.

greater returns over time also parallels the greater funds and services available to able-bodied, unemployed men.[612] The need for short-term improvements also results in differential treatment and is reflected in the nature of the policy reforms which assist those closest to the target line most quickly. For example, the emphasis within active labour market services on jobseeking prioritises the job-ready while whole class teaching at primary school and setting at secondary school help middle-range students most. Indeed, the entire aggregate target approach of continuous improvement by performance management is well-known to encourage professionals to concentrate on those nearest the borderline.

Finally and connected to the points raised on progressive universalism, the actual level of proportionality to need and even to capacity for improvement must reflect the conditions of continued improvement for the partnership between the State, market and civil society. Given, as we shall see in the next chapter, that the socially just distribution and progress will be secured through cooperation between these different spheres of interaction, its level must take into account their operating principles and adjust. This has already been noted in relation to the State, insofar as short-term improvements are deemed to be necessary for reasons of accountability. The relevance of the market has already been hinted at earlier in references to the need for work incentives, i.e. a gap between out-of-work incomes for those capable of paid work and minimum wages, and the dependence of resources on economic performance. It is also supported by aspects of economic policy such as the fiscal commitment to stable direct taxation rates for individuals and lower direct taxation rates for companies, to be explored in the section on the market.

As a result, the emphasis on progress gives rise to a more complex understanding of progressive universalism that adjusts the nature of a socially just distribution. Improvements as well as provision must be guaranteed for all and to a greater degree for the worst off. However, the achievement of this requires not only extra resources and policy reforms for the worst off but also for those most able to contribute towards improvement. Furthermore, the need for short-term as well as long-term results also creates a distribution of improvements that is not proportional to need. Finally, the dependence of the conditions of freedom and progress on the effective

[612] Rake (2001); Oliver (1999b); Millar (2000a), (2000b).

functioning and improvement of the spheres of the State, market and civil society have a strong effect on the levels chosen both for all aspects of the socially just distribution.

3.6.- Recapitulation on E, the division of the goods of social justice

The manner in which the conditions of freedom are to be divided in order to be socially just then reflects the intersection between equality and progress. Equality must be understood at the substantive level as a blend of distribution that is strict and proportional, to some degree, to need and that mixes relative and absolute levels that, are, in practical terms, lower than the relative sufficient level to which New Labour is committed. As a result, rights are viewed as fulfilled in the current context at levels of lower relative sufficiency. Given the importance of progress and, in particular, the nature of the modernisation process by which it is to be achieved, however, the division of the conditions of freedom must combine the features associated with equality with distribution proportional to capacity to contribute to improvement, that reflects the need for short-term improvements and does not prevent the successful functioning and improvement of the spheres of the State, the market and civil society. As in the case of rights to meritocratic advancement and the commitment to progressive universalism, i.e. a distribution of the conditions of freedom and improvements thereof for all, these consequences of the modernisation process and moral equality permit not only variations within the distribution but also strongly affect the levels of absolute and relative equality.

Conclusion

New Labour's conception of social justice then interprets the distribution of the freedom to develop one's potential as the freedom to participate in society autonomously and be rewarded for it. Although this has a strong emphasis on productive economic activity, the conception also includes a socio-medical model of health and activities such as caring, voluntary and community activity and public involvement. The constraints on freedom are primarily viewed as external, consisting both of legal and statutory restrictions with socioeconomic penalties and the lack of necessary means. These are to be overcome largely by the provision of relevant, quality

and diverse services, complete with information and advice, which are available across the lifecycle, across the country and either free at the point of use or supported by State income services.

Internal constraints are understood as the attitudinal barriers, such as low expectations and aspirations, that lead people not to use the services provided for them. For the majority of individuals, these are deemed to have arisen as a rational response to the existence of external constraints and are to be lifted by encouragement and incentives on top of the changes to external circumstances. In accordance with the nature of social justice, the lifting of external and internal constraints is required on the basis of rights that pertain to all owing to their equal moral status. These rights generate the duties of social justice, which are to be distinguished from areas of personal responsibility - accompanied by supererogatory expectations - in their attraction of direct socioeconomic and/or legal sanctions and explicit discursive link to rights. These duties are multiple and apply to multiple duty-holders, varying according to their capacity and their moral proximity to the right-holder. The relational nature of the duties of social justice, as opposed to the personal responsibilities, give rise to the situation in which an individual can be deemed to be under a duty to exercise his right. Insofar as the non-exercise of a certain right is deemed to infringe the rights to social participation, autonomy or meritocratic advancement of others, either directly or indirectly, one is held to be under a duty to exercise it on the grounds that the means to do so has been provided. As a result, one is now liable for direct legal or socioeconomic sanctions for non-fulfilment. However, in this case, the right is morally prior to the duty and should be viewed as a general, not a special, right. The provision of the means constitutes fulfilment of the right, which can then be overridden in certain respects, i.e. certain means withdrawn as in the case of benefit fines, in order to punish non-compliance with the duty to exercise it. These are, then, neither absolute rights nor special rights.

Finally, the socially just distribution of the conditions of freedom, and hence the level at which rights are considered fulfilled, is the result of the interaction between equality and progress. In accordance with the intersection of liberty and equality to form a conception of equality of opportunity and the meritocratic aspect of liberty, the distribution of goods above a certain point is left to reflect the success of individuals. However, this occurs above a platform that combines a distribution of the conditions of freedom that is, in some respects strictly equal and in others proportional to need and in

some respects absolute and in others relative but insufficient. The precise levels set, however, reflect the commitment to progress which, given the modernisation process, requires divergence from distribution proportional to need owing to the importance of extra resources for those with high capacity to contribute to improvements, of ensuring short-term as well as long-term improvements and of guaranteeing the continued and ever-improving functioning of the main areas of interaction, the State, the market and civil society.

CHAPTER 4
COMMUNITY, CIVIL SOCIETY, DEMOCRACY AND THE MARKET

New Labour's conception of community denotes mutually beneficial cooperation between social actors, ultimately individuals, who relate to each other primarily on the basis of enlightened self-interest in individual liberty as self-development. It is then essentially a species of the social contract approach to social relations, which applies to all levels and spheres of interaction, namely civil society, democracy and the market. As a result, it is clear that the concept of community delineates the way in which justice, explored in chapter 3, is social insofar as the rights of individuals to self-development were shown to give rise to multiple duties assigned to duty-holders on the basis of ability to perform them. Thus, it can only be achieved by all social actors, across levels and across spheres, cooperating in partnership. However, it is not only justice that is social in this sense. Individual development and wider social progress too requires such co-operation. Finally, although it does not denote small-scale, face-to-face interaction on the basis of altruism or solidarity, community imbues not only the social contract that it constitutes but also social justice, progress and social interaction generally with such associations. By so doing, it humanises them, bringing them down to the level of everyday interaction in the same way as references to fairness, opportunity and improvement did for social justice, liberty and progress.

Concerning the spheres of interdependence that community incorporates, New Labour's conception of civil society views it as a third sphere to balance the State and market within which individuals interact for social purposes on the basis of agreement. As noted in chapter 3, this arena constitutes a setting for individual self-development and is strongly linked to democracy on Tocquevillian lines, but voluntary and community organisations are also understood as bringing added value to the achievement of the goals of the societal wide partnership of community. Turning to democracy, New Labour create a conception that posits central government as the key representative of the people, understood as a collection of interdependent individuals. Thus, 'the people' participate in ruling indirectly via representation more than directly. Central government is accorded its representative role on the basis of election and the existence of strong accountability arrangements, understood as taking the views of

people into account, and offering accounts of and justifications for the course of action taken.

Finally, the market is conceived of as an arena in which individuals and mainly privately-owned businesses engage in price-based exchanges, competing ultimately on the basis of skills, within the global knowledge economy. It is placed as the main mechanism for the distribution of labour and income but a residual one for compulsory education and health. Economic progress will be achieved through actors working in partnership with the State having an important role to play in macroeconomic policy and on the supply-side. As such, government involvement in the economy is undertaken not only to correct the traditional distributive failings of the market but also its failure to produce optimal outcomes. Nevertheless, the market is viewed as a common good, crucial for the achievement of other goals and constituting a major area for the exercise of individual self-development. Considering the balance between these three spheres of interdependence, it is clear that democracy and the market are posited as the most significant given the strong role of central government and the understanding of the market, not only as a key area for individual self-development but also as critical for the achievement of any of the goals of community.

4.1.- New Labour's conception of community

Turning to the detailed elaboration of New Labour's conception of community, let us recall the conceptual formula established in the conceptual section :

Subjectively related by Z, As and Bs are interdependent with respect to C

where C denotes the goal and areas of objective interdependence as we move from the abstract to the concrete; As and Bs denote the members of the community; and Z denotes the basis for the subjective realisation of objective interdependence, which may vary from affection to altruism to self-interest. As Driver and Martell note, New Labour's understanding of community concerns all members of the nation rather than simply a class or particular group.[613] The precise nature of such members will be considered in the section on democracy. In this section, attention will focus on C, the

[613] Driver and Martell (1998), p.163

nature of objective interdependence, followed by Z, the subjective relation between members.

According to Blair, the 'notion of community' denotes 'the belief that partnership and co-operation are essential to advance self-interest'[614] and at its heart is

> 'the belief in the equal worth of all...and in our mutual responsibility in creating a society that advances such equal worth...The idea of community resolves the paradox of the modern world : it acknowledges our interdependence; it recognises our equal worth.'[615]

As Brown suggests, people are 'inter-dependent as much as...independent' since, as Blunkett highlights, their 'actions have effects on others'.[616] This 'power of the community, acting together' seeks 'to break down the barriers holding back opportunity for all' on the basis of 'a sense of responsibility from us as a community to help others; to allow each person the chance to fulfil their potential'. As such, it will embody a 'community based on the equal worth of all, on the foundation of mutual rights and mutual responsibilities'.[617] Clearly, then, people are interdependent with respect to the achievement of individual liberty. However, as argued in the previous chapter, there is also a strong commitment to improvement for all, again an individual goal and linked to self-development. As seen there, the modernisation process that will ensure it requires interaction between multiple agents and therefore expresses interdependence. Community then has an individual goal shared by all, in which, as Blunkett emphasises, 'everybody has a part to play'.[618]

The nature of interdependence, C, arises from the fact that people are deemed to have certain 'common problems, common interests' that give rise to 'mutual responsibility and mutual gain'.[619] The common goal or interest is that of individual self-development and progress, both one's own and that of others because it will benefit the individual indirectly, hence the reference to 'mutual gain'. Linking to the idea of wider benefits from investments set out in the section on progress, throughout the command papers there is a strong sense that the development of individual potential and progress for some also benefits society and the economy. They are then viewed as

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[614] Blair (23/04/99).
[615] Blair (30/06/00). See also (18/01/00), (07/06/00).
[616] Brown (09/02/00); Blunkett (22/08/98).
[617] Blair (30/06/00).
[618] Blunkett (15/08/98).See also:DfEE (1998), p.25, (1997),p.10-12;Blunkett (20/01/99); DoH (1997), p.17
[619] Blair (30/06/00).

public assets.[620] This is seen most strikingly in the community regeneration papers where it is argued that not only do individuals suffer from social exclusion but that society and the economy are also harmed. This occurs through the costs of benefits, crime and health, through the effects of social division and low achievement, and through the loss of workers and consumers for the economy.[621] Likewise, childcare integrated with education is deemed to be in the interests of children's overall development and parents' opportunity to engage in economic activity but it is also beneficial to business given the new entrants to the labour market while both the NHS and the public health strategy are presented as producing social and economic benefits.[622] Although the references are to 'society' and 'economy', these cannot be viewed as collective agents above and beyond the individual people of which they are composed. As explored in the previous chapter, there is a strong emphasis on individual duties and rights to meritocratic social participation as well as a long-term perspective and the previous quotations highlighted the importance of self-interest.

The common problem, explored in the section on the need for modernisation, consists of the accumulated economic and social changes that create barriers to such self-development and imperil progress. Mutual responsibility has arisen because the problem can only be overcome through co-operation both within and across spheres. As noted in Blair's opening quotation, community denotes 'co-operation and partnership'. Working together, co-operation and partnership are important discursive themes, particularly partnership as highlighted in the section on quasi-networks. There it was seen to apply not only to institutional bodies but also to quasi-institutional arrangements, which blended the different sectors of the market, State and civil society. In a sense, this partnership approach denoted the required division of labour between the different sectors and the individual. For example, Brown repeatedly refers to the need for different actors to 'work together' in pursuit of a 'national economic purpose...born out of the recognition that we need to work together',[623] which includes growth, prosperity, employment opportunity and increasing living standards for all :

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[620] See New (1997b) on personal and collective benefits.
[621] SEU (1998), p.Summary 7/Foreword, (2001), p.17,7,12; Harman (12/11/97), (08/06/98), (18/03/98).
[622] DFEE/DSS (1998), p.2,4,11; DoH (1997), p.9, (1998), p.6-12, (1999), p.4-5, (2000a), p.33ff; HMT (1998c), Ch.3.11. See also : Blunkett (17/11/99), (11/05/00), (08/03/00); Dobson (05/02/98), (15/06/98); DfEE (1999), p.3,6,12,45,55, (1997), p.3-4; HMT (1998c), Ch.6.1; HO (1998b), p.24-6,6-7,14-15.
[623] Brown (22/04/98).

> 'responsibility means not just responsibility in pay but building a shared commitment to achieve all the conditions necessary for full employment - in other words to work together as a country to promote stability employability and higher productivity too... we can define a new a shared economic purpose for our country...The conditions for full employment can be met. And the surest way is that the whole country is determined to meet them.'[624]

The lifelong learning programme illustrates the cross-sector approach in particular :

> Co-operation between learning providers, between employer and employee, and between government and the private sector will be the key to the creative and effective use of funds from all sources.'[625]

As noted in the section on the quasi-networks of partnership, a role for private providers in the improvement of public services is to complement progress mechanisms within the public sector. Thus, all spheres of interaction are deemed to be areas of interdependence.

Co-operation on the basis of interdependence across spheres is most evident from the explicit linking of actions in one sphere to another. In part, this reflects the interconnections between the different components of social exclusion, i.e. poor health affects opportunities to participate in economic activity, learning, caring or voluntary groups. However, it is also connected to the much-noted interdependence of the economic and social spheres.[626] As Blair argues, 'a strong society and a strong economy are two sides of the same coin', echoing Brown's repeated budget references to the combination of enterprise and fairness as well as his own declaration that 'policies for the good economy and the good society go together'.[627] Beyond this, in the section on investment, the social was seen to be dependent on the economic insofar as funds for social improvements derive from the economy. Furthermore, in the section on liberty, it was seen that economic activity is a key area of individual self-development and that the constraints created by the interaction of a substantially changed economy and existing labour market and education services were to be lifted by reform of the latter. However, areas traditionally viewed as social are also deemed to have an impact on the economy and hence justify investment. For example, not only education but also childcare, health

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[624] Brown (19/10/99). See also (2001), Col.301, (10/11/97), (18/05/99), (13/07/00).
[625] DfEE (1998), p.26. See also DfEE (1999), p.4,30; Blunkett (25/02/98).
[626] Thompson (1996), p.278-9; Atkinson (1999).
[627] Blair (08/02/01); Brown (1999), Col.173, (1998), Col.1097, (2000), Col.863; Brown (15/05/00).

and welfare reform have been lauded for their contribution to economic policy.[628] Even community regeneration is deemed to have economic as well as social consequences in terms of depriving the economy of 'workers, customers, entrepreneurs and taxpayers'.[629] Thus, partnership is needed between actors and sectors within and across spheres on the basis of interdependence. Given the recurring emphasis on such partnership, explicitly in discourse and in the terms of the policies, it is clearly viewed as essential for success. Indeed, this is made explicit :

> 'Governments can set the preconditions for success in improving health. But Governments alone cannot determine success. To do that, the Government needs to work in partnership with others.'[630]

As outlined extensively in the community regeneration papers, governments can and have failed in the past and a lack of partnership working is one of the elements to be overcome by the modernisation approach.[631] However, it is not just success per se that is threatened but its degree. For, as Brown stresses in line with the new clause 4 of the Labour party constitution : 'we can act more effectively together than we ever can alone'.[632]

Thus, all spheres of interaction and indeed society as a whole are taken as areas of interdependence, expressed through the partnership of community. As Plant (1998) highlights, society is an exercise in 'mutual cooperation'.[633] In this sense at least, 'everything can be understood as a community' and this includes the market.[634] Everybody has a part to play, which can be considered either a duty of social justice or a matter of personal responsibility with respect to which the agent is strongly encouraged through discourse and the incentive effect of rewards for success.

