Hansard Society Scholars

Politics & Public Policy Course Outline

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"There are no great men, my boy –
only great committees."
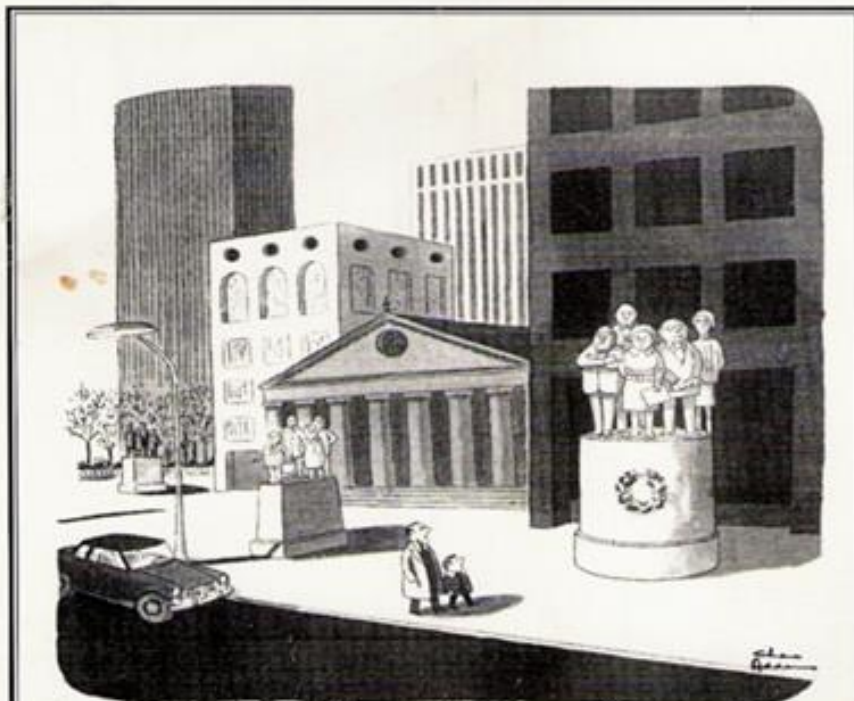
DRAWING BY CHAS ADDAMS. © 1975 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE INC

Background: Understanding Policy and Political Culture

The nature of states and political institutions vary. Different institutional structures shape the way in which politics operates in a given society. They provide a complex set of socio-institutional mechanisms for managing political relations (the distribution of power) and policy outcomes. Over time these can become embedded in local political cultures, shaping normative belief systems about how politics and government does or should work. These belief systems become local political cultures. Phenomena such as national identity or patriotism – emphasizing particular values – reflect these political cultures. Accordingly, although concepts such as 'sovereignty', 'democracy', 'accountability' or 'constitution' are common to both the US and the UK that does not mean that they necessarily mean exactly the same thing on either side of the Atlantic, let alone elsewhere.

Most people are not hugely interested most of the time in such abstractions. They are consumers of policy, interested more in the outcomes of political processes known as public policy (not least, how these processes affect them). But how, in turn, do they influence those processes?

Aims

This course seeks to explore how these political mechanisms work (particularly but by no means exclusively) in the UK. It starts by exploring generically how political institutions and choices shape policy processes. Using examples from the UK, US, Europe or indeed the Middle East, students will be introduced to:

- Theories of the State, of constitutional orders and of how those constitutional orders and State forms shape policy possibilities and public understanding of policy processes;
- The significant differences between how institutions are supposed to work and how they often work in practice (and thereby the need to explain how institutions and policymakers actually work in practice through illustrative example rather than theoretical models);
- Problems of knowledge: such as what is evidence-based policy, how reliable is the evidence and how does it relate to political realities?;
- The factors and actors shaping the policy process and the stages of the policy cycle;
- Concepts such as path-dependency, transaction costs and incentives;
- An understanding that the use of such concepts (and of the concepts that shape political ideologies) is NOT normative but is shaped by discourse;
- Procurement and project management regimes;
- The role of time in the policy process;
- Regulatory frameworks, their design and the need to assess their impact in various ways;
- Awareness of the fact that law is a statement of what is supposed to happen – NOT of what actually does happen – and thereby the need to consider the risk of corruption and/or criminality when designing policies;

