

ASYLUM AND IMMIGRATION POLICY, POLICY COMMUNITIES
AND THE BRITISH NEWS MEDIA:
A CASE STUDY IN POLICY-MAKING

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, Leonard Fish.

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Abstract

This research investigation examines the policy communities and networks (PC&N) perspective as a tool for understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda. It does so, by examining the evolution of two case studies in a new policy arena, asylum, and immigration, from policy initiative to policy reversal. In order to understand how the dynamics of discourse shape the development of the policy agenda, it is fundamental to first understand the nature of information flow in social settings. Policy communities and networks provide the appropriate social setting in which to explore the role of the news media, as it facilitates the flow in which information is constructed, distributed, and absorbed within them. Existing literature on the influence of the news media on the development of opinion making is extensive, however literature on the influence of the news media on the development of policy making is emergent. By applying the PC&N perspective to understanding the role of the news media on issue definition, decision making and policy change, this research investigation contributes to the literature on both; as well as the emergent literature on the influence of the news media on immigration and asylum policy itself. In addition, through its empirical examination of the evolution of case study asylum and immigration policy reversals, this research investigation utilises a new methodology, content analysis, to identify the existence, nature and membership of policy communities and networks and insider groups active within them. In providing strong evidence that the policy communities and networks perspective is a valid approach for understanding the nature of policymaking and the role of the news media in shaping policy agendas, it also provides an alternative approach to examining policy making in an emergent field of policy science research, asylum and immigration policy network analysis.

Introduction

Defining the terms

This research investigation aims to evaluate the policy communities and networks (PC&N) perspective as a tool for understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda. It aims to do this by examining the development of asylum and immigration policy in the United Kingdom as a case study in policymaking, with specific reference to policy reversals. In order to understand how the dynamics of discourse shape the policy agenda, it's important to understand how the flow of information is facilitated by the existence of policy networks. That is, how information is constructed, distributed, and absorbed within the structural relationships between state, corporate, public and private stakeholders. Yet, studies of the nature of the relationship between government and groups has produced something of an exhaustive typology of terms. In essence 'policy networks' are structural complexes that explain "'Who rules?' 'How do they rule?' and 'In whose interest do they rule?'" (Rhodes, 1997, p10) but other 'shades of meanings of terms' (Jordan, 1990, p319) abound within the policy network literature. For example:

iron triangles, cosy triangles (Peters, 1986, in Jordan, 1990, p324) and triple alliances (Rhodes, 1990, p297); professional-, intergovernmental- and producer- networks (Rhodes, 1990); policy -communities, -networks and -circuits (Richardson and Jordan, 1979, Jordan 1981, Richardson 1982, Jordan and Richardson 1987a, 1987b); policy -segments (Hecló and Wiladavsky, 1974), -whirlpools (Griffith, 1939, in Jordan, 1990 p321) -domains (Laumann and Knocke, 1987) -focuses and -universes (Wilks and Wright, 1987, in Jordan, 1990, p334); private government (Lowi, 1964, McConnell, 1970, in Jordan, 1990, p323), sub-government (Cater, 1964, in Jordan, 1990, p323) and sub-systems (Freeland, 1965, in Jordan, 1990, p322).

Arguably then, the overall concept of policy communities and networks has become increasingly ubiquitous (Rhodes, 1990, p293) as definitions of it have become progressively diverse. However, one of the most predominant distinctions in the policy

network literature, the Rhodes model (Marsh and Rhodes, 1992, p12) categorises policy communities and issue networks as being *types* of policy networks, positioned at opposite ends of a continuum. From the Westminster context, ‘policy communities’ (Heclo and Wildavsky, 1974) refer to organizationally *segmented* groups with shared and implicit authority structures. These groups are populated by a limited number of stakeholders from government, government agencies and select insider groups who debate and develop policies in a manner of mutual adjustment and bureaucratic accommodation (Jordan, 1981, p106; Richardson and Jordan, 1983, p262). Insider groups within policy communities secure greater access to policy forums and decision-makers, by adopting policy positions that are closely aligned to those of government actors. The relationship between government and groups within policy communities are generally stable and long term. Consultations are frequent in number, high quality in nature and have a high level of consensus. Members share a common understanding of a policy problem and have similar aims and objectives in how best to approach it (adapted from Marsh and Rhodes, 1992b, p251, in Cairney, 2012, p178). Other terms used within the analysis of British policy making systems include policy universes and policy focuses, policy segments and policy circuits, professional networks, intergovernmental networks and producer networks.

In contrast to policy communities, ‘issue networks’ are characteristic of the Washington policy making systems. They are organizationally *fragmented* groups with much less structural integrity or implicit authority. They are comprised of an unlimited number of participants who form advocacy coalitions (Sabatier and Jenkins Smith, 1993, 1999) and coalesce around a particular issue on an ad hoc basis (Heclo, 1978, p102; Jordan, 1990, p96). Issue networks often contain outsider groups whose adopted policy position poses a significant challenge to the status quo position of government stakeholders and insider groups. Unlike policy communities, government and interest group relationships within issue networks tend to fluctuate more and are more transitory. Participants are more numerous, and consultations are more variable in terms of their frequency and quality. There is a lower level of consensus about a policy problem and a higher likelihood of conflict about an appropriate solution (adapted from Marsh and

Rhodes, 1992b, in Cairney, 2012, p178). Other terms used within the analysis of American policy making systems include iron triangles, cosy triangles and triple alliances, issue publics, policy domains and policy whirlpools, private government, sub governments and subsystems. In the context of this research investigation, the case study policy reversals are set within the asylum policy communities that are oriented within the wider immigration policy network. Active within these policy communities are state and select insider group stakeholders, who share a common core belief system relating to the policy issue and have similar aims and objectives in integrating these beliefs into the formation of policy and the direction of the policy agenda.

Contribution to Knowledge

By employing the PC&N perspective for understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda, this research investigation will contribute to the literature on policy communities and networks in British political systems, by applying it to a new policy field - immigration and asylum (Cohen 2003, Sales, 2007). In addition, whilst the literature on the influence of the news media on the development of *opinion* making is extensive (Weaver 1991, 2007; McCombs, 2014), literature on the news media's influence on the development of *policy* making is still emergent (Cohen, 1963, Marsh et al, 2001). This research investigation, through its empirical examination of the evolution of case study policy reversals, will contribute to this emerging literature by focusing on the influence of the news media on issue definition, decision-making and policy change (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Richardson, 2000, Lukes, 2004) in relation to the development of immigration and asylum policy (Cohen 2002a, 2003; Threadgold 2009). Finally, by making an empirical examination of the evolution of case study asylum and immigration policy reversals, this research investigation will also develop a new methodological approach to identifying the nature and membership of identified policy communities and network, by adopting content analysis as an analytical approach.

Existent Literature

Over the past four to five decades, the news media in the United Kingdom have steadily shifted their focus from race relations to immigration issues. Hartmann and Husband's (1974) foundational work, followed by Critcher, Parker, and Sondhi (1977), with regard to the propagation of racism in the British press in the 1960s, concluded that the news media projected Britain as being a white society, with its non-white members being "some kind of aberration, a problem, or just an oddity" (Hartmann and Husband, 1974: 145, in van Dijk, 1991:32-33). Troyna (1981) went further by identifying the inclusion of negative references toward Asian refugees in articles about race relations in the 1970s (in van Dijk, 1991:33). Demonstrating how immigration gradually became a substitute for race in the news media (Browne, 2002); by the 1980s, 60% of articles in the news media focused on racial conflict and racial tension (Troyna, 1981) and public attitudes believing immigration to be the most important issue in the United Kingdom, rose from approximately 5% in the 1990's, to almost 40% by 2002 (Ipsos MORI, 2003).

The distorted (ICAR, 2004, Lloyd, 2004) unbalanced and inaccurate (Statham, 2002) information in news media discourse relating to race relations and immigration issues is the result of strategic use of syntax and semantics and the deliberate silencing (Roy, 2004) of context by news media stakeholders and the constantly revolving political agenda of the news media industry (Tyler, 2006). Fluctuations in the news media narrative reflect variations in the political climate within which the parliamentary narrative is oriented, which results in differences in perceptions of asylum and immigration issues in the broader social discourse (Finney and Peach, 2005). This highlights the critically poor "circuit of communication" (Threadgold, 2009, p14) amongst opinion makers, policy makers and the public in-between; and the presumption that race relations is synonymous with immigration issues increases the trust deficit within an already existent 'culture of misbelief' (Cohen, 2002) or 'culture of mistrust' (Mythen et al, 2006). It also encourages an "us vs. them" mentality that provides a

security blanket of cohesion (Kristeva 1982) with the 'us' being a united body under threat (Bigo, 2002). What then ensues is a 'moral panic' (Finney, 2004) or 'temporal spasm' (Cohen 2002a, in Sommerville 2007) when the values of 'us' are believed to be threatened by the perceived increasing presence of 'them'. However, a moral panic - an overreaction which occurs when the official reaction to an individual, individuals, an incident, or series of incidents is disproportionate to the actual threat presented (Hall et al., 1978) - is an overly simplistic construction of a non-white 'terroristic other' (Mythen and Walklate, 2006). The processes responsible for such 'othering' include causal assumptions, limited definitions of terms and bias with which the news media frame issues, such as the demonising of Asian refugees (Troyna, 1981), the dehumanising of African and African Caribbean immigrants (Seymore-Ure, 1974, Holt, 2007) and the "ongoing" moral panic concerning issues related to asylum seekers (Cohen, 2002a in Somerville, 2007, p135). The points outlined above provide strong evidence to suggest that the substitution of immigration issues for race relations in the news media is itself an important issue. The points outlined below provide equally strong reasons for why the PC&N perspective is an appropriate theoretical framework for understanding how and why this substitution occurred.

Research Rationale, Aims & Objectives

Within the Westminster model of British policy making, Hecllo and Wildavsky (1974) claim that policy communities and networks are the *modus operandi* of the British policy process, whilst Jordan and Richardson (1979) argue that policy communities operate within policy networks. Rhodes (1988) however, pointed out the partnership nature of the PC&N perspective by identifying the interaction and interdependency of different stakeholders in different policy networks pursuing different policy agendas. These key studies provide the theoretical framework for evaluating the policy communities and networks (PC&N) perspective as a tool for understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda. This research investigation aims to examine the development of two case study asylum and immigration policy reversals that occurred

during the first term of the Blair ministry, 1997 – 2001. This was a period when Tony Blair's emergent rule of governance was to take a 'Third Way' approach to the policy process, that is, the creation of a policy environment where “partnerships of stakeholders from all sectors of society (sic) become the ideal model of governance” (Connelly and Richardson, 2003: 6). What this resulted in, however, was a period where the Labour Government was not able to definitively outline its' immigration policy objectives. With the examination of two immigration policy reversals during this key period, this investigation's aims and objectives are to:

- 1) Examine policy communities and networks as a theoretical perspective for analysing the role of stakeholders in shaping policy decisions within contemporary government and policymaking systems.
- 2) Evaluate competing theoretical perspectives on the role of the news media in influencing the policy process and shaping policy agendas.
- 3) Develop a critical understanding of the evolution of asylum and immigration policy and the extent of continuity/departure from past regimes, within the context of two case study policy reversals.
- 4) Apply the policy communities and networks perspective by identifying the existence and membership of policy communities operating within the immigration policy network, and insider groups active within them.
- 5) Determine the merits of policy communities and networks as a mechanism for understanding the nature of policy-making and the role of the news media in shaping policy agendas.

Research Design

The research design involves a three-stage strategy. The first theoretical stage will examine an extensive range of perspectives on the nature and operation of policy making, in order to determine whether previous research has applied the PC&N perspective for understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda. In doing so, it seeks to address the first of the research objectives; to examine policy communities and networks as a theoretical perspective for analysing the role of stakeholders in shaping policy decisions within contemporary government and policy-

making systems. The second theoretical stage will examine competing theoretical perspectives on the role of the news media in the policy process, through the lens of the PC&N perspective. In doing so, it will fulfil the second objective, to determine the extent to which previous research has applied the PC&N perspective to examine the extent to which the news media is able to influence the policy process and shape policy agendas.

The third stage of the research design is empirical and aims to examine the evolution of two case study policy reversals. Dur and Swank (1997) argue that policy reversals may identify what external factors influence the dynamics of discourse (for example, the definition of a policy issue and perceived legitimacy of policy initiatives) in the policy process and the extent to which they are able to do so. Indicative of Lukes' (2005) 'third dimension of power' is where a policy actor has the potentiality to covertly exercise power in the form of influencing the policy agenda to suit their own; policy reversals are the explicit effects of diversity in policy discourse, but the cause of this effect generally remains obscure. In other words, it is known *when* a policy reversal occurred, but it is often not known *why* it occurred. This research investigation aims to make an original contribution to knowledge by attempting to provide an answer to this question through examining the role played by the news media, in bringing about a policy reversal.

The first case study refers to a policy initiative that removed cash-based support for asylum seekers in favour of a cashless, voucher-based support system, in an attempt to deter economic migration to the U.K. The initiative, proposed in a Labour White Paper in July 1998 was implemented in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act, only to be amended under Regulation 4 of the Asylum Support (Amendment) Regulations in April 2002, and then abolished with the passing of the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act, after being subject to a strategic campaign of sustained criticism from a diverse coalition of stakeholders. The second case study refers to a policy initiative originally introduced in the Conservative 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act, referring

to a list of countries that were considered 'safe states' from which all asylum applications were to be presumed as groundless. After receiving condemnation from a wide array of stakeholders, whose collective criticism coalesced around the fact that the use of a whitelist for asylum applications would result in summary decisions being made, the subsequent Labour Government officially criticised the Conservative whitelist initiative in its July 1998 *Fairer, Faster, Firmer* White Paper and then formally abolished it with the November passing of the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act. However, the whitelist policy continued to operate unofficially within government subsystems (Schuster and Solomos, 2004:274) until its abolition was reversed when the Labour Government introduced an amended version of it in the November passing of the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act.

In examining the evolution of each case study, primary sources will include (a) policy sources i.e. Hansard archives of parliamentary debates and select committee meetings; (b) news media sources i.e. archived articles, editorials and letters to the editor from a representative sample of the news media; and (c) independent sources i.e. press statements, research briefings and independent reports from stakeholder groups from different sectors of society - all relating to the case study policy reversals. A content analysis of the data generated, will identify keywords and phrases in the collective discourse and measure the frequency and context in which they occur. Results of the analysis will identify patterns of semantic associations and clusters of source citations that will indicate the level of interaction and interdependency between different policy actors, pursuing different policy agendas within the policy network. This, in turn, will also indicate underlying causal assumptions, limited definitions and signs of bias operating within the core structures of the collective (parliamentary, news media and sectorial stakeholder) narrative referring to the policy issue. It will also indicate the ability of the news media to influence the conditions under which other stakeholders were able to contribute to the discourse. Anticipated results will fulfil the final three objectives of this research investigation: the development of a critical understanding of the evolution of asylum and immigration policy and the extent of continuity/departure from past regimes; the application of the PC&N perspective via the identification of the existence

and membership of case study asylum policy communities operating within the immigration policy network and insider groups active within them; and a demonstration of the validity of the PC&N perspective as a mechanism for understanding the nature of policy-making and the role of the news media in shaping policy agendas.

Chapter One: Literature Review (A)

The Underpinnings of the Policy Communities and Networks Approach: Competing Perspectives on the Policy Process

Introduction

Arguably, policy studies evolved from the behavioural approach to political science, the study of the observable behaviour of individuals within political systems. However, policy studies developed more of an organisational approach to political science, that is, the study of the observable and unobservable behaviour of individuals *in organisations* within political systems. In this context, this research investigation studies organisations as formal systems within political systems. This first chapter explores the literature on institutional and structural approaches to the policy process by examining how competing descriptive and theoretical perspectives on the policy process inform the theoretical framework in which the PC&N perspective is oriented.

Preliminary endeavours to define the policy-making process arguably originate with the stagist approach (Lasswell, 1951, Easton, 1953), where the making of policy decisions refers to a systematic progression of problem recognition, alternative solution consideration, optimal solution consensus, policy legislation and implementation. Those making these decisions are an assembly of policymakers with a comprehensive academic and corporate knowledge base. Those implementing them are policy agents or actors from a broad network of organisations and institutions. Easton's systems model provides a conceptual framework for the stagist approach that serves as a critical heuristic device for systems analyses of the policy process. Applications of the stagist approach, such as the demographic approach (Dye, 1966; Sharkansky, 1969; Hofferbert, 1974; Wilensky,

1975), output studies, and causal factors (Dawson and Robinson, 1963, Dye, 1966, Hofferbert, 1974, Boyne, 1989) demonstrate why Easton's systems model was the prevailing paradigm for understanding policy making as a whole. But they also demonstrate limitations to the stagist approach in assuming that policy agents are impartial or that the organisations and institutions they work within are neutral. In essence, neither the stagist approach nor Easton's systems model provides an empirically accurate perspective on the complex policy systems of the real world.

Subsequent efforts to define the policy-making process attempt a more pragmatically rational description (Simon, 1945) of how policy decisions are made. Namely, post problem recognition, policymakers seek to make a comprehensive critical analysis of all alternative considerations before arriving at optimal solution consensus, policy legislation and implementation. The limitations to this approach are evident in the fact that policymakers and policy agents/actors with diverse interests and different agendas are inherently limited in terms of the availability of time, access to resources, and cognitive capacity necessary for full consideration of all alternative options for complex choices. In response, an amended model that explains how boundedly rational (Simon, 1957) policymakers compensate for their inherent limitations by employing a 'satisfice' strategy to find the next best alternative closest to the comprehensive ideal provides an alternative rationalist explanation of how policy decisions are made, that arguably more accurately reflects the complex policy community and network systems of the real world.

Building on the rationalist approach, the incrementalist perspective (Lindblom, 1959) provides an alternative model that signals a shift in descriptive perspectives of systems theories and policy systems from a linear approach to a more cyclical interpretation. Incrementalism argues that the making of policy decisions involves a series of limited comparisons and partisan mutual adjustment, where policymakers and policy actors with diverse interests and different agendas are united under a common aim of achieving consensus on how best to respond to a complex policy problem. Given the

complex policy systems of the real world, the incrementalist perspective on policymaking is arguably more of an empirically accurate representation of the political systems that policy communities and networks are oriented within. These are systems where the extent that a policy maker or policy actor can overtly or covertly exercise power in favour of their interests and pursuit of their agendas depends extensively on their access to it.

The focus of this literature review subsequently shifts to an exploration of pluralist, elitist, and Marxist theoretical perspectives of power, as these inform the theoretical framework of three critical explanations of the nature, distribution, and use of power in policy systems. The first refers to an initial understanding of power as a potential exercise – the *power to* but is later interpreted as an actual exercise – the *power over* (Dahl, 1957, 1961). The second considers power to be a form of active inaction – the *power not to* (Backrach and Baratz, 1962). The third perspective synthesises the former two by arguing that power is A having *power over* B owing to his *power to* or *not to* reinforce institutional barriers, strengthen hierarchical social structures or practice non-decision-making or non-issue-making in procedural political practices (Lukes 1974, 2005). Cumulatively, these critical explanations of the nature, distribution, and use of power in policy systems demonstrate how each builds on the next to provide a deeper insight into the overt, covert, and insidious ways in which policy actors with more power can influence those with less and manipulate the policy agenda in policy systems as a whole. In sum, the descriptive and theoretical perspectives on the policy process examined within this literature review inform the theoretical framework in which the PC&N perspective is oriented. They demonstrate how consideration of them is integral to developing a deeper understanding of the PC&N perspective and a clear demonstration of its analytical validity as a tool for understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda.

Descriptive Perspectives: Systems Theories and Policy Systems as a Whole

The Stagist Approach

One of the earliest advocates for a stagist approach to policy analysis, Lasswell (1951, 1956) reasoned that the policy sciences were contextual, multi-method and problem-orientated. He argued that policy analysis should involve synthesising multidisciplinary ideas and techniques from a broad conceptual context. In other words – that the definition and analysis of a policy issue should be based on a combination of knowledge and action gained from both academic *and* corporate sources (Parsons, 1995, p19). Lasswell advocated for a ‘top down’ approach to the policy process, where policymakers, in a series of consecutive stages and functions, made decisions in a rational, systematic manner that were implemented by neutral organizations and institutions (Hudson, 2004, p9, Cairney, 2012, p99-100). Similarly, Easton (1953, 1957) develops Lasswell’s orderly model of political activity within a political system by providing a conceptual framework. Easton’s System’s Model depicts the policy process as a system of inputs, decisions, and outputs; where policy inputs (societal demands and expectations for action or resources) approach the political system (Easton’s Black Box) and are converted into policy outputs in the form of decisions, laws, and provisions about what action to take or what resources to use. Subsequent policy outcomes (i.e., the impact of the action taken, or resources used) cause reactions from society in the form of new demands and expectations, which feed right back into the system as policy inputs (Easton, 1957).

Applications of the Stagist Approach

Arguably, the fundamental utility of Lasswell and Easton’s stagist perspective is that dividing the policy process into a series of separate stages allows for a closer analysis

of the different features and functions *of* each stage. The benefits include the potential identification of causal drivers such as institutions, organizations, governmental systems and social networks; and the potential identification of underlying links between patterns of political actions and trends in political demands (Jenkins, 1978, p19, Sabatier, 1999, p7). This allows for a deeper understanding of the observable and unobservable behaviour of organizations within political systems.

Boyne's (1985, 1989) Demographic Model, for example, is a practical empirical test of Easton's systems theory and the stagist approach. He argues that policymaking reflects the environment it is processed within and the features of the socio-economic environment that operate inside and outside the policy-making system (i.e., service needs, financial resources, and party politics) are causal factors that influence policy decisions and explain subsequent variation in policy outputs (Boyne, 1989, p22-23). In other words, decision-making is determined by causal factors - independent and dependent external variables that influence the political environment, the policy process and the policies made within it (Lane, 2000, p74).

In his analytical review of output studies, Boyne argues that by adopting Easton's (1953, 1957) system's model as a theoretical framework, output studies have been instrumental in identifying a causal relationship between three categories of variable: the environment, the political system, and public policies (Boyne, 1985, p480). The empirical evidence indicated in such studies does demonstrate the utility of the stagist approach in terms of explaining how variations in policy inputs (i.e., service needs and financial resources) and variations in the local political system (Easton's black box) can explain some of the variation in policy outputs (i.e., budgetary decisions).

For instance, Dawson and Robinson's (1963) foundational work examined the link between U.S. state politics and variations in welfare policy, questioning the perspective that those states with relatively competitive inter-party-political systems

produced more ‘liberal’ social welfare policies (1963, p269). The study was significant in recognising the potential importance of environmental and political variables and highlighting the need to consider the socio-economic context of the policy process. Dawson & Robinson’s results indicated that more urbanized populations demanded more social welfare facilities, whilst wealthier states were more able to afford them. This led them to conclude that environmental variables were more influential in formulating policies and policy outcomes than political ones (1963, p285). Variations in welfare policies (policy outputs), for example, could be traced back to the socio-economic composition of each state (policy inputs) more than they could be traced back to the independent effects of political institutions that operate inside and outside the political system (the black box). (Dawson & Robinson, 1963, p285).

In addition, Dye (1966) examined the operationalisation of the policy process, questioning how the demands of socio-economic factors (policy inputs) are processed within the political system (Easton’s black box). He found that wealthier U.S. states provided more educational facilities than poorer states. Yet, the level of public hospital facilities varied less with income, and federal programmes often offset differences in welfare policies. Dye concluded that socio-economic conditions influence aspects of the political system, such as voter turnout and competition between parties; thereby, variations in the economic policies (policy outputs) of U.S. states are more influenced by the environmental context than that of political variables (Dye, 1966, pp288 – 289).

Likewise, Hofferbert (1974) argued that socioeconomic variables such as history and geography (policy inputs) are interwoven into the actions of contemporary policymakers (Easton’s black box) and have a direct effect on influencing political outcomes (policy outputs). His ‘funnel of causality’ model describes how geographic conditions, such as the climate and nature of local resources, influence the population density, employment, and the level of prosperity of a country or region. It also portrays how historic conditions, such as significant events in history, can influence the concentration of specific social groups. These conditions combined create the socio-

economic composition of a region, which contributes to mass political behaviour, such as voter turnout, which in turn influences the structure and success of political parties (Hofferbert, 1974, p230; Cairney, 2012, pp114-115).

Easton's systems theory has been the implicit theoretical framework of several output studies, applied as a method of measuring the strength of the statistical association between policy inputs and policy outcomes to determine the degree to which external variables function as causal factors within political systems. Boyne's (1985, 1989) examination of the causal factors for variations in the expenditure of UK local authorities also demonstrates the utility of Easton's systems model and the stagist approach to the policy process. Boyne aimed to identify the variables that determined local expenditure levels and the extent to which variations in budgetary decisions were influenced by circumstantial responsibilities, such as statutory obligations. His results revealed that the expenditure of non-metropolitan counties responsible for educational and social welfare services was significantly higher than those districts not responsible for either service. In theory, variations in expenditure levels and spending policies (i.e., policy outputs) could be attributed to local political choices or the conditions of local or central government policies. However, Boyne found that such variations were, in fact, more directly linked to the budgetary constraints set by service needs, financial resources (i.e., policy inputs), party politics (Easton's black box) and incrementalism (Boyne, 1989, pp119 -122).

Arguably then, dividing the policy process into a series of separate stages enables a closer analysis of the different features and functions of each stage and a deeper understanding of the observable and unobservable behaviour of organizations within political systems. From this advantageous perspective, the stagist approach to the policy process is satisfyingly systematic and orderly - describing a logical and lineal order of political activity within a political system where policy actors conduct themselves transparently and sequentially (Hill, 2009, p141). However, from the opposite perspective, it is also prescriptive and idealistic. It makes several questionable

presumptions that do not reflect the conduct of policy actors within the political systems of the real world (Jenkins, 1978, p18), which raises doubts about its accuracy and validity as a theoretical framework.

Limitations of the Stagist Approach

Perhaps the most apparent presumption is that policymaking follows a straightforward procedure where the analysis of a policy issue develops through a series of stages¹ that are based on cause and effect (John, 1998, p22), where policy inputs emerge from political, social, and economic environments, that when combined comprehensively impact (i.e., effect) the political system (Jenkins, 1978, p23). However, this is an overly simplistic interpretation of the policy process because policy environments created by individual or institutional policy actors (with varying values and interests) tend to shift and evolve (Solesbury, 1971, p396; Jenkins, 1978, p23) – which makes the identification of *which* causal drivers cause *what* ‘effects’ rather difficult.

Another somewhat self-evident assumption, given the nature of the stagist perspective, is that each stage of the policy process operates separately and sequentially. In the political systems of the real world, however, they tend to be iterative and interdependent (Solesbury, 1971, p396; Dorey 2005, p5). For instance, the first stage (policy inputs) influences the second stage (policy outputs) based on what decisions will be made about what demands were called for. Similarly, the second stage (policy outputs) impacts the third stage (policy outcomes) based on the success of policies implemented --which is based on the choice of policy solutions decided. Finally, the third stage (policy outcomes) influences the first stage (policy inputs) based on whether public feedback about policy decisions already implemented will result in further

¹ From formulation (where objectives are identified) to implementation (where the resources to meet those objectives are produced, selected, and executed) to evaluation (where the social impact of the objectives is evaluated to measure the extent that they have been met).

demands. Thus, in the political systems of the real world, a policy issue will process through a series of feedbacks and loops (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p2) where the implementation problems of previous policies will influence the formulation and legitimation of future policies attempting to solve similar problems (Solesbury, 1971, p 396; John, 1998, p26-27; Sabatier, 1999, p7).

In connection to assuming that each stage of the policy process operates separately and sequentially, the optimistic stagist perspective suggests that policymaking operates on one level at one time within one political system – in terms of a policy issue systematically progressing down the levels of government as it goes from formulation stage to implementation. Yet, the complex political systems of the real world suggest that policymaking is far more multifaceted, with multiple policy cycles operating around a policy issue simultaneously, with definitions of the issue and proposals for how best to respond to it, differing at each level and in each policy cycle (Sabatier, 1999, p7). For example, the stagist ‘top-down’ approach to policymaking focuses on the formulation and legitimation stages of policymaking (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p6-7; Sabatier, 1999, p7).

Yet, this neglects the implementation and evaluation stages, where the policy actors responsible for implementing the policy, i.e., street-level bureaucrats, such as police officers, civil servants, teachers, doctors, and nurses - use a ‘bottom up’ approach when applying policies on the ground. This approach enables street-level bureaucrats to identify unforeseen problems at the implementation stage that were not anticipated at the formulation stage. Such problems can then be reported back into the system and eventually lead to policy modification, i.e., outputs looping back into inputs, and result in implementing a modified, filtered version of the policy - which becomes the *de facto actual* policy (Hudson, 2004, p9). The top-down/bottom-up contradiction demonstrates how policymaking is not a single-level, static and linear process but a multilevel, dynamic, and cyclical one. In other words, policies are still being formulated whilst being

implemented - and so must inevitably evolve as they progress through political systems (Dorey, 2005, p4).

To return to Boynes (1985, 1989) and his analytical review of output studies, he raises doubts about the validity of using Easton's model because though it has been the implicit theoretical base of numerous output studies, such studies have often omitted not explained, or insufficiently explored the inconsistencies of partial theories or ad hoc hypotheses (Boynes, 1985, p479). For instance, Boyne (1985, pp478-479) argued that the statistical associations indicated in Dawson and Robinson's (1963) research on the link between U.S. state politics and variations in welfare policy were inconsistent with the theoretical framework of the study, which had been implicitly based on Easton's systems model. One of the objectives of Boynes' review was to reconceptualise the theoretical framework set forth by Easton's systems model and develop a new practicable methodology that would more directly apply the model to the explanation of variations in outputs (*ibid.*, p474). But this is in line with Easton's original intent, that his theoretical framework is more of a hypothetical guide than a complete theory - a platform for developing a general theoretical framework that future research could work within (Easton, 1957, p XIV). Perhaps then, other factors have not been adequately identified or appropriately incorporated within Easton's systems model, questions its accuracy as a theoretical model for explaining variations in policy output - and invites suggestions for an alternative conceptualisation of the policy process.

Descriptive Perspectives: Alternative Systems Theories and Policy Systems as a Whole

The Rationalist Approach: Comprehensive and Bounded Rationality

Herbert Simon's (1945, 1955a) decision-making model presents an alternative perspective on policy systems, where policy actors make rational decisions based on the 'maximisation of their utility'. This refers to a policy environment where decision-makers have the ability and opportunity to consider the options and implications of *all* alternatives to find the best 'real world' solution to a policy problem. This process requires decision makers, when presented with a policy issue, to pursue a comprehensive reasoning process, where they identify their values in relation to it, articulate these values into aims and objectives, and then rank them in order of importance. Decision makers then identify all potential actions and implications of achieving these aims and objectives, translate these into policy terms, compare each alternative, then choose the policy that best achieves their aims and objectives before finally implementing it with the aid of neutral bureaucrats and organisations (Lindblom, 1959, p79). From this perspective of the policy process, 'comprehensive rationality' argues that by comparing, contrasting, and measuring each alternative policy model for their applicability to the real world, decision-makers can arrive at an optimal solution to approach a policy problem.

In theory, 'comprehensive rationality' is a very pragmatic approach because the process requires decision-makers to state their aims and objectives as well as their bias and preferences. It allows time and space for considering all policy options and their implications and therefore saves time and resources by rejecting those considered irrelevant or infeasible. In an ideal world, comprehensive rationality is an appealing, accountable theoretical framework because the stated aims and objectives and biases and preferences of decision-makers are quantifiable. Furthermore, the consideration of all actions and implementations of policy options are calculated for their maximisation

potential. In 'real world' terms, Simon's (1945) model is a useful approach for dealing with policy issues that are relatively straightforward, small in scale and limited in their number of variables because there are few alternative options to be examined or implications to be evaluated.

However, comprehensive rationality proves less practical when approaching policy issues that are more complex, bigger in scale and have many more variables - as 'real world' policy issues generally tend to be (Lindblom, 1959, p81). This is because there are usually a significant number of alternative options to examine and implications for evaluating, which may arguably overwhelm a decision maker's ability, rather than maximise their utility, to arrive at an optimal solution (Woodhouse and Collingridge, 1993, p8). Thus, Simon's (1945) decision-making model makes idealistic assumptions about an individual's rationality when faced with a complex policy issue. It is unlikely, for example, that a group of individuals, who possess different interests and pursue varied agendas, would rationally discuss, deliberate, and make final decisions about complex policy issues without there being some element of conflict or contradiction. In addition, comprehensive rationality makes idealistic assumptions about an individual's accessibility to resources. It is just as unlikely, for example, that the group of individuals who possess different interests and pursue varied agendas would have access to all the necessary information, time, and resources they would need for a total consideration of *all* choices and their subsequent implications, to appropriately arrive at the best possible solution to a complex problem (Jenkins 1978, p24).

Simon (1957) redefined his theory of maximising an individual's utility by suggesting that policymakers pursue a 'boundedly rational' approach, rather than a 'comprehensively' rational one, to a complex policy issue. Bounded rationality concedes to the impracticalities of comprehensive rationality by suggesting that policymakers seek to find the most *satisfactory*, rather than *ideal*, option to respond to a complex policy issue. The boundedly rational approach argues that policy actors, as rational individuals, compensate for the limitations of their cognitive ability, their access

to resources and their availability of time by employing a 'satisfice' strategy that involves making decisions based on the boundaries of rational thinking. This involves policy actors prioritising only the most relevant information and resources available to arrive at a satisfactory 'next best' alternative closest to the comprehensive ideal (Simon, 1976, p xxviii).

As suitable as bounded rationality first seems as a theoretical framework, in the political systems of the real world, where access to information, resources, and time is limited, policymakers are more likely to make decisions about complex policy issues *intuitively* rather than as rationally as Simon's 'satisficing' strategy would suggest (Kahneman and Tversky 1979, 2003). Much of the literature (Dahl and Lindblom, 1953; Jenkins, 1978; 2003; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993; John, 1998; Sabatier, 1999) suggests the rationalist approach to decision-making within the policy process is descriptively inaccurate and fundamentally impractical. In real-world political systems, each stage of the policy process is not independent of the other but is inextricably linked with the next. Put simply, the implementation of past policies influences the formation and implementation of present ones (Sabatier, 1999, p7). This cyclical process does not make distinctions between the input (formulation), the output (implementation) and the outcome (evaluation) characteristics of each policy stage (John, 1998, p25). Therefore, perhaps the real value of the stagist, rationalist approach to systems theories and policy systems is that it applies a set of theoretical measures that serve as something of a heuristic map (Jenkins, 1978, p25), pedagogical tool (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p1) or comparative method of analysis (John, 1998, p23) for alternative perspectives to utilise in their conceptualisations of the policy process.

Incrementalism: An Alternative Model to the Rationalist Approach

A key issue underpinning the utility of rationalist perspectives of the policy process is the limitation of an individual's cognitive ability, access to resources and

availability of time that impedes their capacity to respond competently to complex policy problems. As an alternative perspective, incrementalism (Lindblom, 1959) provides a more practical approach to the “human predicament of small brain/big problems” (Woodhouse and Collingridge, 1993, p6) by suggesting that the most strategic way to circumvent such limitations is for policymakers to adopt a process of ‘disjointed incrementalism’ for making policy decisions. More specifically, the incrementalist perspective on the policy process is one where policy actors interact within a pluralistic environment where no one policy actor dominates or articulates their policy preferences and engages in a sort of ‘muddling through’ process of limited comparisons and partisan mutual adjustment, with the ultimate aim of achieving consensus on how best to respond to a complex policy problem (Lindblom, 1959, p81).

Justifiably, initial impressions of the incrementalist approach to policymaking would likely consider it democratic in its perspective, prudent in its approach and practical in its application. However, criticisms of it counter that political environments are diverse, are possibly unstable, resources may be scarce, and current policy issues may be radically different to past policy problems (Dror, 1964; Etzioni, 1967, p387). Therefore, policy actors may not have the luxury of operating in a democratic political environment where there is a diffuse distribution of power; nor the capacity of unlimited time and resources to engage in the process of mutual adjustment or the security of similar past policies to draw upon, to compare current policy problems. In this respect, incrementalism may not necessarily be democratic, practical, or prudent in its application.

For instance, in terms of being democratic, incrementalism inevitably favours the contributions of the more resource-rich and politically organized policy actors. In theory, the incrementalist approach is one where stakeholders with different information, interests and perspectives can contribute alternative options for consideration in the decision-making process. But in reality, policy decisions will reflect the interests of the most powerful (Etzioni, 1967, p387) because policymakers will overlook the suggestions of those actors who cannot effectively protect or promote those values that stronger policy

actors choose to discount (Logsdon, 1986, p105). Arguably then, whilst the incrementalist perspective considers power to be distributed widely among policy actors, inevitably, it is not distributed equally.

Regarding practicality, even in politically stable environments, the time required for policymakers to engage in a prolonged process of bargain and compromise, where policy preferences are met in a series of approximations (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963, p73) and policy decisions are made via gradual change and accretion (Hudson, 2004, p6), is not typically compatible to the fast paced, unpredictable policy environments of the real world (Dror 1964b, p154). Furthermore, in terms of prudence, an approach that focuses on past policies and favours only those alternatives that differ just marginally from the status quo arguably stifles the potentiality of policy actors to maximize their utility as sources of social innovation (Dror, 1964a, pp 4-5; Dror 1964b, p155). Thus, any approach that adopts a retrospective analysis of complex policy problems (Grandori 1984, p199) is arguably short-sighted in its focus and overly conservative in its strategy (Etzioni, 1967, p387-388).

However, Woodhouse and Collingridge (1993) refute these central criticisms of incrementalism and surmise that they result from a universal misperception of incrementalism. This principally refers to the notion that 'incremental steps' is synonymous with 'small steps' in policy development. However, it also concerns the assumption that incrementalism can only be applied as an analytical strategy in political environments where power is diffuse and where partisan mutual adjustment is a crucial feature of the policy process.

To refer to the first misperception, 'incremental steps' do not refer to small steps or marginal changes in policy outcomes. It refers to successive *limited* comparisons between alternative policies that may be marginally different from each other but both potentially radical in nature (Woodhouse and Collingridge, 1993, p7). For Lindblom,

the boundaries of an individual's cognitive ability, access to resources and availability of time limit the probability of their success when risking radical departures from policies currently in place. Therefore, the most rational way for policy actors to make decisions within the boundaries of rational thinking is for them to prioritise only the most relevant information and resources available; consider only those options that differ marginally from the status quo and compare them with past policy decisions to anticipate and avoid future policy problems (Lindblom, 1959, p81, p84). This allows policymakers to learn from the unintended consequences of previous policy decisions and evaluate the potential future costs of any significant departure from practice (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963, p73; Lindblom, 1979, p517). In this respect, incrementalism seems neither short-sighted in its focus nor inadequate in its response to complex policy problems.

Secondly, in regard to the assumption that the incrementalist approach can only be used as an analytical strategy in pluralist political systems, Woodhouse and Collingridge (1993) counter that it can also be applied in elite political systems where autocratic dictums, rather than bipartisan mutual adjustments, define policy outcomes. In these political environments, criticism of policy decisions tends to be slow and reticent. The consequences of any errors in the making of or the implementing of such decisions may be so potentially significant and long-lasting that even a dictator would see the value in utilising incremental analysis as a gauge for progress (Woodhouse and Collingridge, 1993, p8). With this in mind, arguably, Lindblom's 'The Science of Muddling Through' doesn't quite do justice to the pragmatic, flexible and precautionary perspective of incrementalism and would perhaps better suit 'The Sense in Intelligent Trial and Error'.

In sum, incrementalism, as a descriptive perspective of the policy process, informs the theoretical framework in which the PC&N perspective is oriented and is integral to developing a deeper understanding of the PC&N perspective itself. It demonstrates how limitations in a policy actor's cognitive ability, access to resources and availability of time can be circumvented by engaging in the process of bipartisan mutual adjustment with other actors within the policy community, which will hopefully achieve group

consensus about a policy decision but *also* their aims and objectives, in the process. Furthermore, incrementalism exhibits its utility as an analytical strategy in the decision-making processes of pluralist and elite political systems via its pragmatic successive limited comparisons between policy alternatives approaches to making policy decisions about complex policy problems. At the very least, incrementalism is one perspective of the policy process that other conceptual models can build on by providing a descriptive example of how policy decisions *are* made and a prescriptive comparison of how they *should* be made (Hill, 2009, p153; Cairney, 2012, p95). Arguably, however, the most significant contribution of incrementalism is that it indicates a development in descriptive perspectives of the policy process - from a sequential and stagist approach to a cyclical and interwoven one.

Issue-Attention Cycles: An Application of the Incrementalist Approach

Downs' (1972) model provides a clear conceptualisation of the cyclical perspective of the policy process. The issue-attention cycle begins at a dormant 'pre-problem stage' where a specific issue exists, and its severity is recognized by experts and interest groups but otherwise remains largely unnoticed. When some form of dramatic event, or series of events, occurs, the public becomes alert to the issue (Downs, 1972, p39) - which propels it into the 'alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm' stage. At this point, the issue becomes a politically salient public 'problem' that prompts the government to react and respond to be seen as making progress in seeking a solution. Such efforts would likely include establishing departmental agencies to investigate the issue; providing evidence and information for select and advisory committees to utilise and develop policy initiatives; and developing new regulatory agencies to implement them (O'Riordan, 1991, p179).

However, as the actual cost of making significant progress is slowly realised, the issue imperceptibly blends into a stage that sees a gradual decline in public interest in the

issue - resulting from discouragement at the cost of significant progression, boredom as the issue is no longer novel and suppression because it makes people threatened. The issue finally reaches the somewhat purgatorial post-problem stage where, although it likely receives more attention than it did in the pre-problem stage, as a result of the increased focus during the ‘alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm’ stage (Petersen, 2009, p6) the issue returns to a relatively dormant state until some form of dramatic event thrusts it back into salience once more. (Downs, 1972, p39-41; Richardson and Jordan, 1979, p90-91; O’Riordan, 1991, p177-179). In retrospect, Down’s issue attention cycle suggests that it is just as accurate for political systems as it is for philosophy; “that old questions are not answered - they only go out of fashion” (Solesbury, 1976, p396).

Theoretical Perspectives: The Nature of Power and Policy Systems as a Whole

An alternative perspective to consider in relation to the policy process and complex policy problems is the role and influence of power in policy systems. What follows is an overview of the two main pluralist/elitist schools of thought in theoretical perspectives on power: to provide insight into the nature and distribution of power. Subsequent sections take the form of an in-depth examination of three seminal perspectives on how power is exercised by different policy actors: to provide insight into how policy actors influence each other and the policy agenda.

The Pluralist Perspective

Classical pluralism (Dahl, 1961) defines the nature of power as being fundamentally diffuse, where the state is a neutral arbiter of power, the political system is mutually supportive, the political agenda is unbiased, and the distribution of power is equal among policy actors operating within specific policy stakeholder groups. In contrast, *elite pluralism* (Richardson and Jordan, 1979) considers the state of being a

strategic intermediary that adjudicates between the demands of different stakeholder groups. It considers the political system to be often unsupportive, (even oppositional), the political agenda to exhibit bias, power to be distributed unequally among policy stakeholder groups and 'elite' stakeholder groups to have better access to power, possess a larger percentage of it and therefore able to monopolize power and influence other stakeholders. *Neo pluralists* (Connelly, 1969), however, consider classical pluralism and elite pluralism to be theoretically too simplistic. Instead, neo-pluralism considers the state *itself* to be a stakeholder group seeking to further its sectional interests; the political system is overtly competitive; the political agenda is particularly biased toward corporate stakeholder groups, and stakeholder groups with different socioeconomic resources compete for greater access to power, increased amounts of power and more political influence within which to wield power.

The Elitist Perspective

In contrast, the elitist perspective on the nature, distribution, and use of power, considers power to be highly centralized within society. Proponents of *classical elitism* (Pareto, 1916; Mosca, 1939, Wright, 1965) argue for the inevitability of competing elite stakeholders to cyclically monopolize political power over the masses, owing to their 'superior personal characteristics'. Mosca (1939) argues that elite groups are better equipped to exercise political rule over the masses but differs from Pareto (1916) in attributing the social background of elite groups as justification for their role to rule. Mosca (1939) reasoned that because elite groups tend to be a minority, they can better organize effectively and efficiently. Thus, elite stakeholders can monopolize political power over the masses because of their 'superior organizational abilities' rather than the 'superior personal characteristics' Pareto (1916) argues for. However, a more theoretically convincing interpretation of classical elite theory (C. Wright Mills, 1965) refers to the notion of *power blocs* in society, where three primary elite institutions - major corporations, the federal government, and the military - have their own set of specific interests and are internally dominated by the inner elite. Interestingly, each institution is

bound by necessary cooperation with the other institutions to maintain their individual but socially cohesive elite status, power, and rule, thus, characterising their power elite role within society.

Marxist Perspectives

A further element contributing to the pluralist-elitist debate is corporatist and Marxist perspectives, which broadly advocate an elitist perspective that considers economic and political power to originate from (and be controlled by) a miscellaneous minority bourgeoisie. *Instrumentalist Marxism* (Miliband, 1970), for example, is a conflict-oriented perspective that emphasises the importance of a symbiotic relationship between the ruling class and state power. In seeking to demonstrate the nature of the ruling elite, Miliband (1970) argues that Instrumentalist Marxism considers political and economic elite stakeholders to be allied through a mutual class or corporate background. Their shared access and manipulation of state power enables the political and economic ruling elite to make decisions and implement policies that individually reflect but also mutually benefit their class or corporate interests. Not only does this demonstrate how political and economic policies are formulated and implemented within capitalist societies, but this arguably insidious interaction reduces the State to being a top-down network of interpersonal relations between those that compose the State, i.e., the ruling classes and those that compose the social groups operating within it, i.e., the working masses.

Structuralist Marxism (Althusser, 1969; Poulantzas, 1969, 1970), on the other hand, is a structurally oriented perspective that considers the state as being composed of objective structures. These structures are objective arrangements between economic, legal, and political entities that operate in an objective system (Poulantzas 1969, p70). Structuralist Marxism argues for a structural determinism that objectively acts in the long-term interests of capitalism rather than the short-term subjective interests of individual

members of capitalist ruling elites (Lukes, 2005, p57). It maintains the conflict-oriented perspective of Instrumental Marxism but differs in its definition and exercise of power. Structuralist Marxism argues that state power is not the instrumental apparatus of the ruling elite but is a regulating mechanism that controls the class and corporate conflict between the interests of the working masses (i.e., raising minimum wages and increasing rights of workers' unions) and the interests of the ruling classes (i.e., providing tax breaks and reducing government subsidies) (Offe, 1974). Furthermore, the objective structural arrangements of the state act on behalf of the long-term interests of capitalism itself and not the short-term interests of a class or corporate ruling elite. It does this by enabling individuals within institutions to exercise power to compel the ruling elite to (at least temporarily) concede to the demands of the working masses - which in turn stabilizes the capitalist system and assures the preservation of capitalism itself.

In general, differences in pluralist and elitist perspectives on the nature, distribution, and use of power can be traced back to differences in the pluralist and elitist *focus* in relation to the role and influence of power in the policy process. For instance, pluralists are concerned with *actual* power and focus on exercising power, whereas elitists are interested in *potential* power and concentrate on power reputations. While pluralists talk of power in terms of *power-over* and something that can be studied empirically through political process, elitists view power in terms of *power-to*, which can be studied hypothetically through the theory of power reputations (Berndtson, 1995, p1; Lukes, 2005, p17). To counter the potential deadlock, what follows is a detailed examination of three leading pluralist-elitist perspectives on the nature, distribution, and use of power to provide a more nuanced demonstration of how competing theoretical perspectives on the role and influence of power in the policy process inform the theoretical framework in which the PC&N perspective is oriented.

Origins of the Debate: The First Face of Power

The concept of power relations within political systems can be traced back to Max Weber (1922), who broadly defined power within the political community as being the “chance of a man, or a number of men, to realize their own will in a social action, even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action” (p1035). ‘Power’, then, is the increased probability that the will of an individual, or institutional policy actor, will successfully dominate the will of other policy actors in the decision-making process of a critical political issue. Almost certainly, Weber’s perspective on power relations in political systems is reflected in Robert Dahl’s seminal study (1957, 1958, 1961) of power in relation to democracy in institutional systems.

In his early ‘Concept of Power’ article, Dahl’s initial, intuitive understanding of power was associated with potential, or *power to*, i.e., A has power over B to the extent that A can make B do something that B would not otherwise do (1957, p202-203). Yet, at a later point in the article, he described power to be an actual exercise, or *power over*, i.e., a *successful attempt* by A to get a to do something he would not otherwise do (p204). It is this second definition of power exercised through actual observable behaviour that underlined the methodology in Dahl’s “Who Governs?” (1961) exploration of the power relation within the formal and informal power structures of municipal governance. Through the reconstructed interviews with participants and subsequent observations and recordings by Wolfinger (1973) Dahl was able to critically examine the decision-making process of key public policy issues under dispute in New Haven’s (Connecticut, United States) municipal governing body.

Dahl detailed the number of times when one policy actor preferred an alternative option to those proposed by others; documented whether the alternative being proposed was either adopted or vetoed and whether the same policy actor vetoed *other* alternative initiatives. Charting these as either ‘successes’ or ‘defeats’, Dahl was able to determine the extent that A was able to exert power over B by measuring them on a scale of best to

worst influence terms: rational persuasion, manipulative persuasion, inducement, power coercion and physical force. For instance, if A exerts power or influence over B using rational persuasion, it is an exercise of power in terms of *best* influence. Whereas if A exerts power or influence over B using physical force, it displays power in terms of *worst* influence. The policy actors with the highest percentage of successes out of the *total* number of successes were considered the most influential (Dahl, 1961, p336) and, therefore, identifiable as a hypothetical ruling elite.

However, whilst a series of elite groups dominated in *some* areas of public policy, such as education, nominations for public office, and urban renewal - the alternative decisions preferred by the hypothetical ruling elite was only adopted in some cases. This led to the conclusion that the institutional systems of New Haven's governing body did not consist of one central power but were part of a series of ruling elites that coexisted, competed, and shared power within a pluralistic political system (Dahl, 1961, p311). Arguably, the main contribution of Dahl's perspective on power relations is the empirical testability of the method he used, his innovative approach to the concepts he discussed, and the real-world applicability of the terms he introduced. For example, his methodological approach in 'Who Governs?' was intentionally eclectic given the broad range of data under investigation (1961, p330).

Furthermore, by associating 'power' with 'influence', Dahl's overall pluralistic interpretation of the power relation was considerably more equitable than Weber's (1922)'s elitist perspective of correlating power with 'resistance' or 'domination'. In addition, in his 'Preface to Democratic Theory' (1956), Dahl introduced the term 'polyarchy' instead of 'democracy' to describe political systems that have multiple centres of political power (1956, p74). Therefore, Dahl's pioneering critique on the nature of power and its unequal distribution among the electorate and elite challenged the convention on the nature of democracy in institutional and political systems. And yet, Dahl's early concern with the exercise of *actual* power, concrete decisions, and observable conflict lacks essential insight into the democratic systems of the real world.

Limitations of the First Face of Power

With regard to the necessary presence of *conflict* in Dahl's definition of power being exercised, his initial, intuitive view was that power is exercised when A successfully influences B to do something that B would not otherwise do (1958, p466). But this does not explicitly imply that the exercise of power needs to involve actual, observable conflict. Take, for example, the description of '*important*' issues or '*key*' political decisions in Dahl's definition of the exercise of power. Dahl assumes that what is considered 'key' or 'important' would involve power being directly exercised through actual, observable disagreement between policy stakeholders about their preferences. However, he fails to consider the potential for power to be *indirectly* exercised with policy stakeholders using covert means to manipulate and influence which issues become 'important' or what routine political decisions become 'key' by controlling the boundaries of what issues and what alternative decision options get discussed. The absence of a policy stakeholders' observable behaviour in the decision-making discourse of a given issue does not necessarily indicate that they are not actively influencing the limits of the social structure or the political parameters that the decision-making deliberations take place within (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, pp949-951).

In his defence, Dahl does later acknowledge that power can also be operated in the absence of conflict when a policy stakeholder is able, by overt or covertly influential means, to successfully veto a decision despite the opposition of others or make a concrete decision where no opposition appears (Dahl, 1961, p66). However, the assumption that policy preferences are only exhibited in actions discoverable through observable behaviour overemphasises the significance of 'making and vetoing' behaviour in decision-making scenarios that involve conflict. It also underestimates that power can be exercised through a deliberate process of *non*-decision-making via strategic absence or non-participation in scenarios that do not (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p6).

In sum, Dahl's perspective on power is overly committed to analysing the study of overt behaviour. It assumes that the exercise of power can only be represented in concrete decisions made in conflict situations and reflected in the measurable effects that it is the direct cause of. 'Measurable effects' refer to specific and visible influences on decision-making that are considered more important or consequential than 'immeasurable effects' - influences that are more speculative and invisible (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, pp948-949). The implications of only examining the making of concrete decisions about important issues that are assumed to involve an element of actual, observable conflict are that Dahl inevitably adopts the bias of the political system under observation and becomes blind to how its political agenda is controlled-within the community. By not considering how the exercise of power may be represented in the *abstract* influence over those concrete decisions (i.e., manipulation in the absence of conflict) or how the exercise of power may also be reflected in immeasurable elements that it may have influenced the cause of; Dahl's *more* apparent definition of power, its distribution and how it is used, fails to demonstrate the more subtle ways that power is exercised in a pluralist system which may be biased in favour of specific issues and specific stakeholders over others (Lukes, 1974, p57-58). From this perspective, the less apparent face of power is just as worthy of consideration, if not more so, than Dahl's more apparent definition in any decision-making scenario within a political system.

Contributions to the Debate: the Less Apparent Face of Power

Consider the scenario presented in Peter S. Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz's 'Two Faces of Power' (1962), which studied poverty, race, and the non-involvement of minorities in Baltimore's (Maryland, United States) political decision-making. Their study centred on how the decisions of the city's ruling elite were able to deflect the demands of its electorate and prevent them from becoming important issues that could threaten the status quo. Bachrach and Baratz argued that whilst elitists consider power to be highly centralised and pluralists believe it to be widely diffused, neither adequately describe the true nature of power at work within the formal and informal power structures

of the political system of a given community. An elitist approach would contend that power in a community is organized and structured and reflected in the layered and hierarchical structures of the institutions within the community. In contrast, the pluralistic perspective would argue that the nature of power cannot be reflected in such a classified state or reduced to such restricted conditions because no single institution or organization dominates within the community. However, a more nuanced perspective on power would not question *who rules* or consider *whether anyone rules at all*, but instead find out what values, beliefs, rituals, or procedures characterised these rules in the first place (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, pp 947-949). In other words, what is the *mobilisation of bias* in the institution or organisation in question? (Schattschneider, 1960).

All forms of political organisation have a bias in favour of the exploitation of some issues and interests and the suppression of others (Sobrinho, 2001, p115). Organising values, beliefs, rituals, and procedures into a systematic set of rules is the mobilisation of an organisation's underlying bias (Schattschneider 1960, p71, in Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p949). So, in theory, a closer look into the underlying trends and patterns within an organisation's mobilisation of bias that systematically benefits some stakeholders over others would indicate *which* are enabled by the existing bias and which are not. In practical terms, this starts with examining where stakeholder A invests their time and energy in creating or reinforcing social values, observing political rituals, or following institutional practices, to identify their issue interests and policy preferences in relation to stakeholders B and C. It then examines how A can create or reinforce social, political, or institutional barriers to limit the decision-making process's parameters to discuss issues that appear innocuous to their interests. In addition, analysing how A can prevent B and C from having the resources to effectively promote the significance of issues that might damage A's interests would demonstrate, or rather - given the covert nature of the endeavour - *indicate* - the potential of A to exercise less apparent, but still definitive power, in the decision-making process (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, pp 948-949).

In sum, the less apparent perspective on power is a form of active inaction that demonstrates how it can also be exercised through indirect influence and manipulation through a purposeful political process of non-decision-making and covert and unobservable patterns of behaviour. To integrate this with Dahl's (1961) perspective on the nature of power, its distribution and use; there are two faces of power at work within the formal and informal power structures of the political system within a given community. The first concerns the exercise of actual power in the decision-making of key issues, in the presence of overt conflict, by policy actors with subjective interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation. The second informs the first by focusing on decision-making and non-decision-making of issues and potential issues, in the presence of overt or covert conflict, by policy actors with subjective interests, in the form of policy preferences or grievances (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p952; Lukes, 1974, p24).

Limitations of the Less Apparent Face of Power

Perhaps Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) most significant contribution to advancing the debate on the nature of power is highlighting the need to examine the practice of non-decision-making as an exercise of power. Yet, the elusive nature of non-decision or non-issue-making raises doubts about the empirical testability of the concept in terms of how such an exercise can be verifiably identified. More specifically, how is it possible to identify and investigate critical issues that are not recognised as such, define decisions that are not made, or explain events that do not happen? (Lukes, 1974, p38). To answer these questions is to look at Matthew Crenson's application of the non-decision-making concept in his study of power relations between U.S. Steel and two neighbouring cities in 'The Un-Politics of Air Pollution (1971); as it lends support for the real-world applicability of the concept as a theoretical framework.

When investigating why some U.S. cities failed to make a political issue of their air pollution problems, Crenson (1971) assumed that politically imposed limitations upon the scope of decision-making resulted in stakeholders redirecting decision-making activity by channelling it through the processes of non-decision-making and political inactivity. Crenson's case study centred on two neighbouring cities, East Chicago and Gary, Indiana, both being equally polluted and having similar populations. The critical difference between the two cities and the core of Crenson's study was that East Chicago took action to clear its air pollution in 1949, whereas Gary did not act until 1962. Crenson argued that the reason was that U.S. Steel was Gary's largest industrial, corporate employer and had a strong party organization; however, East Chicago was more diverse in its steel companies and did not have a strong party organization when it passed its air pollution laws.

Noting that U.S. Steel was primarily responsible for the prosperity of Gary and that it maintained robust and influential party organization in the city, Crenson argued that U.S. Steel was mainly able to inhibit the growth of the air pollution issue through its 'power reputation' and applying Freidrich's (1963) law of 'anticipated reactions'. This refers to the idea that if the actions of X are reviewed and assessed by Y, with Y capable of rewarding positive actions and punishing negative ones, X will likely consider and anticipate Y's wants, values and interests. It is not guaranteed that X will accommodate Y, as this depends on Y's potential rewards and punishments relative to the other considerations in X's decision. However, likely, Y will at least be considered (Freidrich, 1963, in Cox and Morgenstern, 2002, p 446). Since U.S. Steel was an influential industrial organization, Crenson ventured that its anticipated reaction would be to suppress the air pollution issue because considering the demands of Gary's citizens for changes to the status quo would not yield any rewards that U.S. Steel would consider as incentives. Nonetheless, any industrial organization with a high-power reputation, such as U.S. Steel, will attract a strong party organization to promote the air pollution issue in an attempt to engage with them in the political process for the express purpose of seeking industrial influence brokerage.

Crenson argues that political issues are interconnected through their relevance to a collective good, which tends to promote or demote other collective issues. Pollution control is an interconnected political issue where costs are concentrated on the industry. Thus, where the party organization support for the air pollution issue will be overtly strong, industrial organization support for it will be overtly weak *but covertly strong* in terms of deliberate political inactivity and non-decision-making designed to slow progress and suppress support of the air pollution issue. U.S. Steel's *reputation* for power, though unsupported by *acts* of power and without entering or acting in the political arena, was able to hinder attempts to raise the air pollution issue; inhibit demands for change to the pollution problem and decisively influence the content of the anti-pollution laws that were finally enacted (Crenson, 1971, p107, in Lukes, 1974, pp43-45).

Arguably, Crenson's (1971) study of power relations between U.S. Steel and East Chicago and Gary, Indiana, demonstrates how power can be exercised through strategic non-decision-making by the ruling elite. Yet, Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) definition of non-issue and non-decision-making is potentially misleading because it implies that the non-issue or non-decision is a way of protecting and preserving the status quo by "a person or group..." (1962, p8) with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, i.e., the ruling elite, who coexist, compete, and share power within the system. But, whilst this is usually the case, it is not always so, and so should not be implied as such. One example is how non-elite masses can utilise non-decision-making to influence the ruling elite, such as when voting (Lukes, 1974, p36).

Nonetheless, what is not misleading in Bachrach and Baratz's definition of non-issue creating, and non-decision-making is how they highlight the need to objectively identify an 'important' issue by reviewing the boundaries that determine it as such. More specifically, an issue that is considered 'important' is relative to the prescribed standards of the status quo of the political system it is set within. These standards are set by the

ruling elite, which has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Therefore, what determines whether an issue is 'important' or not, is a subjective interpretation and a moral judgment. However, it is equally important to consider *all* potential issues, i.e., including potential issues that have not been selected as *actual* issues by the ruling elite (possibly because they agitate the status quo), in identifying whether an issue is truly important or not. So, considering all potential issues, rather than those selected by the ruling elite, would be more of an objective interpretation and value judgment (Frey, 1971, p1085-6) about deciding whether an issue is 'important' or not.

Arguably, Bachrach and Baratz have tended to categorise all potential issues excluded from the political agenda into a decision or a non-decision. But decisions are consciously and intentionally made by individuals between alternatives, whereas the bias of a system can be mobilised, redefined, and reinforced in ways that are neither consciously chosen nor the intended result of an individual's choice. In other words, the parameters of a political system can be manipulated in ways that individuals, groups, and organisations, as stakeholders, may not realise but which may affect their decision-making, consciously or unconsciously (Lukes, 1974, p21).

Perhaps Bachrach and Baratz (1962) should have focused more on *behaviour* and the absence of observable conflict in their study of decision-making. Bachrach and Baratz presume that power can only be exercised in scenarios where either overt decision-making or covert non-decision-making involves some form of conflicting behaviour, which can be identified as overt or covert grievances in the form of interests and issues at the point they are denied or granted entry into the political process (1962, p50). They consider an overt grievance as an expressed policy preference considered safe, established as an important issue, believed suitable for public deliberation and observable as it takes shape whilst it progresses through the political process. On the other hand, a covert grievance is an articulated policy preference considered unsafe, deliberately disregarded as important, deemed unsuitable for public deliberation and observable in its aborted form at the point it is denied entry into the political system (Bachrach and Baratz, p1962, p49).

Therefore, the prevailing paradigm in their analyses is that because power only manifests in cases involving observable or unobservable conflict, it follows that some *form* of conflict is necessary for power. If a decision or non-decision does not involve *any* form of conflict, it is impossible to accurately measure whether the motivation is to advance the interests of the decision-makers or to impede any demands for change that are counter to those interests (1962, p50). The absence of *any* form of conflict equates to either consensus or acquiescence about the prevailing values of the political system, and there is no way to determine whether consensus is genuine through decision-making empirically; or whether acquiescence is enforced (and power is exercised) through non-decision-making (ibid., p25). However, this is to ignore the possibility that power can also be exercised in decision-making scenarios where no form of conflicting behaviour is present at all (Lukes, 1974, 2005).

Furthering the Debate: the Third Dimension of Power

In critiquing the pluralist perspective of Dahl and developing the elitist standpoint of Bachrach and Baratz further, Steven Lukes' 'Power: A Radical View (1974, 2005 (2nd Ed.)) provides some important insights into the nature of power that are arguably more profound than those of the theories it builds upon. For instance, in terms of studying actual behaviour and looking for empirical evidence in the form of concrete decisions and observable conflict, Dahl's first face of power was practical and real-world oriented in terms of analysing the decision-making of critical issues in the community, such as urban development, public education and political nomination. However, it is also incomplete in terms of a fully comprehensive study of the nature of power from the third-dimension perspective of power.

More specifically, the nature of the pluralist perspective would argue that a political system, or a policy community within it, is theoretically penetrable by any policy

actor, regardless of their desires or needs, preferences or perspective. However, in Dahl's study, this seemingly equitable multiplicity is only demonstrated with specific issues; those considered safe and acceptable that don't pose a threat to the status quo and are therefore fit for public debate (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p6). Issues that Bachrach and Baratz (1962) would strategically select from the potential issues pool and identify as 'key' or 'important'. But Dahl's study fails to examine any potential issues that may go against the status quo and, therefore, the interests of the ruling elite and thus remain stagnating in the issue pool, purposefully excluded from the public debate (Lukes, 1974, pp20-21).

Furthermore, Dahl argues that voting, as a general concept, provides empirical evidence that the decision-making process refers to, and responds to the preferences of citizens over politicians, thereby providing empirical evidence that the electorate can exercise power over the elite (1957, p101). However, Dahl does not consider how elected leaders can just as equally exercise power over the public through indirect and unobservable influence by covertly preventing other individual or institutional policy actors from introducing other issues or offering alternate options in election processes. The third-dimension view of power points out that power can be exercised in such a manner by more powerful policy actors reinforcing institutional barriers, strengthening hierarchical social structures, and practicing non-decision-making or non-issue-making in procedural political practices. Doing so manipulates the desires and beliefs of less powerful policy actors. It influences them to desire or believe things that, had not such power been exercised over them, they would otherwise identify as not necessarily in their best interest (Lukes, 1974, pp36-37). Put simply, the third dimension of power argues that the exercise of power is not always visible, is at its most insidious and effective when least observable, and attention must be paid to those aspects of power that are least accessible to observation (Lukes, 2005, p1).

Concerning the previous point, by focusing on how the behaviour or lack of behaviour of individual policy actors can prevent potential issues from becoming key

issues, Dahl and Bachrach, and Baratz's (1962) perspectives on power are arguably too individualistic and narrow in terms of not considering how power is exercised in decision-making scenarios that do not involve an individual's (non)participation, policy preferences or grievances. Examining only the behaviour of individual policy actors indicates a lack of a sociological perspective for examining the complex ways in which power can also be exercised in the form of political socialization mediated through social structures (Lukes, 1974, pp 22-24). In other words, the ruling elite can influence the preferences and perceptions of those with less through reinforcing institutional barriers, strengthening hierarchical social structures, and practicing non-decision-making or non-issue-making in procedural political practices. Doing so provides a broader perspective in which to consider the motives, means and methods in which more powerful stakeholders can prevent potential issues from becoming key issues, as well as a more comprehensive explanation of the sociology of power given from a political context (Lukes, 2005, p25-29).

Applications of the Third Dimension View on Power

Several studies have adopted Lukes's perspective on power as a theoretical framework, including VeneKlasen and Miller (2002), Gaventa (2006) and, retrospectively, Crenson (1971). Luke's own reference to Crenson's comparative study of power relations between U.S. Steel and the failure of the city of Gary, Indiana, to make a political issue of their air pollution problem is a prime example of an application of Lukes' empirical approach using the identification and analyses of an empirical object of power, U.S. Steel; and his theoretical perspective via the identification and analyses of an exercise of power through non-decision-making and the absence of observable conflict. In Crenson's study, U.S. Steel deliberately stayed out of the political arena regarding the air pollution issue in Gary, fully aware it was able to exercise power through the anticipated reactions of its power reputation. Through intentional political inactivity and non-decision-making, U.S. Steel was able to significantly inhibit the growth of the air pollution issue in Gary; hinder demands for change to the air pollution problem and

influence the content of the anti-air pollution laws that were eventually passed (Crenson, 1971, p107, in Lukes, 2005, p45-46).

VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) based the foundations of their theoretical framework around the original Dahlian notion of *power to* (Dahl, 1969, p80) – which was something that Lukes (1974) originally dismissed but later acknowledged as being a productive and transformative exercise of power (Lukes, 2005, p85). VeneKlasen and Miller's study was a notable empirical application of Luke's theoretical framework because it added two further definitions of power that build on the third-dimension perspective. They developed a research model that applies Lukes's empirical approach with the identification and analyses of *power with* as an exercise of power through investigating concrete experiences of social change, specifically female empowerment in the context of community development and campaign advocacy. VeneKlasen and Miller also adopted Lukes's theoretical perspective with the identification and analyses of *power within* as an exercise of power to challenge dominant norms such as gender, race, and class discrimination. VeneKlasen and Miller added a further element to Lukes' third-dimensional view of power by arguing that the related notions of *power with*² and *power within*³ indicate that an exercise of power can be a *positive* expression of agency by the powerless in response to the one previously exercised by the powerful (2002, p39). Their research culminated in developing an action guide approach to the effective citizen participation of marginalized groups (Jordan, 2008, p64-65).

In addition, another notable study that adopted Lukes's theoretical perspective on power was Gaventa's (1980) focus on changes in the perceptions of the mining practices of miners in the Appalachian Mountain ranges (north-eastern United States). By comparing and contrasting the mining practices of similar and dissimilar Appalachian

² the political power of potential collective action or agency

³ the psychological power of an individual's potential agency, who, once cognisant of the boundaries imposed upon them by a third party, realises their potential agency in extending or eliminating such boundaries.

communities, Gaventa observed the effects that periodic interventions into the practices of each mining community had on the miners' perceptions of their circumstances and their power to change them. In doing so, he could distinguish between the miners' consent and their acquiescence toward a third form of power through their internalisation of powerlessness or the ideologies of a dominant social group imposed upon them. Or, in Gaventa's more context-appropriate words, "the development of the colonial situation involves the shaping of wants, values, roles and beliefs of the colonized" (1980, p32). Doubts have been raised, however, about whether Gaventa's quiescent miners are typical or atypical outliers of such a third-dimensional relationship. Arguably this is a question that can only really be answered by comparing it with similarly long-term case studies - something that is notably lacking in relation to empirical applications of Lukes' theoretical perspective (Shapiro, 2006, p146-147) and assuredly because Lukes did not provide any clear methodological guidance for establishing an empirical basis to apply his theoretical framework (Dowding, 2006, p136).

Limitations of the Third Dimension View on Power

With reflection on VeneKlasen and Miller's (2002, p39) contribution to the third dimension of power (where related notions of *power with*⁴ and *power within*⁵ indicate that an exercise of power can be a positive expression of agency by the powerless in response to the one exercised by the powerful); Lukes (1974) initial perspective focused more on the dominating aspects of imbalanced power relations, i.e. *power over*, and ignored those that considered power as a capacity, an ability or a facility for enabling any sense of *power to* (Heyward, 2007, p48). In not acknowledging or clearly distinguishing between *power over* and *power to*, Lukes arguably regarded *power over* as being synonymous with the Weberian (1922) *power as domination* when referring to an

⁴ the political power of potential collective action or agency

⁵ the psychological power of an individual's potential agency, who, once cognisant of the boundaries imposed upon them by a third party, realises their potential agency in extending or eliminating such boundaries.

imbalance within power relations. This implies that the exercise of power is to be interpreted in exclusively zero-sum terms (Swartz, 2005, p104). However, Lukes (2005) addresses this by clarifying how *power as domination* and *power to* are both distinctive forms of *power over* that is exercised within power dependency relationships. More specifically, he defines *power over* in the sense of *power as domination* as being where A can exercise power over B in a way that purposefully subverts B's objective interests (Lukes, 2005, p84). In other words, where the 'real interests' of one social agent, B, are manipulated by another social agent, A, who stands to benefit from such manipulation (Shapiro, 2006, p147). The exercise of this form of power within a power dependency relationship is overtly pejorative and of the zero-sum game (Heyward, 2007, p51). However, in the complex power dependency relationships of the real world, *power over* can also be defined in the sense of *power to*, where A can exercise power over B in a manner that is "productive, transformative, authoritative and compatible with dignity" and is very much in the real, objective interests of B; such as with a doctor-patient, teacher-student, parent-child power dynamic (Lukes, 2005, pp85-86).

Another criticism about Lukes's (1974) third dimension on power is his tendency to confuse analysis with critique in relation to the assumption that his approach was empirically applicable, *in principle* (Hay, 2002, p183, Lorenzi, 2006, p87). Understandably, it is difficult to reconcile the normative component within the third dimension of power as being both 'empirically applicable' and yet 'essentially contestable' (Bradshaw, 2006, p121). More specifically, Lukes (1974) initially pondered how A can exercise power over B by influencing B's perceptions and determining B's preferences. Building on both Dahl (1961) and Bachrach and Baratz's (1962's) perspectives on the exercise of power, he concluded that A could exercise short-term power over B when there is an observable conflict of subjective interests, provided that there is a suitable empirical basis for identifying B's real, objective interests (Lukes, 1974, p33). In other words, A can exercise power over B when *power over* is interpreted as A adversely affecting B's real interests when there is an observable conflict between B's *stated* preferences; B's *real* interests and A's stated preferences *for* B's real interests (Heyward, 2007, p52).

In this context, Lukes (clearly valuing the importance of empirical research) assumes that the empirical data generated by observable conflict acts as the *final authority* to identify B's fundamental interests. It also assumes a sense of justification for A's explanation of their purpose, framework, and method for adversely affecting B's stated preferences and interests (Swartz, 2005, p106). However, Lukes' (1974) emphasis on the empirical approach fails when there is *no* observable conflict between either A or B's stated preferences and, therefore, *no* empirical data to determine B's real interests (Heyward, 2007, p52). Therefore, any attempt to describe the nature of power should not limit the focus to only a *visible* exercise and should not conceptualise it as an 'actuality'. Instead, it should consider power to be a *capacity* or an *ability* that can be either *overtly* or *covertly* exercised by A in any given situation and should be re-conceptualised as a 'potentiality' (Lukes, 2005, p64–65). This is a conceptual shift in Lukes's approach to power because it now incorporates a more complex, nuanced, and qualified definition of 'power' - but it also reiterates Lukes' consistent argument in both editions of his work that power is not an entirely objective concept but is dispositional, essentially contestable, and inescapably political (Swartz 2005, pp104-105). The negative impact of this claim renders related theories of power relations beyond objective analysis and prevents conceptual theorists from reaching any consensus on a broad definition of power. By effectively disallowing any possibility of scientific evaluation and vetoing any notion that power can be exercised legitimately, Lukes fails to provide a baseline reference for identifying real interests in any given account or generic guidelines to identify *when* or explain *how* the third face of power was being exercised in such an account (Swartz, 2005, p105, Dowding, 2006, p136).

A third significant criticism of Lukes (1974) perspective on power is that when he defined an exercise of power as the ability of A to act against the interests of B, Lukes presumes that policy actors on either side of the imbalanced power relationship have unitary and opposing interests. The complex power dependency relationships of the real world inevitably include multiple actors with divergent interests (Swartz, 2005, p105). For example, a third party, C, who might have power over B, may possess entirely

different resources than A and harbour their preferences, values, and desires. Supposing that two independent and individually harmless actions are taken by A and C, who then combine to produce toxic consequences for B; then Lukes' unitary perspective would not be able to identify whether it was A or C, or A *and* C, that exercised power over B to produce the subsequent influence or effects on them. By not considering the third-party potential of C influencing B or taking into account the impact that C might have on the intentions and preferences of A, the third-dimension perspective on power is incomplete, too simplistic, narrow in the application and not representative of the complex situations that surround power relations in the real world (Bradshaw, 1976, p124).

In a similar vein, Benton (1981) raises the notion of 'relative autonomy', where interests are identified as a privileged set of wants and preferences that have been exhibited under conditions of democratic participation. The disregard Lukes has for the potential of 'other ascriptions' outside of A in regard to B's real interests limits the parameters of Lukes' empirical framework. For example, supposing A's power over B is temporarily suspended in a given situation; how is it possible to ascertain when enough of A's power has been withdrawn for it to be legitimate for B's expressed preferences to be identified as their 'real interests?' It is not possible to determine whether B's stated interests are indeed their real interests through the limited observational parameters of Lukes' theoretical approach because he does not consider the potential for B to have been affected by an exercise of power from a different source, or multiple sources, with divergent interests (Benton, 1981, p166-167).

In his defence, Lukes (2005) acknowledges that it is inadequate to confine the discussion on the exercise of power to binary relations between policy actors presumed to have unitary interests. He also recognises that policy actors "have multiple, conflicting and different kinds of interests" (Lukes, 2005, p12-13 in Edwards, 2006, p572) generated by identities plausibly ascribed to them, such as class, gender, status, religion, and race. In addition, they also have diverse and associative identities that are not confined by a social notion of class position or an individual sense of fatalism or destiny (Lukes, 2005,

p145 in Shapiro, 2006, p147). Thus, while Lukes initially argued that ‘real interests’ are inherently controversial because they are dependent on being unobservable and subject to conflicting value judgements that cannot be objectively validated (Lukes, 1974, p 94), he later acknowledged that value judgments are nonetheless integral to the selection of which outcomes of an exercise of power are considered the most significant; the significance of which is thought of in terms of what interests are involved (Lukes, 2005, p145).

Finally, and arguably the most noteworthy criticism of Lukes’ perspective on power is his insufficient explanation of the sociological context in which he can identify how the forms or causes of the values and beliefs of dominated people lead them to acquiesce to their domination (Dowding, 2006, p137, Shapiro, 2006, p148). For example, do people acquiesce in a ‘thick’ sense, actively believing the values that oppress them, or in a ‘thin’ sense - where they are merely resigned to them (Scott 1990, in Dowding, 2006, p137)? To explain the forms and causes of acquiescence under a rational choice framework, then the identification of ‘*real* interests’ can only be interpreted as an individual’s ‘best interests’ in so far as the choices that they find themselves restricted to (Lukes, 1974, p 148, in Dowding, 1991, p43). There are two ways of explaining what real or objective interests are; the first, false beliefs, are based on the Marxist-inspired notion of false consciousness (Engels, 1893) and the second centre on the structure of the situation someone faces (Dowding, 2006, p138).

In the first instance, Lukes re-conceptualizes the notion of false consciousness as the ‘power to mislead’, where the definition of domination can be interpreted as being anything that compromises individual autonomy. Most notably, this can include the promotion and sustenance of failure of rationality, illusory thinking, and the misrecognition of the sources of desire and belief (Lukes, 2005, p149 in Shapiro, 2006, p148). The exercise of power in these forms of domination is the process in which a sense of false consciousness can be created by the *powerful* to mislead the *powerless* – demonstrated in the example of an Indian woman who either willingly or resignedly

sacrifices her nutritional health for that of her husband. By adopting those values and following beliefs that justify such domination, the Indian woman complies with her oppression (Nussbaum and Sen (1992, 1993) in Dowding, 2006, p137).

By leaving too much unexplained in such a ‘black box of socialisation,’ Lukes is condescending, inherently illiberal, and overtly paternalistic towards people who endorse values he does not share. A more precise explanation of the sociological context in which beliefs are followed, values adopted, and desires wanted would provide a deeper understanding of how dominated people are led to acquiesce because, given someone’s desires, their false beliefs may lead them to act in ways that they think are in their interests but are not objectively so (Dowding, 2006, pp. 137-140). But, in partial defence of Lukes, Dowding employs Dennetts’ (1987) *intentional stance*, which allows for the interpretation and prediction of people’s actions in ways that may or may not coincide with rationalising their behaviour. Therefore, *intentionality* must be considered to distinguish between the autonomous and non-autonomous ways preferences are formed.

For example, if the Indian woman lives in a traditional Indian community where her husband is considered entirely responsible for the economic welfare of his family, then her decision to prioritise his nutritional health over hers may well be considered entirely rational. However, if she resides in a more modern Indian community where responsibility for the economic welfare of the family may fall on either the husband or the wife, then the wife’s decision to sacrifice her health may not be considered so rational. In either case, the behaviour of the Indian woman - given the current environment she engages within - is entirely justified, irrespective of whether she is considered irrationally compliant or rationally participative. This is because an intentional explanation of her behaviour can be attributed to values that stem from the cultural expectations of her environment, whether she recognises them as such, herself, or not (Dowding, 2006, pp. 137-141).

In other words, an individual's beliefs, values, and actions are influenced and caused by aspects of the world around them. This is commensurate with the notion that policy is often based on the idea of the relative autonomy of the individual. Yet, individual freedom can become compromised through social structures and the action of others (McAreevey, 2009, p55). In the same vein, although random and systematic influences do not make an individual non-autonomous, their autonomy is reduced by influences *intended* by stakeholders who seek to affect the individual in some way, whether they are aware or not. In addition, intended influences also reduce the autonomy of the individual, even if random and systematic influences are not *consciously* intended by the elite stakeholders that affect them. Thus, Lukes's recognition of the possibility of power to mislead does not necessarily indicate a patronizing, parochial perspective toward those that acquiesce to their domination but could also be considered as an indication that people are not necessarily the best judges of what is in their actual interests (Dowding, 2006, pp. 137-141).

In the second instance, Lukes's definition of false consciousness centres on the idea of the structure of the situation an individual faces. In this context, Lukes defines domination as being the individual or institutional power to mobilise, recreate and reinforce the bias of the social system in ways that may or may not be consciously chosen or be the intended result of an individual's choices (Lukes, 2005, p25). But one reason why dominated individuals may not revolt against institutional dominators is due to 'collective action' problems - where individuals are powerless on their own without some form of action from the powerful, albeit that action not necessarily being in the individual's long-term real interests (Dowding, 2006, p137).

In this sense, the creation of a false consciousness is the process in which different values, beliefs, desires, and actions of a *powerless* social group can be influenced and framed by conditional structural factors that mobilise, recreate, and reinforce the bias of a *powerful* social group. The Prisoner's Dilemma demonstrates this, where false beliefs and impulsive desires that constitute an individual's reasons for action develop as a direct

result of the incentives set by others; causing them to behave in a manner that appears to be consistent with their real interests, but may not be so (Dowding, 2006, p138). A further example is the general societal presumption that it is men who consciously dominate women by determining the ideal female form, whereas in reality, it is often women who unconsciously dominate women by perpetuating myths about the ideal female form as often presented in magazines (Bourdieu, 2001, p35, in Dowding, 2006, p142).

Nonetheless, as plausible as Dowding's defence may be, in denying appeals to Lukes' false consciousness as inherently illiberal or paternalist, Lukes (1974) confronts a comparable difficulty concerning his normative arguments and insinuations. More specifically, Lukes fails to indicate how such appeals should be deployed in actual politics or what mechanisms should be institutionalised to reduce the power to mislead or expose those who engage within it (Shapiro, 2006, p148-149). In terms of the actions of individuals or institutions, Lukes's perspective on power considers both individual decisions and institutional practices. He initially argues that power cannot be analysed unless seen as a function of collective forces and social arrangements (1974, p22-24, in Bradshaw, 1976, p126). Thus, an individual's agency is construed from within a particular structural context, and their capacity to act is a set of collective forces and social arrangements that function within the inter-subjective norms of a specific social context (Phelan, 2012, p26). In this sense, Lukes points out that power is exercised through structural definitions because it is a function wielded by an identifiable position within an organisation or group (Bradshaw, 1976, p126) through such institutional practices as Schattschneider's *mobilisation of bias* (1960, p71).

On the other hand, when referencing the discussion between Poulantzas (1969, 1970) and Miliband (1970) regarding Marx's structural determinism vs elite voluntarism, Lukes (1974) argues against the validity and effects of structural, institutional definitions of power and stresses an agent-centred individual perspective in an attempt to locate a sense of autonomy in the relationships in the patterns of power that exist (Lukes, 1974, p55-57 in Dowding, 2006, p136). Developing on from his initial conclusion that social

agents operate within structurally determined limits, Lukes (1974) argues that individuals nonetheless retain relative autonomy and have the potential to act differently. This is because even though those social agents influencing the thoughts and actions of others can be predicted, the *degree* to which they affect them cannot (Bradshaw, 1976, p121).

In conclusion

This chapter has examined descriptive and theoretical perspectives on the policy process, systems theories, and policy systems as a whole to demonstrate how they underpin the theoretical framework in which the PC&N perspective is oriented. Key descriptive perspectives include the stagist approach, which promotes a top-down system approach to policy analysis, where policy-makers form decisions in a rational, systematic manner (Lasswell, 1951, Easton, 1953) and are implemented by neutral organisations and institutions. One of the main benefits of this approach is that dividing the policy process into a series of separate stages allows for a closer analysis of the different features and functions of each one. In particular, the potential identification of causal drivers, such as institutions, organisations, governmental systems and social networks that operate inside and outside the policy-making system, demonstrates how the stagist approach informs the theoretical framework in which the PC&N perspective is oriented. However, the assumption that policymakers make decisions in a rational, systematic manner and are implemented by neutral organisations and institutions does not reflect the conduct of policy actors within the complex political systems of the real world.

Alternative descriptive perspectives on the policy process arguably provide a more equitable interpretation of decision-making. The rationalist (Simon 1945, 1957) and incrementalist (Lindblom, 1959) approaches to policymaking are based on a similar conceptual model, which broadly argues that policymakers maximise their boundedly rational utility by engaging in the process of limited comparisons and partisan mutual adjustment of their policy aims and objectives, to arrive at a policy decision closest to

their comprehensive ideal. The incrementalist model, in particular, demonstrates the utility of the PC&N perspective in how an individual policy actor's inherent limitations can be addressed by engaging with others within the policy community in bipartisan mutual adjustment. Arguably, the rationalist and incrementalist approaches to policymaking more accurately reflect the conduct of policy actors within the cyclical and interwoven policy systems of the real world than the stagist approach. Yet, they do not necessarily account for the policy environments of political issues that are bigger in scale, more unpredictable, and possess many variables.

However, leading theoretical perspectives on the nature, distribution and use of power does offer further interpretations of how decision-making is made in the often-unstable policy environments of complex and contentious policy problems. Specifically, pluralist, elitist and Marxist perspectives inform the theoretical framework of three critical contributions to the literature on power systems in policy systems. Dahl (1957) provides a perspective on power that considers it diffuse, with the state as a neutral arbiter of power and power distribution as equal among policy actors. He defines the exercise of power as the successful attempt of one powerful policy actor to get a less powerful actor to do something they would not otherwise do. Arguably the utility of Dahl's pluralistic view on power relations is the empirical testability and real-world applicability of his approach in terms of studying actual behaviour and looking for empirical evidence in the form of concrete decisions and observable conflict. However, this first face of power does not give a complete representation of power relations within the formal and informal power structures of policy communities and networks, especially in regard to the diverse interests and different agendas of policy agents/actors operating within them.

Bachrach and Baratz (1962) counter that identifying actual behaviour in the form of concrete decisions and observable conflict as evidence of the use of power does not represent the policy systems of the real world, nor does it reflect the conduct of policy actors operating within them. It fails to consider the potential for power to be exercised indirectly by engaging in manipulative unobservable behaviour patterns such as political

inactivity and non-decision-making. Even though by definition, non-decision-making is difficult to identify and test empirically, the less apparent face of power offers a nuanced, inherently elitist perspective on power relations. It demonstrates the real-world applicability of non-decision-making as a theoretical framework for understanding the validity of the PC&N perspective in terms of how individual policy actors can access and exercise power to exploit certain issues and interests while suppressing others in the form of non-decision-making and the absence of conflict.

The third-dimensional perspective on power (Lukes, 1974, 2005) builds on the elitist standpoint of Bachrach and Baratz and the pluralist perspective of Dahl by arguing that power can also be exercised through the creation of false consciousness. This is where policy actors with greater access to power can use it to reinforce institutional barriers, strengthen hierarchical social structures, and actively engage in non-decision-making in policy processes to manipulate the desires and beliefs of those with less. The most notable critique of the third-dimensional perspective on power pertinent to this research is that initially, Lukes assumes an exercise of power can only be located if it is seen as a function of collective forces observable in organisational structure determination, such as political participation in voting or the implementation of institutional procedures and practices. However, he later stresses an agent-centred perspective where an exercise of power can be located as partly attributable to an individual's beliefs or behaviours because all observable exercises of power are fundamentally the observations of individuals (Lukes, 1974, p24). In other words, although powerful policy actors can influence the beliefs and behaviours of less powerful policy actors, the degree to which they can do so is indeterminate. Furthermore, a collective exercise of power is caused by systemic effects, where the mobilisation of bias is ultimately an individual's responsibility. Thus, it is critical to examine even the smallest collective to locate an exercise of power - the individual being the smallest identifiable unit (Lukes 1974, p55).

Arguably, Lukes's aim in locating an exercise of collective power is to secure accountability and responsibility for consequences that result from the inaction or action

of specific individuals. In this respect, his third-dimensional perspective on power is a theoretically valid framework, and the PC&N case studies in this research investigation are empirical applications of it. The following chapter demonstrates how the preceding descriptive and theoretical perspectives on the policy process inform the PC&N perspective by examining the role and influence of the news media in the policy process as an example of how individual policy actors can access and exercise power by mobilising the bias of an institutional policy actor in an attempt to shape the policy agenda.

Chapter Two: Literature Review (B)

Policy Communities and Networks, the Distribution of Power Policy Systems of Specific Actors and the Role of the Media in Agenda Setting

Introduction

The literature review in the previous chapter demonstrated how understanding leading descriptive and theoretical perspectives on the policy process is essential for fully grasping the theoretical framework that the PC&N perspective is oriented in. This comprehensive chapter utilises this knowledge by first demonstrating how neo-pluralism as a theoretical framework is commensurate with the PC&N perspective for understanding the nature of policymaking. In particular, it demonstrates how neo-pluralism is a framework that aligns with Lukes's (1974, 2005) concept of false consciousness in terms of suggesting how stakeholders who possess a greater level of power can exert influence over the beliefs and values of those with less, through the direct and indirect manipulation of information, thus inducing them to adopt beliefs and values that may be contrary to their true interests.