Consequently, community should not be understood in terms of one particular sphere of interaction, namely civil society as a third sector, and/or at a certain level of interaction, i.e. in local areas, even though community is used in this sense. For

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[628] Dobson (06/10/97); HMT (1998d), p.19; DoH (2000a), p.99; Brown (1997), Col.311; Blunkett (07/06/00); Blair (03/03/00), (11/11/97); Harman (22/07/97).
[629] SEU (2001), p.17.
[630] DoH (1999), p.7. See also DoH (1998), p.3; Blunkett (22/10/97), (06/01/98), (25/02/98)
[631] SEU (1998), Ch.2.8-2.20, (2001), p.19-20.
[632] Brown (04/11/97), (15/04/99). Dobson encourages GPs in similar terms – (05/11/97), (30/09/97).
[633] Plant (1998).
[634] Finlayson (2003), p.194-5; Fergusson (2000).

example, Brown links community, civil society in terms of voluntary and community group activity and the local level explicitly :

> 'there is such a thing as society - a community of communities, tens of thousands of local neighbourhood civic associations, unions, charity and voluntary organisations, each one unique and every one special. A Britain energised by a million centres of action and compassion, of concern and initiative that together embody a very British idea - that of civic society.'[635]

Elsewhere, civic society is defined in similar terms as 'the vast web of social relationships and social organisations that bring individuals together below the level of the state', which can support both government and the individual.[636] This links clearly to the sense of people within a locality voluntarily involving themselves in activities. For example, the community regeneration programme seeks to give communities 'control and power over their renewal', which is later defined as 'local residents will have the chance to find the right solutions themselves and develop them'.[637] The key is then people living within certain localities, as signified by the use of the term 'neighbourhood' in the 2001 national strategy paper, becoming involved in regeneration and thereby engaging in voluntary or community activity. This is also the sense prevalent in references to benefiting or involving the community in school and lifelong learning documents.[638]

Considering the local level first, it was argued in the section on progress that partnerships were established at this level and were closely integrated within the national modernisation process. As a result, it was conceived of as a continuous multi-level process that involved mixed models of coordination. Furthermore, a consideration of community regeneration supports the integration of the local and the national. For example, both documents stress the importance of action at the national and local level.[639] Looking at the local level, certainly these communities are primarily understood as 'areas' or 'neighbourhoods'. However, the residents within them are deemed to be interdependent not only with respect to their geographical location but

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[635] Brown (15/05/00).
[636] Brown (09/02/00). See also: Brown (03/05/01), (15/11/00); Blunkett (05/06/98), (20/08/98), (19/11/97).
[637] Blunkett (15/01/01). See also : Blunkett (15/01/98); SEU (1998), Ch.2.9, (2001), p.31.
[638] Blunkett (20/08/98), (05/11/97); DfEE (2001), p.16,80, (1997), p.21, (1999), p.4,14,22.
[639] SEU (1998), Summary Pts.11-13, (2001), p.8-10,28-31.

also their problem, namely social exclusion.[640] The solution requires action across the range of interconnected areas of social exclusion and is to come not only from residents working together via community self-help but also from other local (i.e. internal) actors such as public services and voluntary groups and from outsiders given the importance of national government action, in terms of national policy and involvement with local implementation, and the entry or at least development of links with outside businesses.[641] Individual residents are, therefore, dependent for success on the actions of a whole range of other actors, who also need them. There is then a role for civil society but it is within a wider local and national partnership :

> 'The new Strategy provides a foundation on which local residents, community organisations, service providers and local and central government can all work together to find local solutions that have a chance of working, and of being sustained.'[642]

Furthermore, the partnership is premised on enlightened self-interest given the wider benefits for society and the economy explored above and the obvious benefits for individuals, which is given strong emphasis by the repeated reference to community involvement and groups as self-help. The local level is then but a subset of a broader whole, mediated by physical proximity.

Similar arguments apply to the broader understanding of civil society as community. As seen at the local level, there is an important role for community self-help and voluntary groups. This is also evident in the various local partnerships that are to involve such groups, particularly but not exclusively in areas where there are voluntary providers. Thus, they are included within the partnership that develops and delivers local plans for health, childcare, all levels of education and area-based initiatives. Furthermore, their role is recognised at the national level discursively but also via stipulations that they should be involved at the local level in these ways and the establishment of a national compact between the government and the voluntary sector. Civil society is then a key sphere of interaction for the societal-wide partnership. However, given the general link between community and partnership, the prevalence of partnership in discursive and policy terms and the clear inclusion of civil society at all

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[640] SEU (1998), Ch.1, Ch.5.26-8, (2001), p.49,5-7,12-16.
[641] SEU (2001), p.26-39,51-2, (1998), Ch.5.26-40,Ch.6.9. See Tunstall and Lupton (2003), Smith, G (1999).
[642] Blunkett (15/01/01). See also Blunkett (15/09/98), (24/10/00); DfEE (2001), p.9-10,45

levels within it, this thesis takes the view that the concept of community has more explanatory power when taken at this broader level. Furthermore, not only does the understanding of community as voluntary and community activity embody a particular understanding of civil society but Brown defined it in very similar terms in the quotation above, describing it as 'civic society' and thereby imbuing civil society with positive moral connotations given that, as mentioned in the previous chapter, such interaction is morally approved and encouraged.

Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the New Labour conception of community cannot be fully appreciated without consideration of the local level or, indeed, the role of civil society and, hence, individual engagement in voluntary activity. For, as Blair argues, without examples of local civil society in action, society is 'too abstract to be real' and Brown stresses the need to build a 'mutually supportive partnership' that stretches from the 'individual and the family, to the community and the state' in order to ensure opportunity for all.[643] There is a strong sense, then, in which the local is viewed as a crucial level for the development of the realisation that people are objectively interdependent as well as a key component of the partnership. New Labour then have a Tocquevillian strand, as they embody his idea of the motivation for engagement with others on the basis of 'self-interest rightly understood' at broader levels being developed by practical, day-to-day experience at the local level, particularly via voluntary association.[644]

Having considered the nature of objective interdependence, it is now time to turn our attention to the subjective relation between individuals. This thesis holds that it is enlightened self-interest.[645] In the discussion above, it was shown that Blair conceived of community as being essential to 'advance self-interest' and that 'common interests and problems' led not only to 'mutual responsibility' but also 'mutual gain'. It was then demonstrated that the documents repeatedly emphasise the benefits to individuals, be these direct and immediate, as in the case of those socially excluded, or indirect and potentially long-term through references to benefits to society and the economy that could not be viewed as collectivities morally prior to the individuals of which they were composed. Finally, in community regeneration, the emphasis on self-help by local residents was also seen to fit within this overall picture.

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[643] Blair (30/06/00), Brown (09/02/00).
[644] See Tocqueville (1994), Bk I.Chs.1.5, 1.15, 1.17, 2.4-7; Putnam (2000), p.19-21
[645] Deacon (2000), Lister (2003).

Nevertheless, Brown also argues that individuals can be motivated by 'compassion' or 'altruism' as well as 'self-interest' when talking of voluntary activity and both Blair and Blunkett laud the value of voluntary and community activity.[646] Furthermore, Blair posits community in contrast with a 'purely self-interested...philosophy' and 'narrow, perhaps selfish individualism' while Brown rejects the 'short-termist, take-what-you-can-get, selfish irresponsibility' of the Conservative years.[647] By comparison with altruism, the emphasis is on enlightened self-interest given the frequency with which the documents refer to the benefits to individuals and society or the economy more broadly. Indeed, even within a speech praising and encouraging volunteering, Blair highlights the wider benefits :

> 'Let us all give generously – in the two currencies of time and money. Let us all share our talents. And let's by doing so make our communities stronger, our nation healthier, our own lives more fulfilled.'[648]

Thus, while altruism may play a role and pure self-interest is rejected, the emphasis throughout the documents is on the overall benefits to be derived from the partnership that is community. It is then a case of enlightened self-interest. Furthermore, given the role of markets within the partnership and quasi-markets even within public services, it is clear that the motivation of competitive self-interest is viewed as perfectly acceptable and, given its wider benefits within the context New Labour create, beneficial for all. As a result, the subjective relation is not 'fellowship' in the tradition of Tawney, according to which individuals, motivated by solidarity and mutual concern, co-operate for the common good against their self-interest.[649] This is not to say that community does not signify co-operation for the common good and requires mutual concern but that it is ultimately based on 'enlightened self-interest'. While not to be equated with egoism, this gives rise ultimately to an instrumental approach to personal relations.[650] As such, it contrasts with the altruistic underpinnings for the welfare state promoted by Titmuss. However, it also differs from the 'shared self-interest' that Walker deems to have been 'inherent' in the welfare state, i.e. everyone has an interest in its existence as all will

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[646] Brown (03/05/01), Blair (02/03/00), Blunkett (18/06/98), (24/10/00).
[647] Blair (30/06/00) (18/01/00), Brown (27/09/99).
[648] Blair (02/03/00).
[649] Bevir (2000), p.294-7; Beech (2006), p.188-90.
[650] Fielding (2000).

have recourse to it at some point.[651] 'Enlightened self-interest' denotes the emphasis placed on the fact that everyone benefits from the welfare state directly *or* indirectly over time given its positive effect on society and the economy. Mutual concern and solidarity are then premised on such self-interest. Individuals are 'conditional co-operators'.[652]

However, it could be argued that this subjective relation to others is incompatible with the repeated reference to the importance of values for communities. For example, Blair declares that 'values...sustain communities',[653] stating that

> 'A society is a community of people, who share common values and purposes, where everyone thinks of 'we' as well as 'me', about what they can put in as well as what they can take out.'[654]

Indeed, if we recall the section on progress, Blair stresses the need to be guided by values when dealing with omnipresent change. In similar terms, Brown argues that the 'old empire of interest must now be succeeded by the new Britain of shared values'. Elsewhere, he argues that Britain reflects a 'political settlement' that is a 'covenant', i.e. a 'society based on common values that have taken root through a shared history', rather than a 'contract', i.e. 'a set of political institutions' that derive from 'nothing grander than mutual interest'.[655]

It would seem then that this 'covenant' based on shared values is at the base of community rather than the enlightened self-interest that is evocative of the social contract tradition. However, in the first place, New Labour frequently use the term 'contract' to refer to new societal partnerships, most notably in the case of the 'new contract for welfare', the public health contracts and the 'contract' between the government and the people and between central government departments and the Treasury.[656] Indeed, Blunkett outlines the government's approach as establishing a new social contract and New Labour is also fond of 'concordats' and 'compacts'.[657] Thus, the covenant can be viewed as merely one way of expressing an agreement between

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[651] Titmuss (1963), (1974); Walker (1999b), p.148
[652] White (2000), p.512-14.
[653] Blair (30/06/00).
[654] Blair (02/03/00).
[655] Brown (15/04/99), (09/02/00). Blair (30/06/00) also uses the term 'covenant'.
[656] DSS(1998a), DoH (1998), HMT (1998c).
[657] Blunkett (03/11/99), (29/11/00); DoH (2000b); HO (1998a). The latter was inspired by the contract approach to relations between central government departments and HMT – see Kendall (2000).

agents. However, it is still one rooted in values. The key to seeing how this value-laden term can be used along with less moralistic terms such as 'compacts' and 'contracts' or even 'partnership' is provided by the tendency of New Labour politicians to ally values and interests together, particularly through appeals to the interdependence of the social and the economic. For example, Blair describes community as 'the bargain or covenant' at the centre of society and elsewhere argues that the interdependence of the social and the economic has 'historic' consequences : 'self-interest and the common good are at long last in alliance'.[658]

Thus, values and self-interest are explicitly aligned as much as they are implicitly through appeals to the wider benefit of reforms that are also attached to moral concepts, not least in the frequent list of principles with which the command papers begin. Values can be and are justified with reference to self-interest. That overall approach fits perfectly within the intersubjective approach to ethics according to which moral values result from agreements between actual or hypothetical individuals. Applied to societal arrangements, this forms the basis of the social contractarian approach. Rational, predominantly self-interested individuals, actually or hypothetically, come to an agreement on the nature of their society on the basis of recognising their interdependence. For New Labour, values are then ultimately based on enlightened self-interest and community as partnership expresses New Labour's social contract. Within their discourse, community and partnership are both used more frequently than contract and both add something to the notion. Community adds a human dimension. Partnership enables it to lose many of the connotations associated with labour market contracts. It is then the humanisation of contractarianism.[659]

4.2.- New Labour's conception of the spheres of interdependence

The conception of community created by New Labour is that of cooperation between actors across and within spheres of interaction on the basis of enlightened self-interest. Having explored the spheres of interaction in a general fashion, it is now time to explore the conceptions of them created.

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[658] Blair (30/06/00), (26/09/00). See also Blair (26/09/99), Brown (15/05/00).
[659] Finlayson's discussion of the moralisation of contract society refers to the market, not social contractarianism : (2003), p.176-7.

4.2.1.- Civil Society

New Labour's conception of civil society is strongly evocative of the neo-Tocquevillian approach of social capital theorists such as Putnam and communitarians such as Etzioni. Thus, it is understood as a third sphere to balance the State and the market, representing a social space in which individuals interact on the basis of agreement in order to fulfil primarily social purposes.[660] Voluntary and community organisations facilitate participation within it but they are also valued, even insofar as they employ staff, for particular functions and features of their performance. Such interaction is viewed positively for a range of reasons, reflecting the intersection of the concept with democracy, liberty and progress. Thus, voluntary activity is frequently referred to as 'active citizenship' and civil society as 'civic society', reflecting Tocqueville's stress on the development of a realisation of interdependence that facilitates strong democracy through voluntary association. In addition, civil society matters given its contribution to individual development. Besides, progress is enhanced as a result of voluntary and community activity. Civil society is, then, a core component of New Labour ideology and reflects many of the assumptions of the authors mentioned. However, a clear difference lies in the relative position accorded both to local and general activity in civil society and to the predominant nature of the sanctions that enable co-operation. Civil society is an essential but a junior member of the societal partnership of community.

In order to explore New Labour's conception, let us recall the conceptual formula for civil society :

Xs and Ys interact in Z on the basis of B for purpose P

where X and Y represent the agents; Z is the sphere of interaction, i.e. the political, the economic and social or the social; B is the basis on which such interaction occurs, i.e. laws, prices, agreement or attachment; and P is the primary purpose of such interaction, i.e. the creation and maintenance of a system of laws, monetary profit or the distribution of certain goods among members of society.