- Understanding how institutional structures (such as silo mentality) or cultural expectations (such as cognitive path-dependencies, mirror-imaging or best/worst case scenario-drawing) affect the articulation and implementation of public policy;
- An appreciation that public policy is a process NOT an event and that it requires open and creative thinking to tackle the problems it is designed to address;
- Comprehension of the difficulty of designing ideal-type solutions – that is there is NOT any perfect way to design either public policy or public administration (though there are plenty of examples to avoid of really bad ways of doing either);
- A grasp that therefore this course is NOT about easy answers BUT is about addressing difficult questions.

These are not necessarily easy concepts to assimilate. Not least, the open-ended nature of public policy issues can be difficult to comprehend. This involves an appreciation that the answer to a particular problem might involve a range of potential solutions, all of which could be equally valid. Accordingly, it is important to understand that the first challenge is to establish the criteria against which these potential solutions are to be assessed. In terms of assessment for this course it is therefore more important to show that you can think through these criteria than that you can offer a particular solution.

The course is designed to help students understand these complexities, by first introducing them to a range of framing concepts and then by presenting them with practical and topical problems to which these can be applied. So, after three more theoretical classes, the next two address particular, controversial and current policy issues such as future airport development in South-East England. More theoretical issues are then again addressed more directly through, for instance, an examination of how policy issues become salient by looking at the concept of agenda-setting. There are then a further four classes which explore particular and contemporary policy problems.

This course design has been conceived as a way of assisting students to grasp the complex considerations that need to be borne in mind when policymaking. These include the challenge of avoiding perverse incentives that might negate or distort the policy outcomes (for all regulation and policy structures are essentially pricing signals which will shape the behaviour of the people/agencies to which the policy is addressed). Using a policy lab approach to designing policies for particular issues, the course aims to encourage students to think through the criteria, implementation challenges and outcomes that any putative solution might involve.

Outcomes

Students should gain:

- Appreciation of how institutions and political culture shape the policy process, and an ability to think comparatively about these issues;
- Understanding of the effect of cultural, political, ideological, resource and financial factors in the policymaking process;
- Insights into the role and management of stakeholders;
- Guidance on agenda-setting, decision-making and implementation;

- A broad understanding of both how policy develops in the UK and the capacity to critically appraise it.

In terms of skills the course and dissertation seek to encourage the following abilities to:

- Research policy questions, including evaluating different methodological approaches, assessing any problems of sources (such as statistical issues), critically engaging with existing literature, and presenting clearly and effectively the resulting findings;
- Analyse the issues posed by particular policy problems and the role and importance of particular policy actors, and to assess the likely outcomes of putative solutions;
- Work both autonomously on the student's own projects and collectively in group discussion of the policy issues encountered;
- Assess and discriminate between policy options and explain why;
- Advocate both on paper and orally in group discussion particular solutions and persuade through negotiation their colleagues to accept these.

Teaching

Not everyone learns in the same way. Classes will therefore involve a variety of formats. It should be stressed that discussion is central to the learning process and students are expected to participate fully through comment and questions (bearing in mind that some questions raise complex issues involving multiple stakeholders and are therefore not susceptible to glib or brief answers). Students should be aware of this. Education is a mediated process!

This is **NOT** a course about providing a body of knowledge through spoon-feeding. Indeed, it must be borne in mind that policymakers may not have a clear idea even of what it is they need to know to design a particular policy. The course is therefore about acquiring and applying the conceptual tools through which complex problems are addressed. In other words, the learning consists of assimilating ways of thinking. Teaching is therefore necessarily discursive rather than directed. Students need to grasp that there may be a number of layers of meaning to concepts encountered (for instance, what is meant by 'fairness'?).