Notably, this chapter expands the theoretical landscape by examining specific approaches to agenda-setting and decision-making. In particular, it examines the nature of power dynamics in the policy-making process, with an emphasis on agenda-setting and decision-making in policy communities and networks. Approaches to this that are examined include the power/resource dependence model (PRD), the advocacy coalition framework, and the strategic relational model. The PRD model focuses on the interdependence of policy actors in maximising their influence over policy outcomes, as does the advocacy coalition framework by examining how stakeholders' core beliefs influence their behaviour with the aim of achieving consensus and influencing policy outcomes. Alternatively, the strategic-relational model adopts a broader perspective and

argues that relationships between policy actors depend on the acknowledgement of mutual advantage and a need to establish preconditions. Alternative perspectives on agenda-setting and decision-making discussed in this chapter include the anti-foundationalist model and the decentred approach. Whilst the former emphasises the role of individual agents in constructing meaning and shaping policy outcomes by examining their biases and beliefs, the latter prioritises the influence of exogenous variables and the capacity of individuals to shape policy decisions at both the micro and macro level.

This chapter then narrows the theoretical focus on the policy process to examining agenda-setting and decision-making in relation to the news media. In linking political and public affairs with public consciousness (Lippman, 1922) the chapter presents a rationale for why this research investigation extends to the news media in policy-making systems. By recognising the “intolerable and unworkable fiction” (1992, p7) that the average individual is expected to develop a competent opinion about the political process and public affairs, the role and responsibility of the news media as a conduit or contributor to the policy process emerges as a prominent question in this chapter but also has implications in the chapters that follow. Much of the latter half of this chapter examines different approaches to addressing this issue. For example, the direct effects model assumes that the media has a strong impact on passive audiences. In addition, the limited effects model argues that audiences are diverse and subject to limited effects owing to reduced exposure and the mediation of external variables. The indirect effects model examines the influence of the news media at a broader social level regarding mediating variables such as opinion formers or first-hand audience receivers to measure the strength of media effects on the mass majority of audience receivers. In sum, this chapter provides a thorough examination of the main perspectives on understanding the news media's role in agenda-setting and decision-making in the policy process.

The PC&N Perspective as a Neo-Pluralist Theoretical Framework

Neo pluralism (Lindblom, 1959, Connelly, 1969) embraces the complexities of power relationships in real-world policy processes by perceiving power to be actively pursued by all policy actors and the state to be a policy actor seeking to further its sectional interests. This is in contrast to the assumption in classical pluralism that power is diffuse, and the state is a neutral arbiter of it. It is also at odds with the assertion of elite pluralism that power is concentrated, and the state is a strategic intermediary that adjudicates between the demands of different stakeholder groups. Arguably neo-pluralism is consistent with the PC&N perspective because it acknowledges the innate competitiveness within the formal and informal power structures of political systems. This contrasts with the more nurturing assumptions of classical pluralism or even the more neutral expectations of elite pluralism. Instead, from the neo-pluralist perspective, the political agenda exhibits bias, particularly toward corporate stakeholders over other interest groups. In other words, it considers the constitutional ‘rules of the game’ to be determined by those with more socioeconomic resources, better access to power, and, therefore, a disproportionate level of influence.

Neo-pluralism is a framework that aligns with Lukes’s (1974, 2005) concept of false consciousness. It posits that policy actors with more access to power can manipulate the beliefs and values of non-elite stakeholders by distorting information, ultimately leading them to adopt beliefs and values that may not align with their true interests. This is a key aspect of the PC&N perspective on policymaking, where elite stakeholders within the policy systems of a given political issue use their influence to promote specific definitions of terms, suggest certain causal interpretations of it and endorse particular moral evaluations and recommended responses that align with their sectional interest over those of others. In other words, the neo-pluralistic PC&N perspective is a valid framework to adopt for understanding the nature of policymaking, agenda setting and decision-making because it demonstrates how policy actors interact and influence each

other in policy systems that are distinctively competitive whilst still being relatively supportive.

Specific Approaches to Agenda Setting and Decision Making

The Power/Resource Dependence Model

Rhodes' (1981, 1997a, 1999) Power/Resource Dependence (PRD) model defines policy communities and networks as institutional actors dependent on others, and so must prioritize and strategize within their interrelationships to achieve organisational goals, which is influence over policy outcomes. The PRD model suggests a kind of 'game theory' where institutional actors are basically 'players' within a constitutional game of give and take. 'Give and take' is the lending and borrowing of legal, organisational, financial, political, or informational resources. The 'game' is the ability to maximise potential influence over policy outcomes but minimise dependency on other players (Rhodes 2008, p10).

Notably, the PRD model stresses *dependence* more than it does dominance, owing to the principle of integral reciprocity that lies at its core. Stakeholder A, for example, may supply services that cannot be readily obtained elsewhere and so, at least in theory, is in a position to exercise power over stakeholders B and C. But in reality, this is unlikely because stakeholder A is *just* as dependent on stakeholders B and C to provide the demand as A is to produce the supply (Thoenig 1976, p502, in Jordan 1981, p120). Without fully participating in the mutual power and resource interdependency that characterizes the measured stability that policy communities and networks provide, Stakeholder A risks losing their elite status and lowering their chance of achieving their organisational goals. Regarding descriptive and theoretical perspectives of the policy process, the PRD model supports the classical pluralist perspective that power is relatively diffuse because stakeholders with varying amounts of resources are still

interdependent and, therefore, relatively mutually supportive, which describes the kind of policy environments that policy communities and networks are structured around.

Rational Choice Theory and the Advocacy Coalition Framework

Rational Choice Theory

Commensurate with the PRD model, rational choice theory suggests that the informally institutional settings that policy communities and networks are situated within provide the right kind of policy environment for fostering systems of agreed rules of engagement, i.e., the rules of the game that are necessary for a regulated negotiation of resource exchange (Scharpf, 1997, p195). These systems, - or 'subsystems' - provide opportunities for boundedly rational individual and institutional stakeholders to interact in a manner of anticipatory adjustment; that is, the subtle exchange between desired and acceptable positions of preference (Scharpf 1997, p19; Jordan & Richardson 2003, p609).

Taking rational choice theory one step further, the advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993, 1999) suggests that the greater influence of some stakeholders over others is a result of their strategic action and interaction within policy subsystems. Policy subsystems are essentially core belief systems that are central to understanding the actions of stakeholders who may or may not be motivated by rational self-interest. Furthermore, these belief systems are sets of value priorities and causal assumptions about achieving them (Rhodes 2008, p20). These core belief systems serve as the dominant heuristic device that stakeholders adopt when prioritising and strategising their interrelationships within policy subsystems (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p16).

The Advocacy Coalition Framework

Arguably, the advocacy coalition framework makes a clear distinction between core belief systems and, in doing so, suitably explains variables in stakeholder behaviour, demonstrates the motivation behind the construction and deconstruction of advocacy coalitions and appropriately represents the complex nature of agenda-setting and decision-making within policymaking systems. For example, 'deep' core beliefs are normative and resistant to change, such as a stakeholder's philosophy on the role of government or even who should participate in government. On the other hand, 'policy' core beliefs refer to a stakeholder's fundamental position on a given policy. These beliefs are subject to change on a discretionary basis, i.e., altering slightly to align with those of another stakeholder if doing so will increase the chances of success in terms of the achievement of organisational goals. Examples include beliefs on the appropriate distribution of power across different levels of government. The 'secondary aspects' of core beliefs, however, are even more malleable and easily influenced by external stimuli, such as shifts in the availability of resources or the prominence of new information (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993, p25-34; Sabatier 1998 p31).

One of the main criticisms of the relevance of the advocacy coalition framework to the policy communities and networks perspective in understanding the nature of policymaking is that whilst it is highly applicable to the federal and fragmented policy systems of the United States, it does not lend itself well to the relatively centralized Westminster style of British policy-making system (Sabatier 2006, p1990). However, the advocacy coalition framework provides valuable insight into the nature of policymaking. It indicates how stakeholders pursuing different policy agendas within the policy network can achieve consensus on their core belief systems and successfully influence other stakeholders, the policy agenda and policy outcomes. In addition, the advocacy coalition framework gives a clear indication of the validity of the PC&N perspective as a tool for understanding policymaking because the distinction between core and secondary aspects of core belief systems demonstrates how the influences of

empirical stimuli can impact the motivation and conduct of stakeholders and their interactions with others and potentially change the composition of the advocacy coalition (Sabatier 2006, p1990). This reflects the *informal* institutional settings and *relatively* measured stability that characterizes policy communities and networks.

Essentially, the implied reference to subsystems in the power resource dependency model and the more explicit reference to them in both rational choice theory and the advocacy coalition framework correspond with the neo-pluralist PC&N perspective that stresses the importance of stability, privilege and continuity within a policy network but also acknowledges the existence of a competitive political and corporate elite who 'seek to steer' other stakeholders in the policy network (Bevir and Rhodes 1999, p21, Rhodes 2008, p4). However, despite the arguably optimistic notion that policy communities and networks are evidence of the broadening of parameters for different perspectives to inform and influence policy debates (Hecllo, 1973); the conduct of stakeholders active in policy subsystems suggests that such broadening is only limited to those considered 'expert enough' to inform and influence (Jordan 1981, p107). To cloud the issue further, 'experts' are often also policy watchers, whose responsibility is to be aware of relevant events, the subsequent policy discourse and how this discourse relates to their industry. (Armstrong 1976, in Jordan 1981, p 119). Those permitted to inform and influence policy debates generally do so but mainly in their own interests.

Pitting the perspective of the common-sense layperson against the point of view of the technical expert (Hecllo & Wildavsky, 1974, p44) is a demonstration of structuralist Marxism - in terms of stakeholders with more resources deflecting the demands of those with less, by appearing to relax the constitutional rules of the game and allowing 'less qualified' perspectives an opportunity to inform policy decision making and influence policy outcomes. But by prioritising the perspectives of the experts, stakeholders with more resources remain in control of the policy narrative, the policy agenda and policy decisions whilst simultaneously stabilizing their position and securing their portion of power within the policy community and network. This insidious practice endorses

Heclo's (1975) conclusion that politics has increasingly become the province of a professional bureaucratic complex where patterns may emerge of probable participants within policy sectors. In other words, there is a 'functional logic' that lies behind stakeholder interactions in policy subsystems where there are those stakeholders who consistently maintain their involvement and influence in a given policy community and network and those who do so regularly but not consistently, owing to it being too costly an endeavour or too inefficient or ineffective a practice (Christoph, 1975, p117).

The Dialectical Approach and the Strategic Relational Model

The Dialectical Approach

However, insight into the functional logic behind the consistency of stakeholder interactions in policy subsystems is gained by examining Marsh and Smith's (2000) dialectical approach to understanding policy changes. Arguing from a loosely Structuralist Marxist perspective, their approach prioritises the structural and agency aspects of policy changes by analysing the relationships between structure and agency, network and context and network and outcome (Marsh and Smith, 2000, p8-11). In other words, policy change is a function of the interaction between the structure of a policy network, the agents operating in it and the context in which they operate (Rhodes 2008, p20). Correspondingly - and reminiscent of the secondary aspects of core belief systems in the advocacy coalition framework - a stakeholder's motivation, conduct and capacity to affect policy change is influenced by the iterative relationship between exogenous and endogenous variables. Exogenous variables may refer to stakeholders in one policy community having external relationships with other stakeholders from other networks, or they can refer to the influence of external stimuli such as economic or social factors. On the other hand, endogenous factors can include internal divisions within a policy community regarding the policy agenda. Stakeholders mediate these dynamic variables with different policy preferences pursuing different policy agendas and interpret them in the context of the evolving and informal structure, rules and relationships of a given policy community and networks (Marsh and Smith, 2000, p8-11).

However, a common criticism of the relevance of Marsh and Smith's dialectical model to the PC&N perspective in understanding the nature of policymaking is that it fails to employ the linear element that past dialectical perspectives have had on agenda-setting and decision-making (Dowding, 2001, p98, Rhodes 2008, p20). For example, the pragmatic Socratic model is a discursive dialectic approach where arriving at a hypothetical philosophical truth involves the step-by-step process of elimination. In addition, the more abstract Hegelian method is a threefold process that involves the development of a thesis that causes the creation of an antithesis, which in turn will either contradict or negate the original thesis and result in a hypothetical tension that can only be resolved through the developmental compromise that is a synthesis of the two. Moreover, Marx and Engels' evolutionary perspective on the dialectical approach argues that higher stages of existence emerge from lower subsistence levels. Those at a more developed juncture advance a more complex state of being that cannot be reversed or reduced but still reflects the basic properties of overall evolutionary existence. In contrast, Marsh and Smith's (2000) model, though evolving by way of being an interactive relationship between two variables, is distinctly cyclical because the exogenous and endogenous variables are engaged within a dialectic relationship where each affects the other in a continuing iterative process (Dowding, 2001, p100 – 102; Rhodes 2008, p20).

The Strategic Relational Model

Despite divisions between linear and cyclical perspectives on the nature of agenda-setting and decision-making, the strategic-relational model (Hay and Richard, 2000) demonstrates the utility of Marsh and Smith's dialectical approach to understanding the complex nature of agenda-setting and decision-making within policymaking systems, by examining the conduct of stakeholders in policy subsystems and placing them within a broader social and political context. The strategic-relational

model argues that there are three strategic and contextual conditions for policy community and network formation to occur: stakeholders' recognition of the potential for mutual advantage through collective action, the potential for increased strategic capacities through the pooling of resources, and the need to establish what social and political conditions are necessary for policy network feasibility. Consistent with classical pluralism in assuming that the political system is supportive of stakeholders seeking to achieve organisational goals, the strategic relational model is also commensurate with elite pluralism in terms of assuming that the state provides the foundations for political contexts to be built upon. On the other hand, however, from a neo-pluralistic standpoint, the state itself, as a stakeholder, contributes to the social contexts that policy communities and networks are oriented within. In identifying these strategic and contextual conditions necessary for the formation of a policy community and network to occur, individual and institutional stakeholders tend to make a strategic assessment of the context in which they find themselves and then act accordingly (Hay and Richards 2000, p17).

Debatably, the strategic-relational model is redundant because it states the obvious; stakeholders are calculating agents who make strategic assumptions of the contexts they find themselves within. Furthermore, the contexts themselves are not neutral events and do not occur arbitrarily because they are constructed by the actions and interactions of stakeholders with others; thus, prioritise specific core belief systems, policy preferences, and stakeholder behaviours over others. As a result, policy actors will learn from their interactions with others and adjust their decision-making strategies, accordingly, consequently changing the social or political context in which they find themselves (Bevir and Richards, 2009, p137).

Nonetheless, examining the broader social and political contextual conditions that a given policy community is oriented within, as well as the strategic action of stakeholders operating within it, facilitates a deeper understanding of the rationale and behaviour of calculating agents. This is because strategic action produces direct effects on the context

that it takes place within, which enables strategic learning to be gained about the restrictions and opportunities that are subsequently available. This results in changing perceptions on the part of calculating agents about what is or isn't practically feasible in relation to achieving organisational goals (Hay, 1998, p43). Arguably, the utility of the strategic relational approach is in demonstrating an alternative perspective for understanding the motivation, conduct and capacity of stakeholders to influence policy outcomes. That is, the recognition that agenda-setting and decision-making are not necessarily processes where boundedly rational stakeholders interact in anticipatory adjustment between desired and acceptable positions of preference within informally structured policy subsystems. Instead, it is a fluid practice between agents with flexible interests that takes place within a constantly evolving context that is a result of the interaction of strategic actors and the intended and unintended consequences of their strategic action (Hay and Richards 2000, p14, Bevir and Rhodes, 2009, p 137, Rhodes, 2008, p21).

Alternative Perspectives: The Constructivist Approach

Anti-Foundationalism

Anti-foundationalism (Bever and Rhodes, 1999) provides an alternative perspective for explaining the motivation and conduct of policy actors within policy communities and networks and their capacity to influence policy outcomes by focusing on the formation of policy communities and networks through the ability of the *individual* agent, rather than the institutional agent, to create meaning. The anti-foundational approach argues that an individual's knowledge and interpretation of their external reality is constructed from a background of exogenous variables, such as economic narratives, ideological theories, and institutional traditions, as a response to the dilemmas, problems, or anomalies that they experience. From the context of the PC&N perspective, this indicates that an individual agent's beliefs and opinions regarding a given policy issue are biased, and their subsequent decisions and actions related to that issue are strategic.

Examining those decisions and actions within the broader social and political context that they take place within provides some insight into how the individual agent creates meaning.

However, the exogenous variables that inform the individual's understanding of their external reality are incomplete and open to challenge and interpretation. It would follow, then, that an individual's interpretation of their external reality is provisional, and so rival interpretations need to be measured for their relative accuracy. This involves a step-by-step eliminative procedure where alternative interpretations are critically assessed through agreed standards of comparison – these being a consensus on a commitment to consistency and accuracy (Bevir and Rhodes 1999, p5, p141). From the PC&N perspective, this process of elimination would involve critically comparing the beliefs, opinions, decisions, and actions of individual agents at a grassroots level. This would yield empirically rich case studies that produce alternative interpretations of external reality and further insight into how policy communities and networks are created, sustained, or modified *by* them.

The Decentred Approach

As an alternative approach to examining the role of endogenous variables in explaining the motivation, conduct and capacity of individual agents to inform policy decision-making and influence policy outcomes, the decentred approach prioritises the role of exogenous factors, i.e., how an individual's desires and preferences influence their strategies and actions in response to exogenous variables (Bevir and Richards, 2009). More specifically, examining the action responses of individuals that are confronted by dilemmas, problems, or anomalies they experience in a day-to-day context and then contextualizing them within the broader social and political exogenous narratives, theories, and typologies they take place within, more clearly indicates the beliefs of the

individual, the motivation behind their action and the meaning *for* the action (Bevir and Richards, 2009, p133-138).

As an empirical example of the decentered approach, Bang and Sørensen's (1998) study of the 'Everyday Maker' explored how policy networks are formed, maintained, and modified by the beliefs and behaviours of individual agents at a grassroots level by examining the actions and interactions of individual agents fulfilling multiple roles (i.e., as an activist, contractor, board member and local leader) and their capacity to achieve the objectives of each role. The study of the 'Everyday Maker' is noteworthy for providing several insights into the decentered approach to policy communities and networks and their role in policymaking. Primarily, it demonstrates the anti-foundationalist 'institutional-to-individual' shift in focus for explaining the motivation and conduct of policy actors and their capacity to influence policy outcomes. This shift indicates the proliferation of policy communities and networks at all levels of society and the participation of individuals from all levels of government. It also illustrates how the beliefs and behaviours of policy stakeholders at all levels of society have become increasingly oriented toward the informal networking style of individual policy actors rather than the formal procedural interactions of institutional actors (Bang and Sørensen, 1999, p332-336, in Bevir and Rhodes, 1999, p21-22).

In addition, the decentered approach explains the causal relationship between policy formulation at the macro level and policy implementation at the micro level, particularly in terms of demonstrating variation in the capacity of individuals to influence policymaking at the micro level, compared to that at the macro level. By providing a 'bottom-up perspective,' the Everyday Maker study first indicates how individuals may be confronted by unanticipated dilemmas, problems, or anomalies that can occur when attempting to implement policy at the grassroots level. Subsequently, these individuals respond by developing a strategic response to these problems: modifying their beliefs and behaviour and acting accordingly. From this context, the decentered approach demonstrates how policy communities and networks are formed, maintained, and

modified through the capacity of these individuals to create meaning for their beliefs and actions by developing strategic responses to problems they experience. In this way, the decentered approach to policy communities and networks arguably demonstrates variation in the capacity of individuals to *indirectly* influence policy decisions at the formulation level by communicating problems they have experienced at the grassroots level, back up the chain to the policy formulation level, whilst *directly* influencing policy outcomes at the implementation level, by modifying their beliefs and behaviour and acting accordingly.

To draw comparisons with other perspectives on agenda-setting and decision-making, the decentered approach is theoretically similar to Hay and Richard's (2000) strategic relational theory, which views policy communities and networks as dynamic constructs where strategic actors operate from within a strategically selective context where they learn from their interactions with other actors and adjust their decision-making strategies accordingly - which consequently adjusts the context of the policy communities and networks they are operating within (Hay and Richards 2000, p17). In addition, similar to the decentered emphasis on exploring the origins and evolution of the beliefs and behaviours of individuals within policy communities and networks, the strategic relational model emphasises the need to examine exogenous factors, such as the perceived interests, interpreted concepts and strategic learning that policy actors engage within, to account for the changes that occur within policy networks (Bevir and Richards, 2009, p137).

There are doubts, however, about whether the decentered approach - with its focus on the motivation, conduct and capacity of individual agents to inform policy decision-making and influence policy outcomes - is theoretically sound enough and empirically strong enough to be able to act as a *meso*-level concept that could link micro-level case studies to macro-level narratives (Bevir and Rhodes, 1999, p21; Bevir and Richards 2009, p139). Bang and Sørensen (1998) employ an ideal-typical decentered approach that centres on the beliefs and actions of just one category of actor - the

‘Everyday Maker’, operating at just one level within a given policy community network - the grassroots level. Although a decentered approach does require a micro-analysis of a given policy case study, it does not have to be limited to one category of policy actor and/or one level that they are operating on. Doing so fails to orient the actions of individuals within the broader social and political context they take place within and fails to provide a meaningful explanation of the strategies that lie behind their actions. Instead, making better use of other ethnographic tools, such as adopting an unstructured approach or gathering data from many sources to examine multiple categories of actors operating at multiple levels (i.e., street-level bureaucrats, service users, the ruling elite) would provide wider availability of variable attitudes and behaviours of individuals from a day-to-day context and deeper awareness of the shifting perspectives and behavioural strategies that an individual develops, in response to the changes that occur within social and political contexts (Bevir and Rhodes, 1999, pp20 - 21).

Nonetheless, arguably the most significant contribution of the decentered approach to understanding how policy communities and networks can be created, sustained, or modified through the ideas and actions of individual agents, is its historicist dimension (Bevir and Richards, 2009, p134). By examining the evolution of the rationale and strategic actions of individual policy actors when responding to unanticipated problems and dilemmas they experience at a grassroots level within a policy network and interpreting them within the broader context of the traditions and narratives that they take place within, the decentered approach can explain policy *continuities* as well as policy *changes* in the complex and contingent policy environments and political systems of the real world. Although, what is considered ‘complex’ in policy environments and political systems is a matter of interpretation, or rather, a matter of construction.

Perspectives on the Role of the News Media in the Policy Process

Agenda-Setting Theory

Lippmann (1922) established the link between political and public affairs and public consciousness by recognising the “intolerable and unworkable fiction” (1992, p7) that the average individual was expected to develop a competent opinion about the political process and public affairs. Yet the average individual is incapable of being comprehensively aware of *all* public issues and cannot participate meaningfully in the policy process as an individual agent. This necessitates some form of independent and impartial conduit mediating between the two (1922, p29). As pragmatic as this sounds, however, the mass media, in *its* role as a conduit, is neither entirely impartial nor independent. Instead, the mass media creates a mediated view of the world, where the perspectives that the public have on public affairs are based on those that the news media choose to show; and the priorities the public *place* on public affairs are influenced by those that the news media choose to share. Put simply, the agenda-setting capacity of the mass media (and the news media, in particular) determines which issues or incidents receive attention, how much attention, and what principal perspectives are attributed to them (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

From this context, the agenda-setting theory of the mass media describes something of a Machiavellian understanding of the nature, distribution, and exercise of power. This is reminiscent of Bachrach and Baratz’s (1962) second face of power, where potential issues are strategically selected by elite stakeholders who pursue particular goals and suppress any challenges to them in a closed, impermeable system. However, Cobb and Elders’ (1960, 1983) argument for the existence of agenda categories suggests that agenda-setting is more of a ‘needs must’ way of understanding the nature, distribution, and exercise of power. More specifically, the development of an agenda may just be a by-

product of the fact that individual and institutional stakeholders are limited in their resources (albeit to varying degrees, of course) and so pursue specific goals for specific issues in a bid to maximise potential.

The ‘agenda universe,’ for example, is the broadest category which lists the expression of any and all ideas that can be discussed within social and political systems regarding different understandings of perceived policy problems and diverse discussions of how best to solve them. The subsequent ‘systemic agenda’ indexes the expression of any ideologically appropriate discussion topics within a democratic political system. Aggressively racist or sexist language or politico-philosophical ideas such as communism or fascism would be inappropriate for debate. Those interpretations of policy problems and potential solutions that specific stakeholders have successfully fought to be the primary representation of a particular issue on the systemic agenda are then propelled onto the ‘institutional’ agenda, which comprises a concrete checklist of issues or ideas for serious debate between policymakers. Although, the carrying capacity of this checklist varies according to the mounting pressure and efficacy potential of multiple issues to be addressed simultaneously or the time, technology, or other resources that institutions have available to them (Birkland, 2007, p65). Even fewer of these issues or ideas progress onto the concluding ‘decision agenda’, which comprises a reference list of specific items that policymakers will actively accept, make concrete decisions about, and take specific action to implement (Cobb and Elder, 1983, p85).

Crenson’s (1971) study of the power relations between U.S. Steel and the neighbouring cities of East Chicago and Gary, Indiana, gives a real-world context for Cobb and Elder’s (1972, 1983) agenda categories. The study highlighted considerable differences in how the air pollution problem in both cities progressed through successive agenda categories before concrete decisions were made to address the issue. In the case of East Chicago, air pollution was considered a public problem by both the public and the political elite, thus, it swiftly progressed from the systemic agenda onto the institutional agenda. It then developed into a political issue that saw policymakers debate alternative

solutions for how best to address it before arriving at the decision agenda, where concrete decisions were made about what action to take by 1949. In contrast, the air pollution problem in Gary, Indiana, progressed through the systemic and institutional agendas at a much slower pace before decisive action was taken to address the issue in 1962. One of the main factors that caused this delay was that U.S. Steel was the largest industrial, corporate employer, the city's dominating economic interest and had a strong party organization. This implies that, in its capacity as a dominant stakeholder in the air pollution issue, U.S. Steel successfully suppressed challenges to its interests by operating substantial control over the perception of the problem, alternative solutions on how best to address it, and the pace in which it progressed through the successive policy agendas. In contrast, East Chicago did not have one primary industrial steel employer, had a more diverse set of party organizations and was not the dominating economic interest in the city.

In addition, Lazarsfeld and Merton's (1948) identification of three key functions in the role and effect of mass media on public consciousness demonstrates how an agenda may just be a by-product of the fact that mass media-based stakeholders are limited to promoting a restricted range of topics about the most salient issues of the moment, in a bid to maximise potential. (McCombs, 2014, p22). Granted, the most recognisable function is the 'narcotizing dysfunction', where excessive exposure to information does not result in the galvanization of individuals to make concrete decisions and take effective action. Instead, it results in their 'narcotization' - where overexposure to information proves overwhelming and paralysing, rendering the individual incapable of any form of meaningful response. However, the lesser cited 'status conferral' and 'enforcement of social norms' functions relate far more directly to Lippmann's conviction that mass media, or more specifically, the *news* media, is the main source of the "pictures in our heads" regarding public affairs in general (1922, p29, in McCombs, 2004, p1-2). 'Status conferral' for example, refers to how the news media tends to confer status upon (i.e., legitimise) specific issues, individuals, or organisations in the public consciousness; whereas 'enforcement of social norms' indicates how the news media utilises its power to expose certain events, conditions, or behaviours as deviations from the norm

(Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948, p20-21). Arguably, legitimising specific issues, individuals, or organisations, as well as exposing certain events, conditions, or behaviours as deviations from the norm, is evidence of how media-based stakeholders may benignly develop an agenda purely as a result of the time, technology and other resource limitations placed on them by the institutions or organisations that they operate from. Furthermore, despite the open and flexible nature of Cobb and Elders' (1960, 1983) agenda categories, their boundaries still possess maximum confines, and the time, technology and other resources of the institutions that operate within them are finite, and thus the capacity of each agenda category and the number of policy issues that they can contend with is limited (Birkland, 2007, p65).

However, to momentarily return to a Machiavellian understanding of the nature, distribution, and exercise of power, Lazarsfeld and Merton's (1948) key functions in the role and effect of mass media on public consciousness suggest that it is at its most effective when operating from the context of a 'psychological monopoly' over public consciousness. In other words, the mass media may operate from a 'monopolisation' context when counter information is lacking. Following this, it also functions from a 'canalising' context when it takes established conditions or behaviours and solicits them toward a specific direction. This is reinforced from a 'supplementation' context where mass media messages are underlined by face-to-face contact through local organisations (1948, p27-29). Alternatively, perhaps the most important function of the mass media in terms of its role and effect on the public consciousness is when it is operating from a 'surveillance' and 'correlation' context (Lasswell, 1948). 'Surveillance' occurs when media-based stakeholders survey their continuously evolving information environment and select what issues or incidents should receive attention (Dearing and Rogers, 1996, p8). In response, 'correlation' occurs when the constituent parts of society (i.e., institutional and individual actors) simultaneously focus their attention frames on a specific issue or incident (primarily directed to it by the mass media) and synchronise their norms, values, and beliefs in terms of the level of importance that is subsequently attributed to it (Lasswell, 1948:38) – an example of Schattschneider's mobilisation of bias (1960). From the policy communities and networks perspective, the capacity of the

news media to direct public and political attention toward *some* policy issues and incidents over others is a working definition of the agenda-setting function of the mass media and a clear demonstration of its influence in the shaping of the policy agenda and the making of policy decisions. Irrespective of whether the agenda-setting function of the mass media is purposeful or accidental in its design, its presence and pervasiveness in society have produced the effect that whatever elements are prominent on the mass media agenda will inevitably become those that are dominant in the public consciousness (McCombs, 2004, pp.1-2). Put differently, though the news media may not be successful in telling people what to *think*, it is successful in telling people what to think *about* (Cohen, 1963, p13).

McCombs & Shaw's (1972) seminal Chapel Hill investigation demonstrates how the mass media, particularly the news media, can influence the policy agenda and affect policy outcomes. They examined what one hundred Chapel Hill residents, as undecided voters, considered the principal issues facing the 1968 American presidential election. At the same time, McCombs & Shaw analysed the news content and editorial commentary of several news media sources covering the election campaigns. When comparing the data generated from the voter interviews with the data generated from the news media content analysis, McCombs and Shaw (1972) identified correlations between the salience of the voter's agenda (i.e., what Chapel Hill residents *considered* to be the most critical issues) and the salience of the news media's agenda (i.e., what the news media *reported* as being the most important issues). Arguably this demonstrates how the news media can shift attitudinal tendencies and behavioural trends of society in general, as well those of individuals active within it. Although, whether the extent of the effect on attitudinal tendencies and behavioural trends is dependent on the indirect or direct nature of the media's influence and input is cause for further query.

Media Effects: Direct, Limited and Indirect Models

Linking whatever elements are prominent on the mass media agenda to those that are dominant in the public consciousness marks an epistemological shift in focus on the role and influence of the media, specifically the news media, in shaping the policy agenda. Early observations (the 1920s-1940s) centred on the attitudinal and behavioural consequences of an individual's exposure to mass media content, specifically focusing on the persuasive elements of media messages (Kosicki, 1993). This resulted in the development of a direct effects model that attempted to explain the influence of variable A over variable B. Propagated by Lasswell (1927) and in line with early Dahlian (1958) thought, the direct effects model assumes that mass media messages have a clear, observationally direct, and strong influence on passive audiences and are devoid of any mediating variables (i.e., communities and networks that the individual belongs to). This is synonymous with the 'hypodermic needle' theory where media messages are directly injected into an accepting audience and have an immediate and powerful effect on the individuals it is composed of. Lasswell (1971) contextualised this theory by describing how the hypodermic needle theory was operationalised through the propaganda techniques used in World War I. Yet it was somewhat satirised by the alleged mass panic induced by the 1938 U.S. radio broadcast of Orson Welles's *The War of the Worlds* and further disproved by Lazarsfeld et. al (1948) who concluded that voting patterns did not correlate with the news media messages programmed within the propaganda surrounding Roosevelt's 1940 Presidential election campaign.

The limited effects model, on the other hand, considers audiences to be composed of diverse and discerning individuals who may be subject to only a limited degree of media influence as a result of reduced exposure to media content and the mediation of external variables. The transmission model (Shannon and Weaver 1949) exemplifies this idea by arguing that media messages are composed of media 'senders' who are both the information source (i.e., a government announcement about a new policy initiative) and the transmission source (such as media reports *about*, and responses *to*, the new initiative). But, in addition, media messages are also composed of audience

‘receivers’ who consume it either directly (by consuming media reports about the new initiative first-hand), *indirectly* (by consuming such reports second-hand via first-hand consumers) or through the mediation of extraneous factors (such as the distractions of everyday life) that cause some receivers to miss part of the original media message. Katz and Lazarsfeld’s (1955) two-step flow theory takes the limited effects model further by suggesting that media messages go through a ‘trickle-down’ process that is mediated by ‘opinion formers’ - a minority of first-hand audience receivers who are interested enough to receive media messages directly but also influential enough then to relay a variation of them to the majority. This diffused informative process exemplifies the ‘limited’ aspect of the limited effects model in terms of the mediated nature that the original message is relayed from one audience member to another.

In addition, reinforcement theory (Klapper, 1960) demonstrates the functionality of the limited effects model in understanding the influence of mass media (particularly the news media) in shaping the public and policy agenda. It focuses on the *social* contexts that media messages are consumed within and argues that media effects are caused through a network of mediating influences rather than direct transmission from the sender to the receiver. These mediating influences refer to the social groups an individual belongs to, such as any given community or network that is consistent with an individual’s beliefs and values. Subsequently, driven by an inherent need to belong, individuals absorb and adopt the agenda of a social group they identify with (Ragas and Roberts, 2009). This is akin to cognitive assonance theory (Festinger, 1957), where when the media message is consistent with an individual’s beliefs and values, there is an increased likelihood that the issue will capture the attention of that individual and an increased probability that they will also absorb the perceptions and priorities that the media ascribe to the issue. In sum, reinforcement theory and agenda melding theory consider social groups to be individuals who are actively astute mass media consumers who receive and relay media messages through the informal and interpersonal relationships that define them. As a result, media effects on attitudinal tendencies and behavioural trends within these communities and networks are inevitably limited owing to the mediated and diffused manner in which they are transmitted.

However, arguably the indirect effects model is the most appropriate perspective for understanding the role and influence of the mass media, specifically the news media, in shaping the policy agenda, as well as for understanding the nature, distribution and exercise of power. The indirect effects model follows a media-centric focus that emphasises the indirect influence of the news media at a broader social level than that of the communities and network meso level of consumption and transmission. It prioritises the influence of variable A over variable C when variable A mediates through variable B. In other words, the indirect effects model examines media messages that are transmitted by mediating variables that include minority audience receivers, first-hand audience receivers and opinion formers (variable B) to measure the strength of media effects (variable A) on the mass majority of audience receivers (variable C).

Several studies demonstrate the utility of the indirect effects approach to understanding the role and influence of the mass media in shaping the policy agenda. For example, Gerbner's (1995) cultivation theory argues that the mass media, particularly the news media, promotes social values via the cultivation of certain beliefs and attitudes about specific social issues and the suppression of others. His (1995) study on the long-term effects of televised media content demonstrated that prolonged exposure to media content produces a small but significant effect on the perspective of audience members. More specifically, sustained exposure to media content, such as violence in film and the strategically salient representation of some social issues (and the strategic repression of others) in news programmes, create a synthetic perspective about a synthetic reality. This subsequently cultivates beliefs in audience members about the prevalence of violence or the severity of certain societal issues; beliefs that are more consistent with the news media's constructed reality than actual reality (Gerbner, 1995).

In addition, reception theory (Hall, 1980) demonstrates the utility of the indirect effects model in understanding the influence of the media in shaping the policy agenda. By examining the relationship between media messages, coded and decoded meanings

and audience variables, reception theory argues that the vast range of variables within consuming and transmitting media content explains the diversity of media effects on minority and majority audience members. Media content is encoded with media messages intended by the sender but may be decoded with alternative meanings by the receiver. Social action theory (Anderson and Meyer, 1988) models this by arguing that the senders' intended message is not simply transmitted by the receiving audience members' exposure to media content but is reinterpreted by each receiver within the collective audience, who constructs their meaning from the message. These meanings are dependent upon a diverse range of social contexts. In sum, both theories suggest that direct media effects are not influential on an individual level because receivers interpret senders' intended meaning within the message from an infinite number of alternative versions. In contrast, indirect media effects are more influential on the social level because as the news media (in particular) cultivates certain beliefs and values about specific social issues, it can capture both public and political attention through a *cumulative* propagation of coded messages within media content, and in doing so, gradually influence a society's attitudinal tendencies and behavioural trends, as a whole.

Combining the diffused media effects of the limited and indirect models, media dependency theory (Ball-Rokeach and DeFluer, 1976) points out the existence of a functional 'supply-and-demand' relationship between media systems, social institutions, and individual audience members. Media systems and social institutions network in a way that enables media systems to generate information about specific social issues. This, in turn, furthers the sectional interests and organisational goals of social institutions, peaks both public and political interest, and subsequently cultivates a need for orientation in audience members. Audience members then create a demand for the mass media, namely the news media, to disseminate the information so that they, as individuals, can achieve their own goals -whether these are to be informed, educated, or entertained. In other words, the more media systems and social institutions network, the more agenda-setting information they can manufacture. This results in a more profound audience interest, a stronger need for orientation and a higher dependency on media systems.

Ultimately, the deeper the audience's dependency on media systems, the greater the likelihood that cognitive and behavioural media effects can be exerted upon them.

Media Systems as a Public Service

Arguably, the functional 'supply-and-demand' relationship between media systems, social institutions, and individual audience members fulfils a public need in terms of information being shared by social institutions and made salient by media systems, subsequently reducing the information gap between advantaged and the disadvantaged individual audience members, and ultimately contributing to a more egalitarian pattern of citizenship (Curran et al., 2009, p6). However, media systems generally pursue their agenda by making salient only those issues they select from a wide-ranging list of issues provided by social institutions (McCombs, 2003). Far from any semblance of egalitarian motivation, by providing and promoting information about selected issues to advantaged and disadvantaged individual audience members, media systems cultivate a greater dependency on media systems, causing an increased level of media consumption and, thus, a greater likelihood of cognitive and behavioural media effects.

In support of this, media dependency theory (Ball-Rokeach and DeFluer, 1976) argues that the relationship between media systems, social institutions and audience members is influenced by two key variables: the centrality of media systems within society and the stability of the society itself. In terms of the centrality of media systems; societies with a strong media presence suggest a high functionality of media systems; as well as a substantial audience dependency on those systems; an increased influence of the news media in shaping the public and the policy agenda and so a clear demonstration of agenda-setting effects. In other words, in societies with a strong media presence, media systems and social institutions-based stakeholders network efficiently and effectively. This influences the needs of audience members, increases their dependency on media

systems and ultimately impacts the level of media effects on their perceptions and behaviour. Conversely, in societies with a weak media presence, the efficiency and effectiveness of media and institutional-based stakeholder networking are less, the functionality of media systems is lower, audience needs are less, media dependency is little and cognitive and behavioural effects are weak. In this particular scenario, media systems are less able to provide a public service and, therefore, less likely to have cognitive and behavioural media effects.

In terms of the stability of society itself – the functionality of media systems, the dependency of the audience and the likelihood of cognitive and behavioural effects are greater in societies undergoing significant political, economic, or cultural change or conflict. In this scenario, media systems are more likely to be a public service because they provide information about unstable public affairs or access to channels for better issue representation. However, in terms of media effects, this would depend on the strength of the media presence and the establishment of institutional practices in society. In societies with a strong media presence and established institutional practices already in place, media effects may be greater because there is an increased likelihood of effective media systems, efficient networking systems, higher audience dependency on media content, and so more substantial cognitive and behavioural influence upon them. In societies where this is not the case, particularly during times of change or conflict, where audiences have limited exposure to media content and limited access to channels of communication, then the relationship between media systems and social institutions may be dysfunctional, audience dependency on media content less reliant, and cognitive and behavioural effects notably weaker. In such scenarios, the ability of the news media to provide public service is limited.

This assumes; however, that audience members cannot exercise critical thinking over media content that, by the very nature of the medium, characteristically presents oversimplified perspectives and condensed information about a given issue, which contributes to the tendency in media consumers toward selection perception (McCombs

and Shaw, 1972). This is a predisposition toward beliefs, values, and opinions in line with their own, which subsequently orients them towards paying more attention to some issues over others, and certain perspectives of these issues, than others. The danger with selective perception is that an individual's exposure to a simplified interpretation of a given issue and their perception of certain aspects of it results in them being influenced by a synthetic perspective about a synthetic reality but also contributing their actual construction (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). In such scenarios, arguably, the news media is serving itself rather than serving the public interest.

Issue Attentiveness and the Need for Orientation

Perhaps the extent to which an individual is aware that they are exposed to a synthetic perspective depends on their level of media attentiveness. For most issues, most individuals tend to be inattentive and generally acquire knowledge passively through the transmission of news media content that is interspersed with entertainment media content. Arguably, issue-related knowledge largely depends on an individual's level of interest and motivation to increase attentiveness and assume control over their information environment. This, in turn, influences the amount of media content they are actively exposed to and the level of cognitive and behavioural effects that this has on them (Dearing and Rogers, 1996). But this largely depends on the obtrusiveness of the issue. For example, issues that directly affect individual public members, such as rises in petrol prices or food taxes or increases in city crime, are obtrusive, are of immediate public concern and are generally regarded with a low tolerance threshold (Walgrave and Van Aelst, 2006). In terms of media effects, individuals have an increased media dependency on obtrusive issues; but owing to an increased level of issue attentiveness, cognitive and behavioural effects should theoretically be lower. However, the tendency for individuals to align with the beliefs, values, and opinions of those that correlate with their own would suggest that they pay more attention to certain aspects and perspectives of the issue selectively made salient by the news media they depend on, which paradoxically increases the likelihood of cognitive and behavioural media effects exerted on them.

On the other hand, issues that only a minority have been directly affected by, such as political scandals and overseas conflicts, are arguably unobtrusive. From a practical point of view, these are not of immediate public concern and are likely regarded with a higher tolerance threshold. Regarding media effects, unobtrusive issues create lower levels of media dependency on individuals and, thus, a lower likelihood of cognitive and behavioural effects being exerted upon them. Conversely, the minority more directly affected by political scandals and overseas conflicts, such as politicians, policymakers, lawmakers, and military personnel, are more likely to consider them obtrusive, have an increased level of issue attentiveness and, therefore, a higher media dependency and probability of media effects being exerted on them. This underlines the ambivalent role of media systems in society - the potentiality of institutional-based and media-based stakeholders to influence the policy agenda and achieve organisational goals largely depends on an individual's perspective on the intrusiveness of the issue and their need for orientation about it (Weaver, 1980).

Arguably, the cognitive motive that drives an individual's need to seek information about a given issue is its perceived relevance to them and their degree of certainty about it. Supposing an individual considers an issue personally relevant to them and their uncertainty about it is low (i.e., they are already familiar with its associated points and perspectives), then their need for orientation would be moderate, so exposure to media content would be limited (i.e., to clarify specific points, be updated on issue-related events, or learn other perspectives), and the influence of agenda-setting media effects would be minimal. However, if an individual considers an issue relevant to them but their uncertainty about it is high (i.e., they are only vaguely aware of its associated points and perspectives), then their need for orientation is also high. Subsequently, they pay more attention to media content when seeking information about the issue and, as a result, are at a greater risk of susceptibility to media effects (McCombs, 2003, p9-10).

However, whether the need for orientation or the risk of agenda-setting media effects is high or low, media systems nonetheless represent an opportunity for institutional-based and news media-based stakeholders to exercise an indirect use of power in attempting to influence public opinion and the policy agenda. News media-based stakeholders, for example, indirectly instruct individuals what to think about and how to think about it (Cohen, 1963) when selectively citing stakeholder perspectives and strategically highlighting some aspects of a policy issue over others. Institutional-based stakeholders do the same thing when their policy entrepreneurs watch for an appropriate policy problem to arise and wait for the opportune moment when a policy window opens for them to promote their preexisting policy solution proposals to policymakers, proposals that further their issue interests and help achieve organisational policy goals. Interestingly, media-based stakeholders, as policy entrepreneurs, can compellingly do this by priming the issue.

First Level Agenda Setting: Priming Theory and Priming Effects

Weaver et al. (1975) focused on the link between the news media and public opinion during the early 1970's Nixon/Watergate scandal. In doing so, they laid the foundations for priming theory by focusing on the consequences of agenda-setting for public opinion (Weaver, 2007). Iyengar and Kinder (1987) demonstrated the nature of priming effects by linking news media coverage of the mid-1980s Reagan/Iranian Contra arms scandal with public emphasis on the arms race as being one of the most critical problems facing the nation at that time, as well as their general evaluation of Reagan's overall presidential performance. Thus, demonstrating its link with issue salience, priming theory relates to a cognitive process where the shifting focus of public opinion correlates directly with the shifting emphasis on public issues (McCombs, 2003). Demonstrating its link with accessibility, priming theory also refers to how opinions are formed, and decisions are made about salient issues based on the information that is the most accessible (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

Priming theory is built on a memory-based model where, when individuals receive and process relevant information from news media content about a political issue, they develop memory traces that allow ease of access and retrievability when making personal opinions and political judgements about it (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974, Scheufele, 2000). Related issue attributes selectively primed in news media content correlates with the opinions subsequently formed in an individual's mind (Kim et al., 2002). 'Issue priming' refers to the characteristics or traits ascribed to an issue to portray it from a particular perspective. The emphasis or suppression of such attributes in news media content demonstrates an agenda of attributes (McCombs, 2003) which further supports the idea that the news media influence how individuals should think about an issue, as well as what issues to think about in the first place (Cohen, 1963).

Arguably, issue priming influences the public on what issues to consider and attribute priming influences public discourse on how these issues are considered (McCombs, 2003, p12-13). However, it is unlikely that all individual public members are equally persuaded of the importance of an issue based on the extent of the news media's coverage. It is also unlikely that they are similarly influenced on what to think about that issue based on the attributes that the news media apply to it (Weaver, 2007, p146). Perhaps the aggregate influence of the news media's issue and issue-attribute priming on perceptions of its priority and definitions used within the discourse can be determined by examining a combination of variables. These include how often the issue is featured in news media content, how much exposure media consumers have had to the media messages within the media content, and how recently they were exposed to them (Kim et al., 2002). The greater the aggregate impact of these combined variables, the greater the ease that the issue can be brought to mind, the higher the priority that is assigned to it and the more influential the primed attributes that are applied to it when an individual makes their value judgements (Iyengar, 1991). Put simply, the greater the aggregate impact of these combined variables, the greater the priming effect on the individual.

Priming effects can be defined as an increase in polarised perspectives about the possible causes and solutions for the issue (Dearing and Rogers, 2006) or an increase in public participation in the form of political behaviour relating to the issue (Weaver, 1991). However, arguably the most accurate description of priming effects is in relation to Lippman's (1922) conviction that individuals do not fully understand the political process because they are incapable of being aware of all public issues. Therefore, the priming effect is a general reliance of individual public members on the news media for prioritising specific issues and issue attributes over others based on their perceived importance and relevance to the public consciousness (McCombs, 2003, p12-16). Furthermore, individuals lack sufficient time, resources, and motivation to review all the available information about an issue, so when required to take some form of political action about the issue that involves a deeper consideration of it, such as forming an opinion to make a choice and cast a vote, they are more reliant on news media's issue and issue-attribute priming to provide a convenient, comprehensive review of the relevant information (McCombs, 2003).

From this context, it would be difficult to deny that the news media provides a public service, but it is also difficult to deny that the news media might be doing the public a disservice in terms of the potentiality of the news media as a *powerful* stakeholder exercising power over a *powerless* stakeholder. This operational definition of the news media's priming effect is reminiscent of Dahl's (1969) revised perspective on power – a successful attempt by A to get B to do something he would otherwise not do (p82). Individuals with minimal prior knowledge of a given issue and a higher need for orientation are more likely to consume the most accessible relevant information, that which is most salient in the news media, to increase their knowledge, form an opinion and take political action (Higgins, 1996, in Kim et al., 2002). However, this implies that the priming effect is mainly a behavioural consequence regarding a shift in an individual's actions and subsequent behaviours. An attitudinal result, however, in terms of a shift in perspective, is more indicative of the framing effect (Price & Tewkesbury 1997, in Kim et al., 2002, p9).

Second Level Agenda Setting: Framing Theory and Framing Effects

Arguably the most appropriate operational definition of framing effects is that it is an extension of priming effects in terms of the selection and salience of issue attributes influencing the public's perception of a given issue. The organizing principle in framing theory is to condense news media content about the issue and reduce the content complexity for a boundedly rational audience unable to review all relevant information. It is the process of relaying issue-related information in boiled-down, easy-to-understand information packages that can be communicated in a comprehensive but concise manner (Weaver and Elliott, 1985, p93; Kim et al. 2002, p8). Whist priming theory relies on accessibility, where an increase in the salience of the issue results in a shift in public attentiveness toward it; framing theory relies on the idea of applicability, where an increase in the salience of the issue attributes results in a shift in public attentiveness toward its sub-issues (McCombs et al., 1997, McCombs, 2003).

Perhaps most significantly, issue framing is a form of interpretive message structuring (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987, p145) where the news media implicitly assigns meaning and allocates cause when reporting issue-related content (Iyengar, 1991, p11) through the strategic use of specific linguistic and semantic devices to construct the narrative. These serve as a thematic shorthand and act as an interpretive shortcut (Kim et al. 2002, p8) that promotes specific problem definitions of the issue, support certain causal interpretations of it and endorses particular moral evaluations and recommended responses for it (Entman, 1993, p52; Freeland, 2012, p7-8). The result is the implicit influencing of public opinion, the subtle steering of potential solutions for a public problem and the tacit manipulation of policy initiatives in response to political issues (Terkildsen et al.1998, p47, in Shanahan et al., 2008, p6).

Linguistic devices operating within the text include those that condense information and imply meaning, such as catchphrases, depictions, exemplars, metaphors, taglines and visual images. These complement the additional employment of conceptual reasoning linguistic devices that imply cause and consequence or appeals to principles or moral claims (Gamson, 1992). In operational terms, this refers to strategically selecting words and phrases that are currently salient in the culture to narrate it, referencing only specific sources to substantiate it (Boykoff, 2005) and inferring connections between them to promote interpretations, evaluations, and solutions for it (Entman, 1993, Freeland, 2012). In other words, the news media frames the central narrative in such a way that relays what has happened as it happens, attributes the cause for how it happened and assigns blame for why it happened (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987).

Semantic devices strategically employed by the news media to construct the narrative fall into two categories: episodic and thematic. Episodic frames refer to the inclusion of concrete examples of the issue-related information, usually ‘focusing’ events which are sudden, relatively rare events that can be reasonably defined as being harmful or revealing the possibility of potentially greater future harms (Birkland, 2013, p2-3). Framing the information from an episodic background context alludes to what information may be relevant at the meso and micro level, indicates the short-term nature of the issue or relevance of the information and emphasises individual responsibility by focusing on individual accounts and personal experiences in the description of the focusing event. On the other hand, thematic frames put these concrete examples of the issue-related information into a more general, abstract context by using evocative and emotional language and presenting them as further evidence of a broader, more long-term political issue. Thematically framing generally stresses social or institutional responsibility for the focusing event by relating them to social trends and associated statistics as a comparative tool for analysis (Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar and Simon, 1997, p250). However, perhaps the leading utility in employing thematic frames in media messaging is the subtle way it induces a cognitive shift in affective intelligence in response to it (Wu and Coleman, 2009, p779). At the very least, a shift from critical

thinking to reactionary reasoning (Edelman, 1988) may increase issue attentiveness and provoke more pressure for policy change (Freeland, 2012, p9).

But the employment of linguistic and semantic framing in the news media underestimates the extent that an individual can moderate the extent that framing effects have upon them. Direct experience with a given issue rather than the message structuring of the news media may influence how the individual constructs meaning from any new information about it (Scheufele, 2000, Kim et al., 2002). Issue framing is, after all, based on the applicability model that seeks to establish a link between the media message and the theoretical framework individuals employ to interpret it (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). This theoretical framework refers to the perception that knowledge is structured into units, and the separate blocks of information that build knowledge are stored within them. Collectively, these units of knowledge form a conceptual system where new information is consumed, processed and interpreted to create meaning via linguistic and semantic framing, but also, critically, from within the context of an individual's prior knowledge. Cumulatively, the cognitive processes where new information is understood within the context of prior knowledge are an individual's interpretive schema (Goffman, 1974) and rational support of a cognitive bias (Weaver, 2007) that moderates the extent to which the framing effects of external stimuli are exerted upon them.

Developing the utility of an individual's interpretive schema even further, prospect theory argues that not only does an individual's interpretive schema influence how they interpret information, but it also affects what subsequent decisions are made and whether any action will be taken (Tversky and Kahneman, 1979, 1992). Evocative of comprehensive rationality (Simon, 1945, 1957), ideally, final decisions would be based on comparing, contrasting and measuring each alternative prospect and their varying elements of risk and probabilistic outcomes. However, boundedly rational individuals rely on heuristic devices, such as their interpretive schema, to evaluate the potential losses and gains of the risks involved in each prospect. Thus, decisions are ultimately made by

selecting the prospect as having the most satisfactory, rather ideal value, i.e., the lowest perceived loss and the highest perceived gain (Tversky and Kahneman, 1979, p274).

Framing Effects and the Media as Conduit or Contributor to the Policy Process

Linguistic and semantic frames are a means to examine the role of the news media in the policy process and policy change theory. In the role of conduit, it serves as a port of transmission for disseminating political actors' and policy entrepreneurs' policy beliefs in policy debates. As a contributor, it uses framing strategies congruent with these policy beliefs in its narrative of policy debates (Shanahan et al. 2008, p115). Arguably, the deciding factor in what role the news media has in the policy process and policy change theory is somewhat circular: it is the extent that framing strategies affect individual public members and the public as a whole and the extent that individual public members and the public as a whole influence framing strategies in return. In other words, linguistic and semantic frames influence the evolution of standards within society but are also influenced by the cultural, normative and structural norms that they are set within. For example, they affect and are affected by journalistic norms, such as the organisational goals and procedures of the news media as an institutional stakeholder, and the personal political orientation and value judgements of individual policy actors operating within them. Similarly, they impact and are impacted by elite political actors and policy entrepreneurial norms, such as government bureaucracies, corporate goals, and political party pressures (Kosicki, 1993, p112-113, in Freeland, 2012, p9).

The cumulative effect of this at the micro level is that the diverse attribution (and the prominence of each attribution) of linguistic and semantic frames operating within news media content serve as cognitive devices that influence an individual's interpretation of new issue-related information and affect what subsequent decisions they make and actions they take in relation to it. At the macro level, the diversity and the prominence of attribution in linguistic and semantic frames can affect attitudinal

tendencies and behavioural trends in influencing levels of attentiveness, need for orientation and tolerance thresholds. Likewise, what words, phrases, and symbols (such as metaphors and catchphrases) are salient in society influences the evolution of what language media-based (and institutional-based) stakeholders use to construct linguistic and semantic frames.

From one point of view, the news media echoes rather than evaluates the policy beliefs of political actors and policy entrepreneurs because it represents perspectives more than it recommends solutions (Kingdon, 2003). It is undoubtedly a critical resource for political actors and policy entrepreneurs who are advocacy coalition members of a particular subsystem to network, unite under and promote a core set of policy beliefs. But it is also just as critical a resource for the networking and promotion of the alternate policy beliefs of opposing coalitions and even as a member of an advocacy coalition itself (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p183 and p227). Therefore, when considering the role of the news media in the policy process and policy change theory, the most practical perspective to adopt is one that sees it as having an ambivalent role, with discretionary power to conduct or contribute to the policy debate. Selecting what issue attributes are highlighted or what relevant perspectives are cited demonstrates how the news media can omit or add 'distinctive elements' (Semetko et al., 1990) to the discourse. In addition, the link between the length of time the news media focuses on a given issue and the depth of public knowledge about it is further evidence of its discretionary power (Curran et al., 2009, p16-17).

In conclusion

This chapter has focused on the nature of the policy process and how the news media influences agenda-setting and decision-making within the policy process. It demonstrated the connection between political processes and public consciousness and how the news media plays a significant role in shaping the public's perception of policy

issues. In addition, it examined several theories and approaches to the influence of the news media on the policy process, particularly the direct effects model, the limited effects model, framing theory, and priming theory. In short, this chapter has sought to provide theoretical insight into how the news media's presentation of policy issues has affected the public's understanding of them. Arguably the theories on agenda-setting and decision-making examined within this chapter vary considerably in similarities and differences in approach. However, collectively they provide valuable insight into the role of the individual stakeholder in shaping the complex and dynamic nature of policy-making systems. Fundamentally, the importance of this chapter to the overall research design is that it delves deeper into the theoretical framework on which the case studies examined in Chapter Four are based. And in doing so, strengthens the argument for using the PC&N perspective as a tool for analysing the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

The literature review in the previous chapter demonstrated how neo-pluralism as a theoretical framework aligns with the PC&N perspective for understanding the nature of policymaking. It also indicated the efficacy of the PC&N perspective as a tool for analysing the impact of the news media on shaping the policy agenda. The following chapters analyse the utility of this insight by applying it to an evaluation of the role and influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda through an empirical investigation of two asylum and immigration policy case studies. Preceding this, however, is a critical review of British asylum and immigration policymaking as understood in the context of this investigation. That is, asylum and immigration policymaking that occurred concurrently during the time frame of the theoretical evolution of both case studies (from the July 1998 'Fairer, Faster, Firmer - A Modern Approach to Immigration and Asylum' White Paper, the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act, to the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act).

British Immigration Policy Making:

As Understood in the Context of this Investigation.

Several key factors, including political and economic considerations and public opinion, shaped British asylum and immigration policymaking from 1998 to 2002. Initially, the Labour government arguably sought to liberalise asylum and immigration policy to attract highly skilled workers whilst at the same time addressing growing concerns about 'illegal immigration' (Richmond, 2000, Somerville & Walsh, 2021) - referring to the act of individuals entering or remaining in a country without appropriate authorisation or exceeding the terms of a valid visa. During this period, Labour's overall approach to asylum and immigration policy arguably centred on finding a balance between the movement of skilled workers and illegal immigration, and as a result, laid

the groundwork for implementing several key changes to British asylum and immigration policy in comparison to that of the preceding Conservative Government.

A report by the Home Affairs Select Committee on Asylum and Immigration (2000) is a key source of information on British asylum and immigration policy during Labour's first term in government because it provides an overview of the issues and challenges facing asylum and immigration, as well as recommendations for addressing them. In particular, the report highlighted the need to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the asylum system whilst reducing the number of illegal immigrants entering the UK. However, the report argued that the implementation of early efforts had failed due to unanticipated affiliated challenges, including immigration staff shortages, and the failure of a computer system to handle immigration applications. A further challenge was also poor forward planning on the behalf of the Labour Government. The 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act for example, had a significant impact on reducing the number of asylum seekers entering the UK by setting out stricter guidelines in the short term. However, did not account for a potential increase in applications after an initial lull in asylum-seeking had subsided (Richmond, 2000). This is evidenced in changes relating to the whitelist policy reversal from its official abolition in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act to its quiet reinstatement in the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act.

Some key policy changes that were implemented during this period aimed at better management of asylum and immigration issues, such as more thorough screening of visitors that entered the UK, stiffer penalties for those who supported individuals who overstayed their visas, older age requirements for foreign spouses, and a new system for obtaining work permits and visas. However, some of the changes made that are relevant to this research investigation included the increase in funding for support services for destitute asylum seekers (relating to the first case study), as well as the Labour Government's efforts to work with other European countries to establish standardised asylum procedures (relating to the second case study) (Ruedin, 2017).

Challenges to these tightened regulations included increased illegal and irregular migration, asylum seekers and refugees' incapacity to seek protection from persecution and an overall rising level of antipathy toward asylum and immigration issues among the general population. This arguably resulted in excessive politics in general but also excessive politicking by the Labour Government in particular (Onslow-Cole, 2011). For example, the recurrent politicisation of asylum seekers created legal and structural distinctions that generated further discourse that established distinctions between different groups. These distinctions were based on legal status, ethnicity, race, nationality, and religion, which affected the subsequent distribution of rights and resources. These distinctions also led to different interpretations of citizenship, membership, and belonging within a socio-culturally diverse but geographically limited society. It was governed by an administration that lacked clarity, cohesion and consistency in its aims and objectives for its asylum and immigration policy.

Research Design and Methodology

Design Rationale

This chapter attempts to connect the theoretical perspectives of the previous chapters with the empirical investigation in the next. The overarching research design was inspired by Lukes' (1974, 2005) 'third dimension of power' and Schattschneider's (1960) 'mobilisation of bias', where stakeholders with more resources and access to power can exercise it by mobilising the bias of *institutional* stakeholders in support of some issues and interests over others. This is manifest in the semantic and syntactic priming and framing of language salient in the culture to influence the discourse of a policy issue so that it aligns with the preferences of the *powerful* over that of the *powerless*. Stakeholders with more resources and easier access to power have a greater capacity to promote certain problem definitions, indicate specific causal factors, imply the credibility of specific sources, and infer connections between them (Dahl, 1961). The cumulative effects of this are the implicit influencing of public and political opinion on the policy issue and the tacit manipulation of the policy agenda.

Research questions conceptualised at the beginning of the investigation relevant to this stage include:

- A) What was the theoretical evolution of each case study - from policy initiative to policy reversal?
- B) Who were the stakeholders active within each case study's policy communities and networks? What was the strength of the interrelationships between them?
- C) How did news media stakeholders influence the conditions under which other stakeholders could contribute to the case study narrative?

A grounded theory approach was adopted to address these questions effectively, with the intention of developing an in-depth understanding of the discourse surrounding each case study and a detailed list of contributors to it. This began with examining two pieces of government legislation that were central sources of reference for both case studies - the Labour's July 1998 White Paper 'Fairer, Faster, Firmer: A Modern Approach to Immigration and Asylum' and the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act.

The 1998 White Paper, in particular, was an essential point of departure because it marked the start of the time frame within which both case studies are set. It was also a fundamental reference point for understanding the origin and evolution of the language used to set the terms for each policy initiative. It was also the first authoritative report from the new Labour Government regarding its overall approach to asylum and immigration policy. It contained specific aims and objectives relevant to each policy initiative, that detailed how the voucher support system would impact destitute asylum seekers and how the whitelist policy would be removed and replaced.

For its part, the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act was an essential point of reference because it signalled a turning point in the theoretical evolution of both case studies. It marked the formal implementation of the voucher system support policy and the official abolition of the whitelist policy. It also laid out the specific provisions of the cashless

support package for destitute asylum seekers and the required logistics for repealing the whitelist policy in principle but continuing in practice.

Data Collection

Parliamentary and sectorial-based-stakeholders

Access to data sources such as parliamentary debates and committee meetings was not problematic because they were already accessible in the public domain. However, information sourced from commissioned and independent reports, executive summaries, print media and press briefings proved more challenging in terms of ensuring the acquisition of a data sample that accurately represented the subject for analysis. This was also problematic in regard to accessing sources from sectorial stakeholders. For example, the list of respondents to the Home Office's November 2000 invitation for interested parties to contribute to a voucher policy review was not available in the public domain, so necessitated a Freedom of Information request to the National Archives.

In addition, an attempt was made to contact all respondents on the list to request access to any relevant documentation they may have sent to the Home Office to supplement their review. One-third could not be contacted directly and most of the remaining two-thirds could not provide relevant material. Concerning the whitelist policy, information from sectorial-based stakeholders was mainly in the form of contributions to independent reports, which were often survey responses and anecdotal reports and subject to the conditions that more powerful stakeholders set for them to contribute to the discourse successfully. For example, prominent leaders in advocacy coalitions, such as the TWGU, Refugee Council and Oxfam Token Gestures report, in the voucher policy study, or editors of commissioned reports such as the Cattle, Ritchie, Denham, Ouseley, and Clake reports in the whitelist policy study.

In response, a second attempt to access information from sectorial-based stakeholders involved re-examining the records of relevant parliamentary debates to identify any memorandums they may have submitted to Special Standing Committees. In

addition, an additional background investigation was undertaken with the aim of identifying any relevant documentation that sectorial-based stakeholders had published themselves, such as press briefings, independent reports, and executive summaries. This yielded positive results; however, such information was often only accessible via its publication in news media sources – another powerful stakeholder that set the term for those with less power, to contribute to the discourse.

For instance, whilst ‘letters to the editor’ or detailed op-ed opinion pieces from sectorial-based stakeholders were published in the news media, most contributions were referenced either directly or indirectly in article reports. Nonetheless, incorporating memorandums to Standing Committees, self-published material from the initial six respondents to the Home Office review, and input from sector-specific stakeholders in commissioned independent reports (covering the voucher policy and whitelist initiative), data was amassed from over a dozen stakeholders across six societal sectors for analysis.

News-media-based stakeholders

In regard to news media sources, the selection process for analysis initially encompassed the Sun, the Daily Mail, the Daily Mirror, and the Daily Express. This choice stemmed from their certified average net circulations during each case study's timeframe, which was deemed to offer a 'real-world' sample of the most prevalent news media sources at that time. However, the Sun's digital archives were not publicly available, and the Daily Mirror was only accessible until 1979. According to average net circulations ('List of newspapers in the United Kingdom by circulation,' sourced from the Audit Bureau of Circulations, no date), the Daily Telegraph, the Times, the Daily Star, the Financial Times, the Guardian, and the Independent were the following most suitable options, listed in descending order of circulation averages. However, among these options, the Times and the Guardian emerged as the optimal sources for data collection due to the accessibility of their digital archives and their diversity in terms of political affiliation. More specifically, the Conservative affiliations of the Daily Mail and Daily Express, along with the Conservative-Liberal Democrat bias of the Times, and the Labour-Liberal Democrat leanings of the Guardian, were chosen. These selections offered a credible

representation of diverse political affiliations, if not the highest net circulation, during the time of each case study.

Data Analysis

The data analysis employed an integrative approach that utilised content and discourse analysis to develop an in-depth and multi-dimensional understanding of the discourse surrounding each policy case study. Ethnographically speaking, content analysis has its roots in communication studies, including early work by Weber (1976) and Berelson (1952) laying the groundwork for its application. On the other hand, discourse analysis draws from linguistics and sociology, with Foucault (1969), Goffman (1956, 1959), and Fairclough (1989) paving the way for its development and evolution.

Berelson (1952, p18) defines content analysis as a research technique for the ‘objective systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication’. Moreover, at the risk of being reductive, Holsti (1969) argues that content analysis broadly refers to any analytical technique that objectively and systemically identifies specified characteristics of messages (1969, p14). In this vein, methodologically speaking, content analysis involves categorising and classifying large volumes and various forms of data in a systematic and structured manner, with the aim of identifying trends or patterns within it.

On the other hand, discourse analysis arguably goes beyond this by looking at the context in which the content is communicated and the way in which language is used to construct meaning and convey perspectives, in order to interpret the power dynamics, assumptions and ideologies embedded within the text (van Dijk, 1997). Power dynamics, in particular, are a priority in discourse analysis. From the perspective of one of the

pioneers of this analytical approach, discourse is not something that *translates* struggles or systems of domination but is the very thing for which and by which there *is* struggle; ‘discourse is the power which is to be seized’ (Foucault, 1981, pp 52–53, in Cockayne 2016). However, this struggle doesn't always encompass overt threats or manipulation. Instead, the most potent methods of controlling discourse subtly and indirectly influence the mind, making them challenging to identify, counteract, or critique, (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, Lukes, 2004). Hence, the necessity for advanced discourse analysis arises, enabling a more *critical* evaluation of these nuances in language usage and communication (van Dijk, 2012, p1).

Content Analysis

In regard to the development of content analysis as an analytical approach, Max Weber has been credited as being among the first to formally endorse it as a sociological approach to examining the news media specialised sub-set of content analysis as a research technique. He advocated for examining the frequency of keywords or phrases in editorials and advertisements in media communicative content to measure trends and patterns in social change (Weber, 1976, in Krippendorff, 2002).

In addition, Harold Lasswell (1941) made groundbreaking contributions to developing content analysis by applying it as a method for understanding the use of propaganda to influence public opinion. He systematically collected, coded, and categorised a wide range of propaganda materials circulated during World War I, including newspapers, magazines, posters, pamphlets, and other communication content, to gain a comprehensive view of the different propaganda strategies employed by the government and other institutional stakeholders to mobilise support, foster patriotism, and manipulate public perceptions of the war effort.

Bernard Berelson (1952) expanded upon Lasswell's foundational work by introducing a more comprehensive framework for conducting content analysis. This framework emphasised the importance of conducting content analysis in an 'objective, systematic, and quantitative' manner, focusing on the explicit and observable content (i.e., manifest content) of extensive volumes of communicative text. Berelson's contributions significantly established content analysis as a legitimate and rigorous method for studying human behaviour through communication content.

Similarly, Klaus Krippendorff (1980) and Kathleen E. Neuendorf (2002, 2017) have contributed substantially to developing clarity in the methodological practice of content analysis, particularly to the theoretical understanding and development of clear coding categories and refining them through iterative testing in order to improve data reliability, inter-coder reliability, and consistency in the coding process so that different coders can achieve consistent results when analysing the same content. Perhaps the most impactful insight that both Krippendorff (1980, Ch 1.7 in the 2019 4th Ed.) and Neuendorf (2017, Ch 2), along with other prominent figures in the field of content analysis (such as Holsti 1969), is the importance of integrating qualitative approaches to content analysis as it evolved in its application to encompass a broader range of disciplines and perspectives.

Discourse Analysis

Michel Foucault's (1969) study on power dynamics within discourse has laid the foundation for integrating content analysis with discourse analysis. The core tenet of Foucauldian theory is that discourse functions as a tool for exercising power. This refers to the deliberate selection, arrangement, and emphasis of words and ideas to influence perception, endorse specific ideologies, and contribute to constructing social realities.

Conceptually, this aligns not only with qualitative content analysis, which seeks to unearth latent meanings, ideological influences, and the underlying power dynamics inherent in data, but also with quantitative content analysis, which provides a complementary avenue for exploring patterns, frequencies, and numerical aspects within discourse. Within this framework, content analysis corresponds with the core principles of discourse analysis by systematically examining communicative content to identify techniques and strategies that operationalise power within discourse. In essence, Foucault's insights offer a cohesive mixed-method approach to understanding the interplay between language, power dynamics, and the construction of meaning within diverse communicative contexts.

Building on the Foucauldian theory of power dynamics within discourse, Erving Goffman's (1956) theory on symbolic interaction within discourse provides an interesting perspective on the nuanced interplay between language, power dynamics and the construction of meaning. He depicts social interactions as akin to theatrical performances - where an individual will 'act' differently in different communicative contexts and adopt different roles and behaviours as appropriate to the context of the interaction, in order to influence perceptions and shape the narrative.

Similarly, Goffman's (1959) work on frame analysis draws an analogy between discourse and theatrical performances. Just as scenes play out in a play, or frames unfold in a film, individuals use linguistic and interactional cues to establish contextual boundaries within the dynamic, to signal the discourse's specific thematic or contextual dimensions. For instance, a conversation about colleagues may evoke a 'work' frame, while a discussion about friends might invoke a 'leisure' frame. Essentially, each frame engenders a set of shared expectations, assumptions, and thematic orientations that guide the interpretation of statements uttered within that context. In sum, Goffman's work on the presentation of self through symbolic interaction and the employment of frames to establish contextual boundaries within discourse, is evidence of the utility of adopting an

integrated content and discourse analytical approach to understanding the complex relationship between language, power dynamics and the construction of meaning.

Norman Fairclough's study (1989) on the distinct analytical dimensions of discourse has played a significant role in shaping the evolution and development of critical discourse analysis. Fairclough defines critical discourse analysis as discourse analysis that not only examines how language is used in discourse, but the way in which it is related to the broader social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. His central goal is to identify how power dynamics ideologically influence the language used in communications, and how these dynamics themselves result in the securement of power and hegemony. He posits that each instance of language use can be seen as a communicative event, framed within an order of discourse. This analysis of events involves three distinct categories or 'dimensions' of discourse.

The first pertains to the discourse's micro 'word level', encompassing oral, written, or visual text that provides descriptive references to a subject. The second discourse dimension operates at the meso 'text level,' involving the underlying values, beliefs, and perspectives embedded within the text. The third dimension addresses the macro 'norm level' of discourse, representing the normative ideological values, beliefs, and perspectives embedded within the text at the word level. Arguably Fairclough's examination into the multidimensional use of language to impact discourses, ideologies, and power structures on both micro and macro levels, serves as evidence of the successful integration of discourse and critical discourse analysis with content analysis to provide a comprehensive analytical approach to communication content.

In the same vein as Fairclough, Teun. A. van Dijk is a prominent figure in using CDA to examine power dynamics within discourse. However, he takes an integrative approach to examine the ways in which language reflects and shapes social and cognitive processes. In his examination of news media discourse, for example, van Dijk (1984,

1988) combines content analysis with discourse analysis to examine the linguistic strategies used in the news media to convey information, construct narratives and shape identities, perpetuate prevailing ideologies, and either reinforce or challenge power dynamics. This extends to communicative contexts concerning subjects such as immigration, terrorism, racism, and political events such as parliamentary elections.

Furthermore, van Dijk has emphasised the significance of conducting a preliminary content analysis of the linguistic strategies used in the news media. This initial step allows for an examination of how it perpetuates racist ideologies, preceding a more detailed discourse analysis that unveils the prevalence, depth, and implications of the insights indicated in the preliminary investigation (1991).

Moreover, van Dijk's exploration of ideology and discourse (1998, 2008) integrates linguistic content analysis with the cognitive and social elements of critical discourse analysis. This multidisciplinary approach highlights the pivotal role of language in shaping and upholding social conventions, values, and power dynamics within the broader discourse. This connection is linked to the dynamic interplay between language, cognition, and power structures within everyday discourse, collectively reflecting and reinforcing overarching societal narratives and normative ideologies.

Finally, although a prominent figure in critical discourse analysis, Ruth Wodak stands out as a significant contributor to the synthesis of CDA with content analysis. Notably, she has championed the concept of 'integrative interdisciplinarity' (2005) and a collaborative approach to studying discourse. In this context, Wodak has effectively combined theoretical frameworks with empirical research to examine large historical corpora and ethnography. Central to her research has been the role of discourse in constructing and perpetuating extremist ideology, national identity, and power dynamics.

For example, in collaboration with De Cillia and Reisigl, Wodak (1999) applied CDA in order to examine how language reinforces collective identity, legitimises historical narratives relating to past injustices, and defines the linguistic dynamics of 'othering'. Wodak also employed an integrative, interdisciplinary approach to investigate how language is used in discourse pertaining to discriminatory ideologies and societal disparities. These concern subjects like migration (with Delanty et al., 2008), racism, and antisemitism (Reisigl and Wodak, 2000) to understand how language is used to construct and perpetuate perceptions of identity and integration. Building on this foundation, Wodak and Richardson (2013) looked through the lens of CDA to examine the discourse of European fascist movements used to promote extremist ideologies, legitimise authoritarianism, and construct group identities. The theme was further explored by Wodak (2015), where she explored the rhetoric of right-wing populist movements, aiming to discern the strategies political leaders and public figures use to propagate feelings of fear, foster exclusionary attitudes, and establish authority.

In summary, discourse analysts have integrated the analysis of manifest communicative content but have also progressed beyond it. Their focus has shifted towards critiquing the complex interplay between language, communication, and latent societal dynamics. In doing so, they exemplify the benefits of employing discourse analysis to integrate the insights acquired through content analysis. Content analysis results, for example, are helpful for generalising findings to a larger population or relating it to a broader narrative. However, building on these with a subsequent discourse analysis can offer a richer understanding of the nuances and complexities of the initial results.

Moreover, using multiple perspectives to analyse the data provides the opportunity to confirm or corroborate results, allowing for a more thorough and multi-dimensional interpretation. This reduces potential biases and increases the reliability and validity of the findings, ultimately allowing for a more rigorous and robust analysis. Additionally, content analysis focuses on macro-level patterns and themes, while

discourse analysis concentrates on micro-level details and nuances. Integrating these perspectives bridges the gap between both, enabling a clearer understanding of the findings and their significance within specific and more comprehensive contexts.

It is important to consider, however, the logistics of conducting a mixed-method analysis. For example, in any methodological process, data analysis is vulnerable to researcher bias, whose underlying preconceptions or unconscious assumptions may influence the selection of data, the coding of lexical categories, and the semantic and syntactic interpretation of results. In addition, using content and discourse analysis as a mixed-method approach poses other challenges, such as the considerable time, labour and resources required for the twofold process of collecting, coding, and analysing data. This approach may also generate an overwhelming amount of data - the analysis and synthesis of which may lead to potential oversight in identifying more nuanced observations. In addition, synthesising findings from two analytical approaches to a dataset can pose difficulties in reconciling contradictory or divergent results (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003, Greene, 2008, and Creswell 2008, 2009a in Creswell, 2015, pp4-5). Interpreting insights drawn from both in order to integrate them coherently requires a robust theoretical framework (Morse et al., 2002).

Nonetheless, whilst it is essential to be aware of the challenges that a mixed-method approach may pose - integrating content analysis with critical discourse analysis enables a deeper understanding of the complexities of working with large datasets while uncovering subtle nuances between them. In relation to policy discourse, for example, an integrated analytical approach provides further insight into how language, communication and power dynamics shape and influence the formation, representation, and interpretation of policies.

Content analysis, for example, involves systematically analysing manifest content within discourse to uncover patterns, themes, and trends within the data. In the

context of policy discourse, this is beneficial in terms of identifying recurring themes, keywords, and topics within policy-related texts, and uncovering dominant narratives, critical arguments, and frequently addressed issues in policy discussions. Moreover, by quantifying the occurrence of specific terms, phrases, or themes within policy discourse, content analysis can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the emphasis given to particular aspects of it, which is helpful in gauging the salience of different perspectives or positions within the discourse. In addition, a content analysis of policy discourse facilitates a comprehensive study across diverse sources that span various time periods, contexts, and stakeholders. This allows for the identification of shifts in the language used in the policy discourse, or fluctuations in the focus on different facets of the policy issue.

Similarly, discourse analysis is a valuable methodological approach for studying policy discourse, as it takes into account the historical, social, cultural, and political contextual factors that may shape the framing and interpretation of the policy issue. In addition, discourse analysis assists in uncovering what power dynamics and ideologies are embedded within the policy discourse. It also aids in the examination and identification of which stakeholders are and are not successful in contributing to the policy discourse, as well as how language is used to legitimise or challenge policy decisions. Essentially, discourse analysis can indicate how policies shape reality by identifying the linguistic strategies employed by powerful stakeholders to shape public perceptions, garner support, or downplay opposition toward a policy issue. At the same time, it can shed light on the underlying assumptions operating with the policy discourse.

Arguably, the integration of content and discourse analysis as an analytical approach offers a more comprehensive, understanding of how policy discourse is shaped, conveyed, and understood within diverse communicative contexts. Noteworthy studies that have adopted this approach in the context of the immigration policy narrative in British news media, include Van Dijk's (1991) comparative exploration of the news media's influence on ethnic relations and stereotype perpetuation serves as an illustrative example. His analysis of lexical categories, and their syntactic and semantic use in British

and Dutch news media discourse, sheds light on how language constructs interpretations, biases, and shapes perspectives.

For instance, his findings exposed how news media depicted ethnic minorities as 'problem people' by emphasising select topics that highlighted perceived issues while neglecting or minimising problems stemming from the white majority, including in hospitality, stringent immigration laws, discrimination, and racism. Furthermore, van Dijk detected bias in news media reporting regarding the selection of quoted individuals for events involving ethnic minorities. The media favoured white institutions and elites for commentary, often undermining the credibility and competence of minority spokespersons. This biased source selection reinforced stereotypes and existing power dynamics, often marginalising or undermining the voices of ethnic minorities in news media discourse. Of particular interest, van Dijk observed the use of passive-aggressive language frames when quoting minority spokespeople. Their statements were frequently presented as unverified or questionable, employing phrases such as "alleged" racism or enclosing "racism" in quotation marks, thus undermining the credibility of their remarks. This approach arguably lessened the influence of their viewpoints and cast doubt on their experiences, intensifying the unequal representation of ethnic minorities within news media discourse.

Furthermore, the work of Lim and Moufahim (2011), which investigated immigration's role and importance in the 2010 British General Election from a citizen-centric viewpoint, serves as an exemplar of the benefits derived from employing an integrated methodological approach. They examined lexical categories and their syntactic and semantic application within the discourse of members of the electorate that were expressed within the blogosphere. Conclusions derived from their analysis enabled the identification of discourse fragments, which are small language units that convey meaning within the context of a broader discourse despite being incomplete on their own. These fragments facilitated the subsequent identification of core perspectives held by blogging members of the electorate regarding immigration policy and its relevance in the

2010 British General Election. Other studies that have employed a lexical categorisation of semantic and syntactic analysis of immigration issues portrayed in the British news media during ideologically charged political campaigns, such as election campaigns, include Atton (2006), KhosraviNik (2009), Spigelman (2013) and Smith, (2014).

In addition, Lawlor (2015) adopted an integrated approach to investigate the evolution of trends in tone and frequency of immigration frames within news media coverage that was in response to significant policy changes or notable focusing events. In a comparative study, Lawlor examined immigration-related content from the three primary circulating broadsheet newspapers in Canada and Britain over a four-year period. The results of her analysis were subsequently organised in a dendrogram or hierarchical cluster of discourse fragments by coding relevant article content into lexical categories and analysing their syntactic and semantic application to the larger narrative within each article. Each branch of the dendrogram corresponded to a dominant frame, cumulatively indicating the underlying themes in the discourse over the four-year period. As a result, Lawlor could identify variations in the tone and frequency of the frames and align them with any significant policy changes or focusing events that occurred during the same period. Her study demonstrated how identifying lexical categories within news media's discourse and their subsequent application to analyse syntactic and semantic associations in relation to the larger narrative sheds light on the link between the public's changing political priorities as a result of focusing events and policymakers' subsequent responses in the form of policy change. Additional studies on immigration frames within the news media in response to policy changes, focusing events, and evolving public opinion employing a similar methodological approach to Lawlor (2015) include Merolla et al. (2013) and Abrajano et al. (2017).

Although immigration was not the primary focus of Molek-Kozakowska's (2014) study, it serves as an intriguing methodological example of how the news media manipulate the presentation of immigration-related information in its narrative. The study

focused on using metaphors in headlines to explore their potential for coercion. Examining a corpus of 400 headlines, sub-headlines, and lead-ins from the most popular news items on the British Daily Mail's website in 2012, Molek-Kozakowska identified non-literal expressions used in the discourse by categorising them as 'register' incongruity (i.e., the level of formality or style in language use), 'word class' incongruity (when a word is used in a way that does not align with its typical grammatical category or part of speech) and 'collocation incongruity' (the use of words that are not commonly associated). The rationale behind detecting incongruities in the discourse was that they signalled the use of figurative or creative linguistic constructs, specifically the employment of metaphorical expression, within the headlines.

The process of identifying metaphors with potential coercive effects entailed a focus group discussion, where participants negotiated their conceptualisation of the metaphor under question. Whilst most were considered to have been used for purely representational or explicatory purposes, some were identified as potentially coercive because they distorted the issue covered in the main article. The semantic and syntactical categories used for this more nuanced analysis of the corpora included simplification (reducing a complex entity to a simple one), imaging (using primary image schemata for abstract entities), animalisation (mapping animal attributes onto humans), confrontation (presenting interpersonal relations/stakeholders' interests as inherently oppositional and conflict-laden), (de) legitimisation (adding to or reducing the value of something by means of representing it as a more/less favourable entity), emotionalisation (drawing from affect-laden source domains), and dramatisation (mapping routine processes/entities onto extreme/ superlative ones) (2014, p159).

Fundamentally, Molek-Kozakowska's examination of the strategic use of figurative expression in language illustrates the value of adopting a systematic multi-method approach to uncover how the news media manipulates language to construct interpretation, infer bias and shape perspectives in its narrative.

Similar studies on the use of metaphors within news media discourse concerning immigration policy include Baker and McEnery (2005), Hart (2008), KhosraviNik (2009), and Polson and Kahle (2010).

Applying the comprehensive, integrated methodological approach exemplified in the studies discussed above, the first step for developing an in-depth understanding of the discourse surrounding each case study of this research investigation began with a content analysis of the 1998 White Paper and the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act. This analysis aimed to establish the official position of the Labour Government concerning the voucher and whitelist policy initiatives. An initial frequency analysis of each piece of legislation in NVivo identified what keywords and phrases featured most predominantly in the discourse, which were subsequently coded into lexical categories. This refers to the coding of word groups such as nouns, compound nouns (i.e., *asylum seeker*) verbs and phrasal verbs (i.e., *slip through*) that identify the subject, object, and action of a specific point of content in the data considered relevant to the topic. The application of any adjectives and adverbs used in association with the word groups were also coded as examples of how language is interpreted or manipulated to indicate bias *about* the content point (i.e., *illegal asylum seeker (adj.), quietly (adv) slip through (the cracks)*). In addition, the use of linguistic or rhetorical devices, such as metaphors and similes that were identified in association with the point, were categorised as examples of how language is used to infer emphasis on a specific aspect of the content point or suggest comparisons (i.e., *a wave of migrants, migration crisis*) with another. Modal verbs (i.e., *will/would* and *shall/should*) were coded as examples of how language is used to indicate obligation or possibility (*incomers should be able... would cause a furore*), whilst evidentialities were identified as an example of how language is used to insert an assumption of truth or factuality to support a specific perspective (i.e., *it's getting absolutely farcical / is clearly associated with...*) related to the content point.

A critical discourse analysis of the data generated from the content analysis identified patterns of syntactic and semantic associations within the discourse that were subsequently encoded into discourse fragments - small units of language that convey

meaning set within the context of a larger discourse. These were examined more closely to identify patterns and themes present emerging from within them, which were subsequently collated into discourse strands, and rephrased as specific statements that more succinctly represented the core structures of the text. This analytical approach was taken with all government, sectorial and news media-based sources in order to develop an in-depth understanding of the discourse surrounding the policy case study and a detailed list of contributors to it. A final discourse analysis of the core structures within this collective dialogue revealed patterns of semantic associations and clusters of source citations between them. These observations provided insights into underlying common causal assumptions, limited definitions, signs of bias within the overall case study policy narratives, and the level of interaction and interdependency between stakeholders.

Chapter Four: Research Results

Introduction

The previous chapter gave an in-depth overview of British asylum and immigration policymaking during the time frame in which the two case studies take place. This background information was provided to establish context for the empirical investigation that was then outlined, explained, and justified in the research design for the conceptualisation and implementation of the research method. The following chapter puts this theoretical framework into practice by applying it to an empirical evaluation of the role and influence of the news media in shaping the agenda of two asylum and immigration case studies, from policy initiative to policy reversal. The analysis begins with a detailed documentation of the theoretical evolution of the first case study to provide the context in which its empirical investigation is set within. Following that is a detailed account of the research undertaken to evaluate the role and influence of the news media in shaping the voucher policy agenda and its contribution to the instigation of the policy reversal. In a section titled 'the Parliamentary Narrative' the structure of this account begins with detailing the methodological and analytical process involved in establishing the perspective of government-based stakeholders on the voucher policy initiative. In doing so, it establishes the core structures of government-based stakeholder discourse relating to the voucher policy initiative. From this, it is possible to establish the official position of the Labour Government on the voucher policy initiative and conceptualise the structural framework of the voucher policy communities and network in terms of the stakeholders active within it and the power dynamic between them. This process is repeated for the sectorial-based and news-media-based stakeholders' perspectives on the voucher policy initiative. Analyses of the core structures of all three narratives identify correlating clusters of source citations and parallel patterns of semantic associations between them. This provides valuable insight into the role and influence of the news media in shaping the discourse around the voucher policy initiative and contributing to the instigation of its reversal. This analytical process is repeated in the second case study: the whitelist policy initiative. As outlined in the research design,

the main purpose of this chapter is to answer the three empirically based research questions conceptualised at the beginning of the investigation:

- D) What was the theoretical evolution of each case study - from policy initiative to policy reversal?
- E) Who were the stakeholders active with the policy communities and networks of each case study? What was the strength of the interrelationships between them?
- F) How did news media stakeholders influence the conditions under which other stakeholders could contribute to the case study narrative?

Case Study One: The Voucher Policy Initiative

Overview

The voucher policy initiative was originally proposed in a Labour July 1998 White Paper, formally implemented in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act, only to be amended under Regulation 4 of the Asylum Support (Amendment) Regulations in April 2002. It was then completely abolished with the passing of the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act after being subject to a strategic campaign of sustained criticism from a diverse coalition of stakeholders.

The Policy Initiative

This voucher policy initiative was the first to be implemented by the Labour Government regarding immigration issues. It was aimed at relieving Local Authorities of the responsibility of meeting the housing and subsistence needs of individuals seeking asylum in the U.K - and returning that responsibility to the central government. The 1999 Act provided asylum seekers with a support package that was administered by a new body called the National Asylum Support Service (NASS). The Act categorised asylum seekers into two groups - the first of which were individuals whose claims for

asylum were ongoing and were considered destitute . Under the provisions of Section 95 in the 1999 Act, individuals under this category were provided with support in the form of housing in a dispersal area and/or reduced rates of subsistence assistance in the form of cash-based benefits to cover basic living expenses .

In contrast, the second category were individuals whose claims for asylum were refused, who had exhausted all forms of appeal and were required to leave the UK but could not for reasons that met specific criteria and were also considered destitute. Under the provision of Section 4 of the 1999 Act, individuals under this category of asylum seeker ceased to be eligible for Section 95 support and whilst they were also provided with support in the form of housing in a dispersal area, their reduced rates of subsistence assistance were in the form of cashless based benefits, i.e. vouchers, to cover the expense of their daily essentials. The focus of this case study lies on the latter group of individuals and the influence and impact that policy communities and networks had in repealing what was a controversial policy initiative.