Considering Z first, New Labour's conception of civil society is a social one. As noted above, Brown refers to the idea of 'civic society', i.e. 'the web of social

[660] Giddens views it in these terms – see (1998), p.78-84, (2000), p.51,63-5.

relationships and social organisations that bring individuals together below the level of the state'. Elsewhere, he relates the term to 'tens of thousands of local neighbourhood associations, unions, charity and voluntary organisations'. By so doing, he gives a specific understanding to earlier references to creating 'a vibrant civil society'.[661] On similar lines, Blunkett emphasises the importance of 'community involvement' in 'active citizenship', which he defines as 'active participation and involvement in civil society'.[662] Such references concern 'voluntary work and voluntary giving'[663] as part of a general drive to encourage volunteering : 'Let us all give generously in the two currencies of time and money'.[664] As Blunkett argues, 'Committed voluntary involvement in local communities...makes a crucial contribution to our quality of life'.[665]

At the policy level, this has been supported by increases in tax relief for individual charitable giving, the end of ceilings for payroll giving and the reduction of red tape for corporate giving; the establishment of Millennium Volunteers to encourage volunteering among young and general encouragement for older people to do so; encouragement for employers to give employees a day's paid leave over 18 months and value volunteering positively when hiring; moves to improve public services' use of volunteers; a challenge to the voluntary sector to broaden the recruitment of volunteers; support for societal initiatives such as TimeBank and a website listing volunteering opportunities; a significant increase in resources for the ACU; a combination of encouragement and facilitation of voluntary activity through local community regeneration programmes; and removal of the 16 hours limit for benefit recipients.[666]

Voluntary activity may take different forms. First, it may be 'formal volunteering' or 'taking part in a community organisation'. This may occur within 'hundreds of thousands' of community groups that range from 'campaigning bodies, self-help, leisure and arts groups' and are often 'run on a mutual basis' with 'lay management' or within voluntary organisations, which are often more formally organised and professionally staffed. Second, it may involve informal activity such as 'helping a neighbour' or 'participating in community self-help and mutual support

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[661] Brown (15/11/00), (15/05/00), (04/11/97).
[662] Blunkett (05/06/98), (13/05/99), (19/11/97). See also DfEE (1997), p.63.
[663] Brown (09/02/00).
[664] Blair (02/03/00).
[665] Blunkett (18/06/98).
[666] Brown (09/02/00); Blair (02/03/00); Blunkett (24/10/00), (03/05/01); SEU (2001), p.51-2; DSS (1998a), p.11,52.

activity'.[667] Third, voluntary organisations, even where they are professionally run and therefore strongly reliant on paid staff, are required to maximise the involvement of members and volunteers. For example, in the Compact, they agree to ensure strong information and communication with individuals and to involve users in the management and delivery of services wherever possible. Hence, they are to provide some minimum requirements of secondary organisations, i.e. those strongly reliant on members' activity, rather than become purely tertiary ones.[668] The emphasis is on 'voluntary activity', i.e. the 'giving of time', and 'voluntary work, doing things with people'.[669]

Such emphasis gives rise to the importance of voluntary and community organisations. Indeed, continuing the theme noted above, they are viewed as 'central to the Government's mission to make this the Giving Age' and, deemed to value volunteers' contribution to society as the Government does, they have an 'important role...in helping them make that contribution'.[670] Thus, a key aspect of voluntary and community organisations is their facilitation and, indeed, embodiment of voluntary activity, even if such volunteers and even voluntary donations form only part of their resources.[671] As a result, such organisations have been strongly supported, as noted in the section on liberty, through the increase of opportunities for participation. This was most notable in the case of community regeneration via changes to encourage community involvement in the SRB, the NDC and LSPs, which combined increased opportunities and capacity building through funding initiatives such as Community Chests, the NRF and Community Champions.[672] In similar fashion, as Brown highlights, voluntary groups and charities were to be involved, even able to run, local Sure Start and Children's Fund programmes. Furthermore, such groups were viewed as contributors to the 'development and delivery of public policy and services'.[673] Thus, they were to be included as partners in the various Action Zones and to participate in local strategy and implementation partnerships.[674] In part, this involvement in the

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[667] SEU (1998), Ch.5.26-8; HO (1998a), p.12,15; DoH (1999), p.52, (1998), p.19; SEU (2001), p.52; Halfpenny and Reid (2002).
[668] HO (1998a), p.11; Skocpol (1999).
[669] Blair (02/03/00), Brown (09/02/00).
[670] HO (1998a), p.4,7.
[671] Harris et al (2001).
[672] Foley and Martin (2000); Davies (2002); Pearson (2001).
[673] Brown (09/02/00); HO (1998a), p.4,7.
[674] DoH (1998), p.43; Dobson (29/03/99); Blunkett (15/01/99); DfEE (1999), p.24,56; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.33,39-40; DoH (1999), p.124; SEU (1998), Ch.4.3, 4.9, (2001), p.44-7.

'development of public policy and services' was to recognise their continued role as in its 'delivery'. For example, there was a voluntary option in the NDYP, voluntary aided and controlled schools, voluntary training, advice and adult learning provision, voluntary childcare information services, playgroups and pre-schools, voluntary parenting services and voluntary health care.[675] Clearly, they also benefited from efforts to encourage more voluntary donations and volunteering and there was also support for social enterprises through a supporting fund, which was to be developed further through the Social Investment Taskforce.[676] Finally, the lengthy consultation process that led to the development of the Compact in 1998 and to the community regeneration strategy in 2001 signalled the importance of such organisations, increasing opportunities to contribute to the policy and service development nationally.[677]

Thus, civil society denotes voluntary action within the social sphere. As such, it emphasises interaction on the basis of agreement, even where this is linked to attachment and identity in the case of ethnic community groups. While not all such activity may be voluntary in the sense of being unpaid volunteering, it is viewed as social insofar as it is on a 'not-for-profit' basis even where it is providing services, thereby engaging in contracts with the State and often, when operating outside the State remit, levying charges. Likewise, in recognising the right of such groups within the law 'to campaign, comment on Government policy, and to challenge that policy', such groups are viewed as having political dimensions but in terms of seeking to alter the content of the law. Thus, their purpose is primarily social even if it may involve political and economic action by necessity or design. Indeed, they are deemed to share the Government's commitment to 'the betterment of society'. Recalling the conceptual formula, the basis for interaction, B, is agreement and the primary purpose, P, is social.[678]

Having explored the conceptual formula, it is essential to consider why New Labour view civil society as a significant area of interaction. As Straw describes it, this 'third sector' has a 'vital role...working alongside the state and the market'.[679] This can be broken down into three aspects, which reflect the interaction between civil society and democracy, liberty as self-development and progress respectively. The intersection

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[675] DSS (1998a), p.25; DfEE (1997), p.66-7, (1999), p.49,59-60; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.4-5,13-14; Blunkett (06/05/98); HO (1998b), p.7,40,49; DoH (2000a), p.5.
[676] Brown (09/02/00).
[677] HO (1998a), p.14-15; Kendall (2000).
[678] HO (1998a), p.6-8,14-15.
[679] HO (1998a), p.5.

of civil society and democracy is given explicit expression in the Compact and also through the repeated references to 'active citizenship' and Brown's characterisation of civil society as 'civic society'. As a result, New Labour adopt a perfectly Tocquevillian valuation of civil society in line with the work of Putnam.[680] The first principle of the Compact declares that 'voluntary action is an essential component of a democratic society' and Blair stresses that voluntary and community organisations

> 'enable individuals to contribute to the development of their communities. By so doing, they promote citizenship, help to re-establish a sense of community.'[681]

Echoing Blunkett's repeated references to 'active citizenship' noted above and his belief that it will 'help in some small measure' with the problems of political apathy, Brown argues that

> 'voluntary action trains us in and strengthens our citizenship – because through the act of volunteering, citizenship becomes, as a result, not passive membership but active engagement.'[682]

'Civic society' conceptualises voluntary participation in civil society as the duty of citizenship to 'participate in making our society better', an example of 'civic patriotism'.[683] However, it is an area of personal responsibility accompanied by supererogatory expectations rather than a duty of social justice. For as Blunkett points out :

> 'By providing opportunities for young people to take part in community activities, schools help pupils to appreciate what being a good citizen means in practice.'[684]

Thus, one is still a citizen even if one does not participate in civil society and one is not required to do so. However, one is not a 'good citizen'. Active citizenship and civic society, then, are part of New Labour's conception of the good to be promoted by increased opportunities and facilitation and supported by positive moral discourse. By

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[680] Putnam (2000), p.336-40; Tocqueville (1994), Bk.1, Chs 1.15-17, 2.2-5.
[681] HO (1998a), p.7,4.
[682] Blunkett (12/11/00), Brown (15/11/00).
[683] Brown (09/02/00).
[684] Blunkett (19/11/97).

engaging in civil society, individuals learn the importance of co-operation and can then begin to apply this to more remote levels. Adapting Skocpol and Fiorina slightly, people are 'socialized into shared norms' of 'cooperative social activity' by regular, face-to-face interaction.[685]

The second aspect reflects the intersection of civil society and individual liberty as self-development, although it clearly relates to participation in democracy. Individuals are deemed to benefit from the social interaction of civil society, again as stressed in the work of Putnam.[686] Thus, the degree to which individuals have social ties to others, be they formal or informal, and have a say in the way their community is run is deemed to affect health, particularly mental illness.[687] Likewise, voluntary activity is seen as a way for people to develop skills and increase their self-esteem. Thus, older people were encouraged on such grounds, the New Deal included a voluntary option and the lifelong learning White Paper considered allowing unemployed people to take a 'positive programme of volunteering' where 'immediate return to work' was 'unlikely'. Similarly, the limit on voluntary work for benefit recipients, particularly disabled people, was removed in the context of reference to the failure to 'encourage...groups to enter the labour market, or to undertake training or voluntary work' and it was noted that volunteering in childcare could lead to employment and training in this area.[688] Thus, voluntary work has a strong role as an alternative to training as a means of contributing to society but also developing skills.

The third aspect reflects the intersection of civil society and progress. As the community regeneration document states :

> 'Community involvement...can have the triple benefit of getting things done that need to be, fostering community links and building the skills, self-esteem and networks of those who give their time.'[689]

Thus, as the fourth principle of the Compact terms it, 'There is added value in working in partnership towards common aims and objectives' and we also read :

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[685] Skocpol and Fiorina (1999), p.12; Edwards (2004), p.41-2; Deakin (2001), p.58-9.
[686] Putnam (2000), p. 297-308,319-21,326-34.
[687] DoH (1998), p.19, (1999), p.52-3,82.
[688] Blair (02/03/00); DSS (1998a), p.25; DfEE (1999), p.63; DSS (1998a), p.11,52; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.20,12.
[689] SEU (1998), Ch.5.26-8

> 'Voluntary and community organisations make a major and literally incalculable contribution to the development of society and to the social, cultural, economic and political life of the nation. They act as pathfinders for the involvement of users in design and delivery of services and they often act as advocates for those who otherwise have no voice...They help to alleviate poverty, improve the quality of life and involve the socially excluded. The voluntary and community sector also makes an important direct economic contribution to the nation.'[690]

As suggested here, this is in part owing to certain features of voluntary and community organisations. First, it relates to their functions, ranging from political campaigning and comment to involvement in the 'development and delivery of public policy and services', facilitation of volunteers and advocacy.[691] Second, there is the manner of their service provision. Innovation, more broadly than referred to here, is highlighted elsewhere. For example, Brown praises their 'creativity and inventiveness' as well as the speed with which they can respond owing to their local and personal engagement with people and they are to be key players in the innovatory action zones as mentioned above.[692] Thus, the voluntary and community sector contributes to progress.

Having explored the conception of civil society and its intersection with other concepts, let us conclude with an examination of the importance of its role within the societal wide partnership of community. The Compact aimed 'at creating a new partnership between Government and the voluntary and community sector' and served as an 'expression of the commitment...to work in partnership for the betterment of society and to nurture, and support voluntary and community activity'.[693] However, the partnership or working relationship between the State and the sector has been reworked over time. The important thing to explore is its nature.[694] For New Labour, the Government and the sector fulfil 'complementary roles in the development and delivery of public policy and services'.[695] Thus, the relationship between the State and the sector is neither that of parallel bars of separate services nor the extension ladder of voluntary provision above the minimum. Rather, as under the Conservatives, the

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[690] HO (1998a), p.8,7. Kendall (2000) estimates this contribution in 2000 as 2-6% of paid workers and 3-9% of GDP with the value of volunteers included.
[691] On advocacy, see also : DoH (1998), p.43, (1999), p.5, (2000a), p.93. As a result, the participation in the 'development' of policy and services is partly related to this advocacy aspect as well as the provision one.
[692] Brown (15/11/00), (09/02/00); DoH (1998), p.43.
[693] HO (1998a), p.5-6. See also : Brown (15/11/00), (09/02/00).
[694] Lewis (1995); Kendall (2000); Johnson (1999), p.153-4.
[695] HO (1998a), p.4,7.

relationship involves working together to provide public services as well as voluntary provision beyond it. However, while contracts will remain for service providers, a key role is guaranteed in the development of policy, not only its delivery, and the Government has undertaken to overcome some of the worst features of the previous contracting regime.[696]

As suggested by their involvement in the various institutional and quasi-institutional partnerships, this constitutes one dimension of the society wide partnership of community. However, a key question is raised by references to the communitarianism of Etzioni and the social capital approach of Putnam in the discussions of New Labour and also by Hirst's call for associationalist democracy.[697] As the latter comments, the balance between the different spheres of interaction is crucial. Thus, we must consider the relative position of civil society within the partnership. From the point of view of the individual and voluntary action as an area of activity, we must recall that sanctionable duties are likely to take up a great deal of their time given that they relate to economic participation and caring for children. Indeed, as suggested by the encouragement for employers to give a day's paid leave over an 18 month period and the ACU target for 2/3 of adults to engage in voluntary activity for 2 hours a week by 2005, this is not an area of intense activity.[698] Nor would it be possible given the sanctionable duties mentioned and the encouragement to engage in lifelong learning, a healthy lifestyle and actively contribute to children's education. Voluntary activity is not prioritised even if it is encouraged.

From the point of view of the relative position of voluntary and community groups within the societal partnership, the emphasis on sanctionable duties of economic activity and parenting and the voluntarist approach taken to employers giving paid leave for voluntary activity clearly serve to limit the relative position of civil society vis-à-vis the market and the State.[699] It can be further explored in relation to the position of voluntary and community groups within the institutional and quasi-institutional partnerships. As numerous analysts have argued, the sector is given the opportunity to

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[696] HO (1998a), p.8-9.
[697] Bastow and Martin (2003), p.3-12; Beech (2006), p.188-90; Heron (2001); Hirst (1993).
[698] Blair (02/03/00), Brown (09/02/00).
[699] As Williams and Windenbank (2000) note, tax credits are a valuable way of compensating for lost earnings while engaged in voluntary activity. Given New Labour's enthusiasm for them in relation to paid work and the emphasis on rewards for caring via ICA, it is notable that they have not moved to encourage voluntary action to this degree. The only financial support is existing benefit levels for those out of paid work in a context of discursive and policy emphasis on returning to paid work - DSS (1998a).

participate according to goals and rules of interaction, i.e. language, preoccupations and structure, that are established by central government and resemble very closely those common in local public bodies. Furthermore, strong performance management operates as seen in the section on progress and the Compact undertakings of the voluntary and community sector are largely concerned with regulation.[700] As will be seen in the democracy section, central government also has a strong role in establishing partnerships. At the local level, the sector suffers from a serious lack of time, information and expertise compared to public bodies, particularly when their goals are broader and given the complexity and multiplicity of programmes and partnerships. It also often suffers from the close links between local public bodies and business representatives and is dependent on the attitude of the former to voluntary involvement, partly deriving from past relationships. Overall, therefore, voluntary and community groups are incorporated into public sector-dominated partnerships and subjected to strong regulatory requirements, acting as a junior partners.[701]

New Labour have certainly moved to 'mainstream' civil society via a 'purposive policy' as explored here and substantial encouragement for individuals to volunteer, viewing it as an important component of individual self-development, progress and democracy.[702] As a result, it is reasonable to consider it a core concept. However, while civil society has an essential role, it is a junior one within the partnership. Furthermore, the relative strength of the government within the partnership argues against understanding the societal wide partnership as being focussed on the local level first or civil society first. Thus, New Labour share significant elements with Putnam, Etzioni and Hirst but the relative balance within the partnership is different with the former emphasising the lower, voluntary sphere of interaction and the latter still wedded to a strong State as will be explored further in the section on democracy. Not only have they moved to conceptualise society as a community but they have shown a tendency to favour formal effective sanctions rather than informal ones, given the emphasis on regulation, to give central government a strong role in requiring partnership and to render civil society at all levels an important but ultimately junior mode of interaction.

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[700] HO (1998a), p.11.

[701] This affects both the degree to which their independent objectives can be pursued and their distinctive nature in terms of organisation. Thus, isomorphism via partnership is as strong as via the contractual regime of the Conservatives. Community actors suffer to a greater degree than voluntary ones. See Taylor (2001), Craig et Taylor (2002), Alcock and Scott (2003), Halfpenny et Reid (2002).

[702] Kendall (2000).

4.2.2.- Democracy

Democracy has been accorded the position of a core concept given New Labour's repeated emphasis on the accountability of both central government and public services in general and on the role of central government as a representative of the people. Understood in line with the concept of community as a collection of interdependent individuals, the people participate in ruling indirectly via representation more than directly via involvement, although the latter has been accorded significant attention. The understanding of representation is one in which central government, authorised via election, seeks to pursue the goals of the people through a combination of consultation and deliberation within a political system that it dominates. Given the substantive aspect to representation, accountability plays a strong role. As a result, the people rule in the areas under study through central government primarily, which employs the mixed coordination models of quasi-hierarchy, quasi-markets and quasi-networks to achieve it.

Considering the conception of the people, P, it is necessary to examine whether the category is a universal or particular group and whether it is viewed as a collection of individuals or a collectivity that transcends the individuals of which it is composed. New Labour frequently align themselves with the people, explicitly through appeals to 'the people's budget' or by positing themselves as the guardians of 'one nation' or a 'better deal for Britain'.[703] Given that this is defined as a nation in which 'none should be shut out from its opportunities', 'everyone has a contribution to make' and in which 'opportunity to all and responsibility from all' constitute a 'community for all', it is quite clear that it should be understood as a collection of individuals, who work together in partnership owing to a recognition of their interdependence on the basis of their enlightened self-interest.[704] The goal is liberty and progress for all and is to be achieved in part through individual duties as well as the role played by actors within civil society, the democratic sphere and the market. Furthermore, given that all are morally equal, each and every one is to be guaranteed both liberties and duties. As a result, the 'people' are the individuals, conceived of as interdependent, for whom a socially just distribution of liberty is to be guaranteed and for whom progress is to be forthcoming.

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[703] Brown (1997), Col.306, Blair (06/02/98), Brown (1999), Col.1174. See also : Blair (28/09/99), (02/03/00); Brown (04/11/97), (15/04/99) and below on central government as representative of the people.