Accordingly, the more theoretical sessions will be addressed primarily through a lecture format, in which the meaning of concepts will be explored and examples given. The sessions addressing particular policy issues will be taught more using a policy lab approach, involving break-out groups for discussion of approaches and options.

Up to two hours is allocated for each session. Students are expected to pay attention, engage and be polite. Please bear in mind therefore that laptops should only be used for taking notes and not for other purposes. Nor should any student be playing on their cellphone during class. Students who are disruptive or conspicuously not paying attention may be asked to leave a particular class.

I will be using Moodle to post lecture slides and messages to the class. Do please make a point of checking Moodle.

Generally speaking I will be posting these slides **BEFORE** the lecture/class. For the policy lab classes, there will necessarily be relatively few slides and these may consist primarily of background information [Obviously I cannot post slides suggesting a solution when the whole point of a policy lab is to explore the applicability or otherwise of a range of solutions!].

Please remember that slides and other background sources of information are simply that. They are merely learning tools. Giving students information in the classes which is then regurgitated in the assignments is **NOT** the object of this exercise. Instead, the intended outcome is an ability to process complex issues so as to demonstrate awareness of how to diagnose policy problems, establish criteria for potential solutions and think through any implementation difficulties [What does 'success' look like?].

The same consideration applies to reading material for this course. There will **NOT** be any key readings for the course. This is for two obvious reasons:

1) To set a 'key reading' is to privilege what is simply one (and not necessarily a good or effectively-substantiated) interpretation. It can be, in other words, positively misleading [How does a 'text' become key? What does this tell us about power structures? Texts need to be critically appraised and examined, rather than simply accepted as somehow authoritative];
2) Most of the course consists of addressing live policy problems. No 'key text' exists in such instances. Indeed, much of the literature is competitive and polemical.

Instead, most weeks I will be posting on Moodle some *background* reading. Please bear in mind that this is all this material is. I may not post anything at all as background reading for the more theoretical sessions (for the simple reason that no text exists which covers the range of issues I intend to address and I do not wish to mislead students by suggesting that it does). When I do it may be because there are two or three articles which offer interesting (and sometimes conflicting) findings on the subject which *might* form the basis for deeper discussion during part of the class.

For the policy lab sessions I will invariably post some prior background reading. This might be academic, but is more likely to be from some NGO or other interested actor setting out their view on the policy issue under consideration. In other words, the material posted will reflect a range of (sometimes opposed) positions. I will therefore tend to post a range of reading material, but **MAY** direct groups within the class to read and comment on different takes on the policy issue (and, indeed, to argue against each other in class).

Necessarily, some of the terms and institutions referred to in this course may be unfamiliar. If you don't quite follow some point or fully understand some of the things I say, then please ask for clarification (and don't be shy)!

Finally, it is important to bear in mind that some of the issues we will discuss are both politically controversial and emotive. Discussion of such matters needs to be handled with

civility and courtesy. Respecting the views of others, whether or not you agree with them, is a major aspect of policy formulation. It is important that this is borne in mind.

Assessment

This course has two assessment elements. The main element is the final examination, in which students are required to answer two questions (out of six). These questions are intended to reflect themes explored in class discussion. A good exam performance will show strong appreciation of the policy problems these raise, and use appropriate evidence to indicate ways in which these might be addressed. In tackling them you need to bear in mind that:

> (a) there are a range of possible answers, all of which may be flawed, and there is unlikely to be a single 'right' answer;
> (b) the success of any policy depends on what you want to achieve.

Key to a good answer will therefore be spelling out the criteria on which you think a policy might be based.

Please bear in mind that plagiarism will be dealt with severely. Penalties can range from loss of marks for a piece of coursework to expulsion from the programme.