Criticisms of the Policy Initiative

In response to the cashless-based benefits set out under the provisions of Section 4 of the 1999 Act ('Section 4' hereafter), wide-ranging criticism was spearheaded by an emerging tripartite coalition between a leading trade union - the Transport & General Workers Union (TGWU) ; the U.K.'s largest asylum aid agency, the British Refugee Council; and one of the UK's most established campaigning charities, Oxfam GB . The potential influence of this advocacy coalition became evident, when, after members pooled their resources, the TGWU produced a preliminary publication, strategically labelled a 'dossier of disgrace' (Ellis, 2004, p249) that was tabled as an emergency motion at the Labour Party Conference in September 2000 and – notably, given comprehensive coverage in The Guardian newspaper.

Labour's National Executive Committee (NEC) subsequently called for the government to respond and review Section 4. Correspondingly, the Minister of State for Asylum and Immigration at that time, Barbara Roche, announced that the Labour government would review the scheme to ensure a fair and effective system. (Cohen, 2001, p196; Whittaker, 2006, p28). This was then followed up by the November 2000 Home Office request for representation from interested parties for their review of the provisions set out in Section 4, and their response to the introduction and implementation of the voucher support system. Concurrently, following the preliminary TWGU publication criticising the voucher policy initiative, the Transport & General Workers Union, British Refugee Council and Oxfam GB advocacy coalition jointly published a more definitive report entitled 'Token Gestures - The Effects of the Voucher Scheme on Asylum Seekers and Organisations in the UK, Dec. 2000'. It was strengthened, however, by the additional support and cooperation of 50 smaller civil rights groups, aid agencies and legal firms operating at the regional and local levels.

Key criticisms of this report were again given considerable coverage in The Guardian newspaper. These included the high visibility of the vouchers and the ensuing embarrassment they caused individuals attempting to use them. In addition, the vouchers were only redeemable at certain supermarkets and shops, expired after four weeks and retailers were allowed to keep the difference when the full value of a voucher was not used during one transaction. (Ironically, this incentivised Sodexo Limited, the company tasked with creating the vouchers, to appeal to retailers to make the most of this revenue-making opportunity). In sum, the key findings of the Token Gestures report suggested that the voucher support system was essentially nothing more than an administrative disaster (Ellis, 2004, pp248 -250).

Policy Reversal

The impact of the Token Gestures report was strengthened by the intentionally timed and signed publication of letters and articles in strategically sourced publications that identify as having an independent or left, Labour political orientation, such as the *New Statesman*, *New Internationalist*, *Peace News*, *New Left Review*, *Scottish Left Review*, *Socialist News*, *Counter Information*, *Tribune*, *Labour Left Briefing*, *Chartist* and *Red Pepper*. A further publication of an article written by the TWGU's Bill Morris, in *The Observer* on 30th September 2001, invited the Home Secretary at the time, David Blunkett, to scrap the voucher-based policy initiative entirely. Issue-relevant content within these articles referenced the key findings of the Token Gestures report, increased the saliency of the issue into the public consciousness and arguably developed its level of obtrusiveness on those with limited exposure to, or experience of, immigration and asylum policy issues. In addition, in terms of the PC&N perspective, the cumulative effects of contributions to and publications of the Token Gestures report by different stakeholders advanced the development and potential influence of the policy community and network around it. The TWGU tabled a second emergency motion to take place after the formal end of the Labour Party Conference in early October 2001, in partnership with original advocacy coalition members but also with the added support of Amnesty International. This secured the attendance and attention of 120 Labour delegates (Ellis, 2004, p251) at the event, but also garnered the attention and activity of government-based stakeholders within the developing policy community and network.

Reaction and response from the Labour Government to seen as making progress in seeking a solution to the voucher policy issue is evidenced by the frequency of parliamentary debates referring to it. In addition, on 29th October 2001, David Blunkett declared, during parliamentary debate that Section 4 of the 1999 Immigration Act would be removed and superseded by a "less socially divisive scheme". These were further embedded within Section 1.3.9 of a summative Government report on the operational reviews of the voucher support system, officially announced in a February 2002 White

Paper with the Government's intention to phase out the voucher system and properly implemented it on the 8th of April 2002 under Regulation 4 of the Asylum Support (Amendment) Regulations 2002 . The policy reversal was officially sealed with the implementation of the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act on 3rd November 2002.

The Parliamentary Narrative

Understanding the core structures of the government-based stakeholder discourse on the voucher policy initiative began with critically examining the July 1998 White Paper. This was a key piece of legislation because, as well as being the first authoritative report from the new Labour Government regarding its overall asylum and immigration policies, it contained aims and objectives that related specifically to the voucher policy initiative. With a methodology guided by keyword frequency analysis automated by the qualitative data software NVivo, the keywords and phrases that featured most predominantly in the text (Table 1, listed in order of weighted percentage and perceived level of significance to the analysis) indicated that one of the main themes of the White Paper was an assumption of regulatory, systematic, and administrative control in the Labour Government's initial approach toward its asylum and immigration policy.

Table 1: Keywords identified in a preliminary word frequency analysis of the July 1998 White Paper indicating a prescriptive perspective in the Labour Governments' approach toward asylum and immigration policy.

Word	f. of references	weighted %	stemmed words & synonyms
government	584	2.15	administration, administrative, administratively, authorities, authorities', control, controlled, controlling, controls, establish, established, establishing, establishments, govern, governed, governments, order, organisation, organizational, organised, organisers, organising, political, politics, regimes, regular, regularly, regulate, regulation, regulations, rule, ruled, rules
immigration	275	1.64	immigrant, immigrants, immigrated
asylum	259	1.53	asylum, instituted, institution, refuge
application	183	1.10	applicant, applicants, applications, applications, cover, covered, covering, covers, diligent
country	247	1.08	area, areas, commonwealth, countries, land, nation, national, nationalities, nationality, state, states, states'
system	258	0.99	arrange, arranged, arrangements, order, organisation, organizational, organised, organisers, organising, scheme, schemes, systems, systematic, systematically
process	306	0.89	action, actions, advance, advances, march, operation, operating, operation, operational, operations, procedural, procedures, process, processed, processes, processing, progress, progresses, rise, rising, serve, served, serves, treated, work, worked, working, works
control	348	0.89	Action, accounted, assurance, check, checks, command, contained, containing, contains, controls, controlled, controlling, ensure, ensuring, hold, holding, holdings, manipulate, manipulations, manipulated, operate, operated, operating, operation, operational, operators, see, sees
support	281	0.88	accompany, assist, assistance, assisted, back, backup, bear, defend, digest, document, documentation, documenting, documents, encourage, encouraging, friends, fund, funded, funding, funds, help, helped, helping, helps, hold, holding, keep, live, lives, living, reinforce, reinforcement, sponsor, standing, subscribe, substantially, suffered, support, supporting, supports, sustain, sustains
take	367	0.76	acceptances, accepted, accepting, accepts, acquire, acquiring, admitted, admitting, adopt, aim, aimed, aiming, aims, assume, bring, bringing, bring, carried, carry, carrying, charter, choose, claim, claimed, claiming, claims, conduct, conducting, consider, considered, considering, considers, consuming, contained, containing, contains, contract, contracting, contracts, convey, deal, dealing, deals, direct, directed, direction, directions, directly, engage, engaging, get, hold, holding, issue, issued, issues, lead, leads, occupied, pick, picked, proceedings, return, returned, returning, returns, selected, studies, study, submit, submitted, subscribe, takes, taking, train, training
leave	248	0.74	allow, allowance, allowances, allowed, allowing, allows, depart, departed, department, departments, departure, give, gives, giving, going, lead, leads, part, parts, provide, provided, provides, providing, result, resulted, results
cases	159	0.73	case, cased, caused, causes, causing, event, events, example, examples, face, instance, instances, subject, subjective, types

Chapter Eight, sections 8.17 to 8.26 of the White Paper, referred more in detail to the Labour Government's aims and objectives for a new support system for destitute asylum seekers. This prompted a closer examination of this specific section of the White Paper, beginning with a keyword frequency analysis to identify what keywords and phrases featured most predominantly in this section of the text (Table 2, listed in order of weighted percentage and perceived level of significance).

Table 2: Keywords identified in Paragraphs 8.17 to 8.26 of Chapter 8: Asylum Procedures, referring to the Labour Government proposals for a new support system for destitute asylum seekers.

Word	<i>f.</i> of references	weighted %	stemmed words & synonyms
asylum	28	3.64	asylum
support	29	3.31	assist, assistance, friends, help, living.
seeker	20	2.60	seekers
government	26	2.54	assist, administration, administratively, authorities, authorities', authority, establish, established, government, order, and organisations.
provision	17	2.21	plan, planning and provision.
national	18	2.09	communities, community, countries, country, home, national, nationality, nationwide, state and subject.
provided	17	2.08	offered, provide, provided, provides, providing
need	19	1.97	inevitably, involve, need, needs, require, requiring, take
take	25	1.72	accepts, carried, carry, choose, claiming, considered, considering, containing, contracting, direct, directly, make, making, pick, removed, take, withdrawal
arrangements	14	1.26	order, organisations, placements, set, system
available	12	1.23	access, help, services,
application	9	1.17	applicants, applications

With a methodology guided by content analysis, the data generated in Table 2 was then examined identify keywords and phrases in the text that related to the voucher policy. These were coded into discourse fragments and labelled accordingly in NVivo. The data coded under each fragment was then examined more closely to identify what syntax and semantics (i.e., word groups, rhetorical devices, modal verbs and

evidentialities as detailed in the research design) were used in the phraseology of the context that they were used. The results of this analysis supported earlier indications that the Labour Government assumed it would take a supervisory role in operationalising the new voucher-based support system (outlined in red in Figure A). However the data, also indicated that Labour Government expected stakeholders in government subsystems, (such as local authorities and local agencies) as well sectorial-based stakeholders to comply and co-operate in the implementation of the policy (outlined in bold in Figure A). This is an important point that is referred to in more detail in the discussion following Figure B.

Figure A: Key phrases identified in Paragraphs 8.17 to 8.26 of Chapter 8: Asylum Procedures, referring to the Labour Government's proposals for a new support system for destitute asylum seekers.

In considering what form **support arrangements** for asylum seekers should take, the Government believes that they should ...ensure that genuine asylum seekers cannot be left destitute, while containing costs through incentives to asylum seekers to look first to their own means or **those of their communities for support;**

Paragraph 8.17

Any support for asylum seekers should operate on a separate basis, with provision offered as a last resort to those who have no other means **including support from relatives or friends to which they can turn.**

Paragraph 8.18

Asylum seekers are temporary residents here and with few exceptions have no established residence status. Many should be able to support themselves, **with help, if necessary, from relatives, friends and community groups...**

Paragraph 8.19

The administration of a new support scheme for asylum seekers, entirely separate from social security benefits, **will require new national machinery** to plan and co-ordinate provision, obtaining information from around the country and purchasing places either directly or **by contracting with local agencies.**

Paragraph 8.22

Asylum seekers would be expected to take what was available, and would not be able to pick and choose where they were accommodated, but where possible placements would take account of the value of linking to **existing communities and the support of voluntary and community groups.**

Paragraph 8.22

An advantage of a **national scheme** will be the ability to plan strategically for such factors and to do so in consultation with **local authorities, voluntary organisations and other concerned parties**.

Paragraph 8.22

This **nationwide approach** will help to relieve the burden on provision in London, where the majority of asylum seekers are currently concentrated. **The budget and the machinery for administering it will be operated by the Home Office.**

The body responsible for obtaining and allocating accommodation **would also be responsible** for assessing whether applicants were in genuine need either by doing so itself or by **contracting out the process to another agency**.

Paragraph 8.22

Social services departments should not carry the burden of looking after healthy and able-bodied asylum seekers. This role will fall to the **new national support machinery**. The Government envisages that this will involve **contracting with a range of providers to secure accommodation, including voluntary bodies, housing associations, local authorities and the private sector**. **The Government is particularly concerned to explore ways of harnessing the energy and expertise of voluntary and independent sector bodies in providing the safety net.**

Paragraph 8.23

Local authorities' current responsibilities to asylum seekers under the homelessness legislation will be removed and replaced by these **new arrangements**, but **they will be expected to assist wherever possible** (for example by making available any spare accommodation **on a contractual basis**). **Where an authority unreasonably fails to co-operate the Secretary of State would, as a last resort, be empowered to direct the authority to provide information or accommodation** (subject to appropriate reimbursement).

Paragraph 8.23

The Government will consult widely with local authorities, the voluntary sector, community groups and other providers of accommodation, about the operation of the proposed arrangements.

Paragraph 8.26

To refine the content analysis one step further: sections 8.20 - 8.23 of Chapter Eight explicitly stated that it would be the voucher policy initiative that would serve as the new support system for destitute asylum seekers. This led to a more in-depth analysis of the particular portion of the White Paper, beginning with a keyword frequency analysis to identify what keywords and phrases featured most predominantly in this core section

of the July 1998 White Paper (Table 3, listed in order of weighted percentage and perceived level of significance).

Table 3: Keywords identified in Paragraphs 8.20 to 8.23 of Chapter 8: Asylum Procedures, referring to the Labour Government's introduction of the voucher policy initiative as part of a new support system for destitute asylum seekers.

Word	f. of references	weighted %	Stemmed words & synonyms
take	21	3.67	carry, choose, considered, contracting, direct, directly, involve, make, making, need, needs, pick, removed, require, take, withdrawal
national	13	2.87	communities, community, countries, country, home, national, nationality, nationwide, state, subject
support	13	2.68	assist, assistance, help, living, support
asylum	10	2.53	---
provision	9	2.28	plan
government	13	2.24	administration, administratively, authorities, authorities', government, organisations
provided	8	2.03	offered, provide, providers, provides, providing
seekers	8	2.03	seeker
cash	7	1.77	cash
based	8	1.60	basis, founded, home, means
accommodation	6	1.52	accommodated
authorities	10	1.31	agencies, agency, authorities, authorities', government, clear, clearly, empowered
act	5	1.14	number, representatives
scheme	5	1.14	system
available	5	1.10	help, services
expected	6	1.10	awaiting, carry, looked, require
local	5	1.08	places

In line with the principles of content analysis, the data generated in Table 3 was then examined for the context in which they were used. Recurring patterns and trends identified in the phraseology of the keywords and phrases that featured most prominently in the text, gave evidence to support earlier claims that the Labour government advocated a collaborative and collective strategy for the implementation of the voucher policy initiative, (indicated in bold, in Figure B) but asserted centralised, administrative control in the operationalisation of it (indicated in red, in Figure B).

Figure B: Key phrases identified in Paragraphs 8.20 to 8.23 of Chapter 8: Asylum Procedures, referring to the Labour Government's introduction and objectives for the implementation of the voucher policy initiative, as part of a new support system for destitute asylum seekers.

The Government has carefully considered the evidence... about the best means of provision and in particular the relative advantages and disadvantages of cash-based support and provision in kind.

Paragraph 8.20

Cash-based support is administratively convenient and usually but not always inevitably less expensive in terms of unit cost. Provision in kind is more cumbersome to administer, but ...less attractive and provides less of a financial inducement for those who would be drawn by a cash scheme.

Paragraph 8.20

The number of asylum applications fell by 30% following the withdrawal of some social security benefits in 1996, and despite a long-term underlying upward trend and the intervention of the courts in the 1948 Act case, remains at a lower level than in the year before the changes. Take-up of provision in kind offered under the National Assistance Act 1948 is estimated at 15% for single adults compared to an estimated 85% take-up of cash benefits by the equivalent eligible group.

Paragraph 8.20

The Government has therefore concluded that support for asylum seekers should no longer generally be founded on cash payments. Support will therefore be provided separately from the existing statutory benefits arrangements and will be available only where it is clearly necessary while an application is awaiting decision or appeal. Accommodation, in such circumstances, will be provided on a no choice basis, with no cash payment for this purpose being made to the asylum seeker. Other basic needs will also be met where there is a genuine risk of hardship, including food and other living essentials as well as facilities to enable asylum seekers properly to pursue their applications, for example by telephoning their representatives or travelling to attend an interview at the Immigration and Nationality Directorate. The Government intends to explore further the extent to which support of this kind might be provided through vouchers or other non-cash means, so as further to reduce the incentive to abuse of the asylum system.

Paragraph 8.21

The 1948 Act will be amended to make clear that **social services departments should not carry the burden of looking after healthy and able-bodied asylum seekers. This role will fall to the new national support machinery.** The Government envisages that **this will involve contracting with a range of providers to secure accommodation, including voluntary bodies, housing associations, local authorities, and the private sector. The Government is particularly concerned to explore ways of harnessing the energy and expertise of voluntary and independent sector bodies in providing the safety net. Local authorities' current responsibilities to asylum seekers under the homelessness legislation will be removed and replaced by these new arrangements, but they will be expected to assist** wherever possible (for example by making available any spare accommodation on a contractual basis). **Where an authority unreasonably fails to co-operate the Secretary of State would, as a last resort, be empowered to direct the authority to provide information or accommodation (subject to appropriate reimbursement).**

Paragraph 8.23

Recurring patterns and trends identified in the phraseology of the keywords and phrases that featured most prominently in the core sections of Chapter Eight of the July 1998 White Paper, arguably indicate Labour's position on the voucher policy initiative, even though it had yet to clearly define its overall immigration policy objectives. But in addition, it demonstrates the Labour Government's neo-pluralist approach to policy making in general. For example, the analysis of the data demonstrates how Chapter Eight of the White Paper clarifies, rather than implies, how the Labour Government expected sectorial- and subgovernment-based policy actors to work with each other in the implementation of the voucher policy initiative:

"...this will involve contracting with a range of providers..."

"...the Government is particularly concerned to explore ways of harnessing the energy and expertise of voluntary and independent sector bodies..."

However, it also demonstrates the underlying power dynamics at work within policymaking in general. The data analysis indicates that the Labour Government acknowledged how power may be actively sought by the action or inaction of policy actors in regard to the implementation of the voucher policy initiative, but would exercise

its power over them by explaining exactly how it would seek to achieve its organisational goals over theirs:

“...local authorities who unreasonably fail to co-operate...”

“...Secretary of State would, as a last resort, be empowered to direct the authority to provide information or accommodation...”

To strengthen the claim that Labour held a pejorative neo-pluralist perspective on the voucher policy initiative necessitated examining government-based stakeholder contributions to the discussions and debate surrounding the issue. It began with a preliminary search within the Hansard database that identified archived transcripts of open Parliamentary debates and discussions between government-based stakeholders that specifically referred to the voucher policy initiative. In addition, archived transcripts of Special Standing Committee sessions between government- and sectorial-based stakeholders invited by the Home Office to share their thoughts on implementing the voucher policy, were also identified. Relevant sections of all transcripts referring to the voucher policy were extracted and duplicated into a streamlined document that was then were uploaded into NVivo.

Using a methodology guided by discourse analysis, keywords and phrases used in the discourse to describe, discuss, and debate the voucher policy initiative were identified and coded as discourse fragments and labelled accordingly in NVivo, to indicate their relevance to the research. As outlined in the research design, discourse fragments are small units of language that are incomplete in and of themselves but convey meaning set within the context of a larger discourse. In the context of this research investigation, discourse fragments that were identified included specific syntax and semantics (i.e., word groups, rhetorical devices, modal verbs and evidentialities that were operating within it). To this end, in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the language used within the government-based stakeholder policy discourse, these

fragments were examined more closely to identify patterns and themes present within them. Those that were identified were then grouped together into discourse strands, which represented the overarching themes and concepts that emerged from the discourse fragments (listed in context in Figure C and detailed at length in Appendix A).

Figure C: Established discourse strands indicating a clearer understanding of the core structures of parliamentary discourse on the voucher policy initiative.

1. The administrative costs of implementing the new voucher support system

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:

- the new voucher support system is too costly in terms of unit cost per voucher
- the new voucher support system is too costly on a per-person basis to administer than giving asylum seekers cash-based support

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE:

- a cash-based support system is a 'pull factor'.
- a cashless based support system will have a 'disincentive effect' in terms of deterring economic migrants
- costs associated with the new support system will go down over the next three years based on the fact that the numbers of applications will go down because cash benefits will not be available
- a cashless based support system will restore integrity in the system and identify genuine asylum seekers more quickly
- a cashless based support system is initially more costly to administer but the overall cost is much less, because it is not a pull factor

STAKEHOLDER RESPONSE

- there is no evidence to support the idea that cash-based system will *not* deter economic migration

2. The inhumanity of the new voucher support system

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:

- the new voucher support system is inhumane, and stigmatizing.

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

- the new voucher support system is not generous but it is adequate
- the new voucher support system is not a benefits system but a system of basic support

3. The voucher system encourages social exclusion

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:

- the new voucher support system institutionalizes social exclusion
- the new voucher support system creates community tensions, damages race relations and increases the risk of racial harassment

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE:

- If applicants do not take one of the 'support in kind' benefits (no-choice accommodation/vouchers) then they have options available to them from family, friends or the voluntary sector and are therefore not at risk of social exclusion.
- If applicants do not take one either of the 'support in kind' benefits, they are not considered destitute. Therefore, they are abusing the support system, the asylum application system and are potentially 'bogus' asylum seekers.
- Vouchers are not the only characteristic in which to identify an asylum seekers, therefore the use of vouchers by asylum seekers does not increase the risk of racial harassment.

4. The role of the voluntary sector in the implementation of the new voucher support system

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:

- The voucher-based support system obliges the voluntary sector to increase its support for asylum seekers, which may be beyond the resource capacity of some organisations.
- The voluntary sector may be contracted in providing services under the new support system because many of the organisations within the voluntary sector are subsidised by the government
- Being supported by the voluntary sector will disqualify an applicant for applying for support, as they will not be considered destitute
- Asylum seekers are refusing support from the voluntary sector in fear that this may result in their asylum application being refused / their support package reduced.

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE:

- Co-operation with national-level retailers is necessary to improve the operation of the voucher support system
- Charities are not expected to deplete their resources, but consideration of the amount of support they can provide will inform assessment of an asylum seekers' level of destitution
- Support in kind from the voluntary sector will not disqualify an individuals' overall application for support, but will be taken into consideration, in order to regulate the operation of the overall support system
- The new, nationalized support system will replace the current localised, haphazard and ad hoc support system.
- The voluntary sector may be contracted in providing services under the new support system
- The voluntary sector is an alternative support system to that of the voucher-based support system

5. The impracticality of the new voucher support system

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

- Vouchers are costly, cumbersome, impractical, inflexible and limiting to administer

- Vouchers are a reinvention of money and there is no valid distinction between them.
- The definition of *destitution* is one that considers an asylum seeker must have *no* means of supporting themselves in order to make a claim on the support system

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

- The new support system is simple and straightforward. If an asylum seeker cannot provide himself with support for more than 14 days, then they are classed as destitute and can apply for state support.
- The Government needs to work with national level retailers to create a national agreement that the vouchers will be more widely accepted
- A cashless voucher-based support system will work more effectively than a cash benefits based support system

6. Abuse within the asylum application support system

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

- The new support system has encouraged the development of a black market in vouchers.
- There is a stigma attached in the use of the vouchers which exacerbates community tensions.
- The government demonize asylum seekers with constant rhetoric about 'abusive claims'.
- Retailers abuse the voucher support system by pocketing the difference when an asylum seeker buys good with a voucher worth more than their value.

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

- It is important to consult with sectorial stakeholders to discuss how to solve the problems of the development of a black market in vouchers.
- Abuse in the asylum system is endemic.
- Public support for asylum seekers is undermined by individuals who breach immigration control and claim benefit.
- Public support for the asylum application system is undermined by unscrupulous immigration advisers, such as traffickers and forgers.
- Unscrupulous immigration advisers have developed an unscrupulous immigration advisory industry.
- The only people who pursue support in kind are those who need it.
- A cash-based support system is one that is open to abuse. A cashless based support system is not.

7. The complexity of operationalizing the asylum application support system

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

- Immigration and destitution tests are overly complex and cause unnecessary suffering and delay.

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

- The Immigration and destitution tests are complex and interrelated, but they are balanced in terms of providing a mix of cash and no cash support, as well as maintaining immigration control and a strong human rights policy.

8. The shambolic nature of the asylum application support system

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

- The current system under the Conservative Government is localized and shambolic. The new support system will be nationalized and shambolic.
- The current system under the Conservative Government is chaotic. The new support system will make the current system even more chaotic.

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

- The current system that is run by various local authorities is a shambles.
- The White Paper was a long-overdue, fundamental review and generally well received.
- Administrative changes and modernizing the way in which the immigration service operates, where cases can be dealt with quickly and those who make false claims for asylum can be removed quickly, will result in an asylum and immigration system which is capable of working fairly, firmly and efficiently.

9. The burden of the support system on local communities vs. local authorities

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

- The voucher-based support system is a burden on the taxpayer, the social security system & the voluntary sector.

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

- the cash-based support system is a pull factor that has placed is a burden on local authorities in the south and southeast of England - who provide cash-based support to asylum seekers
- Between them, local authorities in the south and southeast of England account for more than 50 per cent of asylum seekers being supported by local authorities.
- The only way to relieve the burden on the local authorities in the south and southeast of England is to have a national support system that provides mainly vouchers.

10. The unsustainability of the new voucher support system -

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

- The voucher support system will establish a new bureaucracy that will become increasingly costly to administer, is based on assumptions that are fundamentally incorrect, and therefore, poses a significant risk of becoming unsustainable.

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

- The current, cash-based system is unsustainable in the long term, and the new voucher-based support will create a more sustainable and efficient system that will restore public support.

11. The impact of the new voucher support system on asylum seeker children

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:

- A cashless based support system is not in the best interests of children, causing them unnecessary suffering.

12. Considerations of the news media in debating the merits/demerits of the new voucher support system

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:

- The voucher support system is an area that uses evocative language.
- Opportunities to share opinions in the news media are available and accessible.
- Care must be taken as opinion sharing in the news media adds to anxiety in the community
- Anxiety in the community will lead to community tensions and increased risk of racial harassment.

Each discourse strand was then recapitulated as a specific statement that represented each theme that was present within the overall discourse (Table 4, listed in descending order of frequency and perceived level of prominence; and detailed at length in Appendix B). This process helped examine the way in which different elements of the discourse were connected. It also helped identify trends and patterns that were used in the articulation of ideas and opinions by government-based stakeholders that contributed to the discourse. Overall, this analytical process helped build a more comprehensive understanding of the *macro* features at work within the discourse in terms of establishing Labour's position on the voucher policy initiative, and a more detailed awareness of the *micro* features of the discourse in regard to identifying the core structures that influenced the construction of Labour's position.

Table 4: Specific statements indicating themes present within the government-based stakeholders voucher policy discourse.

Specific Statements	f. of references	# of sources
The voucher support system will be more costly to administer than the reinstatement of the benefits support system and will not deter economic migrants.	56	23
The voucher support system is inhumane, demeaning, stigmatising, has no respect for an asylum seeker's dignity and undermines Britain's international legal obligations.	45	28
The voucher support system institutionalises social exclusion and creates community tensions and increases risk of racial harassment.	18	13
The role of the voluntary sector in the voucher support system is ambiguous - being both additional contracted support and alternative independent support).	15	8
The voucher support system is impractical, cumbersome, and inflexible.	12	7

Table 4 (cont.)

Specific Statements	<i>f.</i> of references	# of sources
Abuse within the voucher support system includes the creation of a black market, the demonisation of asylum seekers through misleading rhetoric and retailers taking advantage of the 'no change' policy.	12	9
The complex nature of the voucher support system causes unnecessary delay and suffering	10	6
The new voucher support system will be as shambolic and chaotic as the current cash-based support system.	6	6
The new voucher support system is a burden on the taxpayer, the social security system and the voluntary sector	6	5
The new voucher support system is unsustainable	5	3
The new voucher support system will negatively impact asylum seeker children	3	3
Opinion sharing in the news media the new voucher support system adds to public and press anxiety	2	2

In addition to examining *what* was being said in the voucher policy discourse, it was important to identify *who* was saying it, to answer two of the research questions conceptualised at the beginning of the investigation: who were the stakeholders involved in the policy communities and networks of the voucher policy case study and what was the strength of their relationships between them? The first step in answering these questions necessitated building a database of what government-based and sectorial-based stakeholders contributed to the discourse, either in person, during Parliamentary sessions and closed special standing Committee sittings, or in absentia, via the submission of independent reports or memorandums, executive summaries and press briefings.

To this end, an initial inventory of what government-based and sectorial-based stakeholders contributed to each Parliamentary session and closed special standing Committee sittings was taken; the contributors of which were also identified for the political party affiliation. However a second examination of the same text noted any instance where one individual stakeholder to the discourse referenced another to support or endorse the point they were making. Where this occurred, additional background

research on both stakeholders was taken to establish whether there were any pre-existing interrelationships between them.

This was carried out by accessing information already available in the public domain. In terms of government-based individual stakeholders, this included Hansard Peer and MP databases, official websites of individual parliamentarians, and professional summaries and external references gleaned from Wikipedia biographies and Linked In profiles, to identify relevant memberships, professional affiliations or patronages of organisations, charities, institutions or agencies that the individual may have held during the case study period. In terms of sectorial-based individual and institutional stakeholders, this included the ‘About Us’ section of affiliated official websites that gave information of partnerships, patronages, sponsors, and trustees etc. who may have been a case study stakeholder. It also included examining lists of endorsing organisations, charities, institutions or agencies on documents relevant to the case study that were produced and self-published by sectorial stakeholders.

The results of this inventory of policy actors identified as active in the whitelist policy communities and networks are in Table 5 which due to its considerable size, is labelled under Appendix C. However, it would be prudent to expound upon the analysis of the data collected in Table 5 because it details which government-based stakeholders referenced what sectorial-based stakeholders in Parliamentary discourse. Where asterisks occur in the ‘Sources Cited’ column, denotes instances when these citations were direct. In addition, the intermittent use of asterisks in Table 5 under the ‘Sources Cited’ column, details instances when sectorial-based stakeholders were directly cited by government-based stakeholders in Parliamentary sessions or Committee sittings. This is an important distinction to note because it has implications in identifying and establishing the strength of interrelationships between stakeholders active with the voucher policy communities and networks.

More specifically, direct speech is arguably a quotation of public expression, or an official position about something, whilst indirect speech is more merely an indication of personal opinion, or an unofficial, subjectively perceived position about something (Hirose, 1995). Considered through the lens of the PC&N perspective, if one stakeholder cites another stakeholder directly, then this may indicate that the former considers the perspective of the latter as an important contribution to the narrative. Similarly, if the stakeholder cites another stakeholder *indirectly*, then this may indicate that the perspective of the latter is still important but perhaps less important than those that are cited directly. This point is illustrated in more detail in Diagram 2, but prior to this, it is important to consider the insight provided in Tables 6 and 7, which inform Diagram 1 and 2.

Based on the information provided in Table 5, Table 6 indicates the breadth of sectorial based stakeholders that are cited in the Parliamentary discourse, as well as the frequency in which they are cited, and the number of different government based stakeholders that cited them. The use of asterisks in Table 6 also indicates which sectorial-based stakeholders were directly cited and how many times they were cited. (For example, Immigration Law Practitioners Association was cited twice by one source, and one of these citations was a direct citation). Correspondingly, the absence of asterisks indicates which stakeholders were cited indirectly, and the frequency of this type of citation. The purpose of presenting the data from Table 5 into Table 6 is to demonstrate the extent that policy communities and networks are at work across broad sections of society, in regard to the how different stakeholders from different social sectors are perceived to be active within the whitelist policy communities and networks - from the point of view of government-based stakeholders.

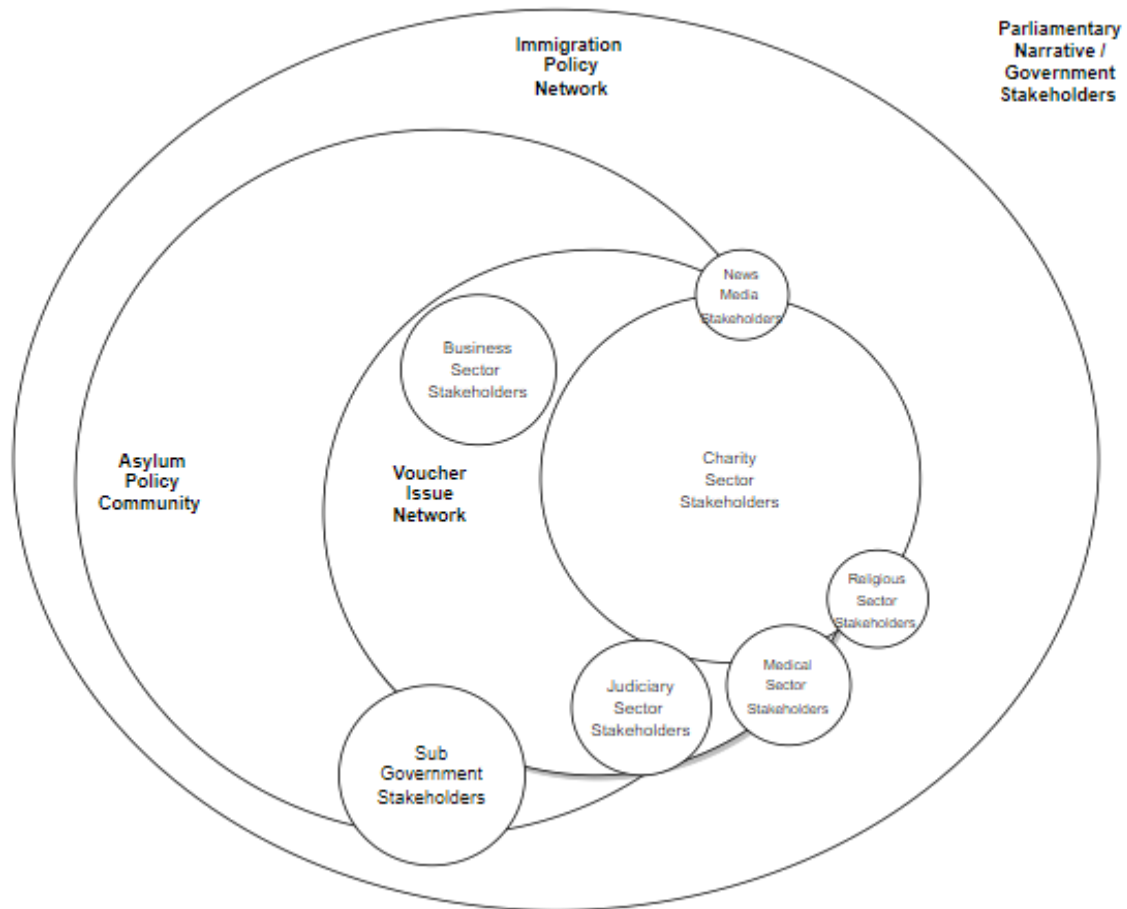
Table 6: Summary list of the sectorial source of each non-government stakeholders cited by government stakeholders in the Parliamentary discourse relating to the voucher policy initiative, listed in descending order of frequency.

Referenced Sources	<i>f. of references</i>	# of sources
CHARITY SECTOR STAKEHOLDERS		
Oxfam	9	5
Save the Children	5	4
Refugee Council	5	3
The Children's Society	4	3
Council for Racial Equality	1*	1
Asylum Link	1*	1
Amnesty International	1	1
Barnados	1	1
Marie Curie Cancer Care	1	1
Shelter	1	1
Welsh Refugee Council	1	1
SUBGOVERNMENT STAKEHOLDERS		
Association of London Government		
Immigration Appellate Authority		
Immigration Appeal Tribunal		
Hackney Council	1	1
Kent County Council	1	1
Local Government Association		

Select Committee on International Development	1	1
BUSINESS SECTOR STAKEHOLDERS		
Group 4 Total Security Ltd	1	1
British Airways		
Passenger Shipping Association	1	1
Road Haulage Association		
JUDICIARY STAKEHOLDERS		
Immigration Law Practitioners Association	2*	1
Immigration Advisory Service	1*	1
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants	1	1
Justice	1	1
MEDICAL SECTOR STAKEHOLDERS		
Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture	2*	2
British Medical Association	1*	1
NEWS MEDIA STAKEHOLDERS		
The Times ***	3	3
RELIGIOUS SECTOR STAKEHOLDERS		
Church of England Board for Social Responsibility	1	1
Churches Commission for Racial Justice	1	1

Diagram 1, (on the next page) by illustrating this information, serves several purposes. It first gives evidence for the existence of policy communities and networks surrounding the whitelist policy initiative. In addition, it populates them with stakeholders from different sectors that have been identified as active within them, and indicates the nature of the power dynamics between them.

Diagram 1: Representation of the existence of the policy communities active within the immigration policy network, as well as sectorial stakeholder membership of the voucher issue network, as determined by the Parliamentary narrative.



More specifically, the size of the circles in Diagram 1 indicates the nature of these dynamics via the background context representing the policy environment that the voucher policy networks are set within, i.e., the government-based stakeholders interpret it. The outer set of circles showcases the multiplicity of levels operating within and around the voucher policy network (i.e., the overarching immigration policy network, the asylum policy community that exists within it alongside other immigration-related policy networks, (such as border control and security, employment or spousal sponsorship, naturalisation and citizenship issues) and the specific voucher policy network itself).

The location of the subsequent smaller circles is a modified interpretation of a Venn diagram. Sectorial and government-based stakeholders overlap with the wider immigration policy network, the asylum policy community and/or the voucher policy community. This is intended to represent the diversity of the different levels that stakeholders from a particular sector are perceived to be active within. The decreasing size of each circle corresponds to the perceived authority and potential influence of stakeholders from that sector *en bloc*, to the voucher policy issue in general, as determined by the Parliamentary narrative. Diagram 1 gives a comprehensive overview of the extent that policy communities and networks are present in society, by illustrating how stakeholders from different sectors are active within the voucher policy communities and networks. In addition, Diagram 1 also conceptualises the strength of the interrelationships between them. Table 7 however, provides further insight by demonstrating the power dynamics between stakeholders *within* sectors.

Table 7 condenses the data from Table 6 by detailing cited stakeholders in descending order of frequency, regardless of whether the citations were direct or indirect. The intention in doing this was to demonstrate the nuanced complexities in the power relationships between stakeholders across and within social sectors. For example, Oxfam is cited a lot more frequently in the Parliamentary discourse than other charity-sector stakeholders, such as Save the Children, the Refugee Council or the Children's Society. However, the Refugee Council is cited with direct citation, where Oxfam is not. In addition, Save the Children and the Refugee Council are both cited the same number of times, but Save the Children is cited by more government stakeholders than the Refugee Council. However, Save the Children is cited indirectly, whereas the Refugee Council is cited directly. What this demonstrates is both the power dynamics between stakeholders across and within social sectors, but also gives an opportunity to consider the concept of insider groups being on a continuum within one sector.

Table 7: Summary list of non-government stakeholders cited by government-based stakeholders in the Parliamentary discourse relating to the voucher policy initiative, listed in descending order of frequency.

Referenced Sources	<i>f.</i> of references	# of sources
<u>Oxfam</u>	9	5
<u>Save the Children</u>	5	4
Refugee Council*	5	3
<u>The Children's Society</u>	4	3
The Times*	3***	3
Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture*	2*	2
Association of London Government		
Amnesty International*	1	1
<u>Asylum Link</u>	1*	1
<u>Barnardo's</u>	1	1
<u>British Medical Association</u>	1*	1
British Airways		
Council for Racial Equality	1*	1
<u>Church of England Board for Social Responsibility</u>	1	1
<u>Churches Commission for Racial Justice</u>	1	1
<u>Group 4 Total Security Ltd</u>	1	1
<u>Hackney Council</u>	1	1
<u>Immigration Advisory Service</u>	1*	1
Immigration Appellate Authority		
Immigration Appeal Tribunal		
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants*	1	1
Justice*	1	1
Kent County Council*	1	1
Local Government Association		
<u>Marie Cure Cancer Care</u>	1	1
<u>Passenger Shipping Association</u>	1	1
Public and Commercial Services Union		
Road Haulage Association		
<u>Select Committee on International Development</u>	1	1
<u>Shelter</u>	1	1
<u>Welsh Refugee Council</u>	1	1
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees		

Diagram 2 attempts to illustrate this idea more clearly. By analysing the frequency that sectorial-based stakeholders were cited by their government-based counterparts and the number of government stakeholders that cited them helped determine the attribution of their insider or outsider status. Those stakeholders cited directly and indirectly in Parliamentary discourse were assigned ‘core insider’ group status, whereas those cited indirectly were assigned with ‘insider’ group status. Those not cited at all were considered outsider groups.

Diagram 2: Representation of the membership of policy actors active within the voucher policy initiative and their attributed insider/outsider status, as determined in Parliamentary discourse.

----- = attributed insider group status
 - - - = attributed outsider status

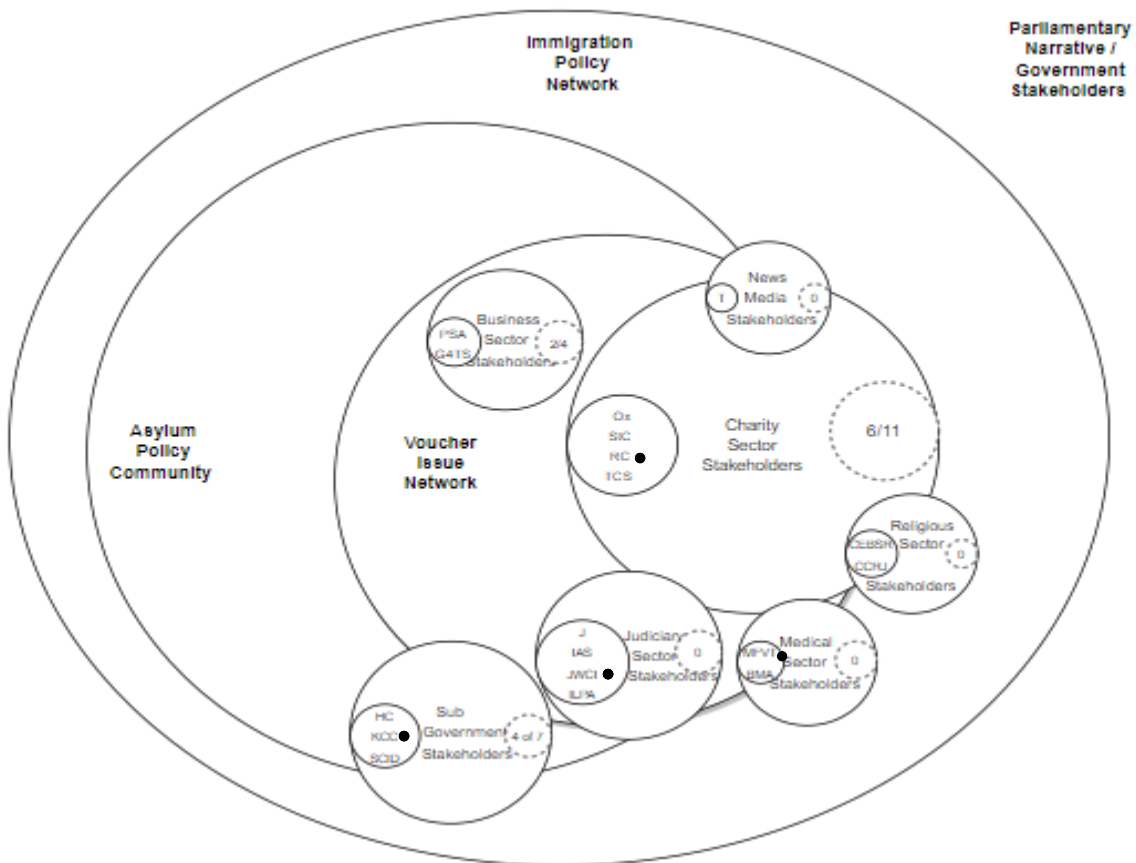


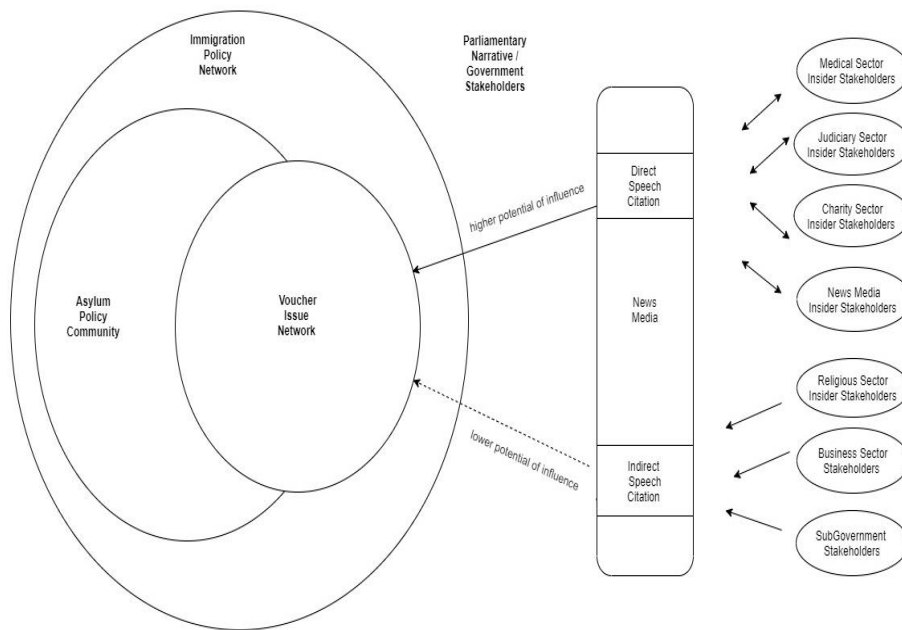
DIAGRAM KEY		
Charity Sector: O – Oxfam S t C – Save the Children RC – Refugee Council TCS – The Children’s Society	Business Sector PSA - Passenger Shipping Association G4TS – Group 4 Total Security	Medical Sector MFCVT – Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture BMA – British Medical Association
Sub Government HC - Hackney Council KCC – Kent Country Council Development SCID – Select Committee on International Development	Religious Sector CEBSR - Church of England Board for Social Responsibility CCRJ - Churches Commission for Racial Justice	Judiciary Sector ILPA – Immigration Law Racial Justice Practitioners Association IAS – Immigration Advisory Service JCWI - Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants J – Justice
News Media T – The Time		

The block-lined circles in Diagram 2 identify the stakeholders in a given sector who have been attributed insider group status. The dashed-lined circles in comparison, indicate the number of stakeholders within that sector assigned as outsider groups. The small black dot to the right of specific stakeholders within that sector indicates those that have been attributed with core insider-group status. Those without have been attributed insider-group status. For example, the direct citation of the Refugee Council over other charity-based stakeholders indicates their core insider group status from the Parliamentary perspective, whilst the indirect citation of Oxfam, Save the Children, and the Children’s Society highlights their insider status over other charity-based stakeholder,s not explicitly listed in the diagram, but numbered to represent their presence within the

sector.

Debatably, the attribution of core-insider or insider status might not have significant implications in practice, but it enhances a better understanding of the nuanced power dynamics within and between sectors and the relationships among stakeholders. The implications of this are that the strength of the relationship between stakeholders A and B, might influence the nature of the relationship between stakeholders B and C. From a slightly more macro perspective, the strength of relationships between sectorial-based and government-based stakeholders may have impacted the relationship between sectorial-based and news media-based stakeholders. To explore this idea further and by adopting discourse analysis as a methodological approach, the data in Table 5 was examined by measuring the frequency with which a given sectorial stakeholder was referenced in Parliamentary sessions, the number of government-based stakeholders that referenced them, the frequency of these references being a direct citation and the frequency of the news media (as a stakeholder) itself being cited directly or indirectly. The results of the analysis are conceptualised in Diagram 3 (**shown below for immediate reference, and in full size on the following page*).

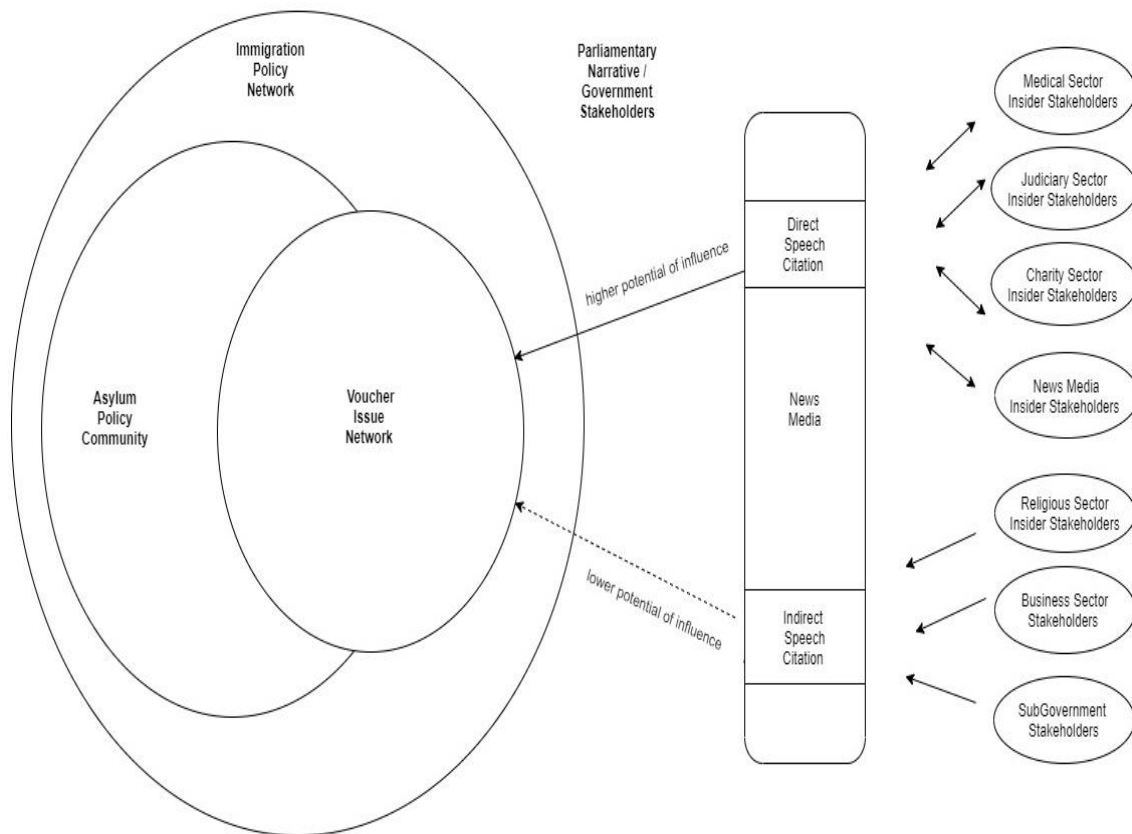
Diagram 3: Interpretation of how the strength of the interrelationship between government-based stakeholders and sectorial-based stakeholders may have influenced the strength of the interrelationship between sectorial-based stakeholders and news media-based stakeholders.



Diagram

3 (full

size): Interpretation of how the strength of the interrelationship between government-based stakeholders and sectorial-based stakeholders may have influenced the strength of the interrelationship between sectorial-based stakeholders and news media-based stakeholders.



In theory, the more that sectorial-based stakeholders are directly cited by government-based stakeholders, the stronger the relationship between them, and the more ‘insider’ their status attribution. The more ‘insider’ their status attribution, the more access they have to power and the potential to exercise it. Exercising power, for example, by successfully engaging with news media-media stakeholders to have their policy story heard. The stronger the subsequent engagement between sectorial and news media-based stakeholders, the stronger the relationship between them. The stronger the relationship between them, the higher the potential for news media-based stakeholders to cite them in their policy narratives, which goes back into informing the parliamentary discourse.

This is reminiscent of Easton’s (1957) systems model where policy inputs, (societal demands and expectations for action or resources – in this context by insider

group stakeholders) approach the political system (Easton's Black Box – in this context, news media stakeholders) and are converted into policy outputs in the form of decisions, laws, and provisions about what action to take or what resources to use (- in this context, the news media's decision to directly cite, or indirectly cite sectorial-based stakeholders in its policy narratives. Subsequent policy outcomes (i.e., the impact of the action taken, or resources used- or sectorial-based stakeholders' policy stories heard) cause reactions from society in the form of new demands and expectations, which feed right back into the system as policy inputs – (in this context, the system being what is discussed in Parliamentary discourse).

Diagram 3 demonstrates how the strength of the relationship between sectorial-based and government-based stakeholders may have influenced the strength of the relationship between sectorial-based and news media-based stakeholders. However, the results also give more insight into the power dynamics of the stakeholders active with policymaking systems, as well as the potential for the news media-based stakeholders to influence the conditions under which other stakeholders could contribute to the discussions and debates surrounding the voucher policy initiative.

The Sectorial Narrative

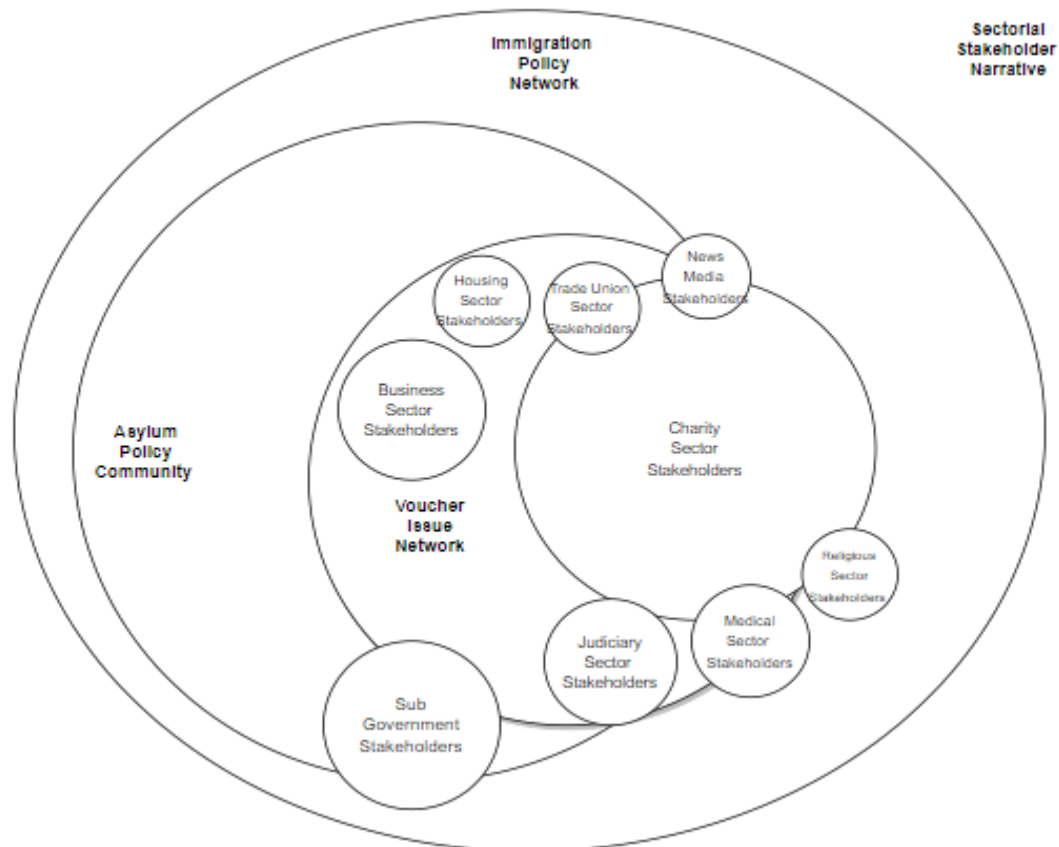
Once Labour's official position on the voucher policy issue was established, an understanding of the core structures of the parliamentary discourse on the issue was determined, and a database of contributors to that discourse was compiled, the next step was to repeat the process but from the perspective of sectorial stakeholders. This began with first establishing which organisations, companies, charities, institutions, and agencies responded to the Home Office's November 2000 invitation for interested parties to contribute to the voucher policy review. To obtain this, a Freedom of Information request to the National Archives for access to an important document that contained the complete list of respondents was required. Respondents had already been broadly categorized into the following sectors: education; housing; legal; local authorities,

devolved bodies and regional consortia; medical; Members of Parliament; Members of the House of Lords; non-governmental organisations; police forces; retailers; trade unions and political groups; miscellaneous (under which was listed the Post Office and an organisation called Accor Services⁶) and (thirty) members of the public. In addition, the document listed receipts of postcards specifically from the Body Shop (retailer) and the Committee to Defend Asylum Seekers (NGO), as well as petitions from The Children's Society (NGO), the Committee to Defend Asylum Seekers (as above) and from the National Union of Journalists - Magazine Branch (trade union) protesting the voucher scheme.

However, for this research, context and continuity are important factors to consider, and so respondents were recategorised as belonging to the sectors identified in the Parliamentary Narrative, i.e. government and sub-government; as well as business; charity, judiciary, medical and religious sectors. This resulted in adding respondents from two other sectors of society that had not been identified in contributing to the Parliamentary Narrative - trade unions and housing. Cross-referencing the sectorial-based stakeholders identified in the Parliamentary Narrative (detailed in Tables 5 to 7) with those listed in the Home Office document helped develop a more detailed list and a clearer understanding of the structural framework of the voucher issue network. Diagram 4 illustrates this and aims to show the advancement in the research investigation research by refining the initial conceptualisation presented in Diagram 2.

⁶ An international business centred on providing prepaid service vouchers. Accor Services was renamed 'Edenred' in June, 2010, following a separation between Accor's Hotels and prepaid services businesses

Diagram 4: Representation of the existence of the policy communities active within the immigration policy network, as well as sectorial stakeholder membership of the voucher issue network, as determined by the sectorial stakeholder narrative.



As with Diagram 2, Diagram 4 demonstrates the relative importance, trustworthiness, and impact of stakeholders within a particular sector, compared to others, from the context of the sectorial-stakeholder narrative. Initially, an attempt was made to contact all stakeholders on the respondents' list to request the availability and accessibility of relevant documentation that they may have submitted to the Home Office in response to its invitation for interested parties to submit their thoughts and opinions in relation to the voucher policy initiative. The purpose of this was to increase potential data collection and analyse any extra documentation using content analysis to identify any further keywords and phrases that might have been used in the discourse relating to the voucher policy initiative and contribute to the coding of relevant data, into discourse strands, or overall themes, that were beginning to emerge within the data.

However, approximately one third⁷ of respondents were unable to be contacted directly owing to several factors. This included a lack of specificity on the original respondent list regarding organisations termed ‘anonymous’⁸ or organisations that share the same name⁹; a lack of specificity on the original respondent list regarding which local or regional branch of a regional or nationwide organisation made the contribution to the Home Office review¹⁰; an inability to send a general inquiry that did not fit within specific parameters of an online contact form¹¹; the acquisition of the original organisation by another organisation after the stated time period¹²; or the merger of the original institution with another/other institution(s) after the stated time period¹³.

Two thirds¹⁴ of original respondents *were* able to be contacted but the majority of these were unable to provide relevant material. Reasons for this included the fact that documentation was not archived as far back as the case study time period¹⁵; staff members that were also employed during the time period of the case study, were either non-existent, or absent¹⁶; and excessive weekly enquiries from members of the public resulted in a logistical inability to respond to individual enquiries¹⁷. Ultimately, just six of the original respondents were able to provide relevant material¹⁸. Although arguably, the sample size of this first data collection exercise may have been small, it was still considered important for the insights it would potentially provide. In order to further supplement this data, a second attempt was made by re-examining Hansard transcripts of

⁷ 78 in total

⁸ Such as “anonymous retailer, Suffolk”

⁹ Such as Adelphi Hotels Ltd and Cardiff Legal Centre

¹⁰ Such as Bristol Churches Housing Association

¹¹ Such as Leicester City Council and Nottinghamshire Police

¹² Such as Safeway PLC that was acquired by Morrisons in 2004

¹³ Such as NATFHE, The University and College Lecturers' Union merging with the Association of University Teachers in 2005 to become the University and College Union. Or the Transporters General Workers Union merging with Amicus in 2007 to become Unite the Union.

¹⁴ 118

¹⁵ Such as Wesley Gryk Solicitors, Dover District Council, Corby Borough Council, Waverley Borough Council, Karen Buck MP, Tony Lloyd MP, and UNISON at Oxford Brookes

¹⁶ Such as the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities

¹⁷ Such as The Body Shop and Cardiff Country Council

¹⁸ from the Chartered Institute of Housing, the Immigration Law Practitioners' Association, Oxfam, Portsmouth City Council, the Refugee Council and the Scottish Trades Union Congress.

Parliamentary debates and Committee sittings on the voucher policy initiative, to identify the existence of memorandums that sectorial-based stakeholders had submitted to the Special Standing Committees.

However, securing additional data in the form of potentially relevant documentation that sectorial stakeholders published themselves, such as executive summaries proved to be scarce; primarily because much of this type of data was published in the news media in the form of press briefings included in article reports, or strategic letters to the editor, or detailed op-ed opinion pieces. In addition, other potentially relevant documentation from sectorial stakeholders was encapsulated in independent reports, such as the *Token Gestures* report, in the form of survey responses. Jointly published by the Transport & General Workers Union, the Refugee Council and Oxfam GB and endorsed by the Body Shop and the Asylum Rights Campaign¹⁹, the *Token Gestures* report included contributions from fifty smaller civil rights groups, aid agencies and legal firms that were operating at the regional and local level. Thus, with the inclusion of the Standing Committee memorandums, material from the six respondents to the Home Office review and the *Token Gestures* report, the second data collection included relevant material from more than a dozen stakeholders across six sectors of society²⁰. Subsequently, Parliamentary memorandums and executive summaries from the original six respondents, as well as Chapters 3 and 9²¹ of the *Token Gestures* report²² were extracted and uploaded into NVivo.

Guided by the principles of discourse analysis, keywords and phrases used in the sectorial-based stakeholder discourse to consider and evaluate the voucher policy initiative were identified and coded as discourse fragments and labelled accordingly in

¹⁹ a network of over 80 organisations working on asylum and immigration issues in the UK

²⁰ i.e. housing, (Chartered Institute of Housing), charity (Amnesty International, Oxfam, Refugee Council), judiciary (Immigration Law Practitioners' Association), medical (Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture), sub-government (Association of London Governments, Kent County Council, Local Government Association, Portsmouth City Council) and trades union (Trade and General Workers Union and the Scottish Trades Union Congress)

²¹ the 'Case Against Vouchers' and 'Conclusions and Recommendations'

²² other chapters providing background context on the 1999 Act, the origin of the voucher policy initiative, survey set up and results

NVivo, to indicate their relevance to the research. To gain a more in-depth understanding of the language used within this discourse, the discourse fragments were then examined more closely to identify underlying patterns and themes within them. These were subsequently grouped into discourse strands, which represented the central themes and concepts that arose from the discourse fragments (listed in context in Figure D and detailed at length in Appendix D).

Figure D: Emergent themes indicating the main points of sectorial stakeholders' perspectives on the voucher policy initiative.

1. The existence of operational and administrative problems

1. Endemic delays on the processing and decision making of asylum applications for asylum or for support, often force individuals seekers to live entirely unsupported, or on vouchers, for more than six months – longer than government targets of two months (or four months if under appeal).
2. Overall travel costs, or restrictions on the use of vouchers being used for public transport, from dispersal accommodation to immigration interviews, can prevent asylum seekers from seeing their lawyers or attending interviews; often resulting in application refusal on grounds of non-compliance. This is particularly problematic for disabled, elderly, pregnant asylum seekers, or those with young children.
3. Administration costs of the voucher system are higher than government estimates. Government estimates are that the unit costs for supporting a single adult on a cash-based system between 1999/2000 was £425. On a cashless based system, the cost is £700.
4. Dissemination of information is systemically problematic. Voucher policy administration is not efficiently linked up with that of dispersal policy administration. When asylum seekers are moved to a new location, vouchers are often sent to the previous address, or asylum seekers are not informed of which retailers in the new location accept vouchers.

2. The need to discontinue vouchers and restore cash benefits

1. The voucher-based system is more expensive than a cash-based system.
2. If the voucher-based system remains, then it should only apply for the first 6 months - after which the asylum seeker should receive cash benefits.
3. Reducing processing delays, rather than withdrawing cash benefits, would better address the

administration costs of the asylum and benefits application system.

4. The voucher-based system places an additional burden on local government.
5. The voucher-based system does not take into account items that can be reasonably deemed essential but cannot be bought with vouchers.
6. There is evidence to suggest that the voucher-based system has been operated on the black market.
7. Government assumptions that the costs of the voucher-based system will decrease because cash benefits are not available, are fundamentally flawed.
8. A cash-based system would ease the pressure on currently overstretched refugee voluntary organisations
9. A cash-based system would allow asylum seekers to take part in normal economic activity and to shop in a less exposed and more dignified, way.

3. Vouchers have a minimal deterrent effect

1. Applications have risen steadily since the introduction of the voucher-based system and the withdrawal of cash-based support.
2. Under the 1996 Act, asylum seekers were able to access cash benefits if they applied at the port of entry, but dependent on cashless support if they applied in country. However, in 1999, 59% of asylum claims were made in-country and therefore were not eligible for support through benefits.
3. Subsections 3 in the Asylum and Immigration Bill provides that support should not normally be given by cash payments. However, subsections 4 and 5 indicate that the Secretary of State has the power to repeal Subsection 3 or remove certain categories of people from it. This suggests that the Government is not confident that the cashless system will reduce the number of applications and therefore allows for a cash-based system to be reinstated, if it fails to function.
4. The main reason for lodging asylum applications in particular countries is the presence of established communities, not the promise of cash benefits.
5. Cash benefits have not been an incentive to asylum seekers to make applications in other European countries that offer more generous reception facilities to asylum seekers than the UK.

4. Vouchers have a negative effect on mental and physical health

1. The voucher-based system was intended to 'minimise the incentive to economic migration'

because it is 'less attractive and provides less of a financial inducement'. Thus, its harsh nature is integral to its objective. To this extent, the scheme is operating in the way it was intended as it is unattractive and does not appear to afford any incentive to economic migration.

2. The voucher-based system is harsh, humiliating, unreasonable, unfair, and discriminates against asylum seekers at a time when they are most vulnerable.
3. The voucher support system robs individuals of their dignity, makes them feel inferior and encourages the treatment of them as 'second class' citizens; all of which carries a high social cost.
4. The voucher support system is generally unpopular with shops and supermarkets and exposes asylum seekers to hostility, in terms of shop assistants and other shoppers treating them in a discriminatory manner in the form of unhelpful, dismissive, rude and offensive behaviour.
5. Vouchers, in terms of not being accepted on public transport, denies asylum seekers the opportunity to visit or telephone friends and family, meet their legal advisers, attend college or access leisure facilities and other local amenities.
6. The voucher system pays no regard to the combined effects of trauma caused by persecution, enforced flight and exile. It is likely that the effect of supporting such vulnerable people without cash will have resource implications for health services and mental health teams.
7. Refugee organisations are concerned with the physical health impact of vouchers, particularly concerning the quality of nutrition of asylum seekers, such as those who are pregnant or have other special requirements.
8. The removal of all benefit rights from asylum seekers and their families as well as local authorities' obligations towards them, is fundamentally incompatible with the intention of the Children Act and the promotion of children's wellbeing. For example, living in a cashless system causes severe hardship on children in terms of child poverty, social exclusion and racist bullying.

5. The need to increase the level of support in a cashless system

1. The voucher support system should only apply for the first 6 months of an application, after which the asylum seeker should receive cash benefits.
2. The use to which vouchers can be put, should be broadened, and change should be provided.
3. Charities, churches and individuals should be allowed to top up inadequate state provision, at least in line with the level of income support.
4. The voucher support system should include access to additional safety-net benefits, such as milk tokens and vitamins.

5. Support arrangements should take into account the availability of access to good legal advice and representation.
6. Support arrangements should take into account special needs provision for elderly, disabled or sick asylum seekers (e.g. lack of appropriate food for diabetics in designated shops; payment with vouchers cannot be accepted for home delivery of goods).

6. The need to end the restriction on purchases when using vouchers

1. The voucher support system fails to consider that many items that can be reasonably deemed essential - such as maternity equipment, or appropriate food for diabetics, cannot be bought with vouchers unless from specific shops participating in the voucher system, Therefore the use to which vouchers can be put, should be broadened.
2. Many retailers are treating NASS (National Asylum Support System) vouchers in the same way as vouchers from local authority voucher schemes. NASS vouchers are redeemable for food and other 'essential' items, whereas local authority vouchers are usually only redeemable for food. Therefore, asylum seekers are facing restrictions from retailers who, acting in error, are denying them the ability to purchase certain items.
3. There is an insufficient variety of shops and supermarkets that participate in the voucher scheme. Therefore, asylum seekers are limited in terms of location and choice of where to shop, resulting in an inability to find the best value shops or buy the most nutritious food on a limited income.

7. The need to end the 'no change' policy

1. If the Government determines that the voucher scheme may yet achieve its objective then the use that vouchers can be put should be broadened and change should be provided from their shopping. In addition, the medium of exchange function must not be so poor that asylum seekers resort to the black market.
2. If the application process is longer than six months, then asylum seekers should be put back on a cash-based system.
3. The refusal to allow retailers to provide change to asylum seekers is unreasonable, unfair, and discriminates against these people at a time when they are most vulnerable.
4. The 'no change' restriction affects the spending power of people living on vouchers and forces them to make unnecessary purchases to bring the value of their shopping to the level of the voucher being presented in payment, so as to avoid losing out.
5. There are questions about the legality of the 'no change' policy. NASS regulations require it

to provide ‘as a general rule, asylum support in respect of essential living needs of that person in the form of vouchers redeemable for goods, services and cash whose *total* redemption value for any week, equals the amount shown’. If the vouchers provide a *nominal* redemption value of the amount, but in reality, reduce the true value, then NASS is not acting in accordance with its own regulations.

8. Vouchers have a negative effect on race relations

1. The Government fails to acknowledge that vouchers make the integration of dispersal asylum seekers into local communities more difficult in terms of social exclusion and welfare dependency.
2. The negative images of asylum seekers within local and national media coverage that reinforce negative stereotypes create a difficult and dangerous climate for asylum seekers and damages race relations more generally in the UK.
3. Repeated criticism by the press and politicians of ‘bogus’ asylum seekers increases racial harassment. The exposure that asylum seekers suffer when purchasing essential items in shops leads to an increase in their vulnerability and risk of racial harassment.
4. Repeated criticism by the press and politicians of ‘bogus’ asylum seekers has seen an increase far-right activity focussed on asylum seekers, which has led to refugee children being increasingly subjected to racist bullying in schools in areas where houses had received racist literature from the British National Party.

9. The need to increase the proportion of cash support

1. The value of vouchers (at only 70% of income support levels) is below subsistence levels. Essential living needs cannot be met by support worth less than the basic level of Income Support.
2. Someone who has been on NASS support for more than six months should be provided with cash support equivalent to income support. That would serve as an important incentive to prompt and final decision-making by IND (Immigration Nationality Directorate).
3. Cash benefits at the full level of Income Support should be provided to all asylum seekers to ensure that they can live in dignity without being stigmatised whilst their applications for asylum are being processed.
4. The level of support needs to be increased to provide for destitute asylum seekers on the same basis as support is provided for other groups of destitute people in the UK.

Each discourse strand was then more concisely reinterpreted as a specific statement that symbolised each theme that was present within the overall discourse (Table 8, listed in descending order of frequency and perceived level of prominence). As with the discourse analysis of the government-based stakeholders' contributions to the voucher policy discourse, this process helped examine the way in which different elements of the discourse were related to each other. It also assisted in the identification of trends and patterns that were used by sectorial-based stakeholders in the way that they presented their arguments and beliefs. Cumulatively, this process helped develop a *macro* awareness of the sectorial-based stakeholder's discourse in terms of establishing commonly shared priorities and perspectives relating to the voucher policy initiative and a more detailed awareness of the *micro* features of the discourse in regard to identifying the core structures that influenced the construction of their mutual challenges and shared priorities.

Table 8: Specific statements indicating the emergent theses within sectorial stakeholders' perspectives on the voucher policy initiative.

Specific Statements	<i>f.</i> of references	# of sources
The voucher support system has fundamental operational and administrative problems in its implementation.	25	4
There is a pressing need to discontinue vouchers and restore cash benefits as support systems for destitute asylum seekers.	20	8
Vouchers have had a minimal deterrent effect on economic migration trends.	20	3
Vouchers hurt the mental and physical health of the children of those who use them.	19	7
There is a need to increase the level of support in a cashless system.	14	4
Restrictions on the types of purchases when using vouchers must end.	14	4
There is a clear need to end the 'no change' policy if the total value of a voucher is not used, in a transaction.	11	4
The use of vouchers has had a negative impact on race relations.	11	4

There is a need to increase the proportion of cash support provided to destitute asylum seekers.	8	6
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Thus far, examining the discourse from government and sectorial-based stakeholder perspectives contributed to a comprehensive understanding of the different positions and interests surrounding the voucher policy initiative, as well as a critical awareness of the main arguments and themes at the centre of both, as summarised in Tables 4 and 8. However, it also indicated the existence of the voucher policy community and network, identified insider-outsider groups active within it, and implied the strength of the interrelationships between them. The next step was to examine these dynamics from the perspective of news media-based stakeholders.

The News Media Narrative

Understanding the core structures of the news media-based stakeholder discourse on the voucher policy initiative began with critically examining any articles that referenced the voucher policy initiative, via the archives of selected news media sources. Initially, national newspapers such as the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, and the *Daily Express* were considered as suitable sources for data collection, because, owing to their average net circulations²³ per issue during the case study time period (July 1998 to April 2002) it was thought that these sources provided a representative ‘real world’ sample of the most popular news media sources at the time (detailed in Table 9)

²³ retrieved from the Audit Bureau of Circulations

Table 9: Average net circulations of national newspapers, per issue, during the time period of the case study.

	Aug. '99 - Jan. '00	Jan. '00 - Jun. '00	Jul. '00 - Dec. '00	Jan. '01 - Jun. '01	Jul. '01 - Dec. '01	Jan. '02 - Jun. '02.
The Sun	3,584,020	3,563,803	3,608,827	3,499,822	3,472,841	3,469,196
The Daily Mail	2,365,051	2,376,468	2,382,369	2,428,260	2,476,625	2,480,374
The Mirror	2,297,405	2,258,950	2,224,274	2,193,791	2,187,960	2,179,236
The Daily Express	1,053,962	1,065,273	1,032,471	963,147	957,574	961,754
The Daily Telegraph	1,036,165	1,033,686	1,021,013	1,017,797	1,020,889	1,021,851
The Times	724,680	722,642	719,595	715,310	719,861	721,838
The Daily Record	636,947	620,103	613,927	599,574	597,419	595,699
The Daily Star	518,011	515,246	546,991	579,584	620,420	617,316
The Financial Times	421,893	457,653	469,057	487,263	478,535	480,904
The Guardian	394,162	396,534	394,913	405,306	407,847	410,038
The Independent	224,554	224,224	229,544	225,639	230,633	231,083
The Star (Rep. Ire.)	91,689	92,40	95,171	97,894	104,944	104,921
The Scotsman	75,883	84,716	100,441	90,730	81,268	81,501

However, whilst the digital archives of the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* were available and accessible, the *Sun*'s digital archives were not available in the public domain and the *Daily Mirror*'s were only accessible up until 1979; thus nothing was available during the case study time period. Alternative news media sources listed next, in terms of net circulation averages, included the *Daily Telegraph*, *Times*, *Daily Star*, *Financial Times*, *Guardian*, and *Independent*. *The Times* and the *Guardian* were chosen for the availability and accessibility of their digital archives, as well as their diversity in political affiliation. However the *Daily Telegraph*'s digital archives were only available up until the year 2000, the *Independent* was apolitical and the *Daily Star* and the *Financial Times* shared the same political bias as their affiliated publications, the *Daily Express* and

the *Times*; both of which had already been selected²⁴. Therefore, the Daily Mail and Daily Express, which are affiliated with the Conservative Party, and the Times, which has a Conservative-Liberal Democrat bias, as well as the Guardian, which has a Labour-Liberal Democrat leaning, were chosen as representative samples of news media sources with political diversity for data collection. This was based on the belief that these sources adequately reflected the political landscape and would provide relevant information for analysis.

The choice of these specific news media sources is reinforced when examining the variety in political affiliation among each source during the 2001 June General Election, - which was itself timely in terms of occurring between the July 1998 White Paper, when the voucher policy initiative was first proposed, to April 2002 under Regulation 4 of the Asylum Support (Amendment) Regulations, when the voucher policy was reversed. Whilst the *Daily Mail* maintained its Conservative Party affiliation, the *Daily Express* veered from habit and supported the Labour Government, in contrast to its backing of the Conservative Government during all other general elections dating back to 1945. In addition, whilst the *Guardian*, stayed consistent and endorsed Labour, the *Times* switched from endorsing the Labour Party at the 1997 General Election, to supporting the Conservative Party in the 2001 one. The level of diversity in the political affiliation and, by virtue of implication, the policy perspectives of news media-based stakeholders, between the 1999 Act and the 2002 Act, suggests that the overall anti-asylum vitriol and criticism of immigration policy initiatives that featured in news media discourse during this period, when Labour had not yet clearly defined its immigration policy objectives, may have been a contributing factor to the instigation of the voucher policy reversal.

Data collection began with accessing the archives of selected news media sources hosted on three separate databases: Gale Cengage (the *Daily Mail* and the *Times*),

²⁴ The *Daily Record* (Scotland), the *Daily Star* (Rep. of Ireland) and the *Scotsman* were not considered as national newspapers in terms of the broader British context of this case study.

UKPressOnline (the *Daily Express*) and Newspapers.com (the *Guardian*). Search parameters from 27th July 1998²⁵ to 8th April 2002²⁶ generated 135 articles referring to the voucher policy initiative,²⁷ which were then uploaded into NVivo.

As with the Parliamentary Narrative and the Sectorial Narrative, in terms of using discourse analysis as an analytical approach, keywords and phrases used in the news media discourse in its reporting of the voucher policy initiative were identified and coded as discourse fragments and labelled accordingly in NVivo, to indicate their relevance to the research. To develop a better awareness of what language was used within this discourse, the fragments were examined more closely to identify underlying patterns and trends. These were then gathered into discourse strands, which represented the main themes that emerged from the data within the discourse fragments (listed in context in Figure E and detailed at length in Appendix E).

Figure E. Emergent themes indicating the main points of news media's stakeholders' perspectives on the voucher policy initiative.

1. Labour's asylum and immigration policies are inconsistent, incompetent and infringe on human rights.
 - I. The new voucher system has created division in society and in parliament, where numerous Labour backbenchers, as well as Opposition members, have denounced it.
 - II. Confidence in Labour's asylum and immigration policies is lacking owing to constant concessions being made to appease opposing stakeholders.
 - III. Primary aims of the voucher support system was to cut the number of asylum applications and appeals and deter the abuse of the system, but neither aim has been achieved.
 - IV. Judicial review of asylum appeals take longer than the six months objective and has resulted in a severe backlog of claims, with applicants living in overly harsh circumstances.
2. The voucher-based support system is an inhumane and humiliating system that publicly identifies and subsequently stigmatises an already marginalized community, causing social

²⁵ when the July 1998 White Paper, first proposing the voucher policy initiative, was published.

²⁶ when the February 2002 White Paper, containing the Government's intention to phase out the policy initiative, was published.

²⁷ the *Daily Express* providing 21 the *Times*, 25; *Daily Mail*, 37 and the *Guardian*, 52.

division, exclusion and racial tension.

3. Opposition from Labour backbenchers, trade unionists and stakeholder groups demand that voucher-based support should be returned to a cash-based support, or at the very least, the proportion of cash payments within the voucher scheme needs to be increased to be in line with Income Support.

4. Despite claims to the contrary, there is little evidence to prove that the voucher-based support system will incentive economic migrants and increase opportunities for abuse.

5. Despite claims that the policy guards against fraud is a vital tactic in discouraging bogus applicants, the no change policy creates practical problems, impoverishes asylum seekers, sets up an appalling and terrible system of profiteering by retailers and is simply a government tactic to avoid paying welfare benefits direct to asylum seekers.

6. Despite the Home Secretary's initial claims to the contrary, the costs of implementing the voucher-based support system costs more than the cash-based support system, and subsequently adds to the pressure on the Labour Government to modify or abolish the initiative altogether.

7. Voucher-based support system exposes and stigmatises asylum seekers, fueling racial tensions, subjecting them to racial harassment and making them vulnerable to racist attack.

8. The voucher-based support system is chaotic, shambolic and overly bureaucratic and representative of the Labour Government's overall asylum and immigration policies

9. The voucher-based support system needs to be dismantled, or identity checks need to be put in place, in order to prevent benefit fraud and 'voucher for cash' black market activity

10. Chaotic asylum policies have public health at risk in terms of the voucher-based support system having a detrimental effect on the physical health of asylum seekers and their children

Each discourse strand was subsequently condensed into a specific statement that represented each theme that was present within the news media discourse (Table 10, listed in descending order of frequency and perceived level of prominence; and detailed at length in Appendix F). This process aided in identifying connections among the

different components within the discourse. It also assisted in identifying trends and patterns that were used to convey the ideas and opinions of government and sectorial-based stakeholders that had been strategically selected by news media-based stakeholders, as well as in articulating the arguments and perspectives of news-media individual stakeholders, also actively participating in the discourse. This process helped build a more comprehensive understanding of the key components that constructed the news media discourse, particularly in identifying examples of anti-asylum vitriol and criticism of immigration policy initiatives. It also helped develop a more detailed understanding of the core structures of the news media discourse in terms of identifying causal assumptions, limited definitions, and signs of bias operating within it.

Table 10: Emergent themes representing the core structures of the news media narrative relating to the voucher policy initiative.

Specific statements	f. of references	# of sources
1. Criticisms of Labour's asylum and immigration policy	86	39
2. The dehumanising, stigmatising effects of using vouchers, particularly for children	63	40
3. The need to return the voucher-based support back to cash-based support	37	25
4. The voucher-based support system will/will not deter economic migrants	34	13
5. The need to end the 'no change' policy	33	22
6. The costs of implementing the voucher-based support system	24	13
7. The use of vouchers fuels racial tension in the community	18	8
8. The chaotic and shambolic nature of the voucher-based support system	17	10
9. The voucher-based support system will/will not prevent benefit fraud/black market activity	17	6
10. The voucher-based support system has a detrimental effect on physical and mental health	8	5

Measuring the frequency in which government-based and sectorial-based stakeholders were cited in the 135 articles in the news media referring to the voucher policy initiative, and the frequency in which they were cited, (detailed in Appendix G) resulted in the conceptualisation of the voucher policy communities and networks from the news media-based stakeholders' perspective, as interpreted in Diagram 5.

Diagram 5: Representation of the existence of the policy communities active within the immigration policy network, as well as sectorial stakeholder membership of the voucher issue network, as determined by news media-based stakeholders.

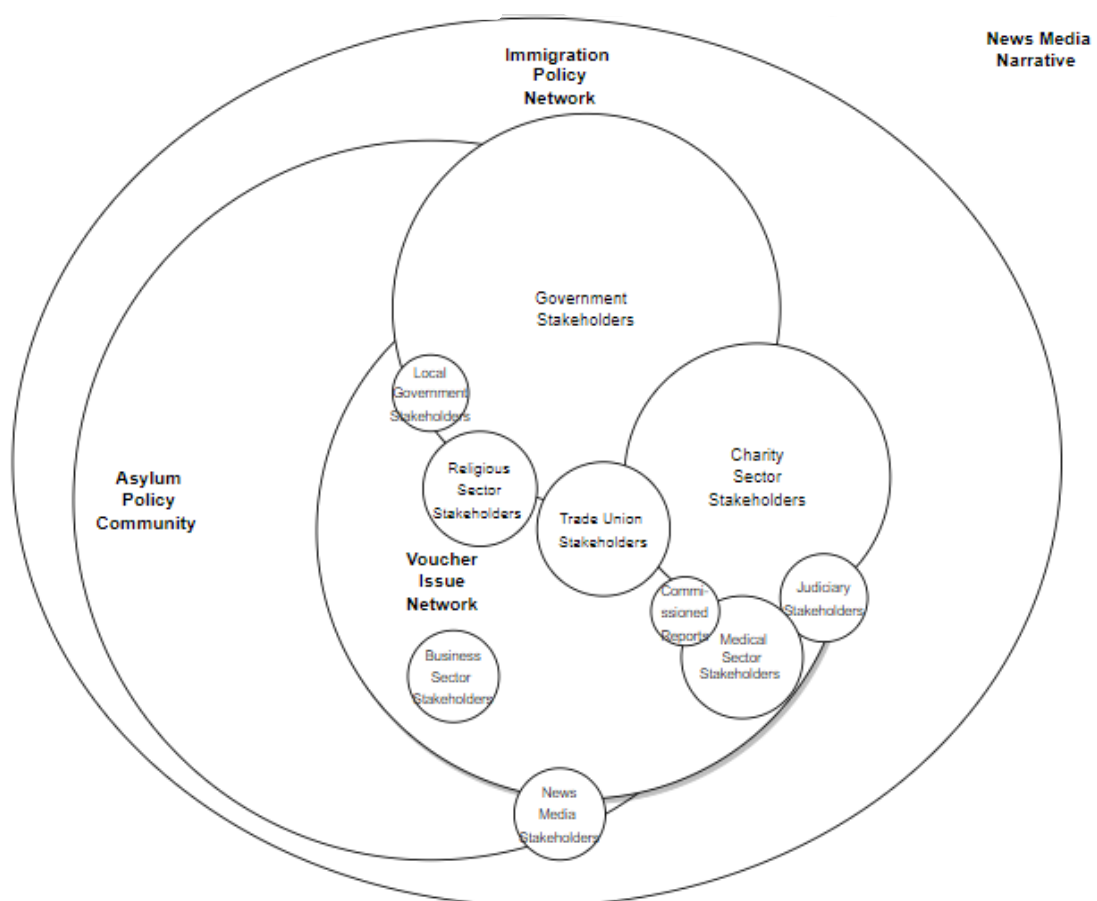


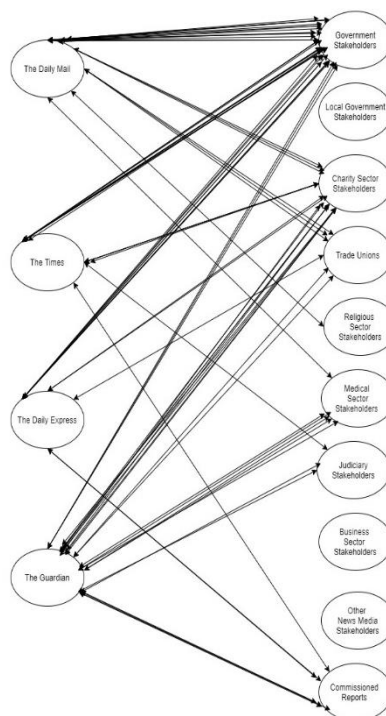
Diagram 5 provides several functions: it establishes which policy actors were active within the voucher policy community from the news-media-based stakeholder's point of view, and gives some initial indication of the power dynamics between them. This can be deduced by examining the differences in the sizes of the circles in the diagram. The largest circle, the News Media Narrative, represents the context in which this interpretation of the policy communities and networks is set within. The subsequent three circles, in decreasing size - immigration policy network, asylum policy community, and voucher issue network, illustrate the various levels present within the policy voucher policymaking systems. communities and networks.

The subsequent smaller sets of circles, starting from the largest – government stakeholders to the smallest – local government and judiciary stakeholders, respectively, highlight several noteworthy observations. For example, it demonstrates the range of stakeholders across different sectors that are active within the voucher policy communities and networks. More significantly, however, confirming what was initially indicated in Diagram 1: it demonstrates the widespread presence of policy communities and networks across different sectors within society, thus, underscoring the significance of the PC&N perspective in understanding the influence of the news media is shaping the policy agenda.

In addition, the location placement of each stakeholder circle in Diagram 5 indicates which levels within the voucher policy communities and networks that stakeholders from that specific sector are active within. The decreasing dimensions of each circle, relate to the perceived relevance, credibility and influence of stakeholders from that sector *en bloc*, to the voucher policy issue, as determined by the news media-based stakeholder narrative. The aim in presenting this is to provide further insight into the overall power dynamics of the stakeholders active with the voucher policy communities and networks, but also to identify and begin to conceptualise the strength of interrelationships between them.