[704] Blair (24/03/98), Brown (1997), Col.307, Blair (07/06/00).

As Blair argues, the Labour party and the country are now united in the purpose of setting people free.[705] Thus, references to the people should be understood as broad equivalents to references to community, although stressing their political aspect. Before leaving this section, however, it is worth noting that the interdependence of community according to enlightened self-interest as well as the interest in and claim of all to the conditions of liberty result in an understanding of 'the people' that is fundamentally harmonious. There are no irreconcilable conflicts of interests and society is not made up of rival power blocs.[706] Given references to the contract between citizens in chapter 3, 'the people' and hence the members of the community are understood mainly as citizens, i.e. with the right to vote, and their children. However, residents in England with access to public services are included to a degree given the encouragement of involvement by users, albeit not in social security where only those granted indefinite leave to remain can receive the services explored in this thesis.

Let us now turn to consider the nature of the people's participation in the process of ruling, D, examining involvement first and then representation. As argued in the conceptual section, when considering direct participation, it is necessary to explore the stages of the policy process and the level at which this occurs as well as whether such participation is decisive or non-decisive.

Turning to the national level first, direct participation is encouraged primarily during the pre-legislative initiation and formulation stage by means of consultation. New Labour have produced a significant number of command papers during the first term in the areas under study. In line with Rhodes' work on policy networks, such consultation clearly involves interest groups, reflecting in part the importance of voluntary groups in political terms. Such opportunities for involvement in command paper consultations were supplemented by a general trend towards the development of government appointed reviews. For example, the public health strategy drew strongly on the Acheson report while the lifelong learning papers developed in relation to the Kennedy, Fryer and Dearing reports on post-16 learning.[707] Furthermore, this clearly involved a role for participation by the media as part of their communication of events, deemed an important source of public views by New Labour. However, direct rather than mediated involvement by the public as individuals is encouraged. Apart from their

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[705] Blair (26/09/00).
[706] Newman (2000), Finlayson (2003), p.136.
[707] DoH (1999), p.11; DfEE (1998), p.12.

well-known predilection for opinion polls and focus groups as essential resources for the formulation of policy, efforts were made to facilitate greater participation during the consultation stage:

> 'The opportunity is real for the public to participate. This is a genuine commitment not just to consult, but to listen and act upon the views of the public.'[708]

because a 'public service' should be 'open to the public and shaped by their views'.[709] Thus, the NHS Plan was the subject of a 'huge national public consultation' that included focus groups and leaflets asking individuals to list their top five priorities while Blunkett lauded the consultation on the first education white paper as the largest since World War 2 with summary documents available in high street outlets.[710] During the deliberation and approval stages within Parliament, opportunities for participation involved contacting MPs or, in the case of interest groups, lobbying them and government. In the case of implementation, opportunities remained for interest groups to lobby the executive on the details established at the national level and, in health, increased representation for citizen and patient representation on or institutionalised input to national bodies.[711] The commitment to national evaluation also allowed for direct participation in the course of such exercises as well as innovations such as the National Patient Survey in health.[712]

At the local level as established in the section on modernisation and public involvement as an area of freedom, direct participation was encouraged in two ways. First, there was the requirement for local organisations and the local partnerships that developed strategy and oversaw implementation to include user representatives or members of voluntary and community groups, reflecting their role as providers and/or advocates. Second, there was the requirement for such partnerships and indeed all local organisations to consult local people. This was most developed in health with a duty to consult being introduced late in the Parliament and the reforms in the NHS Plan, such as opportunities to record experiences on leaving hospital and the requirements for trusts and PCGs to ask for patient and carer views on services, to establish Patient Fora

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[708] Milburn (09/05/00),
[709] DoH (1997), p.11.
[710] Milburn (09/05/00), Blunkett (07/07/97), (08/07/97).
[711] Grant (2000), p.61,76; DoH (2000a), p.94.
[712] Sanderson (2002); Nutley and Webb (2000); Dobson (01/07/98).

to ensure 'direct input' from patients and the broader public on the running of local services and to publish annual accounts of services and public views received and responses.[713] Although most developed in health, this local approach was also notable in other areas through the requirements for local accountability. For example, in lifelong learning, local LSCs were to publish their strategies, annual reports and accounts, local performance information, the results of and responses to public consultation and ensure an effective complaints system.[714] As at the national level, the deliberation and approval stages were conducted at a greater distance from the public within the relevant partnerships and organisations but the degree of involvement at other stages brought the views of the public 'into decision-making' in addition to the inclusion of actual public representatives or proxies in the form of voluntary and community group inclusion in partnership bodies.[715] As regards implementation, it is clear that the particular role assigned to the individual within the overall strategy developed by the government constituted an important part of implementing the strategy itself and, to that extent, individual compliance with, for example, the operation of the quasi-market in education, can be considered a form of direct involvement. Finally, there was room for direct participation in evaluation both through formal evaluation exercises but also via consultation for future developments and the existence of both complaints mechanisms and opportunities to record views.

The idea of direct participation in implementation via compliance with established arrangements raises the key issue for the nature of direct participation in general, namely the scope of the influence. In the case of such implementation, it is easy to see that it occurs purely within the parameters established by the interaction of the national and local levels. This is also the case for consultation in general. At the national level, despite the vast number of documents produced, several features are notable that suggest the exercise is more one of building a 'national consensus'[716] behind the approach that Government has already firmly decided to pursue and is partly seeking to maximise knowledge on how such a programme should be implemented. For example, the first welfare reform paper outlined reforms that were already underway

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[713] DoH (2000a), p.93-4. The NHS Plan represented the continuation and greater institutionalisation of a general theme begun at the start of the Parliament under the guise of 'restoring public confidence' and a key role for HAs in this respect at the local level – see DoH (1997), p.11,24-6; Dobson (10/02/98); Milburn (09/03/98).
[714] DfEE (1999), p.32-3.
[715] DoH (2000a), p.95.
[716] DSS (1998a), p.v.

such as the New Deal and the first lifelong learning paper presented ILAs and the UfI, both under construction, as exemplars of the approach. Similarly, despite the consultation period from May to July including conferences and the publication of responses at the end of the year, local areas were encouraged to begin development on their local plans before the autumn, i.e. the deadline for the consultation exercise, so as to meet the deadline of the following February.[717] Furthermore, as the first welfare reform paper makes clear in a pattern repeated in every command paper, the Government has established as set of principles and a basic approach, including key policies. While this is not 'a blueprint' with all the 'detail', the 'principles guiding reform' are effectively fixed:[718]

> 'Our reform programme will be based on these values. In the process of reform we will be: consulting widely and listening to what people themselves want; .judging carefully how the reform programme should be adapted in line with people's views; and maintaining continuous progress towards a new system solidly based on the principles we have outlined.'[719]

Finally, as made explicit in the inclusion of first-hand experience of the NHS within the performance assessment framework makes clear, the information derived from such exercises has an instrumental aspect.[720] For example, partnership is deemed to be necessary so as to draw on the knowledge of all those involved, both experts in the field and 'people on the ground' including individual members of the public.[721] This effect is exacerbated at the local level given its role within a national policy process. Thus, as will be explored below, local partnerships and organisations are involved in translating national strategies into local action with the result that local consultation again becomes a matter of working out how rather than whether to implement.

These examples from the texts are reinforced by more general considerations. For instance, consultation is a two-way exercise. Producers are able to determine the range within which views are sought as well as the manner in which they are sought.[722] New Labour command papers are largely promotional documents and their reduction

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[717] DFEE/DSS (1998), Ch. 6. Webster (2002) argues that the NHS command papers were hastily drawn up, particularly the first one, and Lister (1999) has complained about the speed of the first welfare reform green paper consultation exercise.
[718] DSS (1998a), p.iii.
[719] DSS (1998a), p.79.
[720] DoH (1997), p.65-6.
[721] DSS (1999b), p.vii.
[722] Doyal (1997), p.174.

into easily accessible formats such as leaflets and lists of one's top five ideas, the strong use of broadly aggregative, quantitative mechanisms such as surveys and records of individual experience or complaints, steer public responses onto the simpler aspects within such frameworks.[723] Besides, as Kneeshaw and Doyal both emphasise, direct participation may involve informed or uninformed views.[724] Given the aspects outlined so far, it is reasonable to conclude that direct participation by the public will be relatively uninformed, expressing personal experience and observations.[725] Furthermore, considering the local level specifically, it has been widely noted in relation to health, the most developed area in this respect, that local partnerships and organisations have received little guidance or support from central government on how to consult the public by contrast with other areas of the packed reform agenda.[726] Hence, direct participation by individual members of the public, according to the mechanisms employed and the degree of information provided, occurs within a clearly circumscribed area.[727]

Finally, the potential for strong mediation by producers is also clear at the reception stage. Thus, the decision is made as to who to listen to, provided, as made clear in the requirements on local partnerships and organisations, that submissions and producer responses are published. Decision-makers are informed and, as in the consideration of evidence-based practice, such information is not necessarily decisive.[728] This general point underlines the observations of analysts of both national policy networks generally and the operation of local partnerships under New Labour specifically that producers ally themselves with certain groups and that past relationships are significant.[729] There is also a clear alignment between government and sections of the professions given that innovation occurs within established frameworks, supported by certain researchers, and that the leading edge was constituted by practitioners successful within it. While some have viewed this combined with performance management as standardization and deprofessionalisation,[730] it has also

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[723] McIver and Meredith (1998).
[724] Kneeshaw (1997); Doyal (1997).
[725] Wensing and Elwyn (2003).
[726] Milewa et al (2002); Rowe and Shephard (2002); Appleby and Coote (2002). It is clear that these considerations apply equally to other areas.
[727] Finlayson (2003), p.133.
[728] Appleby and Coote (2002); Rowe and Shephard (2002).
[729] Grant (2000), p.22-4; Powell and Glendinning (2003); Powell et al (2001); Newman (2002).
[730] Newman (2000); Morley and Rasool (2000); Elliott (2001); Le Grand (1998b); Farifield et al (1997a).

been termed the collectivisation of the professions under the auspices of researchers and practitioners supported by the government.[731]

Thus, it is clear that direct participation is primarily related to the formulation stage of policy and operates within clearly defined parameters at a relatively superficial level in a non-decisive way. Before moving on to the section on representation, however, it is worth highlighting that New Labour have created a pluralist conception of direct political participation. In the context of well-known differences in rates of participation in both consultations and standing as representatives within a diverse society, the emphasis has been on encouragement, the increase of opportunities and the improved supply of information.[732] Thus, channels are opened and it is assumed that those who have an interest will participate. Furthermore, some areas are more democratic than others in terms of direct participation. The encouragement of public involvement has not extended to welfare reform in the same way as in health and education.[733] Likewise, reforms in health and community regeneration have been far more substantial than in all areas of education.

The potential for government mediation of direct involvement by individuals and groups leads us to the role of representation or indirect participation. Given the above analysis of direct participation, it is evident that the balance between the two is struck firmly in favour of representation. As will become clear in this section, it is also in favour of central government over other political actors and local partnerships. Recalling the discussion of representation from the conceptual section, it is necessary to examine who the representative is and how they are established, who is represented, the area over which representation is exercised and the relationship between the representative and the represented, particularly in terms of whether sanctions can be levied.

On the basis of the electoral mandate, central government is the representative of the people :

> 'The Government was elected to raise standards in schools, rebuild the NHS, improve public transport and tackle crime. In short to make Britain a better place to live. A modern country equipped for the next century where every individual can ascend a ladder of opportunity, and every family has the support of a strong community. These are

[731] Klein (1998). See also Allen (2000) and Goldstein and Woodhouse (2000).
[732] Newman (2002); Mayo and Taylor (2000); Smith and Dickinson (2000); New (1997b).
[733] Lister (2000), (2001), (1999), p.97-9.

> the priorities of the British people - when we spend their money we do so to meet their demands.'[734]

However, central government is authorised to do certain things, the nature of which is determined by a combination of the electoral mandate and the actual 'priorities' or wishes of the 'people'. Recalling the section on internal constraints to liberty, significant emphasis was laid on the fact that most people want to do the things that central government seeks to enable them to do.[735] Likewise, public expectations are presented as significant drivers of reform. As Dobson puts it, in defending accessibility reforms in the NHS, policies that 'respond to the people's priorities are right and proper', not least because they are a means of maintaining support for the concept of the NHS.[736] Thus, the conception of representation is more than the formal one of authorisation and includes some notion of 'acting for' in a substantive way. It is also a majoritarian or, if we consider the electoral system, a plurality conception.

Nevertheless, as is clear from the discussion of direct participation, this is by no means a strict mandate understanding of representation. Furthermore, a key feature of New Labour discourse, as seen in the section on the criteria for a socially just distribution, and of the whole planning aspect of modernisation is the idea of what people need. As explored in the latter, this is determined through a consideration of contextual changes and best practice and, as seen above, informed by consultation. Thus, there is a deliberative element to the conception of representation. However, the people represented are not conceived of as incapable and therefore must be consulted and given justifications. Hence, it is not a 'trustee' conception and accountability matters. Public services must not only be 'open to the public and shaped by their views' but also 'accountable'.[737] This is an important dimension of the CSR process :

> 'The publication of PSAs represents a fundamental change in the accountability of government to Parliament and the public. Too often in the past it has been hard to identify the effects of extra investment at the sharp end of public services. The lack of objective information has made it almost impossible for the public to make sure services

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[734] HMT (1998c), Foreword. See also HMT (2000c), Foreword; Blair (13/04/99), (07/07/99), (23/04/98) ; Milburn (03/12/97); DFEE/DSS (1998), p.2; Brown (14/07/98), (1997), Col.316, (1998), Col.1112, (04/11/97), (15/04/99); Field (16/02/98), (04/12/97); Darling (23/09/98).

[735] Parents also want diverse provision in education and childcare as they value choice, for example (e.g. DfEE 2001:87; Blair 26/03/01).

[736] Dobson (16/07/99). See also Milburn (13/10/99), (02/02/00); DoH (1997), p.7, (2000a), p.2,9,14,25-6; DSS (1998a), p.16, 73; DfEE (2001), p.8.

[737] DoH (1997), p.11.

> are measuring up to what they want and need. PSAs show the public what they can expect to get for their money.'[738]

This approach is evident from the publication of an annual report for the Government, the annual report on its social exclusion strategy and the commitment in all reform areas to provide performance information both nationally and locally on progress towards declared targets. Thus, the entire modernisation process, with its published plans and results and the quasi-hierarchy performance management, is clearly related to accountability as is the facilitation of direct involvement.

As the quotation makes clear, central government is accountable 'to Parliament and the public'. The former applies to the scrutiny procedures that exist in Westminster and the latter to the electoral process and expressions of public opinion through the various mechanisms outlined above. Regarding sanctions, in theory, loss of support within Parliament would result in specific defeats and ultimately a vote of no confidence and, as regards the electorate, a lack of public support and ultimately defeat in a general election. However, it has long been argued, the Westminster system, so dominated by party and given to working majorities, has few effective formal sanctions on the executive.[739] Furthermore, even an election is an assessment on the government across a range of areas as well as a reflection of the credibility and popularity of alternatives and its timing is a matter of executive discretion. Thus, the executive has significant room for manoeuvre. Nevertheless, there is a strong commitment to taking views into account, offering accounts of what is taking place and seeking to justify the course taken.[740] Nor does such accountability apply only to central government.

> 'We are committed to making public services more effective and accountable...it will be essential that those responsible for delivering them account effectively and in an open and transparent way for their performance.'[741]

The partnership arrangements and requirements for direct participation by local people as well as performance management are forms of central government specifying and being directly involved in holding local organisations to account.[742] Local organisations

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[738] HMT (1998d), p.2.
[739] Cowley (2005).
[740] Coote (1997).
[741] DfEE (1999), p.32
[742] DfEE (1999), p.32-3.

and partnerships are subject to multi-centric accountability – downwards to local people, sideways to other partners via contracts and/or local performance management arrangements and, as shown, upwards to central government.[743]

Turning now to what central government is accountable for, a strong emphasis is placed on results rather than simply strategies, processes and inputs :

> 'Too often in the past, governments have only made commitments for what they put into public services money, manpower and policies not for what the public will get out in return.... PSAs set out each department's aims and objectives and then show how much progress we expect to make and over what timescale, through concrete targets. As far as possible, these targets are set in terms of specific improvements in services or in the results those services will achieve. PSAs therefore show what people can expect for their money in the real world, with extra investment matched by hard commitments.'[744]

As explored in the section on modernisation, this approach is also undertaken via the production of targeted action plans and publication of performance at local level. Thus, the linking between making public services 'more effective and accountable' above is highly significant. It is then both political and operational accountability, concerning policy and implementation. Furthermore, the role of central government as regulator of lower level activity via performance management is essential. For, if central government is to be held accountable for the achievement of national results that are to be delivered via lower level partnerships, it needs to be able to oversee and, where necessary, to intervene. Finally, accountability for results and demonstration that such results meet public priorities are viewed as necessary for continued public support. As such, it is a case of government seeking to renew its legitimacy constantly by reference to its effectiveness as Giddens advocates.[745]

Overall, it is clear that a deliberative conception of representation is created in which central government positions itself as representative of the people, understood as a collection of diverse individuals and groups that is, nevertheless, a community owing

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[743]Barberis (1998), Walker (2002). Given the composition of Parliament during the first term, it is clearly not a descriptive conception of representation (Norris 2000; Saggar 2000). At best, given New Labour's increase in female MPs and that the party actually had some ethnic minority MPs, it could be viewed as a symbolic conception. The same applies for direct participation as a user or voluntary and community group representative given the voluntarist approach in an unrepresentative status quo.