Coursework

The coursework involves **TWO** examples of a distinctive piece of writing which, for want of better phrase, is here called a ***Policy Draft***.

Policymakers do not tend to use academic apparatus such as essays. Requiring students to write instead a Policy Draft is intended to test their ability to undertake the distinctive types of writing required in policymaking fields.

Policy Drafts come in various forms. Examples include:

- A draft submission from a charity to a Select Committee inquiry (which we might call a Lobbying Draft);
- An options memorandum from a civil servant to a minister;
- An evaluation of a policy programme for a provider;
- An impact assessment of a particular policy proposal;
- A proposal for the implementation processes (either as a whole or concerning one particular aspect of it, such as the communications strategy) around a policy.
- A draft of a speech to be given in Parliament (a speech draft).

The first, second and last types of writing are essentially (though to varying degrees) pieces of advocacy. In the first two you are expected to argue for a particular approach, if only by showing why others will not work. In the last you are expected to show awareness of the demands of addressing a particular audience and understanding of the types of rhetorical skills required to make a good speech.

The third and fourth types of writing are more evaluative. They involve assessing either the discernible or the likely consequences of a policy choice.

The fifth type involves advocacy of a particular approach to policy implementation and an assessment of its likely efficacy.

Policy drafts do not have to reflect on experiences in your experiences in your internships (though it might be sensible to use them to do so). It is usually a good idea to choose to write on something very specific. I am happy to advise on suitable topics. Examples of policy drafts I have marked in the recent past include:

- The ethics of scientific experiments;
- Changes to parliamentary procedure;
- Reduction of the voting age;
- Usage of community sentencing;
- Treatment of factory-farmed animals;
- British foreign policy towards the Ukrainian crisis;
- Critique of the PREVENT anti-terrorism strategy;
- Assessment of the effectiveness of public consultation in major infrastructure developments;
- Advocacy of changes to the buy-to-let housing policy.

Topics should, as far as possible, have a British element (though you can advocate the importation of a policy developed elsewhere). As the examples above demonstrate, however, they can have an international theme.

The policy drafts should be 750 - 1,000 words in length (shorter than most actual policy drafts), with the title clearly printed at the head of the first page. A bibliography should be included. Please consult the Academic Guidelines for advice on referencing (Appendix 1) and the marking criteria (Appendix 2). I will be sympathetic if you want to put detail into footnotes (which do not count towards the word limit).

Scholars who hand in their papers after the deadline will be penalised as per Appendix 3 of the Academic Guidelines document (unless an extension has been approved in advance with the course leader and the Programme Director).

I am very happy to provide advice on how to research, structure and write your policy draft and to circulate good examples from the recent past. I will also endeavour to give feedback on an individual basis to students when these have been marked.

Ideally, the two policy drafts should involve different types of this form of writing, but this is not specifically required.

<u>**Dissertation**</u>

Details of dissertation requirements can be found in the Academic Guidelines document.

Students are expected to prepare a statement of what they want to research, why, and how ready for their dissertation scheduled meetings to discuss these in detail.

Office Hours

Office hours provide opportunity to ask in-depth questions and to explore points of confusion or interest that cannot be fully addressed in class. They give me time to go through with individual students the reading for essays or dissertations, make suggestions regarding dissertation methodology, and provide essay feedback or just general advice. Each week, I will be available to discuss these matters with you immediately after class. If this is insufficient, other arrangements can be made. At other times I am very happy to help as far as I can by email, text message etc. Please avail yourselves of these opportunities.

NOTE: I will aim to use the time at the end of the class immediately before the coursework deadlines as a writing workshop to go through how you might approach the policy drafts.

The course is organised as follows: *(N.B. subjects may be subject to change)*

Orientation
Discussion of learning outcomes, the nature of higher education in the UK and the expectations of the programme.

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1. *Public Policy and Politics*
Introduction to the course and discussion of the role of structures, institutions, political culture, actors and stakeholders and to the role of decision and non-decision making including theories of the State and of the role of the public in public policymaking. How do institutional and cultural structures affect the policymaking environment?