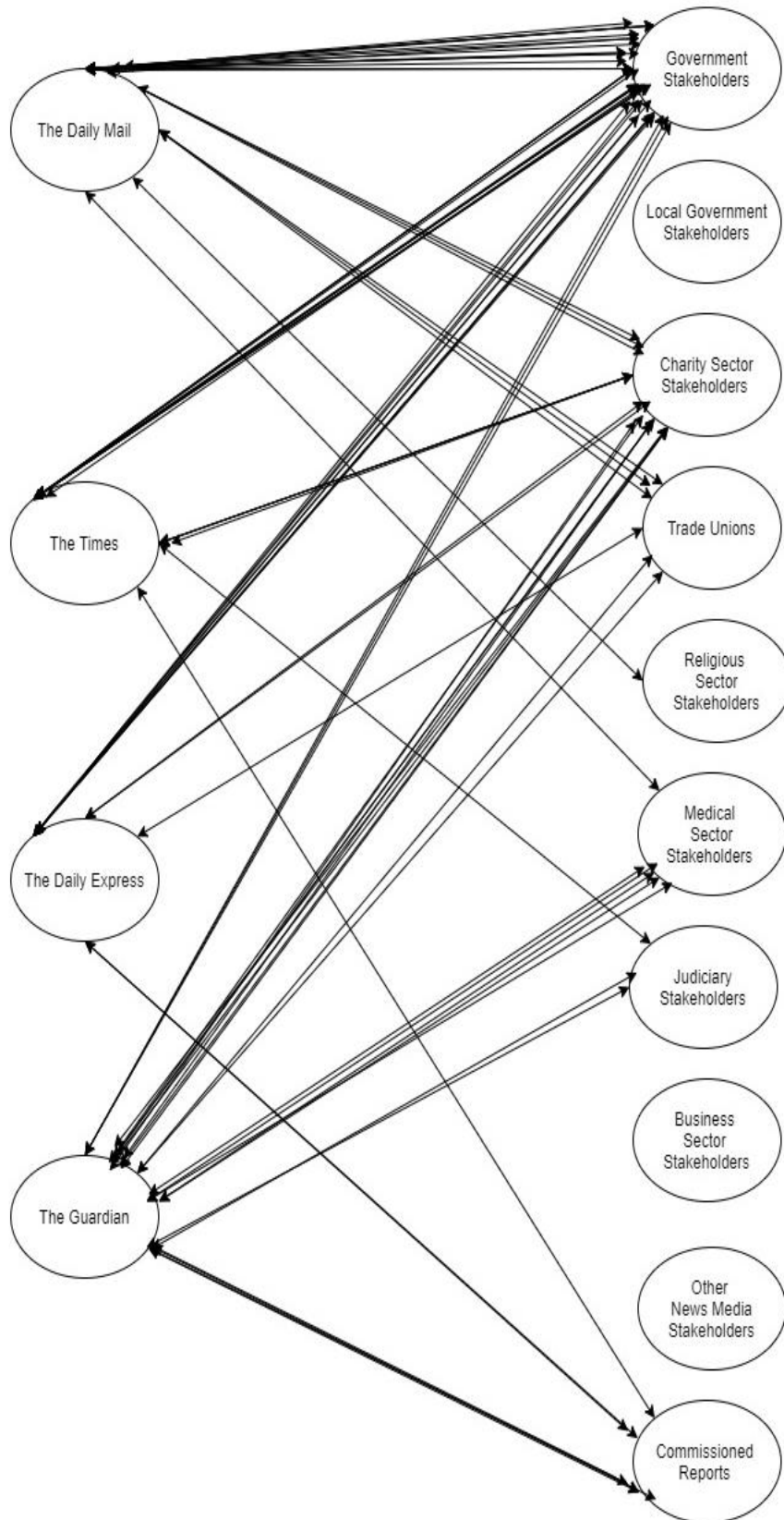
In addition to measuring the frequency of source citations by news media-based stakeholders, calculating the use of direct speech *of* each citation more accurately estimated the level of interaction and interdependency between news media-based stakeholders with other stakeholders, as represented in Diagram 6 (shown below for immediate reference, and in full size on the following page). More specifically, Diagram 6 indicates the perceived level of interaction and interdependency between news media stakeholders and the source of their citations. Whilst the use of indirect speech was significantly more numerous²⁸, each bidirectional connector, or *edge*, within the diagram represents the employment of direct speech in each citation, with the intention of clearly demonstrating clusters of source citations, or *vertices*, based on the density of each edge. Furthermore, based on the level of interaction and interdependency between vertices being high or low, i.e. a dense or sparse concentration of edges between news media stakeholders and other stakeholders, Diagram 6 also indicates similar and dissimilar perspectives on the voucher policy initiative, between them.

Diagram 6: Interpretation of the perceived interaction and interdependency between news media stakeholders and the source of their citations relating to the voucher policy narrative.



²⁸ the exact number clearly demarcated in Appendix D

Diagram 6 (full size): Interpretation of the perceived interaction and interdependency between news media stakeholders and the source of their citations relating to the voucher policy narrative.



Drawing parallels between the government-, sectorial- and news media-based stakeholders' contributions to the voucher policy discourse involved undertaking a comparative analysis of the core structures of each to identify correlating emergent themes and recurrent patterns between them. Using content analysis as a methodological approach, an examination of the keywords and phrases summarised in Tables 4, 8 and 10 was taken in order to identify correlating themes and patterns in the data. These were then synthesised into separate discourse strands, which represented the core structures of the collective perspectives of government-, sectorial- and news media-based stakeholders relating to the voucher policy initiative (summarised in Figure F, detailed in Figure G, and detailed at length in Appendix H).

Figure F: Correlating themes indicating the corresponding core structures within the government, sectorial and news media stakeholders' perspectives on the voucher policy initiative.

- 1: The inhumanity of the voucher support system
- 2: The encouragement of social exclusion
- 3: The administration of the voucher support system is more costly than that of a cash-based support system.
4. The implementation of the voucher support system is bureaucratic, chaotic, shambolic and impractical.
5. The voucher support system is to prevent abuse of the asylum application system, but it is also open to abuse.
6. The operationalisation of the voucher support system is overly complex.
7. The voucher support system negatively impacts the children of asylum seekers.

Figure G: Correlating themes identified in both the government, sectorial and news media-based stakeholders' discourse in relation to the voucher policy initiative.

- 1: The voucher support system is inhumane**
- PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:**
 (CRITICISM): The voucher-based support system is inhumane and stigmatizing.
 (GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): It is not generous, but it is adequate. It is not a benefits system but a system of basic support.
- NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:**
 The voucher-based support system is an inhumane and humiliating system that publically identifies and subsequently stigmatises an already marginalized community, causing social division, exclusion and racial tension.

2: The voucher support system encourages social exclusion

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): The new voucher support system institutionalizes social exclusion, it creates community tensions, damages race relations and increases the risk of racial harassment.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): If applicants do not take one of the ‘support in kind’ benefits (no-choice accommodation/vouchers) then they have options available to them from family, friends or the voluntary sector and are therefore not at risk of social exclusion. Vouchers are not the only characteristic in which to identify an asylum seekers, therefore the use of vouchers by asylum seekers does not increase the risk of racial harassment.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Voucher-based support system exposes and stigmatises asylum seekers, fueling racial tensions, subjecting them to racial harassment and making them vulnerable to racist attack.

3: The administration of the voucher support system is more costly than that of a cash-based support system

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): The voucher-based support system is too costly in terms of unit cost per voucher, in comparison to than giving asylum seekers cash-based support.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): A cashless based support system is initially more costly to administer but the overall cost is much less, because it will have a ‘disincentive effect’ in terms of deterring economic migrants. Accordingly, the costs associated with the new support system will go down over the next three years based on the fact that the numbers of applications will go down, because cash benefits will not be available. In addition, a cashless based support system will restore integrity in the system and identify genuine asylum seekers more quickly.

(STAKEHOLDER RESPONSE) There is no evidence to support the idea that cash-based system will *not* deter economic migration

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

The implementation of the voucher-based support system costs more than that of the cash-based support system, and subsequently adds to the pressure on the Labour Government to modify or abolish the initiative altogether.

4. The shambolic nature of the asylum application support system and the impracticality of the new voucher support system

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE (A):

(CRITICISM): The current system under the Conservative Government is localized, shambolic and chaotic. The new support system will be nationalized, shambolic and chaotic.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): The current system that is run by various local authorities is a shambles. Administrative changes and modernizing the way in which the immigration service operates, where cases can be dealt with quickly and those who make false claims for asylum can be removed quickly, will result in an asylum and immigration system which is capable of working fairly, firmly and efficiently

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE (B):

(CRITICISM): Vouchers are costly, cumbersome, impractical, inflexible and limiting to administer. They are a reinvention of money and there is no valid distinction between them.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): The new support system is in fact simple and straightforward. If an asylum seeker cannot provide himself with support for more than 14 days, then they are classed as destitute and can apply for state support.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

The voucher-based support system is chaotic, shambolic and overly bureaucratic and representative of the Labour Government's overall asylum and immigration policies

5: One primary aim of the voucher support system is to prevent abuse of the asylum application system, however the voucher support system is also open to abuse.

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): The new support system has encouraged the development of a black market in vouchers. There is a stigma attached in the use of the vouchers which exacerbates community tensions. The government demonize asylum seekers with constant rhetoric about 'abusive claims'. Retailers abuse the voucher support system by pocketing the difference when an asylum seeker buys good with a voucher worth more than their value

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): It is important to consult with sectorial stakeholders to discuss how to solve the problems of the development of a black market in vouchers. Public support for asylum seekers is undermined by individuals who breach immigration control and claim benefit, as well as unscrupulous immigration advisers, such as traffickers and forgers, who have developed an unscrupulous immigration advisory industry.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

(A) There is little evidence to prove that the voucher-based support system will increase opportunities for abuse.

(B) The voucher-based support system needs to be dismantled, or identity checks need to be put in place, in order to prevent benefit fraud and 'voucher for cash' black market activity

6. The operationalisation of the voucher support system is overly complex

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): Immigration and destitution tests are overly complex and cause unnecessary suffering and delay

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): The Immigration and destitution tests *are* complex and interrelated but they are balanced in terms of providing a mix of cash and no cash support, as well as maintaining immigration control and a strong human rights policy.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Labour's asylum and immigration policies are inconsistent, incompetent and infringe on human right. Primary aims of the voucher support system was to cut the number of asylum applications and appeals and deter the abuse of the system, but neither aim has been achieved. Judicial review of asylum appeals take longer than the six months objective and has resulted in a sever backlog of claims, with applicants living in overly harsh circumstances.

7. The voucher support system negatively impacts the children of asylum seekers

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): A cashless based support system is not in the best interests of children, causing them unnecessary suffering.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): None.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Chaotic asylum policies have public health at risk in terms of the voucher-based support system having a detrimental effect on the physical health of asylum seekers and their children.

A content analysis of the discourse coded under each correlating theme determined what government, sectorial and news media-based stakeholders contributed to it. In gauging the significance of these perspectives, measuring the frequency in which contributors were cited in the discourse, and considering those stakeholders that were cited directly as an indication of the importance of their perspective to the discourse, helped determine the level of interaction and interdependency between different stakeholders across the voucher policy network. This is illustrated in Diagram 7, where clusters of source citations are represented by the density of bi-directional connectors, or edges, between them. The majority of edges in Diagram 7 (below for immediate reference, and in full size on the following page) represent the frequency that direct speech was employed in source citations, but it also features specific edges and stakeholders within vertices highlighted in red, which signals those stakeholders directly cited in *more* than one narrative or in all three. In addition, the diagram also includes *directional* edges, identifiable as dashed lines, representing the indirect citations of government or sectorial-based stakeholders' input and the specific news media source that cited them.

Diagram 7. Clusters of source citations identified within each correlating theme between the government, sectorial and news media-based stakeholder narratives, relating to the voucher policy initiative.

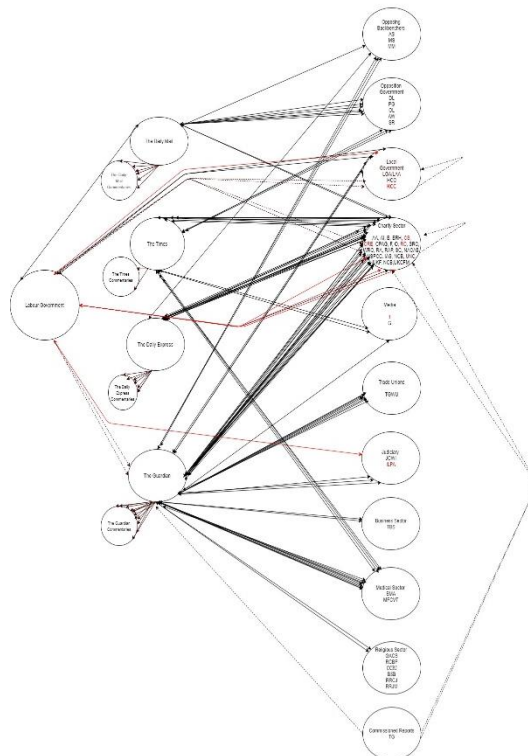
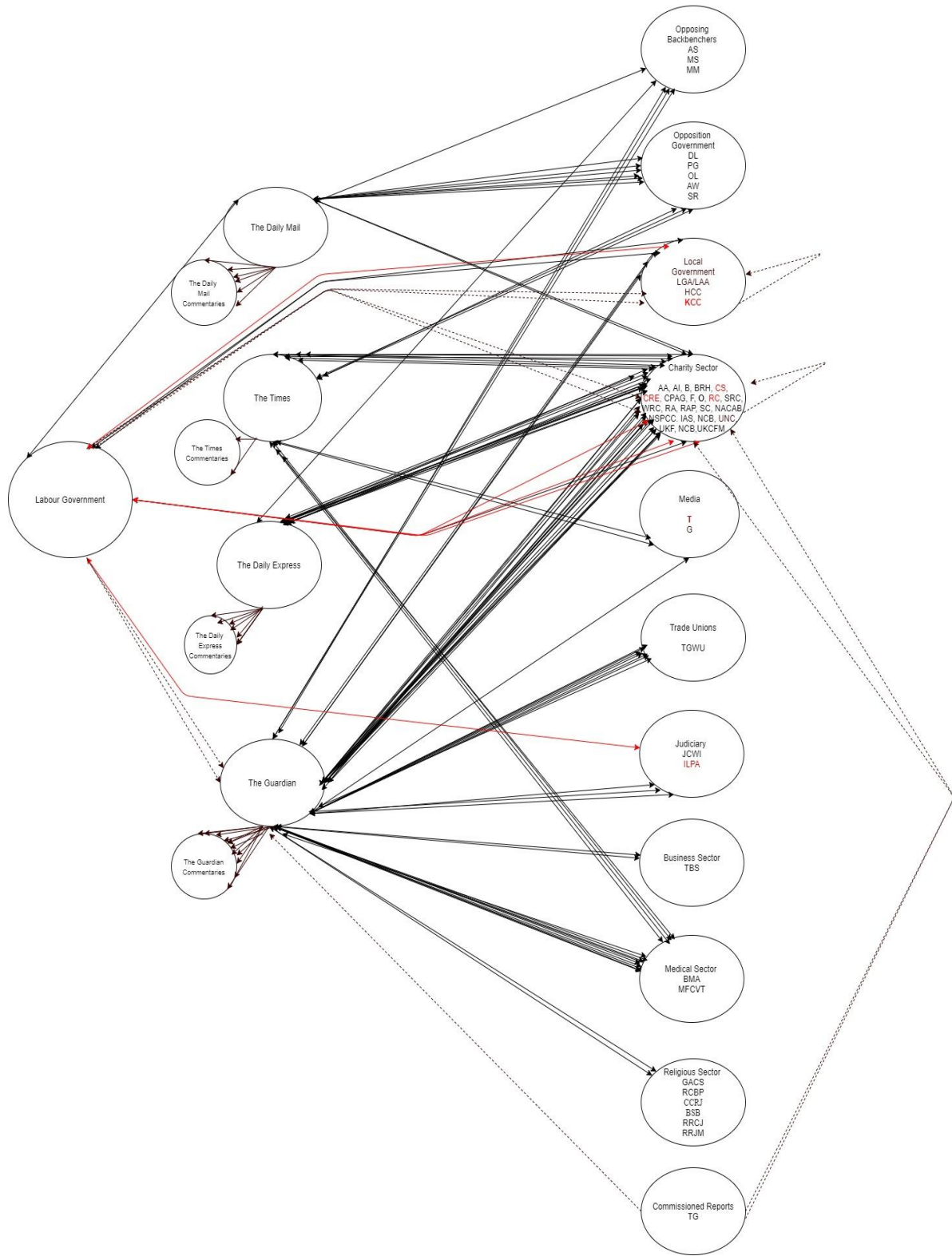


Diagram 7 (full size). Clusters of source citations identified within each correlating theme between the government, sectorial and news media-based stakeholder narratives, relating to the voucher policy initiative.



The main aim in representing the different distinctions between types of edges, as well as the difference in the density of edges between government and sectorial based-stakeholders, is to demonstrate that, in addition to the attribution of their insider/outsider group status being partly dependent on the frequency of direct citation by government stakeholders in parliamentary discourse; it was also likely to be partly dependent on their interaction and interdependency with news media-based stakeholders. This itself is largely dependent on the socioeconomic resources that stakeholders have access to, to successfully engage with news media stakeholders, during the ‘alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm’ stage of the issue’s attention cycle, (Down’s 1972) where some form of focusing event relating to the issue, increases the salience of the issue, and therefore the targeted attention of the news media. This reflects the conduct of policy actors within the cyclical and interconnected policy systems of the real world, reminiscent of Marsh and Smith’s (2000) dialectical model, where exogenic and endogenic variables impact the dialectic relationship between stakeholders, where each affects the other in a continuing iterative process.

From the perspective that the frequency and direct/indirect citation of government and sectorial based-stakeholders by news media-based stakeholders inform - and form - the news media voucher policy narrative, which, in turn, informs government-based stakeholder’s discourse, then Diagram 7 indicates that the role of the news media is more of a contributor than a conduit in shaping the voucher policy discourse and influencing the instigation of its eventual reversal. This is particularly indicative when comparing the number of edges that are news media articles directly citing government or sectorial-based stakeholders, with the fewer number of edges that are solely opinion-piece commentaries with no citations by individual news media stakeholders. To add a more nuanced interpretation Diagram 7 illustrates that the *Guardian* published a significantly greater number of articles with direct and indirect source citations than the other news media stakeholders, as well as a considerably higher number of opinion-piece articles than that of the other news media-based stakeholders; so potentially had *more* of a contributing role in shaping the voucher policy discourse, than the *Daily Mail*, the *Times* and the *Daily Express*. Not only does this shed further light on the primarily

contributing role of the news media in the voucher policy network, but it also emphasises the efficacy of applying the PC&N perspective in understanding the influence of the news media in the development of the voucher policy agenda. But to extend this claim to the asylum and immigration policy agenda in general however, necessitates the examination of a second case study, to corroborate it.

Case Study Two: The Whitelist Policy Initiative

Overview

The whitelist policy initiative was originally introduced in the Conservative Government's 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act. It was subsequently abolished in the Labour Government's 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act, only to be reintroduced, in revised form, in the Labour Government's 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act after facing a prolonged campaign of criticism from a diverse coalition of stakeholders.

The Policy Initiative

The Asylum Designated Countries of Destination and Designated Safe Third Countries Order 1996' (hereafter referred to as either 'Asylum Order/Asylum Order 1996' or, as it was colloquially referenced by government-based, sectorial based and news media-based stakeholders, 'the whitelist policy') was an initiative that was introduced as part of the Conservative Government's 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act. This itself an extension of the Conservative Government's Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993, which was developed in response to a significant spike in asylum applications to the U.K around that time.²⁹ The 1993 Act enabled some asylum claims to be classified as 'without foundation', automatically generating an accelerated appeal. If an

²⁹ from 3,998 in 1988, to 44,840 in 1991, Control of Immigration: Statistics UK 1997, Cm 4033 in *House of Commons Research Paper 99/16* 19 February 1999: 15

independent adjudicator upheld the initial classification, then no further appeal to an Immigration Appeal Tribunal could be brought by the asylum claimant.

However, this accelerated appeals procedure could *only* be used in a limited number of cases, where it was already the Conservative Government's intention to remove an applicant to a safe third country. In practice, this meant that applicants who had left their country of origin and arrived at the country where they had made their asylum claim via another country that was designated 'safe' (and where the asylum application should originally have been lodged) could be fast-tracked through the application and appeals process, by being returned to the intervening country, (subject to certain conditions certified by the Secretary of State³⁰) without any further consideration of their asylum claim.³¹

The 1996 amendments to the 1993 Act³² sought to extend the special appeals procedure and accelerate the entire process by implementing an extra clause ('Clause 1') that sought to overcome limitations on the use of the special appeal procedure through the implementation of the whitelist initiative. This referred to a new procedural practice where if an applicant's originating country was on a list of countries that were considered 'safe states' whose citizens were considered to be, in general, in no serious risk of persecution, then their asylum claim was to be initially presumed as groundless unless proven otherwise. The list originally referred to Bulgaria, Cyprus, Ghana, India, Pakistan, Poland and Romania³³, but an addendum to the Asylum Order stated that if an applicant had been to - or was due to be *sent* to - safe third countries within the EU, as well as

³⁰ conditions which included that the applicant had arrived in the U.K. via port entry and without clearance or that the applicant had been refused refugee status or exceptional leave to remain and therefore had no right of appeal before being deported back to the country of origin (Stevens, 1998, p 213)

³¹ HC Deb. 11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col. 701

³² as set out in Schedule 3 of the Asylum Order 1996 <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1996/49/contents>

³³ <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1996/2671/article/2/made>

Canada, Norway, Switzerland or the United States of America, then their right to appeal would only be exercisable as long as they did not live in the United Kingdom.³⁴

Criticisms of the Policy Initiative and Policy Reversal

Asylum Order 1996 received condemnation from a wide range of government-based and sectorial-based, and news-media-based stakeholders. Collective criticism coalesced around one central implication; that using a whitelist for asylum applications would result in summary decisions being made. The Labour Party, as Opposition, endorsed this criticism, and after coming into power in May 1997 officially condemned the Conservative whitelist initiative in its July 1998 *Fairer, Faster, Firmer*³⁵ White Paper. The Labour Government formally abolished the whitelist initiative with the November passing of the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act.³⁶

However, the whitelist policy continued to operate unofficially within government subsystems until its abolition was essentially reversed when the Labour Government introduced an amended version of it, in the November passing of the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act.³⁷ In its initial revision, the whitelist was extended to include the ten candidate countries³⁸ for the 2004 admission to the European Union. However, the list was extended in April³⁹ and July⁴⁰ of 2003 and again in

³⁴ <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1996/2671/article/3/made>

³⁵ In the public domain, available at

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/264150/4018.pdf - page 40 of 55

³⁶ <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2000/2245/made> - point #2

³⁷ Part 5 Section 94 <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/41/contents>

³⁸ including Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta and Cyprus

³⁹ with the inclusion of Albania, Bulgaria, Jamaica, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania and Serbia-Montenegro

⁴⁰ with the inclusion of Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Ukraine

February⁴¹ and December⁴² of 2005 and July of 2007⁴³ - to comprise a total list of thirty-nine countries to be considered as ‘safe states’ from which all asylum applications to the United Kingdom were to be considered unfounded unless proven otherwise.

The Parliamentary Narrative

Understanding the core structures of the government-based stakeholder discourse on the whitelist policy initiative began with a critical examination of Conservative Parliamentary discourse that referred to Asylum Order 1996. This was an important first step, because the order, known colloquially as the ‘whitelist policy’ was introduced and implemented under a Conservative Government, but reversed under the succeeding Labour Government. It began with a preliminary search within the Hansard database that identified archived transcripts of open Parliamentary debates and discussions between government-based stakeholders that specifically referred to the whitelist policy initiative. Relevant sections of all transcripts referring to the whitelist policy were extracted and duplicated into a streamlined document that was then were uploaded into NVivo.

Using a methodology guided by discourse analysis, keywords and phrases used in the discourse to examine and evaluate the whitelist policy initiative were identified and coded as discourse fragments and labelled accordingly in NVivo, to indicate their relevance to the research. As outlined in the first case study, discourse fragments are small units of language that convey meaning set within the context of a larger discourse

⁴¹ with the **re**-inclusion of India

⁴² with the inclusion of Mongolia, the **re** inclusion of Ghana (in respect of men) and the inclusion of Nigeria (in respect of men)

⁴³ with the inclusion of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gambia (in respect of men), Kenya (in respect of men), Liberia (in respect of men), Malawi (in respect of men), Mali (in respect of men), Mauritius, Montenegro, Peru, Serbia and Sierra Leone (in respect of men). *2002 c. 41 Part 5 Exceptions and limitations Section 94*, Retrieved from: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/41/section/94#section-94-4-k>

- meaning that may signal a change of topic, emphasise a key point, or point out a comparison or contrast, relating to the topic of the discourse.

In the context of this research investigation, discourse fragments were identified as including word groups, rhetorical devices, modal verbs and evidentialities active within it. Therefore, to gain a more in-depth understanding of the language used within the Conservative government-based stakeholder discourse on the whitelist policy, these fragments were examined more closely to identify patterns and themes within them. These were subsequently categorised as separate discourse strands, which indicated the central themes and concepts that emerged from the discourse fragments (listed in Table 11 in descending order of frequency and detailed at length in Appendix D).

Table 11: Emergent themes in Conservative Party discourse relating to the aims and objectives within the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996

Discourse Strands	<i>f.</i> of references
the application of three criteria for the designation of selected countries:	17
- that a very high proportion of claims prove to be unfounded.	9
- that they generate significant numbers of asylum claims in the United Kingdom	6
- that there is in general no serious risk of persecution	
the designation of selected countries	6
the extension of the use of the special accelerated appeal procedure	5
the designation of selected countries under the negative resolution procedure	2

The contents of each discourse strand were then encapsulated within one specific statement that represented each theme that was present within the overall discourse. This process helped examine the way in which different elements of the discourse were connected. In addition, it helped identify underlying causal assumptions, limited definitions and bias used in the articulation of ideas and opinions by Conservative

government- based stakeholders to inform the whitelist policy discourse. This analytical process assisted in the development of a more comprehensive understanding of the *macro* features at work within the discourse in terms of establishing the Conservative Government’s position on the whitelist policy initiative, and a more detailed awareness of the *micro* features of the discourse in regard to identifying the core structures that influenced its construction. These are listed, in descending order of frequency, in Table 12 (detailed at length in Appendix J).

Table 12: Core structures in Conservative Party discourse relating to the aims and objectives within the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996

Specific Statements	f. of references
There is a need for fair and firm, but effective immigration control is necessary to maintain good race relations	9
The assumption that a relatively <i>general</i> assessment of a country for potential selection for designation, is adequate.	6
The designated whitelist procedure / accelerated appeal procedure is in line with Britain’s international legal obligations	5
The designation of selected countries will be by order under the negative resolution procedure.	2

In line with the principles of content analysis, the data generated in the core structures of the Conservative discourse on the whitelist policy was then examined to identify what syntax and semantics, (namely word groups, rhetorical devices, modal verbs and evidentialities) were used in the phraseology of the context that they were used. The results of this analysis were then condensed into separate discourse strands, which were each reinterpreted as specific statements that represented each of the core structures of the text. Recurring patterns and trends identified in the phraseology of the keywords and phrases that featured most prominently in the data suggested a rigorous and robust perspective in addressing growing concerns about the number of asylum seekers entering the U.K and the need to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the asylum system that prompted the development of the whitelist policy initiative in responding to it; encapsulated by the frequent use of “firm, but fair” in the discourse. However, there was a notable trend toward regulatory language in the frequent use of words and phrases such

as ‘control’, ‘risk’ and ‘serious’ that suggested an underlying elitist approach to the formulation of the whitelist policy that asserted a centralised, administrative control in the operationalisation of it (detailed in descending order of frequency, in Figure H).

Figure H: Recurring patterns and trends identified in the phraseology of the keywords and phrases that featured most prominently in the core structures of Conservative Party discourse to the whitelist policy parliamentary discourse

Prominent keywords	f. of occurrence	Prominent phrases	f. of occurrence
immigration	9	fair immigration	6
firm	9	race relations	5
fair	9	immigration controls	5
relations	6	serious risk	4
race	6	relations	4
not	6	good race	4
good	6	and firm	4
risk	5	and fair	4
of	5	firm	4
controls	5	the negative	3
serious	4	risk	3
control	4	resolution procedure	3
resolution	3	negative resolution	3
procedure	3	resolution control	3
negative	3	are essential	3
general	3	are serious	3
essential	3		
commitment	3		

Having a thorough understanding of the underlying biases and causal beliefs in the central elements of the Conservative discourse creates a basis for comparing Labour's initial stance in relation to it. To determine the Labour Party's initial stance on the whitelist policy initiative necessitated a second examination of the Hansard transcripts to identify Labour, Liberal Democrat, Independent, Lords Spiritual and Crossbencher stakeholders' contributions to the debate. Although the focus of this stage was on the input of Labour-based stakeholders, Liberal Democrat, Independent, Lords Spiritual and Crossbencher contributions were included in the analysis because they all shared mutual questions and concerns relating to the whitelist policy. Furthermore, individual Labour Party stakeholders referred to and responded to their contribution at multiple points within the discourse, so to omit their input would result in the partial loss of context. Relevant discourse was extracted and added to a consolidated document that contained the

collective discourse of all *non*-Conservative policy actors who contributed to the debates and subsequently uploaded into NVivo.

Adopting the same methodology as the discourse analysis of Conservative government-based stakeholders, keywords and phrases used in the Labour and affiliated stakeholder discourse was coded into discourse fragments and labelled accordingly in NVivo. The data coded under the discourse fragments was examined more closely to identify what syntax and semantics (word groups, rhetorical devices etc.) were used within the discourse, which were then classified into separate discourse strands. These strands indicated what key themes were present within the discourse (listed in Table 13 in descending order of frequency and detailed at length in Appendix K).

Table 13: Emergent themes in discourse relating to the collective Labour Liberal Democrat, Independent, Lords Spiritual and Crossbencher initial position on the whitelist policy initiative.

Discourse Strands	<i>f.</i> of references	# of sources
Restrictions on the right to appeal.	46	7
Race relations vs. playing the race card.	36	4
Contradictions in Conservative <i>whitelist</i> aims and objectives	27	5
Disputed country designation procedures: negative/affirmative resolution procedures	26	5
The ambiguity of the term “ <i>in general</i> no fear of persecution”	24	5
Conflict with Britain’s international legal obligations	16	6
Fair and firm immigration control are necessary to maintain good race relations	6	2

This process helped examine how different elements of the discourse were connected. In addition, it helped identify underlying causal assumptions, limited definitions and bias used in the articulation of ideas and opinions by Labour-based stakeholders to inform the whitelist policy discourse. This analytical process assisted in the development of a more comprehensive understanding of the *macro* features at work

within the discourse in terms of establishing the Labour, in Opposition position on the whitelist policy initiative, and a more detailed awareness of the *micro-features* of the discourse regarding identifying the core structures that influenced its construction (summarised in Table 14 and detailed at length in Appendix L)

Table 14: Core structures in the discourse relating to the collective Labour Liberal Democrat, Independent, Lords Spiritual and Crossbencher initial position on the whitelist policy initiative.

Specific Statements	f. of references
Restriction of appeal rights in Asylum Order 1996 will potentially harm justice and credibility of asylum appeals.	46
Asylum Order 1996 will harm race relations and result in racial discrimination.	36
Asylum Order 1996 presumption that claims from designated countries are not well-founded, conflicts with Britain's obligation to consider each asylum application individually.	27
Scrutiny for the designation of countries to the whitelist was inadequate, leading to the potential of biased, poorly drafted legislation.	26
Asylum Order 1996 had imprecise designation procedures with a tendency to generalization; designation should be based on individual factors.	24
Asylum Order 1996 violated international law by hindering UK's consideration of each asylum case and creating a disadvantageous burden of proof for applicants from designated countries.	16
Asylum Order 1996 failed to balance fairness and firmness in immigration control, leading to harsh rules that treated applicants differently based on the whitelist designation	6

In accordance with the principles of content analysis, the data generated in the core structures of the Conservative discourse on the whitelist policy was examined more closely to identify what syntax and semantics (word groups, rhetorical devices, modal verbs etc.) were used in the phraseology of their context. This analysis signalled where linguistic and semantic devices were utilised in the discourse, indicating Labour's initial position on the whitelist policy, as well as the presence of causal assumptions, limited definitions, and bias operating within it.

Semantic devices employed by Labour policy actors in response to the Conservative Government's justification for the introduction and implementation of the whitelist policy, reflects an interpretation of Asylum Order 1996 as primarily being *damaging*, (f.17) *dangerous* (f.13) *conflictive* (f.12) and *unjust* (f.11). Additional,

ancillary interpretations of the policy initiative used in the discourse provide evidence of a fundamentally negative body of bias toward the whitelist policy initiative. Namely:

complex, complicated, defective, defying common sense, degrading, designed to obfuscate and manipulate, destructive, diminished, dishonest, elusive, emasculated, enforced, enabling, expensive, extraordinary, guilty-until-proven-innocent, inaccurate, inadequate, inappropriate, inconsistent, ineffective, inefficient, inhuman, immoral, imprecise, improper, insufficient, illogical, illegitimate, ludicrous, miserable, misjudged, nasty, neither right nor expedient, nonsensical, poisonous, prejudiced, prescriptive, provocative, punitive, racist, ridiculous, self-defeating, tawdry, tendency to generalise, time-consuming, terrible, tragic, undesirable, unreasonable, unequitable, unfair, unsatisfactory, wrong.

In addition, the highly frequent use of the modal verbs *will* (f.124) *should* (f.50) and *would* (f.45) used in the discourse contrast sharply with the substantially lower frequency of the less compelling *could* (f.26), *can* (f.25), *may* (f.25), *shall* (f.15) and *might* (f.12). One exception however, *must* (f.17), whilst aligned with *will* in terms of strength of modality (i.e. the implied level of feeling behind a speaker or writers' expression of opinion toward something) and near proximity to the strength of modality in *should* and *would*, nonetheless occurs infrequently enough within the discourse, to render its comparison to *will*, *should* and *would* as too limited to be considered relevant to the point being made. However, in line with the recurrent use of negative semantic devices, the high frequency of modal phrasal verbs used within the discourse that include:

will *be cruel and inhumane, -be defeated, -be denied, -be enormously costly, -be imposed, -be neither firm, nor fair, -be of no benefit, -be repealed, -be repeated, -be the farce of an appeal, -be threatened with, -be unworkable, -bear hardest on, -cause untold damage, -clog the fast track, -clog the system, -create far more abuse than it prevents, -damage the United Kingdom's reputation, -damage, -deny justice, -do enormous damage, -do nothing to improve, -do virtually nothing to reduce delay, -erode relations, -greatly damage, -have no benefit, -increase delays and injustice, -inevitably drag, -inevitably have consequences, -lead to assumption, -lead to discrimination, -lead to obvious discrimination, mean more wrong decisions, -not have the proper scrutiny, -not improve, -not reduce, -not save time or money,*

-not work, -oppose, -promote an atmosphere of, prove to be a growing problem, -put Britain in breach, -result in the widespread destitution, -slow the system, -undermine, will produce injustice,

***should be** a limitation on, - an opportunity for, - an option of consideration, - added, - assessed, -applied to, -brought to bear, -considered, -denied, -dealt with, -held, -inserted within, -on the basis of, -taken into account, -taken off, -subject to; -debate, -have the power to, -not, -pursue*

***would** -abolish, -allow, -authorize, -be a mistake, be defeated, -be in breach, -be inaccurate, -be intentionally racist, -be more appropriate, -be no difference, -be no help, -be no need, -be no point, -be one way, -be preferable, -be simpler, -be taken off, -be the best way, -be the point, be wise to avoid, -be wrong, -cancel out, -damage, -discriminate against, -do better to, -find great difficulty in, -have a much more, -have been better, -have no effect, -have removed, -help to ensure, -indicate, -insert, -like to improve, -much prefer, -not be the right way, -not limit, -not regard, -not wish, -not necessarily, -no longer apply, -not be allowed, -not be appropriate, -not be helpful, -not have been wise, -not help, -not tolerate, -otherwise be, -rule out, -question, -simplify, -solve the problem, -undoubtedly refuse,*

indicate a highly prescriptive element to the Labour Party's original response to Asylum Order 1996 and a corresponding approach in the discourse when recommending amendments to the proposed legislation. This is consistent with the fundamentally negative body of bias toward the whitelist policy initiative, as evidenced by the significant use of adverse semantic devices in the discourse, and the highly prescriptive approach that the Labour Party took when initially responding to, and recommended amendments for, the proposed Asylum Order 1996 legislation, as demonstrated by the highly frequent use of instructional modal verbs, such as *will*, *should* and *would*.

Furthermore, although the following evidentialities identified within the discourse, *absolutely* (f.1), *categorically* (f.1) *intrinsically* (f.1) *greatly* (f.1) *really* (f.1) *strongly* (f.2) and *utterly* (f.1) do not feature frequently enough to be considered particularly significant to the analysis, their collective effect, when taken in conjunction with the considerably higher frequency of *clearly* (f.10), *surely* (f.7), *certainly* (f.6), *of course*, (f.5), *inevitably* (f.5) and *likely* (f.4.), they contribute considerably to establishing

the Labour Party's initial position regarding the Conservative Governments' justification for the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996.

As evidenced in Figure I the frequent use of these linguistic devices that are employed to suggest truth and factuality in support of a specific perspective, were identified across multiple political platforms in several separate discourses - and indicates that policy actors with separate agendas shared a specific perspective that served to reinforce Labour's initial position; Asylum Order 1996 was an improper, ill thought out, inefficient, infringing, discriminating, dangerously ambiguous piece of draft legislation.

Figure I: Frequency and diversity in use of 'evidentiality' linguistic devices suggesting that policy actors with separate agendas but similar aims and objectives, argued from a shared perspective in relation to the Labour Party's initial position on Asylum Order 1996.

*...The word "conclusive"... **clearly** indicates a mistaken requirement of the standards of burden of proof⁴⁴*

*...**Clearly**, the procedures were improper⁴⁵*

*...**Clearly**, somebody had had second thoughts⁴⁶*

*...**Clearly** the Immigration Appeal Tribunal has a significant effect⁴⁷*

*...**Surely** the solution is for the Home Office to address its own inefficiency⁴⁸*

*...**Surely**, two different procedures discriminating by country of origin must risk being interpreted as infringing Article 3 of the UN convention⁴⁹*

*...**Surely** the answer is to be reasonably humane and try to be sensible about the legislation ⁵⁰*

*...The rights of appeal for safe third-country cases are so elusive that they will **almost certainly** put Britain in breach of its international obligations⁵¹*

*...Then we have correctly identified the difference between us because **I certainly take the view** that it should be the decision of the applicant for the reasons that I have outlined⁵²*

*...**of course we will oppose the Bill**. If he cares to listen, he will find out why. We would much prefer the Bill to be examined on an all-party basis by a Special Standing Committee⁵³*

⁴⁴ HC Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1054

⁴⁵ HL Deb.30 Apr.1996 Vol 571. Col.1522

⁴⁶ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol 571 Col. 1511

⁴⁷ HC Deb.23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1080

⁴⁸ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.699-775

⁴⁹ HL Deb.23 Apr.1996 Vol. 571 Col.1080

⁵⁰ HL Deb.30 Apr.1996 Vol 571. Col.1531

⁵¹ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.702

⁵² HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol 571. Col.1515

⁵³ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.713

...the provisions of this Bill and of related legislation will inevitably affect tens of thousands of British nationals purely on the basis that they are a different colour⁵⁴

...This Bill, and the debates centering on it, which will inevitably drag on into next year, can only poison the atmosphere around race relations.⁵⁵

...as to the likely effect of a Bill about whose provisions I was already experiencing a sinking feeling⁵⁶

...even on a cursory reading this bill is poorly drafted, ambiguous, uncertain in its ambit and draconian

...Almost by definition, they are likely to be the most genuine of refugees when they fall short of the provisions of the subsections of Clause 1.⁵⁷

To take the analysis further, to determine Labour's *official* position on the whitelist policy, necessitated a second examination of Hansard transcripts from Labour, as Opposition, as well Liberal Democrat, Independent, Lords Spiritual and Crossbencher stakeholders' contributions to parliamentary debates. Using discourse analysis as a methodological guide, keywords and phrases identified in the discourse were coded into discourse fragments. The data coded under the discourse fragments was examined more closely to identify the syntax and semantics (word groups, rhetorical devices, modal verbs and evidentialities) were used within the discourse, which were then classified into separate discourse strands. These strands were condensed into a single sentence that represented the main themes of the discourse (Table 15 listed in descending order of frequency and perceived level of prominence; and detailed at length in Appendix M) that pointed toward Labour's official position on the whitelist policy initiative: that the Labour Party was unanimously opposed to it, would vote against it, and would not operate it, if in government (placed in context, in Figure J).

Table 15: Core structures in the discourse relating to the collective Labour Liberal Democrat, Independent, Lords Spiritual and Crossbencher official position on the whitelist policy initiative.

Specific Statements	<i>f.</i> of references
Opposition to the white list policy exists due to fundamental flaws in its principle and practice.	33
Sections 1 and 2 of the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act are repealed, ending the White List initiative, however the Secretary of State can order removal if they deem	13

⁵⁴ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.765

⁵⁵ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.766

⁵⁶ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.732

⁵⁷ HC Deb. 23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1052

there is no risk of persecution, in the country of removal, unless appeal overturns the decision.	
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Figure J: Linguistic signposts in parliamentary discourse referring to how the next Labour Government would respond to the Incumbent Conservative Government whitelist initiative: Asylum and Immigration Bill 1996.

... We have fundamental objections to the principle and practice of the so-called white list of safe countries—and would not operate it in government—because, under the 1951 United Nations convention on refugees, it is required that each application should be considered on its merits, yet the so-called white list permits the Secretary of State to designate countries in which it appears to him that, in general, there is no serious risk of persecution. The result is that all applications that arise from citizens or residents of designated countries will summarily be refused by the Secretary of State in a peremptory way...⁵⁸

...the Gentleman's point on the need to increase and improve efficiency, if a Labour Government do as badly administratively in dealing with asylum applications as the present Government have done, we shall have failed...⁵⁹

We oppose the order, and we shall vote against it. Anyone who was in any doubt about the merits of the order need only have listened to the disingenuous sophistry that we heard from the Minister of State a moment ago.⁶⁰

... We oppose the principle behind the white list and, in government, we shall not operate it... The white list's only purpose is to put applicants from the designated countries at a disadvantage. Its operation, in our judgment, conflicts with the spirit of our international obligations⁶¹

...Let me make it absolutely clear that we do not accept the principle of a white list. We believe that it would be far more trouble than it was worth in practical terms. We also consider it unprincipled and we shall not operate it.⁶²

...I was delighted that my hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn (Mr. Straw) made it clear that the next Labour Government would abolish the designated list—the white list—and would deal with all asylum claims properly and promptly⁶³

Given the aggregate discourse under analysis, the frequency of modal verbs (*f:9*) used to state that Labour policy actors objected to the introduction and implementation of the whitelist initiative, is indicative of the strength of their assertion against it (*would not*

⁵⁸ HC Deb.15 Jul. 1996 Vol 281 Col. 804

⁵⁹ HC Deb.15 Jul.1996 Vol 281 Col. 804-805

⁶⁰ HC Deb.15 Oct. 1996 Vol 282 Col. 697

⁶¹ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol 282 Col. 698

⁶² HC Deb.15 Jul. 1996 Vol 281 Col. 809

⁶³ HC Deb. 15 Oct. 1996 Vol 282 Col. 713

operate (f.1); *shall not* operate (f.2)). Adjectives, evidentialities and rhetorical devices used to emotively express objections to the white list policy, cumulatively indicate that the primary reason behind Labour-based government stakeholder objections to it, was because the principle behind it and practice of it was imperious, illogical and fundamentally immoral:

“citizens or residents of designated countries will summarily be refused by the Secretary of State in a peremptory way”... “the disingenuous sophistry that we heard from the Minister of State...” “...consider it unprincipled”, “far more trouble than it was worth”)

Arguably, the Labour Party, while serving as the opposition, had clearly declared its intention to abolish the whitelist policy if it were to attain political power. To assess the coherence and precision of the Labour Party's stance on the issue and evaluate the consistency of its immigration policy proposals following its victory in the 1997 General Election, a critical examination was performed on the July 1998 White Paper. Utilising content analysis as a methodological approach, the White Paper was examined to identify keywords and phrases in the text that related to the whitelist policy. These were coded into discourse fragments and labelled accordingly in NVivo. The data coded under each fragment was then examined more closely to identify what syntax and semantics, (i.e., word groups, rhetorical devices, modal verbs and evidentialities as detailed in the research design) were used in the phraseology of the context that they were used. The results of this analysis were then condensed into separate discourse strands, which were each reinterpreted as specific statements that represented each of the core structures of the text.

However, just one central core structure emerged from the July 1998 White Paper text relating to the whitelist policy, which contrasted significantly from those in the 1996 Parliamentary discourse. Mainly that, “the white List will be abolished, but will continue to be operated, subject to the due scrutiny of individual cases being manifestly unfound and being put into an accelerated appeal procedure”. In other words, whilst in theory Labour remained opposed to the whitelist policy, in reality, this would be impractical and

unrealistic, and so it would continue to operate, albeit with revised procedures. Put more simply, it was an amendment, rather than an abolition. The frequency of modal verbs (*f.9*) used to articulate Labour's justification for continuing with the whitelist policy in practice, if not in principle, is indicative of the strength of their assertion for it, or for the strength of their motivation to persuade other stakeholders of the need for it (i.e., *would be fairer* (*f.1*); *would enable* (*f.1*); *would be replaced* (*f.1*); *should be replaced* (*f.1*); ...*will be abolished* (*f.1*); *will continue* (*f.1*). Adjectives, evidentialities and rhetorical devices used to justify the continued operationalisation of the whitelist policy, suggest that stakeholders initial objections to it were arguably *unfounded*, and based on misperception's of unfairness and so it would continue on in the background, whilst in the meantime the Government was committed and determined to create a new, improved and more streamlined system for asylum application procedures (detailed at length in Appendix N, and placed in context in Figure K).

Figure K: Key words and phrases identified in the July 1998 *Fairer, Faster, Firmer*, White Paper, specifying how the next Labour Government would remove and replace the white list policy initiative.

...“the separate procedure for certain listed countries (the "White List") **will be abolished**, but manifestly unfounded cases will **continue** to be put into an accelerated appeal procedure, whatever their country of origin.”

Fairer, Faster, Firmer, White Paper 1998,
Summary of Proposals: *Asylum*, Point 8.

“**But we are determined to simplify procedures** where possible and consider additional safeguards in some areas. Such **changes will make the system more efficient and make it fairer**. For example: **the current "White List" accelerated appeals procedure is an unsatisfactory way of dealing with unfounded asylum applications from nationals of certain countries. It needs to be replaced as part of a comprehensive overhaul of the asylum and appeals process**; and rather than tackle the complexities of the current system of immigration appeals, the previous Government decided to deny any right of appeal to visitors refused a visa. We believe that was wrong. A streamlined right of appeal would be fairer and would enable many citizens of this country to challenge decisions which prevent their relatives visiting them for important family and other occasions”.

Fairer, Faster, Firmer, White Paper 1998,
Chapter 3: Failings of the Current System, *Complex Procedures* Paragraph 3.9

“In reviewing asylum law and procedures, the Government is committed to ensuring that the

necessary application of firm measures does not lead to, or rely on, actual or perceived unfairness. **The Government considers that the so-called "White List" procedure**, whereby most applications from certain listed countries are put into an accelerated appeal process on the basis of a country-wide assessment rather than the circumstances of the individual case, **is an unsatisfactory feature of the present system and should be replaced as part of the wider overhaul of appeals in asylum cases."**

Fairer, Faster, Firmer, White Paper 1998,
Chapter 9: Identifying Those in Need: *Fairer Procedures*, Paragraph 9.9

"The Government is satisfied that no unfairness has resulted from the operation of the White List power in practice, since the vast majority of applications from the countries concerned are unfounded and where special considerations arise these can be picked up through the individual scrutiny given by a caseworker or adjudicator when considering the question of certification. **The Government is conscious, however, that there is a perception of unfairness in the use of a country-wide approach to designation.** It considers that a better approach would be to **replace the White List with arrangements to certify appropriate cases individually using the case-specific provisions for accelerated appeals in the current legislation**, supported by the arrangements for improved and more-discriminating country assessments which the Government has introduced. **Until the new appeals arrangements are implemented, the Government intends to continue to operate the White List** subject to due scrutiny of the circumstances of individual cases and the continuing review of conditions in the countries of origin of asylum seekers.

"Fairer, Faster, Firmer, White Paper 1998,
Chapter 9: Identifying Those in Need: *Fairer Procedures*, Paragraph 9.10

The 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act marked the official repeal of the whitelist policy. The usage of key terms and phrases in the legislation to articulate this, differ in terms of being devoid of any rhetorical devices or evidentialities that suggest any underlying pursuit of legitimation. However, the usage of key terms and phrases in the legislation did remain consistent with the arguably practical approach inferred in the 1998 White Paper. This implies that prior claims that the Labour Party had failed to articulate its immigration policy objectives with clarity may be erroneous, as the Labour Government matured and gained a greater degree of stability and self-assurance in its administration (placed in context, in Figure L).

Figure L: Keywords and phrases, outlined in bold, in government legislation, specifying what specific syntax was used by the Labour Party to formally remove and replace the white list policy initiative in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act.

Paragraph 9 applies to Refugee Convention cases and claims under the ECHR. It sets out the circumstances under which an asylum or human rights claim may or may not be certified. The effect of certification by the Secretary of State is to permit a right of appeal to an adjudicator only, subject to the adjudicator's agreement that the certificate was properly made. The paragraph sets out the circumstances in which a claim may be certified. These include where a claim was made after the appellant was refused leave to enter, recommended for deportation, notified of a decision to deport or removal, or if it is manifestly unfounded, fraudulent or vexatious. A certificate may not be made if evidence suggests there is a reasonable likelihood that the appellant has been tortured in the country to which he is to be sent. **A further effect of the new certification procedures in this Act, and the repeal of section 2 of the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996 by Schedule 16, is to abolish the so-called "White List".**

Immigration and Asylum Act 1999
*Explanatory Notes*⁶⁴

Minor and consequential amendments, transitional provisions and repeals, commencement and extent.

(1) Schedule 14 makes minor and consequential amendments.

(2) Schedule 15 contains transitional provisions and savings.

(3) The enactments set out in Schedule 16 are repealed

Immigration and Asylum Act 1999
Part X: Miscellaneous and Supplemental, Point 169.

1996 c. 49 The Asylum and Immigration Act 1996 **Section 1, 2**, 3,4,7,9,10,11

Immigration and Asylum Act 1999
Schedule 16.

(1) For paragraph 5 of Schedule 2 to the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993 ("the 1993 Act") there shall be

substituted the following paragraph-

"5.-(1) **This paragraph applies to an appeal by a person** on any of the grounds mentioned in subsections (1) to (4) of section 8 of this Act **if the Secretary of State has certified that, in his opinion, the person's claim** on the ground that it would be contrary to the United Kingdom's obligations under the Convention for him to be removed from, or be required to leave, the United Kingdom **is one to which-**

1. **sub-paragraph (2), (3) or (4) below applies;** and
2. sub-paragraph (5) below does not apply.

⁶⁴ Retrieved from <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1999/33/notes>

(2). **This sub-paragraph applies to a claim if the country or territory to which the appellant is to be sent is designated in an order made by the Secretary of State by statutory instrument as a country or territory in which it appears to him that there is in general no serious risk of persecution.**

Asylum and Immigration Act 1996

Section 1: *Extension of Special Appeals Procedures* 1993. c23.

2. (1) **Nothing** in section 6 of the 1993 Act (protection of claimants from deportation etc.) **shall prevent a person who has made a claim from being removed from the United Kingdom if -**

(a) the Secretary of State has certified, that, in his opinion, the conditions mentioned in subsection (2) below are fulfilled:

(b) **the certificate has not been set aside on an appeal under section 3 below;** and

(c) except in the case that a person who is to be sent to a country or territory to which subsection (3) below applies, the time for giving notice of such an appeal has ended

2.-(2) The conditions are

(a) that the person is no a national or a citizen of the country or territory to which he to be sent;

(b) that his life and liberty would not be threatened in that country or territory by reason of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion; and

(c) that the government of that country or territory would not send him to another country or territory otherwise than in accordance with the Convention

(3) This subsection applies to any country or territory which is, or forms part of a member State, or is designated in an order made by the Secretary of State by statutory instrument.

Asylum and Immigration Act 1996

Section 2: *Removal Etc. of Asylum Claimant to Safe Third Countries*

Upon establishment of the Labour Party's initial stance as opposition and subsequent official stance as a governing entity in regard to the whitelist policy initiative, and a thorough comprehension of the core structures in the parliamentary discourse and subsequent legislation on the subject, the subsequent course of action was to construct a database of stakeholders who had contributed to the discourse. Doing so would answer two of the research questions conceptualised at the beginning of the investigation: who were the stakeholders involved in the policy communities and networks of the whitelist policy case study and what was the strength of their relationships between them?

The Sectorial Narrative

This began with a preliminary search within the Hansard database that identified archived transcripts of open Parliamentary debates and discussions between government-based stakeholders that specifically referred to the whitelist policy initiative. Relevant sections of all transcripts referring to the whitelist policy were extracted and duplicated into a streamlined document uploaded into NVivo. An initial inventory of what government-based and sectorial-based stakeholders contributed to each Parliamentary session, the contributors of which were also identified for the political party affiliation.

As with the first case study, the times when one stakeholder cited another in the discourse were noted. Further research was conducted on both stakeholders to determine if there were any prior connections between them by utilising publicly accessible information. For government-based stakeholders, this involved accessing Hansard Peer and MP databases, official websites of parliamentarians, Wikipedia biographies, and LinkedIn profiles to identify any relevant memberships, affiliations, or patronages held during the study period. For sectorial-based stakeholders, the research reviewed the "About Us" section of affiliated official websites for information on partnerships, sponsorships, and trustees. It also involved examining lists of endorsing organisations and agencies on self-published documents related to the case study.

The results of this inventory of policy actors identified as active in the whitelist policy communities and networks are in Table 13, which due to its considerable size, is labelled under Appendix O. But in short, the data within Table 13 details which government-based stakeholders referenced what sectorial-based stakeholders. In addition, where asterisks occur in the 'Sources Cited' column, it signals instances when these citations were direct. As mentioned in the first case study, whether the citation was direct or indirect influences the evaluation of the power relationships between stakeholders. But to clarify, one stakeholder directly citing another was believed to indicate that the former valued the latter's perspective as significant, whether it was to support the point they were trying to make or contradict that of a third party. An indirect

citation suggests that the latter's perspective is still important but perhaps less so. This is demonstrated in more detail in Diagrams 8 and 9, however, before this, it's important to consider the insight provided in Tables 14 and 15.

Condensing some of the data in Table 13, Table 14 demonstrates the broad cross-section of sectorial-based stakeholders cited in the Parliamentary discourse, the frequency in which they were cited, and the number of different government stakeholders that cited them. The intermittent use of asterisks in Table 14 indicates which sectorial-based stakeholders were directly cited and how many times this occurred (for example, *The Times* was cited six times by three separate government-based stakeholders. Five of these citations were used, using direct speech, and one was cited, in direct speech). The absence of asterisks indicates those cited stakeholders that were cited indirectly, but the table still details how many times they were indirectly referred to during Parliamentary discourse. The purpose of presenting the data from Table 13 into Table 14 is to indicate the proliferation of policy communities and networks that operate across many societal sectors in terms of how stakeholders from different sectors are perceived to be active within the whitelist policy communities and networks - from the point of view of government-based stakeholders.

Table 14: Summary list of the sectorial source of each non-government stakeholder cited by government stakeholders in the Parliamentary discourse relating to the voucher policy initiative, listed in descending order of frequency.

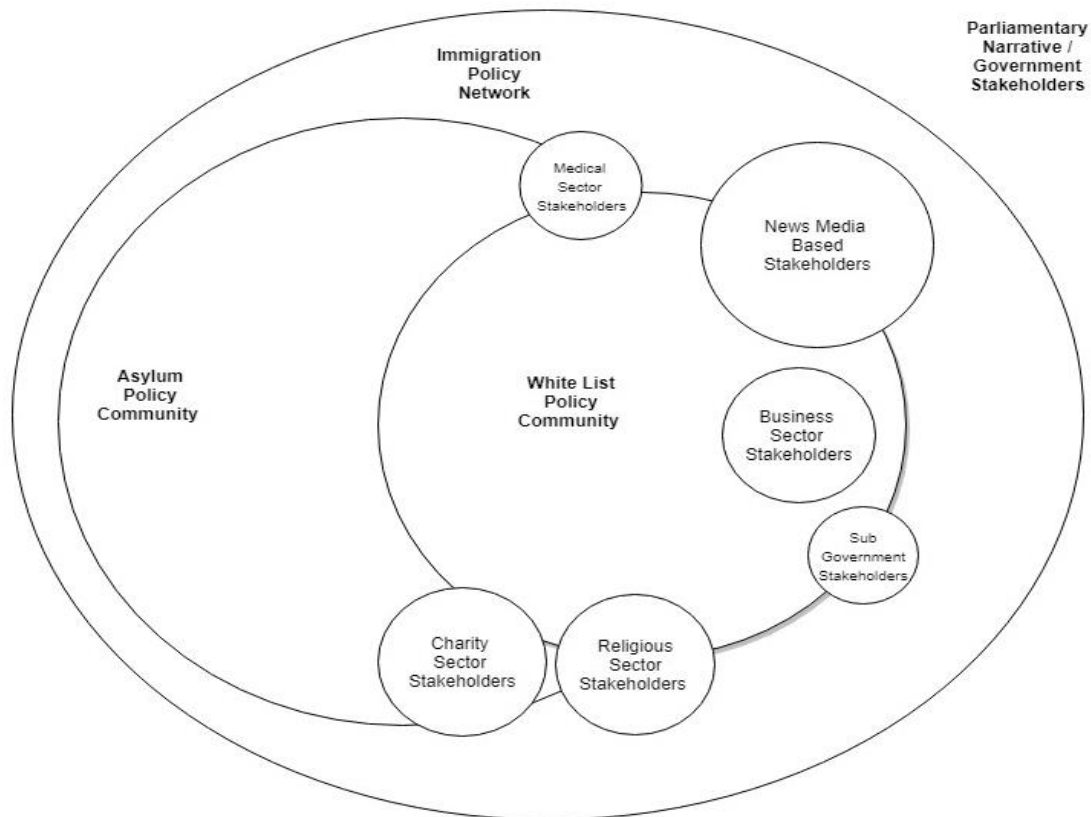
Referenced Sources	<i>f.</i> of references	# of sources
<u>NEWS MEDIA DISCOURSE</u>		
The Times *****	6	3
The Daily Telegraph*	3	2
The Economist *	2	2
The Financial Times **	2	1
The Guardian*	1	1
The Observer*	1	1

Table 14: cont

Referenced Sources	<i>f.</i> of references	# of sources
CHARITY SECTOR DISCOURSE		
Amnesty International*	5	3
Refugee Council	3	3
Bristol Racial Equality Council	2	1
Refugee Action	1	1
Bristol West Indian Parents Association	1	1
RELIGIOUS SECTOR DISCOURSE		
Christian Aid	1	1
Churches Commission for Racial Justice *	1	1
Greater Bristol Ecumenical Council	1	1
Methodist Church	1	1
Church of England	1	1
The Roman Catholic Bishop of Clifton	1	1
Jubilee Campaign	1	1
JUDICIARY DISCOURSE		
Immigration Appellate Authority	4	1
MEDICAL SECTOR DISCOURSE		
Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture*	1	1
British Medical Association	1	1
Keyboard Project	1	1
BUSINESS SECTOR DISCOURSE		
Confederation of British Industry	1	1
British Chambers of Commerce	1	1
Institute of Directors	1	1

Diagram 8 represents this information in a visual format and in doing so, serves multiple functions. It first attests to policy communities and networks surrounding the whitelist policy initiative. It also populates the whitelist policy networks with stakeholders from different sectors identified as active within them and illustrates the nature of the power dynamics between them.

Diagram 8: Representation of the existence of the policy communities active within the immigration policy network, as well as sectorial stakeholder membership of the whitelist policy community, as determined by the parliamentary narrative.



The size of the circles in Diagram 8 demonstrates the nature of these dynamics, with the largest circle representing the policy environment that the whitelist policy networks are set within, i.e., the government-based stakeholders interpret it. The outer set of circles showcases the multiplicity of levels operating within and around the whitelist policy network (i.e., the overarching immigration policy network, the asylum policy community that exists within it alongside other immigration-related policy networks, (such as border control and security, employment or spousal sponsorship, naturalisation and citizenship issues) and the specific whitelist policy itself).

As with Diagram 1 in the first case study, the arrangement of the subsequent smaller circles is a modified interpretation of a Venn diagram. Sectorial and government-

based stakeholders overlap with the wider immigration policy network, the asylum policy community and/or the whitelist policy community. This is intended to reflect the multiplicity of levels that stakeholders from a particular sector are perceived to be active within. The decreasing size of each circle corresponds to the perceived credibility, relevance and influence of stakeholders from that sector *en bloc*, to the whitelist policy issue, as determined by the Parliamentary narrative. From a macro perspective, Diagram 8 illustrates the proliferation of policy communities and networks that operate across many societal sectors by demonstrating how stakeholders from different sectors are active within the whitelist policy communities and networks and conceptualises the strength of the interrelationships between them. However, Table 15 and Diagram 9 delves deeper into the analysis by demonstrating the power dynamics between stakeholders *within* sectors rather than across them.

Table 15 distils the data in Table 14 and presents it by listing the cited stakeholders in descending order of frequency, irrespective of how many times the citations were direct. The purpose of doing so was to demonstrate the subtle power dynamics between stakeholders across and within social sectors. For example, Amnesty International and the Refugee Council are cited more frequently in the Parliamentary discourse than other charity-sector stakeholders, such as Asylum Rights Campaign, Refugee Action and the UNHCR. However, Amnesty International is cited more frequently and with direct citation, in contrast to the Refugee Council. The same could be said for the Daily Telegraph and the Economist. Whilst the Times dominates in terms of frequency of citation, the number of sources that cite them and the number of direct citations, the Daily Telegraph is cited slightly more often than the Economist. However, the Economist is cited directly more than the Daily Telegraph is. Whilst this demonstrates the power dynamics between stakeholders across and within social sectors, it also provides more nuanced insight into the possibility of a spectrum of insider group status within one sector.

Table 15: Summary list of non-government stakeholders cited by government stakeholders in the parliamentary discourse relating to the whitelist policy initiative, listed in descending order of frequency. * = use of direct speech in citation.

Referenced Sources	<i>f.</i> of references	# of sources
The Times *****	6	3
Amnesty International *	5	3
Immigration Appellate Authority	4	1
The Refugee Council	3	3
The Daily Telegraph *	3	2
The Economist**	2	2
Bristol Racial Equality Council	2	1
The Financial Times **	2	1
The Observer*	1	1
The Churches Commission for Racial Justice *	1	1
Jubilee Campaign	1	1
Asylum Rights Campaign	1	1
Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture*	1	1
British Medical Association	1	1
Bristol West Indian Parents Association	1	1
Christian Aid	1	1
Church of England	1	1
Greater Bristol Ecumenical Council	1	1
KPMG (Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler (Auditors))	1	1
Keyboard Project	1	1
Methodist Church	1	1
Refugee Action	1	1
The Guardian	1	1
The Industrial Society* (renamed The Work Foundation from 2002)	1	1
The Roman Catholic Bishop of Clifton	1	1
The United Nations High Commission for Refugees	1	1

Diagram 9 represents this idea in a visual format. More specifically, analysing the frequency that sectorial-based stakeholders were cited by their government-based counterparts and the number of government stakeholders that cited them helped determine the attribution of their insider or outsider status. Those stakeholders cited directly and indirectly in Parliamentary discourse were assigned ‘core insider’ group status, whereas those cited indirectly were assigned with insider’ group status. Those not cited were considered outsider groups.

Diagram 9: Representation of the membership of policy actors active within the whitelist policy community and their attributed insider/outsider status, as determined in parliamentary discourse.

----- = *attributed insider group status*
 - - - = *attributed outsider group status*

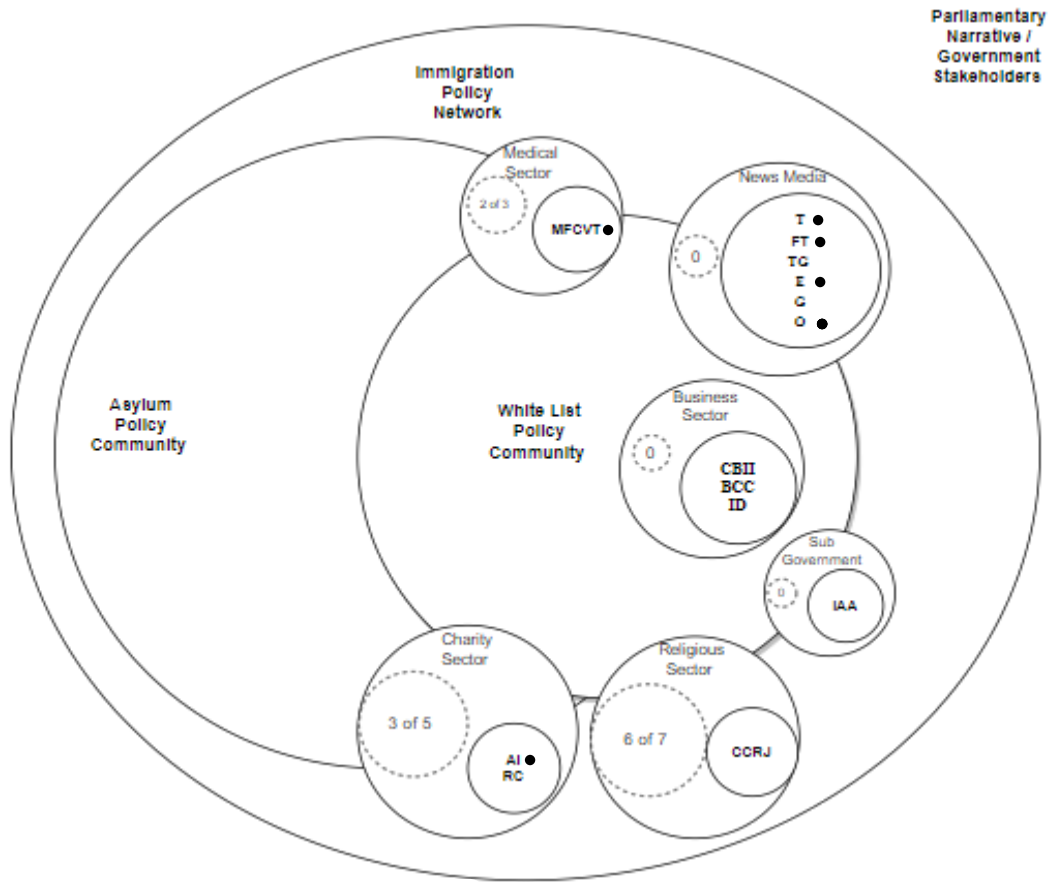
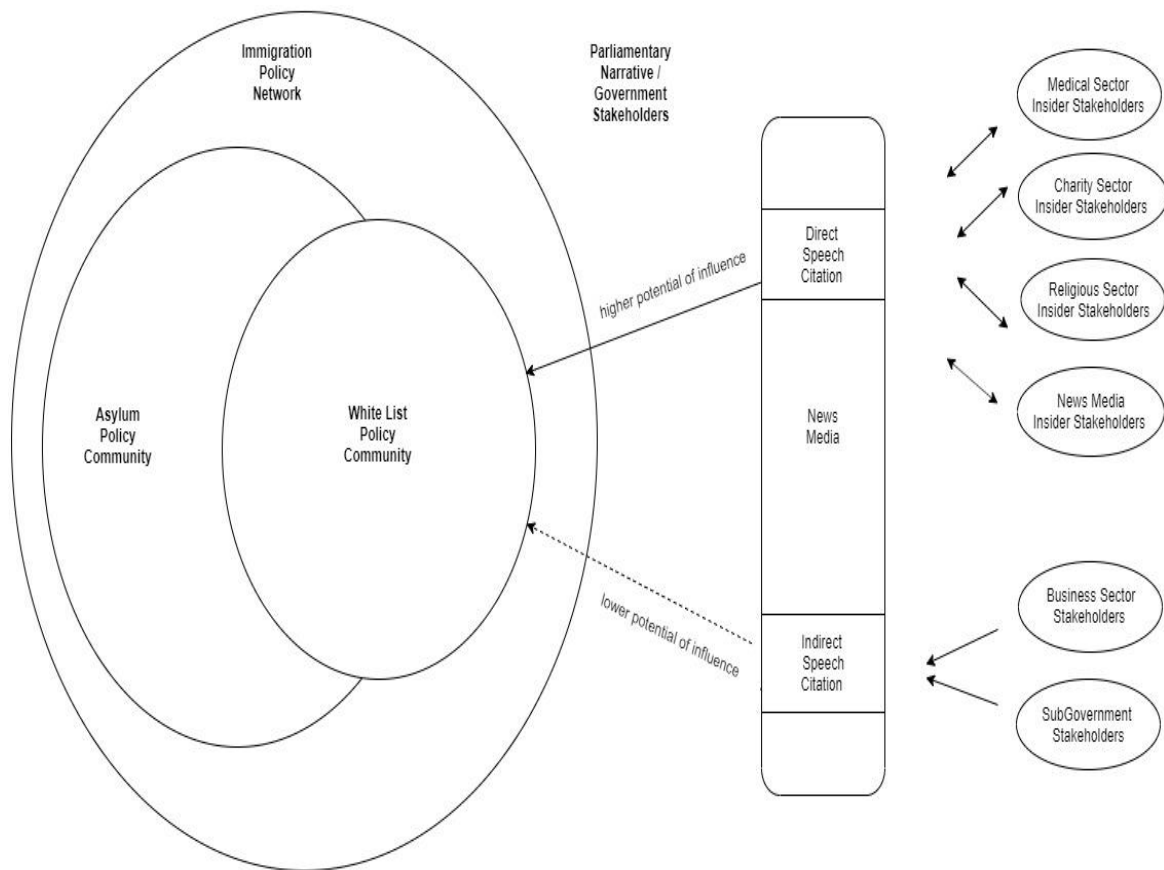


DIAGRAM KEY		
Charity Sector: AI – Amnesty International RC – Refugee Council	Business Sector CBI – Confederation of British Industry BCC – British Chamber of Commerce ID – Institute of Directors	Medical Sector MFCVT – Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture
Sub Government IAA – Immigration Appellate Authority	Religious Sector CCRJ - Churches Commission for Racial Justice	News Media T – The Times FT – The Financial Times TG – The Telegraph E – The Economist G – The Guardian O – The Observer

The block-lined circles in Diagram 9 identify the stakeholders in a given sector who have been attributed insider group status. The dashed-lined circles offer perspective by indicating the number of stakeholders within that sector assigned as outsider groups. The small black dot indicates those stakeholders that have been attributed with core insider-group status, and those without are assigned insider-group status. For example, the direct citation of Amnesty International and the Refugee Council over three other charity-based stakeholders indicates their insider group status from the Parliamentary perspective. Arguably, the attribution of core-insider or insider status might not have significant implications in operational terms, but it does deepen the understanding of the nuanced power dynamics within and between sectors and the relationships among stakeholders. The implications of this are that the strength of the relationship between stakeholders A and B, might impact the strength of the relationship between B and C. From a slightly more macro perspective, the strength of relationships between sectorial-based and government-based stakeholders may have impacted the relationship between sectorial-based and news media-based stakeholders.

To explore this idea further and by adopting discourse analysis as a methodological approach, the data in Table 13 was examined by measuring the frequency with which a given sectorial stakeholder was referenced in Parliamentary sessions, the number of government-based stakeholders that referenced them, the frequency of these references being a direct citation and the frequency of the news media (as a stakeholder) itself being cited directly or indirectly. The results of the analysis are conceptualised in Diagram 10.

Diagram 10: Interpretation of how the news media can influence the conditions under which other stakeholders could contribute to the whitelist policy parliamentary discourse.



In theory, the more that sectorial-based stakeholders are directly cited by government-based stakeholders, the stronger the relationship between them, and the more ‘insider’ their status attribution. The more ‘insider’ their status attribution, the more access they have to power and the potential to exercise it. Exercising power, for example, by successfully engaging with news media-media stakeholders to have their policy story heard. The stronger the subsequent engagement between sectorial and news media-based stakeholders, the stronger the relationship between them. The stronger the relationship between them, the higher the potential for news media-based stakeholders to cite them in their policy narratives, which goes back into informing the parliamentary discourse.

This is reminiscent of Easton’s (1957) systems model where policy inputs, (societal demands and expectations for action or resources – in this context by insider group stakeholders) approach the political system (Easton’s Black Box – in this context, news media stakeholders) and are converted into policy outputs in the form of decisions, laws, and provisions about what action to take or what resources to use (- in this context, the news media’s decision to directly cite, or indirectly cite sectorial-based stakeholders in its policy narratives. Subsequent policy outcomes (i.e., the impact of the action taken, or resources used- or sectorial-based stakeholders’ policy stories heard) cause reactions from society in the form of new demands and expectations, which feed right back into the system as policy inputs – (in this context, the system being what is discussed in Parliamentary discourse).

In sum, Diagram 10 demonstrates how the strength of the relationship between sectorial-based and government-based stakeholders may have influenced the relationship between sectorial-based and news media-based stakeholders. However, it also invites more consideration of the potential for news media-based stakeholders to influence the conditions under which other stakeholders can contribute to the discussions and debates surrounding the whitelist policy initiative.

The News Media Narrative

Understanding the core structures of the news media-based stakeholder discourse on the whitelist policy initiative began with critically examining articles that referenced the whitelist policy initiative via the archives of selected news media sources. However, asylum and immigration-related events during the peak of the whitelist issue attention cycle temporarily predominated asylum and immigration-related issues featured in the news media. The events, or more accurately, ‘focusing events’ refer to a series of riots in northern England and northern France that occurred mid-to-late 2001. The riots that first occurred in the northern English town of Oldham (26th - 28th May) and quickly followed in neighbouring Burnley (23rd - 24th June) and Bradford (8th – 9th July) were spawned during the summer of 2001, after a prolonged period of prejudice and hostility between the local white and South Asian communities. Similarly, the riot that occurred at the Sangatte refugee centre, near Calais, on December 25th 2001, was the result of growing ethnic tensions between (particularly Afghan and Kurdish) asylum seekers for the best location from which to board trains to enter the Channel Tunnel, in the hopes of entering the U.K. Whilst distinct in terms of time and place, the riots share two fundamental elements in terms of impetus i.e., violent culmination of community in-cohesion that fuelled anti-asylum rhetoric and criticism of immigration policy initiatives that featured in news media discourse between the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act when the whitelist policy initiative had been officially repealed, if not operationally, and the 2002 Nationality Immigration and Asylum Act when the whitelist policy was reinstated, in revised form.

The timing of these events was opportune in terms of being featured in the news media at the same time that the whitelist policy. As a result, news articles related to these events were included in the data collection for several reasons. On a practical note, they provided a real-world context within which the whitelist policy initiative was oriented. But, significantly, by examining the linguistic and semantic devices used to frame the anti-asylum vitriol and criticism of Labour’s asylum and immigration policy in

news media discourse relating to the riots during the same time that the whitelist policy was also under examination in the news media, may indicate whether it influenced parliamentary discussions about the whitelist policy and the extent that it did so. This would provide valuable insight into the role and influence of the news media in shaping the discourse around the whitelist policy and contributing to the instigation of its reversal.

In terms of selecting the most appropriate news media sources for data collection, the *Daily Mail*, the *Times*, the *Daily Express* and the *Guardian* were chosen owing to their certified average net circulations per issue during the case study period (the whitelist theoretical evolution spanning July 1996 to April 2002 but the riots as focusing events occurred in the latter half of 2001). It was thought that these sources provided a representative ‘real world’ sample of the most popular news media sources at the time (detailed in Table 9 in the first case). In addition, their diversity in political affiliation during the 2001 June General Election was appropriate in relation to events that occurred internationally in the same year which arguably expanded the context of this case study beyond its original boundaries. For example, the 2001 September 11th attacks in the United States; the not insignificant successes of far-right wing politics in Britain; (with the British National Party (BNP) gaining 16.4% of the vote in Oldham West and Royton in the 2001 general election and three BNP candidates gaining seats on Burnley council in the 2002 local elections) and in France (where the leader of the National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen, won 17% of the national vote in the French presidential elections in April 2002) and the Netherlands (where Pim Fortuyn’s populist party of the same name won approximately 36% of the vote in the Rotterdam municipal council elections in March 2002). Thus, turbulent international and domestic asylum and immigration policies that featured in the British news media discourse between the 1996, 1999 and 2002 Acts lend support to the idea that anti-asylum vitriol and criticism of asylum and immigration policy initiatives featured in news media discourse during a period when Labour had yet to define its immigration policy objectives clearly, may have been a contributing factor to the instigation of the whitelist policy reversal.

Data collection began with accessing the archives of selected news media sources hosted on three separate databases: Gale Cengage (the *Daily Mail* and the *Times*), UKPressOnline (the *Daily Express*) and Newspapers.com (the *Guardian*). Search parameters from the date(s) that each riot occurred, to 7th November 2002, when the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act received Royal Assent generated 260 articles referring to the whitelist policy initiative or the British or French riots,⁶⁵ which were then uploaded into NVivo. Using discourse analysis as an analytical approach, keywords and phrases used in the news media discourse in its reporting of the riots or the whitelist policy were identified and coded as discourse fragments and labelled accordingly in NVivo, to indicate their relevance to the research. To develop a better awareness of what language was used within this discourse, the fragments were examined more closely to identify underlying patterns and trends in the context that they were used. These were then gathered into discourse strands, which represented the main themes that emerged from the data within the discourse fragments (placed in context in Figure M and detailed at length in Appendix P).

Figure M. Emergent themes indicating the main points of news media's stakeholders' perspectives on the riot-focusing events or the whitelist policy initiative.

1. All migrants seeking asylum in Britain were aggressive, male, persistent, fraudulent, young and predominantly non-white.
2. A multiracial, multicultural Britain is disadvantageous to white Britons and divisive and detrimental to British society as a whole.
3. Labour Government complacency and inability to adequately contend with asylum and immigration issues was a primary causal factor for previous Labour supporters to join the British National Party.
4. Current immigration policies were too lax, too lenient and the primary causal factor for Britain's appeal to migrants seeking asylum.
5. Current immigration statistics in Britain were overwhelming and current migration movements toward Britain were uncontrollable.
6. Current asylum and immigration policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues were impractical, ineffectual and inadequate. Specifically:-

⁶⁵ the *Daily Express* providing 21 the *Times*, 25; *Daily Mail*, 37 and the *Guardian*, 52.

- i. The Home Secretary (David Blunkett)'s proposals that all migrants to Britain need to speak English were inopportune, insensitive, offensive and unrestrained.
 - ii. David Blunkett's proposals that all migrants to Britain need to participate in citizenship classes and take naturalization, or acculturation tests were offensive, patronising and polarising.
 - iii. David Blunkett's law and order policy proposals – to be “tough on crime and tough on the consequences of crime”, in relation to the overly severe sentencing of Asian rioters in relation to the crimes committed, were illogical, inflammatory, misguided and mismanaged, bordering on authoritarianism and pandering to populist prejudices.
 - iv. Home Office dispersal policy proposals to withdraw financial aid to asylum seekers who refused to live in government appointed housing was short sighted and counter-productive.
 - v. The Prime Minister (Tony Blair)'s plan to personally take command and contend with the perceived asylum crisis with severely stringent proposals were reactionary, short sighted, placatory, wrong in principle and unworkable in practice
7. Labour government policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues created considerable racial and religious tensions and divisions.
 8. Labour government policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues required greater stringency and security.

Each discourse strand was then narrowed down into a specific statement representing the core structures of the news media discourse relating to whitelist policy or the riot-focusing events (Table 16, listed in descending order of frequency and perceived level of prominence). This process helped identify the existence of connections among the different components within the discourse. It also aided in the identification of trends and patterns that were used to convey the ideas and opinions of government and sectorial-based stakeholders that had been strategically selected by news media-based stakeholders. In addition, it helped in identifying trends and patterns in the discourse that was used to articulate the arguments and perspectives of news-media individual stakeholders actively participating in the discourse.

This process also facilitated a critical awareness of the key components that constructed the news media discourse on the whitelist policy or the riot-focusing events, particularly in identifying examples of anti-asylum vitriol and criticism of asylum and immigration policy initiatives. It also helped develop a more detailed understanding of the core structures of the news media discourse in terms of identifying causal assumptions, limited definitions, and signs of bias operating within it.

Table 16: Emergent themes representing the core structures of the news media narrative relating to the whitelist policy or the riots focusing events.

Discourse Strands	<i>f. of</i> references	# of sources
1. Descriptions of asylum seekers	42	7
2. Multicultural and multiracial Britain	31	5
3. Increased voter support for far-right political parties	22	4
4. Perceptions of Britain's contemporary immigration policy	20	4
5. Perceptions of immigration statistics in Britain	17	3
6. Perceptions of government immigration policy initiatives	16	3
7. Consequences of government immigration policy initiatives	6	2
8. Required changes in government immigration policy initiatives	3	1

Documenting which government-based and sectorial-based stakeholders were cited in the news media discourse regarding the whitelist policy and the 2001 summer riots (detailed in Appendix P) helped build a structural framework for the riot issue network and its relationship to the whitelist policy community, from the perspective of news-media stakeholders – as depicted in Diagram 11.

Diagram 11: Population of the riot issue network and conceptualisation of its structural framework in relation to the whitelist policy community, as interpreted from the news media narrative.

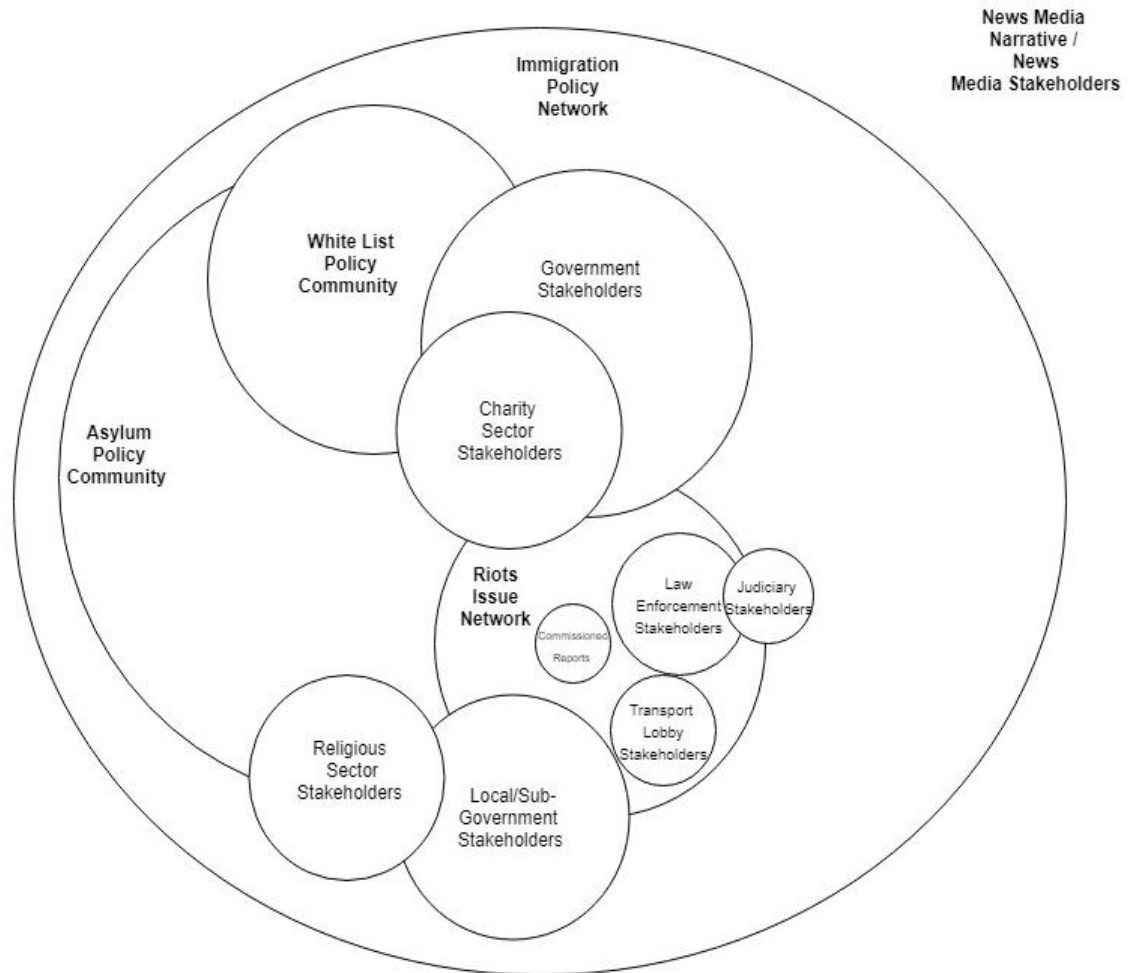


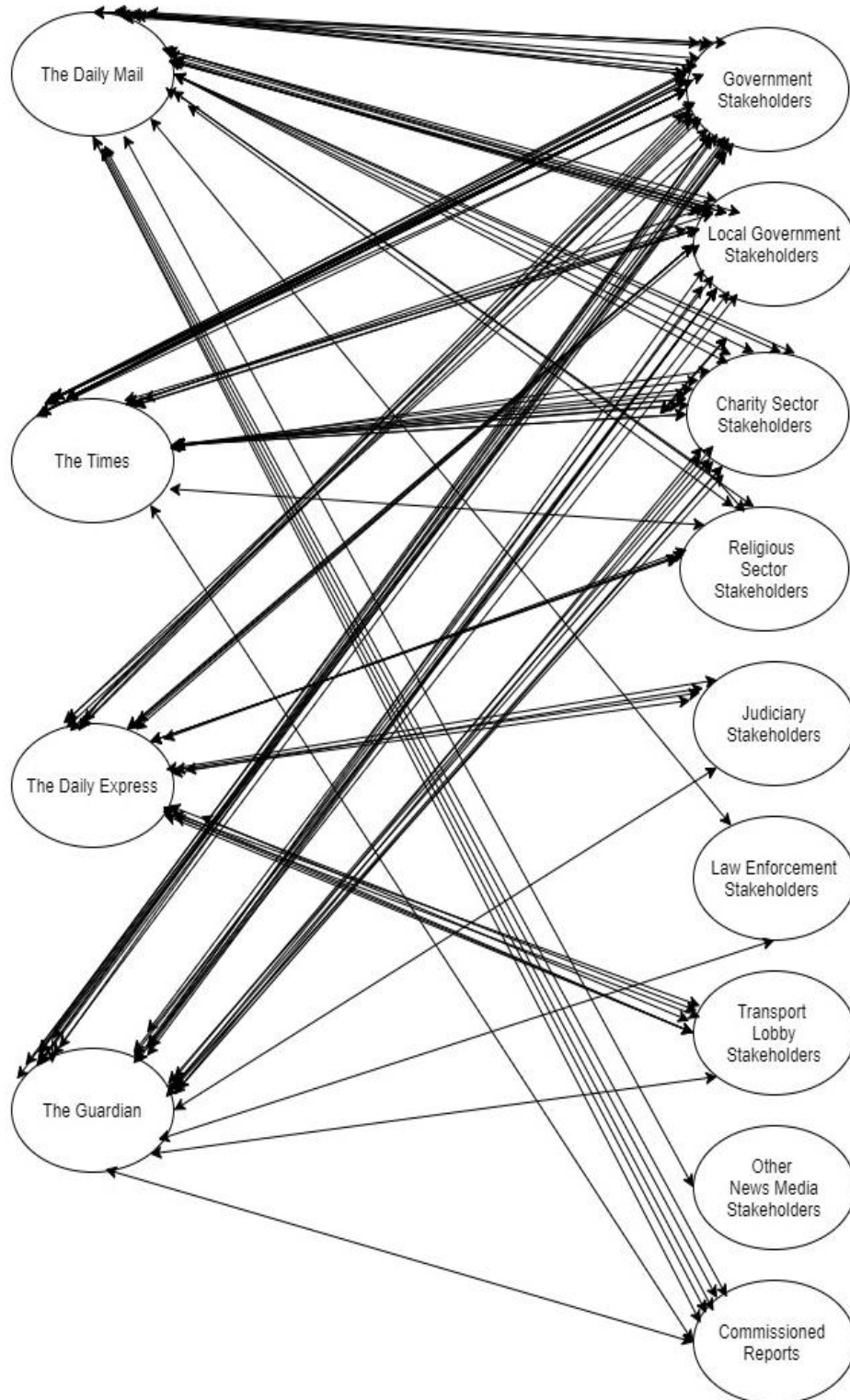
Diagram 11 serves several functions: it establishes which policy actors were active within the whitelist policy community from the news-media-based stakeholder's point of view and interprets the nature of the potential power relationships between them. Set within the perspective of news-media stakeholders, the largest three circles in decreasing size illustrate the multiplicity of levels that the policy whitelist policy communities and networks are oriented within: - the immigration policy network, the

asylum policy community, and the whitelist issue network itself. In addition, the subsequent smaller sets of circles, from the largest (government stakeholders) to the smallest, commissioned reports, demonstrate the proliferation of policy communities and networks across different sectors within society, as evidenced by the diverse amount of stakeholders from many different industries were identified as being active within the whitelist policy network.

On that note, the positioning of each sector-representing circle in Diagram 11 signifies the different levels within the entire network that that stakeholder group operates within. The diminishing size of each circle represents the collectively perceived level of credibility and influence that stakeholders from that sector hold regarding the whitelist policy issue, as determined by news media-based perspectives. In sum, Diagram 11 gives insight into the overall power dynamics of the stakeholders active with the whitelist policy communities and networks but also offers some idea of the interrelationships between them.