[744] HMT (1998d), p.Frwd. See also : HMT (1999c), Foreword, (2000d), Foreword, (1998c), Ch.1.15

[745] Giddens (1998), p.70-8, (2000), p.66, (2002), p.35,79; Flynn (2000).

to its interdependence. The role of central government is to act to ensure that the common or public interest is pursued and to employ the knowledge of both contextual changes, best practice and the people's views on specific policies rather than policy frameworks to this effect. Thus, central government is conceived of positively as a 'public power, in a democratic society, representing the collective interest'.[746]

Given the above, it is worth considering the position of central government with regard to other political representatives. As has already been noted, central government, qua the executive, is dominant within the legislature. Indeed, the Blair government suffered no defeats and had to engage in only very limited concessions on a few issues during the period under study.[747] With regard to the relationship between central government and local representatives, both those within local government and members of local partnerships to whom responsibility was devolved, it is again a case of dominance by central government within the partnership that is community. Thus, overall, New Labour create an understanding of 'strong and active government' and, therefore, a statist conception of community, as highlighted by Driver and Martell.[748]

To see why this is the case, it is necessary to explore the role of central government within the partnership of community. Given that the relationship with the market is studied in the following section, attention will focus in particular on the relationship between central government and institutional local partnerships. The key role for the State per se and central government itself stressed by New Labour is that of 'enabling' :

> 'We believe that Government should be an enabler, not "doing things for you" but "doing things alongside you". This means ensuring that the investment, the support and the practical help is available, but demanding "something for something".... Instead of saying "Government does not have either a role or a duty" on the one hand, or that "Government will do it for you" on the other hand, this Government is saying that we will ensure that we take responsibility for putting the mechanisms in place to help you, if you as an individual or family will accept the obligation and the responsibility to take on the challenge yourself....'[749]

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[746] Giddens (1998), p.9.
[747] Cowley and Stuart (2003)
[748] Giddens (2002), p.79. See also Fielding (2003), p.83-4; Walker (1999Blsp), p.155-6; Fergusson (2000); O'Brien (1999), Driver and Martell (2000), p.158-9.
[749] Blunkett (29/11/00). See also: Blunkett (15/08/98), (10/02/99), (03/11/99), (07/06/00); Brown (04/11/97), (15/04/99), (19/10/99), (2000), Col.866. The same idea is also expressed in references to equipping people to meet change and empowering or helping them to help themselves. For example, see

This gives rise to particular functions. The most frequently referred to in this context is that of setting the national framework or strategy. In childcare as in other areas involving such a framework and local institutionalised partnerships, we read :

> 'Government has an important role in setting the framework to deliver this Strategy, identifying priorities and promoting good quality provision. Central Government will act as an enabler and facilitator and set a framework within which local developments can flourish.'[750]

Indeed, the first role listed is to 'set national aims and objectives, identify priorities and, where appropriate, set targets to stimulate swift progress'.[751] However, as stressed in the commitment to investment as part of the modernisation process, the government also has a key finance role as evidenced in relation to childcare via the demand and supply reforms outlined earlier. In other domains, government takes the position of sole financer, for areas such as education and health that are predominantly provided by public organisations, and elsewhere, particularly with regard to the mixed economies of lifelong learning and social services, as part financer. As suggested, this dovetails with various public provision or private stimulation elements as outlined in the section on the external constraints to liberty.

This enabling role, then, refers both to strategies and finance and emphasises that government and public providers must work in partnership with others. As explored in the section on community, this is undertaken on the basis that success per se or maximum results will not be achieved in its absence, not least owing to the recognition of government failure in the past. This latter theme is explicit within the community regeneration documents but is also implied through the references to the failing of existing public services, in part through their inability to keep up with changes and in part through their lack of commitment to a sufficiently strong role for government. However, it also reflects knowledge limitations on the part of government :

> 'We all have a part to play in this. Government can create the economic conditions for growth, as well as providing services and

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Blair (20/01/98), (24/03/98), (18/01/00), (08/02/01); Brown (08/05/00), (27/06/97); DSS (1998a), p.6,21,80-1,71-4; DSS/DfEE (1998), p.1,13

[750] DfEE/DSS (1998), p.38.

[751] DfEE/DSS (1998), p.38. See also : SEU (2001), p.54-7; DfEE (1999), p.15,22,34,38, (2001), p.14-17,91-2, (1997), p.10-12,32-3; DSS (1998a), p.33-6, (1998e); DoH (1999), p.144, (1997), p.55-6, (2000a), p.133,2.

> investing to tackle social problems. But the Government cannot solve problems alone. We need to work with people to encourage them to help themselves, with businesses in the regeneration process and in the drive to get people back to work. And we need to work in partnership with those with expert knowledge of particular problems and the needs of particular areas. That means building much closer links between central government and local authorities, and with voluntary sector organisations.'[752]

This stress on the 'enabling state' may seem to reflect discussions of a move from government to governance, i.e. governing by networks.[753] By drawing private contractors and voluntary organisations into provision and some aspects of strategy, the State is viewed as one actor among many, coordinating action in a mutually dependent relationship with others. Indeed, this could also be linked to a pluralist conception of the State as merely acting as a weathervane, reflecting the balance between social forces rather than pursuing any definite course of its own.[754] However, different models of such changes are possible and one must be careful to analyse concrete developments in detail.[755] While it is certainly true that central government is operating in relation to a network of public, private and voluntary actors at the local level and conceives of society in general as a partnership, the relationship within the partnership is not nearly equal. This has already been discussed above and can be illuminated in relation to central government through consideration of its role as regulator. As emphasised within the section on modernisation and seen here in central government's role as guarantor of lower level accountability, there is a strong regulatory element. This is clear not only from the centrality given to multi-level performance management but also because it is central government that is deciding the nature of the partnerships at both the national and the local level, a side-effect of its framework-setting role and its discretion at the national level vis-à-vis other political representatives and direct participation. As Milburn declares :

> 'Make no mistake - we will drive change from the centre. But we want to see you working in partnership with us to make it happen on the ground.'[756]

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[752] DSS (1999b), p.vii.
[753] e.g. Rhodes (1997).
[754] Dunleavy and O' Leary (1987), Ch.1.
[755] Moran (2003), Ch.2
[756] Milburn (25/02/98). See also : DfEE (1997), p.12, (2001), p.91.

The 'maximum local flexibility in how change is implemented' promised by Blunkett within the context of the government leading and pursuing its priorities 'relentlessly' will concern, in effect, how to 'translate' the national framework into 'local action' just as it does for HImPs.[757] 'Delivery' will be a matter of 'local responsibility' and services be 'run locally'.[758]

This relationship between central government and local partnerships crucially includes not only public organisations, such as HAs and hospital trusts that have always been part of the NHS, but also LEAs, part of local government. All operate within a national policy framework and are part of a national implementation process as a result of both performance management within partnerships *and* the stipulation that certain goals can only be achieved via partnerships as set out by central government.[759] As Rhodes argues, such partnerships are 'tools' of central government with power exercised through a 'velvet glove'.[760] Furthermore, given Power's observation that constant checking not only assumes low trust but is also detrimental to its development, partnerships should also be viewed as quasi-networks given that trust is a key dimension for network analysis.[761] Thus New Labour have strengthened the 'regulatory state' established under the Conservatives by intensifying performance management. Or, more correctly, they have increased the power of central government by continuing the devolution of operational management to lower levels within a strongly regulatory framework. Indeed, both Conservative developments and New Labour's intensification can be said to have moved the role of central government in relation to public services such as education and health from one of command and wishful thinking, given the relative independence of local education authorities and the medical profession, to one of command and control.[762]

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[757] Blunkett (22/10/97); DoH (1998), p.5.

[758] DoH (1997), p.11; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.3. In education and health, the latter part of the term saw a commitment to 'earned autonomy' for successful practitioners, involving lighter inspections. However, in both cases, the regulation framework would remain in place even if it was envisaged that it would be needed less. For example, see DfEE (2001), p.14-17,92.

[759] Lee and Woodward (2002).

[760] Rhodes (2000b), Bevir and Rhodes (2003).

[761] Power (1997). Giddens (2002:55-6) criticises New Labour during the first term as still being wedded to 'command and control'.

[762] Klein (2001), p.216,193; Jones (2003); Moran (2003), Chs.1-2. This is a position of dominance, not absolute power. Central government works with researchers and relies on agents to implement policy, which involves interpretation in order to be applied to local or individual cases. Furthermore, direct performance management operates only within relatively limited areas, although by doing so it strongly influences the others. See Hurwitz (1999); Walshe (2002); Locock (2000)

From the above discussion, we can conclude that 'the people' rule the areas under study, Q, via the representation of central government in combination with some direct participation by individuals and groups and some discretion for local actors. As a result, the means, M, by which they rule incorporate both this role of central government as well as the more concrete aspect of the coordination mechanisms explored in the section on modernisation, i.e. quasi-hierarchy, quasi-markets and quasi-networks. Moran's regulatory state is alive and well with central government in New Labour's conception.

Considering the intersection with other concepts noted in the conceptual section, it is clear that community and democracy overlap through the understanding of 'the people' and the fact that partnership as a community is central government's preferred manner of coordination. However, given the regulatory aspect of the government role, it is clear that trust is not a strong aspect of such relations nor is the recognition of interdependence deemed to arise naturally. Rather central government requires co-operation in specific forms and then regulates it, offering lighter regulation where participants have demonstrated compliance and hence can be trusted. Partners can view each other as trustworthy not owing to informal sanctions, as communitarians such as Etzioni and Putnam would prefer, but formal, external sanctions that will be visited upon them by higher level agents of central government if they fail to co-operate successfully. Second, considering the liberty to participate in democratic processes, the examination of direct involvement has shown that this is the freedom to have one's say and to have it taken into account by representatives. Furthermore, the overall process is top-down rather than bottom-up. As a result, it differs markedly from the participatory forms of democracy proposed by theorists such as Pateman and MacPherson as well as the New Left.[763] As regards equality, as moral equals, all above the age of majority are entitled to have their say in elections and all residents via consultation. Thus, formal equality is ensured. Given the largely pluralist approach to direct involvement, however, substantive equality is not addressed directly in relation to equality, although such issues are addressed as seen in chapter 3.

[763] See Panitch and Leys (2001).

4.2.3.- Market

New Labour's conception of the market views it as a collection of price-based exchanges between individuals and mainly between privately-owned industrial and financial businesses within the global knowledge economy. As such, the underlying base of competition is skills and, hence, quality rather than price alone. The market acts as the predominant mechanism for the distribution of employment and income, supported by predominantly public income and active labour market services. However, the roles are reversed for education and health where the State assumes a dominant role and more balanced à-propos childcare and post-compulsory learning. Economic progress is understood as high, stable levels of growth and employment with low inflation and is to be achieved through a partnership between government and market actors on the basis of enlightened self-interest. For reasons of social justice and market failure, government has an important role to play in providing macroeconomic stability and an active supply-side policy, especially in terms of increasing the effective labour supply. As mainly privately-owned organisations, businesses are left to determine their own competitive, investment and employment strategies in the context of duties of supererogation to invest for the long-term, particularly as a means of increasing levels of innovation and human capital. However, they are also subject to duties of social justice, most notably direct taxation. Overall, the market is viewed as a common good that benefits all over the long-term as well as being a key area of individual self-development as seen in chapter 3. As such, actors' roles within it and the conditions of its success are deemed to be in the enlightened self-interest of all. Consequently, it is a crucial area of interdependence and the role of market actors within the partnership of community increases in proportion to their market size.

In order to explore New Labour's conception of the market, let us recall the formula :

All being free from Z and protected by law L,

(A, B, C, D…*N*), who own H and compete with each other,

exchange a given amount of H for a given amount of J over time T

with (V, W, X, Y…*N*), who own J and compete with each other

4.2.3.1.- Agents competing and goods traded

First, let us consider the agents that are competing and engaging in price-based exchanges. This will be done first at a general level for the economy and then specifically in relation to the areas under study. Clearly, the agents include individuals competing with each other for employment, trading their labour and skills for income.[764] Both as employers and as agents in other markets, businesses are also in competition. While there are, of course, large public employers such as the NHS, the economy is viewed as largely operating on the basis of privately owned companies of varying sizes, which determine their own investment, management, marketing and production strategies.[765] Furthermore, public organisations, like the NHS, are broken down into separate organisations with operational management that then compete within quasi-markets, constituting a form of market socialism.[766] Ultimate property rights reside in central government but they are, as it were, rented on certain terms to individual organisations. Thus, price-based exchanges occur between individuals and private or public corporations, between private corporations and between private and public corporations.[767] Such exchanges, however, occur within a global context. Brown urges appreciation of the 'economic realities and challenges we face in a global marketplace' characterised by international capital markets and global competition.[768] Indeed, linking to the concept of community as will be explored below, Britain as a nation is viewed as competing with other nations for business within the global market, particularly in terms of investment, and a key policy aim is to increase national competitiveness.[769]

Turning to the goods being traded, the British economy is predominantly a service one, combining high and low skill businesses. However, it is also viewed as transformed by technology into an 'information and knowledge-based' economy.[770] The

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[764] DSS (1999b), p.7.
[765] See DfEE (1999), p.10; Blair (07/05/00), (02/03/00); Brown (27/05/99).
[766] Glennerster (1999). For example, they decide on hiring, allocation of resources and contracts with private business.
[767] The conception of ownership will be explored in more detail below.
[768] Brown (12/06/97), (13/06/00). See also : Blair (03/03/00), (18/01/00); Brown (24/04/98), (27/05/99), (15/06/00), (2001), Col.298; DfEE (1999), p.8,12; HMT (1998c), Ch.6.4
[769]Brown (15/06/00), DfEE (1999), p.13, Thompson (1996), p.274, Fairclough (2000). See also : Blair (23/04/99), (15/01/99), (07/05/00); Brown (01/11/99), (01/11/97), (09/01/98), (15/01/99); DFEE (1999), p.4,13,48,55, (1998), p.10,35; Blunkett (08/02/01), (27/06/00), (03/07/97), (03/03/99); Dobson (15/06/98); HMT (1998d), p.9, (1999c), p.12.
[770] Finlayson (2003:168) is right to place the knowledge economy at the centre of New Labour's economic paradigm.

basis for competition, irrespective of the goods traded, is the 'intellect and creativity of people' and their 'adaptability to...change'.[771] This change has been substantial and rapid, referred to repeatedly as a 'technological' or 'information' revolution and discussed in relation to the industrial revolution.[772] Furthermore, these 'changing economic and technological conditions' are viewed as ongoing and the 'modern definition of full employment' declares that people will need to be able to 'adapt to changing circumstances'.[773] Finally, the divergent labour market of high and low skill employment is fitted into this picture through a wide notion of 'skills'. Not only does it range from basic skills in literacy and numeracy to the highly specialised and technical[774] but includes things such as team working, one of the Key Skills for post-16 learning, and behaviour :

> 'we have also listened to employers who want to see more done to develop young people who will turn up on time every day, dressed and behaving appropriately, and be able to communicate effectively with colleagues or customers. These so-called 'soft' skills, together with a positive and enthusiastic attitude to work, are often as important to potential employers as the job-specific skills which can be learnt in the workplace.'[775]

Let us now consider the specific goods under study in this thesis, namely labour, income, health, education and childcare by exploring the balance between market and non-market provision created, or at least maintained, by New Labour.[776] In the case of labour, it is clear from the above discussion that this is dominated by the market, whether in relation to private or publicly owned organisations. However, the State is the main provider of active labour market services, i.e. of productive economic activity in the effective as opposed to the formal labour market. Turning to income, in chapter three we saw that paid work was presented as the best route out of poverty and that the State intervenes to provide for those unable to engage in paid work per se and those who were unsuccessful in finding employment, to ensure minimum wages and to contribute towards extra costs. The dominant role for the market is emphasised by the

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[771] DfEE (1999), p.12. See also : Blair (28/09/99), (03/03/00), (30/06/00), (26/09/00); Brown (1997), Cols.304,308, (18/05/99), (15/05/00), (15/06/00); Blunkett (02/05/97), (25/02/98), (03/03/99).
[772] Blair (28/09/99), (30/06/00); Blunkett (25/02/98), (02/05/97); Brown (04/11/97), (16/02/00).
[773] HMT (1998c), Ch.2.8; HMT (1997), p.37.
[774] DfEE (1998), p.39.
[775] Blunkett (26/08/99). See Payne (2000).
[776] Such markets are also global in nature given the existence of industrial and financial MNCs.

enthusiasm for 'self-provision' in terms of economic independence of the State and hence reliance on the market.[777] However, the State is the dominant actor as regards such income security services. With regard to pensions, the previous chapter showed that the State would ensure a minimum income guarantee for pensioners and a second State pension for low earners and carers but that beyond this provision was to be obtained via regulated private pensions complete with State facilitation via increased information, tax reliefs and encouragement for the market to provide products for middle-income earners. Considering savings more widely, the State provided incentives for low earners and encouragement for the market to provide suitable products as well as the creation of the tax-free ISA for all.[778] Finally, with regard to industrial and financial investment, another key aspect of financial markets, as suggested above such decisions are largely the preserve of private organisations with the State offering general or specific tax incentives.[779] Thus, the State assumes a residual position in relation to income, which is largely subject to price-based exchange.