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2. *Governance and Policy*
The role of electoral considerations, stakeholders, political institutions and political culture in shaping policy choices. Exploration of concepts such as evidence-based policy, path-dependency and transaction costs. What are the most effective mechanisms for tackling corruption?

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3. *Regulation, Risk and Crisis Management*
Defining regulation and looking at the concept of regulation as a pricing signal. Regulation is also a means of managing risk. What makes for effective regulation and for effective crisis management?

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4. *Airports Policy: Where and with what consequences?*
There has been discussion of the need for additional airport capacity in the UK for decades. Why has this proved such a thorny subject? Was the Coalition's decision to remit the issue to the Davies Commission the most expeditious way of managing this problem? How much additional capacity is required and where should it be located?

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5. *The Problems of Reforming Sacred Cows: NHS Policy*
Health policy challenges in the UK include a range of issues such as allocation of resources, elasticity of demand, entrenched stakeholders, the relationship between capital and revenue spending and (not least) accountability to patients. The Coalition began its term of office with major healthcare reforms. Why were these introduced and why do healthcare reforms tend to be focused upon organisational issues rather than more directly on healthcare itself?

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6. *Energy Policy and Regulation*
Governments in the twenty-first century have to plan long-term to manage energy demands. In the process they face a trilemma: how to manage the competing demands of energy security, energy equity and the environmental externalities which go with energy generation. This class will explore the options, including looking at controversial choices such as fracking or OCG.

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7. *Economic Policy*
Governments intervene directly in the economy through taxation (fiscal policy) and allocating and spending resources, while in Britain the Bank of England sets monetary policy (interest rates). At a micro-economic level governments also intervene through regulation. This session will explore how these policies are set and why, the current objectives of policy and the instruments being used to pursue them.

8. *Accountability and Agenda-Setting: The Case of Immigration*
Why has immigration become such a key election battleground in recent years? Who sets the agenda in this policy area?

9. *Social Security policy*
One of the most controversial issues in policy in 2015 was the proposed changes to tax credit policy which were eventually dropped by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This class will look at current issues in social security policy in the light of such controversies.

10. *Terrorism*
How has Britain responded to the current threats of international terrorism? How effective has that response been?

11. *Needs and Nimbys: British Housing Policy*
In recent years house-building completion rates have fallen to historic lows. At the same time, houses have become less affordable, particularly in the South-East. Solutions proffered range from the government's 'Help to Buy', through the idea that there should be more social housing (not least to tackle problems of residualisation), to the view that the fundamental issue lies with the planning system. What is the problem with housing policy, and what should be the priorities in this area?

12. Revision
Your chance to ask for advice going into the exam.

EXAM

Reading

For some policy areas most of the resources will be primarily or exclusively online. I have therefore divided the reading guidance into three sections: web-based general material; libraries; textbooks; and class-specific reading material (both electronic and paper). This guidance is indicative rather than exhaustive and should be treated as such. These various sources mentioned below are *background* readings (that is, material you *might* read in order to familiarise yourself with some of the issues likely to come up in class). Some may be referred to *en passant* in class, but none of them should be regarded as in any way as core to the course [For the reasons already stated, there are NOT any core readings!].

Online Resources

There are a number of obvious websites to consult, not least those produced by the various Government departments and commissions (accessible via www.direct.gov.uk/), political parties, trades unions, NGOs and pressure groups. A fairly comprehensive portal to these various sites is provided by www.keele.ac.uk/depts/por/ukbase.htm. A similar wealth of political resources can be found at http://www.politicsresources.net/. A wide range of research can be searched via http://www.intute.ac.uk/, whilst a general gateway to the world of think tanks and their activities is via www.policylibrary.com. Research papers can also be accessed through both of these sites.