To take this idea further and confirm these observations, the level of interaction and interdependence between news media-based stakeholders and other stakeholders was more accurately gauged by measuring the frequency of source citations and calculating the use of direct speech in each citation. The results of this analysis are depicted in Diagram 12, which demonstrates the perceived level of interaction and interdependency between news media stakeholders and the source of their citations. Whilst the use of indirect speech was significantly more numerous (detailed in Appendix Q), each bidirectional connector, or *edge*, within the diagram represents the use of direct speech in each citation, with the intention of clearly demonstrating clusters of source citations or *vertices*, based on the density of each edge. In addition, based on the level of interaction and interdependency between vertices being high or low, or in other words, a dense or sparse concentration of edges between news media stakeholders and other stakeholders, Diagram 12 also shows similarities and differences in perspectives on the riots focusing events, in relation to the whitelist policy initiative.

Diagram 12: Interpretation of the perceived interaction and interdependency of news media stakeholders, government and sectorial stakeholders in the riots narrative



To understand the similarities and differences between the perspectives of government, sectorial, and news media-based stakeholders on the whitelist policy and the summer riots, a comparative analysis was conducted to identify recurring themes and patterns between the two discussions. Using content analysis as a methodological approach, the keywords and phrases summarised in Tables 14, 15 and 16 were examined to identify any correlations in the data. These were then categorised into separate discourse strands, which represented the core structures of the collective perspectives of government-, sectorial- and news media-based) stakeholders regarding the whitelist policy initiative and the 2001 summer riots (summarised in Figure N and detailed at length in Appendix Q).

Figure N: Correlating themes identified in the core structures within the government, sectorial and news media stakeholders' perspectives on the whitelist policy and the 2001 summer riots

1

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE: Race Relations: the whitelist will have damaging and dangerous effects on the community.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

1. PERSPECTIVE 1: THE DAILY MAIL & THE DAILY EXPRESS: Asylum seekers tend to be aggressive, male, persistent, fraudulent, young, and predominantly non-white.
2. PERSPECTIVE 2: THE DAILY MAIL & THE DAILY EXPRESS: Multicultural and multiracial Britain is disadvantageous, divisive and detrimental.
3. PERSPECTIVE 3: THE GUARDIAN & THE TIMES: Labour's immigration policy proposals create racial and religious tension and division in an increasingly violent society that suffers from complacent government responses.
4. PERSPECTIVE 4: THE GUARDIAN & THE TIMES: Citizenship classes, English language classes and naturalization/aculturalization tests are offensive, patronising and polarising

2

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE: The whitelist will not be abolished but amended and will continue to operate, subject to the scrutiny of individual cases being manifestly unfounded and being put into an accelerated appeal procedure

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

1. PERSPECTIVE 1: THE GUARDIAN & THE TIMES: David Blunkett's law and order policy regarding: the severe sentencing of Asian rioters was illogical, inflammatory and misguided.
2. PERSPECTIVE 2: THE GUARDIAN: Tony Blair's plan to take command of the asylum crisis with stringent policy proposals was reactionary, short sighted and placatory.
3. PERSPECTIVE 3: THE DAILY EXPRESS & THE GUARDIAN: Labour's policy initiatives to deal with asylum and immigration require greater stringency and security.

3

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE: Britain's judicial breach of its international obligations in conflict with its stringent asylum and immigration policy

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

1. PERSPECTIVE 1: THE DAILY EXPRESS - Current immigration statistics in Britain are overwhelming and uncontrollable.
2. PERSPECTIVE 2: THE DAILY MAIL & THE GUARDIAN - Labour's asylum and immigration policy is too lax, too lenient and the primary cause for Britain's appeal to immigrants

In line with the principles of content analysis, the data generated in the core structures of the collective discourse on the whitelist policy in association with the riot discourse, was examined more closely to identify what, word groups, rhetorical devices, modal verbs and evidentialities were used in the phraseology of the context that they were used in the phraseology of their context. This signalled where linguistic and semantic devices were utilised in the discourse, indicating the presence of causal assumptions, limited definitions, and bias operating within it.

Theme 1: The negative effect of the riots on race relations

The first of the three correlating themes, the negative effect of the riots on race relations, confirmed that *racism* (f.8) and *xenophobia* (f.4) were significant Labour concerns relating to the implementation of the Conservative white policy initiative. Emphasising their collective apprehension in the parliamentary narrative with the use of connotative semantic devices that include *chilling* (f.1), *damaging* (f.1), *destructive* (f.1), *dishonest* (f.1), *nastiest* (f.1), *tawdry* (f.1), *poison* (f.3), and *unfair* (f.4); members of the Labour Party, (as Opposition) argued that the Conservative Government was purposefully conflating race relations with immigration issues when introducing the white list policy initiative – with the intention of “inflaming racial tension and other forms of xenophobia”⁶⁶ by “pandering to xenophobic voters with promises of crackdowns on immigration”⁶⁷ in an erroneous effort to try to “gain as much electoral advantage as possible”⁶⁸.

Nonetheless, the news media riots discourse exaggeratedly reflected the same concerns with its hyperbolic suggestions that the Labour Government did not go on to defuse the racial tensions it had accused the former Conservative Government of purposefully inflaming. For example, notions of *race* (f. 246), *racist* (f.103), and *racists* (f.23) dominated the news media riots discourse, where connotative semantic devices including *different* (f.66) and *violent* (f.22) were employed alongside *Asian* (f.125) / *Asians* (f.304) *young* (f.135) *men* (f.108), or *youth* (f.41) / *youths* (f.86) to describe the majority of the perceived perpetrators in the riots.

In addition, race relations were equated with asylum and immigration issues with the use of *foreign* (f.18) *stowaways* (f.12), *scum* (f.3) or *bogus* (f.6) *asylum* (f.267) *seekers* (f.137) or *illegal* (f.74) / *illegals* (f.1), *immigrant* (f.18) / *immigrants* (f.110), *illegal immigrants* (f.27) or *refugee* (f.69) / *refugees* (f. 94) or *migrants* (f.41) who were *danger(ous)* [sic] (f.19) *extremist* (f.19) / *extremists* (f. 42,) and *maniacs* (f.3) belonging to *criminal* (f.29) *gangs* (f.31) or *group* (f.73) / *groups* (f.91) to elaborate on how the

⁶⁶ HC Deb. 11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col 754

⁶⁷ HC Deb. 11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.790

⁶⁸ HC Deb. 20 Nov. 1995 Vol 267 Col. 347

perceived perpetrators came to be considered as such. For example, individuals who had made “the biggest attempt yet to breach the border”⁶⁹ and “the country’s defences”⁷⁰ to “enter the UK illegally”⁷¹ and “sneak on to trains bound for Britain”⁷² were “hitching a free ride into the UK with alarming ease”⁷³ and had “no pretence about hiding”⁷⁴. Such individuals were portrayed as a *threat* (f. 25) that were *accused* (f.30), *convicted* (f.19) and *arrested* (f.34) for *violence* (f.24), *fighting* (f.127), *target(ed)* [sic] (f.19) *attack* (f.48) / *attacks* (f.74), *damage* (f.27) and, perhaps most pertinently, for provoking *racially* (f.29) motivated *tension* (f.39) / *tensions* (f.34).

Interestingly, a further discourse fragment featured within the race relations discourse strand indicates the potential positive correlation (but not necessarily causal relation) between the news media and parliamentary discourses. The notion that a multicultural, multiracial Britain is disadvantageous, divisive and detrimental, as reflected in the news media discourse, directly validates Labour’s earlier concerns in the parliamentary discourse that the whitelist policy would have damaging and dangerous ramifications for race relations. However, the news media’s detailed depiction of the riots reflects the same concerns of Labour, in Opposition, yet characterise, and therefore criticise, the Labour Government as contributing to the cause of the concern. For example, perspectives directly cited in the news media riot discourse, such as “a multi-racial country is a bad idea”⁷⁵, “Britain should only be for decent British people”⁷⁶, “Britain daily becomes less British and its leaders do not seem to care”⁷⁷ and “David Blunkett has firmly set his face against ‘multiculturalism’”⁷⁸ set the context for the use of connotative semantic devices, such as *concern* (f.29) *doubt* (f.27) and *question* (f.32) that news media stakeholders employ to describe the declining trust in the Labour

⁶⁹ Daily Express, 27th Dec. 2001

⁷⁰ Daily Express, 27th Dec. 2001.

⁷¹ Daily Express, 29th Dec. 2001

⁷² Daily Express, 8th May. 2002

⁷³ Daily Express, 8th May. 2002.

⁷⁴ Daily Express, 8th May. 2002.

⁷⁵ The Daily Express, British National Party leader, Nick Griffin*, 30th May. 2001

⁷⁶ The Daily Express, mother of British National Party leader, Nick Griffin, Jean Griffin* 30th May, 2001

⁷⁷ The Daily Mail, 28th Apr. 2002

⁷⁸ The Daily Express, 10th Dec. 2001

Government. This was in relation to the local government's investment within particular areas of the northern England towns where the majority of the riots took place within.

Furthermore, signs of bias, causal assumptions and limited definitions of terms are evident within the news media discourse, with *anger* (f.27) and *resentment* (f.25), *hatred* (f.32) / *hate* (f.19) and *prejudice* (f.20) being used to portray descriptions of local reactions to public funds being invested in *community* (f. 151) / *communities* (f.222) that are dominated by *ethnic* (f.117) *minority* (f.47) / *minorities* (f.43) – giving rise to *problem* (f.70) / *problems* (f.74) and *tension* (f.39) / *tensions* (f.34) between *Asian* (f.125) / *Asians* (f.304) and *white* (f.278) / *whites* (f.74) that culminated into the *disorder*, (f.18) and *disturbances* (f.37) that the riots were depicted as.

Further examples of Labour's criticism of the Conservative conflation of race relations and asylum and immigration issues being repeated yet redirected in the news media discourse as criticism of *Labour's* immigration policy politicking are demonstrated in the strategic use of connotative semantic devices such as sectorial stakeholders having “*launched* an attack on outspoken Ministers”, “*accusing* Ministers”⁷⁹ for “*encouraging* the growth of a violent gang culture and *neglecting* the disaffected teenagers who roam this country's streets”⁸⁰. In particular, the news media discourse represented and reinforced the views of sectorial stakeholders who “*sharply* criticised David Blunkett⁸¹”, “*condemned* Mr Blunkett”⁸², “*branding* them [*David Blunkett's* comments as] ‘sensational’ and ‘disturbing’”⁸³, “[Britain's immigration policy has been] *so* badly bungled and is being bungled again now⁸⁴”, in response to David Blunkett's comment that certain communities were being “*swamped*”⁸⁵ by asylum seekers. Nowhere is this

⁷⁹ The Guardian, Commission for Racial Equality, Deputy Beverly Bernard*, 7th Apr. 2002

⁸⁰ The Guardian, Commission for Racial Equality, Deputy Beverly Bernard*, 7th Apr. 2002.

⁸¹ The Guardian, Shahid Malik, Labour Councillor*, 11th Dec. 2001

⁸² The Times, Shahid Malik, Labour Councillor*, 10th Dec, 2001

⁸³ The Daily Express, Shahid Malik, Labour Councillor*, 10th Dec. 2001

⁸⁴ The Daily Mail / Mail on Sunday, 28th Apr. 2002

⁸⁵ The Guardian – Commission for Racial Equality, Deputy Beverly Bernard, 5th Sep. 2001.

conflation clearer in the new media discourse than in the strategic use of hyperbole, at how David Blunkett's "fondness for fruity phrases"⁸⁶, "rabble-rousing"⁸⁷ and "inability to pick his moments"⁸⁸ had "muddied the waters"⁸⁹, "offer(ed) [*sic*] ammunition"⁹⁰ and "damaged the terms"⁹¹ of the "crucial debate"⁹² relating to the "tricky question"⁹³ on the "delicate"⁹⁴ relations of race and religion.

Theme 2: Finding a Balance between Firm and Fair Immigration Control

An analysis of the second of the three correlating core structures exposed further inconsistencies in the Labour Government's asylum and immigration policy objectives. In the parliamentary discourse, Labour Opposition members argued that the asylum application system under the Conservative Government was *intrinsically unfair* (f.1), *covertly racist* (f.1), with *harsh and draconian*⁹⁵ rules that did not *treat people from the whitelist the same as people who are not on it*⁹⁶; maintaining that the Conservative Government had *failed to achieve a balance between fairness and firmness; between justice and control*⁹⁷.

In emphasising the importance of striking a balance between firmness and fairness, Labour stakeholders advocated for an asylum application system that would be

⁸⁶ The Times, 18th Sep. 2002

⁸⁷ The Guardian, 12th Dec. 2001

⁸⁸ The Times, 18th Sep. 2002

⁸⁹ The Guardian, 12th Dec. 2001

⁹⁰ The Daily Mail, 10th Dec. 2001; The Times, 10th Dec. 2001; The Guardian - Deputy Mayor of Oldham, Riad Ahmad*, 10th Dec. 2001

⁹¹ The Guardian, 12th Dec. 2001

⁹² The Guardian, 15th Dec. 2001

⁹³ The Guardian, 12th Dec. 2001

⁹⁴ The Daily Mail, 10th Dec. 2001; The Daily Express, Shadow Home Sec. Oliver Letwin*, 10th Dec. 2001; The Guardian, Liberal Democrat leader Charles Kennedy*, 10th Dec. 2001

⁹⁵ HC Deb. 20 Nov. 1995 Vol 267 Col 343

⁹⁶ HC Deb. 15 Oct. 1996 Vol 282 Col. 705

⁹⁷ HC Deb. 11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.710

*fair and just*⁹⁸, a speedy system ...[sic]...that must not be achieved at the expense of *fairness*⁹⁹. However, in the context of the riots discourse, the news media identified an asylum application system under the Labour Government that was more mercurial than moral in tone. More specifically, two opposing themes emerged from the news media discourse, with one indicating that Labour's policy initiatives to deal with asylum and immigration issues related to the northern England riots, in particular, required greater stringency and security.

In contrast, in reference to the northern France riots, suggested that Tony Blair's plan to personally take control of the asylum 'crisis' with stringent policy proposals, was reactionary, short-sighted and placatory. For example, direct and denotative semantic devices that *accused*¹⁰⁰ ministers of covertly negotiating back door deals¹⁰¹ and *blamed* (f.26) / *blame* (f.30) the British government for *failing* / *failed* (f.51) to put pressure on France¹⁰² set a derisive tone in news media's description of how the *absolutely farcical*¹⁰³ asylum application system was a problem of the Labour Government's own making¹⁰⁴. Furthermore, governmental proposals to close the Sangatte refugee centre, accept large numbers of asylum seekers from the camp and create new centres in which to temporarily house them, would do *little or nothing*¹⁰⁵ to reduce Britain's asylum *chaos*¹⁰⁶; *was the wrong move, a weak move; a move that would make the French laugh*¹⁰⁷.

However, hyperbolic accounts of the Labour Government's judicial policies portrayed an asylum application system that was *overtly racist*¹⁰⁸ and *bordering on*

⁹⁸ HC Deb. 20 Nov. 1995 Vol 267 Col.332

⁹⁹ HC Deb. 11 Dec. 1995 Vol 268. Col 789

¹⁰⁰ The Guardian - Shadow Home Secretary Michael Aheram*, 28th Apr. 2001

¹⁰¹ The Guardian - Shadow Home Secretary Michael Aheram*, 28th Apr. 2001

¹⁰² The Guardian - English, Scottish Welsh Railways, Chief Executive, Philip Mengel*, 23rd Nov. 2001

¹⁰³ The Daily Express - English, Scottish Welsh Railways, Planning Director, Graham Smith*, 18th Mar. 2002

¹⁰⁴ The Guardian - Shadow Sec. of State for Defence, Iain Duncan Smith, 25th May 2002

¹⁰⁵ The Daily Express - Shadow Home Secretary - Oliver Letwin*, 16th May. 2002

¹⁰⁶ The Daily Express - Shadow Home Secretary - Oliver Letwin*, 16th May. 2002

¹⁰⁷ The Guardian - Shadow Sec. of State for Defence, Iain Duncan Smith*, 25th May 2002

¹⁰⁸ The Guardian, 4th Dec, 2001

*authoritarianism*¹⁰⁹, in relation to the disproportionately severe sentencing of Asian rioters (f.30) in contrast to their white counterparts. Subsequent hubristic references to David Blunkett having *lost the plot*¹¹⁰ and *not a fan of civil liberties and human rights bodies*¹¹¹ set the context for more caustic criticisms of his *misguided intervention*¹¹² and use of “*offensive language/remarks (f.2)*”¹¹³ for publicly berating the prosecuted Asian rioters for “exercising their legitimate right to question the severity of sentencing”¹¹⁴.

In addition, op-ed articles and editorials in the news media discourse opined that *it was not for the Home Secretary to seek to influence the Appeals process*¹¹⁵; to *deny people their rights*¹¹⁶; to *play a dangerous game where he risks resentment from some communities as he seeks to appease others by pandering to populist prejudices*¹¹⁷; because it would only further tension (f.34) / tensions (f.39), promote (f.23) more prejudice (f.20) and create even greater division (f.18) and segregation (f.47); stressed the hypocrisy and inconsistency between Labour’s criticism of the Conservative Government, and then its own inability when in Government, to successfully find a balance between firm and fair immigration control.

¹⁰⁹The Guardian, Lord Herman Ouseley, Former Commissioner of the Racial Equality Council, chairman of the Ouseley Report, 9th Sep. 2002

¹¹⁰ The Guardian, Lord Herman Ouseley, Former Commissioner of the Racial Equality Council, chairman of the Ouseley Report, 9th Sep. 2002.

¹¹¹ The Guardian, Lord Herman Ouseley, Former Commissioner of the Racial Equality Council, chairman of the Ouseley Report, 9th Sep. 2002.

¹¹² The Guardian, Lord Herman Ouseley, Former Commissioner of the Racial Equality Council, chairman of the Ouseley Report, 9th Sep. 2002.

¹¹³ The Guardian, Deputy Mayor of Oldham, Riad Ahmad*, 9th Sep. 2002

¹¹⁴ The Guardian, Lord Herman Ouseley, Former Commissioner of the Racial Equality Council, chairman of the Ouseley Report 9th Sep. 2002

¹¹⁵ The Guardian, Lord Herman Ouseley, Former Commissioner of the Racial Equality Council, chairman of the Ouseley Report, 9th Sep. 2002

¹¹⁶ The Guardian, Lord Herman Ouseley, Former Commissioner of the Racial Equality Council, chairman of the Ouseley Report, 9th Sep. 2002.

¹¹⁷ The Guardian, Lord Herman Ouseley, Former Commissioner of the Racial Equality Council, chairman of the Ouseley Report, 9th Sep. 2002.

Accusations of pandering to populist prejudices were also levied at Tony Blair, the Prime Minister, for *appeasing racist sentiment*¹¹⁸, in response to his proposals to *get tougher*¹¹⁹, *take personal charge*¹²⁰, *take a hard line*¹²¹ and *tackle*¹²² the asylum crisis¹²³ with increasingly stringent policy proposals, in a bid to counter the rise of far right parties in France and the Netherlands. Strategic descriptions in the news media narrative of *resistance (f.2)*¹²⁴ and *reservations*¹²⁵ amongst government stakeholders, go on to support the more direct citations from sectorial stakeholders who *accused* Tony Blair¹²⁶ and *warned (f.58)* the Prime Minister¹²⁷ that his *controversial (f. 27)* plans, would *cause alarm*¹²⁸, were *illegal*¹²⁹, *unfair (f.26)*, *counter-productive*¹³⁰ and *desperately short-sighted*¹³¹ / *nothing could be more short-sighted*¹³². The causal assumptions and signs of bias that can be inferred from the employment of these devices in the news media discourse express a belief that Labour Government's fair but firm immigration policy proposals are "wrong in principle and unworkable in practice"¹³³ and expose further inconsistencies in the Labour Government's immigration policy objectives.

¹¹⁸ The Guardian –Simon Hughes, The Liberal Democrats Home Affairs spokesman* / BBC's Breakfast with Frost, 27th May, 2002

¹¹⁹ The Guardian –Simon Hughes, The Liberal Democrats Home Affairs spokesman* / BBC's Breakfast with Frost, 27th May, 2002.

¹²⁰ The Guardian - Nick Hardwick, the chief executive of the Refugee Council*, 24th May, 2002

¹²¹ The Guardian –Simon Hughes, The Liberal Democrats Home Affairs spokesman* / BBC's Breakfast with Frost, 27th May, 2002

¹²² The Guardian, 24th May, 2002

¹²³ The Guardian, 24th May, 2002.

¹²⁴ The Guardian, 24th May, 2002

¹²⁵ The Guardian, 24th May, 2002.

¹²⁶ The Guardian –Simon Hughes, The Liberal Democrats Home Affairs spokesman* / BBC's Breakfast with Frost, 27th May, 2002

¹²⁷ The Guardian –Simon Hughes, The Liberal Democrats Home Affairs spokesman* / BBC's Breakfast with Frost, 27th May, 2002.

¹²⁸ The Guardian – International Development Secretary Claire Short*, 23rd May, 2002

¹²⁹ The Guardian – International Development Secretary Claire Short*, 23rd May, 2002.

¹³⁰ The Daily Express, Richard Dunstan, immigration policy officer at the National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux, 26th Feb, 2002

¹³¹ The Daily Express, Richard Dunstan, immigration policy officer at the National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux, 26th Feb, 2002.

¹³² The Guardian, 24th May, 2002

¹³³ The Guardian, Nick Hardwick, the chief executive of the Refugee Council*, 24th May 2002

Theme 3: Britain’s Judicial Breach of its International Obligations in Conflict with its Stringent Asylum and Immigration Policy

An analysis of the third correlating core structure identified further inconsistencies in the Labour Government’s asylum and immigration policy objectives. In the parliamentary discourse, Labour’s opposition to the Conservative Government’s white list initiative included emotive rhetoric referring to the “concoction of misjudged (f.1), unfair (f.4), inadequate (f.1) and provocative (f.1) measures”¹³⁴ that the whitelist pertained. The central tenet of Labour’s opposition, however, was doubts about the whitelists’ overall legality, with specific reference to Article 33 of the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees - of which Britain is a signatory.

Article 33 prohibits ‘Contracting States’ from expelling or returning a refugee on the grounds of “race, religion, nationality or membership of a particular social group or political opinion”.¹³⁵ As such, Labour-based stakeholders argued that “*we cannot legally operate*”¹³⁶ a procedure where applications from individuals from a designated white list of ‘safe states’ were to be presumed as groundless, as, at the very least, this discriminates the individual on the grounds of nationality. Furthermore, “*it does not work*”¹³⁷ to pass an individual between countries, and in the event of refoulement, where the individual is ultimately returned to their originating country, it is “*a clear breach*”¹³⁸ if not “*the greatest breach*”¹³⁹ of the 1951 UN Convention that there can be.

Thus, within the third correlating core structure, the whitelist parliamentary discourse indicates that Labour as Opposition, was fundamentally opposed to the whitelist initiative, intended Britain to abide by its international obligations and argued

¹³⁴ HC Deb. 11th Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.784-785

¹³⁵ Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/StatusOfRefugees.aspx>.

¹³⁶ HL Deb. 20th Jun. 1996 Vol. 573 Col.536

¹³⁷ HL Deb. 20th Jun. 1996 Vol. 573 Col.536

¹³⁸ HC Deb. 11th Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.783

¹³⁹ HL Deb. 20th Jun.1996 Vol, 573 Col.536 – 537.

for a lawful immigration policy and a legitimate asylum application system. However, the discourse within the news media riots discourse suggested that Labour, as Government, was inconsistent, even incapable, in realising these aims and objectives. With the strategic use of syntax and semantics to portray an overwhelming and uncontrollable state of immigration to Britain, the news media riots narrative described disorder (*f.18*) / *disorderly scenes*¹⁴⁰ where a tide (*f.5*) of *hundreds of asylum seekers*¹⁴¹ / *hundreds of illegal migrants*¹⁴²; were - in a *desperate rush*¹⁴³ (*f.5*) of attempted invasion(s) [*sic*]¹⁴⁴ / foreign (*f.18*) invasion (*f.7*), invade (*f.2*), invaded (*f.2*) / refugee invasions¹⁴⁵ - *stampeding*¹⁴⁶, *flocking to the controversial Sangatte centre, scaling over fences and ditches*¹⁴⁷, in the *biggest attempt yet to breach the country's defences*¹⁴⁸ and force (*f.38*) / forced (*f.28*), *walk*¹⁴⁹ and *pour*¹⁵⁰ into Britain *en masse*¹⁵¹ in a bid to beat the deadline for British asylum applications¹⁵². The operationalisation of underlying causal assumptions, misleading definitions of terms and blatant signs of bias in its rhetoric of the Sangatte riots, conveys that the news media discourse contextualized the Labour Government's immigration and asylum policy as being less lawful and legitimate than it was lax, lenient, and the primary cause for Britain's *appeal*¹⁵³.

Criticisms contained within the narrative ranged from subtle connotative semantics that reflected on *Labour complacency*¹⁵⁴ and how, in the absence of a bilateral agreement on the closure of Sangatte, the Home Secretary would simply have to *try harder*¹⁵⁵ - to patent denotative devices that regarded Labour's immigration policy as

¹⁴⁰ The Daily Express, 27th Dec. 2001

¹⁴¹ The Daily Express, 27th Dec. 2001

¹⁴² The Daily Express, 14th Sep. 2002, 5th Nov. 2002

¹⁴³ The Daily Express, 1st Feb. 2002

¹⁴⁴ The Guardian, 20th Dec. 2001

¹⁴⁵ The Daily Express, 16th May 2002

¹⁴⁶ The Daily Express, 16th May 2002

¹⁴⁷ The Daily Express, 27th Dec. 2001

¹⁴⁸ The Daily Express, 14th Mar. 2002

¹⁴⁹ The Daily Express, 27th Dec. 2001

¹⁵⁰ The Daily Express, 16th May 2002

¹⁵¹ The Daily Express, 28th Dec. 2001

¹⁵² The Daily Express, 28th Dec. 2001

¹⁵³ The Guardian, Conservative Home Affairs Spokesman Nick Hawkins*, 10th Apr. 2002

¹⁵⁴ The Guardian, 23rd Apr. 2002

¹⁵⁵ The Daily Mail, Shadow Home Sec. Oliver Letwin, 26th Jun. 2002

*feeble and ineffectual*¹⁵⁶, and in need of more *radical reform*¹⁵⁷. The news media riots discourse portrayed the Home Secretary, David Blunkett, as capitulating to proposals from the French Foreign Minister, Nicolas Sarkozy that Britain *sort out*¹⁵⁸ its asylum system and accept *large numbers from Sangatte*¹⁵⁹ in order for ensure its' closure. Not only was this considered a *complete failure of negotiation*¹⁶⁰ on the Labour Government's part, but was *a humiliating rebuff...that... provoked fury from Tories, who complained that Mr Blunkett was allowing the French to dictate to him*¹⁶¹; which was the *wrong move,..a weak move,..and a move that would make the French laugh at us*¹⁶².

In addition to examining the discourse coded under each of the core structures of the collective discourse, the presence of causal assumptions, limited definitions, and bias was uncovered. By documenting the stakeholders cited within the discourse and quantifying the frequency of each citation and the use of direct speech, the level of interaction and interdependence between stakeholders active within the riots issue network and the whitelist policy network could be more accurately determined. This is demonstrated as clusters of source citations in Diagram 13, with the clusters being represented by the density of bi-directional connectors, or *edges*, between them.

As with Diagram 12, whilst indirect speech in source citations was more numerous (detailed in Appendix P), each edge in Diagram 13 represents only the use of direct speech. This is because it occurred less frequently and so is potentially more significant. In addition, representing only the employment of direct speech in Diagram 13 - (shown below for immediate reference, and in full size on the following page) arguably provided a more accurate depiction of the interaction and interdependency

¹⁵⁶ The Daily Mail, 28th Apr. 2002

¹⁵⁷ The Daily Express, MigrationWatch/Conservative Party, 14th Sep. 2002

¹⁵⁸ The Daily Express, 27th Dec. 2001; 14th Sep 2002

¹⁵⁹ The Guardian, Shadow Sec. of State for Defence, Iain Duncan Smith, 25th May 2002

¹⁶⁰ The Daily Mail, Shadow Home Sec, Oliver Letwin, 22nd Jun. 2002

¹⁶¹ The Daily Mail, 22nd Jun. 2002.

¹⁶² The Guardian, Shadow Sec. of State for Defence, Iain Duncan Smith, 25th May 2002

between all stakeholders active within the riots issue network and the whitelist policy network

Diagram 13: Clusters of source citations identified within each correlating theme between the news media riots narrative and parliamentary whitelist narrative.

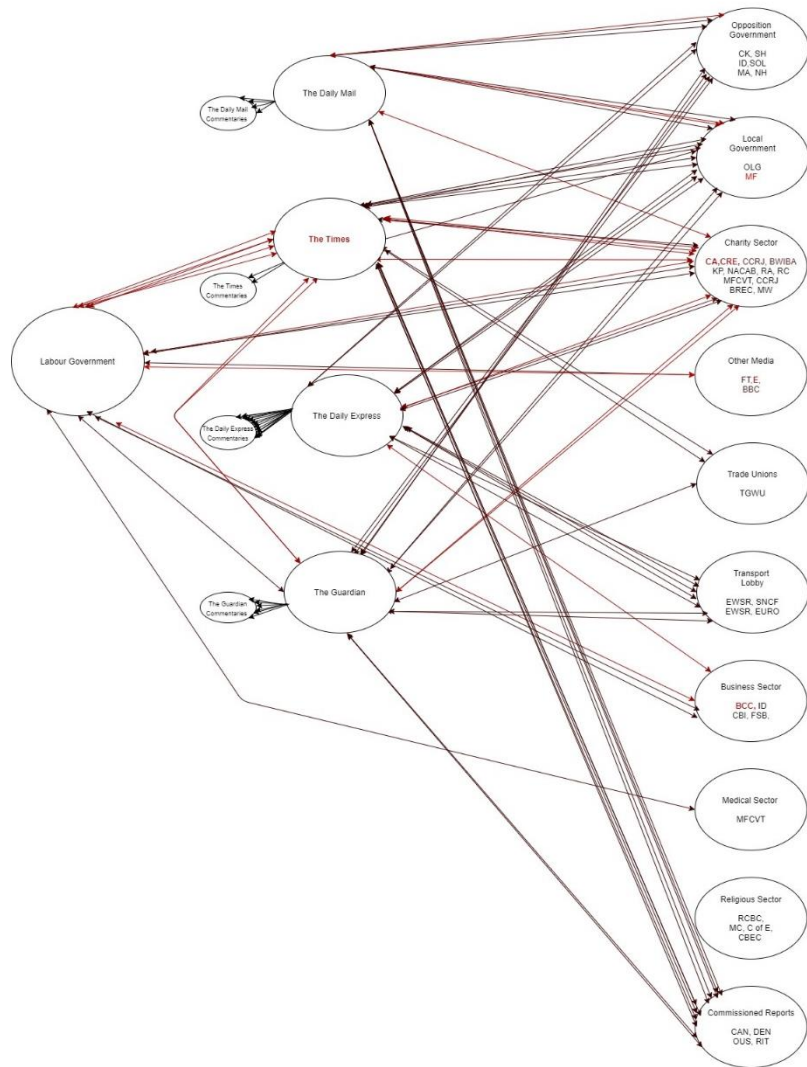


Diagram 13: Clusters of source citations identified within each correlating theme between the news media riots narrative and parliamentary whitelist narrative

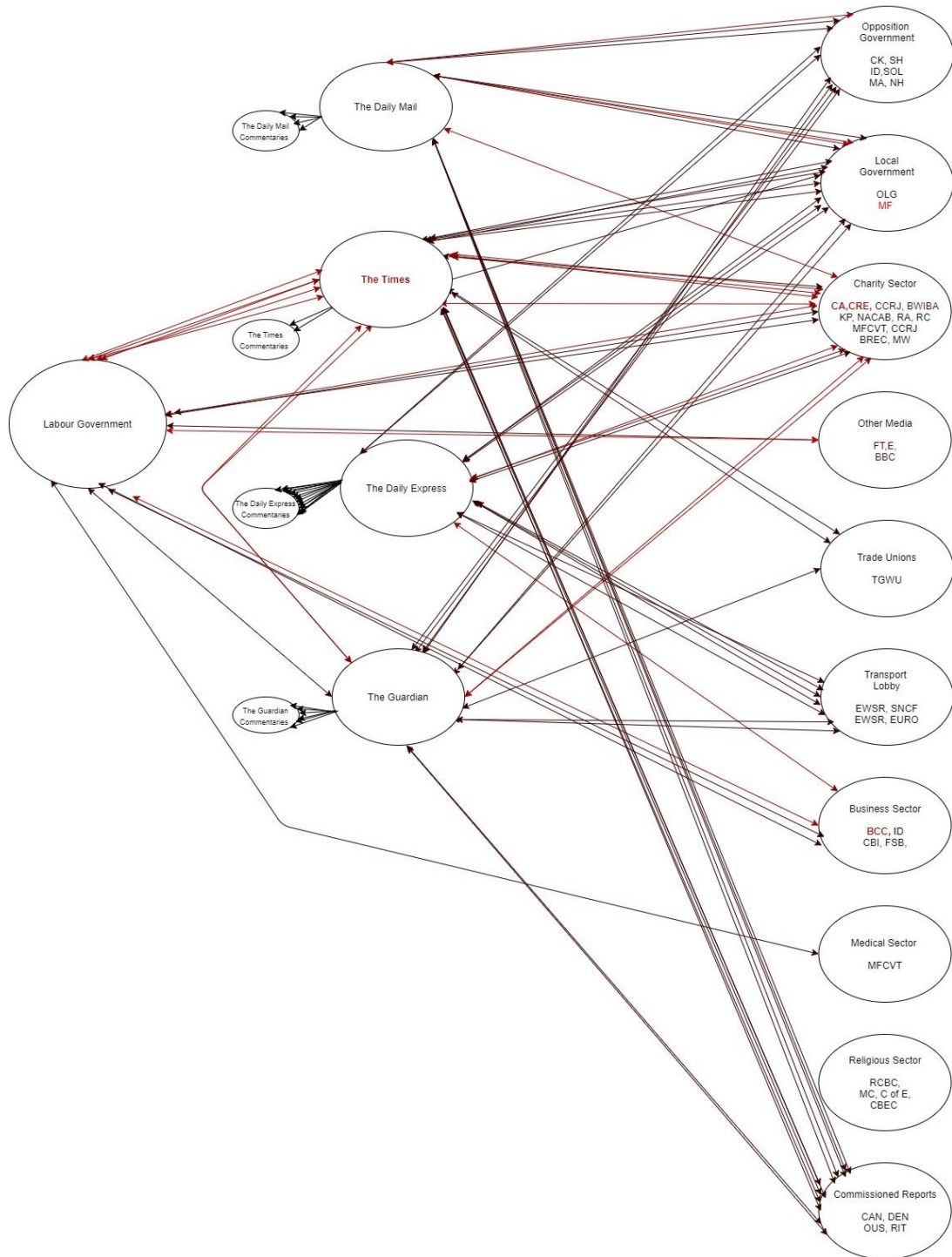


DIAGRAM KEY			
<p>Charity Sector</p> <p>AI – Amnesty International</p> <p>BWIBA - Bristol West Indian Parents Association</p> <p>BREC – Bristol Racial Equality Council</p> <p>RC – Refugee Council</p> <p>CA - Christian Aid</p> <p>CRE - Commission For Racial Equality</p> <p>KP - Keyboard Project</p> <p>RA - Refugee Action</p> <p>MW - Migration Watch</p> <p>NACAB - National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux</p>	<p>Transport Lobby</p> <p>EWSR - English, Welsh Scottish Railways</p> <p>SNCF - The Société Nationale Des Chemins De Fer Français</p> <p>EURO - Eurotunnel</p>	<p>Business Sector</p> <p>CBI –Confederation of British Industry</p> <p>BCC – British Chamber of Commerce</p> <p>ID – Institute of Directors</p> <p>FSB - Federation of Small Businesses</p>	<p>Medical Sector</p> <p>MFCVT – Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture</p>
	<p>Commissioned Reports</p> <p>CAN - The Cattle Report</p> <p>DEN - The Denham Report</p> <p>OUS - The Ouseley Report</p> <p>RIT - The Ritchie Report</p>	<p>Religious Sector</p> <p>CCRJ - Churches Commission For Racial Justice</p> <p>CBEC – Greater Bristol Ecumenical Council</p> <p>C of E - Church of England</p> <p>MC - Methodist Church</p> <p>RCBC - Roman Catholic Bishop of Clifton</p>	
<p>Government</p> <p>CS – Claire Short International Development Sec.</p> <p>IDS - Iain Duncan Smith Shadow Sec. of State for Defence</p> <p>OL - Oliver Letwin</p>	<p>Opposition Government</p> <p>CK - Charles Kennedy Liberal Democrat Leader</p> <p>SH - Simon Hughes Liberal Democrats Home Affairs Spokesperson</p> <p>MA - Michael Aheram – Shadow Home Sec.</p> <p>NH - Nick Hawkins Cons. Home Affairs Spokesman</p>	<p>News Media</p> <p>FT – The Financial Times</p> <p>E – The Economist</p> <p>BBC</p> <p>-News Night</p> <p>- Question Time</p> <p>- Breakfast with Frost</p>	<p>Local Government</p> <p>OLG - Oldham Local Gov.</p> <p>MF - Mayor of Frethun</p>

Diagram 13 also features specific edges and certain stakeholders identifiable in red. These highlight those stakeholders that were cited, using direct speech, in *both* the news media riots narrative and the whitelist parliamentary narrative. The aim in representing distinctions between types of edges, as well as the difference in their density, was twofold. First, it indicated variation in the attribution of insider/outsider group status of a given stakeholder; attribution being dependent on the interaction and interdependency of that stakeholder with other stakeholders. Furthermore, it indicated the probability of success in insider group stakeholders more successfully advancing their policy agendas and their potential influence within the policy network. Arguably, Diagram 13 demonstrates how the news media is more of a conduit than a contributor in shaping the whitelist policy discourse and the instigation of its reversal. This is because if the frequency and diversity of sources cited by news media stakeholders in the 2001 summer riots discourse are taken into account, then these sources are likely to be featured in the related whitelist discourse. In this way, the news media serves as a means of transmitting information rather than a source of it. This is particularly indicative when comparing the number of edges that are news media articles containing direct citations from sources with the fewer number of edges that are solely opinion-piece commentaries with no citations from other sources at all.

In sum, correlating clusters of source citations and parallel patterns of semantic associations in the core structures of the discourse coded under each of the three correlating themes indicate that it is likely that the predominantly negative body of bias toward asylum and immigration issues and corresponding Labour Government policy initiatives in the news media riots narrative influenced the similarly negative body of bias in the parliamentary discourse toward the white list policy initiative and contributed to the eventual instigation of the policy reversal. This suggests that the news media played a larger role in shaping the narrative of the whitelist policy and instigating its reversal rather than simply transmitting information about it. Fundamentally, this provides valuable insight into the role and influence of the news media in shaping the discourse around the whitelist policy and contributing to the instigation of its reversal. In addition,

it underlines the utility of applying the PC&N perspective as a tool for understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda as explored in more depth in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to examine the validity of the PC&N perspective for understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda, with the development of asylum and immigration policy as a case study in policymaking. An empirical examination of the theoretical evolution of the case study policy initiatives identified clusters of source citations and patterns of linguistic and semantic associations common to the core structures of government-based, sectorial-based and news media-based policy stakeholders. Arguably therefore, the strategic use of syntax and semantics and selective choice of source citations by news media-based stakeholders in the priming and framing of issue related content, indicates that the news media exerts substantial influence in shaping policy narratives by influencing the conditions under which other stakeholders can contribute to the discourse. This is evidenced in how the predominantly negative body of bias in the news media discourse toward the policy initiatives in particular, and the Labour Government's asylum and immigration policies in general, influenced the correspondingly negative body of bias in the parliamentary discourse toward the voucher and whitelist policy initiatives and contributed toward the instigation of their reversals. This suggests that the news media has a biased, contributing role in the policy-making process more than it does as a neutral conduit. Certainly, from the perspective that the frequency and diversity of source citations in news media discourse may be an indicator of the active role of news media-based stakeholders in the policy discourse, this is arguably the case.

In the context of the voucher policy case study, Diagram 7 (below) illustrates how the *Guardian* published a significantly higher number of opinion-piece articles than other news media-based stakeholders (note the arrows pointing to the right in the diagram). A similar scenario presents itself in the whitelist policy case study. Diagram 13 shows that the *Guardian* and the *Daily Express* also have more opinion-piece commentaries than other news media (again, note the arrows pointing to the right). In addition, the *Guardian*

published a significantly greater number of articles supplemented by source citations in in the voucher policy case study, as illustrated in Diagram 7 (note the semi-circle on the right of the diagram where each arrow pointing toward the Guardian indicates the number of times that it directly cited a sectorial or government-based stakeholder in its reportage). The same can be said of the *Times* in the whitelist case study in Diagram 13. This suggests that these particular news media-based stakeholders were more active contributors in shaping the voucher/whitelist policy narrative than their counterparts who produced fewer opinion-piece articles and used fewer direct citations in their reportage.

Diagram 7

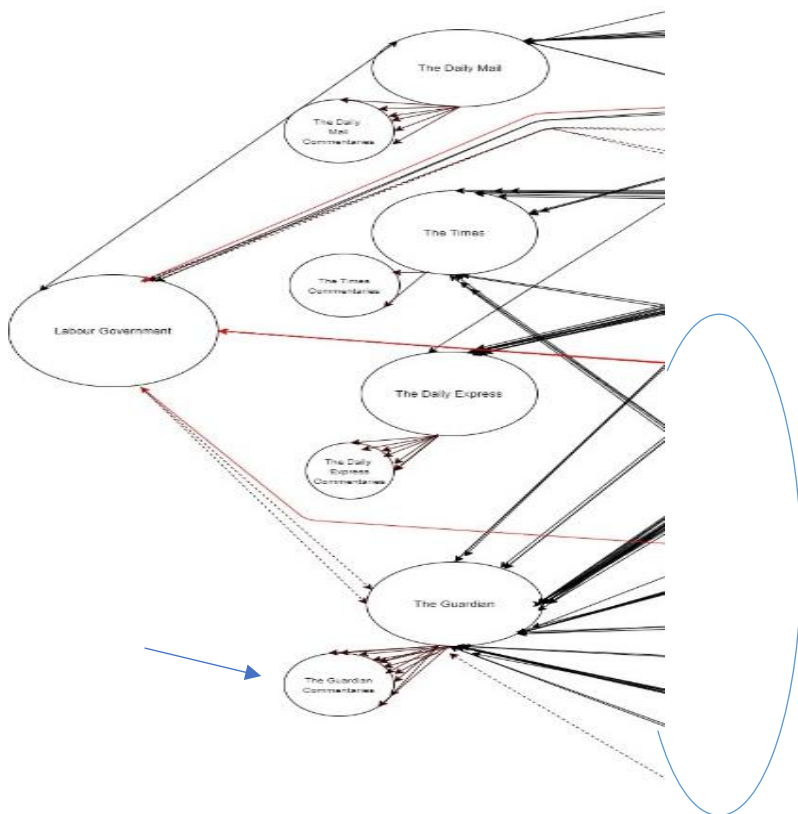
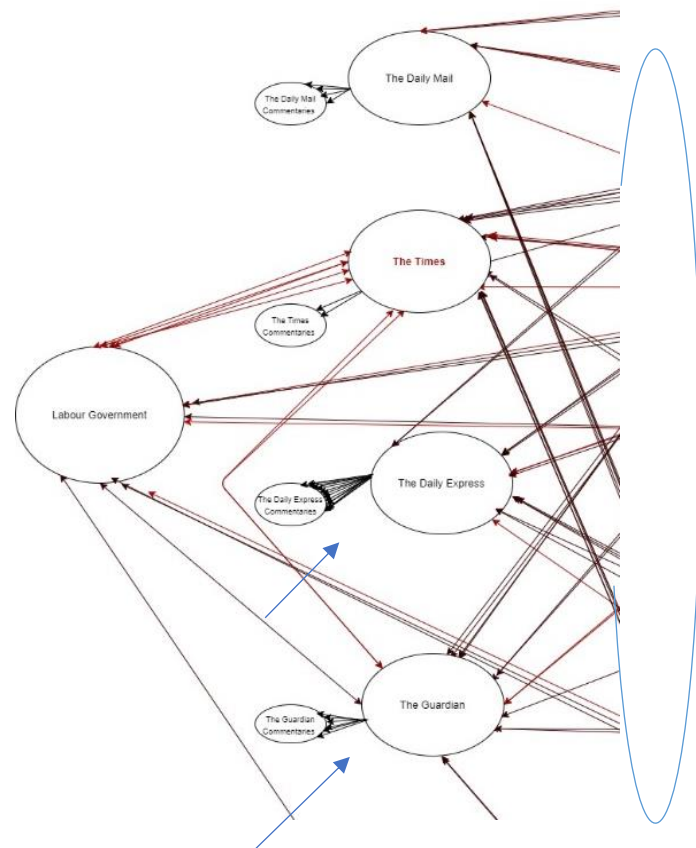


Diagram 13



Based on these observations, it would be more accurate to say that the news media is more of a contributor than a conduit in shaping the policy discourse, but *only* when the strength of the interrelationship between stakeholders is strong. Arguably, the conductive or contributing role of the news media in shaping the policy discourse partly

depends on the capacity of sectorial-based stakeholders to attain the socioeconomic resources necessary to exercise power and actively engage with news-media-based stakeholders and developing a relationship strong enough that warrant the attribution of insider group status, subsequently increasing the potential for a direct (or indirect) citation in the news media discourse. Put simply, the potential of the news media to influence the policy agenda is somewhat contingent on the capacity of the individual stakeholder to access and exert power. ‘Power’ in this sense refers to the ability of an individual stakeholder to mobilise the bias of the news media as an institutional stakeholder and control the condition (or, perhaps, patrol the parameters) under which other stakeholders can participate in the policy discourse. This is conceptualised more clearly in Diagram 14 (shown below for immediate reference, and in full size on the following page)

Diagram 14: Interpretation of how news media-based stakeholders are able to influence the conditions under sectorial stakeholders are able to contribute to the voucher policy/whitelist policy discourse and influence the parliamentary policy debate.

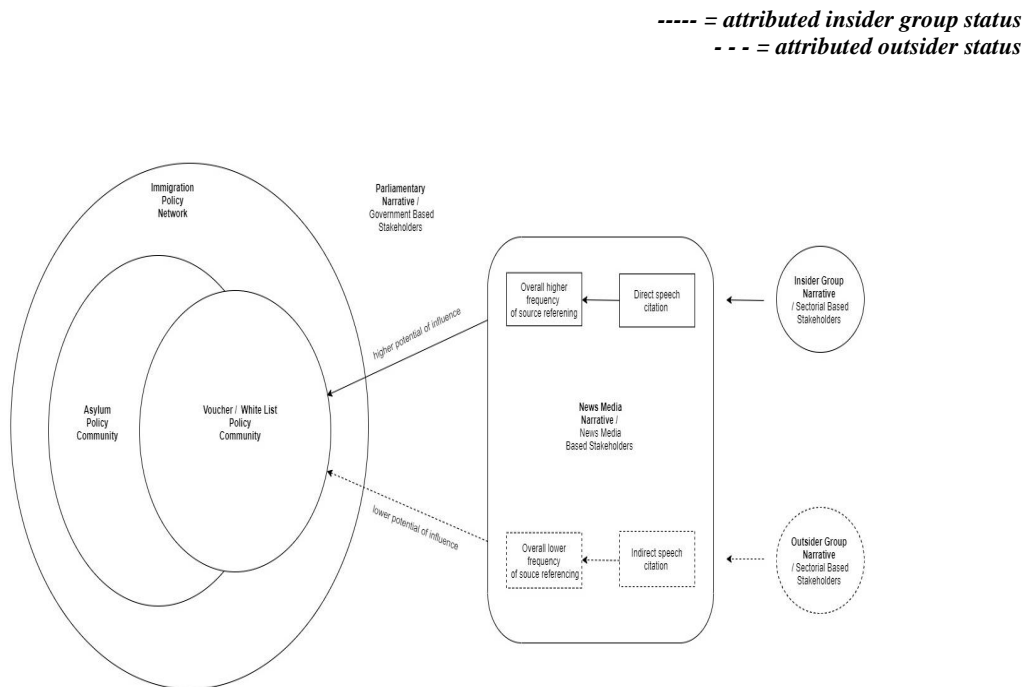


Diagram 14 (full size): Interpretation of how news media-based stakeholders are able to influence the conditions under sectorial stakeholders are able to contribute to the voucher policy/whitelist policy discourse and influence the parliamentary policy debate.

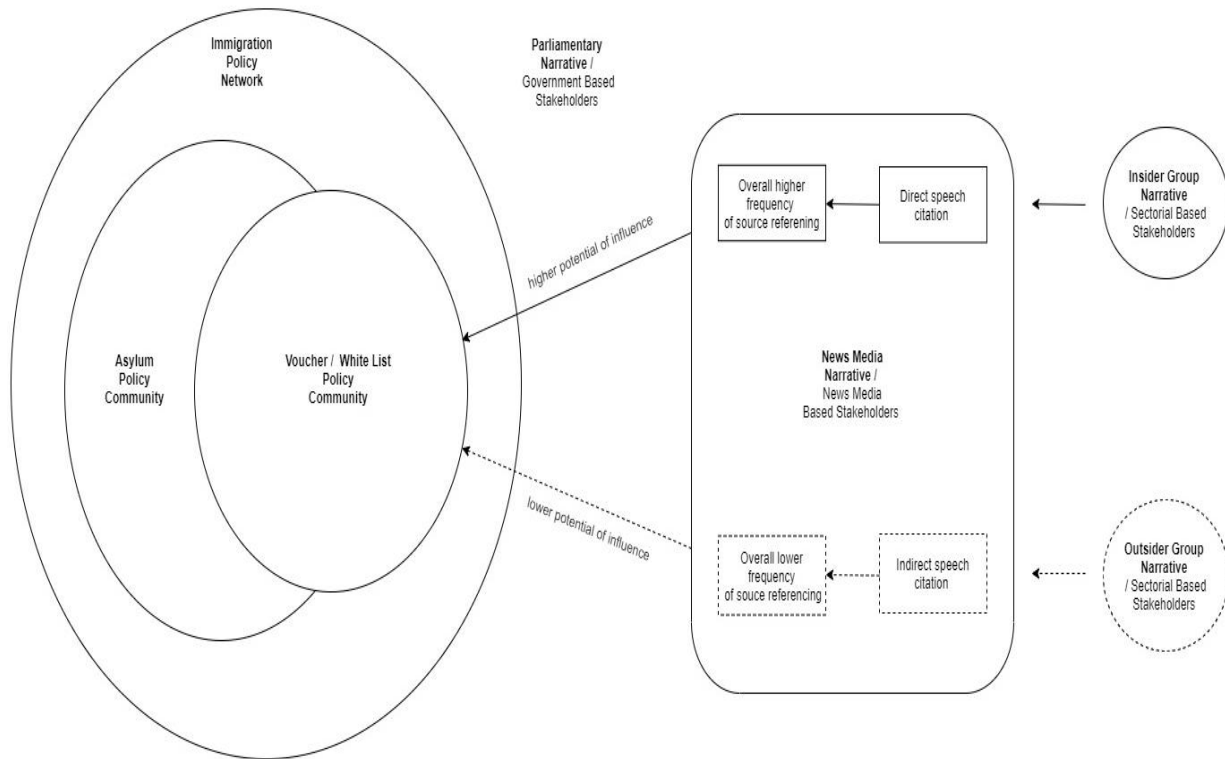
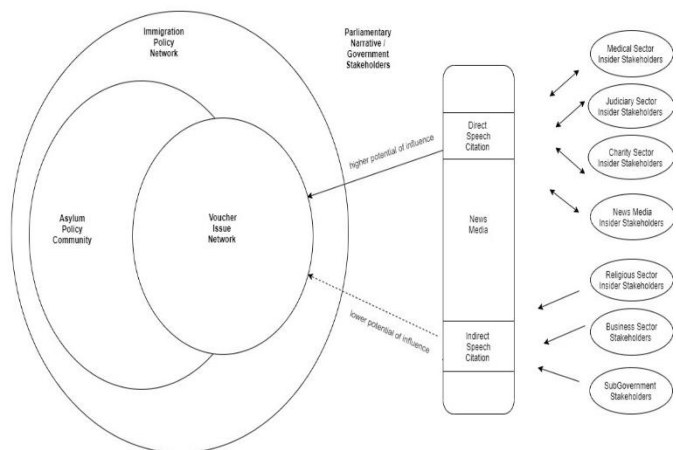


Diagram 14 builds on Diagram 3, which was developed to conceptualise how the news media was able to influence the conditions under which stakeholders were able to contribute to the policy discourse. Diagram 14 however, more concisely categorises stakeholders as being insider or outsider groups and more clearly details how the news media is able to influence the conditions under which they were able to contribute to the policy discourse.

Diagram 3: Interpretation of how the strength of interrelationship between news media stakeholders and sectorial stakeholders enabled the news media (as a contributing stakeholder) to influence the conditions under which other stakeholders were able to add to the voucher policy parliamentary debate

----- = attributed insider group status
 - - - = attributed outsider status



Conceptually, Diagram 14 is inspired by the stagist approach of Easton's systems theory (1953) and his 'black box' model of policy-making, which depicts the policy process as a system of inputs, decisions and outputs. In the context of this research, Easton's policy inputs are the demands and expectations for action and/or resources from sectorial-based and other government-based stakeholders who attempt to interact and influence the political system via the news media black box. Additionally, these demands and expectations for action and/or resources may come from individual news media-based stakeholders who attempt to interact and influence the political system via news media stakeholders who represent the black box. Within the black box, news media stakeholders convert these demands and expectations into policy outputs - decisions in the form of what syntax and semantics are used in the priming and framing of keywords and phrases in news media discourse about what actions should be adopted, measures implemented, or resources used to address the policy issue. Easton's policy outcomes are the impact that these have in terms of informing parliamentary and public discourse, which, in turn, may cause reactions from sectorial stakeholders in the form of new demands and expectations that feed back into the system as policy inputs.

A number of critiques can be made regarding Diagram 3 that are common of criticisms of systems theory in general. Namely, if news media-based stakeholders are able to influence the conditions under which other stakeholders can contribute to the discourse, then this would suggest that the evolution of the case study was likely to be linear and sequential, with each stage operating relatively independently from the next. This is not a true representation of the policy processes of the real world however, which are arguably more iterative and interdependent. Diagram 14 demonstrates how news media-based stakeholders are able to influence the conditions under which other stakeholders can contribute to policy discourse, but in a strategically reiterative manner. More specifically, sectorial based stakeholders' policy inputs are converted into policy outputs, via the black box that is the news media, in its role as both conduit and contributor. Policy inputs (sectorial stakeholder demands for action or resources) influence policy outputs (news media-based stakeholder decisions to reference selected sectorial stakeholder inputs or make demands for action or resources recommend themselves).

Policy outputs impact policy outcomes based on the success of policy initiatives (which are based on what references and recommendations for action or resources were the most successful in influencing the voucher/whitelist policy discourse and shaping the policy agenda). These policy outcomes may create reactions from stakeholders in the form of new demands and expectations that feed back into the system as *policy inputs*. i.e., new demands for action or resources from sectorial stakeholders).

In addition, by spotlighting the different features and functions of each stage of policymaking, Diagram 14 identifies the interaction and interdependency between sectorial-based stakeholders themselves and between sectorial and news media-based stakeholders. By doing so, it endorses Simon's theory of 'bounded rationality' (1957) where separate stakeholders compensate for the limitations on their individual resources or ability to take action, by 'satisficing' and strategising their interrelationships with other stakeholders¹⁶³ in the pursuit of a next best alternative that will still enable them to achieve their organisational goals. This interpretation of how news media based stakeholders are able to influence the conditions under which sectorial stakeholders are able to contribute to the policy discourse, also exemplifies Rhodes' (1981, 1997a, 1999) 'power/resource dependence model' - where sectorial stakeholders are dependent on the news media for resources, and must prioritise their interaction with news media stakeholders in order to maximise their potential power to influence the policy discourse in a manner that would achieve their organizational goals.

That such interaction between stakeholders with vastly diverse power and resource potential takes place within the relaxed but regulated boundaries of the voucher and whitelist policy communities¹⁶⁴, operationalises Scharpf's (1997) 'rational choice theory' which argues that policy communities and networks provide opportunities for stakeholders to strategically interact in a manner of anticipatory adjustment in the process

¹⁶³ such as outsider groups interacting with insider groups, or insider groups interacting with media based stakeholders

¹⁶⁴ and by extension the asylum and immigration policy communities and networks they are oriented within

of resource exchange (Wildavsky, 1975, Jordan & Richardson 2003). This ties in with ‘networks of resources and networks of opportunities’ theory (Cinalli, 2014) where ‘networks of resources’ (i.e. sectorial stakeholders and particularly news media based stakeholders) expedite the transference of information between them. This interaction and information sharing reinforces the integrity of the resource network and by extension the policy community and results in a broader awareness and acknowledgement (and therefore potential influence) of individual stakeholders active within it (ibid.).

In this way, it indicates a potential contradiction in the pluralist-elitist debate on the nature and distribution of power. Networks of resources are pluralistic in nature and pluralists define power in terms of *power-over*, and is something that can be studied empirically through political process (Berndtson, 1995, p1). Elitists however, define power in terms of *power-to* and is able to be studied hypothetically through the theory of power reputations (Lukes, 2005, p17). The empirically observable interaction and information sharing within pluralistic networks of resources (exemplified by the advocacy coalition networks within the two case studies) reinforces the integrity of resource networks and results in a better awareness, acknowledgement (Cinalli, 2014) and potential influence of individual stakeholders over other stakeholders through its power reputation. As both contributor and conduit to the policy discourse, the news media has the *power to* (potential) and *power over* (Dahl, 1958, 1969) (actual) selected sectorial stakeholders by priming and framing their contributions to the overall voucher/whitelist policy narrative. This suggests that the news media is elitist-pluralist (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962) in nature, but in the context of operating within the case study policy communities and networks, has an elitist-neo-pluralist perspective.

‘Networks of opportunities’ facilitate the flow of information between all stakeholder groups contributing to the policy discourse. Within the context of this research, this would mean the exchange of information between insider and outsider sectorial stakeholder groups, or between insider groups and news media based and government based stakeholders. The stakeholders with more resources (i.e. insider

groups) represent the possibility for stakeholders with less resources (i.e. outsider groups) to make a more impactful contribution to the policy discourse through seizing opportunities in which to do so. Opportunity network analysis (Cinalli, 2014) explores the process of outsider group sectorial stakeholders seizing opportunities to interact and information share with insider group sectorial stakeholders, or insider group sectorial stakeholders with parliamentary and news media stakeholders, in order to affect meaningful change within the policy community - such as an attempt to influence issue definition and decision making with regard to a specific policy issue or initiative.

The key difference between networks of resources and networks of opportunities, is that the latter, when mobilised, can potentially affect change *outside* the confines of the policy community, owing to insider stakeholders having greater access to a greater number of channels of exchange operating across a greater number of networks. This conforms to the political version of resource mobilisation theory - *political opportunity theory*¹⁶⁵ - which acts as an overarching theoretical framework for opportunity network analysis (Cinalli, 2014 p308 - 309). From this perspective, networks of opportunities, such as parliamentary and news media stakeholders, can potentially rewrite the dominant definition of the voucher and whitelist policy initiatives; reassign those sectorial stakeholders considered to be insider and outsider groups operating within it and renegotiate the boundaries between the voucher or whitelist policy community and the broader asylum and immigration policy network.

Within the context of this research investigation, ‘facilitating the network of resources and being a network of opportunities’ would best describe the dual contributor/conduit role of the news media as it is depicted in Diagram 14. The news media embodies the network of resources, by being a resource of information for stakeholders and expediting the transference of information between them. It also embodies the

¹⁶⁵ Where the actions and interactions of policy actors and the realisation of their policy aims and objectives are influenced and impacted by the consistency of contentiousness in issue related policy and subsequent availability of political opportunity (Eisinger, 1973; Tilly, 1978; McAdam, 1982; Tarrow, 1998 and Meyer, 2004).

network of opportunities by providing stakeholders (specifically insider group stakeholders that are cited frequently and directly) the opportunity to engage with other insider group stakeholders, and through news media stakeholders, the potential to engage with parliamentary stakeholders and potentially maximize their collective impact by influencing the policy discourse and shape the policy agenda.

Networks of resources and networks of opportunities are reminiscent of Dearing and Rogers' (1996) critique of Cobb and Elder's (1960, 1972, 1983) *agenda categories*. Cobb and Elder (1960, 1972, 1983) argue that the most dominant issue definitions and most decision making options are determined by stakeholders who have the capacity, i.e. resources, to set the policy agenda within each successive stage of the discussion and decision making process. Therefore, any discourse within each agenda category is essentially predetermined and the boundaries between them are fairly fixed. However, Dearing and Rogers (1996) argue that discourse is not set and boundaries remain flexible. In other words, definitions, decisions and stakeholder positions can shift, based on the salience of the policy issue in both its attention (Downs, 1972) and expansion cycles (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993) and can influence perceptions of its priority (Dearing and Rogers, 1996) and therefore its position on the policy agenda.

In addition, the utility of Diagram 14's interpretation of how news media based stakeholders are able to influence the conditions under which sectorial stakeholders can contribute to policy discourse operationalises Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, 1999) 'advocacy coalition framework'. This is in terms of insider group (and outsider group) coalitions having a consensus on their core belief systems and sharing a united aim in incorporating these beliefs into the formation of policy, as exemplified by the first case study, where the voucher policy initiative evolved from being proposed to amended to abolished after being subject to a strategic campaign of sustained criticism from a diverse coalition of stakeholders. In addition, the second case study validates the advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, 1999) in regard to the condemnation of the white list policy reversal from a wide range of sectorial, news media

and government stakeholders whose collective criticism of the white list coalesced around one central implication; that the use of a white list for asylum applications would result in summary decisions being made. In this respect, perhaps this research investigation can contribute to the literature that attempts to give an empirical examination of Easton's systems theory, such as those found in output studies, including Dawson and Robinson (1963), Dye (1966) and Hofferbert (1974, in Cairney, 2012, p114-115) who collectively call for the need to consider how socio-economic conditions (i.e. resources and power to take action) limit or boost the potential for stakeholders to interact and information share and collectively influence the policy process.

Furthermore, given the constantly revolving political agenda of the news media industry (Tyler, 2006) Diagram 14 also demonstrates the validity of Kahneman and Tversky's (1979, 2003) 'prospect theory' in terms of arguing that policy makers must make intuitive decisions relating to highly complex social issues that have to be made within a limited time period. For example, intuitive decisions relating to voucher and white list policy, in a social and political climate where anti-asylum vitriol and criticism of Labour's asylum and immigration policy objectives peaked during the issue attention cycles of the voucher and whitelist policy initiatives (Downs, 1972). In terms of being "disjointed" and "muddling through", this evokes consideration of Lindblom's (1959, p81) 'incrementalist' model of the policy process.

In essence, by adopting Easton's systems theory model as a general theoretical framework within which to attempt to explain variations in policy outputs in the form of the inability of the Labour Government to decisively define its voucher and whitelist policy objectives, Diagram 14 from an elite-neo-pluralistic perspective, demonstrates how the strength of interrelationship between news media stakeholders and sectorial stakeholders is directly related to the strength of impact that sectorial stakeholders have on engaging with parliamentary stakeholders, influencing the policy discourse and shaping the policy agenda. In doing so the diagram also indicates how, in its role as influencing the conditions under which stakeholders are able to contribute to the voucher

and whitelist policy discourse, it has a conductive, but primarily contributive role in adding to the policy discourse, shaping the policy agenda and instigating the voucher/whitelist policy reversals.

Going Forward

Arguably one of the main limitations of employing the PC&N perspective is that focuses on explaining organisational behaviour, but not the behaviour of individuals within the organisation who make policy decisions. It is difficult to determine the true interests and motivations of these policy actors, making it impossible to be completely accurate in analysing why policy decisions change. The PC&N perspective's utility lies in its ability to analyse policy relationships rather than personal ones. Additionally, the PC&N perspective is pluralistic, meaning it is easy to generalise it as a way to explain policy-making systems. However, each policy sector is unique, and multiple sectors may exist within a single sector. Furthermore, different policy actors also have different power relationships, so the PC&N perspective cannot be considered a one-size-fits-all approach.

However, the policy communities and networks perspective is an effective lens to look through in order to understanding issue definition, decision making and policy change. By applying the PC&N perspective to understanding the influence of the news media in shaping the policy agenda this research investigation contributes to the extensive existing literature by applying this to a new policy area - asylum and immigration. By also applying the PC&N perspective to the role of the news media in asylum and immigration policy issue definition, decision making and policy change, this research investigation contributes to the extensive existing literature on the influence of the news media on the development of opinion making but also the emergent literature on the influence of the news media on the development of policy making. In addition, through its empirical examination of the evolution of case study asylum and immigration policy reversals, this research investigation makes a further original contribution to knowledge

by utilising a new methodology, content analysis, in identifying the existence and membership of policy communities and networks and insider groups active within them. In sum, this thesis provides strong evidence that the policy communities and networks perspective is a valid approach for understanding the nature of policymaking and the role of the news media in shaping policy agendas.

Future directions for further research on the basis of this investigation is an examination of the utility of the decentred approach in determining the role of the news media in the relationship between immigration policy formation at the macro level and its implementation at the micro level, as a way of explaining policy change, through *bottom up* policymaking. Based on their constructivist, anti-foundational model, Bevir and Rhodes (1999) point out the inconsistency within policy network analysis for explaining the changes that occur within them. In the context of this investigation, 'change' refers to competing definitions of an immigration issue, decisions made in regard to the competing proposals with which to deal with the issue, insider group status in terms of competing stakeholders making those proposals and reversals in terms of the retraction of a proposal based on new information.

Bevir and Rhodes (1999) argue that much of the literature on policy network analysis consider 'change' to be unpredictable, difficult to comprehend and difficult to convey in terms of the complexity, unpredictability and multiplicity of forces involved in causing it (in Bevir and Richards, 2009, p134). They point out that, in attempting to explain the changes that occur within policy networks, much of the literature focuses on exogenous causal factors that, in the context of this investigation would include (predominantly negative) socio-economic narratives, ideological concepts and theories and prescriptive institutional traditions that have been formed in response to the dilemmas, problems or anomalies created and caused by a given immigration issue (ibid. p141). However, this ignores endogenous factors such as stakeholders' desires, beliefs and strategies that are constructed in response to these narratives, theories and traditions, as potential causes for these changes (i.e. issue definition, decision making and policy

reversals) to occur. (Hay and Richards, 2000, Richardson, 2000, Marsh and Smith, 2002, in Bevir and Richards, 2009, p136-138).

Bevir and Rhodes anti foundational model builds on Collingwood's (1965) theory that knowledge is created rather than discovered, and so 'facts' are constructed using narratives, theories and traditions that are inaccurate, incomplete and open to interpretation (1965, p99, in Bevir and Rhodes 1999, p13). Therefore, based on the conclusions in this research investigation¹⁶⁶, examining the degree to which the news media's construction of false socio-economic narratives, ill-informed ideological theories and prescriptive institutional traditions that have formed in response to the perceived problems caused by a given immigration issue (ibid. p141) are a causal factor in the construction of a sectorial stakeholder's desires, beliefs, strategies and action to mobilise and find ways to resolve policy problems at the micro level and influence political decisions at the macro level. For example, provide a different definition of an immigration issue or propose a new way with which to deal with the issue.

In sum, applying a decentred study of policy networks, as a method to understanding the role of the news media in the relationship between immigration policy formation at the macro level and its implementation at the micro level would more accurately indicate the degree of influence of the news media in issue definition, decision making and policy change; more thoroughly represent the complex scenarios that surround power relations, more precisely interpret the rationale and strategic actions of policy stakeholders within the political systems of the real world and most importantly, provide an alternative approach to examining policy making in an emergent field of policy science research, asylum and immigration policy network analysis.

¹⁶⁶ that the news media is primarily a contributor to the development of the policy process, has a predominantly negative body of bias in its narrative regarding immigration issues and immigration policy initiatives and exerts substantial influence in shaping the policy agenda by influencing the conditions under which other stakeholders are able to contribute to the debate

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

1 COST: The voucher support system will be more costly to administer than the reinstatement of the benefits support system and (despite claims to the contrary) will not deter economic migrants.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER:** However, I wonder whether the **White Paper** has taken sufficient heed of the administrative costs of the new procedures....: *HL Deb, 2nd December 1998, vol 595:c514*
2. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** It is a hugely inefficient system which is costly in cash terms and in terms of human dignity.... *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c65- 66*
3. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The consequence of this will be that the new system will become more and more costly to administer. – *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **JOINT COUNCIL FOR THE WELFARE OF IMMIGRANTS:** The extra administrative costs of applying a complex immigration status test to ... an immigration status and destitution test to community care, including costs of internal review, appeal and judicial review, are likely to outweigh the estimated benefit savings. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
5. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** It has been accepted by the Government that the **reinstatement of welfare benefits would be cheaper** and less cumbersome- *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
6. **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ASSOCIATION:** **Vouchers are costly and bureaucratic** *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
7. **ASSOCIATION OF LONDON GOVERNMENTS.** There are additional administrative costs and some other difficulties. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
8. **ASSOCIATION OF LONDON GOVERNMENT:** It can work but prices are attached to it. - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999* –
9. **JAMES CLAPPISON (MP for Hertsmere, LAB):** From your point of view and your experience, you would regard it as a big undertaking to set up a new administration for all these purposes on a national basis? **ASSOCIATION OF LONDON GOVERNMENT:** Yes, and you will be very surprised at how much it will cost. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
10. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL:.** It is very costly in terms of unit cost per voucher. I wish the Home Office well; it will cost a fortune. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
11. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL** -It is the difference between 4p and 14p in the pound in overall costs....actual cost for the administration process.... I suppose that our greatest prejudice, apart from the cost,... *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
12. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** If the number of asylum applicants remained exactly the same and if they take up the new support arrangements that would be a more costly system than benefits. *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
13. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** There is general agreement that the system will be more costly; *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
14. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** Provision through vouchers will be costly... *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

15. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** The first point to make about the voucher system is that it will be more expensive on a per-person basis to administer than simply giving people income support... once the voucher system is in place, I am sure that the cost will exceed Government projections... Even though it will be more expensive to administer than simply giving people income support...*Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
16. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):** The Government may wish to proceed with a barmy system of vouchers—to reinvent money, create a new currency and distribute it to asylum seekers in a costly way—but...*Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
17. **JEREMY CORBYN (MP for Islington North, LAB):** while many existing asylum seekers in this country will continue to depend on food vouchers, handouts and little cash, a system that leads to high administrative costs and to very unpleasant experiences for many of those asylum seekers, who feel humiliation in their communities? *HC Deb 05 May 1999 Vol 330 c950*
18. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** ...The Home Secretary intends to devise an alternative support system instead of choosing the cheap and more straightforward option of the existing benefits system. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999* via
19. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):**...but we believe that it will still cost considerably more in the pound than delivering support through the more straightforward, existing Benefits Agency and cash. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
20. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** Subsection (1) is flawed in its inception... The only useful concession we have had concerns the travel costs...all this is starting to add up to a significant work package for the Asylum Support Directorate, and I suspect that the system will be extremely costly. The Bill provides for capping, and for limited budgets. If the system proves too costly, asylum seekers will suffer as the amount of direct support that they receive is reduced. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
21. **BARONNESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM):** As regards the voucher system, as the noble Lord, Lord Alton, said, it is important to remember that this is not a right.... But while the cash value of the voucher system will be only 70 per cent of income support, and the system has all the disadvantages of inflexibility—it can be exchanged only for a limited range of goods—it will be more cumbersome and costly to administer than social security benefits. I do not know how it meets the test of best value that all government departments are meant to be working towards. I understand that Switzerland dropped vouchers because they were impractical as well as demeaning. There is no evidence that the withdrawal of cash payments acts as a disincentive to migrate. The voucher system is much more costly to administer than benefits even without adding the cost of the 300 staff in the Asylum Support Directorate *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221*
22. **LORD AHMED (LAB):** The point has been made by almost all speakers that the system is expensive and bureaucratic. It was tried, and failed, in Switzerland. It has created an administration nightmare. Councils such as Hackney have given evidence to the effect that it costs three and a half times more... *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c232*
23. **LORD JUDD (LAB):** I am told that vouchers are costly to administer; that they are inflexible, with no provisions for change; and that they provide no opportunity to shop where it is economic as distinct from where the vouchers are acceptable... *HL Deb, 1 March 2000, Vol 610. C570*
24. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** It is a hugely inefficient system which is costly in cash terms...*HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c65- 66*
25. **THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD:** ...I suggest that from a humane point of view, as well as from a cost point of view and every other point of view, asylum seekers should simply use the other voucher system that we all use, which is called money. *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 905 – 906*
26. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM): Q:.** Will the Minister also tell the House how much it costs to operate the voucher scheme and whether it gives us value for money?
27. **NIGEL EVANS (MP for Ribbles Valley, Lancashire, CON):** But we know that the figure will be higher. Is it not true that the measures that the Government are taking today, with the launch of a voucher scheme, are just a knee-jerk panic reaction to a situation that has gone completely out of control under the present Government? It would be far better if, instead of trying to fuel the fire

with alternative means such as vouchers, the Government introduced mechanisms now which stopped the tide of economic migrants coming into this country in the first place. **HC Deb, 3rd April 2000 Vol 347.**

28. **JAMES CLAPPISON (MP for Hertsmere CON)** We had a long debate on the extent of support that asylum seekers will receive for their essential living expenses. Essential living needs mean food, and it concerns me that the costs of making a claim for asylum or for making an appeal may be deducted from essential living expenses. It is pernicious—to choose a word—for asylum seekers to have to decide between whether to meet the costs of making a claim for asylum or bringing an appeal and feeding and supporting their families. ILPA states that the proposal in the clause “is pernicious.... However, how can he justify regarding any of those expenses as essential living expenses, especially when they will be deducted from the small sums being provided for essential living needs?.. The clause alarmed the Immigration Law Practitioners Association; “pernicious” is a good description of it. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
- (IN RESPONSE) MIKE O’BRIEN. (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** ...The hon. Gentleman's first comment, which I think he again quoted from ILPA, was that the clause was a blank cheque. It is not a blank cheque, ...it will also allow flexibility to change the scheme, as we learn from experience... We want to consult widely with various groups, as we have throughout our debate on the Bill, and ensure that we listen carefully to what they say. Again as we have shown throughout discussion of the Bill, we are prepared to revise specific issues. We certainly want full consultation on the way in which the support system will work. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM): Q: What is their assessment of the cost of administering the voucher scheme** proposed in the Immigration and Asylum Bill compared with the cost of the present arrangements...?. **LORD WILLIAMS (LAB): A:** We have made no detailed assessment of the cost of administering the voucher scheme. However, one of the reasons we are contracting out the voucher scheme and subjecting it to competitive tender in the Autumn is to ensure that the administrative costs are kept as low as possible but consistent with the need for effective delivery of the service... *HL Deb 26 July 1999 Vol 604 c137-138*
2. **MIKE O’BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** ... We certainly do not claim that we are providing a generous package, but it must be seen as a whole and in that respect it is adequate. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
3. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** The evidence is in the figures, which show that, although the cost per head of benefits in kind is slightly higher than that of cash benefits, the take up of cash benefits is very much greater. There is also considerable evidence to suggest that cash benefits act as a "pull factor" in the case of economic migrants from eastern European countries who have no basis whatever for asylum claims.... *HC Deb 22 February 1999 Vol 326 C45-46*
4. **ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:** There are additional administrative costs and some other difficulties... *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
5. **JUSTICE:** It is envisaged that support for asylum seekers will be based upon support in kind, even though it is recognised that this is more cumbersome to deliver and more expensive in unit cost, the rationale being that it will deter economic migration. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
6. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** Yes. The unit cost of providing cash support per asylum seeker or per asylum-seeking family is marginally less than the unit cost of providing support in kind. However, the take-up is hugely different. The overall cost is very much less if you provide support in kind, because there is no pull factor. *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
7. **MIKE O’BRIEN: (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** The cashless system is more costly to operate than a full cash system but, in overall costs, it has less of a pull factor and it is likely that fewer people will make false claims for asylum. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

8. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** ... There is no doubt that the availability of cash benefits in the social security system is a major pull factor that encourages fraudulent claims at port. It is one of the factors that encourages many people whose claims are wholly without foundation to come in clandestinely, particularly to Dover and other south-east ports, from Eastern Europe and other countries where they are not under any threat of persecution. They come in principally to claim cash benefits. *HC Deb 21 May 1999 vol 333 C16*
9. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** The only people who seek support in kind are those who actually need it. It is, I am afraid, a fact of life that if you provide cash benefits, payments and individuals are, by definition, much more difficult to track, and the system is much more open to abuse. There is no question about it; they have acted as a pull factor.... We have the difficult job of distinguishing one from the other. However, there is little doubt that the availability of cash benefits acts as a pull...I am quite clear that cash benefits would still be a pull factor because, given the relative differences in standards of living and the value of money, social security cash benefits paid in an easily tradeable international currency are a major attraction, even if they are available only for only six months. I have no doubt about that. *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
10. **MIKE O'BRIEN: (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** .Our objective is to restore its integrity...Removing access to benefit, which is a factor for economic migrants, will, in the long term, help to restore integrity to the system and enable genuine refugees to be recognised more quickly. *Standing Committee, Twenty First Sitting, (Part 1) Tuesday 11th May 1999*
11. **TONY BLAIR, (THE PRIME MINISTER, LAB):** We are not consigning asylum seekers to poverty. Indeed, a voucher system already exists. However, it is important that we clean up the system. Many bogus claims are being made. It is not right that we carry on with the present system. As the right hon. Gentleman knows, we inherited a mess, with a backlog of tens of thousands of claims. The new system will be fairer and faster and will deter the bogus asylum seeker. *HC Deb 16 June 1999 Vol 333 cc386*

STAKEHOLDER RESPONSE (TO GOVERNMENT RESPONSE)

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The Government has projected that the costs associated with the new support system will go down over the next three years based on two assumptions. First that the numbers of applications will go down because cash benefits will not be available. As outlined above, all the evidence would indicate that this assumption is fundamentally flawed. The Refugee Council believes the support system outlined in the Bill is fundamentally flawed. There is no evidence to support the notion that asylum seekers come to Britain because of a cash based benefit system. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The Government argues that the payment of cash benefits is an incentive for economic migrants...However, all the available evidence indicates that this assumption is wrong. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **JUSTICE:** It is acknowledged that in-kind support is more costly to provide and administer; the justification would therefore have to rest upon the aim of 'reducing economic incentives to migration' which, as Matthew Craven points out, may not be sufficient in itself, particularly as it is unproven and indeed contradicted by some statistical evidence. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **REFUGEE COUNCIL** The establishment of a largely cashless system of support for destitute asylums seekers is unlikely to have any real impact on the number of applications made in the UK. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 18th March 1999*
5. **THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD:** I do not believe for one moment that it will work as a deterrent...It will not work as a deterrent... *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 905 – 906*
6. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM)...** there is no evidence that the withdrawal of cash payments acts as a disincentive to migrate. The voucher system is much more costly to administer than benefits...*HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221*
7. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):**The motive behind the voucher system--to exercise a significant disincentive effect--is shameful. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999_*

8. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** ...that the overall costs would go down was made on the basis of the Home Secretary's **unsupported suggestion that there is a huge pull factor for cash payments** that would somehow disappear once they have been entirely replaced by vouchers *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
9. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM)** We all want--although we have different degrees of faith that the Government will manage it--to achieve the six-month time limit--**If we achieve it, I contend that there will be no significant difference in the comparative attractiveness to asylum seekers of a cash payment or a voucher payment.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
10. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** **The intended disincentive effect is the principle of the workhouse. ...Just as the Victorian workhouse was intended to have a significant disincentive effect, so is the voucher support system. Like the workhouse, that system will prove to be cruel and indefensible in practice.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
11. **LORD ALTON OF LIVERPOOL (LIB DEM):** At that time **Members of your Lordships' House moved amendments** against the dispersal system and **against the voucher system,** pointing out that **the voucher system would not be effective as a disincentive** and that it would stigmatise people. *HC Deb 29th October 2001 Vol 627 C1197*
12. **NEIL GERRARD (MP for Walthamstow LAB):** I still could not understand **why we should give people vouchers that they could use in supermarkets rather than the equivalent amount in cash.** If they had cash, they would have the freedom and the choice to decide where, how and when to spend the money. If £30 or £40 in cash in hand are a draw, **why is a piece of paper that is worth that amount if spent in a supermarket not considered to be a draw?** I do not understand the logic of the distinction. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
13. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** **...Ministers overestimate the pull factor of benefits and fail to give enough emphasis to the push factor of the economic, political and military conditions from which people are escaping. Punitive and inadequate as the support arrangements are,** they will not be accompanied by any palpable lessening of the flow of asylum seekers. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
14. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM):** I must disagree with the noble Lord, Lord Warner, who is no longer in his place. **It is a mistake to say that cash payments are a "pull factor". The statistics simply do not bear that out.** *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221*
15. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM)** There is much evidence to show that vouchers do not act as a deterrent; indeed, we are told that cash is a pull factor.... There are certainly administrative problems with a voucher system and there is the point about the stigma..., I believe to be foolhardy. *HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1144-1145*
16. **HUMPFREY MARLINS (CON)...**He told us that he wanted a faster and fairer system. He wanted stronger controls at ports, and effective enforcement against those not entitled to stay. He introduced the voucher system, saying that there was much evidence to suggest that cash benefits acted as a pull factor. We know that the then Home Secretary was wrong in that respect. **Vouchers stigmatised asylum seekers and did not reduce the number of applications,** which rose from 46,000 in 1998 to more than 80,000 two years later. Many hon. Members have congratulated the present Home Secretary on his rapid reversal of his predecessor's policy. *HC Deb 24 April 2002 vol 384 c426*

2. INHUMANITY (etc.): The voucher support system in inhumane, demeaning, stigmatising, has no respect for an asylum seeker's dignity and undermines Britain's international legal obligations.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (HUMANITY)

1. **UNHCR:** **.To compound all that, those children are denied equality in the playground and are pointed at as the voucher children. We regard that as fundamentally unacceptable and even inhumane.-** *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*

2. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** That is not a humane or appropriate system. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
3. **RICHARD ALLEN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** It is very disturbing. The only logical outcome is to say to a church organisation or a charity, "If an asylum seeker presents himself, do not under any circumstances offer him ordinary, humane support. Send him straight down to the Asylum Support Directorate, because as soon as you offer him something you will be in trouble." *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
4. **LORD COPE OF BERKELEY (CON):** I believe that the Government must get on top of the asylum applications backlog before they start to introduce this other policy. Otherwise the support system will not work well and it will not work humanely. We all want it to work humanely for all these people... The amendment suggests that we should take the Government at their word and say, "Introduce this new support system once you have achieved the target and then you will stand a much better chance of being able to introduce it humanely and efficiently in the interests of all those concerned and in the interests of the good name of our country". Therefore I support Amendment No. 118. *HL Deb 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1147-8*

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (STIGMATISING)

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** It ... and stigmatises asylum seekers in general. - *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** Section VI will leave many asylum seekers isolated from their own communities yet stigmatised in the wider community *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **JUSTICE:** ...As Matthew Craven's Note says, `they will be made permanently visible, stigmatised by their inability to use the normal mechanisms for exchange or purchase and enjoy many of the everyday prerogatives of community life... *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL :** Voucher...stigmatise the recipients- *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
5. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL:** Certainly, if you want to identify people in a community as different, separate and special and to stigmatise them when they hold up queues in supermarkets, a voucher system is a good way of doing it. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
6. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL** It is a very difficult balancing act between Mr. Ransford's point about maintaining a realistic service on the one hand and on the other making it sensitive enough to avoid people being stigmatised - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
7. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** Provision through vouchers will be costly and will distinguish people. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
8. **DIANE ABBOTT: (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB)** In areas of east London where these vouchers are used, the children are stigmatised as voucher children...These children ...will bear the stigma of being different, being voucher children. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
9. **RT REV. LORD SHEPHERD...** Children in the playground are called "voucher children". The stigma of being called names does not help them to feel welcome and accepted. *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c228*
10. **THE EARL OF SANDWICH (CON).** the new system will lead to queuing, black markets and stigmatisation... *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c232*
11. **LORD AHMED (LAB):** The point has been made by almost all speakers that the system is expensive and bureaucratic. It was tried, and failed, in Switzerland. It has created an administration nightmare. Councils such as Hackney have given evidence to the effect that it costs three and a half times more, and it stigmatises people. ... It causes people a great deal of hardship. My fear is that it will also create begging, illegal work and crime. There will be repercussions. There will also be race relations problems. *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c232*

12. **THE LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK:** ... children in families, as well as adults, are to be transferred to the voucher system, with all the shame and stigma that that can involve and which would be so acutely felt by children in particular. *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c192*
13. **JULIE MORGAN (MP for Cardiff, North LAB):** the experience of the Welsh Refugee Council is that it is stigmatising and creates major problems for daily living. *HC Deb 25 February 1999 vol 326 c604*
14. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM):** ... Kent County Council social services believe that vouchers are a nightmare. They create community tensions due to the stigma attached to them and the fact that they hold up supermarket queues. There are great fears of a black market emerging with refugees being forced to sell their vouchers below value because of their desperate need for more cash for, say, travel, stamps and 'phone cards *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 cc222 – 225*
15. **LORD GRAHAM (LAB):** The voucher system administered not by the DSS but by the Home office would stigmatise women and their children... It will impose hardship and inestimable stress and anxiety.... *HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1143*
16. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM):** ...They will immediately be identified and, therefore, capable of being discriminated against and stigmatised..... There are certainly administrative problems with a voucher system and there is the point about the stigma..., I believe to be foolhardy. *HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1144-1145*
17. **VISCOUNT BRENTFORD (CON):** On the matter of being stigmatised—I support what the right reverend Prelate said about that—I am concerned about the children because I understand that they are likely to be stigmatised as "voucher kids" which will make life more difficult for them.: *HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1146*
18. **LORD JUDD (LAB):** ... Above all, vouchers are seen as humiliating and stigmatizing for those compelled to use them.. *HL Deb, 1 March 2000, Vol 610. C570*
19. **LORD JUDD (LAB):** There is absolutely no doubt that there is a stigma attached to being compelled to make essential purchases with vouchers. There is already evidence that abuse is mounting towards asylum seekers when they are identified in that way.: *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 899- 900*
20. **THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD:** All voluntary organisations are very uneasy indeed about the voucher system... the voucher system is demeaning to people.....It will not work as a deterrent. Moreover, they are having a stigmatising and demeaning effect on all refugee applicants in the country at present..I suggest that from a humane point of view... *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 905 – 906*
21. **BARONESS HOWELLS OF ST DAVID'S (LAB):** There are real issues about stigmatisation and the creation of a visible social underclass"... Reports of the humiliation of asylum seekers trying to use vouchers. *HL Deb, 07 July 2000 Vol 614: Col 1760*
22. **SIMON HUGHES (MP for Bermondsey and Old Southwark, LIB DEM):** If anything will stigmatise people who are already stigmatised, it is the fact that they must go out on the street unable to act like self-respecting citizens. *HC Deb, 20 December 2000 Vol 359: Col 535*
23. **ANDREW LANSLEY (MP for South Cambridgeshire, CON):** ...we could try to dispense with the voucher scheme and escape from the risk of stigmatisation and abuse associated with vouchers; and we could give people with a genuine case for refugee status the facilities and support that they need *HC Deb 24th October 2001 Vol 373 Col: 98*
24. **IAIN COLEMAN (MP for Hammersmith and Fulham, LAB):** The first was the degrading and stigmatising effect that it had on those people who had to use the vouchers... *HC Deb 29th October 2001 Vol 373 Col:636*
25. **HUMPFREY MARLINS (MP for Woking, CON):** Three years ago, the then Home Secretary...told us that he wanted a faster and fairer system. He introduced the voucher system, saying that there was much evidence to suggest that cash benefits acted as a pull factor. We know that the then Home Secretary was wrong in that respect. **Vouchers stigmatised asylum seekers and did not reduce the number of applications**, which rose from 46,000 in 1998 to more than 80,000 two years later. Many hon. Members have congratulated the present Home Secretary on his rapid reversal of his predecessor's policy *.HC Deb 24 April 2002 vol 384 c426*

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (DESTITUTION)

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** Other asylum seekers will be left entirely **destitute**. - *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** The pre-election promise to operate a system in which genuine asylum-seekers are treated with respect and not left **destitute** is a hollow one...*Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **JUSTICE:** These cases related to asylum-seekers whose cases were still live and who faced **destitution** without the provision of some state support. - *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **JUSTICE:**...th a choice between **destitution** and abandoning a live claim for protection... *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (DIGNITY)

1. **NEIL GERRARD** ((MP for Walthamstow **LAB**)): ...is sufficient to maintain any dignity for someone living on vouchers. *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c86*
2. **RICHARD ALLAN:** (MP for Sheffield, Hallam **LIB DEM**): ...It is a hugely inefficient system which is costly in cash terms and in terms of human dignity.... *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c65- 66*
3. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** Living in a cashless system will cause asylum seekers severe hardship and **rob individuals of their dignity**. - *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** The proposed new arrangements do not respect the **dignity** of asylum-seekers... *AI - Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
5. **UNHCR:** but they are not being denied the **dignity** of being able to buy something. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
6. **UNHCR** All asylum seekers are thus entitled to be treated in **dignity**... *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
7. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL** ...The provisions for support in the Bill do not ensure that the inherent dignity of the asylum-seeker is respected and will create a further shambles. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
8. **MEDICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE CARE OF THE VICTIMS OF TORTURE:** Proposals to provide support wholly or mainly in kind rob asylum seekers of autonomy and privacy, **humiliate** them... *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
9. **MICHAEL MARTIN** (Speaker of the House, **LAB**): ...I welcome vouchers being abolished because, as I know from experience in my constituency, they take away people's dignity. *HC Deb 29th October 2001 Vol 373 C647*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **JACK STRAW** (Secretary of State, **LAB**): ...Accommodation is likely to be in clusters, taking account as far as possible of support available from existing communities. Other support will be mainly in kind or in vouchers, with cash payments kept to a minimum. Support will be given only to those who are destitute or who are likely to become destitute. *HC Deb 22 February 1999 Vol 326 C45-46*
2. **LORD BASSAM OF BRIGHTON** (Parliamentary Under-Secretary, **LAB**): The new support arrangements provide that asylum seekers who would otherwise be destitute may be supported by the National Asylum Support Service....There will also be a cash voucher valued at £10 per person per week which can be exchanged for cash. The scheme is intended fully to meet the United Kingdom's international obligations in relation to those who are genuinely fleeing persecution while at the same time deterring those who are seeking to evade immigration control by using the asylum process. *HL Deb, 6 March 2000, c125*

3. **LORD BASSAM OF BRIGHTON (Parliamentary Under-Secretary, LAB):** So far the much-criticised voucher scheme has been working, in the main, entirely satisfactorily. **There are now over 19,000 retail outlets involved**, including specialist shops. **Our contractor, Sodexho Pass, continues to seek to extend the network of retailers...** But I believe that we have taken adequate steps to ensure reasonable means so that asylum seekers do not become destitute. We have to strike a balance. The mix of voucher and cash payment attempts to do that. *HL Deb, 07 July 2000 Vol 614: Col 1765*

3. SOCIAL EXCLUSION: The voucher support system institutionalises social exclusion and (despite claims to the contrary) creates community tensions and increases risk of racial harassment.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** The new system will create a new class of socially excluded people. It is a bitter irony that we have a Government who pride themselves on their social exclusion unit yet at the same time intend to create a category of people who will be the most excluded since the days of the workhouse. How much more excluded can one be than to be forced into designated accommodation and then made to use vouchers to purchase goods in certain shops only? *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c65- 66*
2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** There is a real danger that the new system will be as chaotic as the existing support mechanism and that asylum seekers will become more and more **socially excluded**.... there is a real danger that this system will undermine the government's commitment to combatting **social exclusion**. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **JOINT COUNCIL FOR THE WELFARE OF IMMIGRANTS:...**They offend the right to respect for privacy and family life by **institutionalising social exclusion**. *JCWI Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **MEDICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE CARE OF THE VICTIMS OF TORTURE:** Objections to the **systematic social exclusion** of asylum seekers have been ignored - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*.
5. **RWS. If there is no cash** whatever because at present it is cashless--the majority will, I assume, **come back to London if they are greatly isolated**, and the voluntary sector, the London boroughs and the refugee community organisations will have to pick up the pieces.. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*.
6. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL...it singles people out from the rest of the population** and it is open to abuse.... Certainly, if you want to identify people in a community as different, separate and special and to stigmatise them when they hold up queues in supermarkets, a voucher system is a good way of doing it. - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
7. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL: It has created community tensions...** *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
8. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL....** For us in local government, that becomes a problem because it creates **community tension and makes visible racial tensions** ...*Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
9. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):...** will create the enormous social problems that we have heard about in the Kent example, which all of us can imagine happening in our own constituencies, with asylum seekers, in shabby clothing because they will not have received any money in their support payments for new clothing, going to Sainsbury's check-outs with the vouchers, which will distinguish and separate them from everyone else, and then returning to their accommodation. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
10. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ...The Minister mentioned the Labour Government's record on race relations to decry any attempt to describe any of the Bill's provisions as either intentionally or unintentionally racist. However, I continue

to find one aspect of the Bill baffling. ...What I find baffling is how the Home Secretary can have a general policy on race that tends in one direction, yet a policy on immigration and asylum that tends in quite another. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

11. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):**... the proposals will not choke off the flow of asylum seekers. They will simply result in a bad system being made even more chaotic and in asylum seekers and would-be asylum seekers being placed in even more disadvantaged and socially excluded conditions. What is the point of the Government talking about fighting social exclusion, when the Bill will put in place a framework of social exclusion for a particular group of people--including, as I said earlier, children? *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
12. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB).** Although we believe that refugees may be disadvantaged by having to use vouchers, the ordinary citizen who sees those vouchers will say, "Hang on a minute; that is different. You have something special." If they had cash...no one would notice. They would slip through the checkouts unnoticed, people being no wiser about their status. That distinction is crucial.
Dr. Stephen Ladyman (MP for South Thanet LAB): The hon. Gentleman is hopelessly naive. I represent a Kent constituency with a high number of refugees; it is not the fact that they shop with vouchers that separates them from the rest of the community; it is the fact that they are recognisable as refugees. It is nothing to do with the vouchers; they would be recognised as refugees even if they had 10 notes.
Mr. Allan: I am grateful to the hon. Gentleman. I was simply citing the views of the director of social services in Kent, who felt that vouchers contributed to the problem. I take his words at face value. However, I accept that the use of vouchers is not the only distinguishing characteristic. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
13. **DIANE ABBOTT: (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):**, under the new system there is a risk...of racial harassment and racial attacks. ...The Commission for Racial Equality argues that that should be taken into account. It says that: "as highly visible newcomers without cash housed in areas which may be relatively racially homogenous, there is a real danger that they will be scapegoated by other disadvantaged groups and targeted in racial attacks".*Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
14. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM)**...How can the Government reconcile their laudable commitment to reducing social exclusion and promoting racial justice with the creation of a new social underclass under the voucher system? **HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221**
15. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM):** The right reverend Prelate the Bishop of Southwark spelt out the realities for refugees on the ground, like the woman from Uganda whom he cited, and the recipients of vouchers. In addition, the noble Lord, Lord Dholakia, reminded us that the price we will pay in damage to race relations is too great to justify either this social exclusion or the so-called pull factor effect. **HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c217**
16. **VERNON COAKER (LAB):** We must make progress on the Government's social exclusion agenda and targets for tackling child poverty, and apply them to refugee children. In that respect, the abolition of vouchers is welcome, but we must keep the level of support that we give to children and their families under constant review so that it is adequate and consistent with other Government objectives. **HC Deb 24 April 2002 vol 384 c409**

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** If people do not take up the offer of benefits in kind, we have to assume, I think correctly, that they have better facilities on offer from family or friends. *HO Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** ...First, there is the issue of racist thugs who might be waiting in the supermarket queue to attack asylum seekers. The Government's record on such issues is good: we introduce I do not doubt that racist gangs exist and that they are a threat, especially to asylum seekers. However, they would not have to wait in supermarket queues to identify them as unfortunately it is all too easy to identify victims by other means. That is regrettable, and it is something that we must tackle firmly. **However, I do not think that passing across the voucher is something that the**

asylum seeker needs to worry about significantly.... *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting Tuesday 4th May March 1999* via

4. VOLUNTARY SECTORY: the role of the voluntary sector in the voucher support system is ambiguous; (being both additional contracted support and alternative independent support).