Turning to childcare, as explored in chapter three, this is a strongly mixed economy, especially for children under four and for after-school care, in which private companies compete for customers, who pay completely or partly out of their own money depending on whether they receive the CCTC. In the case of education and health, the State dominates provision through services free at the point of use funded from general taxation across the country. The pure private market in both spheres was residual and the entry of private organisations into public services via contracts, while increasing, still constituted a small portion of overall provision.[780] Extending such areas to infrastructure and maintenance in public services, the preferred means was a market-based exchange between public organisations and private consortia under the guise of the PFI whereby the latter were contracted to finance, design, build and, often, maintain infrastructure.[781] Finally, it should be noted that the contracts between the State and the private sector tended to be of a long duration such as the 25-30 years of the PFI to the 7 years of private management of failing schools.

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[777] DSS (1998a), p.80-1.
[778] The encouragement for the market was, in part, the promise of customers given the nature of State involvement in pensions, i.e. limited to certain incomes only, and the incentives of matching funds and/or endowments for lower income savers.
[779] Brown (1997), Col.304.
[780] Glennerster (2003); Davies, J (2001); Shifrin (2001); SCEE (2000c); SCH (2002b), (1999b); Goodman and McGranahan (2003).
[781] IPPR (2001).

Thus, only labour, income and public sector capital investment are predominantly subject to price-based exchanges while health and education services are predominantly allocated via public provision free at the point of use. Recalling Esping-Andersen's work on decommodification, labour and income remain commodified, exemplifying the importance of the work ethic.[782] One's productive economic activity and financial existence depends largely on the market, although there is the decommodified platform of State income and labour market services. In the case of health and education, individuals are strongly decommodified insofar as access to such services does not depend on income and, by extension, one's employment position.

4.2.3.2.- Economic progress, community and democracy

It is now time to consider New Labour's understanding of how economic progress is to be achieved and thus how a successful market operates. Economic progress, at least in macroeconomic terms, consists of 'high and stable levels of growth and employment' accompanied by 'low inflation'.[783] Inflation and employment levels are deemed to be equally significant :

> 'Just as there is no gain in attempting to trade higher inflation for higher employment, so there is no advantage in aiming for ever lower inflation if it is at the expense of growth and jobs.'[784]

The 'basic-building blocks for long-term economic success' are 'stability and low inflation, responsible public finances, good trading relationships, a modern employment policy and improved skills and productivity'.[785] These have been deduced on the basis of 'economic realities', reflecting the process of contextual investigation shown to apply to progress in the previous chapter.[786] As Brown forever stresses, macroeconomic stability is a key object of New Labour's conception of a successful economy, being contrasted with the instability of 'boom and bust' explicitly and implicitly.[787] There is,

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[782] Brown (16/02/00); Levitas (2001).
[783] Brown (19/10/99), (27/05/99), (13/07/00); Harman (27/11/97); Thompson (1996), p.268.
[784] Brown (01/11/99). A symmetrical inflation target was set : inflation should be neither above nor below it.
[785] Brown (22/04/98); HMT (1997), p.35.
[786] Brown (27/05/99). See also (13/07/00), (12/06/97).
[787] See : Brown (12/06/97), (1998), Cols.1097-9, (10/06/99), (15/06/00), (2000), Col.858. See also Glyn and Wood (2001), p.50-1. 'Boom and bust' is defined by Brown as a recurring cycle of unsustainable

then, only 'good and bad' macroeconomics and failure to comply precipitates swift loss of capital and future credibility in global financial markets.[788]

However, such stability is 'a necessary pre-condition' for 'growth and employment' not a 'sufficient one' as the 'economy cannot fly on only one wing'.[789] Thus, the 'supply-side' is deemed to be 'essential'.[790] Macroeconomic stability creates 'a platform of stability to promote growth and employment' while microeconomic activity will 'improve productivity and employment' as well as 'making it possible to maintain low inflation'.[791] Given that the economy is ever-changing, it requires 'creativity', 'knowledge' and 'adaptability'. Supply-side activity must support enterprise, innovation, competition and changes in the labour supply. In fact, enterprise and innovation must be at the forefront and competition within nations and across them via open economies is 'the driving force' of 'productivity growth' because it is the 'sharpest spur to innovation, efficiency and improvement', giving 'the best deal for all consumers'.[792]

Turning to the labour supply, the effective labour supply, i.e. 'the pool of employees and skills able to compete for work in the economy', must be increased because this will raise the 'sustainable level of employment consistent with low inflation'.[793] This involves increasing the numbers of people in the effective labour market, i.e. those who are able and in fact competing for work, *and* their employability, i.e. the skills that they have to offer.[794] The latter combines with the need for innovation noted above in the need for investment in human capital, sometimes referred to as a new form of Keynesianism, and for individuals to develop their employability.[795] Indeed, this investment is viewed as the key driver for economic success on New Labour's definition:[796]

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growth followed by stagnation, leading to ever higher levels of inflation and unemployment – see (19/10/99), (2001), Col.295.

[788] Blair (24/03/98) and Brown (08/0500). See also Brown (06/11/00), (1997), Col.304; Blair (23/04/99).

[789] Brown (27/05/99).

[790] Brown (08/05/99), (13/07/00). See Thompson (1996), p.267.

[791] Brown (19/10/99). See also Brown (13/07/00), Blunkett (20/09/00).

[792] Brown (08/05/00); (15/06/00), (16/02/00), (1999), Col.179.

[793] Brown (27/05/99). See also: Brown (19/10/99), (13/07/00); Blunkett (24/11/97), (02/01/98), (22/02/98), (20/09/00).

[794] Blunkett (30/11/00). See also Glyn and Wood (2001), p.52-6.

[795] Blunkett (20/09/00), Brown (13/07/00).

[796] Thompson (1996), p.272.

> 'In the information and knowledge-based economy, investment in human capital...is replacing past patterns of investment in plant, machinery and physical labour. To continue to compete, we must equip ourselves for this new world with new and better skills. We must improve levels of knowledge and understanding and develop the adaptability to respond to change. For our companies to succeed on the world stage, they will need to be learning, innovative businesses.'[797]

Adaptability here denotes employability, the state of being 'prepared for work and...available to meet the demand of the labour market as the economy expands' according to compulsory and post-compulsory learning throughout the lifecycle a active labour market services.[798] However, it also evokes flexibility as people need to 'change jobs more often' with labour market regulation reflecting this fact in line with the 1980s reforms.[799] Economic progress will, then, result from a combination of stable macroeconomic conditions and supply-side reforms, particularly with regard to increasing the effective and flexible labour supply.

These components of economic progress are to be delivered through the partnership of community :

> 'we must set old conflicts behind us. Understand the objectives we share in common. And recognise that the challenge must involve all of us, Government, workforces and business working together. The challenge is enormous but the prize is a more up-to-date and dynamic economy more fit for the challenges ahead, ready to ensure employment opportunity and greater prosperity for all in the years ahead.'[800]

This partnership also involves the financial sector and, given the emphasis on increasing the effective labour supply that is linked to welfare reform, it also involves those not in paid work but capable of it.[801] Economic success requires the cooperation of all, a

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[797] DfEE (1999), p.12. See also : Blunkett (20/01/98), (18/02/98), (03/03/99), (17/11/99), (11/05/00); Blair (11/11/97), (18/01/00), (22/06/00); Brown (1997), Cols.308,316, (12/06/97), (18/05/99); DSS (1998a), p.iii; HMT (1998c), Ch.6.1,Ch.2.8.

[798] Blunkett (22/02/98). See also : Blair (24/03/98), (20/01/98); Brown (22/04/98), (19/10/99), (13/07/00); DFEE (1999), p.14, 22; Blunkett (20/01/98), (19/05/98); HMT (1998c), Ch.6.4, (1998d), p.9, (1997), p.2,37; SEU (1998), Ch.5.13; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.12,42

[799] Brown (19/10/99).

[800] Brown (22/04/98).

[801] Brown repeatedly emphasises the need for a partnership, a shared economic purpose and working together – see (10/11/97), (18/05/99), (06/11/00), (11/06/98), (27/05/99), (10/06/99), (15/06/00).

partnership with defined roles that moralises the market's division of labour.[802] The different roles within this partnership will now be explored, highlighting the intersection of the concepts of democracy and the market.

Considering the role of government, direct economic intervention via nationalisation, extensive subsidies and protectionism are explicitly rejected on the grounds that 'businesses...make profits and create jobs'.[803] Nevertheless, government has a strong role to play as there is a 'public interest' in 'growth' and 'employment'[804] to be guaranteed by a combination of demand and supply side policies:

> 'It is about active government working with the grain of the market to ensure a highly adaptable workforce, good education, high levels of technology, decent infrastructure and the right conditions for high investment and sustainable non-inflationary growth. It is about securing the flexibility that the market offers with the 'pluses' that only an active government can add.'[805]

Government is involved on the demand side primarily through monetary and fiscal policy. However, its supply-side policies, to be explored below, also affect demand. For instance, an increase in the effective labour supply of labour has the potential to increase demand because it allows businesses and the economy to expand without inflationary pressures due to labour shortages.[806] Turning to the direct demand role of government, this takes the form of establishing a framework, the so-called 'post-monetarist approach' of clear-rules and long-term objectives,[807] consistently applied and understood monetary and fiscal procedures,[808] and being open with markets on these elements in order to gain credibility.[809] Given the independence of the Bank of England, the monetary aspect of this approach will be undertaken by the Monetary

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[802] Finlayson (2003), p.189; Thompson (1996), p.276,281-2. It will be argued below that it is also premised on the basis of enlightened self-interest.
[803] Brown (06/11/00); Blair (20/01/98), (10/01/98); Brown (08/05/00).
[804] Brown (08/05/00).
[805] Blair (20/01/98).
[806] According to the theory, effective competition from those outside employment serves to curb wage inflation. Increases in the skills of those outside and within employment, as well as numbers, can help prevent inflation owing to the limits on business and economic expansion created by lack of sufficiently skilled and/or numerous labour. There is also a demand aspect in the effective subsidisation element of the whole tax credit approach as well as the subsidised job option on the New Deal. See Glyn and Wood (2001), p.52-6; Blunkett (30/11/00); Finlayson (2003), p.187-9; Fitzpatrick (1998).
[807] e.g. symmetrical inflation target; fiscal rules - borrowing only to invest over the economic cycle and maintaining debt at a prudent level
[808] e.g. a clear remit for the MPC, responsible for setting interest rates to achieve the inflation target; the Code for Fiscal Stability; and coordination arrangements
[809] e.g. publishing the minutes of MPC meetings and votes; regular reporting to Parliament on the fiscal rules. See Brown (27/05/99), (12/06/97), (11/06/98), (18/05/99), (1999:1099), (15/06/00), (13/07/00).

Policy Committee while government remains responsible for setting its objectives and for fiscal policy. On the latter, the CSR was established, embodying, 'disciplined' and 'sustainable public finances' in a bid to 'improve the efficiency of government in meeting our objectives'.[810] These policies will ensure the 'platform of stability' of 'low inflation and sound public finances' that will result in investment from financial institutions, a 'sustainable high demand for labour' and 'sustainable public finances'.[811] With the references to sustainability, we see the commitment to the long-term explored in chapter three. Thus, investment and a high demand for labour will result from macroeconomic government framework-setting. As in the democracy section, targets and frameworks are set, operational management delegated and the importance of publishing rules, frameworks and results is stressed. However, here it is accountability to the market as much as to citizens or to their representatives.

Turning to the government's supply-side role, this involves fiscal responsibilities and control within relevant public services as well as general exhortation.[812] As Blair terms it, this is a 'supply-side revolution' of 'educational, fiscal and welfare reforms necessary to create an environment that supports...job creation', which, Brown argues, will ensure 'long-term economic success'.[813] On the fiscal side, a range of taxation measures are undertaken in order to achieve such economic progress. First, favourable direct taxation for business is viewed as essential for a 'competitive environment' that promotes enterprise, innovation and investment.[814] In such terms were successive reductions in corporation and capital gains taxes introduced along with tax credits for and some supporting funds for investment and reductions were also made in employer NICs to boost 'job creation' at the bottom of the labour market.[815] Second, this also applied to direct taxation of individuals :

> 'Instead of punishing success by high taxation or offering the incentive of low taxation only to a few, the new ambition is a tax

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[810] Brown (1997), Cols.314-5, (12/06/97).
[811] Brown (27/05/99), (19/10/99), (12/06/97). See also HMT (1997), p.27. 'Stability' is a key reference point to summarise this approach throughout the documents – e.g. Brown (12/06/97), (11/06/98), (22/04/98), (27/09/99), (10/06/99), (15/06/00); Blair (10/01/98), (20/01/98), (07/05/00).
[812] Thompson (1996), p.273-7; Fielding (2003), p.78-83.
[813] Blair (03/03/00), Brown (13/07/00).
[814] Brown (06/11/00), (01/11/99). See also Blair (11/11/97), (07/05/00); Brown (16/02/00), (15/06/00), (13/07/00).
[815] See Brown (1997), Cols.306-7, (1998), Cols.1097,1100-01, (1999), Cols.176-7, (2000), Cols.860-3, (2001), Cols.298-9

> system that ensures that work pays, that encourages skills and rewards enterprise.'[816]

Thus, the higher tax rate remained steady and the basic rate fell by 1p as well as the wider reforms to make work pay explored in the previous chapter. The tax system is indeed viewed as 'based on principle', giving 'critical signals about the economic activities that a society wishes to promote and deter'.[817] As such, it should encourage individuals into the labour market and to climb within it and encourage companies to invest, innovate and take risks.