Some useful reports can also be found on the website of the Political Studies Association (www.psa.ac.uk). Portals for accessing the range of political stories appearing in the media include www.epolitix.com, and www.politics.co.uk. Sites with a bit more flavour include www.spiked-online.com. On electoral trends try http://www.aceproject.org/ (the Electoral Knowledge Network) or http://www.electoralcalculus.co.uk/index.html. The websites of polling organisations might also be worth exploring. And a comprehensive portal for British newspapers (and many political periodicals) is the British Media Online website accessed via www.wrx.zen.co.uk/alltnews.htm.

Another obvious resource is http://news.bbc.co.uk/, whilst a useful general introduction is www.economist.com/countries/Britain/profile.cfm?folder=Profile-FactSheet. General government statistics can be found via http://www.statistics.gov.uk/default.asp. These can be checked and critiqued using Full Fact (https://fullfact.org/). Another good source on statistics and their abuse by policymakers is the BBC Radio Four programme *More or Less*, podcasts of which can be found readily online.

Increasingly there are a number of interesting political blogs that can be accessed. Iain Dale reviewed the choice ones in his *Guide to Political Blogging in the UK* (2006). Or you can just explore them yourselves. For an index of political blogs see http://www.politicsresources.net/blogindex.htm.

It should be noted that www.parliament.uk is a good reference source, not least for the House of Commons research papers. It can also be used to chase up, for instance, debates on a particular topic. MPs' activities can be checked on www.theyworkforyou.com. There is also a website resource for all legislation and regulation since 1267, which can be found at http://www.legislation.gov.uk/.

For European subjects http://europa.eu/ is likely to prove invaluable, if sometimes difficult to navigate. The best websites for general updates on European politics and policies are probably www.euractiv.com, www.euobserver.com and www.european-voice.com. Meanwhile, the website of the European Parliament (with links to useful sources on opinion such as Eurobarometer, and other key European sites) can be found at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parliament/public/staticDisplay.do?language=EN&id=146.

On British/European constitutional matters, see http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/ or, from a more critical perspective, either www.statewatch.org or www.opendemocracy.net. Finally, www.alba.org.uk/home1.html is recommended for those interested in Scottish politics, as is http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/welsh-

politics/ for those interested in Wales. The nearest equivalent for Northern Ireland is www.ark.ac.uk.

Libraries

You have access to one of the finest political libraries in the world at the LSE. You also have within walking distance of the LSE the following: Kings College Library on Chancery Lane (particularly good for foreign and defence policy related issues); Senate House Library in Russell Square; and the enormous resources of the British Library at Kings Cross. London is also host to many specialist libraries, about which I would be happy to give guidance on request.

Textbooks

Good general background on contemporary politics and policy in Britain can be found in the following textbooks/guides and it is recommended that you try to look through one of them at the start of the course [However, remember that these focus upon politics and political rather than policy processes].

Ian Budge et al *The New British Politics* (2007)
Terrence Casey (ed) *The Blair Legacy* (2009)
Bill Coxall and Lynton Robins *British Politics* (2006)
Patrick Dunleavy et al *Developments in British Politics* (2006)
Mark Garnett and Philip Lynch *Exploring British Politics* 2nd ed (2009)
Andrew Heywood *The Essentials of UK Politics* (2008)
Bill Jones and Philip Norton *Politics UK* 7th edition (2010)
Michael Moran *Politics and Governance in the UK* (2005)
Robert Leach *Political Ideology in Britain* (2000)

Background Reading for Particular Classes/Subjects:

Important note: The reading below is *indicative*. It is NOT required for the classes. It is here *suggested* merely as background reading.