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:** There are additional administrative costs and some other difficulties. Overall, we have been able to establish an operational system in collaboration with a number of private companies and supermarkets. By and large, that can be made to work and to work well. - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
2. **RICHARD ALLEN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):** The Minister said something quite disturbing in his response. He said that if a person who comes into the country becomes supported by a faith group, support group or whatever and then goes to the Asylum Support Directorate, it will say, 'You are being supported. You are not destitute.'... .. It is very disturbing. The only logical outcome is to say to a church organisation or a charity, 'If an asylum seeker presents himself, do not under any circumstances offer him ordinary, humane support' *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
3. **LORD JUDD (LAB):** The charities and voluntary organisations trying to meet the human needs in this complicated story are frequently appalled that applicants and their families can be expected to survive on less than the absolute basic minimum income regarded as essential for our own citizens...Charities will have to pick up the pieces ... we must surely recognise that the costs of meeting the humanitarian needs are a national responsibility and that local authorities and charities should be fully reimbursed. *HL Deb, 1 March 2000, Vol 610. C570*
4. **DAVID FABER (MP for Westbury, CON):** ...The Committee decided which witnesses to call and we have found those witnesses extremely impressive and very knowledgeable. The vast majority of those witnesses are involved in delivering the system in some way. Indeed, many of them are subsidised by the Government. *HO - Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
5. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ... the Minister.... is confusing two issues: the possibility of charities and voluntary groups being contracted to provide services under the support system, and the idea of charities and informal support groups as an alternative to the support system. Those are two different matters. We all agree that it would be good if voluntary groups could be contracted to help provide services; but that is different from viewing them as an alternative to the support system.... Does that include support or assets that might be available from faith groups, community groups or charities? *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999 via*
6. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** There is a danger that the churches, faith groups and voluntary groups will feel that they are being **taken for a ride...** We believe that, in the case of asylum seekers, the statutory right to support will be undermined to the extent that the churches and well-meaning people, like the hon. Member for Hallam and people in Hackney, choose to offer them help. That is quite different from any other group that presents itself for support. It seems that the more that the churches and well-meaning people do for asylum seekers, the less the state will be willing to do, and people will feel that they are being taken for a ride. The Minister has spoken warmly about church and voluntary groups, but there is a danger that their resources and their good will be stretched to breaking point under the regime that he seems to be outlining. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999 via*
7. **JAMES CLAPPISON (MP for Hertsmere CON):**... the Minister has apparently said that when the Asylum Support Directorate is deciding whether to give a person support and, if so, how much, it will consider whether he is receiving support from a church, charity or faith group, or might reasonably be expected to receive such support, which may disqualify them from receiving support. I found that inconceivable.... It will put the churches, faith groups and religious organisations in a difficult position, because if they start to give help to a person, or

hold themselves out as giving help, that person may be disqualified from receiving asylum support. It is not a question of the churches working in co-operation or being given work to do by the Government and so forth. It affects the decision whether to give the person support and, if so, how much. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999* _

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** I agree that the present system is inflexible and we intend to ensure that there is a wider choice... That means that we must reach a national agreement with the supermarket chains that vouchers will be more freely accepted. At present, they can often be used in only one supermarket in an area and are thus invalid everywhere else. It is important that there should be wider choice. ...The details are in the regulations. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** The vouchers will be redeemable against clothing or shoes that asylum seekers may wish to buy from supermarkets or other chains supplying those items. I am sure that the hon. Gentleman knows that many large supermarkets sell such items. We will negotiate with the large chains to ensure that the use of vouchers is acceptable. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)**..We hope that the voluntary sector will be actively involved in partnership in providing much of the support. When the tumult and the shouting have died, some parts of it may decide to put their great experience into effect. They may decide that not only can they provide what the Government want with the resources that we shall provide but that they wish to top up in various ways the services available to asylum seekers from other sources and other funding. We would encourage that... *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
4. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** The hon. Member for Hallam spoke about the voluntary sector participating in organising the proper delivery of services. When the tumult and shouting about the Bill dies down, I hope that the voluntary agencies will consider an active role in ensuring a high standard of support for asylum seekers. It will be an opportunity for people such as those in Oxford West and Abingdon to provide local support for asylum seekers. I would encourage them to continue to provide support and perhaps to extend it, but also to consider whether they might want to contract with the Government to provide good quality accommodation for asylum seekers....As to the extent to which charities are expected to assist, we do not intend to follow the previous Government's line in the 1996 Act and remove support, saying that it will be for charities to pick up the tab. That is not a suitable way to proceed; **we cannot expect charities, which already have many commitments, to deplete their resources to undertake what is a Government responsibility.** ... We all pay tribute to the valuable work done by the voluntary sector in supporting asylum seekers. The success of the new arrangements will depend, in no small part, on their continuing with and building on their excellent work. We do not expect charities to deplete their resources to assist asylum seekers, but it is only sensible to take account of the assistance and facilities that they can offer asylum seekers and their help in assessing asylum seekers' level of destitution. There are many specialist groups in the refugee communities which have been set up precisely to assist the group that we are discussing and which attract charitable donations for that purpose., but there is some provision to encourage voluntary organisations to provide various services to asylum seekers in cluster areas; for example, language teaching, social and cultural support, organising social events and other activities which can build up a spirit of community. We want to encourage that development. Charities and the voluntary sector have a key role to play. ...As I said, we do not expect charities to fund the long-term support costs of families or individuals. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
5. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** The Bill's purpose is to create a national system that will prevent the **ad hoc provision** that we now at. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999 via*
6. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** We are setting up a national system of support to replace the **haphazard** local authority, voluntary and charitable **schemes** that are currently in place. *Special Standing Committee, Twenty First Sitting, (Part 1) Tuesday 11th May 1999*

7. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** We must ensure that those who have support from their own resources or from their community, their relatives or other sources, including organisations that may wish to support them, cannot also claim from the Asylum Support Directorate, as that would mean that they were claiming from two sources at once. Support from the voluntary sector will not be a bar to receiving support under the scheme, but it is right to take into account in certain circumstances—these will be set out in regulations on which we shall consult fully with the churches, the charities and all the other organisations—how we will operate this system...*Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
8. **MIKE O'BRIEN: (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** Some people coming into the country could be put in contact with a voluntary group, which could provide them with some support and be able to accommodate them for some time. In those circumstances, if an application for support were made to the Asylum Support Directorate, it could not be expected to fund costs that asylum seekers do not in practice have to pay.... but the basic idea is that if asylum seekers can gain adequate support from elsewhere, they are free to do so. If not, and they wish to receive support from the Asylum Support Directorate, they are able to do so.... *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
9. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** Charities such as the Refugee Council and others receive state funding to provide some services for asylum seekers. We will continue to support such services. As **charities provide support as agents acting on the Government's behalf**, it is quite right that they should be funded by the state. Clause 78 deals with that. However, we do not expect charities to step into the state's shoes... *Standing Committee, Twenty First Sitting, (Part 1) Tuesday 11th May 1999* via
10. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):**.... It will also allow flexibility to change the scheme, as we learn from experience... We want to consult widely with various groups, as we have throughout our debate on the Bill, and ensure that we listen carefully to what they say. Again as we have shown throughout discussion of the Bill, we are prepared to revise specific issues. We certainly want full consultation on the way in which the support system will work. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
11. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** Since becoming Secretary of State, I judge amendments to every Bill that I have dealt with on their merit. I do not judge amendments on the people who tabled them. You said that a number of organisations have given evidence and that they are all subsidised by the Government. The Government supports a number of organisations, but we make no requirement that, because we support them, they must come here and give evidence in our favour; quite the reverse. *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
12. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP Member for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):** ... **Q:** could the Minister tell us the extent to which he intends to use those kind of organisations for the delivery of services? Rather than seeing them as an alternative, something that one can use to avoid the Exchequer's responsibility to provide for asylum seekers, they would be good, co-operative and willing partners in delivering services. That, however, would require the Secretary of State to make a judgement that they are not the alternative to the support system but a partner in its delivery...
A....Mr. O'Brien (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB): That brings me to the role of charitable and other organisations. I want to reiterate the reassurance that I gave about them. **They have a clear role to play** in supporting asylum seekers. Among other things, we are in active discussion with several organisations, including the Refugee Council and the Refugee Arrivals Project.... State funds will be available if such organisations offer support that is comparable to what we might otherwise offer. If they are able to use state money to support asylum seekers, we will expect them to take advantage of state funding, which may be directed through a charitable or voluntary organisation. There are other circumstances in which support from the voluntary sector might be an alternative to or complement the support that the directorate can offer. ...*Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999* via

13. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** The offer or provision of temporary or limited support from a voluntary body would not place an ongoing liability on that body or disqualify the asylum seeker from entitlement to support... Let us be clear: we would not use the provision or regulations made under it to define a role for voluntary organisations that they were unable or unwilling to take on. ... There is no intention whatever to impose an obligation on the voluntary sector that it is unwilling to take on. The subsection will be used to form a partnership with the voluntary sector. *Standing Committee, Twenty First Sitting, (Part 1) Tuesday 11th May 1999* via

5. IMPRACTICAL: voucher support system is impractical, cumbersome and inflexible (is in fact simple and straightforward although more a wider choice to ensure more flexibility is important)

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL** We ... believe the Bill's provisions will be **impractical**. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL** The system proposed in Section VI is more expensive per person than benefits and more **cumbersome** to administer *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL** It has been accepted by the Government that the reinstatement of welfare benefits would be cheaper and less **cumbersome** *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM):** ...it can be exchanged only for a limited range of goods—it will be more **cumbersome** and costly to administer than social security benefits. **HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221**
5. **NEIL GERRARD (MP for Walthamstow LAB):** I do not understand the logic of the distinction. Instead of providing people with money, we are in danger of setting up a system that is cumbersome, bureaucratic and difficult to administer. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
6. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):**...: The Government clearly believe that it will work effectively, but I do not. I, therefore, see no reason why the Government should not accept the opening up of the system to give a mixture of vouchers and cash...*Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
7. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** The other problem with vouchers is that they are **inflexible**. ...The freedom for people to choose what they eat--they may have all sorts of religious and dietary requirements--is taken away. They have to take their voucher to a supermarket that the Secretary of State chooses and in some cases get their own foot. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
8. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** The **voucher system is wrong in principle**. The Government could have adopted other means to choke off bogus asylum claims. It will also pose practical problems, which the Committee has not even begun to explore.... There is no practical reason for the voucher system proposals...All sorts of practical problems will be caused by the arrangements that are being presented to the Committee *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
9. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP Member for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):** ... ask why the Government intend to go to the trouble of reinventing cash in order to distribute money to asylum seekers so that they can provide themselves with the basics of life? *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** We are restoring not a benefits system but a system of basic support if people are otherwise likely to be destitute. It is as simple and straightforward as that... That is a fairly **straightforward** position. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** I agree that the present system is inflexible and we intend to ensure that there is a wider choice... That means that we must reach a national agreement with the supermarket chains that vouchers will be more freely accepted. At present, they can often be used in only one supermarket in an area and are thus invalid everywhere else. It is important that there should be wider choice. ...The details are in the regulations. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999 [5.htm](#)*
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** The vouchers will be redeemable against clothing or shoes that asylum seekers may wish to buy from supermarkets or other chains supplying those items. I am sure that the hon. Gentleman knows that many large supermarkets sell such items. We will negotiate with the large chains to ensure that the use of vouchers is acceptable. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*

6. ABUSE: Abuse within the voucher support system includes the creation of a black market (acknowledged), the demonisation of asylum seekers through misleading rhetoric (exemplified) and retailers taking advantage of the 'no change' policy.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (BLACK MARKET):

1. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB) :** The other critical factor is abuse. Examples have been cited of abuse of the voucher system, such as trading second-hand vouchers on the black market, some of which, although it should not be done, is done for the best possible motives....*Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
2. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM)...** There are great fears of a black market emerging with refugees being forced to sell their vouchers below value because of their desperate need for more cash for, say, travel, stamps and 'phone cards *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 cc222 – 225*
3. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB)** We have already seen, in areas where vouchers are in operation, that precisely because a voucher is not a flexible instrument and because there are genuine cash needs--not for cigarettes or cinema tickets, but for a pain killer in the middle of the night, for bus fares, for photocopying--that vouchers cannot meet, we end up with a black market in vouchers... *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (GOVERNMENT RHETORIC):

1. **DIANE ABBOTT: (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ...Where we hand out public money, we have abuse. There is no greater arena for abuse than that of tax avoidance and offshore tax shelters. The sum of money abusively diverted by that industry far outweighs the sum that even the most assiduous bogus asylum seekers can milk from the system... They bring about as much abuse as bogus asylum seekers in terms of losing the taxpayer money, but have not been demonised in the same way. One of my criticisms of the Government concerns the rhetoric that they constantly use about abusive claims, even in the way in which they have justified the content of the Bill. **The demonisation of asylum seekers is unnecessary.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (RETAILERS/NO CHANGE POLICY):

1. **LORD JUDD (LAB):** If there were no other reason for the initiative this afternoon, the issue of vouchers would be enough. I say only that there is deep concern among all those working with asylum seekers in the voluntary sector. It has been said that we should recognise that the vouchers are not all of the same denomination; that some are for only 50p. But for people living at that level 50p is quite a lot of money. The change from 50p, which they are not entitled to claim in the stores in which they are allowed to exchange the vouchers, can add up to extremely significant amounts for people living at that level.: *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 899- 900*

2. **LORD ELTON (CON):** A tiny improvement would be made if the Government accepted the plea of the Refugee Council that when a refugee pays for goods with a voucher worth more than their value, the shop should give change rather than pocketing the difference. *HL Deb, 1 March 2000, Vol 610. C560*
3. **LORD ALTON OF LIVERPOOL (LIB DEM):** In our debate in October 1999 (at col. 1144 of the Official Report on 20th October) I asked the Government about potential stigmatization and discrimination of voucher users and also about the inability of people using vouchers to receive change when they redeemed their vouchers. *HC Deb, 14th February 2001 Vol 662: Col 257-258*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** We have adopted a belt-and-braces approach here to cope with the variety of circumstances that may arise. No one here seeks to make the circumstances of asylum seekers more onerous or difficult than is necessary to deter abusive asylum seekers. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** As an objective, we are seeking public support for refugees by tackling, and trying to reduce, abuse in the asylum system. Much of the White Paper and the Bill has received broad support... from a variety of organisations, including many ethnic minority groups, as those who have sat through the Committee know full well *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB))** People must face the fact that public support for asylum seekers is undermined by those who try to breach immigration control and claim benefits. We must deal with that abuse. The Bill cracks down on unscrupulous immigration advisers, who are the worst enemies of genuine refugees. They have created an industry in encouraging people to make false claims. ...As the right-wing press identified the level of abuse, which was patent, the public began to perceive that the system was not working, and they were right--it was not working.... However, many Labour Members knew that the position was far more complex than that, that the system was being abused and that we had to get in touch with that reality. They knew that people were running businesses, organising the abuse of the asylum system, and that those people were undermining public support for genuine refugees. Every member of the Committee agrees that we need to crack down on that unscrupulous industry, but what of its clients and those who make abusive claims?.... However, we know that we need to reform the asylum system, so that it is firmer, faster and fairer. We must face up to the abuse. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
4. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** No one seriously denies that the abuse is big business or that it is an organised racket. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
5. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** We have adopted a belt-and-braces approach here to cope with the variety of circumstances that may arise. No one here seeks to make the circumstances of asylum seekers more onerous or difficult than is necessary to deter abusive asylum seekers. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
6. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** Admittedly, abusive asylum seekers will remain until their appeal enables us to remove them. It is tough, but I say to the hon. Gentleman that it certainly is not unfair..The Bill will change the law to ensure that we implement a system that works... We are in the process of making sure that we create a system that works. *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c124*
7. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** The only people who seek support in kind are those who actually need it. It is, I am afraid, a fact of life that if you provide cash benefits, payments and individuals are, by definition, much more difficult to track, and the system is much more open to abuse *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*

7: COMPLEXITY: The complex nature of the voucher support system causes unnecessary delay and suffering, (but is necessary to achieve balance between cash and cashless support and immigration policy and human rights policy).

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **JOINT COUNCIL FOR THE WELFARE OF IMMIGRANTS:** The resource implications of complex immigration and destitution tests are likely to outweigh the estimated savings in benefits and community care provision. - *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** ...in an increasingly complex area of the law. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam, LAB)** ...A voucher system for any group of people in society is an over-complex and unnecessary way of supporting people during a legal process. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
4. **RICHARD ALLAN: MP for Sheffield, Hallam, LAB)** The Home Secretary intends to devise an alternative support system instead of choosing the cheap and more straightforward option of the existing benefits system. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999* via
5. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam, LAB)** I accept that the Asylum Support Directorate will operate on a national rather than a local system, but we believe that it will still cost considerably more in the pound than delivering support through the more straightforward, existing Benefits Agency and cash. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999* via
6. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington, LAB):** The issue is complex. ...not only do I believe that they will cause unnecessary suffering, I am not persuaded that they will work. *HC Deb 29 March 2000 vol 347 c114*
7. **TERRY ROONEY (MP for Bradford, North, LAB).** ...the more we legislate, the more we add to the complexity of the system, the more delays we create and the harder it is to get to the bottom of the problem. However, the Bill is a step forward, not a step back, as we have suffered in the past. It contains many good measures, including some administrative arrangements, such as the abolition of vouchers. *HC Deb 24 April 2002 vol 384 c394*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, LAB):** The Bill is complex and interrelated, but I believe that its provisions are balanced. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** The operation of the Bill will fit in with the Government's overall aims of a **balance** between immigration control and a firm and strong human rights policy, and we are committed to delivering both aims. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** The balance between cash and non-cash support will be examined during the consultation period. The provisions in subsection (3) ensure that the voucher policy is not challenged by judicial review. We include that principle in the Bill because it is important, but in the interests of achieving balance we will examine several issues, including some raised by the hon. Member for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington about the amount of cash that individuals seek in particular circumstances, and will listen--as we have throughout the Bill--to the views that people have expressed. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

8. SHAMBLES: The new voucher support system will be as shambolic and chaotic as the current cash based support system (because it is localised, not centralised).

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** ...`a shambles within a shambles". Amnesty International does not see the proposals in the Bill making any difference to the **shambles of current support** for asylum-seekers. The provisions for support in the Bill do not ensure that the inherent dignity of the asylum-seeker is respected and will create a further **shambles**. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):** The Minister described the current system as **localised and shambolic**. I suggest that **what the Minister intends as a replacement is nationalised and shambolic...** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
4. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** There is a real danger that the new system will be as **chaotic** as the existing support mechanism and that asylum seekers will become more and more socially excluded. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
5. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ... the Bill, and, specifically, its proposals in relation to support, will make a bad and chaotic system worse.... ... this long and tortuous Bill will make a bad system worse. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
6. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ... They will simply result in a bad system being made even more **chaotic...** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):**The Bill will change the law to ensure that we implement a system that works...**The Tories complain that I blame them all too often for the shambles that they created in the asylum system. I do blame them for what they did, and I blame them for what they failed to do.** I accept that when the new laws are in place and when we have undertaken the administrative changes and modernised the way in which Croydon and the immigration service operate, we will be responsible for what we created. We are in the process of making sure that we create a system that works. *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c124*
2. **LORD WILLIAMS (LAB):**. The Government's policy is not in tatters. The White Paper was generally well received as a long-overdue, fundamental review of a system which is presently a shambles. We want to be firmer, fairer and faster. I believe that when that Bill passes through your Lordships' House—to general acclaim, I dare say—we shall have an asylum and immigration system which is capable of working fairly, firmly and efficiently. *HL Deb 24 Mar 1999 vol. 328 c1420*
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** I entirely agree that **if cases can be dealt with quickly, and we can remove those who make false claims for asylum quickly, that is the solution to the shambles of the asylum system.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
4. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** ..., the majority of people, who either applied in country, or were subject to the appeal system, could not gain access to the benefits system. They were reliant on a shambolic system of local authority support, which did not work well.... Although we shall not provide the sort of access to the benefit system that the hon. Member for Hallam wants, **we shall create a better system than the current shambolic system run by various local authorities.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
8. **BURDEN:** The new voucher support system is a burden on the taxpayer, the social security system and the voluntary sector (albeit the current cash based support system is a burden on local authorities in the South and South East of England).

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **ASSOCIATION OF LONDON GOVERNMENTS:** My experience, most of which is in child care, **suggests that a voucher system does not produce the desired outcome. It places an**

administrative burden on the system. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*

2. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB)** The difference it will make is that it will place a huge additional burden on the taxpayer and on its administrators, and will create the enormous social problems that we have heard about in the Kent example, which all of us can imagine happening in our own constituencies.... *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** The package of support will ensure that no asylum seeker is left destitute, and will relieve the unfair burden that has fallen on councils in the south-east of England. *HC Deb, 12th April 2000 Vol 348: Col 443*
2. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** ...They come in principally to claim cash benefits. That is unacceptable, and has placed a disproportionate burden on Kent authorities and on 10 London boroughs, which, between them, account for more than 50 per cent. of asylum seekers being supported by local authorities. I can tell my hon. Friend, who represents one of those London boroughs, that the only practical way to remove the burden from those boroughs and the Kent authorities is to have a national dispersal and asylum support system such as we propose. *HC Deb 21 May 1999 vol 333 C16*
3. **BARONESS UDDIN (LAB):** ...We began to give cash to asylum seekers, which brought the department to a practical and financial collapse. It was subsequently decided to rely on vouchers alongside the provisions for housing and a daily cash allowance... *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c209*

9. UNSUSTAINABLE: The new voucher support system is unsustainable (however it is the current cash based support system is more unsustainable in the long term)

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The consequence of this will be that the new system will become more and more costly to administer, possibly making it **unsustainable**. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** We believe that there is a real danger that the new support system **will not be sustainable**. - *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The Refugee Council is fundamentally opposed to Section VI because it will cause considerable hardship for asylum seekers and their families and it will establish a new bureaucracy in the Home Office to do something that the benefits system could do both cheaper and better. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **IMMIGRATION SERVICE UNION:** We believe that it (the removal of benefits) is a very sound measure to take, **provided** that it does actually **give people a proper means of sustaining themselves**. - *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** Whatever the merits of benefits or vouchers, the current situation is unsustainable in the long term. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

10 CHILDREN: the new voucher support system will negatively impact asylum seeker children

GOVERNMENT STAKEHOLDERS

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** Putting families with children into this cashless system cannot be in the best interests of any children. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **MEDICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE CARE OF VICTIMS OF TORTURE:** The wholly or mainly cashless subsistence system will deny asylum-seeking children access to a childhood - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
3. **DIANE ABBOTT: (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** remind the Committee that--whatever one might say about the motives of asylum seekers in general--their children are innocent of malice aforethought or intent to defraud the system. We must be careful before we let children suffer for what we believe to be the errors of their parents... The voucher system cannot meet incidental needs. I constantly come back to the effect that the support system has on children.....In areas of east London where these vouchers are used the children are stigmatised as voucher children..... I assure him that there is nothing worse for a child than being different. ...These children, whose mothers have to queue in a supermarket for vouchers and who find themselves singled out in school because they do not fall under the arrangements that many borough councils make for income support claimants, will bear the stigma of being different, being voucher children... I repeat that vouchers will not meet the incidental needs of children, who often have unanticipated urgent needs, and vouchers will certainly not pay for extra-curricular activities. ...How can it be necessary or right that the needs of a fair but firm asylum policy lead us, through the Bill, to subject the children of asylum seekers to petty--I repeat petty--little humiliations... All I ask is that colleagues in the Committee use their imagination. I ask them to realise that asylum-seeker children are like other children and that their needs and demands will be the same, and to consider the position of the mother of one of these children who is forced to say, "Well, Mike O'Brien thinks this is a frivolous and economic asylum claim, so, sorry, I have only 50p a day." ...The voucher system is wrong in principle.... it will have a particularly detrimental effect on children. Ministers will be aware that I raised the question of the effect of the voucher system on children many times before the Committee started sitting. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

11 NEWS MEDIA: Opinion sharing in the news media the new voucher support system adds to public and press anxiety

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **BARONESS UDDIN (LAB):** ...I am also concerned about those who have talked to the media off the record to express their deep concerns about the Bill without feeling able to place them on record. ...I have reservations about this kind of method of opinion sharing because I believe that it has added to some of the anxieties outside in the community as well as in the media. *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c209*
- LORD ELTON (CON)** We are in an area of very evocative language.....I said that we were in an evocative area in which the media are all-powerful: **HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 915 – 916**

APPENDIX B

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: The voucher support system will be more costly to administer than the reinstatement of the benefits support system.

Discourse Fragment: administration costs, cash-based support system.

Word Groups (Adjectives): actual (f.1), administrative (f.4), afraid (f.1), alternative (f.2), anomalous (f.1), basic (f.2), best (f.2), big (f.1), bitter (f.1), bureaucratic (f.3), cheap (f.1), cheaper (f.1) complex (f.1), conceivable (f.1) , **cost (f.10)**, **costly (f.14)**, demeaning (f.1), difficult (f.1), distinct (f.1), essential (f.9), estimated (f.1), **expensive (f.3)**, general (f.2), genuine (f.1), good (f.3), great (f.2), helpful (f.1), huge (f.1), important (f.1), impractical (f.1), incidental (f.1), inefficient (f.2), limited (f.2), local (f.5), national (f.2), new (f.9), operational (f.1), pernicious (f.2), possible (f.2), private (f.1), professional (f.1), proper (f.1), significant (f.2), single (f.1), small (f.2), specific (f.1), straightforward (f.2), sufficient (f.1), surprised (f.1), tiresome (f.1), unavoidable (f.1), unpleasant (f.1), unsupported (f.1), unsustainable (f.1), useful (f.1), various (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: It is a hugely inefficient system which **is costly** in cash terms and in terms of human dignity; the consequence of this will be that the new system will become more and more **costly** to administer; the extra administrative **costs** of applying a complex immigration status... are likely to outweigh the estimated benefit savings; the reinstatement of welfare benefits **would be cheaper**; vouchers are **costly** and bureaucratic; there are additional administrative **costs** and some other difficulties; it can work but **prices are attached** to it; you will be very surprised at how much it will **cost**.; It is very **costly** in terms of unit cost per voucher; it will **cost** a fortune; added to that is not only the actual **cost** for the administration process; our greatest prejudice, apart from the **cost**; more **costly** system than benefits; there is general agreement that the system will be more **costly**; provision through vouchers will be **costly**; I am sure that the **cost** will exceed Government projections; create a new currency and distribute it to asylum seekers in a **costly** way; a system that leads to high administrative **costs**; instead of choosing the **cheap** and more **straightforward** option of the existing benefits system; it will still **cost** considerably more; and I suspect that the system will be extremely costly; if the system proves too **costly**, asylum seekers will suffer; it will be more cumbersome and **costly** to administer than social security benefits; the voucher system is much more costly to administer than benefits; the system is **expensive** and bureaucratic; it costs three and a half times more; that vouchers are costly to administer; inefficient system which is costly in cash terms; it concerns me that the **costs** of making a claim for asylum ...

Modal verbs: can (f.13), cannot (f.1), may (f.13), should (f.3), **will** (f.43) would (f.9)

Evidentialities: of course, likely to, possibly

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: The voucher support system is more costly to administer but it will deter economic migration and restore integrity to the asylum application system.

Discourse Fragments: administrative costs, economic disincentive.

Word Groups (Adjectives): adequate (f.1), afraid (f.2), bogus (f.2) quickly (f.1), competitive (f.1), conceivable (f.1), considerable (f.1), consistent (f.1), **cost (f.11)**, **costly (f.1)**, cumbersome (f.1), detailed (f.1), different (f.1), difficult (f.2), difficulties (f.1), economic (f.4), effective (f.2), **expensive (f.1)**, fairer (f.1), false (f.1), faster (f.1), fraudulent (f.1), generous (f.1), genuine (f.1), greater (f.1), higher (f.1), hugely, (f.1), incidental (f.1), long (f.2), major (f.2), (f.3) relative (f.1), right (f.2), unavoidable (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: We certainly do not claim that we are providing a generous package, but it must be seen as a whole and in that respect it is adequate; although the cost per head of benefits in kind is slightly higher than that of cash benefits, the take up of cash benefits is very much greater; **cash benefits act as a "pull factor"**; it is recognised that this is more cumbersome to deliver and **more expensive in unit cost**, the rationale being that it will **deter economic migration**; it can work but prices are attached to it; the unit cost of providing cash support ...is marginally less than the unit cost of providing support in kind. However, the take-up is hugely different; the **overall cost is very much less** if you provide support in kind, because **there is no pull factor**; the cashless system is more costly to operate than a full cash system but, in overall costs, it has **less of a pull factor**; the availability of cash benefits in the social security system is a **major pull factor**; there is no question about it; they have acted as a pull factor; there is little doubt that the availability of cash benefits acts as a pull; **cash benefits would still be a pull factor**; social security cash benefits paid in an easily tradeable international currency are a **major**

attraction; Our objective is to **restore its integrity**...removing access to benefit, which is a factor for economic migrants, will, in the long term, **help to restore integrity to the system**

Modal verbs: can (f.2), cannot (f.1), must (f.1), would (f.1), will (f.7)

Evidentialities: of course; likely; possibly; there is no question; I'm afraid; it is a fact of life; by and large; slightly; there is also considerable evidence to suggest; the evidence is in the figures; we certainly do not claim we are providing a generous package.

STAKEHOLDER RESPONSE: there is no evidence to suggest that a cashless support system will deter economic migration

Discourse Fragments: cashless support system, economic disincentive.

Word Groups (Adjectives): additional (f.1), administrative (f.1), available (f.2), brief (f.1), cashless (f.1), costly (f.3), cruel (f.2), cumbersome (f.1), bureaucratic (f.1), destitute (f.1), different (f.1), difficult (f.1), economic (f.3), effective (f.2), enormous (f.1), equivalent (f.1), fairer (f.1), faster (f.1), (*fundamentally-)flawed (f.2), flexible (f.1), foolhardy(f.1), genuine (f.1), great (f.1), huge (f.2), inadequate (f.1), indefensible (f.1), less insistent (f.1), new (f.4), palpable (f.1), punitive (f.1), shabby(f.1), significant (f.3), statistical (f.1), stronger (f.1), sufficient (f.1), tremendous (f.1), uneasy (f.1), unpalatable (f.1), unpleasant (f.1), unproven(f.1), unsupported (f.1), voluntary (f.1), wrong (f.2).

Rhetorical devices: this assumption is **fundamentally flawed**; the support system outlined in the Bill is **fundamentally flawed**; there is **no evidence to support the notion**; his assumption is **wrong**; it is **unproven** and indeed contradicted by some statistical evidence; all the available evidence indicates that this assumption is **wrong**; there is **no evidence** that the withdrawal of cash payments acts as a disincentive to migrate; the motive behind the voucher system--to exercise a significant disincentive effect--is **shameful**; it is an **unsupported** suggestion that there is a huge pull factor; the voucher system would **not be effective** as a disincentive; Ministers overestimate the pull factor of benefits; **it is a mistake** to say that cash payments are a "pull factor"; the statistics simply **do not bear that out**; there is much evidence to show that vouchers **do not act** as a deterrent; vouchers stigmatised asylum seekers and **did not reduce** the number of applications; **will not** be accompanied by any palpable lessening of the flow of asylum seekers;

Modal verbs: can (f.5), cannot (f.1), could (f.2), must (f.1), should (f.2), would (f.8), will (f.13), will not (f.4)

Evidentialities: all the evidence would indicate; all the available evidence indicates; there is no evidence to support the notion; is unlikely; is unlikely to have any impact; is unproven and indeed contradicted by some statistical evidence; do not believe for one moment; precisely because; will prove to be; simply do not bear that out;

2A.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: The voucher support system is inhumane, demeaning, stigmatising and has no respect for an asylum seeker's dignity

Discourse Fragments: inhumanity, stigma, dignity.

Word Groups (Adjectives): acute (f.1),basic (f.2), cheap(f.2) concerned(f.2), demeaning (f.2),dependent(f.1), desperate(f.1), destitute(f.2), different(f.7), difficult(f.2), disabled (f.1), disadvantaged (f.1), foolhardy(f.1), hardship(f.2), heavily(f.1), **humane (f.5), humanely (f.2)**, humiliating (f.2), humiliation (f.1),illegal(f.1), inadequate(f.1), inappropriate(f.1), inefficient(f.1), inestimable(f.1), inhumane(f.1), insecure(f.1), major (-problems) (f.2),ordinary(f.2), racial (-harassment) (f.1), realistic(f.1), sensitive(f.1), separate(f.1), special(f.1), strange (f.1), **stigmatising (f.3) {stigma (f.1), stigmatise (f.5), stigmatises (f.2), stigmatisation (f.3)}**; sufficient (f.1), tiresome(f.1), unacceptable(f.1), unfortunate(f.1), visible(f.2), vulnerable (f.1),worse(f.1).

Rhetorical devices: the support system will not work **humanely**; introduce it **humanely** and efficiently in the interests of all those concerned; a tiresome, bureaucratic nonsense which has no place in a **humane** system; is a not a **humane** or appropriate system; vouchers are seen as humiliating and **stigmatizing** for those compelled to use them; likely to be **stigmatised** as "voucher kids" which will make life more difficult for them; bear the **stigma** of being different; there is absolutely no doubt that there is a **stigma** attached to being compelled to make essential purchases with vouchers; the voucher system is **demeaning** to people; they are having a **stigmatising** and **demeaning** effect on all refugee applicants in the country at present.; there are real issues about **stigmatisation** and the creation of a visible social underclass; if anything will **stigmatise** people who are already **stigmatized**; the children are **stigmatised** as voucher children; all the shame and **stigma** that that can involve; the voucher system ... would

stigmatise women and their children; vouchers **stigmatised** asylum seekers, how we provide support...is sufficient to maintain any **dignity** for someone living on vouchers; it is a hugely inefficient system which is costly in cash terms and in terms of human **dignity**; Living in a cashless system will cause asylum seekers severe hardship and rob individuals of their **dignity**, much cash might not be needed, but they are not being denied the **dignity** of being able to buy something; all asylum seekers are thus entitled to be treated in **dignity**; provisions for support in the Bill do not ensure that the inherent **dignity** of the asylum-seeker is respected; proposals to provide support wholly or mainly in kind rob asylum seekers of autonomy and privacy, **humiliate** them; they take away people's **dignity**.

Modal verbs: may (f.1), must (f.1), will (f.5) can (f.1)

Evidentialities: The only logical outcome is to say; the Government must get on top; there is much evidence to show; I do not believe for one moment; there is absolutely no doubt...

2B.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: removal or refusal of the support when determining asylum or destitution status, leaves asylum seekers truly destitute, and undermines Britain's international legal obligations.

Discourse Fragments: definition of destitution, Britain's international legal obligations

Word Groups (Adjectives): **destitute (f.2), destitution (f.2)**, impoverished (f.1), limited (f.1), genuine (f.1), hollow (f.1), beholden (f.1), robust (f.1), successful (f.1), favourable (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: push already impoverished refugee communities into further hardship; by making them responsible for the welfare of other members of their community with very limited support; other asylum seekers will be left entirely **destitute**; the pre-election promise to operate a system in which genuine asylum-seekers are treated with respect and not left **destitute** is a hollow one; the choice facing asylum-seekers is to be beholden to family, friends or community; the removal of support will place those asylum-seekers in precisely the situation identified by the courts in the earlier cases: with a choice between **destitution** and abandoning a live claim for protection; removal or refusal of support may undermine or violate the UK's obligations to ensure that those in need of protection are able properly to put their claims.

Modal verbs: may (f.1), should (f.3), will (f.4)

Evidentialities: is likely to push likely; is therefore clear; by definition, therefore...

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: the voucher support system is a system of basic 'in kind' support, not a new benefits support system and does not undermine Britain's international legal obligations.

Discourse Fragments: in kind support, Britain's international legal obligations

Word Groups (Adjectives): in kind (f.1) satisfactory (f.1), much criticised (f.1), adequate (f.1), reasonable (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: support will be mainly in kind or in vouchers, with cash payments kept to a minimum; support will be given only to those who are destitute or who are likely to become destitute; support will be given until the determination of any appeal; essential living needs will be met either in kind or by the provision of vouchers; support arrangements provide that asylum seekers who would otherwise be destitute may be supported by the National Asylum Support Service; (the) voucher scheme has been working, in the main, entirely satisfactorily; we have taken adequate steps to ensure reasonable means so that asylum seekers do not become destitute; we have to strike a balance; the scheme is intended fully to meet the United Kingdom's international obligations

Modal verbs: can (f.3), may (f.3), will (f.10), would (f.2)

Evidentialities: Certainly, giving cash to people allows them to have a modicum of choice

3.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: the voucher support system institutionalises social exclusion, creates community tensions and increases risk of racial harassment.

Discourse Fragments: social exclusion, race relations

Word Groups (Adjectives): bad (f.1), bitter (-irony) (f.1), chaotic (f.2), crucial(f.1), real (-danger) (f.3), different (f.2), difference (f.1), difficult (f.1), disabled(f.1), disadvantaged (f.3), hard (f.1), homogenous (f.1), isolated(f.1), other(f.1), **racial (-attacks (f.2), -tensions (f.2), -harassment(f.1), -justice (f.1))**,

racially (-homogenous f.1), racist(f.1), shabby(f.1), separate (f.3), social (-exclusion (f.9), -excluded (f.5) –problems(f.1), -under class(f.1), special, (f.2), systematic(f.1), unnoticed(f.1), visible (f.2).

Rhetorical devices: The new system will create a new class of socially **excluded** people; create a category of people who will be the most **excluded** since the days of the workhouse; will become more and more socially **excluded**; his system will undermine the government's commitment to combatting social **exclusion**; They offend the right to respect for privacy and family life by **institutionalising social exclusion**; objections to the **systematic social exclusion** of asylum seekers have been ignored; it **singles people out** from the rest of the population; it has **created community tensions**; it **creates community tension** and **makes visible racial tensions** that would otherwise not be there; the vouchers, which will **distinguish and separate** them from everyone else; placed in even more disadvantaged and **socially excluded conditions**; the Bill will put in place a **framework of social exclusion** for a particular group of people; under the new system there is a **risk...of racial harassment and racial attacks**; there is a real danger that they will be scapegoated by other disadvantaged groups and **targeted in racial attacks**; the **creation of a new social underclass** under the voucher system; the price we will pay in **damage to race relations** is **too great to justify either this social exclusion** or the so-called pull factor effect; we must make progress on the **Government's social exclusion agenda**.

Modal verbs: can (f.2), could (f.2) must (f.2) may (f.2), should (f.2), will (f.20) would (f.6)

Evidentialities: Certainly, if you want to identify people in a community as different, separate and special ...a voucher system is a good way of doing it; the proposals will not choke off the flow of asylum seekers. They will simply result in a bad system being made even more chaotic

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: if asylum seekers don't take the benefit in kind, then they have other options available and are not socially excluded. Asylum seekers are recognizable by many characteristics, so the use of vouchers does not increase community tensions or racial harassment.

Discourse Fragments: social exclusion, race relations

Word Groups (Adjectives): better (f.1), concerned (f.1) high (f.1), homeless (f.1), hungry (f.1), racist – thugs (f.1), -gangs (f.1), racial (-violence (f.1), -harassment (f.1), -tensions (f.1), recognisable (f.1), (-recognised (f.1)) regrettable (f.1), visible (f.1), difficult (f.1).

Rhetorical devices: If people do not take up the offer of benefits in kind, we have to assume, I think correctly, that they have better facilities on offer from family or friends; it is all too easy to identify victims by other means; people know who the refugees are; they are recognisable as refugees; it is nothing to do with the vouchers, they would be recognised as refugees even if they had 10 notes.

Modal verbs: can (f.2), could (f.2) must (f.2) may (f.2), should (f.2), will (f.20) would (f.6)

Evidentialities: there is no question; we have to assume, I think correctly;

4.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: the role of the voluntary sector is ambiguous: additional contracted support or alternative independent support?

Discourse Fragments: voluntary sector, definition of support

Word Groups (Adjectives): absolute (f.2), basic (f.1), complicated (f.1), destitute(f.2), different (f.3), difficult (f.1), disturbing(f.2), essential (f.1), ordinary(f.1), humane (f.1), humanitarian (f.1), impressive(f.1), informal(f.1), knowledgeable(f.1), logical(f.1), minimum(f.1), vast(f.1), voluntary (f.5)

Rhetorical devices: ambiguous role: if a person who comes into the country becomes supported by a faith group, support group or whatever and then goes to the Asylum Support Directorate, it will say, ``You are being supported. You are not destitute.; when the Asylum Support Directorate is deciding whether to give a person support and, if so, how much, it will consider whether he is receiving support from a church, charity or faith group, or might reasonably be expected to receive such support, which may disqualify them from receiving support; it will put the churches, faith groups and religious organisations in a difficult position.

additional contracted support: many of them are subsidised by the Government; the costs of meeting the humanitarian needs are a national responsibility and that local authorities and charities should be fully reimbursed; it would be good if voluntary groups could be contracted to help provide service

alternative independent support: the charities and voluntary organisations trying to meet the human needs in this complicated story; charities will have to pick up the pieces; there is a danger that the churches, faith groups and voluntary groups will feel that they are being taken for a ride; the more that the

churches and well-meaning people do for asylum seekers, the less the state will be willing to do; there is a danger that their resources and their good will be stretched to breaking point;

Modal verbs: can (f.3), could (f.1) must (f.1) may (f.2), should (f.1), will (f.12) would (f.1)

Evidentialities: we all agree that...we believe that...

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: the role of the voluntary sector is clear: partnership with the government in providing services for asylum seekers n providing that may subsidised by the government. Such support is not a bar for an asylum seeker to receive support but will be taken into consideration

Discourse Fragments: voluntary sector, definition of support

Word Groups (Adjectives): acceptable (f.2), **active (f.2)**, actively(f.1), adequate(f.1), available (f.4), basic (f.1), charitable (f.7), clear (f.2), comparable (f.2), cultural (f.1), defensible (f.1), difficult (f.1), excellent (f.1), good (f.2), haphazard (f.2), happy (f.1), high (f.1), important (f.1), inflexible (f.1), invalid (f.1), large (f.2), limited, (f.2), ongoing (f.1), local –support(f.2), -authority (f.2), - long-term (f.3), national(f.4), practical (f.2), present (f.2), proper (f.2), redeemable (f.2), sensible (f.2), social (f.2), specialist (f.2), suitable (f.1), temporary (f.1), unable (f.1), unwilling (f.2), valuable (f.1), voluntary (f.22), wider (f.2), willing (f.3).

Rhetorical devices:

Partnership: We hope that the voluntary sector will be actively involved in **partnership** in providing much of the support; I hope that the voluntary agencies will consider **an active role** in ensuring a high standard of support for asylum seekers; we would encourage them to continue to provide support and perhaps to extend it; we all pay tribute to the valuable work done by the voluntary sector in supporting asylum seekers; they have a clear role to **play** in supporting asylum seekers; they would be good, co-operative and willing **partners** in delivering services.

Subsidised: Charities such as the Refugee Council and others **receive state funding** to provide some services for asylum seekers. **We will continue to support such services;** we shall examine whether to provide voluntary organisations with the means to provide some local support facilities; there is some provision to encourage voluntary organisations to provide various services to asylum seekers in cluster areas; state funds will be available if such organisations offer support that is comparable to what we might otherwise offer; if they are able to use state money to support asylum seekers, we will expect them to take advantage of state funding, which may be directed through a charitable or voluntary organisation.

Supplementary support taken into account: it is only sensible to take account of the assistance and facilities that they can offer asylum seekers; it would be wrong to ignore the fact that asylum seekers will be able to take advantage of help from the voluntary sector; we will take charitable provisions into account; we must ensure that those who have support from their own resources or from their community...cannot also claim from the Asylum Support Directorate; support from the voluntary sector will not be a bar to receiving support under the scheme, but it is right to take into account in certain circumstances; the offer or provision of temporary or limited support from a voluntary body would not place an ongoing liability on that body or disqualify the asylum seeker from entitlement to support

Modal verbs: can (f.6), cannot (f.2), could (f.4) could not (f.1) may (f.5), must (f.3), should (f.4), will (f.27), would (f.9) would not (f.4)

Evidentialities: We all pay tribute, let us be clear...

5.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: the voucher support system is impractical, cumbersome and inflexible.

Discourse Fragments: impracticality, inflexibility

Word Groups (Adjectives): bureaucratic (f.1), cheaper (f.1), costly, (f.2), cumbersome (f.2), expensive (f.1), impractical(f.1), inflexible(f.2), (-inflexibility (f.1)), unjust(f.2), legal (-difficulties) (f.2), limited(f.1), (no-) good (f.1), (no practical (-reasons) (f.2), (pose-) practical (-problems) (f.2), wrong (-in principle) (f.1).

Rhetorical devices: the Bill's provisions will be **impractical**, unjust or may result in legal difficulties for the Government; more expensive per person than benefits and more **cumbersome** to administer; the reinstatement of welfare benefits would be cheaper and less **cumbersome**; it will be more **cumbersome** and costly to administer than social security benefits; we are in danger of setting up a system that is **cumbersome**, bureaucratic and difficult to administer; they are **inflexible**; the voucher system is **wrong** in principle; will also pose **practical problems**; there is **no practical reason** for the voucher system proposals; all sorts of practical problems will be caused;

Modal verbs: can (f.2), cannot (f.2), could (f.1) could not (f.1) may (f.4), should (f.1), will (f.8), would (f.1)

Evidentialities: We are in danger of;

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE the voucher support system is simple and straightforward but it is important that there be wider choice to ensure more flexibility

Discourse Fragments: practicality; inflexibility

Word Groups (Adjectives): acceptable (f.1), basic (f.1), inflexible (f.1), invalid (f.1), national (f.1), large (f.2), liberal(f.2), simple(f.2), straightforward (f.2), wider (-choice) (f.2),

Rhetorical devices: We are restoring not a benefits system but a system of basic support; it is as **simple** and **straightforward** as that; the aim is to provide a safety net; that is a fairly **straightforward** position; the present system is **inflexible** and we intend to ensure that there is a wider choice; is important that there should be wider choice;

Modal verbs: can (f.3), cannot (f.1), could (f.1) could not (f.1) **may** (f.1), **must** (f.2), should (f.1), will (f.4), would (f.2)

Evidentialities: likely to be...

6.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: abuse within the voucher support system includes the creation of a black market, the demonisation of asylum seekers through misleading rhetoric and retailers taking advantage of the 'no change' policy.

Discourse Fragments: abuse, black market, government rhetoric, no change policy

Word Groups (Adjectives): abusive (f.1), (-abusively)(f.1)), assiduous (f.1), black (f.4), bogus (f.2), critical (f.3), deep (-concern) (f.1)), desperate (f.1), enough (f.2), flexible (f.1), great (-fears) (f.1)), inevitable (f.2), insistent (f.1), potential (f.1), shameful (f.1), significant (f.2), unbalanced (f.1), unhealthy (f.1), unintended (f.1), unnecessary (f.1), worrying (-development) (f.1)).

Rhetorical devices:

BLACK MARKET: examples have been cited of abuse of the voucher system, such as trading second-hand vouchers on the **black market**; the worrying development of a **black market**; there are great fears of a **black market**; we end up with a **black market in vouchers**;

GOVERNMENT RHETORIC: criticisms of the Government concerns the **rhetoric** that they constantly use **about abusive claims**; the **demonisation of asylum seekers** is unnecessary;

RETAILERS TAKING ADVANTAGE: the **shop should give change** rather than pocketing the difference; there is deep concern; the change from 50p, which they are not entitled to claim in the stores in which they are allowed to exchange the vouchers, can add up to extremely significant amounts for people living at that level; the inability of **people using vouchers to receive change** when they redeemed their vouchers; asylum seekers are not able to buy enough food, and what they are able to buy is unhealthy and unbalanced; cases of asylum seekers who have lost some of the value of their vouchers through **not receiving change**.

Modal verbs: can (f.4), cannot (f.1), could (f.1) could not (f.1) may (f.2), should not (f.1), will (f.3), would (f.2)

Evidentialities: the inevitable consequences...

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: the creation of a black market is acknowledged and abusive rhetoric is abundant

Discourse Fragments: black market; government rhetoric

Word Groups (Adjectives): abusive (f.4), (abuse) (f.8), administrative (f.1), afraid (f.1), available (f.1), big (-business (f.2)), bizarre (f.1), black (f.1), complex (f.1), difficult (f.3), economic (f.3), false (f.2), fairer (f.1), firmer (f.1), genuine (f.4), individual (f.2), necessary (f.2), onerous (f.2), responsible (f.2), sufficient (f.2), tough (f.2), unscrupulous (f.2) various (f.3).

Rhetorical devices:

BLACK MARKET: **about a black market in vouchers**; it is a problem with the voucher system;

GOVERNMENT RHETORIC: to deter **abusive** asylum seekers; **abuse** in the asylum system; those who try to breach immigration control and claim benefits. We must deal with that **abuse**; **unscrupulous** immigration advisers, who are the **worst enemies** of genuine refugees; make false claims; the level of **abuse**; the system was being **abused**; organising the **abuse** of the asylum system; crack down on that

unscrupulous industry; those who make **abusive** claims; face up to the **abuse**; organised racket; **abusive** asylum seekers will remain; the system is much more open to **abuse**

RETAILERS TAKING ADVANTAGE: None.

Modal verbs: can (f.2), may (f.3), might (f.1), **must (f.5)**, should (f.2), will (f.7)

Evidentialities: no one here seeks to; many Labour Members knew; every member of the Committee agrees; no one seriously denies; it is a fact of life that...

7.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: the complex nature of the voucher support system causes unnecessary delay and suffering.

Discourse Fragments: complexity

Word Groups (Adjectives): alternative (f.1), cashless (f.1), complex (f.4), (increasingly-(f.1), over-(f.1)), complexity, (f.1), cheap (f.1), estimated (f.1), good (f.1), harder (f.1), inherent (f.1), straightforward (f.2), unnecessary (f.1),

Rhetorical devices: The resource implications of complex immigration and destitution tests; in an increasingly complex area of the law; a voucher system for any group of people in society is an over-complex and unnecessary way of supporting people; during a legal process.;the Home Secretary intends to devise an alternative support system instead of choosing the cheap and more straightforward option of the existing benefits system; it will still cost considerably more in the pound than delivering support through the more straightforward, existing Benefits Agency and cash; the issue is complex; I believe that they will cause unnecessary suffering;...the more we legislate, the more we add to the complexity of the system, the more delays we create and the harder it is to get to the bottom of the problem

Modal verbs: can (f.1), cannot (f.1), may (f.1), shall (f.1), will (f.5)

Evidentialities: are likely to...

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: the voucher support system is complex but is necessary to achieve balance between cash and cashless support and immigration policy and human rights policy

Discourse Fragments: complexity, balance

Word Groups (Adjectives): balanced (f.1), (-balance (f.2)), firm (f.1), important (f.1), strong (f.1), necessary (f.3), tough (f.1),

Rhetorical devices: the Bill is complex and interrelated, but I believe that its provisions are **balanced**; the operation of the Bill will fit in with the Government's overall aims of a **balance** between immigration control and a firm and strong human rights policy; the **balance** between cash and non-cash support will be examined during the consultation period; but in the interests of achieving **balance** we will examine several issues

Modal verbs: may (f.2), will (f.5), would (f.2)

Evidentialities: it is necessary...

8.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: the new voucher support system will be as shambolic and chaotic as the current cash based support system

Discourse Fragments: shambles

Word Groups (Adjectives): bad (f.3), chaotic (f.3), shambolic (2), (-shambles (f.4)), disadvantaged, flawed (f.3), inherent (f.1), localised (f.1), nationalised (f.1),

Rhetorical devices: the current subsistence programme for asylum-seekers without benefits as "a shambles within a shambles" - Amnesty International does not see the proposals in the Bill making any difference to the **shambles** of **current support** for asylum-seekers; the provisions for support... will create a further **shambles**; the Minister described the current system as localised and shambolic. I suggest that what the Minister intends as a replacement is nationalised and shambolic; there is a real danger that the new system will be as **chaotic** as the existing support mechanism; the Bill, and, specifically, its proposals in relation to support, will make a **bad** and **chaotic** system worse.... this long and tortuous Bill will make a **bad** system worse; the proposals will not choke off the flow of asylum seekers. They will simply result in a bad system being made even more **chaotic**.

Modal verbs: will (f.7)

Evidentialities: are likely to...

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: the current cash based support system is shambolic because it is localised, not centralised.

Discourse Fragments: shambles, localised v. centralised control

Word Groups (Adjectives): administrative (f.1), better (f.1), broad (f.1), responsible (f.1), long overdue (f.1), fundamental (f.1), firmer (f.1) (–firmly (f.1), fairer (f.1) (–fairly (f.1)), false (-claims) (f.1), shambolic (f.2), shambles (f.3), localised (f.2) (–local (f.1)).

Rhetorical devices: the Bill will change the law to ensure that we implement a system that works; the Tories complain that I blame them all too often for the **shambles** that they created in the asylum system; I do blame them for what they did, and I blame them for what they failed to do; the White Paper was generally well received as a long-overdue, fundamental review of a system which is presently a **shambles**, we want to be **firmer, fairer and faster**; we shall have an asylum and immigration system which is capable of working **fairly, firmly and efficiently**; if cases can be dealt with quickly, and we can remove those who make false claims for asylum quickly, that is the solution to the **shambles** of the asylum system; the majority of people...were reliant on a **shambolic** system of local authority support, which did not work well; we shall create a better system than the **current shambolic** system run by various local authorities

Modal verbs: can (f.2), could (f.2), shall (f.4), will (f.2)

Evidentialities: it is necessary...

9.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: the new voucher support system is a burden on the taxpayer, the social security system and the voluntary sector

Discourse Fragments: burden

Word Groups (Adjectives): additional (f.1), administrative (f.2), different (f.2), difference f.2), enormous (f.1), huge (f.1), separate (f.2), significant, (f.1), social (f.1), special (f.1), wrong (f.1),

Rhetorical devices: voucher system does not produce the desired outcome. It places an **administrative burden** on the system; vouchers are discounted and sold for cash and used in **wrong** ways; it will place a **huge additional burden** on the taxpayer and on its administrators, and will create the **enormous social problems** that we have heard about

Modal verbs: can (f.1), will (f.7)

Evidentialities: certainly, if you want to identify people in a community as different...

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: the current cash based support system is a burden on local authorities in the South and South East of England.

Discourse Fragments: burden, localised v. centralised control

Word Groups (Adjectives): disproportionate (f.1), financial (f.1), fraudulent(f.1), limited (f.2), local (f.1), social (f.3), sympathetic (f.1), major (f.1), national (f.1), new (f.1), practical (f.3), unacceptable (f.1), unfair (f.1), unhappy (f.1).

Rhetorical devices: the package of support will ensure that no asylum seeker is left destitute, and will relieve the **unfair burden** that has fallen on councils in the south-east of England; they come in principally to claim cash benefits. That is unacceptable, and has placed a **disproportionate burden** on Kent authorities and on 10 London boroughs; the only practical way to **remove the burden**; give cash to asylum seekers, which brought the department to a practical and financial collapse.

Modal verbs: can (f.1), could (f.2), will (f.2)

Evidentialities: there is no doubt, the only practical way...

10.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: the new voucher support system is unsustainable.

Discourse Fragments: unsustainable

Word Groups (Adjectives): better (f.1), cheaper (f.1), considerable (f.1), costly (f.1), incorrect (f.1), impractical (f.1), new (f.1), sustainable (f.2), unjust (f.1), unsustainable (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: the new system will become more and more costly to administer, possibly **making it unsustainable**; there is a real danger that the new support system **will not be sustainable**; it will **cause considerable hardship** for asylum seekers and their families and it will establish a new bureaucracy in

the Home Office to do something that the benefits system could do both cheaper and better; **we are not convinced that it will be sustainable** in the long term.

Modal verbs: could (f.1), will (f.7)

Evidentialities: None.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: the current cash based support system is more unsustainable in the long term.

Discourse Fragments: unsustainable

Word Groups (Adjectives): better (f.1), current (f.1), efficient (f.1) fewer (f.1), sound (f.1), proper (f.1), unsustainable (f.1), (-sustaining (f.1)), long-term (f.1).

Rhetorical devices: it (the removal of benefits) is a very sound measure to take, provided that it does actually give people **a proper means of sustaining themselves**; whatever the merits of benefits or vouchers, the current situation is **unsustainable** in the long term

Modal verbs: will (f.2)

Evidentialities: None.

11.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: the new voucher support system will negatively impact asylum seeker children.

Discourse Fragments: asylum seeker children.

Word Groups (Adjectives): cashless (f.2), detrimental (f.1), different (f.2), economic (f.1), frivolous (f.1), incidental (f.4), innocent (f.1), normal (f.1), petty (f.2), urgent (f.1), worse (f.1), wrong (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: this cashless system **cannot be in the best interests of any children**; we must **be careful before we let children suffer**; the **children are stigmatised as voucher children**; will bear the stigma of being different, **being voucher children**; **vouchers will not meet the incidental needs of children**; to **subject the children of asylum seekers** to petty--I repeat petty--little humiliations; **asylum-seeker children are like other children** and that their needs and demands will be the same; the voucher system is wrong in principle.... it will have a particularly **detrimental effect on children**.

Modal verbs: can (f.3), cannot (f.2), could (f.2), might (f.1), must (f.2), will (f.10)

Evidentialities: None.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: None.

12.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM: opinion sharing in the news media the new voucher support system adds to public and press anxiety

Discourse Fragments: news media

Word Groups (Adjectives): accessible (f.1), all-powerful (f.1); available (f.1), concerned (f.1) (-concerns (f.5)), deep (f.2), evocative (f.2), outside (f.2), right (f.1), various (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: I am also concerned about those who have **talked to the media** off the record to express their deep concerns about the Bill without feeling able to place them on record; The Floor of the House is the right place to air those concerns **rather than media opportunities** which are currently available and accessible. I have reservations about this kind of method of opinion sharing because I believe that it has **added to some of the anxieties outside in the community as well as in the media**; we are in an area of very **evocative** language; we were in an **evocative** area in which the **media are all-powerful**.

Modal verbs: will (f.1)

Evidentialities: None.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: None.

APPENDIX C

Members of Parliament / Lords	Sources Cited	f. of citatio n ²⁹²
Debate on the Address: HL Deb. 2nd Dec.1998, Vol. 595 cc. 513-515 / 552 – 556W		
Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Winchester (Crossbencher) (Michael Scott-Joynt)	Church of England Board for Social Responsibility Churches Commission for Racial Justice	1 1
Baroness Ludford (LD) (Sarah Ludford: Former MP, Islington)		
Orders of the Day: HC Deb. 22nd Feb. 1999, Vol 326 cc. 45-49 / 65 – 66 / 86 / 92 / 113 / 123		
Jack Straw (L) (The Sec. of State for the Home Dept.)		
Jeremy Corbyn (L) (Islington)		
Iain Coleman (L) (Hammersmith and Fulham)		
Richard Allan (LD) (Sheffield Hallam)		
Neil Gerrard (L) (Walthamstow)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)	The Children's Society	1
David Ruffley (C) (Bury St Edmunds)	The Children's Society	1
Mike O'Brien (L) (Under-Sec. of State for the Home Dept.)		
Welsh Affairs: HC Deb. 25th Feb. 1999, Vol. 326 cc. 604W		
Julie Morgan (L) (Cardiff, North)	The Welsh Refugee Society	1
Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, 16th Mar. 1999		
	The Refugee Council	
	Joint Council for the Welfare for Immigrants	
	Amnesty International	
	Justice	
	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	
John Maxton (L) (Chairman of the Committee)		
Mike O'Brien (L) (Under-Sec. of State for the Home Dept.)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)		
Richard Allan (LD) (Sheffield Hallam)		
James Clappison (C) (Hertsmere)		
Patrick Hall (L) (Bedford)		
Dr. Stephen Ladyman (L) (South Thanet)		
Mike Hall (L) (Weaver Vale)		
Dr. Julian Lewis (C) (New Forest, East)		
Oona King (L) (Bethnal Green and Bow) *cousin of Baron Graham of Edmonton (L)		
David Faber (L) (Westbury)		
Neil Gerrard (L) (Walthamstow)		
Ivan Henderson (L) (Harwich)		
Gwyn Prosser (L) (Dover):		
David Maclean (C) (Penrith and The Border):		
Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, 18th Mar. 1999		
	Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture ¹⁶⁷	
	Local Government Association	
	Association of London Government ¹⁶⁸	
	Kent County Council	

¹⁶⁷ From X, the Medical Foundation for the 'Care for the Victims of Torture' became known as 'Freedom from Torture'

¹⁶⁸ From April 1st, 2000, the 'Association of London Government' became known as 'London Councils'.

	British Airways	
	Road Haulage Association	
	Freight Transport Association	
John Maxton (L) (Chairman of the Committee)		
Mike O'Brien (L) (Under-Sec. of State for the Home Dept.).		
James Clappison (C) (Hertsmere)		
Dr. Stephen Ladyman (L) (South Thanet)		
Richard Allan (LD) (Sheffield Hallam)	Kent County Council	1
Lord Harris of Haringey, * Chair, Association of London Government		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)		
Neil Gerrard (L) (Walthamstow)		
Patrick Hall (L) (Bedford)		
Gwyn Prosser (L) (Dover):		
Colin Pickthall (L) (West Lancashire)		
Ivan Henderson (L) (Harwich)		
Marsha Singh (L) (Bradford, West)		
Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, 22nd Mar. 1999		
	Immigration Appellate Authority	
	Immigration Appeal Tribunal	
	Immigration Service Union	
	Public and Commercial Services Union	
	Home Office - The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Jack Straw)	
John Maxton (L) (Chairman of the Committee)		
Mike O'Brien (L) (Under-Sec. of State for the Home Dept.).		
David Faber (L) (Westbury)		
Neil Gerrard (L) (Walthamstow)		
Richard Allan (LD) (Sheffield, Hallam)		
Patrick Hall (L) (Bedford)		
James Clappison (C) (Hertsmere)		
Colin Pickthall (L) (West Lancashire)		
Peter Bottomley (C) (Worthing, West)		
Stephen Ladyman (L) (South Thanet)		
Ivan Henderson (L) (Harwich)		
Julian Lewis (C) (New Forest, East)		
Gwyn Prosser (L) (Dover)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)		
Oona King (L) (Bethnal Green and Bow)		
David Lock (L) (Wyre Forest)		
Immigration And Nationality Directorate: Computer System: HC Deb 25th Mar. 1999 Vol. 328 c.1420		
Baroness Ludford (LD) (Sarah Ludford: Former MP, Islington)		
Lord Williams of Mostyn (L) (Gareth Williams, Dep. Leader of the House of Lords)		
Asylum & Immigration Bill: HC Deb. 31st Mar. 1999 Vol. 328 cc696		
Mike O'Brien (L) (Under-Sec. of State for the Home Dept.)		
Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, 4th May. 1999		
John Maxton (L) (Chairman of the Committee)		
Mike O'Brien (L) (Under-Sec. of State for the Home Dept.).		
Richard Allan (LD) (Sheffield, Hallam)		
Stephen Ladyman (L) (South Thanet)		

James Clappison (C) (Hertsmere)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)	The Refugee Council Public and Commercial Services Union Immigration Law* Practitioners Association	2 1 1
Oona King (L) (Bethnal Green and Bow):		
Neil Gerrard (L) (Walthamstow)		
<i>Kosovo Refugees: HC Deb. 5th May 1999 Vol 330 cc950W</i>		
Jeremy Corbyn (L) (Islington, North)		
Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting (Part 1), 11th May, 1999		
Richard Allan (LD) (Sheffield, Hallam)	The Refugee Council Kent County Council	1 1
James Clappison (C) (Hertsmere)		
Mike O'Brien (L) (Under-Sec. of State for the Home Dept.)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)	Barnardos, the Children's Society, Save the Children, UNICEF, the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, the Refugee Council, the Immigration Law Practitioners Association	1 1 1 1 1 1 1
<i>Asylum & Immigration Bill HC Deb. 21st May 1999, Vol 333 cc469W</i>		
Kevin McNamara (L) (Hull North)		
Mike O'Brien (L) (Under-Sec. of State for the Home Dept.)		
Baroness Whitaker (L) (Janet Whitaker; *Consultant for the Commission for Racial Equality (1996 - 1998))	Passenger Shipping Association Group 4 Total Security Ltd The King's Fund	1 1 1
Jack Straw (L) (The Sec. of State for the Home Dept.)		
<i>Engagements: HC Deb. 16th Jun. 1999, Vol 333 cc386</i>		
Alan. J. Beith (LD) Berwick-upon-Tweed		
Tony Blair (L) Prime Minister		
<i>2nd Reading: HC Deb. 29th Jun. 1999, Vol. 603 cc183-184 / 192 / 197 / 209 / 217 / 221 / 222 – 225 / 228 / 232 / 235 / 243 / 252</i>		
Lord Cope of Berkeley (C) (<i>John Cope</i>)		
Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Southwark (<i>Crossbencher</i>) (<i>Tom Butler</i>)		
Lord Warner (L) (Norman Warner)		
Baroness Uddin (L) (Manzila Pola Uddin)		
Lord Alton of Liverpool (LD) (David Alton)	Joint Council for the Welfare for Immigrants Refugee Council	1 1
Lord Clinton-Davis (L) (<i>Stanley Clinton-Davis</i>)		
Baroness Ludford (LD) (Sarah Ludford: Former MP, Islington)		
Rt. Rev. Lord Shepherd of Liverpool (<i>Crossbencher</i>) (<i>David Shepherd</i>)	Justice Amnesty International The Children's Society	1 1 1

	Kent County Council social services	1
<i>The Earl of Sandwich (Crossbencher)</i> (John Hollister Montagu)	Children's Society	1
Lord Ahmed (L) (Nazir Ahmed)		
Lord Hylton (Crossbencher) (Raymond Jolliffe)	Hackney Council	1
Viscount Astor (Con) (William Astor)		
Lord Williams of Mostyn (L) (Gareth Williams, Deputy Leader of the House of Lords)		
Immigration and Asylum Bill: Voucher System <i>HL Deb, 15th Jul. 1999, Vol. 604 c584 / 59 – 60</i>		
Earl Russell (LD) (Conrad Russell)		
Lord Alton of Liverpool (LD) (David Alton)		
Lord Williams of Mostyn (L) (Gareth Williams, Deputy Leader of the House of Lords)		
Immigration Act: Voucher Scheme <i>HL Deb 26th Jul. 1999, Vol. 604 c137-138</i>		
Lord Alton of Liverpool (LD) (David Alton)		
Lord Williams of Mostyn (L) (Gareth Williams, Deputy Leader of the House of Lords)		
Immigration and Asylum Bill: HL Deb 28th Jul. 1999, Vol. 604 cc1548		
Lord Falconer of Thoroton (L) (Charles Falconer, Minister of State for the Cabinet Office).		
Immigration and Asylum Bill: HL Deb, 20th Oct. 1999, Vol 605 c.1139 / 1140 / 1143 /1144-1145 / 1146 / 1146-1147 / 1147 – 1148 / 1161, 1202, 1203 / 1171		
Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Southwark (Crossbencher) (<i>Tom Butler</i>)		
Earl Russell (LD) (Conrad Russell)		
Baron Graham of Edmonton (L) (Thomas Graham) *cousin of Oona King (L) (Bethnal Green and Bow)		
Lord Alton of Liverpool (LD) (David Alton)		
Viscount Brentford (C) (Crispin William Joynson-Hicks)		
Lord Warner (L) (<i>Norman Warner</i>)		
Lord Cope of Berkeley (C) (<i>John Cope</i>)		
Lord Williams of Mostyn (L) (Gareth Williams, Deputy Leader of the House of Lords)		
Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Lichfield (Crossbencher) (Keith Sutton)	The Times*	1
Home Office Issues: HC Deb, 26th Oct. 1999, Vol. 336. c. 818		
Ann Widdecombe (C) Former Shadow Home Sec.		
Barbara Roche (L) Minister of State for Asylum and Immigration	Amnesty International	1
Asylum & Immigration Bill: HL Deb, 2nd Nov. 1999, Vol. 606. c.823		
Lord Williams of Mostyn (L) (Gareth Williams, Deputy Leader of the House of Lords)		
Baroness Williams of Crosby (LD) (Shirley Williams)		

Asylum Seekers: Voucher Scheme: HL Deb, 19 Jan. 2000, c152		
Lord Faulkner of Worcester (L) Richard Faulkner		
Lord Bassam of Brighton (L) Steve Bassam, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Home Office		
Asylum Seekers: HL Deb, 1 Mar.2000, Vol 610. c.560, 565, 604 / 570 / 595 – 597		
Lord Elton (C) (<i>Rodney Elton</i>)	The Refugee Council	1
Lord Judd (L) (Frank Judd) *Former Dir. of Oxfam (1985 – 1991).		
Lord Joffe (Crossbencher) (<i>Joel Joffe</i>) *Chairman of Oxfam (1995 – 2001)	Oxfam	1
Lord Cope of Berkeley (C) (<i>John Cope</i>)		
Refugee Dispersal Policy: Asylum Seekers: HL Deb, 6th Mar.2000, Vol 610.c.125		
Lord Bassam of Brighton (L) Steve Bassam, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Home Office		
Immigration & Nationality Directorate: HC Deb 29 Mar. 2000 Vol. 347 c110 – 114		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)		
Asylum Seekers: HC Deb, 3rd Apr. 2000 Vol 347 /		
Nigel Evans (C) (MP for Ribble Valley, Lancashire)		
Begging: Asylum Seekers: HC Deb, 3rd Apr. 2000 Vol c.1078 / 1081, / 1079,1081		
Lord Dholakia (LD) (Navnit Dholakia)		
Lord Cope of Berkeley (C) (John Cope)		
Lord Bassam of Brighton (L) Steve Bassam, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Home Office		
Asylum Seekers: HC Deb, 12th Apr. 2000 Vol 348: Col 430,432/443/450/461/466		
David Lidington (C) (for Aylesbury, Lancaster)		
Jack Straw (L) (The Sec. of State for the Home Dept.)		
Simon Hughes (LD) (<u>Bermondsey and Old Southwark</u>)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)	Oxfam	3
Dr. George Turner (L) (North West Norfolk)	Oxfam	1
Asylum Support Regulations 2000: HL Deb, 20th Apr. 2000 Vol 612: Col 893, 894-896 / 899 – 900 / 905 - 906 / 911, 913 / 913		
Lord Dholakia (LD) (Navnit Dholakia)	Save the Children Fund, Shelter <u>Marie Curie Cancer Care</u> Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture*	1 1 1 1
Lord Judd (L) (Frank Judd) *Former Dir. of Oxfam (1985 – 1991).	Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture Oxfam Save the Children Shelter Marie Curie Cancer Care <u>The Times*</u> <u>Barnados</u>	1 2 2 1 1 1 1
Lord Elton (C) (<i>Rodney Elton</i>)	Oxfam YMCA	1 1

Lord Cope of Berkeley (C) (John Cope)		
Lord Bach (L) (William Bach)		
Asylum Seekers: HL Deb, 07 Jul. 2000 Vol 614: Col 1757 / 1760 / 1763 / 1765		
Lord Greaves of Pendle, Lancashire (LD) (Tony Greaves)		
Baroness Howells of St David's (L) (Rosalind Howells)		
Viscount Bridgeman (C) (Robin Bridgeman)	The Refugee Council	1
Lord Bassam of Brighton (L) (Steve Bassam, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Home Office)	Refugee Council	1
	Oxfam,	1
	Save the Children	1
Transfer Schemes Made by CAA: HC Deb, 15 Nov. 2000, Vol 356: Col 1000		
John McDonnell (L) (Hayes and Harlington)		
Asylum Seekers, Information: HL Deb, 16 Nov. 2000 Vol 619: Col 343 / 344		
David Alton (LD) (Liverpool)		
Lord Bassam of Brighton (L) (Steve Bassam, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Home Office)		
Immigration Appeals: HC Deb, 20 Nov. 2000 Vol 357: Col / 113 / 119		
Simon Hughes (LD) (Bermondsey and Old Southwark)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)		
Home Affairs And Inner Cities: HC Deb, 20 Dec. 2000 Vol 359: Col 535		
Simon Hughes (LD) (Bermondsey and Old Southwark)		
Immigration And Asylum : HC Deb, 08 Jan, 2001 Vol 360: Col 704		
Ann Widdecombe (C) (Former Shadow Home Sec.)		
Asylum Seekers : HC Deb, 14th Feb. 2001 Vol 662: Col 257-258		
Lord Alton of Liverpool (LD) (David Alton)		
Asylum Seekers: HL Deb, 7 Jul. 2001, c1760		
Viscount Bridgeman (C) (Robin Bridgeman)	Refugee Council	1
	Oxfam	1
	Save the Children.	1
Asylum Seekers: HC Deb 11 July 2001 vol 371 c252 – 252 / 255 / 258 / 260		
Ann Clwyd (L) (Cynon Valley) *member of the Transport and General Workers Union	Asylum Link, Merseyside*	1
	Immigration Advisory Service*	1
	The Select Committee on International Development	1
	The Refugee Council	1
	The Times*	1
Julie Morgan (L) (Cardiff, North)	Save the Children	1
Neil Gerrard (L) (Walthamstow)		
Jeremy Corbyn (L) (Islington)		
Asylum Applications: HC Deb 24th October 2001 Vol 373 c.98		
Andrew Lansley (C) (South Cambridgeshire)	British Medical Association*	1
	Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture*	1

ylum, Migration and Citizenship: HC Deb 29th October 2001 Vol 373 c627 - 629 / 631 / 632 / 634 / 636 / 637 / 638 / 639 / 649		
David Blunkett (L) (The Sec.of State for the Home Department)		
Oliver Letwin (C) (West Dorset)		
Chris Mullin (L) (Sunderland South)		
Simon Hughes (LD) (Bermondsey and Old Southwark)		
Iain Coleman (L) (Hammersmith and Fulham)		
Neil Gerrard (L) (Walthamstow)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)		
Gwyn Prosser (L) (Dover)		
Oona King (L) (Bethnal Green and Bow) *cousin of Baron Graham of Edmonton (L)		
Michael Martin (L) (Speaker of the House)		
Asylum: HC Deb 29th October 2001 Vol 627 c.1193 / 1197		
Lord McNally (LD) (Tom McNally)		
Lord Alton of Liverpool (LD) (David Alton)		
Nationality, Immigration & Asylum White Paper: HL Deb 07 February 2002 Vol. 631 c742 / 746		
Lord Rooker (L) (Jeffrey Rooker) (The Minister of State) - via report from David Blunkett (L) (Home Sec).		
Lord Dholakia (LD) (Navnit Dholakia)		
Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill: HC Deb 24 April 2002 Vol. 384 cc346 / 348 / 360/ 389 / 394 / 409 / 410 / 412 / 415 / 426		
Simon Hughes (LD) (Bermondsey and Old Southwark)		
Diane Abbott (L) (Hackney, North and Stoke Newington)		
Oliver Letwin (C) (West Dorset)		
Neil Gerrard (L) (Walthamstow)		
Terry Rooney (L) (Bradford North) *member of Amicus		
Vernon Coaker (L) (Gedling)		
Marsha Singh (L) (Bradford West)		
Julie Morgan (L) (Cardiff, North)		
Humphrey Malins (C) (Woking)		

APPENDIX D

	DAILY MAIL	THE TIMES	THE DAILY EXPRESS	THE GUARDIAN
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT				299
LABOUR Home Sec. David Blunkett (*17)	64*****	54*****	27*****	16*
LABOUR Foreign Sec. Jack Straw	59	15	11	20
LABOUR Prime Minister Tony Blair (*3)	20**	13	1*	6
LABOUR Lord Jeff Rooker Asylum and Immigration Minister June 2001- May 2002.	1	4	9	1
CONSERVATIVE Ann Widdecombe (*6) Former Shadow Home Sec.	6**	2**	2**	1
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 2001 - 2009 Michael Marti (*4)	17***	6	6*	
LABOUR Barbara Roche Asylum and Immigration Minister 1999 - 2001.	11	1		6
LIBERAL DEMOCRAT Simon Hughes (*5) Home Affairs Spokesman		2**	3**	1*
CONSERVATIVE Oliver Letwin (*4) Shadow Home Sec.	2*	1*	2**	
LABOUR Tony Benn L (*3) MP for Chesterfield	1*	2**		1
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1983 - 1992 Lord Bernard Weatherill (*1)	2	1*		
LABOUR Neil Gerrard(*3) M.P. for Walthamstow	7***			
CONSERVATIVE David Lidington(*2) Home Affairs Spokesman	6**			
CONSERVATIVE MSP (*2) Phil Gallie	5**			
LABOUR Mike O'Brien (*1) Asylum and Immigration Minister 1997 - 1999.	1	1*		
LABOUR Lord Bassam (*1) Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs				2*
LABOUR Frank (*1) Health Secretary	1*			
LABOUR Hilton Dawson(*1) MP for Lancaster and Wyre	1*			
LABOUR M.P Angela Eagle MP for Wallasey				1
LABOUR Martin Salter (*1) MP for Reading West	1*			
LABOUR Martin Linton (*1) MP for Battersea	1			
LABOUR Alan Simpson MP for Nottingham South L				1
LIBERAL DEMOCRAT Paul Tyler (*1) MP for North Cornwall	1*			
INDEPENDENT Dennis Cannavan (*1) MSP for Falkirk West	1			
CONSERVATIVE Sir Patrick Cormack (*1) MP for South Staffordshire	1*			
SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY (*1) Sandra White MSP for Glasgow Kelvin	1			

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1992 - 2000 Betty Boothroyd*	1			
LOCAL GOVERNMENT				
Kent County Council	2		1	
Local Government Association				1
CHARITY SECTOR				
Refugee Council (*4)	7	5*	4*	11**
Oxfam (*2)	1	3	2	19**
Asylum Aid (*2)		3	1	2*
Immigration Advisory Service (*2)	3**	1	2	
Save the Children (*1)			2	2*
Children's Society			3	1
Amnesty International	1			2
Barnados			1	1
Scottish Refugee Council (*1)	5			1*
National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux (*2)				2**
The Barnet Refugee Health Access Project	1			
UK Unicef	1			
Victims of Rape	1			
Kings Fund			1	
NSPCC				1
National Children's Bureau				1
Family Welfare Organisation				1
Child Poverty Action Group				1
TRADE UNIONS				
Transport & General Workers Union (*8)	6****	3*	1	5***
Immigration Service Union (*2)	2		2**	
Trade Union Congress		1		
RELIGIOUS SECTOR				
Church of Scotland Parliamentary Officer Graham Blount (*2)	2*			
Action of Churches Together in Scotland	1			
Right Rev John Cairns	1			
The Right Rev John Mone, Roman Catholic Bishop of Paisley	1			
MEDICAL SECTOR				
British Medical Association (*3)		1	2	3***
Medical Foundations for the Care of the Victims of Torture(*3)	1*			2**
UK Public Health Association (*1)				1*
JUDICIARY				
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants(*3)		2*		2**
Liberty			2	
BUSINESS				
The Body Shop	1			
The Fabian Society	1			
NEWS MEDIA				
BBC Radio 4 <i>Today</i> Programme	1	2	1	
BBC Radio 4 <i>The World This Weekend</i> Programme		1		
BBC News 24's <i>One to One</i> Programme				1
REPORTS				

TWGU / Oxfam / Refugee Council Report (Token Gestures) (*4)			1*	3**
British Medical Association / Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture (*3)		1*	2*	1*
Rowntree Report				1
Council of Europe (*1)				1*

APPENDIX E

THEME 1: THE VOUCHER SUPPORT SYSTEM IS INHUMANE

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): The voucher based support system is inhumane and stigmatizing.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): It is not generous but it is adequate. It is not a benefits system but a system of basic support.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (HUMANITY)

1. **UNHCR:** To compound all that, those children are denied equality in the playground and are pointed at as the voucher children. We regard that as fundamentally unacceptable and even inhumane.- **Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999**
2. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):**...That is a not a humane or appropriate system. **Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999**
3. **RICHARD ALLEN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** The Minister said something quite disturbing in his response. It is very disturbing. The only logical outcome is to say to a church organisation or a charity, ``If an asylum seeker presents himself, do not under any circumstances offer him ordinary, humane support...**Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999**
4. **LORD COPE OF BERKELEY (CON):**I believe that the Government must get on top of the asylum applications backlog before they start to introduce this other policy. Otherwise the support system will not work well and it will not work humanely. We all want it to work humanely for all these people,... The amendment suggests that we should take the Government at their word and say, "Introduce this new support system once you have achieved the target and then you will stand a much better chance of being able to introduce it humanely and efficiently in the interests of all those concerned and in the interests of the good name of our country".**HL Deb 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1147-8**

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (STIGMATISING)

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** It is also extremely important to stress that a cashless support system is demeaning to the individual and stigmatises asylum seekers in general. - **Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999**
2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** Section VI will leave many asylum seekers isolated from their own communities yet stigmatised in the wider community **Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999**
3. **JUSTICE:** Matthew Craven's Note says, `they will be made permanently visible, stigmatised by their inability to use the normal mechanisms for exchange or purchase and enjoy many of the everyday prerogatives of community life.**Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999**

4. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL** :Vouchers are costly and bureaucratic and **stigmatise** the recipients- *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
5. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL**: Certainly, if you want to identify people in a community as different, separate and special and to **stigmatise** them when they hold up queues in supermarkets, a voucher system is a good way of doing it. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
6. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL** It is a very difficult balancing act between Mr. Ransford's point about maintaining a realistic service on the one hand and on the other making it sensitive enough to avoid people being stigmatised - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
7. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM)**: Provision through vouchers will be costly and will **distinguish** people. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
8. **DIANE ABBOTT: (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB)** In areas of east London where these vouchers are used, the children are stigmatised as voucher children... These children ... will bear the stigma of being different, being voucher children. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
9. **RT REV. LORD SHEPHERD**: Children in the playground are called "voucher children". The stigma of being called names does not help them to feel welcome and accepted. *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c228*
10. **THE EARL OF SANDWICH (CON)**: **the** new system will lead to queuing, black markets and stigmatisation... *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c232*
11. **LORD AHMED (LAB)**. The point has been made by almost all speakers that **the** system is expensive and bureaucratic. It was tried, and failed, in Switzerland. **It has created an administration nightmare**. Councils such as Hackney have given evidence to the effect that it costs three and a half times more, **and it stigmatises people...It causes people a great deal of hardship**. My fear is that it will also create begging, illegal work and crime. There will be repercussions. There will also be race relations problems. *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c232*
12. **THE LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK**: As I understand it, children in families, as well as adults, are to be **transferred to the voucher system, with all the shame and stigma that that can involve** and which would be so acutely felt by children in particular. *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c192*
13. **JULIE MORGAN (MP for Cardiff, North LAB)**:**the** experience of the Welsh Refugee Council is that it is stigmatising and creates major problems for daily living. *HC Deb 25 February 1999 vol 326 c604*
14. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM)**: Kent County Council social services believe that vouchers are a nightmare. They create community tensions due to the stigma attached to them and the fact that they hold up supermarket queues. There are great fears of a black market emerging with refugees being forced to sell their vouchers below value because of their desperate need for more cash for, say, travel, stamps and 'phone cards *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 cc222 – 225*
15. **LORD GRAHAM (LAB)**: **The** voucher system administered not by the DSS but by the Home office would stigmatise women and their children. It will impose hardship and inestimable stress and anxiety ...*HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1143*
16. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM)**:... They will immediately be identified and, therefore, capable of being discriminated against and stigmatised....There are certainly administrative problems with a voucher system and there is the point about the stigma...., I believe to be foolhardy. *HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1144-1145*
17. **VISCOUNT BRENTFORD (CON)**: **On the matter of being stigmatised**—I support what the right reverend Prelate said about that—I am concerned about the children because **I understand that they are likely to be stigmatised as "voucher kids" which will make life more difficult for them.**: *HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1146*
18. **LORD JUDD (LAB)**:...Above all, vouchers are seen as humiliating and stigmatizing for those compelled to use them.. *HL Deb, 1 March 2000, Vol 610. C570*
19. **LORD JUDD (LAB)**:... There is absolutely no doubt that there is a stigma attached to being compelled to make essential purchases with vouchers. There is already evidence that abuse

- is mounting towards asylum seekers when they are identified in that way.: *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 899- 900*
20. **THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD:** All voluntary organisations are very uneasy indeed about the voucher system... the voucher system is demeaning to people... It will not work as a deterrent. Moreover, they are having a stigmatising and demeaning effect on all refugee applicants in the country at present..I suggest that from a humane point of view, as well as from a cost point of view and every other point of view, asylum seekers should simply use the other voucher system that we all use, which is called money. *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 905 – 906*
 21. **BARONESS HOWELLS OF ST DAVID’S (LAB):** There are real issues about stigmatisation and the creation of a visible social underclass. ... The Refugee Council has reports of the humiliation of asylum seekers trying to use vouchers...: *HL Deb, 07 July 2000 Vol 614: Col 1760*
 22. **SIMON HUGHES (MP for Bermondsey and Old Southwark, LIB DEM):**If anything will stigmatise people who are already stigmatised, it is the fact that they must go out on the street unable to act like self-respecting citizens. *HC Deb, 20 December 2000 Vol 359: Col 535*
 23. **ANDREW LANSLEY (MP for South Cambridgeshire, CON):**Those given leave to remain could be given greater opportunities for work; we could try to dispense with the voucher scheme and escape from the risk of stigmatisation and abuse associated with vouchers;. *HC Deb 24th October 2001 Vol 373 Col: 98*
 24. **IAIN COLEMAN (MP for Hammersmith and Fulham, LAB):**. The first was the degrading and stigmatising effect that it had on those people who had to use the vouchers and the second—and more important—was the very low level at which that benefit was paid: *HC Deb 29th October 2001 Vol 373 Col:636*
 25. **HUMPFREY MARLINS (MP for Woking, CON):** He told us that he wanted a faster and fairer system. He wanted stronger controls at ports, and effective enforcement against those not entitled to stay. He introduced the voucher system, saying that there was much evidence to suggest that cash benefits acted as a pull factor. We know that the then Home Secretary was wrong in that respect. **Vouchers stigmatised asylum seekers and did not reduce the number of applications**, which rose from 46,000 in 1998 to more than 80,000 two years later. Many hon. Members have congratulated the present Home Secretary on his rapid reversal of his predecessor's policy. *HC Deb 24 April 2002 vol 384 c426*

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

The voucher based support system is an inhumane and humiliating system that publically identifies and subsequently stigmatises an already marginalized community, causing social division, exclusion and racial tension.