Considering the wider aspects of the supply-side undertaken by government, it is worth recalling that, as noted in the section on community, the reforms to social security, active labour market services, education, health, childcare and community regeneration are all described as contributing to economic success with some being described as economic policy. All these areas of reform contribute to the increase in the effective labour supply, and education reflects the government role in the human capital investment strategy. Overall in the 'modern labour market', the government must

> 'encourage investment in education and skills, so that people start off their working life with the basic skills required for a lifetime of work, and can learn through life and remain employable as the labour market changes; help people move from welfare to work, by focussing on the unemployed and those detached from the labour market, and developing a framework of rights and responsibilities; make work pay, through a national minimum wage and a tax and benefit system that promotes work incentives.'[818]

As seen in the sections on progress and liberty, this will include government investment in toto or in part as well as some degree of relevant, lifelong, quality service provision. Increases in the effective labour supply will be achieved via the work incentives of policies to make work pay and through the active labour market reforms that improve matching of people to vacancies through jobsearch assistance and numbers of individuals seeking paid work by enforcing sanctions on jobseekers and extending services to the economically inactive. Investment in human capital is achieved via the education reforms across the lifecycle as well as the training aspects of the New Deals. It includes particular attention on the relevance of skills and skill levels to the needs of

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[816] Brown (1998), Col.1097.
[817] Brown (1997), Col.311. See also Brown (27/05/99), (1998), Col.1103, (1999), Col.1173
[818] HMT (1997), p.35.

employers and the economy in general as reflected by the majority contribution of employers on the LSC, the need for local LSCs to have discretion so as to meet local demand and the encouragement for business sponsorship of schools.[819]

Let us now turn to the role within the partnership ascribed to business. Blair's eulogy to the CBI offers a general guide :

> 'Business employs four times more people than the public sector. It is you, therefore, as much as us, that determine the sort of society we live in. If we are to become a fairer society, then it's businesses, as much as anyone else, that can send out the right signals...giving a chance to people on the New Deal...If we are to return to full employment, it is because you...have created new products, found new markets, improved your quality, made your prices competitive, and in doing so have expanded your companies to take on more people.... If we are to enjoy rising prosperity, it is because business people have had the ideas, taken the risks, had the imagination to set up new companies, generate greater profits, create more wealth. You are the key not just to enterprise but to fairness too. To creating not just a strong economy but a fairer society. That is a big responsibility. A responsibility to the community in which you work, and to the nation in which you live. So, let us work together, admit the problems and co-operate on the solutions.'[820]

Thus, in line with the emphasis on predominantly private ownership, businesses will create jobs and economic growth by competing effectively in the market, not least by innovating and being enterprising, and thereby will employ more people.[821] These general responsibilities can be broken down further according to the 'conditions of growth and full employment':[822]

> 'if those who can work take the responsibility to work, if employers take the responsibility to train and to invest, and if all of us show the same responsibility in pay, then Britain can deliver, in our generation, employment opportunity for all.'[823]

Employers are to decide on investment and wage levels with government exhortation, monetary and fiscal policy and the national minimum wage to encourage optimal

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[819] DfEE (1999), p.7,24-9,35,64-8; Blunkett (24/09/97), (21/03/98), (24/09/99), (08/02/01)
[820] Blair (07/05/00). See also : Brown (1997), Col.306, (22/04/98), (06/11/00); Blair (11/11/97).
[821] Business has a key role in community regeneration in terms of creating jobs and markets and participating in strategic planning - see SEU 2001:28-34,45, 1998:5.36-7.
[822] Brown (13/07/00).
[823] Brown (27/09/99).

performance of such responsibilities.[824] As regards training, employers have the 'main responsibility' accompanied by some government provision for broader and portable qualifications, as seen in facilitative measures such as ILAs and the UfI. They are also to 'stimulate demand from individuals via contributions to ILAs as well as providing training for New Deal participants.[825] As discussed in the section on community, lifelong learning as much as the economy as a whole is a partnership between individuals, employers and government :

> 'at the heart of our approach is that Government must meet their responsibilities, providing incentives for work and training, companies must meet their responsibilities to upgrade skills in the workplace, and people must take up their own responsibilities to work and prepare for the jobs of the future.'[826]

Nor is the employer role limited to investment in human capital within their own firm given the substantial role with regard to the LSC and opportunities for involvement in public education set out above.[827] This idea of a role in public services is also captured through contracts to provide elective operations, childcare and infrastructure and run failing schools as discussed earlier.

Finally, there are certain specific duties associated with employment and profits. For example, employing people gives rise to payment of NICs, short-term statutory sick pay, processing data for tax credits and pensions and ensuring that employees are aware of designated stakeholder pension options.[828] Furthermore, given the discussion of taxation above, it is clear also that businesses are required to pay taxation. While committed to relatively low tax rates, Brown emphasises that :

> 'A Government committed to the proper funding of public services will not tolerate the avoidance of taxation.'[829]

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[824] Brown (01/11/99). As noted, Brown encourages long-term investment with tax breaks. He is also keen to stress the need for wage restraint, reinforcing it with references to the automatic interest rate rises that will follow wage inflation – e.g. (11/06/98), (1998), Col.1098, (19/10/99), (13/07/00).
[825] DfEE (1999), p.36,68; DSS (1998a), p.25-6. See also DfEE (1999), p.14-15,56,64-66, (1998), p.33-5; Blunkett (11/07/97), (13/03/98), (17/06/98), (05/04/00).
[826] Brown (2001), Col.301.
[827] DfEE (1999), p.26. A similar approach can be seen in childcare, public health and the New Deal - see DfEE/DSS (1998), p.7,14,37,40-4; DoH (1998), p.4-5,28,51,63,75-78, (1999), p.6,48.
[828] DSS (1998a), p.15,30,35, (1998e), p.5-7,15,57-9; HMT (1998a),p.11-16,19-24.
[829] Brown (1997), Cols.311-2

People must not be allowed to 'evade their responsibilities'.[830] Although not within the remit of this thesis, businesses are also clearly bound by employment and company law.

There is, of course, an individual role in the partnership as outlined in the previous chapter. Individuals are required to engage in productive economic activity, unless there are mitigating circumstances in which case they are to be encouraged. Those in employment are to pay NICs and income tax while those looking for paid work must, as all benefit recipients, ensure that such claims are honest. As regards lifelong learning, parents are encouraged to send their children to pre-school, required to ensure that their children attend school and exhorted to support their child's learning. Adults are likewise encouraged to engage in training, to live a healthy lifestyle and participate in voluntary and community activity as well as public involvement.

Thus, there is an economic partnership between government, business and individuals. Within this partnership, only business and individuals are subject to directly sanctionable duties, which were identified as duties of social justice in the previous chapter. On the whole, these relate to taxation, although for individuals productive economic activity is included and for business employment and company legislation. Government is left subject to overall democratic accountability except in cases where it has formally contracted with private businesses. Furthermore, it is clear that both individuals and businesses are deemed to have a wide range of personal responsibilities accompanied by supererogatory expectations for which the only sanction will be the less successful outcomes and moral disapproval that are the flip-side of encouragement by the government and the operation of the market. Both individuals and businesses will fare less well in the market if they fail to comply.[831] Hence, the regulatory aspect of the market will operate and, given the importance of such activities, especially human capital investment, it is clearly deemed to be a highly effective regulatory mechanism. However, there is no duty of social justice for business that parallels the requirement of productive economic activity for individuals. For example, investment in training is a matter of discretion despite the pivotal position of human capital investment in economic success and in lifting constraints on individuals' freedom to develop themselves in the economic sphere. The reason for this is that the ultimate duty of productive economic activity is viewed as already having been fulfilled. For example, Brown stresses in every CBI and Mansion House speech that business, both industrial

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[830] Brown (08/05/00).
[831] DfEE (1999), p.64.

and financial, makes a significant 'contribution' to economic success. At the same time, he calls for everyone to make a contribution in relation to the New Deal.[832] Business is already making its contribution to the economy whereas some individuals, it is argued, are not for reasons that in some cases are beyond their control and in others cases voluntary. Furthermore, as noted, individuals and companies are also subject to direct taxation.

In the previous chapter, it was argued that the duties of social justice were allocated on the basis of differential capacity to perform them. Clearly, in the case of the duty to engage in productive economic activity and to pay direct income taxes, only the former can be applied to those not in paid work. However, recalling the section on equality, it is worth noting whether such duties are allocated proportionally or strictly, i.e. at a flat-rate. In the case of individual direct taxation, proportional apportionment of duties occurs via a progressive system of three tax bands, which has become more progressive given the introduction of the 10p tax band and tax credits for the low paid.[833] However, progressivity ends in effect at the level of income at which the higher rate of tax begins. As regards NICs, this is a flat-rate charge between a limited range of income. As a result, it is regressive rather than progressive, particularly given the exclusion of all earnings above the Upper Earnings Limit. Overall, though, the direct taxation system for individuals is broadly progressive.[834] As regards companies, similar progressivity is evident given the special small business rate. However, direct taxation of individuals exceeds that of companies. Finally, considering the supererogatory expectation that one will spend one's money in a certain way that is reflected in consumption tax, it is instructive to note the following. The taxes are applied at flat rates for particular goods, indeed across a range of goods in the case of VAT,[835] and, given existing consumption patterns, paid most by the poor as a proportion of income. Therefore, this results in a regressive system of taxation overall and hence a regressive arrangement for direct financial contribution to the community.

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[832] Brown (1998), Col.1105.
[833] Such progressivity is attenuated by tax relief on pensions. A higher rate taxpayer receives relief at this rate even if the pension, when paid as an annuity, attracts only basic rate tax. See Agulnik and Le Grand (1998).
[834] Glennerster (2003).
[835] A lower rate was introduced for fuel.

4.2.3.3.- Voluntarism and property

This discussion of the duties of business and individuals also raises the idea of voluntarism and property rights within the market touched on in the observation that businesses were predominantly privately owned and organisations within public corporations, like the NHS, exercised operational management. Businesses, then, operate significant control rights over their own property, including income, and are not limited by legal restrictions beyond the nature of employment and company law. Thus, their activity is largely voluntary and premised on free exchanges between market actors. Nevertheless, they still remain subject to government exhortation via discourse and tax incentives, and to the competitive context of the market. Their income rights are limited by direct taxation as outlined above. As regards individuals, the idea of 'property rights' in relation to the market was strongly stressed through the characterisation of skills as 'human capital' and the encouragement of saving via 'asset-based welfare'.[836] In relation to control rights over labour and human capital, it was shown in chapter three that certain categories were allowed to exercise choice over productive economic activity, i.e. the deployment of their labour and human capital, on the grounds of incapacity or alternative forms of contribution such as caring. However, those receiving JSA were required to engage in productive economic activity, exercising control rights to an increasingly circumscribed degree with respect to the jobs sought. Development of one's human capital was generally a matter of choice except for some of those on the New Deal. For jobseekers participation in the market and control over their labour and human capital was not voluntary but required as a social justice duty.[837] As regards income, control rights were subject to the influence of incentives, as in the case of saving, and the disincentives of consumption taxes, particularly in relation to goods linked to the drive for public health. Nevertheless, as seen in chapter three, New Labour still viewed this as freedom to spend one's income as one chose. Turning to income rights in the market, individuals were limited by direct taxation also. Overall, then, individuals were generally free from formal constraints on the use of their labour and human capital. Furthermore, given the State role in income provision, education, health and childcare, they also had substantive constraints on participation in economic activity lifted to a certain degree.

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[836] HMT (2000b), (2001).
[837] Fergusson (2000), Lister (2003).

Considering income rights in general, these clearly correlate to the individuals' and businesses' right to reward for successful productive economic activity. Indeed, as we saw earlier, the tax system is not a punishment but a complex of incentives that encourages skills, enterprise and innovation.[838] Hence, in the case of individuals and businesses, the majority of the returns on one's participation in the market are guaranteed given New Labour's tax rates. Both individuals and businesses, then, were accorded substantial control rights and income rights, constituting a largely voluntary conception of the market, with the exception of jobseekers.

4.2.3.4.- Reasons for an active governmental role in the market

So far it has been shown that the market is placed as the predominant mechanism for the distribution of labour and income and viewed as a partnership between government, business and individuals. Within this partnership, despite a strongly private market, the government has been shown to have an active role on both the demand and supply-sides of the economy generally and to be the dominant provider of health, education and income security. Why is this role accorded to the government given the emphasis above on the fact that business, not government, creates jobs and growth and that it has such a significant positive role to play in society? On one level, this is the traditional critique of the distributional consequences of the market given that it responds to effective demand, not need that is not backed up by payment.[839] For example, a pure private health system is rejected because certain groups would be unable to obtain insurance or afford charges themselves given their health condition.[840]

Furthermore, predominantly private markets in education, health and income security are rejected given that public services would be of low quality owing to the inevitable effects of the double payment problem, and hence fail to guarantee equality :

> '...as the most prosperous parts of our society grow, more parents with increasing income at their disposal will turn to private education, particularly at secondary level. If this were to occur on a large scale, growing numbers of people would become less willing to pay taxes to fund public education which would then decline in quality and provide

[838] Brown (1998), Col.1097.
[839] Fergusson (2000).
[840] DoH (2000a), p.34-6. This is, effectively, asserted with every reference to the NHS as available free at the point of use according to need. Similar arguments are applied to childcare, pensions and savings even if the solution is different from health. See DfEE/DSS (1998), p.7,14; DSS (1998e), p.39-44,50-4; HMT (2001), p.5-7,17-23, (2000b), p.1-2,21). Given that government supplements wages and provides for those not in paid work, it is also implied generally to income.

> only for the disadvantaged. It is hard to imagine under those circumstances how social cohesion could be achieved and how the transmission of ever-growing inequality from one generation to the next could be avoided.'[841]

Thus, recalling the discussion in the previous chapter, the government assumes the role of dominant provider in these areas and is involved to a large extent in childcare in order that the rights of individuals to the conditions of liberty as self-development are fulfilled to a particular level. Without such involvement, these rights would not be guaranteed. As the representative of the people, government is involved to ensure they are.

However, given the interaction of the social and the economic explicitly referred to in the New Labour documents and the clear placement of such traditionally social policies as supply-side reforms, governmental action is actually helping the market to work better. These areas can be viewed as common goods on which the market depends for its own success. For example, the argument in favour of dominant public provision of education is linked to economic success given the importance of human capital in the knowledge economy and the NHS is supported for its efficiency as well as its equity.[842] This point is reinforced when linked to observations on the potential for the market to balance supply and demand suboptimally :

> 'just as there could be a low-demand, high-unemployment equilibrium for an economy - which required Government action through macroeconomic policy to restore high and stable levels of growth and employment - so too the economy could become stuck in a low productivity, low-investment, short-termist equilibrium which requires Government action on the supply side to tackle imperfect information and market failure and in doing so restore high and stable levels of growth and employment.'[843]

Furthermore, in his emphasis on economic stability, Brown makes clear that left to itself, as well as subject to incorrect government policy, the market could easily experience unstable swings between 'boom and bust'. As Blair noted above, there are 'pluses that only an 'active government can add'. For example, in relation to human capital investment, employer performance is described as having been poor compared to

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[841] DfEE (2001), p.8. See also : DSS (1998a), p.19; DoH (2000a), p.34-8.
[842] DfEE (2001), p.8; DoH (2000a), p.34-6.
[843] Brown (13/07/00).

competitors, not least owing to the fear of poaching or efficiency losses for small business.[844] Indeed, the lifelong learning reforms are to take place in the context of skills shortages, long-term exclusion from the labour market for many attributed to lack of skills and inadequate matching of skill provision and employer needs. Furthermore, government has a role in providing broader training than employers, who tend to concentrate on job-specific skills.[845] Thus, the market suffers from short-termism. Also, it may lead to suboptimal outcomes. Finally, as seen in the reforms to childcare, pensions and savings, market distribution also has a tendency to provide insufficient information for customers and to be insufficiently regulated, failing to guarantee adequate quality. The long-term economic perspective advocated repeatedly by Brown, as seen above, justifies government involvement on the supply-side of the economy as well as the provision of public services financed from taxation. It is shown to be in the enlightened self-interest of all businesses and individuals given the way that the market functions as a community and the fact that long-term success is beyond it, left to its own devices.[846] The government role is to substitute where necessary and encourage, wherever possible, by reducing the short-term costs via tax incentives for example.[847]

The market, then, is not viewed as the perfect, self-regulating, spontaneous, optimal order of neoclassical theory.[848] Markets can and do fail. Instead of the invisible hand, we have the government sketching its outline, by setting out the market as community, and becoming involved directly in the partnership in order to create a context in which market interaction will have sustainable optimal outcomes. This is a 'hands-on' approach to free markets.[849] Active government involvement in the economy is then needed for social and economic reasons. However, given the strong emphasis on a voluntarist approach to business, via duties of supererogation, and the context of market failure described, the degree of active State control over the market is far less than the emphasis on its necessity suggests.[850]

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[844] DfEE (1999), p.12, (1998), p.37; Blunkett (12/01/00), (07/10/00), (05/04/00). Similar points are made with respect to employer hiring practices and childcare provision – see Blunkett (07/12/99); SEU (2001), p.17; DSS (1998a), p.29,53-4, (1998d), p.39; DfEE/DSS (1998), p.42.
[845] DfEE (1998), p.26.
[846] Thompson (1996), p.281.
[847] Short-term benefits are also stressed when businesses in specific markets are encouraged to engage in particular programmes such as community regeneration, the New Deal and pension provision.
[848] Giddens (1998), p.8; Finlayson (2003), p.159-60; Glennerster (1999).
[849] Fitzpatrick (1998).
[850] The overall approach to individual and business responsibilities accompanied by supererogatory expectations may reasonably viewed as contributing to the gradual advance that is progress.

4.2.3.5.- The market as a common good

Nevertheless, despite its failings, the market is conceived of as a common good.