1. *Public Policy and Politics*
Peter Catterall, 'Democracy, Cosmopolitanism and National Identities in a Globalizing World' *National Identities* 13/4 (2011)
Paul Collier *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places* (2009)
Russell J Dalton *Citizen Politics* (2008)
Andrew Dilnot *The Tiger that Isn't* (2008)
Nigel Fletcher (ed) *How to be in Opposition* (2010)
Mark Henderson *The Geek Manifesto* (2011)
Michael Hill *The Public Policy Process* 2nd Ed (2009)
Colin Leys *Market-Driven Politics: Neoliberal Democracy and the Public Interest* (2005)

David Marquand *The Decline of the Public* (2004)
Wayne Parsons *Public Policy* (1995)
R A W Rhodes *Understanding Governance* (1997)
Gerry Stoker *Why Politics Matters* (2006)
Anthony Wilhelm *Democracy in the Digital Age* (2000)
Paul Wilkinson *Terrorism versus Democracy* (2006)
Andy Williamson *From Arrogance to Intimacy: A Handbook for Active Democracies* (2014)
Ed Wingenbach *Institutionalizing Agonistic Democracy* (2011)

2. Governance and Policy

Alex Brazier (ed) *Parliament, Politics and Law Making* (2004)
Stephen Brooks (ed) *Policy Expertise in Contemporary Democracies* (2013)
Peter Catterall et al *Reforming the Constitution: Debates in Twentieth Century Britain* (2000)
Huw T O Davies et al (eds) *What Works? Evidence-Based Policy and Practice in Public Services* (2000)
Peter Dorey *Policymaking in Britain* (2005)
Colin Hay and David Richards 'The tangled webs of Westminster and Whitehall: the discourse, strategy and practice of networking within the British core executive' *Public Administration* 78/1 (2000)
Anthony King and Ivor Crewe *The Blunders of our Governments* (2014)
R A W Rhodes 'Searching for Civil Society: Changing Patterns of Governance in Britain', *Public Administration*, 81/1 (2004)
Dave Richards and Martin Smith *Governance and Public Policy in the United Kingdom* (2002)
Stuart Weir *Political Power and Democratic Control in Britain* (1999)
www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/ (Institute for Government)
Parliamentary Affairs (carries annual audits on the state of Britain)

3. Regulation, Risk and Crisis Management

Terry Arthur *Does Britain need a Financial Regulator?* (2010)
Robert Baldwin and Martin Cave *Understanding Regulation* (1999)
Better Regulation Task Force *Regulation: Less is More* (2005)
Julia Black *Regulatory Innovation* (2006)
R Boyer and Y Saillard *Regulation Theory: State of the Art* (2001)
Christopher S Chivvis *EU Civilian Crisis Management* (2010)
Andreas Follesdal *Multilevel Regulation in the EU* (2008)
Michael Foot et al *Transparency and Fragmentation* (2002)
Andrew Gouldson and Joseph Murphy *Regulatory Realities* (1998)
Michael Hill *Implementing Public Policy* (2002)
Christopher Hood et al *The Government of Risk* (2004)
Jacint Jordana (ed) *The Politics of Regulation* (2004)
Martin Lodge 'Regulation, the Regulatory State and European Politics' *West European Politics* (2008)
R Matland 'Synthesising the implementation literature: The ambiguity-conflict model of policy implementation', *Journal of Public Administration, Research and Theory*, 5(2): 145-74. (1985)

Michael Moran *The British Regulatory State* (2007)
Bronwen Morgan *An Introduction to Law and Regulation* (2007)
Public Accounts Committee *Better Regulation* (2002)
Reiner Quick et al *Auditing, Trust and Governance: Developing Regulation in Europe* (2007)
Andrea Renda *Impact Assessment in the EU* (2006)
G Roberts *Risk Management in Healthcare* (2002)
http://www.bis.gov.uk/bre (Better Regulation Executive, part of the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills)
http://centres.exeter.ac.uk/ceg/research/riacp/publications.php (publication site of the Centre for European Governance, University of Exeter)
William Taylor (ed) special issue on catastrophes *National Identities* 17/3 (2015)?
HM Treasury *The Green Book: Appraisal and Evaluation in Government* (2003) [see http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/green_book_complete.pdf]