Discourse Strand: The dehumanising, stigmatising effects of using vouchers, particularly for children

Discourse Fragments: social division, social exclusion, community tension, mental health impact

Word Groups (Adjectives): angry (f.3), anguish (f.1), (so)demeaning (f.12), bitter onslaught, bureaucratic (f.10), controversial (f.29), crude and cruel (f.2), damaging (f.6), degrading (f.5), demeaning (f.12), different (f.13), dire effects, discriminatory (f.3), divisive (f.2), egregious (f.1), genuine concessions, grotesque (f.3), horrifying effects, humiliating (f.10), ill-fated voucher scheme, inhumane (f.3), practical problems, serious (f.7), social exclusion, unacceptable support, unnecessary suffering, unpopular (f.2), vulnerable to racist attack, wide spread misery

Word Groups (Nouns):, charity cases, new currency of vouchers, daily discrimination, disgrace (f.4), distress (f.1), health of asylum seekers, hostility (f.3), hostility from other shoppers, humiliation (f.2), immigration groups, impact (f.11), insufficiently in touch with reality, legislation is discriminatory, legislation that leaves refugee children at risk, motive (f.2), opponents of the scheme, over haul the asylum and immigration system, poverty racial harassment separation from families, profit, rebel Labour MP’s, red flag, reformers have every reason to be angry, scheme is a shambles, shops often charge commission, stigma (f.3), stigmatising effect

Word Groups (Verbs): abolish the voucher system, abused in the queue by other shoppers, affects both physical and mental wellbeing, already marginalised, cause wide spread misery, creating problems, **degrades** (f.2), denounced by immigration groups and Labour MP's, denying them choice, deprived asylum seekers of their dignity, deteriorated health since arriving, discriminates against people, endured the humiliation, exacerbated the problems, experiencing serious difficulties, explain the impact that the ill-fated voucher scheme has had, exposed to more hostility, failed to adequately deal, failed to find an acceptable alternative, falls way below the Governments own poverty threshold, forced to live, **impoverished** (f.2), increase the amount of cash support, increased the risk of racial harassment, isolated as targets, **marginalise** (f.2), mark them out as being different, marking them out, neglects to address the needs of the most vulnerable, opposing the move, picked out, promised it would end the stigma, promotes the social exclusion, refusing to give change, regarded as demeaning, replace the scheme, scrapped in favour of cash payments, singles them out, **stigmatise** (f.6), stop the social exclusion, subjected to hostility, subjects families to racial harassment, subsidise corporate profit, take away dignity, unwilling to abolish, urged the Government, victimise refugees, vouchers being abolished

Semantic devices: 'New Labour must provide a full, civilised service', decent, entitled to the princely sum of £1.30 a day", "falls way below the Governments own poverty threshold", "persuaded the union chief to hold his fire", "let's get the system right", "the inhumanity of a new currency the asylum voucher", "the stigmatising effects of vouchers", "voucher children"

Modal verbs: will (f.13), would (f.12), must (f.1), could (f.5)

Evidentialities: simply (f.2)

SECTORIAL STAKEHOLDER NARRATIVE:

1. INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED HOUSING:

Vouchers are inhumane and undermine successful settlement...**exacerbating and creating health problems** ...failing to take account of essential everyday needs such as travel;...directly discriminating against cultural and religious beliefs (e.g. inability to purchase halal foods in co-operating stores);...creating a bureaucratic nightmare which can leave asylum seekers without support for long periods...providing an incentive for corrupt practice and exploitation by putting a premium on cash...resulting in discriminatory treatment and (often) verbal abuse against the users...**all of the above are exacerbated by the 'no change' rule which is particularly harsh when vouchers are only some 70% of income support levels.**

THEME 2: THE VOUCHER SUPPORT SYSTEM ENCOURAGES SOCIAL EXCLUSION

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): The new voucher support system institutionalizes social exclusion, it creates community tensions, damages race relations and increases the risk of racial harassment.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): If applicants do not take one of the 'support in kind' benefits (no-choice accommodation/vouchers) then they have options available to them from family, friends or the voluntary sector and are therefore not at risk of social exclusion. Vouchers are not the only characteristic in which to identify an asylum seekers, therefore the use of vouchers by asylum seekers does not increase the risk of racial harassment.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** The new system will create a new class of socially excluded people. It is a bitter irony that we have a Government who pride themselves on their social exclusion unit yet at the same time intend to create a category of people who will be the most excluded since the days of the workhouse. How much more excluded can one be than to be forced into designated accommodation and then made to use vouchers to purchase goods in certain shops only? *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c65- 66*

2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** there is a real danger that this system will undermine the government's commitment to combatting **social exclusion**. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **JOINT COUNCIL FOR THE WELFARE OF IMMIGRANTS:** They offend the right to respect for privacy and family life by **institutionalising social exclusion**. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **MEDICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE CARE OF THE VICTIMS OF TORTURE:** Objections to the **systematic social exclusion** of asylum seekers have been ignored - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*.
5. **RWS.** My worry is that if the system becomes hard on asylum seekers--if the conditions of accommodation are very bad, **if there is no cash whatever** because at present it is cashless--the majority will, I assume, **come back to London if they are greatly isolated**, and the voluntary sector, the London boroughs and the refugee community organisations will have to pick up the pieces. We will go back to post 5 February 1996 when many asylum seekers slept in church halls and mosques in London. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*.
6. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL, it singles people out from the rest of the population...**Certainly, if you want to identify people in a community as different, separate and special and to stigmatise them when they hold up queues in supermarkets, a voucher system is a good way of doing it. - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
7. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNTY COUNCIL:** To be honest, the voucher system has been a nightmare for us. **It has created community tension...** For us in local government, that becomes a problem because it creates **community tension and makes visible racial tensions...** *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
8. **RICHRD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):**T....will create the enormous social problems that we have heard about in the Kent example, which all of us can imagine happening in our own constituencies, with asylum seekers, in shabby clothing because they will not have received any money in their support payments for new clothing, going to Sainsbury's check-outs with the vouchers, which will distinguish and separate them from everyone else, and then returning to their accommodation. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
9. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ...The Minister mentioned the Labour Government's record on race relations to decry any attempt to describe any of the Bill's provisions as either intentionally or unintentionally racist. However, I continue to find one aspect of the Bill baffling. ...What I find baffling is how the Home Secretary can have a general policy on race that tends in one direction, yet a policy on immigration and asylum that tends in quite another. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
10. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ...Whatever Ministers think, the proposals will not choke off the flow of asylum seekers. They will simply result in a bad system being made even more chaotic and in asylum seekers and **would--be asylum seekers** being placed in even more disadvantaged and socially excluded conditions. What is the point of the Government talking about fighting social exclusion, when the Bill will put in place a framework of social exclusion for a particular group of people--including, as I said earlier, children? *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
11. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB).** Although we believe that refugees may be disadvantaged by having to use vouchers, the ordinary citizen who sees those vouchers will say, "Hang on a minute; that is different. You have something special." If they had cash...no one would notice. They would slip through the checkouts unnoticed, people being no wiser about their status. That distinction is crucial.
Dr. Stephen Ladyman (MP for South Thanet LAB):...i is not the fact that they shop with vouchers that separates them from the rest of the community; it is the fact that they are recognisable as refugees. It is nothing to do with the vouchers; they would be recognised as refugees even if they had 10 notes.
Mr. Allan: I was simply citing the views of the director of social services in Kent, who felt that vouchers contributed to the problem. I take his words at face value. However, I accept that the

use of vouchers is not the only distinguishing characteristic. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

12. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** under the new system there is a risk...of racial harassment and racial attacks. ... **The Commission for Racial Equality** argues that that should be taken into account. It says that: ``as highly visible newcomers without cash housed in areas which may be relatively racially homogenous, there is a real danger that they will be scapegoated by other disadvantaged groups and targeted in racial attacks".*Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
13. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM):**...How can the Government reconcile their laudable commitment to reducing social exclusion and promoting racial justice with the creation of a new social underclass under the voucher system? **HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221**
14. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM):** ...In addition, the noble Lord, Lord Dholakia, reminded us that the price we will pay in damage to race relations is too great to justify either this social exclusion or the so-called pull factor effect. *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c217*
15. **VERNON COAKER (LAB):** We must make progress on the Government's social exclusion agenda and targets for tackling child poverty, and apply them to refugee children. In that respect, the abolition of vouchers is welcome.... *HC Deb 24 April 2002 vol 384 c409*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** If people do not take up the offer of benefits in kind, we have to assume, I think correctly, that they have better facilities on offer from family or friends. *HO Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):**...I do not doubt that racist gangs exist and that they are a threat, especially to asylum seekers. However, they would not have to wait in supermarket queues to identify them as unfortunately it is all too easy to identify victims by other means. That is regrettable, and it is something that we must tackle firmly. **However, I do not think that passing across the voucher is something that the asylum seeker needs to worry about significantly....** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting Tuesday 4th May March 1999* via

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Voucher based support system exposes and stigmatises asylum seekers, fueling racial tensions, subjecting them to racial harassment and making them vulnerable to racist attack.

Discourse Strand: The dehumanising, stigmatising effects of using vouchers, particularly for children

Discourse Fragments: social division, social exclusion, community tension, mental health impact

Word Groups (Adjectives): angry (f.3), anguish (f.1), (so)demeaning (f.12), bitter onslaught, bureaucratic (f.10), controversial (f.29), crude and cruel (f.2), damaging (f.6), degrading (f.5), demeaning (f.12), different (f.13), dire effects, discriminatory (f.3), divisive (f.2), egregious (f.1), genuine concessions, grotesque (f.3), horrifying effects, humiliating (f.10), ill fated voucher scheme, inhumane (f.3), practical problems, serious (f.7), social exclusion, unacceptable support, unnecessary suffering, unpopular (f.2), vulnerable to racist attack, wide spread misery

Word Groups (Nouns):, charity cases, new currency of vouchers, daily discrimination, disgrace (f.4), distress (f.1), health of asylum seekers, hostility (f.3), hostility from other shoppers, humiliation (f.2), immigration groups, impact (f.11), insufficiently in touch with reality, legislation is discriminatory, legislation that leaves refugee children at risk, motive (f.2), opponents of the scheme, over haul the asylum and immigration system, poverty racial harassment separation from families, profit, rebel Labour MP's, red flag, reformers have every reason to be angry, scheme is a shambles, shops often charge commission, stigma (f.3), stigmatising effect

Word Groups (Verbs): abolish the voucher system, abused in the queue by other shoppers, affects both physical and mental wellbeing, already marginalised, cause wide spread misery, creating problems, **degrades** (f.2), denounced by immigration groups and Labour MP's, denying them choice, deprived asylum seekers of their dignity, deteriorated health since arriving, discriminates against people, endured

the humiliation, exacerbated the problems, experiencing serious difficulties, explain the impact that the ill-fated voucher scheme has had, exposed to more hostility, failed to adequately deal, failed to find an acceptable alternative, falls way below the Governments own poverty threshold, forced to live, **impoverished** (f.2), increase the amount of cash support, increased the risk of racial harassment, isolated as targets, **marginalise** (f.2), mark them out as being different, marking them out, neglects to address the needs of the most vulnerable, opposing the move, picked out, promised it would end the stigma, promotes the social exclusion, refusing to give change, regarded as demeaning, replace the scheme, scrapped in favour of cash payments, singles them out, **stigmatise** (f.6), stop the social exclusion, subjected to hostility, subjects families to racial harassment, subsidise corporate profit, take away dignity, unwilling to abolish, urged the Government, victimise refugees, vouchers being abolished

Semantic devices: 'New Labour must provide a full, civilised service', decent, entitled to the princely sum of £1.30 a day", "falls way below the Governments own poverty threshold", "persuaded the union chief to hold his fire", "let's get the system right", "the inhumanity of a new currency the asylum voucher", "the stigmatising effects of vouchers", "voucher children"

Modal verbs: will (f.13), would (f.12), must (f.1), could (f.5)

Evidentialities: simply (f.2)

SECTORIAL STAKEHOLDER NARRATIVE:

1. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL** They (provisions) offend the right to respect for privacy and family life, by institutionalising social exclusion.
2. **CHARTERD INSITUTE OF HOUSING:** Overall we believe that vouchers make the integration of dispersal asylum seekers into local communities more difficult. We are surprised that the Government often fails to acknowledge the problems of asylum seekers in reports on their key policy objectives of tackling social exclusion and welfare dependency. **We believe that the most likely outcomes of a voucher scheme will an increase in these evils.**
3. **MEDICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE CARE FOR THE VICTIMS OF TORTURE:** It is an indictment of the consultation process surrounding this legislation that the reforms identified by those consulted as the key to a fairer, faster, firmer system—the reform of initial fact-finding and decision-making procedures—have not been addressed, and **objections to the systematic social exclusion of asylum seekers have been ignored.**
4. **OXFAM:** Given that the Government is not committed to uprating the level of voucher support in line with income support, the relative impoverishment and exclusion of asylum seekers will worsen over time. This is especially likely as the Asylum Support Regulations specifically prevent charities, churches and individuals from topping up inadequate state provision - if they do so, government support will be reduced.

THEME 3: THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE VOUCHER SUPPORT SYSTEM IS MORE COSTLY THAN THAT OF A CASH BASED SUPPORT SYSTEM

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): The voucher based support system is too costly in terms of unit cost per voucher, in comparison to than giving asylum seekers cash based support.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): A cashless based support system is initially more costly to administer but the overall cost is much less, because it will have a 'disincentive effect' in terms of deterring economic migrants. Accordingly, the costs associated with the new support system will go down over the next three years based on the fact that the numbers of applications will go down, because cash benefits will not be available. In addition, a cashless based support system will restore integrity in the system and identify genuine asylum seekers more quickly.

(STAKEHOLDER RESPONSE) There is no evidence to support the idea that cash based system will *not* deter economic migration

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER:** I wonder whether the **White Paper has taken sufficient heed of the administrative costs of the new procedure***HL Deb, 2nd December 1998, vol 595:c514*
2. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** **It is a hugely inefficient system which is costly in cash terms and in terms of human dignity....** *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c65- 66*
3. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** **The consequence of this will be that the new system will become more and more costly to administer,** possibly making it unsustainable. – *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **JOINT COUNCIL FOR THE WELFARE OF IMMIGRANTS:** **The extra administrative costs of applying a complex immigration status test to ... an immigration status and destitution test to community care, including costs of internal review, appeal and judicial review, are likely to outweigh the estimated benefit savings.** *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
5. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** **It has been accepted by the Government that the reinstatement of welfare benefits would be cheaper and less cumbersome-** *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
6. **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ASSOCIATION:** **Vouchers are costly and bureaucratic and stigmatise the recipients.** *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
7. **ASSOCIATION OF LONDON GOVERNMENTS:** **There is a price attached to that. There are additional administrative costs and some other difficulties.** *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
8. **ASSOCIATION OF LONDON GOVERNMENT:** **It can work but prices are attached to it. -** *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999 –*
9. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNY COUNCIL:** **It is very costly in terms of unit cost per voucher.** I wish the Home Office well; **it will cost a fortune.** *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
10. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY – KENT COUNY COUNCIL -****It is the difference between 4p and 14p in the pound in overall costs.** Added to that is not only the **actual cost for the administration process** but the deflection of the reason for producing vouchers. It subsumes more professional time and activity—even the good schemes do this. **I suppose that our greatest prejudice, apart from the cost,** is that in the end it defeats the essence of what we are trying to achieve, which is the best possible solution for the general public as well as for asylum seekers *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
11. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** **If the number of asylum applicants remained exactly the same and if they take up the new support arrangements that would be a more costly system than benefits.** In other words, you are putting the Government's money where their mouth is, saying that the numbers will fall because of the change in support arrangements. *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999 I*
12. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** **It is helpful to have that reminder of the Home Secretary's words. There is general agreement that the system will be more costly...** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
13. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** **Provision through vouchers will be costly** and will distinguish people. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
14. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** **The first point to make about the voucher system is that it will be more expensive on a per-person basis to administer than simply giving people income support.** The Minister assures us that it will save money because the take-up, will be lower and everyone's case will be resolved within that magic period of two months. But in 12 months' time, **once the voucher system is in place, I am sure that the cost will exceed Government projections...** Even though it will be more expensive to administer than simply giving people income support, when it comes to having a significant disincentive effect, cost is no object for Ministers. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
15. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):** **The Government may wish to proceed with a barmy system of vouchers--to reinvent money, create a new currency and distribute it to**

- asylum seekers in a costly way—but...*Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*
16. **JEREMY CORBYN (MP for Islington North, LAB):**— while many existing asylum seekers in this country will continue to depend on food vouchers, handouts and little cash, a system that leads to high administrative costs and to very unpleasant experiences for many of those asylum seekers, who feel humiliation in their communities? *WHC Deb 05 May 1999 Vol 330 c950*
 17. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** ...The Home Secretary intends to devise an alternative support system instead of choosing the cheap and more straightforward option of the existing benefits system. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999* via
 18. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** we believe that it will still cost considerably more in the pound than delivering support through the more straightforward, existing Benefits Agency and cash. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
 19. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):** Subsection (1) is flawed in its inception... The only useful concession we have had concerns the travel costs but that still leaves us with the question of the extra bureaucracy that will be needed... While it is proper that people get the additional support, all this is starting to add up to a significant work package for the Asylum Support Directorate, and I suspect that the system will be extremely costly. The Bill provides for capping, and for limited budgets. If the system proves too costly, asylum seekers will suffer as the amount of direct support that they receive is reduced. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
 20. **BARONNESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM):** As regards the voucher system, as the noble Lord, Lord Alton, said, it is important to remember that this is not a right. People will have to prove that they are destitute. But while the cash value of the voucher system will be only 70 per cent of income support, and the system has all the disadvantages of inflexibility—it can be exchanged only for a limited range of goods—it will be more cumbersome and costly to administer than social security benefits. I do not know how it meets the test of best value that all government departments are meant to be working towards. I understand that Switzerland dropped vouchers because they were impractical as well as demeaning. There is no evidence that the withdrawal of cash payments acts as a disincentive to migrate. The voucher system is much more costly to administer than benefits even without adding the cost of the 300 staff in the Asylum Support Directorate *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221*
 21. **LORD AHMED (LAB):** ...t the system is expensive and bureaucratic. It was tried, and failed, in Switzerland. It has created an administration nightmare. Councils such as Hackney have given evidence to the effect that it costs three and a half times more... *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c232*
 22. **LORD JUDD (LAB):** ... vouchers are costly to administer; that they are inflexible, with no provisions for change; and that they provide no opportunity to shop where it is economic as distinct from where the vouchers are acceptable... *HL Deb, 1 March 2000, Vol 610. C570*
 23. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM):**...it is a hugely inefficient system which is costly in cash terms and in terms of human dignity...*HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c65- 66*
 24. **THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD:** ...I suggest that from a humane point of view, as well as from a cost point of view and every other point of view, asylum seekers should simply use the other voucher system that we all use, which is called money. *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 905 – 906*
 25. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM): Q:** Will the Minister also tell the House how much it costs to operate the voucher scheme and whether it gives us value for money? **A: LORD BASSAM (LAB) PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY, HOME OFFICE:** My Lords, I am content that the scheme provides value for money...*HL Deb, 16 November 2000 Vol 619: Col 343*
 26. **NIGEL EVANS (MP for Ribble Valley, Lancashire, CON):** But we know that the figure will be higher. Is it not true that the measures that the Government are taking today, with the launch of a voucher scheme, are just a knee-jerk panic reaction to a situation that has gone completely out of control under the present Government?... It would be far better if, instead of trying to fuel the fire with alternative means such as vouchers, the Government introduced mechanisms now

which stopped the tide of economic migrants coming into this country in the first place. *HC Deb, 3rd April 2000 Vol 347.*

27. **JAMES CLAPPISON (MP for Hertsmere CON)**...We had a long debate on the extent of support that asylum seekers will receive for their essential living expenses. Essential living needs mean food, and it concerns me that the costs of making a claim for asylum or for making an appeal may be deducted from essential living expenses. It is pernicious—to choose a word—for asylum seekers to have to decide between whether to meet the costs of making a claim for asylum or bringing an appeal and feeding and supporting their families. ILPA states that the proposal in the clause “is pernicious... However, how can he justify regarding any of those expenses as essential living expenses, especially when they will be deducted from the small sums being provided for essential living needs? ... The clause alarmed the Immigration Law Practitioners Association; “pernicious” is a good description of it. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
28. **(IN RESPONSE) MIKE O’BRIEN. (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)**...it will also allow flexibility to change the scheme, as we learn from experience... We want to consult widely with various groups, as we have throughout our debate on the Bill, and ensure that we listen carefully to what they say. Again as we have shown throughout discussion of the Bill, we are prepared to revise specific issues. We certainly want full consultation on the way in which the support system will work. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O’BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** ... We certainly do not claim that we are providing a generous package, but it must be seen as a whole and in that respect it is adequate. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
2. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** The evidence is in the figures, which show that, although the cost per head of benefits in kind is slightly higher than that of cash benefits, the take up of cash benefits is very much greater. There is also considerable evidence to suggest that cash benefits act as a "pull factor" in the case of economic migrants from eastern European countries who have no basis whatever for asylum claims.... *HC Deb 22 February 1999 Vol 326 C45-46*
3. **ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:** There are additional administrative costs and some other difficulties. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
4. **JUSTICE:** It is envisaged that support for asylum seekers will be based upon support in kind, even though it is recognised that this is more cumbersome to deliver and more expensive in unit cost, the rationale being that it will deter economic migration. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
5. **ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:**... It can work but prices are attached to it. *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*
6. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** Yes. The unit cost of providing cash support per asylum seeker or per asylum-seeking family is marginally less than the unit cost of providing support in kind. However, the take-up is hugely different. The overall cost is very much less if you provide support in kind, because there is no pull factor. *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
7. **MIKE O’BRIEN: (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** The cashless system is more costly to operate than a full cash system but, in overall costs, it has less of a pull factor and it is likely that fewer people will make false claims for asylum. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
8. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** ... There is no doubt that the availability of cash benefits in the social security system is a major pull factor that encourages fraudulent claims at port. It is one of the factors that encourages many people whose claims are wholly without foundation to come in clandestinely, particularly to Dover and other south-east ports, from Eastern Europe and other countries where they are not under any threat of persecution. They come in principally to claim cash benefits. *HC Deb 21 May 1999 vol 333 C16*

9. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** The only people who seek support in kind are those who actually need it. It is, I am afraid, a fact of life that if you provide cash benefits, payments and individuals are, by definition, much more difficult to track, and the system is much more open to abuse. There is no question about it; they have acted as a pull factor.... We have the difficult job of distinguishing one from the other. However, there is little doubt that the availability of cash benefits acts as a pull...I am quite clear that cash benefits would still be a pull factor because, given the relative differences in standards of living and the value of money, social security cash benefits paid in an easily tradeable international currency are a major attraction, even if they are available only for only six months. I have no doubt about that. *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*
10. **MIKE O'BRIEN: (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** undermining the integrity of the asylum system. Our objective is to restore its integrity...Removing access to benefit, which is a factor for economic migrants, will, in the long term, help to restore integrity to the system and enable genuine refugees to be recognised more quickly. *Standing Committee, Twenty First Sitting, (Part 1) Tuesday 11th May 1999*
11. **TONY BLAIR...**However, it is important that we clean up the system. Many bogus claims are being made. It is not right that we carry on with the present system. As the right hon. Gentleman knows, we inherited a mess, with a backlog of tens of thousands of claims. The new system will be fairer and faster and will deter the bogus asylum seeker. *HC Deb 16 June 1999 Vol 333 cc386*

STAKEHOLDER RESPONSE (TO GOVERNMENT RESPONSE)

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The Government has projected that the costs associated with the new support system will go down over the next three years based on two assumptions. First that the numbers of applications will go down because cash benefits will not be available. As outlined above, all the evidence would indicate that this assumption is fundamentally flawed. The Refugee Council believes the support system outlined in the Bill is fundamentally flawed. There is no evidence to support the notion that asylum seekers come to Britain because of a cash based benefit system. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The Government argues that the payment of cash benefits is an incentive for economic migrants...However, all the available evidence indicates that this assumption is wrong. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **JUSTICE:** It is acknowledged that in-kind support is more costly to provide and administer; the justification would therefore have to rest upon the aim of 'reducing economic incentives to migration' which, as Matthew Craven points out, may not be sufficient in itself, particularly as it is unproven and indeed contradicted by some statistical evidence. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **REFUGEE COUNCIL** The establishment of a largely cashless system of support for destitute asylums seekers is unlikely to have any real impact on the number of applications made in the UK. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 18th March 1999*
5. **THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD:...**I do not believe for one moment that it will work as a deterrent...It will not work as a deterrent... *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 905 – 906*
6. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM)...** there is no evidence that the withdrawal of cash payments acts as a disincentive to migrate. The voucher system is much more costly to administer than benefits...*HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221*
7. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** The motive behind the voucher system--to exercise a significant disincentive effect--is shameful. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
8. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM)...**the unsupported suggestion that there is a huge pull factor for cash payments that would somehow disappear once they have been entirely replaced by vouchers *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

9. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LIB DEM)** We all want--although we have different degrees of faith that the Government will manage it--to achieve the six-month time limit--**If we achieve it, I contend that there will be no significant difference in the comparative attractiveness to asylum seekers of a cash payment or a voucher payment...** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
10. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** **The intended disincentive effect is the principle of the workhouse... Just as the Victorian workhouse was intended to have a significant disincentive effect, so is the voucher support system. Like the workhouse, that system will prove to be cruel and indefensible in practice.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
11. **LORD ALTON OF LIVERPOOL (LIB DEM):** At that time **Members of your Lordships' House moved amendments** against the dispersal system and **against the voucher system, pointing out that the voucher system would not be effective as a disincentive** and that it would stigmatise people. *HC Deb 29th October 2001 Vol 627 C1197*
12. **NEIL GERRARD (MP for Walthamstow LAB):** I still could not understand **why we should give people vouchers that they could use in supermarkets rather than the equivalent amount in cash. If they had cash, they would have the freedom and the choice to decide where, how and when to spend the money. If £30 or £40 in cash in hand are a draw, why is a piece of paper that is worth that amount if spent in a supermarket not considered to be a draw? I do not understand the logic of the distinction.** Instead of providing people with money, we are in danger of setting up a system that is cumbersome, bureaucratic and difficult to administer. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
13. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** **...Ministers overestimate the pull factor of benefits and fail to give enough emphasis to the push factor of the economic, political and military conditions from which people are escaping. Punitive and inadequate as the support arrangements are, they will not be accompanied by any palpable lessening of the flow of asylum seekers.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
14. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM):** I must disagree with the noble Lord, Lord Warner, who is no longer in his place. **It is a mistake to say that cash payments are a "pull factor". The statistics simply do not bear that out.** *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221*
15. **LORD ALTON (LIB DEM)** There is much evidence to show that vouchers do not act as a deterrent; indeed, we are told that cash is a pull factor.... There are certainly administrative problems with a voucher system and there is the point about the stigma..., I believe to be foolhardy. *HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: C1144-1145*
16. **HUMPFREY MARLINS (CON):** **He told us that he wanted a faster and fairer system. He wanted stronger controls at ports, and effective enforcement against those not entitled to stay. He introduced the voucher system, saying that there was much evidence to suggest that cash benefits acted as a pull factor. We know that the then Home Secretary was wrong in that respect. Vouchers stigmatised asylum seekers and did not reduce the number of applications, which rose from 46,000 in 1998 to more than 80,000 two years later. Many hon. Members have congratulated the present Home Secretary on his rapid reversal of his predecessor's policy** *HC Deb 24 April 2002 vol 384 c426*

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

The implementation of the voucher based support system costs more than that of the cash based support system, and subsequently adds to the pressure on the Labour Government to modify or abolish the initiative altogether.

Discourse Strand: the implementation costs of the voucher based support system

Discourse Fragments: open to abuse, cost more than the cash based support system, a waste of taxpayers' money

Word Groups (Adjectives): expensive (f.3), more expensive to administer than cash payments, more expensive to administer than the current situation, more expensive to run despite providing only 70 per

cent as much as income support, more expensive to run than paying social security benefits, open to abuse, scandalous (f.3), too costly, unwieldy (f.1)

Word Groups (Nouns): a 'scandalous waste of taxpayers' money, a system that will cost £16m, a waste of taxpayers' money, an administrative cost of £11.5m, food stamps(f.1), running costs(f.4), running costs for the voucher scheme came to GBP 3 for every GBP 5 of vouchers issued, the bulk of it would have gone on running the voucher scheme.

Word Groups (Verbs): running costs(f.4), administration costs(f.2.), extra costs (f.1),...the taxpayer pays £3 in

administration costs for every £5 of shopping vouchers (f.10), attacks the expense of the Government's voucher system for refugees, avoid the extra costs and administration... in setting up a separate support system for asylum seekers, cost more to administer than it provided in payouts, costs, forced Mr. Straw to back down, running costs, running-costs.

Semantic devices: "throwing money into the private purse"

Modal verbs ,shouldn't (f.1),will (f.3), would (f.3)

Evidentialities: certainly expensive

SECTORIAL STAKEHOLDER NARRATIVE:

1. **KENT COUNTY COUNCIL:** The experience of KCC in providing vouchers, rather than cash, is that it is administratively burdensome, costly and fails to take into account many items which can be reasonably deemed essential but cannot be bought with vouchers
2. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION:** The LGA is very concerned about the use of vouchers, which evidence from local authorities with current problems shows can be costly, bureaucratic and stigmatising. There is also evidence that the vouchers are falling into the wrong hands. Those receiving vouchers, because of their desperate need for cash, will sell vouchers at below face value to cover essential items of expenditure. The Association feels that the Bill should allow some form of cash payment to provide items not available by non-cash means.
3. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The Government has projected that the costs associated with the new support system will go down over the next three years based on two assumptions. First that the numbers of applications will go down because cash benefits will not be available. As outlined above, all the evidence would indicate that this assumption is fundamentally flawed.
4. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** The extra administrative costs of applying a complex immigration status test to disability benefits and child benefit, and an immigration status and destitution test to community care, including costs of internal review, appeal and judicial review, are likely to outweigh the estimated benefit savings.
5. **ASSOCIATION OF LONDON GOVERNMENT** ... In the absence at that time of a fair scheme for the reimbursement of costs the ALG believed that unacceptable financial costs would fall on the London boroughs who received the majority of asylum seekers entering the UK.
6. **INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED HOUSING:** We believe that the voucher system should be scrapped and replaced with a system of cash benefits equivalent to income support levels... we believe that the priority should be increase the levels of support to compensate for the additional costs that asylum seekers face.
7. **MEDICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE CARE FOR THE VICTIMS OF TORTURE:** We are hampered in our discussions of the Bill by the extent to which its proposals depend on sweeping and draconian powers to make delegated legislation and guidelines, with grossly inadequate restrictions on the exercise of these powers either now or in the future. The adequacy and cost, and hence viability, of the proposals are therefore not open to scrutiny.
8. **IMMIGRATION LAW PRACTITIONERS ASSOCIATION:** Voucher schemes make it difficult for asylum-seekers to meet their lawyers. Some of our members (who generally work in one of the least well remunerated areas of the law) pay from their own pockets for their clients' travel costs
9. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** Asylum seekers said they felt embarrassed and were complained about in shops. 70% felt embarrassed because others were looking at them. Embarrassment was also attributed to others in the queue complaining; delaying the queue; and difficulties adding up the

cost of shopping and knowing which vouchers to use.

THEME 4: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE VOUCHER SUPPORT SYSTEM IS BUREAUCRATIC, CHAOTIC, SHAMBOLIC AND IMPRACTICAL.

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE (A):

(CRITICISM): The current system under the Conservative Government is localized, shambolic and chaotic. The new support system will be nationalized, shambolic and chaotic.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): The current system that is run by various local authorities is a shambles. Administrative changes and modernizing the way in which the immigration service operates, where cases can be dealt with quickly and those who make false claims for asylum can be removed quickly, will result in an asylum and immigration system which is capable of working fairly, firmly and efficiently

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** During evidence to the home affairs select committee in May 1998, Mike O'Brien described the current subsistence programme for asylum-seekers without benefits as ``a shambles within a shambles". Amnesty International does not see the proposals in the Bill making any difference to the **shambles of current support** for asylum-seekers. The provisions for support in the Bill do not ensure that the inherent dignity of the asylum-seeker is respected and will create a further **shambles**. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):** The Minister described the current system as **localised and shambolic**. I suggest that **what the Minister intends as a replacement is nationalised and shambolic**. I do not see how the asylum seekers directorate can improve on a fundamentally flawed system. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
3. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** There is a real danger that the new system will be as **chaotic** as the existing support mechanism and that asylum seekers will become more and more socially excluded. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ... the Bill, and, specifically, its proposals in relation to support, will make a bad and chaotic system worse.... ... this long and tortuous Bill will make a bad system worse. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
5. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ... Whatever Ministers think, the proposals will not choke off the flow of asylum seekers. They will simply result in a bad system being made even more **chaotic** and in asylum seekers and would-be asylum seekers being placed in even more disadvantaged and socially excluded conditions. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):**The Bill will change the law to ensure that we implement a system that works...**The Tories complain that I blame them all too often for the shambles that they created in the asylum system. I do blame them for what they did, and I blame them for what they failed to do.** I accept that when the new laws are in place and when we have undertaken the administrative changes and modernised the way in which Croydon and the immigration service operate, we will be responsible for what we created. We are in the process of making sure that we create a system that works. *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c124*

2. **LORD WILLIAMS (LAB):** *The Government's policy is not in tatters. The White Paper was generally well received as a long-overdue, fundamental review of a system which is presently a shambles. We want to be firmer, fairer and faster. I believe that when that Bill passes through your Lordships' House—to general acclaim, I dare say—we shall have an asylum and immigration system which is capable of working fairly, firmly and efficiently.* *HL Deb 24 Mar 1999 vol. 328 c1420*
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** The key issue on which there is broad support is for speeding up the asylum process. No one disagrees with that principle. I entirely agree that *if cases can be dealt with quickly, and we can remove those who make false claims for asylum quickly, that is the solution to the shambles of the asylum system.* *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
4. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** ..., the majority of people, who either applied in country, or were subject to the appeal system, could not gain access to the benefits system. They were reliant on a shambolic system of local authority support, which did not work well.... Although we shall not provide the sort of access to the benefit system that the hon. Member for Hallam wants, **we shall create a better system than the current shambolic system run by various local authorities.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE (B):

(CRITICISM): Vouchers are costly, cumbersome, impractical, inflexible and limiting to administer. They are a reinvention of money and there is no valid distinction between them.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): The new support system is in fact simple and straightforward. If an asylum seeker cannot provide himself with support for more than 14 days, then they are classed as destitute and can apply for state support.

IMPRACTICAL: voucher support system is impractical, cumbersome and inflexible (is in fact simple and straightforward although more a wider choice to ensure more flexibility is important)

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL** We ... believe the Bill's provisions will be **impractical**, unjust or may result in legal difficulties for the Government. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **REFUGEE COUNCIL** The system proposed in Section VI is more expensive per person than benefits and more **cumbersome** to administer *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL** It has been accepted by the Government that the reinstatement of welfare benefits would be cheaper and less **cumbersome** *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
4. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM)**. **But** while the cash value of the voucher system will be only 70 per cent of income support, and the system has all the disadvantages of inflexibility—it can be exchanged only for a limited range of goods—it will be more **cumbersome** and costly to administer than social security benefits. *HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c221*
5. **NEIL GERRARD (MP for Walthamstow LAB):** *I do not understand the logic of the distinction. Instead of providing people with money, we are in danger of setting up a system that is cumbersome, bureaucratic and difficult to administer.* *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
6. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB)...**: *The Government clearly believe that it will work effectively, but I do not. I, therefore, see no reason why the Government should not accept the opening up of the system to give a mixture of vouchers and cash...* *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

7. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** **The other problem with vouchers is that they are inflexible.** In effect, the Secretary of State is saying what may or may not be purchased. Someone who has to use his voucher in the Mare street Tesco but comes from an ethnic group whose food is not stocked there is stuck. It is no good him turning up and asking for whatever it is, because they will say that they do not have it. **The freedom for people to choose what they eat--they may have all sorts of religious and dietary requirements--is taken away.** They have to take their voucher to a supermarket that the Secretary of State chooses and in some cases get their on foot. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
8. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** **The voucher system is wrong in principle.** The Government could have adopted other means to choke off bogus asylum claims. **It will also pose practical problems,** which the Committee has not even begun to explore.... **There is no practical reason for the voucher system proposals...All sorts of practical problems will be caused by the arrangements that are being presented to the Committee** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
9. **RICHARD ALLAN (MP Member for Sheffield, Hallam LAB):** **... ask why the Government intend to go to the trouble of reinventing cash in order to distribute money to asylum seekers so that they can provide themselves with the basics of life?** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** The Bill's purpose is to create a national system that will prevent the ad hoc provision that we now often have to rely on.... **We are restoring not a benefits system but a system of basic support if people are otherwise likely to be destitute... It is as simple and straightforward as that....**The aim is to provide a **safety net.** The amount is open to debate; the intention is to provide a **net** that would enable people who would otherwise be destitute to come to the state for support. That is a fairly **straightforward** position. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** **I agree that the present system is inflexible and we intend to ensure that there is a wider choice...** That means that we must reach a national agreement with the supermarket chains that vouchers will be more freely accepted. At present, they can often be used in only one supermarket in an area and are thus invalid everywhere else. **It is important that there should be wider choice. ...The details are in the regulations.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999* [5.htm](#)
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** **The vouchers will be redeemable against clothing or shoes that asylum seekers may wish to buy from supermarkets or other chains supplying those items.** I am sure that the hon. Gentleman knows that many large supermarkets sell such items. **We will negotiate with the large chains to ensure that the use of vouchers is acceptable.** *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

The voucher based support system is chaotic, shambolic and overly bureaucratic and representative of the Labour Government's overall asylum and immigration policies

Discourse Strand: The chaotic and shambolic nature of the voucher based support system

Discourse Fragments: existing rules are chaotic, existing system is bureaucratic

Word Groups (Adjectives): administrative (f.1), bogus (f.1), bureaucratic (f.3), bureaucratic nightmare, callous (f.1), chaotic (f.3), complicated (f.1), complicated to administer, the organisation is a shambles, controversial (f.1), disastrous (f.1) shambolic (f.1), uncomfortable (f.1), unworkable (f.1), wrong (f.1)

Word Groups (Nouns): asylum policies, balance, breakdowns (f.1), bureaucratic breakdowns, a shambles on virtually every count, chaos (f.4), climb down, crack down, inefficiency (f.1), mess (f.1), nightmare (f.1), no experience, problem (f.2), scale, shakeup (f.1), shambles(f.2)

Word Groups (Verbs): Britain's asylum system sunk in chaos, sorting out the chaos in the asylum system, abolish (*f.1*), admitted (*f.1*), battles (*f.1*), being put at risk, broken down, chaotic system, chaotic asylum policies, claimed (*f.1*), conceded (*f.1*), dealing (*f.1*), declaring (*f.1*), facing (*f.1*), failing (*f.1*), fueling (*f.1*), getting out of hand, no experience of administering an income support system, prevent (*f.1*), reform (*f.2*), smuggling (*f.1*), sort out the existing chaotic rules,

Semantic devices: a “mess from beginning to end”, the chaos at the heart of our asylum system”, “Britain's asylum system sunk in chaos”, “the whole situation has been getting out of hand”, “Mr Blunkett has no other responsible choice but to stick to his guns.”

Modal verbs: could, (*f.1*), should (*f.1*), will (*f.4*),

Evidentialities: none

SECTORIAL STAKEHOLDER NARRATIVE:

1. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** Amnesty International does not see the proposals in the Bill making any difference to the shambles of current support for asylum-seekers. The provisions for support in the Bill do not ensure that the inherent dignity of the asylum-seeker is respected and will create a further shambles.

THEME 5: ONE PRIMARY AIM OF THE VOUCHER SUPPORT SYSTEM IS TO PREVENT ABUSE OF THE ASYLUM APPLICATION SYSTEM, HOWEVER THE VOUCHER SUPPORT SYSTEM IS ALSO OPEN TO ABUSE.

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): The new support system has encouraged the development of a black market in vouchers. There is a stigma attached in the use of the vouchers which exacerbates community tensions. The government demonize asylum seekers with constant rhetoric about ‘abusive claims’. Retailers abuse the voucher support system by pocketing the difference when an asylum seeker buys good with a voucher worth more than their value

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): It is important to consult with sectorial stakeholders to discuss how to solve the problems of the development of a black market in vouchers. Public support for asylum seekers is undermined by individuals who breach immigration control and claim benefit, as well as unscrupulous immigration advisers, such as traffickers and forgers, who have developed an unscrupulous immigration advisory industry.

ABUSE: Abuse within the voucher support system includes the creation of a black market (acknowledged), the demonisation of asylum seekers through misleading rhetoric (exemplified) and retailers taking advantage of the ‘no change’ policy.

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (BLACK MARKET):

1. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam LAB) :** The other critical factor is abuse. Examples have been cited of abuse of the voucher system, such as trading second-hand vouchers on the black market, some of which, although it should not be done, is done for the best possible motives.... *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
2. **BARONESS LUDFORD (LIB DEM):** There are great fears of a black market emerging with refugees being forced to sell their vouchers below value because of their desperate need for more cash for, say, travel, stamps and 'phone cards *HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 cc222 – 225*
3. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB)** We have already seen, in areas where vouchers are in operation, that precisely because a voucher is not a flexible instrument and because there are genuine cash needs--not for cigarettes or cinema tickets, but for a pain killer in the middle of the night, for bus fares, for photocopying--that vouchers cannot

meet, we end up with a black market in vouchers.. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (GOVERNMENT RHETORIC):

1. **DIANE ABBOTT: (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** ...Where we hand out public money, we have abuse. There is no greater arena for abuse than that of tax avoidance and offshore tax shelters. The sum of money abusively diverted by that industry far outweighs the sum that even the most assiduous bogus asylum seekers can milk from the system, but we do not threaten willy-nilly the civil liberties and human rights of fat cat City accountants and big firms that use such measures. They bring about as much abuse as bogus asylum seekers in terms of losing the taxpayer money, but have not been demonised in the same way. One of my criticisms of the Government concerns the rhetoric that they constantly use about abusive claims, even in the way in which they have justified the content of the Bill. **The demonisation of asylum seekers is unnecessary.** *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM (RETAILERS/NO CHANGE POLICY):

1. **LORD ELTON (CON):**... a tiny improvement would be made if the Government accepted the plea of the Refugee Council that when a refugee pays for goods with a voucher worth more than their value, the shop should give change rather than pocketing the difference. *HL Deb, 1 March 2000, Vol 610. C560*
2. **LORD JUDD (LAB):** If there were no other reason for the initiative this afternoon, the issue of vouchers would be enough. I say only that there is deep concern among all those working with asylum seekers in the voluntary sector. It has been said that we should recognise that the vouchers are not all of the same denomination; that some are for only 50p. But for people living at that level 50p is quite a lot of money. The change from 50p, which they are not entitled to claim in the stores in which they are allowed to exchange the vouchers, can add up to extremely significant amounts for people living at that level.: *HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 899-900*
3. **LORD ALTON OF LIVERPOOL (LIB DEM):** In our debate in October 1999 (at col. 1144 of the Official Report on 20th October) I asked the Government about potential stigmatization and discrimination of voucher users and also about the inability of people using vouchers to receive change when they redeemed their vouchers. I pointed to the **inevitable consequences** of not being able to shop in places where people on low incomes make ends meet. Of the 50 organisations in Token Gestures, 41 now confirm that asylum seekers are not able to buy enough food, and what they are able to buy is unhealthy and unbalanced. Of the 50 organisations, 42 say that they have seen cases of asylum seekers who have lost some of the value of their vouchers through not receiving change. *HC Deb, 14th February 2001 Vol 662: Col 257-258*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** We have adopted a belt-and-braces approach here to cope with the variety of circumstances that may arise. No one here seeks to make the circumstances of asylum seekers more onerous or difficult than is necessary to deter abusive asylum seekers. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** As an objective, we are seeking public support for refugees by tackling, and trying to reduce, abuse in the asylum system. Much of the White Paper and the Bill has received broad support... from a variety of organisations, including many ethnic minority groups, as those who have sat through the Committee know full well *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB))** People must face the fact that public support for asylum seekers is undermined by those

who try to breach immigration control and claim benefits. We must deal with that abuse. The Bill cracks down on unscrupulous immigration advisers, who are the worst enemies of genuine refugees. They have created an industry in encouraging people to make false claims..... As the right-wing press identified the level of abuse, which was patent, the public began to perceive that the system was not working, and they were right--it was not working. Some on the left took the view immediately--almost a knee-jerk reaction--that we should defend the system because of that attack on refugees. However, many Labour Members knew that the position was far more complex than that, that the system was being abused and that we had to get in touch with that reality. They knew that people were running businesses, organising the abuse of the asylum system, and that those people were undermining public support for genuine refugees. Every member of the Committee agrees that we need to crack down on that unscrupulous industry, but what of its clients and those who make abusive claims? I shall not go into all the arguments that they are seeking economic opportunities. People may seek economic opportunities for many reasons, but I do not think that we need go into that. However, we know that we need to reform the asylum system, so that it is firmer, faster and fairer. We must face up to the abuse. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

4. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** No one seriously denies that the abuse is big business or that it is an organised racket. We know that some traffickers charge people £4,000, and sometimes as much as £14,000 in some countries. That is a big business, and we must deal with it. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
5. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** We have adopted a belt-and-braces approach here to cope with the variety of circumstances that may arise. No one here seeks to make the circumstances of asylum seekers more onerous or difficult than is necessary to deter abusive asylum seekers. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999*
6. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):**... Admittedly, abusive asylum seekers will remain until their appeal enables us to remove them. It is tough, but I say to the hon. Gentleman that it certainly is not unfair...The Bill will change the law to ensure that we implement a system that works.. We are in the process of making sure that we create a system that works. *HC Deb 22 February 1999 vol 326 c124*
7. **JACK STRAW (Secretary of State, LAB):** The only people who seek support in kind are those who actually need it. It is, I am afraid, a fact of life that if you provide cash benefits, payments and individuals are, by definition, much more difficult to track, and the system is much more open to abuse *Special Standing Committee, Fifth Sitting, Monday 22nd March 1999*

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

(A) There is little evidence to prove that the voucher based support system will increase opportunities for abuse.

(B) The voucher based support system needs to be dismantled, or identity checks need to be put in place, in order to prevent benefit fraud and 'voucher for cash' black market activity

(A)

Discourse Strand: The voucher based support system will/will not deter economic migrants

Discourse Fragments: provision in kind will help minimise the incentive and opportunities for abuse, cash payments would result in asylum seekers doubling, end Britain's image as a soft touch,

Word Groups (Adjectives): (less)attractive, bogus(f.4),asylum seeker, economic migrants, forceful approach, huge draw, massive (f.2) problems, massive abuse, soft touch (f.3), tough (f.2), measures, tough move, unfounded migrants

Word Groups (Nouns): abuse (f.4), magnet(f.2), a magnet to bogus refugees, 80 000 a year would attempt entry, 80,000 asylum seekers now,180000 asylum seekers if we went back to cash payments, asylum seekers would more than double if the country, made life harder for people traffickers, made support for asylum seekers more sensible, magnet for economic migrants, open to abuse, pull factor(f.2), no sign of the pressure easing, would encourage yet more asylum seekers

Word Groups (Verbs): abuse (f.2), avoid boosting Britain's image as a 'soft touch', crackdown (f.2), deter (f.4), the bogus asylum seeker, determined to prevent asylum seekers coming to Britain, deterring people from coming to Britain, discourage unfounded migrants headed for Britain, imposing stiff penalties, maintain a tough stance, may provoke unease, perceived softness making a bad situation worse, prevent massive abuse of the asylum system, reignited fears, removing the incentive, resisting calls to ditch the voucher programme, swell the real total coming in
Semantic devices: “end Britain’s image as a soft touch”, “end Britain's position as the asylum capital of Europe”, “the Home Secretary isn't picking a fight for the sake of it”, “he rest of Europe now turns a blind eye as asylum seekers make for these shores”
Modal verbs: could (f.3), may (f.1), would (f.9), will (f.10),
Evidentialities: it is likely to be...

(B).

Discourse Strand: The voucher based support system will/**will not** deter economic migrants
Discourse Fragments: little evidence to suggest that the voucher based support system will deter asylum seekers, opposite is true
Word Groups (Adjectives): little evidence (f.3), bogus nature, cumbersome edifice, thriving black market in vouchers
Word Groups (Nouns): abuse (f.3), promises (f.2), targets for abuse, no sign, no evidence,
Word Groups (Verbs): increased (f.2), failed (f.2), risen (f.2), applications had risen, numbers have increased, patently failed, despite all the promises, failed to provide any kind of deterrent, not working
Semantic devices: “Despite all the promises...” “Why are the Government just rearranging the deckchairs on the Titanic...?”
Modal verbs: none
Evidentialities: none

THEME 6. THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE VOUCHER SUPPORT SYSTEM IS OVERLY COMPLEX

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(**CRITICISM**): Immigration and destitution tests are overly complex and cause unnecessary suffering and delay

(**GOVERNMENT RESPONSE**): The Immigration and destitution tests *are* complex and interrelated but they are balanced in terms of providing a mix of cash and no cash support, as well as maintaining immigration control and a strong human rights policy.

COMPLEXITY: The complex nature of the voucher support system causes unnecessary delay and suffering, (but is necessary to achieve balance between cash and cashless support and immigration policy and human rights policy).

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

1. **JOINT COUNCIL FOR THE WELFARE OF IMMIGRANTS:** The resource implications of complex immigration and destitution tests are likely to outweigh the estimated savings in benefits and community care provision. - *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
2. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** From April 2001, up to 50 per cent of asylum-seekers may be located outside of London, to areas where there is currently little expert legal advice in an increasingly complex area of the law. This raises the prospect of asylum-seekers in an almost cashless system walking miles to get access to legal advice and representation, if it exists at all. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999*
3. **RICHARD ALLAN:** (MP for Sheffield, Hallam, LAB) However, I am sure that, whether the period involved is six months or 12 months, the voucher system contains inherent faults. We

live in a cash-based economy in which everything works on cash. The structure of our society is founded on cash. A voucher system for any group of people in society is an over-complex and unnecessary way of supporting people during a legal process. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

4. **RICHARD ALLAN: MP for Sheffield, Hallam, LAB)** The Home Secretary intends to devise an alternative support system instead of choosing the cheap and more straightforward option of the existing benefits system. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999* via
5. **RICHARD ALLAN: (MP for Sheffield, Hallam, LAB)** I accept that the Asylum Support Directorate will operate on a national rather than a local system, but we believe that it will still cost considerably more in the pound than delivering support through the more straightforward, existing Benefits Agency and cash. *Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999* via
6. **DIANE ABBOTT (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington, LAB):** The issue is complex. Next week, the Government's new support arrangements will be introduced, involving the voucher system and forced dispersal. I shall keep a close eye on those arrangements; not only do I believe that they will cause unnecessary suffering, I am not persuaded that they will work. *HC Deb 29 March 2000 vol 347 c114*
7. **TERRY ROONEY (MP for Bradford, North, LAB).** ...the more we legislate, the more we add to the complexity of the system, the more delays we create and the harder it is to get to the bottom of the problem. However, the Bill is a step forward, not a step back, as we have suffered in the past. It contains many good measures, including some administrative arrangements, such as the abolition of vouchers. *HC Deb 24 April 2002 vol 384 c394*

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

1. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, LAB):** Our view is that it is necessary to have a system involving some provision of alternative support, which may take the form of vouchers, direct provision, or a number of other options. That is the Government's view on how to deal with the matter.... The Bill is complex and interrelated, but I believe that its provisions are balanced. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
2. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB)** The operation of the Bill will fit in with the Government's overall aims of a balance between immigration control and a firm and strong human rights policy, and we are committed to delivering both aims.. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*
3. **MIKE O'BRIEN (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department LAB):** The balance between cash and non-cash support will be examined during the consultation period. The provisions in subsection (3) ensure that the voucher policy is not challenged by judicial review. We include that principle in the Bill because it is important, but in the interests of achieving balance we will examine several issues, including some raised by the hon. Member for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington about the amount of cash that individuals seek in particular circumstances, and will listen--as we have throughout the Bill--to the views that people have expressed. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999*

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Labour's asylum and immigration policies are inconsistent, incompetent and infringe on human right. Primary aims of the voucher support system was to cut the number of asylum applications and appeals and deter the abuse of the system, but neither aim has been achieved. Judicial review of asylum appeals take longer than the six months objective and has resulted in a sever backlog of claims, with applicants living in overly harsh circumstances.

Discourse Strand: Criticisms of Labour's asylum and immigration policy

Discourse Fragments:

Primary aims of the voucher support system was to cut the number of asylum applications and appeals and deter the abuse of the system, but neither aim has been achieved.

Judicial review of asylum appeals take longer than the six months objective and has resulted in a severe backlog of claims, with applicants living in overly harsh circumstances.

Word Groups (Adjectives): angry Labour backbenchers, bitter onslaught, brave souls, complete and utter failure of Labour's asylum policy, controversial (*f.29*) controversial food stamps programme, controversial voucher scheme, counterfeit, critical of the handling of asylum problem, dehumanising (*f.2*) scheme, demeaning (*f.29*), desperate bid, disappointing (*f.1*), disorienting (*f.1*), divisive (*f.2*), embarrassing defeat, fake (*f.1*), fiercest critics, foreign looking, furious condemnation, grassroots rebellion (*f.13*), hard core rebels (*f.10*), harshness, heavy handed controls, incompetent (*f.1*), Labour rebels, limiting, long delays, massive (*f.13*) rebellion, massive problems, miserable (*f.1*), moderate amendments, national disgrace, not justifiable, poor, reminder of the harshness, rigorous set of regulations, serious problems, shaky policies, shameful (*f.3*) record on policy, special category, tough new rules, unacceptable (*f.1*), unwilling to abolish (*f.8*), unworthy

Word Groups (Nouns): asylum applications, asylum seeker, asylum surge, backbenchers (*f.11*), backlog of cases, benefits betrayal, body blow, buy off left wing critics, cash benefits, civility, country, country to camps, crime, decisions (*f.17*), delay is an option, denomination vouchers, deterrent messages, division (*f.1*), double cross, food vouchers, fugitives (*f.1*), help, holding measure, host of failures, hostility (*f.1*), immigration controls, immigration groups, incompetence (*f.1*) and timidity, long term, lose benefits, miserable place, money (*f.39*), more legal aid, officials, overhaul the asylum and immigration system, pressure from Backbench MPs, policed, rebel Labour MPs, refugees are foreign looking, restriction (*f.1*), security system, shambles on every count, shops, soft (*f.8*) touch, such inflexibility, support, system, torture (*f.17*), treatment of foreigners, voucher, voucher system, vouchers, waste (*f.9*) d time and millions of pounds

Word Groups (Verbs): abandoned (*f.5*), abolishing vouchers, attacks from backbenchers, attacks the Government expense, be well policed, be set by problems, criticise the Government's decision, cut the backlog, damping down on bogus asylum seekers, denounce the voucher system, designed to deter, discredited voucher system, discriminated against, earn the Party's trust, end the confusion expense and violence, ending vouchers, failed (*f.31*) asylum policy, failed to find, failing policy, feared (*f.3*) the outcome, forced to make concessions, forced (*f.31*) to act, fuelling racial tension, harder to cope, heard government claims before, highlighted the chaos, holding up, hope the Home Secretary will finally address, immense strain, introducing vouchers, isolating, Labour rebels shrank, likely to wait, lose all benefits, must be refused, neglects to address, numbers are climbing, opposing amendments, perceived softness, perceived soft touch, preventing supermarkets giving change, promised (*f.7*) faster fairer firmer treatment, promised to speedup, promised to provide, radical overhaul, restore civility, scrap the scheme, scrapping the rule, seek judicial review, send the wrong signal, separate, sic k oke, sort out the existing chaos, sorting out the chaos, spitting with rage, started off as a good idea, stave off a rebellion, step in, stifle debate, stigmatise, suffered a blow, suffered a further blow (*f.9*), threatened Labour back bench rebellion, tinker with the scheme, tinkering (*f.3*), to stave off a back bench revolt, tough action, trying but failing, wait much longer, waiting time, wasted time and millions of pounds

Semantic devices: "expense and violence that is accompanying our current immigration policy", not to welcome", "of whether the Labour Party really has its heart in tackling the asylum crisis", "asylum policy in disarray", "attacks from their own backbenchers", "brave souls please speak up", "Britain will become a much more miserable place", "draconian measures", "embarrassing defeat on the Government", "end the confusion, "failed to find an acceptable alternative", "good quality decisions need to be at the heart of the any system", "harshness of the rules", "highlighted the chaos at the heart of our asylum system", "in another body blow", "international laughing stock" "shaky policies on asylum seekers have been torn to shreds", "Labour rebels", "Labour had been forced to act", "Labour talked a lot and delivered nothing", "legitimate political fugitives", "little more than tinker with the scheme", "lost the confidence", "mess from beginning to end", "official policy is a shambles", "poll may stiffen Labour's backbone", "raft of reforms", "raises the question", "shame on them", "sort out the existing chaos", "state of chaos", "system that doesn't work", "the reality of this Bill is that it discriminates...neglects", "the white paper was designed to deter", "they took their eye of the ball", "this cruelty might just be tolerable", "unions are fairly spitting with rage" "a sick joke", "waiting time", "only the promise of the

review prevented a damaging row for Labour before the general election”, “it is a disgrace to the Labour Party”

Modal verbs: will(f.33), would (f.11), must (f.4), may (f.3), might(f.4), should (f.5) could (f.5)

Evidentialities: likely to be reserved, probably inevitable, there is only one way, this is yet further evidence, probably make the situation worse

SECTORIAL STAKEHOLDER NARRATIVE:

1. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** The extra administrative costs of applying a complex immigration status test to disability benefits and child benefit, and an immigration status and destitution test to community care, including costs of internal review, appeal and judicial review, **are likely to outweigh the estimated benefit savings.** The proposed new arrangements...are Clause 76(2) **and are potentially dangerous because of the identification of a person as a refugee by the conditions under which they will be made to live. From April 2001, up to 50 per cent. asylum-seekers may be located outside of London, to areas where there is currently little expert legal advice in an increasingly complex area of the law. This raises the prospect of asylum-seekers in an almost cashless system walking miles to get access to legal advice and representation, if it exists at all.**
2. **CHARTERED INSTITUTE OF HOUSING:** The use of vouchers themselves make the administration and dispersal of asylum seekers more difficult. If an asylum seeker is dispersed then vouchers have to be sent to the applicant as they move around. The Refugee Council magazine *In Exile* cites the example of a pregnant asylum seeker who was dispersed to Liverpool and placed in temporary accommodation. After giving birth she was moved to more suitable accommodation but it took four weeks for her vouchers to arrive. In the mean time she was forced to use newspapers to clean her new born baby. None of these problems would occur if there was access to mainstream cash benefits, even if only for a temporary period.
3. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The review considered alternatives such as providing change up to the value of 99 pence, which is consistent with most retailers’ own store voucher policies, or providing a lower, limited amount such as 10 pence. Neither option is ideal. Rules would have to be set about whether the change limit applied per voucher or per transaction, which would create additional complexities for asylum seekers and retailers working out how much change was due. The review fieldwork identified a lack of awareness amongst retailers about how the voucher scheme operated and indicated that asylum seekers are already experiencing difficulties at the checkout. It would not be sensible to add to these existing problems.

THEME 7: THE VOUCHER SUPPORT SYSTEM NEGATIVELY IMPACTS THE CHILDREN OF ASYLUM SEEKERS

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

(CRITICISM): A cashless based support system is not in the best interests of children, causing them unnecessary suffering.

(GOVERNMENT RESPONSE): None.

CHILDREN: the new voucher support system will negatively impact asylum seeker children

GOVERNMENT STAKEHOLDERS

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** **Putting families with children into this cashless system cannot be in the best interests of any children. *Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999***
2. **MEDICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE CARE OF VICTIMS OF TORTURE:** The wholly or mainly cashless subsistence system will deny asylum-seeking children access to a childhood

that could be called "normal" by any definition - *Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999*

3. **DIANE ABBOTT: (MP for Hackney, North and Stoke Newington LAB):** I remind the Committee that--whatever one might say about the motives of asylum seekers in general--their children are innocent of malice aforethought or intent to defraud the system. We must be careful before we let children suffer for what we believe to be the errors of their parents... The voucher system cannot meet incidental needs. I constantly come back to the effect that the support system has on children.....In areas of east London where these vouchers are used the children are stigmatised as voucher children..... I assure him that there is nothing worse for a child than being different. ...These children, whose mothers have to queue in a supermarket for vouchers and who find themselves singled out in school because they do not fall under the arrangements that many borough councils make for income support claimants, will bear the stigma of being different, being voucher children... I repeat that vouchers will not meet the incidental needs of children, who often have unanticipated urgent needs, and vouchers will certainly not pay for extra-curricular activities. ...How can it be necessary or right that the needs of a fair but firm asylum policy lead us, through the Bill, to subject the children of asylum seekers to petty--I repeat petty--little humiliations....h, under these arrangements, asylum--seeker mothers will not be able to provide.... All I ask is that colleagues in the Committee use their imagination. I ask them to realise that asylum-seeker children are like other children and that their needs and demands will be the same, and to consider the position of the mother of one of these children who is forced to say, "Well, Mike O'Brien thinks this is a frivolous and economic asylum claim, so, sorry, I have only 50p a day." ...The voucher system is wrong in principle.... it will have a particularly detrimental effect on children. Ministers will be aware that I raised the question of the effect of the voucher system on children many times before the Committee started sitting. *Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999*

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Chaotic asylum policies have public health at risk in terms of the voucher based support system having a detrimental effect on the physical health of asylum seekers and their children

Discourse Strand: The dehumanising, stigmatising effects of using vouchers, particularly for children

Discourse Fragments: social division, social exclusion, community tension, mental health impact

Word Groups (Adjectives): angry (f.3), anguish (f.1), (so)demeaning (f.12), bitter onslaught, bureaucratic (f.10), controversial (f.29), crude and cruel (f.2), damaging (f.6), degrading (f.5), demeaning (f.12), different (f.13), dire effects, discriminatory (f.3), divisive (f.2), egregious (f.1), genuine concessions, grotesque (f.3), horrifying effects, humiliating (f.10), ill fated voucher scheme, inhumane (f.3), practical problems, serious (f.7), social exclusion, unacceptable support, unnecessary suffering, unpopular (f.2), vulnerable to racist attack, wide spread misery

Word Groups (Nouns):, charity cases, new currency of vouchers, daily discrimination, disgrace (f.4), distress (f.1), health of asylum seekers, hostility (f.3), hostility from other shoppers, humiliation (f.2), immigration groups, impact (f.11), insufficiently in touch with reality, legislation is discriminatory, legislation that leaves refugee children at risk, motive (f.2), opponents of the scheme, over haul the asylum and immigration system, poverty racial harassment separation from families, profit, rebel Labour MP's, red flag, reformers have every reason to be angry, scheme is a shambles, shops often charge commission, stigma (f.3), stigmatising effect

Word Groups (Verbs): abolish the voucher system, abused in the queue by other shoppers, affects both physical and mental wellbeing, already marginalised, cause wide spread misery, creating problems, **degrades** (f.2), denounced by immigration groups and Labour MP's, denying them choice, deprived asylum seekers of their dignity, deteriorated health since arriving, discriminates against people, endured the humiliation, exacerbated the problems, experiencing serious difficulties, explain the impact that the ill-fated voucher scheme has had, exposed to more hostility, failed to adequately deal, failed to find an acceptable alternative, falls way below the Governments own poverty threshold, forced to live, **impoverished** (f.2), increase the amount of cash support, increased the risk of racial harassment, isolated as targets, **marginalise** (f.2), mark them out as being different, marking them out, neglects to address the needs of the most vulnerable, opposing the move, picked out, promised it would end the stigma, promotes the social exclusion, refusing to give change, regarded as demeaning, replace the scheme, scrapped in favour of cash payments, singles them out, **stigmatise** (f.6), stop the social exclusion,

subjected to hostility, subjects families to racial harassment, subsidise corporate profit, take away dignity, unwilling to abolish, urged the Government, victimise refugees, vouchers being abolished

Semantic devices: 'New Labour must provide a full, civilised service', decent, entitled to the princely sum of £1.30 a day", "falls way below the Governments own poverty threshold", "persuaded the union chief to hold his fire", "let's get the system right", "the inhumanity of a new currency the asylum voucher", "the stigmatising effects of vouchers", "voucher children"

Modal verbs: will (f.13), would (f.12), must (f.1), could (f.5)

Evidentialities: simply (f.2)

SECTORIAL STAKEHOLDER NARRATIVE

1. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:...**the establishment of a largely cashless system of support for destitute asylums seekers is unlikely to have any real impact on the number of applications made in the UK. The Refugee Council does not dispute that some asylum applications are without merit, but if the Government wishes to remove the incentive to those making unfounded applications then the most effective deterrent would be to speed up the decision-making time In general, Section VI removes all benefit rights from asylum seekers and their families as well as local authorities' obligations towards them under sections of the National Assistance, Housing and Children Acts. We believe the operation of Section VI is fundamentally incompatible with the intention of the Children Act and the promotion of children's wellbeing.
2. **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:** The provisions discriminate between children and they discriminate against the disabled.
3. **ILPA:** As a consequence, in September NASS was forced to enter into hasty consultation with local authorities to act as de facto assistants.' However, this applies only to families with children.
4. **REFUGEE COUNCIL:** The Government has also reviewed the current levels of support, which for adults have been static since April 2000 and for children have not increased since December 2000. Support levels for adults will be uprated in line with the April 2001 increase in income support. Children of asylum seekers will also have their support increased..

APPENDIX F

1. The inhumanity of the voucher support system

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

OPPOSITION CRITICISM:

The voucher based support system is inhumane and stigmatizing.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

It is not generous but it is adequate.

It is not a benefits system but a system of basic support

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE

The voucher based support system is an inhumane and humiliating system that publically identifies and subsequently stigmatises an already marginalized community, causing social division, exclusion and racial tension.

2. The administrative costs of implementing the new voucher support system

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:

The voucher based support system is too costly in terms of unit cost per voucher

It is too costly on a per-person basis to administer than giving asylum seekers cash based support

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE:

A cash based support system is a 'pull factor'.

A cashless based support system will have a 'disincentive effect' in terms of deterring economic migrants

Costs associated with the new support system will go down over the next three years based on the fact that the numbers of applications will go down, because cash benefits will not be available

A cashless based support system will restore integrity in the system and identify genuine asylum seekers more quickly

A cashless based support system is initially more costly to administer but the overall cost is much less, because it is not a pull factor

STAKEHOLDER RESPONSE

There is no evidence to support the idea that cash based system will *not* deter economic migration

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

The implementation of the voucher based support system costs more than that of the cash based support system, and subsequently adds to the pressure on the Labour Government to modify or abolish the initiative altogether.

3. The shambolic nature of the asylum application support system AND the impracticality of the new voucher support system

Part I

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

The current system under the Conservative Government is localized and shambolic. The new support system will be nationalized and shambolic.

The current system under the Conservative Government is chaotic. The new support system will make the current system even more chaotic.

GOVERNMENT PERSECTIVE

The current system that is run by various local authorities is a shambles.

The White Paper was a long-overdue, fundamental review and generally well received.

Administrative changes and modernizing the way in which the immigration service operates, where cases can be dealt with quickly and those who make false claims for asylum can be removed quickly, will result in an asylum and immigration system which is capable of working fairly, firmly and efficiently

Part II

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

Vouchers are costly, cumbersome, impractical, inflexible and limiting to administer

Vouchers are a reinvention of money and there is no valid distinction between them.

*The definition of **destitution** is one that considers an asylum seeker must have **no** means of supporting themselves in order to make a claim on the support system*

GOVERNMENT PERSECTIVE

The new support system is simple and straightforward. If an asylum seeker cannot provide himself with support for more than 14 days, then they are classed as destitute and can apply for state support.

The Government needs to work with national level retailers to create a national agreement that the vouchers will be more widely accepted

A cashless voucher based support system will work more effectively than a cash benefits based support system

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

The voucher based support system is chaotic, shambolic and overly bureaucratic and representative of the Labour Government's overall asylum and immigration policies

4. The impact of the new voucher support system on asylum seeker children

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:

A cashless based support system is not in the best interests of children, causing them unnecessary suffering.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Chaotic asylum policies have public health at risk in terms of the voucher based support system having a detrimental effect on the physical health of asylum seekers and their children

5. Abuse within the asylum application support system

PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:

STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM

The new support system has encouraged the development of a black market in vouchers
 There is a stigma attached in the use of the vouchers which exacerbates community tensions
 The government demonize asylum seekers with constant rhetoric about ‘abusive claims’
 Retailers abuse the voucher support system by pocketing the difference when an asylum seeker buys good with a voucher worth more than their value

GOVERNMENT PERSECTIVE

It is important to consult with sectorial stakeholders to discuss how to solve the problems of the development of a black market in vouchers

Abuse in the asylum system is endemic

Public support for asylum seekers is undermined by individuals who breach immigration control and claim benefit

Public support for the asylum application system is undermined by unscrupulous immigration advisers, such as traffickers and forgers.

Unscrupulous immigration advisers have developed an unscrupulous immigration advisory industry.

The only people who pursue support in kind are those who need it.

A cash based support system is one that is open to abuse. A cashless based support system, is not.

NARRATIVE:

Despite claims to the contrary, there is little evidence to prove that the voucher based support system will incentive economic migrants and increase opportunities for abuse **AND** The voucher based support system needs to be dismantled, or identity checks need to be put in place, in order to prevent benefit fraud and ‘voucher for cash’ black market activity

6. The voucher system encourages social exclusion**PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:****STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM:**

The new voucher support system institutionalizes social exclusion

The new voucher support system creates community tensions, damages race relations and increases the risk of racial harassment

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE:

If applicants do not take one of the ‘support in kind’ benefits (no-choice accommodation/vouchers) then they have options available to them from family, friends or the voluntary sector and are therefore not at risk of social exclusion.

If applicants do not take one either of the ‘support in kind’ benefits, they are not considered destitute.

Therefore they are abusing the support system, the asylum application system and are potentially ‘bogus’ asylum seekers.

Vouchers are not the only characteristic in which to identify an asylum seekers, therefore the use of vouchers by asylum seekers does not increase the risk of racial harassment.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Voucher based support system exposes and stigmatises asylum seekers, fueling racial tensions, subjecting them to racial harassment and making them vulnerable to racist attack.

7. The complexity of operationalizing the asylum application support system**PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE:****STAKEHOLDER CRITICISM**

Immigration and destitution tests are overly complex and cause unnecessary suffering and delay

GOVERNMENT PERSECTIVE

The Immigration and destitution tests are complex and interrelated but they are balanced in terms of providing a mix of cash and no cash support, as well as maintaining immigration control and a strong human rights policy.

NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE:

Labour's asylum and immigration policies are inconsistent, incompetent and infringe on human right - mainly...

Primary aims of the voucher support system was to cut the number of asylum applications and appeals and deter the abuse of the system, but neither aim has been achieved.

Judicial review of asylum appeals take longer than the six months objective and has resulted in a sever backlog of claims, with applicants living in overly harsh circumstances

APPENDIX G

SOURCE	CITED IN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE	CITED IN NEWS MEDIA DISCOURSE	CITED IN SECTORIAL STAKEHOLDER INDEPENDENT DISCOURSE
GOVERNMENT			
Alan Simpson, MP for Notts South		The Guardian *(#1)	
Martin Salter, MP for Reading West		The Daily Mail *(#1)	
Speaker of the House of Commons, Michael Martin		The Daily Express *(#1)	
OPPOSITION GOVERNMENT			
Shona Robison, MSP Dundee City East		The Daily Mail (#1)	
LOCAL GOVERNMENT			
Hackney Council	<i>HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 c232 (#1)</i>		
Kent County Council	<i>HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 cc222-225 (#1)</i>		
Local Authority Association/Local Government Association		The Guardian*(#1)	Memorandum for Kent County Council, Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18 th March 1999
CHARITY SECTOR			
Asylum Aid		The Guardian*(#1) The Daily Express (#1) The Times*(#1)	
Amnesty International		The Guardian (#1)	
Barnardo's		The Guardian*(#1)	
Barnet Refugee Health Access Project		The Guardian*(#1)	
The Children's Society	<i>HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol. 603 c228* (#1)</i>	The Daily Express* (#1)	
Family Welfare Organisation		The Guardian (#1)	
Oxfam		The Guardian** (#1) The Daily Express* (#1) The Times (#1)	
Refugee	<i>HL Deb, 07 July 2000</i>	The Guardian** (#4)	

Council	Vol 614: Col 1760 (#1)HL Deb, 1 March 2000, Vol 610. C560 (#1) Standing Committee, Twenty First Sitting, (Part 1) Tuesday 11th May 1999 (#1)	The Daily Express (#2) The Times (#2)	
Refugee Action		The Times (#1)	
Refugee Arrivals Project	Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999 (#1)		
Save the Children		The Guardian**(#3)	
Scottish Refugee Council		The Guardian (#2)	
Welsh Refugee Council	<i>HC Deb 25 February 1999</i> <i>Vol. 326 c604 (#1)</i>		
JUDICIARY			
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants		The Guardian* (#1) The Times (#1)	
TRADE UNION			
Bill Morris Gen. Sec. Transport and General Workers Union		The Guardian** (#2) The Daily Express* (#1) The Times** (#1)	
BUSINESS SECTOR			
The Body Shop		The Guardian* (#1)	
MEDICAL SECTOR			
British Medical Association		The Guardian** (#2)	
Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture		The Guardian* (#1)	
RELIGIOUS SECTOR			
Bishop of Southwark, the Right Rev. Thomas Butler		The Daily Express (#1)	
Right Rev John Cairns, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland		The Guardian* (#1)	
Right Rev John Mone Roman Catholic Bishop of Paisley.		The Guardian* (#1) The Daily Express (#1)	
MEDIA SECTOR			
The Times Commentaries #1			
The Guardian Commentaries #2			

APPENDIX H

Theme 1: The inhumanity of the voucher support system

A central tenet of opposition to the introduction of the voucher policy initiative in the Parliamentary discourse was that a voucher-based support system was inhumane (f.3) and stigmatizing (f.9). In particular, one argument raised in Parliamentary discourse about the inhumanity of the support system referred to the fact that vouchers were specific to a particular supermarket that may not be within reasonable distance for an asylum seeker to access; resulting in individuals who are possibly “disabled” and often “accompanied by small children” having to walk far distances or pay for public transport to access the appropriate supermarket and utilise their vouchers. A system that was “not humane” or “appropriate”¹⁶⁹. Another point raised in Parliamentary discourse about the inhumanity of the support system was related to the definition of ‘destitute’ and subsequent support an asylum seeker could or could not access. If an asylum seeker was to receive “ordinary, humane” support by a “faith group, support group or whatever”¹⁷⁰, they would be denied support by the Asylum Support Directorate, who would not consider them destitute and were, therefore ineligible. A system that was considered “disturbing” (f.2). A further argument related to this definition of ‘destitute’ and subsequent support an asylum seeker could or could not access, referred to the failure of the Government to achieve the target of six months for processing asylum applications, and the voucher support system will “not work well and it will not work humanely”¹⁷¹ until the backlog of applications was cleared, which would then mean that asylum seekers would only be forced to live under the conditions of the voucher-based support system for no longer than six months.

Indicating the collective apprehension in the Parliamentary narrative regarding the implementation of the whitelist policy narrative, questions were raised about why the Labour Government was ignoring advice¹⁷² or whether it had given any thought¹⁷³ to the notion that the voucher-based support system would be demeaning (f.3)¹⁷⁴, degrading (f.1)¹⁷⁵ humiliating (f.3)¹⁷⁶ and stigmatizing¹⁷⁷ to people already stigmatised¹⁷⁸ in the event that they would be distinguished (f.1)¹⁷⁹ and differentiated (f.5) against¹⁸⁰ for holding up supermarket queues¹⁸¹. Furthermore, Parliamentary opposition to the voucher scheme

¹⁶⁹ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

¹⁷⁰ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

¹⁷¹ HL Deb 20th Oct. 1999, Vol 605: Col.1147-8

¹⁷² *HL Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol 603 Col.232*

¹⁷³ HL Deb, 20th Oct. 1999, Vol 605: Col.1144-1145

¹⁷⁴ HL Deb, 20th Apr. 2000 Vol 612: Col.905 – 906

¹⁷⁵ HC Deb 29th Oct. 2001 Vol 373 Col:636

¹⁷⁶ *HL Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol 603 Col.232*

¹⁷⁷ HL Deb, 1 Mar. 2000, Vol 610. Col.570 & *HL Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol. 603 Col.232*

¹⁷⁸ HC Deb, 20 Dec. 2000 Vol 359: Col.535

¹⁷⁹ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999

¹⁸⁰ HL Deb, 07 Jul. 2000 Vol 614: Col 1760

¹⁸¹ *HL Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol. 603 Col.222 – 225*

referred to the hardship and inestimable stress and anxiety¹⁸² that the voucher-based support imposed; and how it caused major race relations problems¹⁸³, community tensions¹⁸⁴ and created a visible social underclass¹⁸⁵ of individuals who were compelled to make essential purchases with vouchers¹⁸⁶. These sentiments are paralleled in the sectorial stakeholder narrative that argues that the voucher-based support system stigmatises (*f.5*) asylum seekers in general¹⁸⁷ but is also demeaning¹⁸⁸ (*f.1*) to the individual, because it differentiates (*f.1*), separates (*f.5*)¹⁸⁹ and makes permanently visible¹⁹⁰ asylum seekers when they hold up queues in supermarkets¹⁹¹.

Similarly, the news media narrative gave coverage to the same concerns expressed in the Parliamentary and sectorial narratives - that the voucher-based support system is an inhumane (*f.3*) and humiliating (*f.10*) system that publicly identifies and subsequently stigmatises an already marginalized community, causing social division, exclusion and racial tension. Semantic devices in the news media narrative that corresponded with those used in the Parliamentary and sectorial narratives, include descriptions of the overall differentiating (*f.13*), demeaning (*f.12*), degrading (*f.7*), damaging (*f.6*), discriminatory (*f.3*) divisive (*f.2*) and depriving (*f.1*) impact (*f.11*), that the “ill-fated voucher scheme has had”¹⁹². In addition, strategic use of hyperbole describe the “daily discrimination”¹⁹³ as a “grotesque (*f.3*) experience”¹⁹⁴ that some asylum seekers have endured at supermarkets when the use of vouchers “singles them out”¹⁹⁵, “picked them out”¹⁹⁶ and “marks them out as being different”¹⁹⁷; and are subsequently “exposed”¹⁹⁸ or “subjected”¹⁹⁹ to “hostility (*f.3*)”²⁰⁰ and “abuse in the queue by other shoppers”²⁰¹ which “increased the risk of racial harassment”²⁰², making asylum seekers “vulnerable to racist attack”²⁰³. The “dire”²⁰⁴, “horrific”²⁰⁵ and

¹⁸² HL Deb, 20th Oct. 1999, Vol 605, Col.1143

¹⁸³ HC Deb 25 Feb. 1999, Vol 326 Col.604 & HL Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol 603 Col.232

¹⁸⁴ HL Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol 603 Col.222 – 225

¹⁸⁵ HL Deb, 07 Jul. 2000 Vol 614: Col.1760

¹⁸⁶ HL Deb, 20th Apr. 2000 Vol 612: Col. 899- 900

¹⁸⁷ Refugee Council: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th Mar. 1999

¹⁸⁸ Refugee Council: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th Mar. 1999

¹⁸⁹ Kent County Council: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th Mar. 1999

¹⁹⁰ Justice: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th Mar. 1999

¹⁹¹ Kent County Council, Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th Mar. 1999

¹⁹² The Guardian 29th Sep. 2001

¹⁹³ The Daily Express, 11th Jun. 1999

¹⁹⁴ The Guardian, 29th Sep. 2000 & 20th Dec. 2000

¹⁹⁵ The Daily Mail 29th Sep. 2000

¹⁹⁶ The Daily Mail 21st Dec.2000

¹⁹⁷ The Daily Express 29th Aug. 2001

¹⁹⁸ The Daily Mail 3rd Apr. 2000

¹⁹⁹ The Guardian, 20th Jun. 2001

²⁰⁰ The Guardian 12th Aug. 1999

²⁰¹ The Times, 25th Sep. 2000

²⁰² The Daily Mail 29th Dec.1999

²⁰³ The Daily Mail 29th Sep.2000

²⁰⁴ The Guardian, 29th Oct. Dec 2001

²⁰⁵ The Daily Express 20th Dec. 2000

“deteriorating” (f.2)²⁰⁶ affects in the physical and mental wellbeing²⁰⁷ that such stigma (f.3) evokes in asylum seekers, as described in the news media narrative, supports that of the cumulative Parliamentary , sectorial narrative on the inhumanity of the voucher support system.

Theme 2: The encouragement of social exclusion

The second correlating theme within the cumulative voucher policy narrative was that the new voucher support system institutionalizes social exclusion (f.12), creates community tensions (f.3), damages race relations (f.3) and increases the risk of racial harassment (f.2). The primary point of opposition in the Parliamentary narrative referred to contradictions in Labour Government objectives where, whilst committing itself to curbing racial exclusion and promoting racial justice²⁰⁸, the introduction of the voucher-based support system would implement a “framework of social exclusion for a particular group of people”²⁰⁹ and create a “new social underclass”²¹⁰ of “socially excluded people”²¹¹ who would be the most excluded category of people “since the days of the workhouse”²¹². More specifically, the use of vouchers at supermarkets would distinguish and separate asylum seekers from ordinary citizens, resulting in their identification as being “different, separate, and special”²¹³ and at risk of “racial harassment (f.2) and racial attacks (f.2)”²¹⁴. Furthermore, in reference to the dispersal policy that accompanied the voucher policy, the placement of such “highly visible newcomers” with “distinguishing characteristics”²¹⁵ such as “shabby clothing”²¹⁶ in areas that may be relatively racially homogenous,²¹⁷ will cause “enormous social problems”²¹⁸ because of the “real danger that they will be scapegoated by other disadvantaged groups and targeted in racial attacks”²¹⁹. The same concerns were echoed within the sectorial stakeholder narrative, where objections were made to Labour’s contradictory asylum and immigration policies. The Government’s lauded commitment to its policy objectives of tackling social exclusion and welfare dependency²²⁰ was contradicted by claims that it failed to acknowledge the problems of asylum seekers in policy review reports²²¹, including the issue of negative stereotyping within the host community²²². This subsequently exacerbated social exclusion (f.3)²²³, created community tensions (f.2), made visible racial

²⁰⁶ The Daily Express, 2nd Oct. 2001

²⁰⁷ The Guardian 22nd May 2001

²⁰⁸ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁰⁹ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999

²¹⁰ HL Deb 29th June 1999 Vol 603 Col.221

²¹¹ HC Deb 22 February 1999 Vol. 326 Col.65- 66

²¹² HC Deb 22 February 1999 Vol. 326 Col. 65- 66

²¹³ Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th Mar. 1999

²¹⁴ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May. 1999

²¹⁵ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999

²¹⁶ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²¹⁷ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

²¹⁸ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²¹⁹ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

²²⁰ HC Deb 22 February 1999 Vol. 326. Col. 65- 66

²²¹ Chartered Institute of Housing: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee

²²² Chartered Institute of Housing: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee

²²³ Chartered Institute of Housing: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee & Refugee Council: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th Mar. 1999

tensions (f.1)²²⁴, led to criticism of the Government's institutionalisation of social exclusion²²⁵ and the systematic social exclusion of asylum seekers²²⁶.

Key words and phrases in the news media narrative corresponded with those in the Parliamentary and sectorial stakeholder narratives, regarding the (in)ability of the Labour Government to tackle its social exclusion objectives. For example, descriptions in the news media of a “parallel universe” of social exclusion²²⁷ for asylum seekers, accompanied reports of the “government's admission (that) [*sic*] showed vouchers were a farce”. However, reports that “party chiefs staved off calls for it (the voucher policy) [*sic*] to be scrapped”²²⁸ suggested that the Labour Government failed to take any decisive action to fulfil its policy objectives to end social exclusion. However, the strongest semantic associations between news media and Parliamentary and sectorial stakeholder narratives, was within the race relations element of the social exclusion discourse. In particular keywords and phrases in the discourse referring to social exclusion opine that the voucher policy legislation is “discriminatory”²²⁹ and “socially divisive”²³⁰ where asylum seekers are “singled out”²³¹ and “publically identified”²³² by their use of vouchers. References to the racial element of social exclusion describe how asylum seekers are “targets for racial attacks”²³³, are “vulnerable to racist attack”²³⁴, and are at an increased risk of racial harassment²³⁵. Subsequent conclusion consider the voucher-based support system exercised “retailing apartheid”²³⁶, was the “fuel for the ugly face of racism and discrimination”²³⁷ and set back race relations in the UK by 20 years²³⁸.

Theme 3: The administration of the voucher support system is more costly than that of a cash-based support system.

²²⁴ Kent County Council Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th Mar. 1999

²²⁵ Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th Mar. 1999

²²⁶ Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th Mar. 1999.