> 'The precondition - of high employment, higher living standards and strong public services - is economic stability. And it is by building on a platform of stability and by meeting our national economic goals that we can realise security and equal opportunity not just for those born to privilege but for all.'[851]

As a result, there is a 'public interest' in it, pursued by the government as noted earlier. Furthermore, successful productive economic activity is rewarded because it has positive social consequences. The market is an arena for socially beneficial activity because all are deemed to benefit from it, even if they do not achieve the rewards of paid work.[852] As Harman terms it, 'work by those who can - helps support those who can't'.[853] This follows from the fact that, while individuals may be decommodified with respect to certain goods via public services, the State and hence the services themselves are not. As seen in the section on progress, investment in public services must be affordable and is dependent on economic performance.[854] As Brown stresses, public finances must be 'sustainable', not serving to impede sustainable economic growth, because otherwise they harm all those who benefit from public services over the long-term at least.[855] Furthermore, as we have seen, such sustainable investment will derive from an economy geared towards high and stable levels of employment and growth with low inflation. Thus, such an economy, including the components for progress outlined, will ultimately deliver the rights of individuals. Low and stable taxes and active labour market reforms will lead to higher levels of tax revenue, not least through increased employment, and hence investment on public services than alternatives.[856] Blunkett argues this explicitly in relation to the New Deal and it is implied by Brown's support for a low taxation environment to further economic growth in the context of his refusal to engage in tax cuts across the board in times of economic success instead of

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[851] Brown (08/05/00).
[852] Beer (2001); Thompson (1996), p.283; Fielding (2003), p.79-83; Doyal and Gough (1991), p.82-3
[853] Harman (01/12/97).
[854] Lund (2000).
[855] Brown (1997), Col.304-5, (05/12/00).
[856] Tax revenues rose over the term (Emmerson and Frayne 2001a). Glynn and Wood (2001:52-6) identify this as a key feature of New Labour's approach to taxation and Giddens (2002:31,41; 1998:102) lauds it as an example of his belief that one should concentrate on the tax take for public services not progressivity of taxation.

investment, particularly that in public services.[857] Social goals are then clearly dependent on the capitalist economy.[858]

However, as noted earlier, this contribution of the market to public service improvement also has a more direct component in terms of private organisations being contracted to provide services, management and/or infrastructure and being included within establishing strategies in institutional partnerships. While numerous doubts have been raised about the alleged benefits and also the long-term consequences of such involvement for the future of public services, what is not in doubt is that it enables New Labour to provide improvements in the short- to medium-term.[859] For example, hospital waiting lists will fall and new hospitals will be built without the need for large initial outlays of investment. Nor, as Hills and Burchardt stress in relation to the PFI, is it simply a matter of funds or extra capacity but also of introducing exposure to private management practices and culture.[860] This latter aspect is reinforced when we note that the modernisation process bears strong correlations with contemporary approaches to management within the private sector.[861] Indeed, the approach to modernisation is described as one that 'mirrors the change management approach taken in much of the private sector'.[862] The private sector model of management is paralleled by the private sector model of service delivery :

> 'Today, successful services thrive on their ability to respond to the individual needs of their customers. We live in a consumer age. Services have to be tailor-made not mass-produced, geared to the needs of users not the convenience of producers. The NHS has been too slow to change its ways of working to meet modern patient expectations for fast, convenient, 24 hour, personalised care.'[863]

The private sector then provides a model of successful management and customer-friendly service provision for public services.

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[857] Blunkett (30/11/00); Brown (2001), Cols.306-7, (2000), Cols.869-71.
[858] Fielding (2003), p.10-13; Finlayson (2003), p.180-1.The link social goals-capitalism pursued by New Labour can be described as a commitment to a 'capitalism-capable society'. See Román Zozaya (forthcoming).
[859] For example, on the PFI see IPPR (2001) in general and in relation to health particularly :Pollock et al (2002), Godden et al (2001), Gaffney et al (1999), Ball et al (2001), Appleby et Coote (2002); on other aspects of private involvement in health and education, see SCEE (2000c) and SCH (2002b).
[860] Hills and Burchardt (1998), p.47; Ruane (2000).
[861] Clarke et al (2000); Rhodes (2000b); Finlayson (2003), p.85-92.
[862] DoH (2000a), p.60.
[863] DoH (2000a), p.28. See also DSS (1998a), p.16.

The market is then a common good in relation to which members of society should play their part that can be justified to all on the basis of enlightened self-interest. Even if one does not benefit directly, one benefits indirectly via the public services it funds. Nevertheless, the market is also viewed as a valuable moral arena in itself. For example, it was placed as a key area for the exercise of self-development with consequences for the nature of public service provision to overcome constraints. While participation in the formal labour market is not guaranteed, it is presented as something to aspire towards not simply for the instrumental benefits emphasised by references to the work ethic. Apart from its strong association with liberty, it is variously linked to self-esteem, self-respect, status a sense of purpose and improved mental health.[864] Indeed, Blunkett refers to the 'dignity' of employment.[865] Recalling the references to ensuring a life with dignity for those unable to engage in paid work, it is not the case that such benefits can only be achieved via paid work. However, it is certainly the case that successful productive economic activity is viewed as having particular benefits in this respect. As a result, we see that successful participation in the productive side of the market is viewed as contributing to the individual's sense of self.[866] Thus, it is viewed as constitutive as well as instrumental.

In line with this conception of the market as a common good and its status as an arena for the exercise of individual self-development, there are important intersections with other concepts. First, considering liberty in more detail, it is clear that the centrality of the market is consistent with a view of merit based on results and with an understanding of both merit and autonomy that gives significant scope to option luck. Second, the importance of the market for public service funding in general and the need to create incentives for paid work are strongly associated with the level to which the conditions of freedom are guaranteed in terms of overall service levels and benefits for those capable of paid work.[867] As a result, the market element of progress results in divergence from distribution proportional to need only, in the same way as the need for

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[864] DSS (1998a), p.3,58, (1999b), p.79,23; HMT (1997), p.8, (1998a), p.25; Blunkett (03/07/97); Harman (01/12/97), (18/03/98).
[865] Blunkett (24/11/97), (08/03/00); LP (2001),p.4.
[866] Plant (1999); Glennerster (1999); Giddens (1998), p.103.
[867] It has been widely argued that the differences in outcome above the level of equality guaranteed by New Labour is associated with the operation of quasi-markets in education and the continuation of residual private markets in health and education and markets in childcare and lifelong learning. This follows from the more advantaged nature of users, in all cases, and, for private markets, higher quality provision. See Light (1997), Propper and Green (2001), Doyle and Bull (2000); Goodman and McGranahan (2003).

progress within public services does, and sets boundaries to the platform provided in the conception of equality of opportunity.

Considering the role of the market within the partnership of community, it is clear that it is a crucial area of interdependence as it underlies the capacity of government to act to remove the constraints on freedom in a socially just way and progress in general for both individuals and society. Nevertheless, in line with the exploration of civil society, we must consider the role of businesses as agents themselves. As regards institutionalised and quasi-institutionalised partnerships in public service improvement, only in a few cases such as lifelong learning are businesses in a dominant position and their capacity in other cases varies according to whether the area of public service provision is their core business or not insofar as they are subject to other purposes just as community and voluntary groups.[868] Indeed, this idea of business influence varying is important given the existence of differing sizes of business within the market noted above. For example, any individual small business necessarily possesses less influence than a large, multinational corporation with high numbers of employees and high turnover. Furthermore, businesses acting together in organisational forms, such as the CBI, create a single voice and, as such, increase their influence. Thus, without entering an entirely new terrain for this research, it is reasonable to conclude that the market should not be discussed as if it was an actor within the partnership of community. Rather it is a sphere of interaction, which may well be dominated by particular actors that, as in other areas, the government listens to more than others. In any case, empirical work is needed to identify them.

Conclusion

For New Labour, community denotes a mutually beneficial partnership across the spheres of civil society, democracy and the market that is to be justified ultimately on the basis of enlightened self-interest. Such spheres of interaction are viewed as important arenas for the exercise of individual liberty and as having significant roles to play in the pursuit of a socially just distribution of the conditions of liberty as self-development for individuals. Within this partnership, there is a strong role for central government as representative of the people, engaging in investigation of the ever-

[868] As seen in the case of PFI, it also varies according to the relative negotiating abilities of private companies and public organisations. See SCH (2002b), Pts.98-103.

changing context and the establishment and, in many cases, regulation of the nature of the partnership required for success over the long-term. This partnership combines duties of social justice and of supererogation, placing a great deal of emphasis on the latter, which contributes to the gradualness of advance for individuals and society. In terms of the relative importance of spheres of interdependence, therefore, democracy and the market stand out as the most significant. This follows from the pivotal role of central government within the partnership and the fact that the market is viewed as a crucial sphere of individual freedom and as critical for the achievement of any societal objectives.

CONCLUSION

This thesis is primarily a contribution to the morphological analysis of ideology, showing how it may be extended to the inspection of policy, given the similarities between policies and political concepts and the component elements of the morphological definition above. It also introduces the distinction between different types of ideology, i.e. philosophical, commentative and participant ideology, according to their producer types. Given that morphological analysis has so far concentrated on the first two, i.e. the patterns created by philosophers and public intellectuals, it has emphasised and demonstrated the nature of participant ideology, i.e. the patterns created by politicians as they engage in formal political processes under real-time conditions. This has been shown to have significant consequences for dynamism, the balance between logical and sociohistorical constraints and the blend of intentional and unintentional meaning. Importantly, it also raised the question of whether the patterns created can be viewed as those desired by the producers or those that they have created under strong external constraints. While this is relatively unproblematic for philosophers and public intellectuals, the circumstances of politicians render it far less so, necessitating further empirical work if we are to decide that they are the conceptual patterns to which the producers are primarily committed. This distinction between types of ideology enables us to consider new aspects of ideological change, particularly the relationship between the conceptual patterns created by philosophers and public intellectuals and those of politicians. It also helps investigations of sources for the frameworks of politicians and of the role of such frameworks in politics in general. One cannot engage in either task effectively if one does not render the framework created by politicians in the same terms as those to which it is compared.

New areas for research are raised by this thesis. First, it should be used to develop more fine-grained analyses of the frameworks created by politicians in order to demonstrate the similarities and differences between those held to influence them.[869] Second, it should facilitate categorisation processes, particularly through the potential for direct comparison via use of the conceptual formulae.[870] Third, from the perspective of participant ideology, there is clearly a wide range of application. For example, it

[869] E.g. the New Liberals and the 1906-14 UK governments.
[870] This is a key area of work on New Labour that has tended to outweight examination or demonstration of their own patterns.

could be interestingly applied to subnational governments within the UK, to the public, to supranational bodies such as the EU and international organisations such as the Word Bank. The value of such analysis goes way beyond the study of ideology per se as it facilitates normative engagement with the actual socio-political context by philosophers, particularly those engaged in applied political theory, and all other political actors.

The secondary aim of this thesis has been to introduce the morphological analysis of ideology to social policy, in which observation of tensions and the separation between words and deeds are still common. Claims of tensions and irreconcilability between particular concepts hold only for particular conceptions of them. Furthermore, there is no reason why reconciled conceptions should be inherently unstable and future recurring patterns of discourse and policy created by ideological producers will result in more fully defined, changed or reinforced conceptual meaning, not the revelation of tensions. With regard to the contrast between words and deeds, use of these terms to describe the situation obscures the fact that what is being examined is the nature of the conceptions created through recurring patterns of discourse and associated policy compared to either those created earlier through discourse and policy proposals by producers, those hinted at by them through references to certain authors or those that the authors believed they meant or should have meant when using particular conceptual terms. Examining the patterns created through the intersection of discourse and policy compared to the other framework would be highly useful, particularly by employing conceptual formulae and thus creating direct comparisons. Finally, it was argued that critique would be more effective if critics explicitly established their own substantive positions and those of the objects of their criticism via the conceptual formulae in order to bring them head to head in a clear, rigorous fashion.

Turning to the case study specifically, it is, to my knowledge, the first integrated study of the conceptual patterns created by New Labour ranging across multiple policy areas and multiple concepts, particularly in terms of considering the intersections between them and casting them in terms common to political theorists.[871] It is also the first to focus exclusively on New Labour's patterns and support its conclusions with strong empirical evidence, rather than seeking to explain, categorise or critique them at

[871] However, it is only a beginning. Work is needed on other areas such as local government, particularly via examination of Housing and Council Tax Benefit and social services, and the Home Office, via examination of criminal justice policy. Collaborative work is required between theorists and policy analysts across the full range of policy fields.

the same time. To summarise briefly, New Labour's conceptual patterns have been shown to consist of the following :

A socially just distribution of the conditions of freedom as self-development – understood as the freedom to participate autonomously in society, rise as far as they are able and be rewarded for it– is due to citizens as moral equals. All possess general rights to the removal of external constraints, rights that are to be simultaneously satisfied. These generate duties, sanctionable by direct legal and socioeconomic penalties, on other individuals on the grounds of equal moral worth and that the State is merely the representative of its citizens. All citizens are liable for such duties, according to their capacity, because they constitute a community, understood as an interdependent collection of individuals relating to each other primarily on the basis of enlightened self-interest in their own self-development and the freedom and progress of others. However, individuals are also subject to supererogatory expectations, sanctionable by moral (dis)approval and potential socioeconomic (dis)incentives, partly as the flip-side of efforts to lift internal constraints and partly as a reflection of New Labour's conception of the good. As regards the level of distribution of the conditions of freedom, a platform is guaranteed above which distribution reflects the success of individuals. The platform combines both strictly and proportionally equal levels of the conditions of freedom with absolutely and relatively equal ones. However, the commitment to gradual advance via modernisation requires that the distribution also include divergence from proportionality according to need in favour of distribution that recognises high capacity, guarantees short-term improvements and ensures that the key areas of interaction function effectively long-term. These areas are civil society, democracy and the market. All three are understood as communities, in which individuals work together on the basis of enlightened self-interest, and form part of the societal wide community outlined above, Civil society denotes an arena of social exchange on the basis of agreement while democracy is understood in largely representative terms, with a strong role for central government. Finally, the market, a form of capitalism, consists of actors competing in a global economy on the basis of skills, for whom economic progress will be assured through the recognition of interdependence and consequent willingness to perform one's role within an efficient division of labour. As such, the market is conceived of as common good, supported by the State for reasons of market failure and to correct distributive outcomes.

While this interpretation builds on the existing work in the field, it suggests important differences to some. For example, community is understood not as a split phenomenon nor as primarily concerning the local level. Rather it is existantiated at different levels of society, and both within and across different spheres of interaction. Furthermore, the subjective relation that holds between members is not affective or value-laden.[872] With regard to social justice, the discussion of responsibilities builds on the distinction first noted by Le Grand and makes clearer the points raised by Driver and Martell, while considering the basis for these different types.[873] It also argues that rights should be considered as prior to duties not vice versa. While drawing on Finlayson, this is the first extended treatment of progress and democracy, as concepts, in relation to social policy.[874] Furthermore, the study of the market is the first to analyse it in relation to social policy in its own terms at the same time as showing its connections with other concepts and in close proximity to them.[875] Finally, the intersection of equality and progress, while widely implied, has not been explored in detail and the understanding of progressive universalism is impoverished as a result. In particular, the conception of equality has been shown to be strongly relative with disputes actually concerning the level at which it is set and the speed with which it is being met. Finally, equality has also emerged as a far richer conception than previous treatments have realised, which resists the easy pigeon-holing of equality of outcome versus equality of opportunity.[876]

This exploration of the nature of New Labour participant ideology contributes at the theoretical level to the morphological analysis of ideology and to the study of ideology in social policy as well as serving as a demonstration of how morphological analysis of policies may be undertaken. As regards New Labour, it shows that politicians are not quite the incoherent ramblers that political philosophers consider them to be, even if they would lose in a direct confrontation, and that it is time for more

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[872] See Beech (2006); Bastow and Martin (2003); Heron (2001). However, it is no more or less morally prescriptive than any other conception of the good, including the libertarianism with which Driver and Martell contrast it – e.g. (2000).

[873] Le Grand (1998); Driver and Martell (2002). The latter and Lister (2000) and Dean (1999) overlook this issue.

[874] Finlayson (2003).

[875] It draws substantially on existing insights as well as textual analysis but presents them in explicit terms of democracy as a concept.

[876] Fielding's work stresses the relative element and seeks to overcome the false distinction between equality of outcome and opportunity by referring to it as a matter of balance, not least given that very few have ever argued for strict equality of outcome. However, this overlooks the fact that conceptions of equality of opportunity frequently, if not by definition, guarantee some recurrent equality of outcome, understood in a range of ways, particularly where lack of welfare goods can be a constraint. The conceptual formula for equality would enable us to achieve his point more effectively.

philosophers to engage directly and show them the way at more than a general level. It also demonstrates that, whether we agree with them or not, there is far more to New Labour than its soundbites.

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---------(2005b) National skills strategy : 14-19 education : 6th report ofSession 2004-05 HC 37-I London TSO
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SCWP - Select Committee on Work and Pensions

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---------(2003a) The future of UK pensions : 3rd report of Session 2002-03 HC 98-I London TSO

---------(2003b) Childcare for working parents : 5th report of Session 2002-03 HC 564-I London TSO

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