4. Airports Policy

Airports Commission *Interim Report* (2013) [and appendices, all available via www.gov.uk]

Stephen Glaister et al *Transport Policy in Britain* (1998)

Jeremy Richardson and Geoffrey Dudley *Why Does Policy Change? Lessons from British Transport Policy 1945-99* (2001)

John Whitelegg *Critical Mass: Transport, Environment and Society in the Twenty-First Century* (1997)

www.foe.co.uk/ [Friends of the Earth]

A very comprehensive list of relevant documents can be found at www.beta.tfl.gov.uk, including the various submissions from the Mayor of London and Transport for London

For opposition groups see, for instance, the website of the Heathrow Association for the Control of Aircraft Noise (www.hacan.org.uk).

5. Health Policy

Rob Baggott *Health and Health Care in Britain* (2004)
Laura Brereton *Refusing Treatment* (2010) (at http://www.civitas.org.uk/pdf/RefusingTreatment.pdf)
Peter Davies *Putting Patients Last* (2009) (at http://www.civitas.org.uk/pdf/PuttingPatientsLast02July09.pdf)
David Evans 'Shifting the Balance of Power? UK public health policy and capacity building', *Critical Public Health*, 14/1 (2004)
Chris Ham *Health Policy in Britain* (2009)
Richard Humphries *Integrating Health and Social Care* (2011)
Samantha Laycock 'Experience versus perceptions: accounting for the NHS perception gap', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 19/4 (2009)
E Mossialos et al (eds) *Funding Health Care: Options for Europe* (2002)
Patrick Nolan *Paying for Long Term Care* (2010)
Allyson Pollock *NHS plc* (2004)

C Propper and K. Green 'A Larger Role for the Private Sector in Financing UK Health Care: the Arguments and the Evidence', *Journal of Social Policy* 30/4 (2001)
www.kingsfund.org.uk/ (the leading UK health policy research institute)
www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/about/health_policy/index.php (UCL's Public Health Policy Unit)
www.york.ac.uk/inst/che/ (site of the Centre for Health Economics)

6. Energy Policy

A Human Rights Assessment of Hydraulic Fracturing and Other Unconventional Gas Development in the United Kingdom (2014) [accessed at http://www.sas.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/UK%20HRIA%20w%20appdx-hi%20res.pdf]
S Boehmer-Christiansen *Acid Politics* (1991)
Martin Chick *Electricity and Energy Policy in Britain, France, and the United States since 1945* (2007)
Richard Heinberg *Party's Over: Oil, War and the Fate of Industrial Societies* (2004)
Dieter Helm *Energy, the State and the Market: British Energy Policy since 1979* (2003)
Rusi Jaspal 'Fracking in the UK Press' *Public Understanding of Science* (2014)
Michael Mason *The New Accountability: Environmental Responsibility Across Borders* (2005)
Andrew McKillop *The Final Energy Crisis* (2005)
R P Verma et al 'Contamination of groundwater due to underground coal gasification' *International Journal of Water Resources and Environmental Engineering* (2014)

7. Economic Policy
Ian Black *The UK Economy 1999-2009* (2009)
Philip Booth (ed) *Verdict on the Crash* (2009)
Francis Chittenden *Taxation and Red Tape* (2010)
Ali El-Agraa *The European Union: Economics and Politics* (2007)
Andrew Haldenby *Off Balance* (2011) (at http://www.reform.co.uk/Portals/0/documents/Off%20balance%20-%20Web%20version.pdf)
Michael E Porter *UK Competitiveness* (2003)
Will Straw *Going for Growth* (2011) (available free on IPPR website)
http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/
http://www.britishchambers.org.uk/ (British Chambers of Commerce)
http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/
www.ifs.org.uk/ (the Institute of Fiscal Studies)
www.niesr.ac.uk/ (the National Institute for Economic and Social Research)

8. Immigration and Refugees
Ted Cantle *Community Cohesion* (2008)
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