²²⁷ The Guardian 12th Aug. 1999

²²⁸ The Daily Mail 29th Sep. 2000

²²⁹ The Daily Express 16th Jun. 1999

²³⁰ The Guardian 12th Aug. 1999

²³¹ The Daily Mail 29th Sep. 2000

²³² The Guardian 20th Jun. 2001

²³³ The Daily Mail 16th Aug. 2001

²³⁴ The Daily Mail 29th Sep. 2000

²³⁵ The Daily Express 16th Jun. 1999 & Daily Mail Dec.29th 1999

²³⁶ The Daily Mail, 4th Oct. 2001

²³⁷ The Daily Mail, 28th Aug. 2001

²³⁸ The Daily Express, 20th Dec. 2000

The administrative costs of the voucher-based policy initiative was a leading point of protest in the Parliamentary discourse. Doubts were raised about the competence of the Labour Government in its strategic planning for implementing the voucher policy initiative, in terms of whether the Labour Government had “taken sufficient heed of the administrative costs of the new procedures”²³⁹. Key words and phrases in the discourse indicate that the Government had not taken heed, with general consensus suggesting that it would be “extremely costly”²⁴⁰ & ²⁴¹, would lead to “high”²⁴² administration costs (f.19); was costly (f.14) “in cash terms as well as in human dignity”²⁴³, and was “three and a half times”²⁴⁴ “more expensive” (f.2)²⁴⁵ than a cash-based support system. In addition, concerns were voiced about the logic of devising an “alternative support system”²⁴⁶ or “reinventing money” and “creating a “new currency”²⁴⁷, and implementing it in a manner that was not cost effective, when there was already a “cheap and more straightforward option” of “delivering support through the more straightforward system”²⁴⁸ - “called money”²⁴⁹.

However, perhaps the most important point of contention was the Governments assumption that the administration costs of operating the voucher policy initiative would decrease over time - because a cash-based support system was an economic pull factor, and its removal would result in a decrease of asylum applications and subsequently a decrease in applications for support²⁵⁰.

Critics argued that this was an “unsupported suggestion”²⁵¹ and it was an “overestimation”²⁵² [*sic*] and a “mistake”²⁵³ to suggest that cash-based benefits were a pull factor. There was “no evidence”²⁵⁴ to indicate that withdrawing cash-based support *was* a deterrent and “much evidence”²⁵⁵ to suggest that replacing it with voucher-based support was *not*. Specific semantics in the discourse that highlighted the mistake in making such an assumption argue it was more of a “motive”, which was “shameful”²⁵⁶ and the “principle of the workhouse” in terms of being “cruel and indefensible in practice”²⁵⁷ and simply “will not work”²⁵⁸.

²³⁹ HL Deb, 2nd Dec. 1998, Vol 595:Col.514

²⁴⁰ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

²⁴¹ Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th Mar. 1999

²⁴² HC Deb 05 May 1999 Vol 330 Col.950

²⁴³ HC Deb 22 Feb.1999 Vol. 326 Col.65- 66

²⁴⁴ HC Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol 603 Col.232

²⁴⁵ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999,

²⁴⁶ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

²⁴⁷ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁴⁸ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

²⁴⁹ HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 905 – 906

²⁵⁰ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁵¹ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁵² Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁵³ HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol. 603 Col.221

²⁵⁴ HC Deb 29th June 1999 Vol. 603 Col.221

²⁵⁵ HL Deb, 20th October 1999, Vol 605: Col.1144-1145

²⁵⁶ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁵⁷ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁵⁸ HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 905 – 906

Cost concerns featured within the sectorial stakeholder narrative corresponded with those in the Parliamentary discourse. Contributing to the general consensus that the Labour Government had not taken sufficient heed of the administrative costs of the new procedures, sectorial stakeholders argued that there were “additional administrative costs” involved with collaborating with private companies and retailers to safeguard the smooth operation of the voucher-based system²⁵⁹. Furthermore, in regard to doubts raised about the Labour Governments incompetence in its strategic planning, examples identified in the sectorial narrative include “sweeping and draconian” legislation with “grossly inadequate restrictions”²⁶⁰ on the use of vouchers that made it difficult for asylum seekers to travel to meet their lawyers - with some meeting their clients travel costs themselves²⁶¹. Further costs involved in keeping in close contact with lawyers included phone calls, letters (stationery & postage), photocopying²⁶² telephone cards and travel warrants²⁶³. In addition, the judicial process itself incurs extra administrative costs, such as the costs of internal review, appeal and judicial review²⁶⁴. In reference to the Governments assumption that the costs of operating the voucher policy initiative would decrease over time, contributors to the sectorial narrative argued it was an assumption that was “wrong”²⁶⁵, “fundamentally flawed”²⁶⁶, “unproven and, indeed, contradicted”²⁶⁷ by statistical evidence.

Concerns in the news media narrative corresponded most significantly with the discourse relating to the general consensus that the Labour Government had not properly considered the administrative costs of implementing the voucher policy initiative. Criticisms contained within the narrative included subtle connotative semantics that described how the Government “admitted”²⁶⁸ or “conceded”²⁶⁹ that the voucher scheme “certainly expensive”²⁷⁰, and was more expensive to administer than originally anticipated. However, more pejorative perspectives contributing to the narrative reported that the Government was “exposed”²⁷¹, “attacked”²⁷² and “forced to face embarrassment”²⁷³ and acknowledge that the voucher

²⁵⁹ Association Of London Governments: Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999

²⁶⁰ Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture: Memorandum to the Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th Mar. 1999.

²⁶¹ Immigration Law Practitioners Association

²⁶² Institute Of Chartered Housing:

²⁶³ Association Of London Government Special Standing Committee: Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999

²⁶⁴ Joint Council For The Welfare Of Immigrants: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

²⁶⁵ Refugee Council: Special Standing Committee: Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

²⁶⁶ Refugee Council:

²⁶⁷ Justice: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

²⁶⁸ The Daily Express, 16th Jun, 1999

²⁶⁹ The Guardian, 9th Nov.1999

²⁷⁰ The Daily Mail, 29th Aug. 2001

²⁷¹ The Daily Express, 16th Jun, 1999

²⁷² The Daily Express, 13th Aug. 2001

²⁷³ The Guardian, 12th Aug. 1999

support system “cost more to administer”²⁷⁴ than it provided.

Theme 4. The implementation of the voucher support system is bureaucratic, chaotic, shambolic and impractical.

The fourth of the seven core structures demonstrates a strong correlation between the Parliamentary, sectorial and news media narratives. Regarding perceptions of the efficacy of the voucher-based support system, keywords and phrases identified in the Parliamentary discourse indicated that the cash-based support system was already a “bad and chaotic” (*f.2*) system²⁷⁵, that was “localised and shambolic”²⁷⁶. The implementation of the voucher-based support system would only serve to make “a bad system even more chaotic”²⁷⁷ by becoming “nationalised and shambolic”²⁷⁸. Similarly, contributors to the sectorial narrative described the cash-based support system as a “shambles” and its replacement with the voucher-based support system would only create “a further shambles”²⁷⁹. In other words, the “new system will be as chaotic as the existing support mechanism”²⁸⁰. In addition, keywords and phrases identified in the Parliamentary discourse described the operationalisation of the vouchers as “cumbersome”²⁸¹, “bureaucratic”²⁸² and would “pose practical problems”²⁸³. The stakeholder narrative correspondingly argued that the voucher policy system was “cumbersome”²⁸⁴ to administer; its provisions would be “impractical”²⁸⁵ and the reinstatement of welfare benefits would be “cheaper and less cumbersome”²⁸⁶. Keywords and phrases identified in the news media narrative corresponded closely with those in the Parliamentary and sectorial narratives. Regarding the operationalisation of the voucher-based support system, the news media narrative consistently, or perhaps, persistently, portrayed it as “being in chaos (*f.5*)”²⁸⁷ with the “official policy being a shambles (*f.5*)”²⁸⁸. Furthermore, measures to reform the shambolic asylum system²⁸⁹ with its existing chaotic (*f.3*) rules²⁹⁰ was marred by “bureaucratic

²⁷⁴ The Daily Mail 4th Oct. 2001

²⁷⁵ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁷⁶ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁷⁷ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁷⁸ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁷⁹ Amnesty International: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

²⁸⁰ Refugee Council: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

²⁸¹ HL Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol 603 c221 AND Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁸² Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999.

²⁸³ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999.

²⁸⁴ Refugee Council Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999,

²⁸⁵ Refugee Council. Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

²⁸⁶ Amnesty International Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

²⁸⁷ The Times 28th Jul. 1998, the Daily Mail 1st Dec. 2000, the Daily Mail 29th Sep. 2001, the Daily Express, 30th Oct. 2001, the Daily Mail 21st Dec. 2001.

²⁸⁸ The Daily Mail 29th Aug. 2001, the Daily Express, 30th Oct. 2001, the Daily Mail 21st Dec. 2001,

²⁸⁹ The Daily Mail 1st Dec. 2001

²⁹⁰ The Daily Express, 2nd Oct. 2001, the Times, 13th Apr. 2002 the Times 25th Oct. 2001

breakdowns”²⁹¹ in a system that was a “bureaucratic nightmare”²⁹².

Theme 5. The voucher support system is to prevent abuse of the asylum application system, but it is also open to abuse.

Ill-defined terms and ill-conceived policy objectives was the common denominator of the fifth corresponding core structure. One of the Labour Government’s main objectives in introducing voucher-based support, was “tackling, trying to reduce”²⁹³ and “detering[*sic*]”²⁹⁴ “abusive asylum seekers”²⁹⁵; to “deal with...crack down...face up to”²⁹⁶ “abuse in the asylum system”²⁹⁷, which was “patent...unscrupulous”²⁹⁸, “big business...and... an organised racket”²⁹⁹. In contrast to such a parochial definition of ‘abuse’, the definition cited most often in the opposing discourse, was the “worrying development”³⁰⁰ of a “black market” (*f.5*)³⁰¹ in vouchers that was “done for the best possible motive”³⁰² - a “desperate”³⁰³, “genuine”³⁰⁴ and “insistent”³⁰⁵ need for cash to pay for items that a voucher cannot be used for, such as “travel stamps and phone calls”³⁰⁶, “bus fares or photocopying”³⁰⁷. Thus, in order for the Labour Government to fulfil its policy objectives and reduce abuse in the asylum system, key words and phrases in the opposing discourse indicate that the Government needs to better define the term “abuse”. This involves the need to “recognise”³⁰⁸ that asylum seekers needs may go beyond what can be bought with a voucher³⁰⁹, “recognise”³¹⁰ that vouchers are not all of the same denomination and “accept”³¹¹ the need to end the ‘no change policy’ - where a retailer pockets the difference when an asylum seeker pays for products with a voucher worth more than the value of the product³¹².

Keywords and phrases identified in the sectorial stakeholder discourse indicate similar perspectives regarding the Labour Government’s ill-defined terms and ill-conceived policy objectives. For example,

²⁹¹ The Guardian 22nd May, 2001

²⁹² The Daily May, 16th Aug. 2001

²⁹³ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

²⁹⁴ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁹⁵ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

²⁹⁶ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁹⁷ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁹⁸ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

²⁹⁹ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁰⁰ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁰¹ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999, HC Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol 603 cc222 – 225, Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁰² Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁰³ HC Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol. 603 Col.222 – 225

³⁰⁴ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁰⁵ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁰⁶ HC Deb 29th Jun. 1999 Vol. 603 Col. 222 – 225

³⁰⁷ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁰⁸ HL Deb, 20th Apr. 2000 Vol 612: Col 899- 900

³⁰⁹ HL Deb, 1 Mar. 2000, Vol 610. C560

³¹⁰ HL Deb, 20th Apr. 2000 Vol 612: Col 899- 900

³¹¹ HL Deb, 1 Mar. 2000, Vol 610. C560

³¹² HL Deb, 1 Mar. 2000, Vol 610. C560, HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612. Col 899- 900

the sectorial narrative refers to “deep concerns”³¹³ over the “inevitable consequences”³¹⁴ of the no change rule “especially for under-spends of less than one pound”³¹⁵ or “50 pence”. The change from fifty pence can add up to “extremely significant” amount of money for asylum seekers living on voucher-based support³¹⁶ and not being able to claim that change may result, over time, in asylum seekers not being able to use the accumulated change to “buy enough food, or enough healthy and balanced food”³¹⁷. Similar concerns are paralleled in the news media narrative. In relation to the no change policy, one principle sectorial stakeholder that was directly cited in the news media discourse, pointed out that Sodexo³¹⁸ stated that its contract with retailers was “written to Home Office policy” and any breach of that contract would result in its termination - and yet the Home Office argued that it was not illegal to give out change³¹⁹.

Furthermore, in relation to the Labour Government’s ill-conceived policy objectives, key words and phrases in the news media discourse correspond with the parochial definition of abuse employed by the Labour Government; in that the voucher support system was designed to “tackle”³²⁰, “crack down”³²¹ or “cut down”³²² on “abuse”³²³ within the asylum application system. However, other perspectives in the news media discourse indicated that these objectives may not be achieved, because the voucher system *itself* was “being abused”³²⁴. Benefit fraud (*f.15*)³²⁵ contributed to the “development” [*sic*]³²⁶ or “emergence”³²⁷ of a “thriving”³²⁸, “burgeoning”³²⁹ black market in vouchers that has served to exacerbate abuse within the asylum application system, rather than cut down on it - to the extent that it prompted calls for identity checks to be put in place³³⁰, to “curb[*sic*]”³³¹, “stamp out”³³², “guard against”³³³ and “stop”³³⁴ benefit fraud, and “stop people disappearing into the black economy (*f.4*)”³³⁵.

³¹³ HL Deb, 20th Apr. 2000 Vol 612: Col 899- 900

³¹⁴ HC Deb, 14th Feb. 2001 Vol 662: Col 257-258

³¹⁵ Chartered Institute of Housing: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee

³¹⁶ HL Deb, 20th April 2000 Vol 612: Col 899- 900

³¹⁷ Token Gestures Report: HC Deb, 14th Feb. 2001 Vol 662: Col 257-258

³¹⁸ the facilities management company contracted by the Government to manufacture and distribute the vouchers to retailers

³¹⁹ Oxfam cited in The Guardian, 17th Mar. 2000

³²⁰ The Daily Mail, 29th Sep. 2000

³²¹ The Daily Mail, 29th. Dec. 1999

³²² The Daily Mail 19th Jan. 2000

³²³ The Daily Mail, 29th Sep. 2000

³²⁴ The Daily Mail 29th. Sep. 2000

³²⁵ The Daily Mail 29th Aug. 2001

³²⁶ The Daily Mail 29th Sep. 2000

³²⁷ The Daily Mail 29th Sep. 2000

³²⁸ The Daily Mail, 29th Sep. 2000

³²⁹ The Times 25th Sep. 2000

³³⁰ The Daily Mail 26th. Sep. 2000

³³¹ The Guardian 22nd Oct. 1998

³³² The Guardian, 25th Nov. 1998

³³³ The Guardian, 10th Mar. 2000

³³⁴ The Daily Mail 29th Sep. 2000

³³⁵ The Daily Mail, 3rd Apr. 2000, 24th Jan. 2001, 30th Oct. 2001, 31st Oct. 2001,

Theme 6. The operationalisation of the voucher support system is overly complex.

The complexity in the operationalisation of the voucher-based policy initiative was another point of protest that featured in all three narratives. Associated keywords and phrases in the opposing Parliamentary discourse referred to the “over-complex and unnecessary”³³⁶, “complex (f.4)”³³⁷ and “complex and interrelated”³³⁸ nature of the voucher-based support system. “Unnecessary (f.2)” perhaps, because of the “cheap and more straightforward (f.2)”³³⁹ cash-based support system already in place, but nonetheless a system that would cause “unnecessary suffering”³⁴⁰ for those bound to use them. Corresponding semantic associations in the sectorial narrative raised concerns about the resource implications for “complex”³⁴¹ immigration and destitution tests necessary to determine an individual’s eligibility for voucher-based support, in an “already increasingly complex area of the law”³⁴². In addition, the use of vouchers themselves renders the administration for asylum seekers more “difficult”³⁴³. For example, assuming the no change policy was reversed, calculating how much change an asylum seeker was owed after buying a product below the value of the voucher would create “additional complexities”³⁴⁴ for both asylum seeker and retailer. This particular point was echoed in the news media narrative, where critics argued that “the sheer inefficiency” of the voucher system and “lack of experience in administering an income support system”³⁴⁵ was reason enough to reject the voucher scheme.

A secondary point made in reference to the complexity in the operationalisation of the voucher system initiative was the resultant delays in asylum applications and appeals. Suitably summarised in the Parliamentary discourse; “the more we legislate, the more we add to the complexity of the system, the more delays we create and the harder it is to get to the bottom of the problem”³⁴⁶. *Opinions featured in the news media discourse corresponded closely with separate aspects of this observation. In regard to legislation adding complexity to the support system, one leading example was the broad Parliamentary support that a proposed amendment ensuring the delayed introduction of the voucher system until the Labour*

³³⁶ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting, Tuesday 4th May 1999

³³⁷ *HC Deb 29th Mar. 2000 Vol 347 Col.114*

³³⁸ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³³⁹ Special Standing Committee, Twentieth Sitting, Tuesday 11th May 1999

³⁴⁰ *HC Deb 29th Mar. 2000 Vol 347 Col.114*

³⁴¹ Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

³⁴² Amnesty International: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

³⁴³ Chartered Institute of Housing: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee

³⁴⁴ Refugee Council: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th Mar. 1999

³⁴⁵ The Guardian, 9th Nov.1999

³⁴⁶ *HC Deb 24 April 2002 Vol. 384 Col.394*

Government had achieved its target of six months to process asylum applications and appeal, initially received.

However, in light of increasing evidence that the targets would “not be met”³⁴⁷ or were “even remotely possible”³⁴⁸, key opposition members withdrew their support for the amendment, and the Government introduced the voucher support system³⁴⁹ despite the targets not being met. This added impediment to an already “complex issue”³⁵⁰ *resulted in a “bureaucratic catastrophe”*³⁵¹ *of increasing delays; “a growing backlog (f.2) of cases”*³⁵² that “has been climbing”³⁵³, “continues to lengthen”³⁵⁴ and shows “no sign of imminent improvement”³⁵⁵. Referencing the “unnecessary suffering”³⁵⁶ predicted by opponents in the Parliamentary discourse, the increased delays in asylum applications and appeals, rendered asylum seekers as “trapped in a wretched state”³⁵⁷ of being “caught in a backlog”³⁵⁸; *who are* “still waiting”³⁵⁹ and are “likely to wait much longer”³⁶⁰ for their asylum applications or appeals to be addressed. According to indications in the news media discourse, statistical increases in asylum applications³⁶¹ and decreases in the number of deportations³⁶² makes “clear that the Government's immigration policies launched in 1999 had failed”³⁶³, is “conclusive proof that Labour's policy has failed”³⁶⁴ and “shows the complete and utter failure of Labour’s asylum policy”³⁶⁵.

Theme 7. The voucher support system negatively impacts the children of asylum seekers.

The negative impact that the voucher support system has had on the children of asylum seekers was the final corresponding core structure that featured in all three narratives. Keywords and phrases identified in the Parliamentary discourse indicate that opponents of the voucher scheme considered the cashless based support system to have a “particularly detrimental effect”³⁶⁶ on children, subjecting them

³⁴⁷ The Guardian 9th Nov. 1999

³⁴⁸ The Guardian, 5th May 1999

³⁴⁹ The Guardian, 19th Nov. 1999

³⁵⁰ *HC Deb 29th Mar. 2000 Vol 347 Col.114*

³⁵¹ The Guardian, 5th May 1999

³⁵² The Guardian, 5th May 1999, 28th May 1999

³⁵³ The Guardian, 29th May 1999

³⁵⁴ The Guardian, 9th Nov. 1999

³⁵⁵ The Guardian, 5th May 1999

³⁵⁶ *HC Deb 29th Mar. 2000 Vol 347 Col.114*

³⁵⁷ The Guardian, 5th May 1999

³⁵⁸ The Guardian, 5th May. 1999

³⁵⁹ The Guardian, 5th May 1999

³⁶⁰ The Guardian, 29th May 1999

³⁶¹ The Daily Mail, 29th Sep. 2000

³⁶² The Times, 26th Jan. 2001

³⁶³ The Daily Mail, 29th Oct. 2001

³⁶⁴ The Daily Mail 24th Jan. 2001

³⁶⁵ The Times, 26th Jan. 2001

³⁶⁶ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

to “petty little humiliations”³⁶⁷ that result from the restrictions placed on those forced to use vouchers. The negative effects that the voucher support system would have on asylum seeker children are listed in the Parliamentary narrative as being considered “different”, “singled out” and “stigmatised” as “voucher children”³⁶⁸. In addition, the keywords and phrases identified in the Parliamentary discourse indicate that the restrictions placed on those forced to use vouchers “cannot” and “will not” meet the “incidental (f.3)” or “unanticipated” needs such as “extra-curricular activities”³⁶⁹. Similarly, semantic associations identified in the sectorial narrative echo Parliamentary concern that a cashless system support system “cannot be in the best interests of any children”³⁷⁰. The provisions for voucher-based support “discriminate between children”³⁷¹ and will deny them “access to a childhood that could be called ‘normal’ by any definition”³⁷². However, perhaps the most important point of protest in the sectorial narrative is that the removal of cash-based benefits from asylum seekers and their families, is “fundamentally incompatible with the intention of the Children Act and the promotion of children's wellbeing”³⁷³.

Corresponding keywords and phrases in the news media narrative serve to reinforce separate concerns raised in the Parliamentary and sectorial discourses. For example, descriptions of asylum seeker children being “singled out” and “stigmatised” as “voucher children” in the Parliamentary narrative³⁷⁴ were repeated in the news media discourse with accounts of asylum seeker families experiencing daily discrimination and racial harassment which left asylum children “vulnerable to bullying and being called voucher children”³⁷⁵. Furthermore, references in the Parliamentary narrative about voucher conditions not accounting for children’s incidental needs, were reinforced in the news media narrative, with one commentary arguing that the voucher legislation “neglects to properly address the needs of the most vulnerable of all refugees - children”³⁷⁶. In addition, where Parliamentary discourse describes the negative effects of the voucher system on asylum seeker children as them being ‘singled out’ and ‘stigmatised’, the news media continues making the point with direct citations from sectorial stakeholders who consider the initiative as “promoting the social exclusion of refugee families and their children”³⁷⁷. In the same way, where sectorial stakeholders argue that the voucher support provisions “discriminate

³⁶⁷ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁶⁸ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁶⁹ Special Standing Committee, Nineteenth Sitting (Part II), Tuesday 4th May 1999

³⁷⁰ Refugee Council: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

³⁷¹ Amnesty International: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

³⁷² Medical Foundation For The Care Of Victims Of Torture: - Special Standing Committee, Fourth Sitting, Thursday 18th March 1999

³⁷³ Refugee Council: Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

³⁷⁴ in May, 1999 during the Nineteenth Sitting (Part II) of the Special Standing Committee

³⁷⁵ Daily Express, 11th Jun. 1999

³⁷⁶ Daily Express, 16th Jun. 1999

³⁷⁷ Daily Express, 16th Jun. 1999

between children³⁷⁸, the news media narrative follows suit by describing the voucher policy initiative as “discriminatory”³⁷⁹.

APPENDIX I

1.

Discourse Strand: The application of three criteria for the designation of selected countries

Discourse Fragments:

(a) that a very high proportion of claims prove to be unfounded: a very high proportion unfound claims; attractions of making a bogus claim grow; bogus claims and appeals; claims are bogus; claims are found to be bogus; deter bogus applications at their source; deterring bogus claims; manifestly unfounded claims; more bogus claimants join the queue; number of bogus applicants has risen; problem with bogus asylum seekers; rising tide of applicants - many of which are bogus; thousands of bogus claims.

(b) that they generate significant numbers of asylum claims in the United Kingdom: a large number of applications; a large number of asylum seekers; a staggering estimate; generate a large number; generate large numbers; generate significant numbers; looking at the number...very concerned; numbers matter; there is a problem with the number of asylum seekers.

(c) that there is in general no serious risk of persecution; do not carry a serious risk; do not give rise to a serious risk; general fear; in general, people are not at risk; there is not a serious risk of persecution

2.

Discourse Strand: The designation of selected countries

Discourse Fragments: designate safe countries; designate select countries, list of designated countries; propose to designate; so called white list - designated list.

3.

Discourse Strand: The extension of the use of the special appeal procedure

Discourse Fragments: accelerated appeal procedures; appeals are dealt with more quickly the fast-track procedure, the special appeals procedure.

4.

Discourse Strand: The designation of selected countries under the negative resolution procedure

APPENDIX J

1.

Discourse Strand: There is a need for fair and firm, but effective immigration control, to maintain good race relations

Discourse Fragments: alarmism and scaremongering destroy good race relations; commitment to firm and fair immigration controls; firm and fair immigration controls are essential to good race relations; firm but fair immigration control is a necessary condition; firm but fair immigration controls underpin good race relations; firm control of immigration is vital; good race and community relations and firm and fair immigration control are essential; good race relations involves rooting out fraudulent asylum applicants

³⁷⁸ Amnesty International: Memorandum to the Special Standing Committee, Second Sitting, Tuesday 16th March 1999

³⁷⁹ Daily Express, 16th Jun. 1999

and detecting and deporting illegal immigrants; numbers have to be restrained, and firm and fair immigration controls are essential; so important that fair and firm immigration controls be effectively applied; the importance of preserving good race relations; the need for fair and firm but effective immigration control;

2.

Discourse Strand: the assumption that a relatively general assessment of a country for potential selection for designation, is sufficient

Discourse Fragments: - do not carry a serious risk; do not give rise to a serious risk; general fear, in general, people are not at risk; that there is in general no serious risk of persecution; there is not a serious risk of persecution.

3.

Discourse Strand: the designated white list procedure / accelerated appeal procedure is in line with Britain's international legal obligations

Discourse Fragments: All the measures ... are fair, effective and not in conflict with our international obligations; Britain abides strictly to its commitment to the 1951 United Nations convention on refugees; Britain's commitment to the 1951 convention to be maintained must be concerned about the consequences of failure to reduce the flow; We could not possibly accept an obligation to apply such standards, and no such obligation exists in international law.

4.

Discourse Strand: the designation of selected countries will be by order under the negative resolution procedure

Discourse Fragments: in accordance with the negative resolution procedure; under the negative resolution procedure; in accordance with the negative resolution procedure.

APPENDIX K

1.

Discourse Strand: Restrictions on the right to appeal.

Discourse Fragments: credibility, (in)justice, (possibility of) error/matter/misdirection/mistake/point in law, paper only, (option) of oral hearing, Immigration Appeal Tribunal, (potential) improprieties and inconsistencies, precedent based system, prevention of abuse.

Word Groups (Adjectives): Complex, complicated, dangerous, deeply unsatisfactory, defective, diminished, emasculated, enforced, expensive, extraordinary, forced, improper, inconsistent, insufficient, (un)just, neither right nor expedient, punitive, time-consuming, tragic, undesirable, unjust, unlikely to be effective, unsatisfactory, utterly unjust, wrong, wrong in principle.

Rhetorical devices: Kafkaesque rules, perpetual Heraclitean flux

Modal verbs: can (*f.7*), could (*f.4*), may (*f.9*) might (*f.5*), must (*f.7*) will (*f.27*), would (*f.20*), shall (*f.3*) and should (*f.19*).

Evidentialities: Absolutely (*f.1*), categorically (*f.1*), certainly (*f.1*), clearly (*f.3*), ideally (*f.1*), inevitably (*f.2*), intrinsically (*f.1*), presumably (*f.1*), strongly (*f.1*), utterly (*f.*).

2.

Discourse Strand: Race Relations

Discourse Fragments: community, damage, dangers, effect, electoral issue, garner votes, general election, opinion polls, race card, race relations, racism, suspicion, xenophobia.

Word Groups (Adjectives): chilling, damaging, destructive, dishonest, incriminating, nastiest, tawdry, poison, unfair

Rhetorical devices: playing the race card (*f.12*), poison the atmosphere (*f.2*)

Modal verbs: can (*f.3*), could (*f.2*), may (*f.3*) might (*f.2*), must (*f.4*) will (*f.28*), would (*f.5*), shall (*f.4*) and should (*f.1*).

Evidentialities: Certainly (*f.2*), greatly (*f.1*), inevitably (*f.1*), merely (*f.1*), really (*f.1*), strongly (*f.1*),

3.

Discourse Strand: Contradictions in Conservative white list aims and objectives

Discourse Fragments: assessment, consideration credibility, fast track-normal track procedure, individual merits, merits alone, point/purpose of white list, prejudice, presumption, presumption of refusal, rebut the presumption of refusal, rebuttable presumption.

Word Groups (Adjectives): (no) legitimate motives, (not a) more effective, more efficient, (not) more just (or) more equitable appeal procedure, nonsensical, ridiculous, defies common sense, a huge conflict, (not) unbiased, (not) prejudice-free determination of every individual, (no) reason (nor) logic, self-defeating.

Rhetorical devices: a bag of rotten apples (*f.2*)

Modal verbs: can (*f.3*), could (*f.3*), may (*f.1*), must (*f.5*) will (*f.20*), would (*f.3*) and should (*f.7*).

Evidentialities: It is very clear, (*f.2*) surely, (*f.3*), of course (*f.3*) naturally, (*f.2*), likely, (*f.4*).

4.

Discourse Strand: Disputed country designation procedures: negative/affirmative resolution procedures:

Discourse Fragments: (affirmative/negative) appropriateness, assessment, care, careful, consideration, detail, doubt, importance (of) parliamentary, scrutinised, scrutiny.

Word Groups (Adjectives): (in) appropriate, enabling, insufficient, terrible, unsatisfactory, prescriptive.

Rhetorical devices: terrible temptation, (*f.2*) blank-cheque Bill (*f.2*)

Modal verbs: could (*f.7*), may (*f.6*) might (*f.3*), must (*f.1*) will (*f.12*), would (*f.5*), shall (*f.3*) and should (*f.9*).

Evidentialities: All too clear, (*f.2*) inevitably (*f.1*) surely, (*f.3*)

5.

Discourse Strand: Ambiguity of the term “*in general* no fear of persecution”

Discourse Fragments: actual, country, (in) general, (generalised, generalisation), (problem of) imprecision (in designation), (built in) inaccuracy, inconsistency, individual, persecution, (persecuted, persecutes)

Word Groups (Adjectives): cobbled together, extremely dangerous, designed to obfuscate, designed to manipulate, inaccurate, inadequate, imprecise, tendency to generalisation

Rhetorical devices: terrible temptation, (*f.2*) cobbled together (*f.1*)

Modal verbs: can (*f.5*), could (*f.6*), may (*f.2*) might (*f.1*), will (*f.28*), would (*f.10*), shall (*f.1*) and should (*f.7*).

Evidentialities: Account should be taken of the fact that, (*f.1*) of course, (*f.2*), inevitably (*f.1*), certainly (*f.1*)

6.

Discourse Strand: Conflicts with Britain’s international legal obligations

Discourse Fragment: breach, convention, cooperation 1951 Article 33, refolement, international, justice, obligation, procedure, signatory, treaties

Word Groups (Adjectives): conflictive, elusive, inadequate, misjudged, provocative, unfair.

Rhetorical devices: disingenuous sophistry (*f.1*)

Modal verbs: can (*f.7*), could (*f.4*), may (*f.4*) might (*f.1*), must (*f.3*) will (*f.9*), would (*f.2*), shall (*f.4*) and should (*f.7*).

Evidentialities: Clearly (*f.1*), certainly (*f.2*) plainly (*f.2*), surely (*f.1*), plainly (*f.2*).

7.

Discourse Strand: Fair and firm immigration control necessary to maintain good race relations

Discourse Fragment: Balance between fairness and firmness,

Word Groups (Adjectives): controversial, desperate, fair, firm, good, harsh, inconsistent, proper, speedy, straightforward, untold.

Rhetorical devices: covert racism (*f.1*), desperate effort (*f.1*), draconian (*f.1*), little wonder (*f.1*). stir up (*f.1*)., untold delays (*f.1*).

Modal verbs: can (*f.1*), could (*f.1*), must (*f.3*) will (*f.2*), would (*f.2*), shall (*f.3*) and should (*f.2*).

Evidentialities: Absolutely (*f.1*), possibly, (*f.1*), necessarily (*f.1*).

APPENDIX L

1. Restrictions on the right to appeal

Examination of the first discourse strand, *restrictions on the right to appeal*, yielded the identification and coding of the key words and phrases into the following discourse fragments: A) *the role of the Immigration Appeal Tribunal*, B) *the importance of the Immigration Appeal Tribunal in terms of documentation vs. oral hearing* C) *the potential of abuse, improprieties and inconsistencies* and D) *the prevention of injustice, i.e. error/misdirection/mistake in law*. In terms of informing Labour's initial position on the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996, these discourse fragments indicated that Labour's primary concern referred to Clause 1 of the proposed 1996 Bill - an extension of a mechanism in the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act, 1993, that enabled *certain asylum claims to be certified as without foundation and consequently triggered an accelerated appeal*³⁸⁰ - *would widen the criteria for the use of the mechanism to include applicants from those countries on the designated whitelist, who, would have the right to appeal to an independent adjudicator, but would not have a further, final right of appeal to the Immigration Appeal Tribunal.*³⁸¹ Key words and phrases that were identified as demonstrating general concern over the widening of the criteria for triggering accelerated appeal procedures and restrictions on further rights for appeal, included *the effect of such an extraordinary provision*³⁸² *in the Bill... as being utterly unjust*³⁸³ *... deeply unsatisfactory*³⁸⁴ *...and punitive*³⁸⁵ *because the right of appeal on a point of law to the Immigration Appeal Tribunal being taken away...will only encourage more expensive, complicated and time-consuming appeals*³⁸⁶ *to the divisional court.*

However, key words and phrases that were identified as referring to specific criticism regarding *restrictions on access to the Immigration Appeal Tribunal* argued that the work of the Immigration Appeal Tribunal was of *considerable importance* for *assuring justice*³⁸⁷ in the consideration of asylum applications...It had *a significant effect*³⁸⁸ in terms of indicating that the *original application and appeal processes were defective*³⁸⁹ in a significant number of cases. Defective in terms of *the fact that we can all make mistakes, is the fundamental ground of the right of appeal*³⁹⁰, particularly so in *matters of law*³⁹¹, and especially in consideration of the fact that *immigration law is extremely complex*.³⁹² Thus *the possibility of error*³⁹³ *is always there... errors of procedure and of consideration of facts*³⁹⁴, *therefore the crucial role*³⁹⁵ of the Immigration Appeal Tribunal is for the

³⁸⁰ HC Deb. 11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col 701

³⁸¹ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col 703

³⁸² HC Deb. 11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col 719

³⁸³ HL Deb. 20 Jun. 1996 Vol. 573 Col. 522

³⁸⁴ HL Deb.20 Jun. 1996 Vol. 573 Col. 525

³⁸⁵ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col 735

³⁸⁶ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col 720

³⁸⁷ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol 571Col. 1505

³⁸⁸ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1505

³⁸⁹ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1505

³⁹⁰ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506

³⁹¹ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506

³⁹² HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506

³⁹³ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506

³⁹⁴ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1522

³⁹⁵ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506

special adjudicator *to return a case to the Home Office on the grounds that there might be a misdirection in law³⁹⁶ or... points of law³⁹⁷.... to be corrected.... In a precedent-based system³⁹⁸, an uncorrected error of law is capable of having a multiplying effect³⁹⁹ that affects the determination of many subsequent cases. Thus the Immigration Appeals tribunal...serves a useful purpose, which is being diminished⁴⁰⁰ ...and emasculated⁴⁰¹.... in the way that is proposed in Clause 1.*

In addition, key words and phrases that were identified as referring to specific criticism from the Labour Party regarding the importance of due diligence for the credibility of appeals argued that *we are worried⁴⁰² ...that it may be the Government's intention to allow appeals to be taken on the papers alone without the possibility of an oral hearing⁴⁰³ ...which would be an extremely dangerous procedure⁴⁰⁴ ...because in order to judge the credibility of an appellant, there needs to be an oral hearing, which are superior to appeals held purely on the basis of the papers because of the possibilities of cross-examination and of eliminating misunderstandings.⁴⁰⁵ Frequent references to the theme of justice were made in connection to criticism from the Labour Party regarding the importance of due diligence for the credibility of appeals. For example, *it may not be seen to be a just decision if there is no possibility of making representations in person...and enforced written hearings on the papers alone will increase the number of adjournments and delays rather than the other way around⁴⁰⁶ ...resulting in suspicion that what the Government propose will increase delays and injustice⁴⁰⁷ and conviction that danger arises when delay is in conflict with the interests of justice⁴⁰⁸ ...which runs counter to Britain's reputation for fairness and justice⁴⁰⁹. As a result, the Government are not only wrong in principle that oral hearings should be denied ...but it is likely to be counter-productive... and it is a matter which deserves further consideration.⁴¹⁰**

2. Race relations vs. playing the race card

Examination of the second discourse strand, *race relations*, yielded the identification and coding of the key words and phrases into the following discourse fragments: A) *race relations or race card*, B) *opinion polls and garnering votes for upcoming elections* and C) *the damage and dangerous effects on the community*. In terms of informing Labour's initial position on the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996, these discourse fragments indicated that Labour's secondary concern was that Clause 8 of the Bill - which proposed the creation of a criminal offence for employing a person not entitled to work in the United Kingdom - would have a *detrimental effect on race relations⁴¹¹ and result in racial discrimination⁴¹² particularly if the proposals were hurried through in a contentious atmosphere⁴¹³*. Key words and phrases that were identified as indicative of this criticism included arguments that Conservative claims *that fair and*

³⁹⁶ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1518

³⁹⁷ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506

³⁹⁸ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506

³⁹⁹ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506

⁴⁰⁰ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1509

⁴⁰¹ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1506 & 1509

⁴⁰² HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1510

⁴⁰³ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1510

⁴⁰⁴ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1510

⁴⁰⁵ HL Deb. 30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1515

⁴⁰⁶ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1516

⁴⁰⁷ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1516

⁴⁰⁸ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1522

⁴⁰⁹ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1516

⁴¹⁰ HL Deb.30 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1516-1517

⁴¹¹ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.786

⁴¹² HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.714

⁴¹³ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.705.

*firm immigration control was necessary for preserving good race relations*⁴¹⁴ was in fact an example of the Conservative Party *playing low politics for high stakes*⁴¹⁵ by purposefully conflating race relations with immigration issues, i.e. *playing the race card*⁴¹⁶, in order to *inflame racial tension and other forms of xenophobia*⁴¹⁷ at the expense of asylum seekers, *but also black and ethnic minority communities*⁴¹⁸ by *pandering to xenophobic voters with promises of crackdowns on immigration*⁴¹⁹ *in an erroneous effort to try to gain as much electoral advantage as possible*⁴²⁰ which will *assist them in the general election*⁴²¹.

3. Contradictions in Conservative *whitelist* aims and objectives

Examination of the third discourse strand, *contradictions in Conservative whitelist aims and objectives*, yielded the identification and coding of the following key words and phrases into discourse fragments A) *general presumption versus individual consideration* and B) *what is the point/purpose of whitelist*. In terms of informing Labour's initial position on the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996, these discourse fragments indicated that one of Labour's main concerns with Clause 1 was the *rebuttable presumption* that claims from countries on the designated whitelist were not well founded, and yet, every claim would be considered on a case-by-case basis⁴²². Key words and phrases that were identified as expressing this concern included observations of a *conflict between Britain's obligation under the 1951 United Nations Convention to look at each case on its individual merits*, and Clause 1's *automatic presumption that applications from the designated list of countries would not be given the same level of scrutiny* as those from others.⁴²³ In other words, whilst the United Kingdom is *bound to consider each asylum application on its own individual merits*, in practice, the *designated countries on the whitelist would prevent that from happening*⁴²⁴ because Clause 1, *with its fast-track procedures*⁴²⁵ *would undermine*,⁴²⁶ if not *make it impossible* for there to be *individual consideration of particular cases*⁴²⁷. Labour policy actors pointed out that whilst the Home Secretary guaranteed *that each applicant would be given a substantive interview, irrespective of whether that applicant was from a designated country*⁴²⁸ it would be *unlikely*⁴²⁹ that immigration officials would *conduct an interview in the knowledge that a certificate has been issued with regard to that country, and not be more resistant to that asylum claim*⁴³⁰. In fact, *it defies common sense to pretend that the application from a person from a country on the designated list would be treated in the same way as an application from a person whose country is not on the list*⁴³¹. It is also *nonsense to pretend that there would be an unbiased, prejudice-free determination of every individual, whether or not the country of origin is on the whitelist*. Thus *what purpose is served by the whitelist*⁴³² if it is not to ensure that the merits of an

⁴¹⁴ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.710

⁴¹⁵ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.734

⁴¹⁶ HC Deb.15 Oct. 1996 Vol. 282 Col. 714

⁴¹⁷ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col 754

⁴¹⁸ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col 758, 767

⁴¹⁹ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col.790

⁴²⁰ HC Deb.20 Nov. 1995 Vol 267Col. 347

⁴²¹ HC Deb.15 Oct. 1996 Vol. 282 Col. 714

⁴²² HC Deb.11 Dec.1995 Vol. 268 Col 702

⁴²³ HC Deb.11 Dec 1995 Vol. 268 Col.776

⁴²⁴ HC Deb.15 Oct. 1996 Vol. 282 Col. 698

⁴²⁵ HL Deb.23 Apr.1996 Vol. 571 Col.1047

⁴²⁶ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol. 282 Col. 710

⁴²⁷ HL Deb.23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1047

⁴²⁸ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol. 282 Col. 711

⁴²⁹ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol. 282 Col. 715

⁴³⁰ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol. 282 Col. 710

⁴³¹ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol. 282 Col. 705

⁴³² HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol. 282 Col. 698

*application from a country on the designated list would be less well considered than those of an application from elsewhere.*⁴³³

4. Disputed country designation procedures: negative/affirmative resolution procedures

Examination of the fourth discourse strand, *disputed country designation procedures* yielded the identification and coding of key words and phrases into the following discourse fragments A) *care and consideration in assessment* B) *importance (of) Parliamentary scrutiny* and C): *affirmative/negative resolution appropriateness*. In terms of informing Labour's initial position on the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996, these discourse fragments indicated that another of Labour's concerns with Clause 1 was that the first order - the designation of countries to the whitelist - would be laid before Parliament under the affirmative resolution procedure, (i.e. where the cases for considering countries for designation would be debated by both Houses, who would both have to pass a resolution in favour of the proposed countries, in order for the whitelist legislation to be passed into law). However, Clause 1 also posited that subsequent orders - future additions to, or subtractions of countries from, the whitelist - would only be subject to negative resolution procedure, (i.e. due to the assumption that such amendments would not be controversial, would not require debate and would subsequently pass into law without full Parliamentary debate). Key words and phrases that were identified as demonstrating this criticism included doubts about the *appropriateness of the Home Office's assessment of the country concerned*⁴³⁴, references to the *unsatisfactory nature of a procedure that proposes that only the first order should be subject to the affirmative resolution procedure*⁴³⁵, suggestions that it would pose a *terrible temptation for any government to use the first order only, to put on the list those countries where there is no controversy, only to leave the more controversial countries to subsequent orders*⁴³⁶. Further criticism argued that the Government's proposals were being too *prescriptive*, because the Government did *not provide enough Parliamentary scrutiny* where it was needed, and *too much scrutiny in uncontroversial cases*⁴³⁷ where it wasn't. In addition, Labour Party policy actors spoke of *feeling unsettled*⁴³⁸ and *having suspicions*⁴³⁹ *about the real motives for the Government to introduce the Bill and yet resist the need for further scrutiny of legislation in appropriate, controversial cases by a Special Standing Committee*. The Government, therefore, did not not recognise the *danger of not subjecting the Bill to proper scrutiny*⁴⁴⁰— *and the likelihood of another piece of badly drafted legislation*⁴⁴¹

5. Ambiguity of the term “in general no fear of persecution”

Examination of the fifth discourse strand the *ambiguity of the term “in general no fear of persecution”* yielded the identification and coding of key words and phrases into the following discourse fragments: A) the *inaccuracy, inconsistency and imprecision in designation* and B) *a tendency to country-generalisation leads to individual-persecution*. In terms of informing Labour's initial position on the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996, these discourse fragments indicated that Labour's main objections to the designation procedure, mainly focused on the danger of its *built-in inaccuracy and tendency to generalisation*⁴⁴² - particularly in respect to the

⁴³³ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol. 282 Col. 699

⁴³⁴ HL Deb.23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1035

⁴³⁵ HL Deb.23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1031

⁴³⁶ HL Deb.23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1031-1032

⁴³⁷ HL Deb.23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1031

⁴³⁸ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col. 721, 722

⁴³⁹ HC Deb.11 Dec.1995 Vol. 268 Col. 723, 771

⁴⁴⁰ HC Deb.11 Dec.1995 Vol. 268 Col. 713

⁴⁴¹ HC Deb.11 Dec.1995 Vol. 268 Col. 717

⁴⁴² HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1073

use of the words "in general" as a criterion for inclusion in the designated list⁴⁴³ ... More specifically, Clause 1 argues that asylum seekers can be removed to any country where there is considered to be "in general" no serious risk of persecution' ... However, what does "in general" mean? ... Does "in general" mean that ... 95 per cent. of the people in a particular country need fear no risk of persecution? Is it a matter of the severity of the persecution? Would it mean that the risk could involve detention but not torture? Is it a matter of whether there is persecution not of groups but of individuals? All those questions, to which there are and can be no adequate answers, reveal the inadequacy and danger of the phrase "in general"⁴⁴⁴. It is misguided⁴⁴⁵, extremely dangerous⁴⁴⁶, cobbled together in something like a hurry⁴⁴⁷ and should be got rid of⁴⁴⁸. Furthermore, the uses of the words "in general" were designed not to clarify but to obfuscate the issue, designed to make the distinction between the countries which are on the list and those which are not, easier to manipulate, rather than more just⁴⁴⁹. Furthermore, criticism that is central to Labour's main objections to the designation procedure include the argument that *imprecision in designation is the key to injustice so far as concerns individuals*⁴⁵⁰, because *persecution does not happen in countries in general. It happens to people in particular, particularly to minority groups in countries in which there is no risk of persecution in general to the majority, but where there is a very serious risk to the minority*⁴⁵¹. *There is a real distinction between actual persecution of individuals and a general risk of persecution in a country as a whole*⁴⁵².

Of particular note, the following key words and phrases served as a useful comparative to determine what was considered to be representative of Labour's official position regarding the whitelist policy initiative, when cross examined with what key words and phrases the Labour Government used to formally abolish the Asylum Order 1996 in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act. In critiquing the *inaccuracy, inconsistency and imprecision in designation* of the designation procedure, Labour policy actors suggested that the Conservative Government could be more *precise in their designation; ... if the appellant has to state the reasons; the Government... have to state reasons. It is not enough for them to designate a country in the list; they have to say that it is based on an issue in the country rather than the country itself... One would have a much more sensitive list, and perhaps a longer one, that paid more attention to the needs of individuals*⁴⁵³ ...

6. Conflict with Britain's international legal obligations

Examination of the sixth discourse strand *the potential of conflict with Britain's international legal obligations* yielded the identification and coding of key words and phrases into a singular, central discourse fragment: *judicial breach of international obligations and conventions*. In terms of informing Labour's initial position on the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996, this discourse fragment indicated that Labour's main questions referred to the overall legality of the whitelist policy initiative. Specifically, whether it complied with *international law such as the 1953 European convention on human rights*⁴⁵⁴ and *the 1951 United Nations refugee convention, to which Britain is a signatory*⁴⁵⁵. Despite the Conservative Government arguing that

⁴⁴³ HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1047

⁴⁴⁴ HL Deb.23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1062

⁴⁴⁵ HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1076

⁴⁴⁶ HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1061

⁴⁴⁷ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col. 727

⁴⁴⁸ HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1070

⁴⁴⁹ HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1070 - 1071

⁴⁵⁰ HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1072

⁴⁵¹ HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1062

⁴⁵² HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1063

⁴⁵³ HL Deb.23 Apr 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1072

⁴⁵⁴ HC Deb.11 Dec.1995 Vol. 268 Col. 787

⁴⁵⁵ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col. 780

they could meet their international obligations under the Geneva convention and the European convention on human rights⁴⁵⁶, Labour countered that *...we cannot legally operate the procedure*⁴⁵⁷ because Article 33 of the *UN Convention on the Status of Refugees*...states: *... No Contracting State shall expel or return"— that is "refouler" in French—a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality", etcetera... There is judicial authority in this country for the proposition that the words "in any manner whatsoever" include a billiard ball return via a series of third countries. If there is not an agreement in advance, for example if the country to which the asylum seeker is returned, states that the individual is an illegal entrant and they will not consider his claim, the individual ends up being sent back from where he came.*⁴⁵⁸

Perhaps most indicative of Labour's initial position on the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996, from an international judicial context is the statement that *it does not work to have a game of pass the parcel, or pass the refugee around the world from one country to another...That is refoulement, and it is the greatest breach of the convention that there can be.*⁴⁵⁹ Furthermore, the potential illegality of the designation procedure is reinforced by the notion that *by international conventions, the United Kingdom is bound to consider each asylum application on its merits, but the so-called whitelist of designated countries will in practice prevent that from happening*⁴⁶⁰ because *the proposed whitelist would treat applicants from the countries on the list in bulk unless an individual could meet what could, even in well-founded cases, be an almost impossible burden of proof*⁴⁶¹. Thus, the notion that *the rights of appeal for safe third-country cases are so elusive that they will almost certainly put Britain in breach of its international obligations*⁴⁶² serves to prove Labour's convictions that *the whitelist's only purpose is to put applicants from the designated countries at a disadvantage*⁴⁶³. Furthermore, Conservative assurances that the whitelist initiative is within the confines of its international obligations, *i.e. that that each case will be dealt with on its merits, when there is one system for the seven countries named ...and another for asylum claimants from other parts of the world*⁴⁶⁴....Thus, *this concoction of misjudged, unfair, inadequate and provocative measures*⁴⁶⁵ that are used to justify the proposal, *are either inconsistent or not supported by the facts*⁴⁶⁶ *...and conflicts with the spirit of our international obligations.*⁴⁶⁷

7. Fair and firm immigration control necessary to maintain good race relations

Examination of the seventh discourse strand: *fair and firm immigration control necessary to maintain good race relations*, yielded the identification and coding of key words and phrases into a singular, central discourse fragment: *the importance of striking a balance between fairness and firmness in immigration control*. In terms of informing Labour's initial position on the introduction and implementation of Asylum Order 1996, this discourse fragment indicated that Labour's main concern centred on the notion that the Conservative Government had failed to *achieve a balance between fairness and firmness, between justice and control*⁴⁶⁸. A failure that seems to stem from

⁴⁵⁶ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol. 282 Col. 714

⁴⁵⁷ HL Deb.20 Jun. 1996 Vol, 573 Col.536

⁴⁵⁸ HL Deb.20 Jun. 1996 Vol, 573 Col.536 - 537

⁴⁵⁹ HL Deb.20 Jun. 1996 Vol. 573 Col. 537

⁴⁶⁰ HL Deb.23 Apr. 1996 Vol. 571 Col.1031

⁴⁶¹ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol. 268 Col. 718 - 719

⁴⁶² HC Deb.11 Dec.1995 Vol. 268 Col. 720

⁴⁶³ HC Deb.15 Oct.1996 Vol 282 Col. 698

⁴⁶⁴ HC Deb.15 Oct. 1996 Vol 282. Col. 718

⁴⁶⁵ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol 268 Col.785

⁴⁶⁶ HC Deb.15 Oct. 1996 Vol 282. Col. 775

⁴⁶⁷ HC Deb.15 Oct. 1996 Vol 282. Col. 698

⁴⁶⁸ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol 268. Col 711

the notion that the asylum application system is intrinsically unfair, because, counter to Conservative assertions that *firm but fair immigration control is a necessary condition*⁴⁶⁹ for a fair society, Labour contributors to the debate argued that the rules are *harsh and draconian*⁴⁷⁰, and the system does not *treat people from the whitelist, the same as people who are not on it*.⁴⁷¹ In emphasising the importance of striking a balance between firmness and fairness, Labour policy actors allude to striking a parallel balance between what is practical and what is preferable; *the whole system must be speeded up, it must work in a way that is fair and just*⁴⁷², *we want a speedy system but that must not be achieved at the expense of fairness*⁴⁷³.

APPENDIX M

Discourse Strand: The opposition and objection to the order and the principle of the white list policy
Discourse Fragments: objections to the principle and practice (*f.1*), oppose the order (*f.1*), oppose the principle (*f.1*)

Word Groups (Adjectives): fundamental (*f.1*), unprincipled (*f.1*)

Rhetorical devices: as badly (*f.1*), disingenuous sophistry (*f.1*), have failed (*f.1*), let me make it absolutely clear (*f.1*), far more trouble than it was worth (*f.1*), peremptory (*f.1*), so-called (*f.2*).

Modal verbs: **would** (*f.4*) (-abolish (*f.1*), -not operate (*f.1*), -deal with (*f.1*)); **shall** (*f.4*) (-have failed (*f.1*), -not operate (*f.2*), -vote against (*f.1*)); **will** (*f.1*) (-summarily)

Evidentialities: absolutely (*f.1*), fundamentally (*f.1*), need only (*f.1*), only purpose (*f.1*)

Discourse Strand: The repeal of section 1 and 2 of the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996 is to abolish the White List in the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999.

Discourse Fragments: A further effect of the new certification procedures in this Act, and the repeal of section 1 and 2 of the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996 by Schedule 16 is to abolish the so-called “White List... (1) if the Secretary of State has certified that, in his opinion, the person's claim is one to which sub-paragraph ((2)) applies... ((2)) This sub-paragraph applies to a claim if the country or territory to which the appellant is to be sent is designated in an order made by the Secretary of State as a country or territory in which it appears to him that there is in general no serious risk of persecution.... (2) Nothing in section 6 of the 1993 Act (protection of claimants from deportation etc.) shall prevent a person who has made a claim from being removed from the United Kingdom if... the certificate has not been set aside on an appeal under section 3... (3) This subsection applies to any country or territory which is designated in an order made by the Secretary of State by statutory instrument.

Word Groups (Adjectives): new (*f.1*)

Rhetorical devices: in his opinion, so called new (*f.1*)

Modal verbs: may or may not (-be certified (*f.1*)) shall (-prevent (*f.1*))

Evidentialities: in his opinion (*f.1*)

APPENDIX N

Discourse Strand: White List will be abolished but will continue to be operated, subject to the due scrutiny of individual cases being manifestly unfounded and being put into an accelerated appeal procedure

Discourse Fragments: will continue, but... intends to continue, subject to... no, actual, perceived, perception of unfairness....

⁴⁶⁹ HC Deb.11 Dec.1995 Vol 268. Col 699

⁴⁷⁰ HC Deb.20 Nov. 1995 Vol 267 Col 343

⁴⁷¹ HC Deb.15 Oct. 1996 Vol 282 Col. 705

⁴⁷² HC Deb.20 Nov. 1995 Vol 267 Col.332

⁴⁷³ HC Deb.11 Dec. 1995 Vol 268. Col 789

Word Groups (Adjectives): actual, additional, appropriate, better, certain, comprehensive, continuing, country-wide, determined, due, efficient, fairer, firm, important, improved, more-discriminating, necessary, new, perceived, satisfied, streamlined, unfairness, unfounded, unsatisfactory, wrong.

Rhetorical devices: decided to deny (*f.1*), perception of unfairness (*f.1*), so called (*f.1*), tackle the complexities (*f.1*), the Government is committed (*f.1*), unsatisfactory feature (*f.1*), we are determined (*f.1*). is satisfied that (*f.1*).

Modal verbs: would (*f.3*) (-be fairer (*f.1*), -enable (*f.1*), -be to replace (*f.1*)); should (*f.1*) (-be replaced); will (*f.3*) (-be abolished (*f.1*) -continue (*f.1*), -make (*f.1*)) ; can (*f.1*). (-be picked up (*f.1*)).

Semi-modal verbs: needs (*f.1*). (-to be replaced (*f.1*))

Evidentialities: necessary (*f.1*) (-application of firm measures (*f.1*)).

APPENDIX O

1. All migrants seeking asylum in Britain were aggressive, male, persistent, fraudulent, young and predominantly non-white.

Discourse Strand: Descriptions of asylum seekers

Discourse Fragments: aggressive, male, persistent, fraudulent, young, predominantly non-white

Word Groups (Adjectives): different (*f.66*) violent (*f.22*), alarming (*f.1*).

Word Groups (Nouns): Asians (*f.304*), Asian (*f.125*), Asylum (*f.267*), race (*f.246*), racist (*f.103*), racists (*f.23*), racially (*f.29*), Seekers (*f.137*), young (*f.135*), youths (*f.86*), youth (*f.41*), violence, (*f.127*), immigrants (*f.110*), illegal (*f.74*), illegals (*f.1*), immigrant (*f.18*), illegal immigrants (*f.27*), men (*f.108*), refugees (*f.94*), refugee (*f.69*), group (*f.91*) groups (*f.73*) minority (*f.47*), minorities (*f.43*), migrants (*f.41*) extremists (*f.42*), extremist (*f.19*), tensions (*f.39*), tensions (*f.34*) criminal (*f.29*), gang (*f.31*), threat (*f.25*) target (*f.19*) foreign (*f.18*), stowaways (*f.12*), danger (*f.19*), bogus (*f.6*), scum (*f.3*), maniacs (*f.3*)

Word Groups (Verbs) : Accused (*f.30*), arrested (*f.34*), attacks (*f.74*), attack (*f.48*), fighting (*f.24*), damage (*f.27*), smashed (*f.24*), convicted (*f.19*).

Semantic devices: large groups, hitching a free ride, breach the defences, stowing away, biggest attempt yet, alarming ease, vow to try again, continue to sneak, no pretence about hiding, still be trying, they will be back, you'll never stop us!

Modal verbs: will (*f.2*), would (*f.1*)

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text.

2. A multiracial, multicultural Britain was disadvantageous to white Britons and divisive and detrimental to British society as a whole.

Discourse Strand: Multicultural and multiracial Britain

Discourse Fragments: Disadvantageous, divisive, and detrimental

Word Groups (Adjectives): different (*f.66*), religious (*f.34*), foreign (*f.18*), angry (*f.23*), controversial (*f.27*), unfair (*f.26*), fair (*f.20*)

Word Groups (Nouns): Asians (*f.304*), Asian (*f.125*), white (*f.278*), whites (*f.74*), race (*f.246*), racist (*f.103*), racists (*f.23*), racially (*f.29*), ethnic (*f.117*), communities (*f.222*), community (*f.151*), national (*f.186*), problems (*f.74*), problem, (*f.70*), security (*f.73*) fear (*f.63*), fears (*f.41*), failed (*f.51*), failure (*f.31*) system (*f.51*), segregation (*f.47*), tensions (*f.39*), tensions (*f.34*), question (*f.32*), order (*f.32*), disorder, (*f.18*), hatred (*f.32*), threat, (*f.25*), hate (*f.19*), evidence (*f.32*), anger (*f.27*), resentment (*f.25*), doubt (*f.23*), development (*f.23*), democracy (*f.23*) cohesion, (*f.22*), prejudice (*f.20*)

Word Groups (Verbs): smashed (*f.24*), cause (*f.39*), caused (*f.26*)

Semantic devices: a bad idea, they take advantage, firmly set against, decent British people, do their bit, sense of belonging

Modal verbs: should (*f.2*).

Evidentialities: firmly (*f.1*)

3. Labour government complacency and inability to adequately contend with asylum and immigration issues was a primary causal factor for previous Labour supporters to join the British National Party.

Discourse Strand: Government complacency

Discourse Fragments: complacency in asylum and immigration issues, defection from Labour to the BNP

Word Groups (Adjectives): Resentment (*f.25*), angry (*f.23*), unfair (*f.26*), fair (*f.20*)

Word Groups (Nouns): Communities (*f.222*), community (*f. 151*), political (*f.122*), politics (*f.49*), national (*f.186*), Labour (*f.175*), election, (*f.87*), elections (*f.71*), public (*f.86*), problems (*f.74*), problem, (*f.70*), policy (*f.73*), policies (*f. 21*), (immigration (*f.71*), Tory (*f.56*), Conservatives (*f.45*), Tories (*f.41*), system (*f.51*), measures (*f.36*), cohesion (*f.22*), tensions (*f.39*), tensions (*f.34*), cost (*f.29*), concern (*f.29*), anger (*f. 27*), lack (*f. 24*), doubt (*f.23*), development (*f.23*)

Word Groups (Verbs): failed (*f. 51*), failure (*f.31*), cause (*f.39*), caused (*f.26*), question (*f.32*), blame, (*f.30*), blamed (*f. 26*), risk (*f. 27*), voting (*f.24*), voted (*f.22*), promote (*f.23*), doubt (*f.23*), broke (*f.19*), divided (*f.18*), rejected (*f.17*)

Semantic devices: After many decades of voting Labour with little improvement, another Labour voter in his 50s, says his BNP poster is just a protest, a lifelong Labour voter, she has switched to the BNP, he says he won't vote Labour again, Burnley Council's Labour leader admits that his party failed, the disenfranchised can...follow the lead of Mick Treacy the taxi driver who defected from Labour to the BNP... who has voted Labour for a quarter of a century, says she has been won over by the BNP, everyone had previously been a Labour voter...“even my mother-in-law, a Labour voter, is voting BNP.”, they felt abandoned by Labour, the former Labour voter echoes the words of many when he says: "I am not racist, but... Labour complacency, split votes"

Modal verbs: won't (*f.1*).

Evidentialities: none identified within the text

4. Labour government immigration policies were too lax, too lenient and the primary causal factor for Britain's appeal to migrants seeking asylum.

Discourse Strand: Labour's policy initiatives to deal with asylum and immigration

Discourse Fragment: too lax, too lenient and the primary cause for Britain's appeal to migrants seeking asylum.

Word Groups (Adjectives): feeble, ineffectual, worse (*f.21*),

Fear (*f.63*), fears (*f.41*), wrong (*f.33*), controversial (*f. 27*), tough (*f.23*), unfair (*f.26*), unnecessary (*f.1*)

Word Groups (Nouns): Asylum (*f.267*), communities (*f.222*), community (*f. 151*), national (*f.186*), Labour (*f.175*), seekers (*f.137*), political (*f.122*), politics (*f.49*), immigrants (*f.110*), immigrant (*f.18*), refugees (*f.94*), minister (*f.86*), refugee (*f.69*), election, (*f.87*), elections (*f.71*), problems (*f.74*), problem, (*f.70*), policy (*f.73*), policies (*f.21*), security (*f.73*), immigration (*f.71*), system (*f.51*), tensions (*f.39*), tension (*f.34*), disturbances *f.37*), measures (*f.36*), order (*f.32*), disorder, (*f.18*), (*f.32*), failure (*f.31*), concern (*f.29*), anger (*f.27*), risk (*f.27*), crisis (*f.25*), resentment (*f.25*), cohesion, (*f.22*), prejudice (*f.20*), pressure *f. (f.20)* abuse (*f.20*), target (*f.19*), broke (*f.19*), foreign (*f.18*), strategy (*f.17*), attitude (*f.8*), crackdown (*f.7*)

Word Groups (Verbs): warned (*f.58*), failed (*f.51*), fight (*f.45*), fighting (*f.24*), force (*f.38*), forced (*f.28*), cause (*f.39*) question (*f.32*), calls (*f.31*), blame (*f.30*), blamed (*f.26*), concern (*f.29*), damage (*f.27*) caused (*f.26*), voting (*f.24*), voted (*f.22*), lack *f.(24)* promote (*f.23*), doubt (*f.23*), challenge (*f.22*), prevent (*f.22*), increase (*f.20*), pressure (*f.20*), demand (*f.20*), change (*f.19*) divided (*f.18*) rejected (*f.17*) toughen (*f.1*), appeasing (*f.1*), appease (*f.1*), pandering (*f.1*), playing (*f.1*) accused (*f.1*)

Semantic devices: A raft of changes needed, make Britain less attractive, doing little to stop, Labour complacency, failed to challenge, (need) more effective negotiations, are our own worst enemy, our regime is so lax, the wrong move, a weak move, a move that would make the French laugh, a humiliating rebuff, (a failure of negotiation, have to try harder, remains feeble and ineffectual, toughen the regime, want something done, stop the madness, sort this problem out

Modal verbs: will (*f.1*) would (*f.1*) can (*f.1*) want (*f.1*) have to (*f.1*)

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text

5. Asylum and immigration statistics in Britain were overwhelming and migration trends toward Britain were uncontrollable.

Discourse Strand: Current immigration statistics in Britain

Discourse Fragment: overwhelming and uncontrollable.

Word Groups (Adjectives): feeble (*f.1*), ineffectual (*f.1*), worse (*f.21*), fear (*f.63*), fears (*f.41*), wrong (*f.33*), controversial (*f.27*), unnecessary (*f.1*)

Word Groups (Nouns): Asylum (*f.267*), communities (*f.222*), community (*f.151*), national (*f.186*), Labour (*f.175*), seekers (*f.137*), political (*f.122*), politics (*f.49*), immigrants (*f.110*), immigrant (*f.18*), refugees (*f.94*), minister (*f.86*), refugee (*f.69*), problems (*f.74*), problem, (*f.70*), policy (*f.73*), policies (*f.21*), security (*f.73*), immigration (*f.71*), system (*f.51*), hundreds (*f.40*) tensions (*f.39*), tension (*f.34*), disturbances (*f.37*), measures (*f.36*), disorder, (*f.18*), (*f.32*), failure (*f.31*), concern (*f.29*), thousands (*f.28*), record (n.) (*f.28*), anger (*f.27*), crisis (*f.25*), resentment (*f.25*), cohesion, (*f.22*), prejudice (*f.20*), scene (*f.20*), scale (*f.20*), pressure (*f.20*) abuse (*f.20*), target (*f.19*), foreign (*f.18*), invasion (*f.7*), invade (*f.2*), invaded (*f.2*), tide (*f.5*), rush (*f.5*)

Word Groups (Verbs): Attacks (*f.30*), attack. (*f.48*), warned (*f.58*), failed (*f.51*), fight (*f.45*), fighting (*f.24*), force (*f.38*), forced (*f.28*), cause (*f.39*) question (*f.32*), calls (*f.31*), blame (*f.30*), blamed (*f.26*), concern (*f.29*), damage (*f.27*) caused (*f.26*), voting (*f.24*), voted (*f.22*), lack (*f.24*) promote (*f.23*), doubt (*f.23*), challenge (*f.22*), prevent (*f.22*), increase (*f.20*), pressure (*f.20*), demand (*f.20*), change (*f.19*) divided (*f.18*) rejected (*f.17*) toughen (*f.1*), appeasing (*f.1*), appease (*f.1*), pandering (*f.1*), playing (*f.1*) accused (*f.1*)

Semantic devices: Stop the madness, absolutely farcical, disorderly scenes, Britain's asylum chaos, hundreds of asylum seekers, refugees in their hundreds, hundreds of would-be asylum seekers, attempted invasion, refugee invasion, attempt by asylum seekers to invade, are being invaded, asylum seekers rounded up, streets are swamped, rising tide, Sangatte stampede, streaming into Britain, hundreds of illegal migrants are flocking, a dramatic increase in numbers, a large group, illegal immigrants continued to pour into Britain, no end to tide of refugees, breach the country's defences, stop the desperate rush to get to Britain, illegal immigrants being brought into Britain en masse.

Modal verbs: will (*f.1*) would (*f.1*) want (*f.1*)

Evidentialities: Absolutely (*f.1*)

6. Labour government policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues were impractical, ineffectual and inadequate. Specifically:

- i. **The Home Secretary (David Blunkett)'s proposals that all migrants to Britain need to speak English were inopportune, insensitive, offensive and unrestrained.**
- ii. **David Blunkett's proposals that all migrants to Britain need to participate in citizenship classes and take naturalization, or acculturation tests were offensive, patronising and polarising.**

Discourse Strand: Citizenship classes, English language classes and naturalization, or acculturation tests

Discourse Fragments: Offensive, patronising, polarising

Word Groups (Adjectives): insensitive (*f.1*), offensive (*f.1*), sensational (*f.1*), disturbing (*f.1*).

Word Groups (Nouns): Asians (*f.304*), Asian (*f.125*), Blunkett (*f.222*) white (*f.278*), race (*f.246*), racist (*f.103*), racists (*f.23*), racially (*f.29*), English (*f.148*), communities (*f.222*), community (*f.151*), national (*f.186*), ethnic (*f.117*), problems (*f.74*), problem, (*f.70*), security (*f.73*), policy (*f.73*), policies (*f.21*), fear (*f.63*), fears (*f.41*), system (*f.51*), segregation (*f.47*), minority (*f.47*), minorities (*f.43*) tensions (*f.39*), tensions (*f.34*), question (*f.32*), order (*f.32*), disorder, (*f.18*), resentment (*f.25*), doubt (*f.23*), development (*f.23*), democracy (*f.23*) cohesion, (*f.22*), prejudice (*f.20*), inability (*f.1*)

Word Groups (Verbs): condemned (*f.1*), criticised (*f.1*), warned (*f.1*), branding (*f.1*) called for (*f.1*),

Semantic device: his demand on the need to speak English, learning more English, (more) interfaith schools, absolute nonsense, sharply criticised, offer ammunition, offensive to regard second or third generations as immigrants, fondness for fruity phrases, inability to pick his moments, condemned Mr Blunkett's comments, called (for Blunkett) to calm down, the language he used...not at all helpful, the problem about the Home Secretary...

Modal verbs: could (*f.1*) will (*f.1*)

Evidentialities: we all know that... (*f.1*)

7. **Labour government policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues were impractical, ineffectual and inadequate. Specifically:**
- i. **David Blunkett's law and order policy proposals – to be “tough on crime and tough on the consequences of crime”, in relation to the overly severe sentencing of Asian rioters in relation to the crimes committed, were illogical, inflammatory, misguided and mismanaged, bordering on authoritarianism and pandering to populist prejudices.**

Discourse Strand: David Blunkett's law and order policy proposals in relation to the overly severe sentencing of Asian rioters

Discourse Fragment: - illogical, inflammatory and misguided

Word Groups (Adjectives): hurtful (f.1), offensive (f.1), dangerous (f.1)

Word Groups (Nouns): Police (f.427), policing (f.21), Asians (f.304), Asian (f.125), Blunkett (f.222), race (f.246), racist (f.103), racists (f.23), racially (f.29), riots (f.241) rioters (f.30), ethnic (f.117), communities (f.222), community (f.151), national (f.186), violence, (f.127), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), security (f.73), minority (f.47), minorities (f.43), failure (f.31) system (f.51), segregation (f.47), tensions (f.39), tension (f.34), disturbances (f.37), measures (f.36), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), hatred (f.32), hate (f.19), evidence (f.32), cost (f.29), concern (f.29), anger (f.27), risk (f.27) resentment (f.25), democracy (f.23) cohesion, (f.22), allegiance (f.21), worse (f.21), prejudice (f.20), pressure (f.20) abuse (f.20), unnecessary (f.1)

Word Groups (Verbs): riot (f.106), rioting (f.49), attack (f.48), blame (f.30), blamed (f.26), failed (f.51), warned (f.58), fight (f.45), fighting (f.24), cause (f.39), caused (f.26), question (f.32), voting (f.24), voted (f.22), promote (f.23), doubt (f.23), assault (f.17), challenge (f.22), prevent (f.22), broke (f.19), divided (f.18), rejected (f.17) mismanaged (f.1)

Semantic devices: “tough on crime and tough on the consequences of crime” (f.1) illogical (f.1), inflammatory (f.1), misguided interventions (f.1), risks alienating some communities (f.1), attempting to please others (f.1), it is not for the Home Secretary to seek to influence the Appeals process (f.1), it is not for him to deny people their rights (f.1), makes no sense (f.1), lost the plot (f.1), it's a dangerous game (f.1), pandering to populist prejudices (f.1), bordering on authoritarianism, (f.1) civil liberties and human rights bodies - distinct impression that he is not a fan (f.1)

Modal verbs: will (f.1) must (f.1) want (f.1)

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text

8. **Labour government policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues were impractical, ineffectual and inadequate. Specifically:**
- i. **Home Office dispersal policy proposals to withdraw financial aid to asylum seekers who refused to live in government appointed housing was short sighted and counter-productive**

Discourse Strand: Dispersal policy refusal = withdrawing financial aid

Discourse Fragments: short sighted and counter productive

Word Groups (Adjectives): ethnic (f.117), controversial (f.27), angry (f.23), unfair (f.26), fair (f.20), resentment (f.25), hard (f.50)

Word Groups (Nouns): police (f.427), force (f.38), forces (f.2), race (f.246), racist (f.103), racists (f.23), racially (f.29) measures, (f.36) communities (f.222), community (f.151), question (f.32), immigrants (f.110), cohesion (f.22), problems (f.74) problem, (f.70) anger, (f.27), security (f.73) policy (f.73), policies (f.21), failure (f.31), prejudice (f.20), cohesion (f.22), system (f.51), segregation (f.47), minority (f.47), minorities (f.43), measures (f.36), question (f.32)

Word Groups (Verbs): policing (f.21), forced (f.28), question (f.32), risk (f.27) failed, (f.51), fear, (f.63) fears, (f.41) warned (f.58) divided (f.18), cause (f.39), caused (f.26)

Semantic device: asylum-seekers left without any financial... increase the cost...will drive them underground...the move was “desperately short-sighted and will only be counter-productive”

Modal verbs: could (f.1) will (f.1)

Evidentialities: we all know that... (f.1)

9. **Labour government policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues were impractical, ineffectual and inadequate. Specifically:**

i. **The Prime Minister (Tony Blair)'s plan to personally take command and contend with the perceived asylum crisis with severely stringent proposals were reactionary, short sighted, placatory, wrong in principle and unworkable in practice**

Discourse Strand: The Prime Minister's plan to personally take command and contend with the asylum crisis with stringent policy proposals

Discourse Fragment: - reactionary, short sighted and placatory

Word Groups (Adjectives): Controversial (*f. 27*), resentment (*f.25*) angry (*f.23*), unfair (*f.26*), fair (*f.20*)

Word Groups (Nouns): Asylum (*f.267*), communities (*f.222*), community (*f. 151*), national (*f.186*), seekers (*f.137*), ethnic (*f.117*), immigrants (*f.110*), immigrants (*f.18*), refugees (*f.94*), refugee (*f.69*), problems (*f.74*), problem, (*f.70*), policy (*f.73*), policies (*f.21*), security (*f.73*), minority (*f.47*), minorities (*f.43*), system (*f.51*), segregation (*f.47*), tensions (*f.39*), tension (*f.34*), disturbances *f.37*), measures (*f.36*), order (*f.32*), disorder, (*f.18*), hatred (*f.32*), hate (*f.19*), evidence (*f.32*), question (*f.32*), failure (*f.31*), cost (*f.29*), concern (*f.29*), anger (*f.27*), risk (*f.27*), resentment (*f.25*), democracy (*f.23*) cohesion, (*f.22*), allegiance (*f.21*), worse (*f.21*), prejudice (*f.20*), pressure *f. (f.20)* abuse (*f.20*), target (*f.19*), foreign (*f.18*) unnecessary (*f.1*)

Word Groups (Verbs): Fear (*f.63*), fears (*f.41*), warned (*f.58*), cause (*f.39*) question (*f.32*), blame (*f.30*), blamed (*f.26*), caused

(*f.26*), promote (*f.23*), doubt (*f.23*), challenge (*f.22*), prevent (*f.22*), divided (*f.18*)

Semantic devices: cause alarm, not thought through, not sensible, appeasing racist sentiment, short sighted, stench of a panic response to the rise of the far right, wrong in principle, unworkable in practice, a serious risk, resistance around Whitehall

Modal verbs: will (*f.1*) could (*f.1*)

Evidentialities: Definitely (*f.1*)

10. Labour government policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues created considerable racial and religious tensions and divisions

Discourse Strand: Consequences of Labour's immigration policy proposals - racial and religious tension and division

Discourse Fragments: past and present poor record on race relations; increasingly violent society and complacent government responses

Word Groups (Adjectives): religious (*f.34*), wrong (*f.33*), controversial (*f.27*), unfair (*f.26*), angry (*f.23*), fair (*f.20*) Desperate *f.19* feeble (*f.1*), ineffectual (*f.1*),

Word Groups (Nouns): Police (*f.427*), policing (*f.21*), Asians (*f.304*), Asian (*f.125*), white (*f.278*), whites (*f.74*), Blunkett *f.222*, race (*f.246*), racist (*f.103*), racists (*f.23*), racially (*f.29*), riots (*f.241*) rioters (*f.30*), Labour (*f.175*), ethnic (*f.117*), communities (*f.222*), community (*f. 151*), national (*f.186*), violence, (*f.127*), group (*f.91*) groups (*f.73*), public(*f.86*), problems (*f.74*), problem, (*f.70*), policy (*f.73*), policies (*f.21*), security (*f.73*), immigration (*f.71*), fear (*f.63*), minority (*f.47*), minorities (*f.43*) fears (*f.41*), failure (*f.31*) system (*f.51*), segregation (*f.47*), tensions (*f.39*), tension (*f.34*), disturbances *f.37*), measures (*f.36*), order (*f.32*), disorder, (*f.18*), hatred (*f.32*), threat (*f.25*), lack (*f.24*) hate (*f.19*), evidence (*f.32*), cost (*f.29*), concern (*f.29*), anger (*f.27*), risk (*f.27*) resentment (*f.25*), doubt (*f.23*), development (*f.23*), democracy (*f.23*) cohesion, (*f.22*), allegiance (*f.21*), worse (*f.21*), prejudice (*f.20*), pressure *f. (f.20)* abuse (*f.20*).

Word Groups (Verbs): riot (*f.106*), rioting (*f.49*), attack (*f.48*), blame (*f.30*), blamed (*f.26*), failed (*f.51*), warned (*f.58*), fight (*f.45*), fighting (*f.24*), cause (*f.39*), caused (*f.26*), question (*f.32*), voting (*f.24*), voted (*f.22*), promote (*f.23*), doubt (*f.23*), assault (*f.17*), challenge (*f.22*), prevent (*f.22*), broke (*f.19*), divided (*f.18*), rejected (*f.17*)

Semantic devices: poor record on race relations, badly bungled, being bungled again, muddied the waters, tricky question of race and religion, rabble-rousing interview...damaged the terms of the crucial debate, not at all helpful, delicate race relations, encouraging the growth of a violent gang culture, deep fears ...Britain daily becomes less British... leaders do not seem to care, race relations adviser...launched an attack on outspoken Ministers

Modal verbs: none identified in targeted text

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text

11. Labour government policy proposals to contend with asylum and immigration issues required greater stringency and security.

Discourse Strand: Labour's policy initiatives to deal with asylum and immigration

Discourse Fragment: - require greater stringency and security.

Word Groups (Adjectives): Fear (f.63), fears (f.41), wrong (f.33), controversial (f. 27), tough (f.23), unfair (f.26), fair (f.20), desperate (f.19), danger (f.19) unnecessary (f.1)

Word Groups (Nouns): Police (f.427), policing (f.21), Asians (f.304), Asian (f.125), white (f.278), whites (f.74), asylum (f.267), communities (f.222), community (f. 151), national (f.186), Labour (f.175), seekers (f.137), political (f.122), politics (f.49), ethnic (f.117), immigrants (f.110), immigrants (f.18), refugees (f.94), minister (f.86), refugee (f.69), election, (f.87), elections (f.71), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), security (f.73), immigration (f.71), system (f.51), minority (f.47), minorities (f.43), migrants (f.41), segregation (f.47), forces (f.20), tensions (f.39), tension (f.34), disturbances (f.37), measures (f.36), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), hatred (f.32), hate (f.19), evidence (f.32), failure (f.31) , cost (f.29), concern (f.29), anger (f.27), risk (f.27), crisis (f.25), resentment (f.25), democracy (f.23) cohesion, (f.22), allegiance (f.21), worse (f.21), prejudice (f.20), pressure f. (f.20) abuse (f.20), target (f.19), foreign (f.18), strategy (f.17), attitude (f.8)

Word Groups (Verbs): warned (f.58), failed (f.51), fight (f.45), fighting (f.24), force (f.38), forced (f.28), cause (f.39) question (f.32), calls (f.31), blame (f.30), blamed (f.26), concern (f.29), damage (f.27) caused (f.26), voting (f.24), voted (f.22), lack f.(24) promote (f.23), doubt (f.23), challenge (f.22), prevent (f.22), increase (f.20), pressure (f.20), demand (f.20), change (f.19) divided (f.18) rejected (f.17) toughen (f.1), appeasing (f.1) , appease (f.1), pandering (f.1), playing (f.1)

Semantic devices: a crackdown, a security crackdown, toughen the regime, doing little to stop asylum seekers, stop the madness, absolutely farcical, sort this problem out, want something done, Britain's asylum chaos, sweeping changes, need for change, sea-change, raft of change, deep changes in attitude and behaviour, adopting an attitude very different from that rooted in Conservative membership, Britain's attitude has gone in phases, the government doing back door deals, failing to put pressure on France, appeasing racist sentiment, get tougher on asylum seekers, pandering to populist prejudices, lost the plot, a dangerous game, seeks to appease

Modal verbs: will (f.1) must (f.1) can (f.1) want (f.1)

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text

APPENDIX P

(*due to its size, App. P begins on the next page)

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT				
	DAILY MAIL	THE TIMES	THE DAILY EXPRESS	THE GUARDIAN
LABOUR Home Sec. David Blunkett (*21)	44*****	60*****	34****	13*****
LABOUR Foreign Sec. (*2) Jack Straw	2*	6*	3	1
LIBERAL DEMOCRAT Home Affairs (*2) Spokesman, Simon Hughes		12*		1*
CONSERVATIVE Shadow Home Sec. (*5) Oliver Letwin	2**		3**	1*
CONSERVATIVE Shadow Sec. of State for Defence, Iain Duncan Smith (*9)	1*	1*	7*	
LABOUR M.P. for Europe (*2) Peter Hain		4*	1*	1
CONSERVATIVE Lord Norman Tebbit	3	1	1	
LABOUR Minister of State for Policing John Denham	3	1		2
CONSERVATIVE Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, Michael Howard (*1)				2*
LABOUR Local Government Minister, Nick Raynsford (*1)	1*	2		
CONSERVATIVE Former Shadow Home Sec. Ann Widdecombe (*2)		1*	1*	
CONSERVATIVE M.P. Gerald Howarth		1	1	
CONSERVATIVE Home Affairs Spokesman David Lidington (*1)		1*		
LABOUR Transport and Local Government Sec. Stephen Byers (*1)		3*		
LABOUR Sec. of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions, John Prescott (*1)		2*		
LABOUR Immigration Minister Beverley Hughes				1
LABOUR M.P (*1) Angela Eagle		1*		
CONSERVATIVE Home Affairs Spokesperson Nick Hawkins (*1)				1*
LABOUR M.P. Neil Gerrard (*1)				1*

CONSERVATIVE M.P. Ann Cryer		1	1	
LABOUR International Development Sec. Clare Short				1
LABOUR Sec. of State for Trade and Industry Patricia Hewitt			1	
LABOUR Former Housing Minister Peter Chapman		1		
LABOUR M.E.P. Claude Moraes				1
CONSERVATIVE M.P. (*1) David Mellor				1*
French Embassy in London Spokesman Yves Charpentier			1	
LABOUR Home Office Minister Peter Ainsworth				1
LABOUR Sec. of State for Northern Ireland John Reid				1
LOCAL GOVERNMENT				
LABOUR Councillor (*7) Shahid Malik	2*	1	6****	2**
LABOUR Councillor (*5) Rafique Malik	2*	4**	1	2**
LABOUR Councillor(*5) Phil Woolas		5***	2*	1*
LABOUR Councillor, Deputy Mayor of Oldham, Riaz Ahmad (*3)	2*	2*	4	2*
LIBERAL DEMOCRAT Oldham Council Leader Richard Knowles	1	1	2	
LABOUR Councillor, (*1) Terry Rooney		2	1	1*
LABOUR Councillor (*1) Michael Meacher	1	6*		
CONSERVATIVE Councillor (*1) Mohammed Riaz		2*	4	
GREEN PARTY Councillor (*1) Margaret Kelly	1*	2		
CONSERVATIVE Councillor Margaret Eaton		2	1	
LIBERAL DEMOCRAT Councillor (*2) Mozaquir Ali	1*	1*		
LABOUR Councillor (*1) Mohammed Azam	1*		1	
Bradford Council		6		
Burnley Council		2		
Burnley Town Hall		1		
LABOUR Councillor Mohammed Ajeeb		1		

LIBERAL DEMOCRAT Councillor Mohib Uddin		1		
LIBERAL DEMOCRAT Oldham Dep.Council leader Chris Hilyer		1		
CONSERVATIVE Councillor Eric Pickles		1	1	
LABOUR Leader of Burnley Council, (*1) Stuart Caddy				1*
Local Government Association		1		
Milland Community Centre		1		
CHARITY SECTOR				
Commission for Racial Equality (*8) Chr. Gurbux Singh Dep. Chr. Beverley Bernard Cmsnr. Shahid Malik. Frm. Dep. Chr . Ramindar Singh	10**	13***	6	6***
Bangladeshi Youth Association Proj.Cdntr (*1) Shahedul Alam	1	2*	3	1
The Anti-Nazi League, (*1)	1	6*	3	1
Searchlight (Anti-Fascist Org.) Dir.(*2) Gerry Gable		3**		2
Oldham Pakistan Cultural Association Sec. (*1) Kushid Ahmed		1*	1	1
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants C.E.O. Habib Rahman	1*			
Refugee Council		1*		4****
Charter 88 Pollers		1		1
Community Service Volunteers		7		
Transport & General Workers Union Gen. Sec. Bill Morris		2**		
Amnesty International				2
The Respect Campaign	2*			
Bradford Council for Mosques President Khadim Hussein		*2		
Defend the Asylum Seekers Campaign Group			2	
1990 Trust			2	
Trades Union Congress		1		
Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism		1		
Secretary General of the Moslem Council of Britain, Yousuf Bhailok,	1*			
Civitas Think Tank	1			
Race Relations Forum	1			
Black Vote	1			
Manningham & Girlington Youth Partnership		1		

School and Community Training Associates (SCTA)		1		
Institute for Social and Economic Research				1
Muslim Council of Britain				1
Black Racial Attacks Independent Networks			1	
Portillo Policy Exchange Think Tank				1
The Monitoring Group Spokesman Jagdish Patel				1*
National Citizens Advice Bureaux			1	
RELIGIOUS SECTOR				
Bradford Council for Mosques		2	1	
Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan Sacks (*2)	1*		1*	
Muslim Council of Britain. Sec. Gen. Iqbal Sacranie			1	1
Principal of the Moslem College, (*1) Dr Zaki Badawi	1*			
Bishop of Stepney, the Rt.Rev (*1) John Sentamu			1*	
Oldham Mosque Council	1			
Board of Deputies of British Jews Rep. Paul Gross			1*	
Moslem Parliament in Britain Leader (*1) Dr. Ghayasuddin Siddiqui			1*	
The Bishop of Bradford, Rt Rev. David Smith	1		2	
The Bishop of Liverpool, (*1) the Rt Rev James Jones	1*			
The Ref. (*1) George Moffat		1*		
JUDICIARY				
Liberty, Campaigns (*1) Dr. Mark Littlewood	1		3	3*
The Law Society				3
Bar Human Rights Committee			1	1
LAW ENFORCEMENT				
Oldham Chief Superintendent (*3) Eric Hewitt		4***		
Greater Manchester Police Assistant Chief (*1) Constable Alan Bridge		1*		
Lancashire Police Authority	3			1
National Association of Police Authorities	1	1		

Lancashire Chief Superintendent (*1) John Knowles	2*			
Bar Human Rights Committee				4
Lancashire Police, Deputy Police Constable, Paul Stephenson				2
The Association of Chief Police Officers		2		
National Crime Squad				1
Chief Constable of Greater Manchester Police		1		
NEWS MEDIA SECTOR				
BBC Radio 4	1	2	4	1
BBC Radio's The World at One	1		1	
BBC World Affairs editor, John Simpson	1*			
BBC1 Breakfast with Frost			1	1
Oldham Evening Chronicle		14		
Paul Napier, editor-in-chief of the Bucks Herald		3		
Q News (magazine for Muslim youth)	2			
BBC 1 Question Time				2
The Sunday People Newspaper		1		
The Telegraph	1			
Sky News	1			
Nick Carter, editor-in-chief of the Leicester Mercury		1		
The Observer writer: Andrew Rawnsley				1
TRANSPORT LOBBY				
English, Scottish Welsh Railways C.E.O. (*2) Philip Mengel & Planning Director, Graham Smith			2**	
English, Scottish Welsh Railways Chief (*1) Operating Officer, Allen Johnson			1*	
Freight Transport Association Spokesman (*1) Geoff Dossetter			1*	
P&O North Sea Ferries UK Director (*1) Robert Lough			1*	
Road Haulage Association C.E.O. (*1) Roger King				1*
The Société Nationale Des Chemins De Fer (*1) Français (SNCF) Spokesman, Andy Lickfold			1*	
COMMISSIONED REPORTS				
The Cantle Report *largest report <i>Reviewed Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. Chaired by Ted Cantle. Commissioned by (Labour) Home Office</i>	16***	12*	6	3

The Ritchie Report <i>Reviewed Oldham. Chaired by David Ritchie Commissioned by Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council, Greater Manchester Police and the Greater Manchester Police Authority</i>	2	4	1	
The Denham Report <i>Focus on community cohesion. Reviewed Birmingham, Bradford, Burnley, Leicester, Oldham, Southall (West London), Stoke-on-Trent and Telford, Chaired by John Denham (Labour). Commissioned by Labour Home Office Commission</i>	3*	1	2	
The Ouseley Report *first report <i>Focus on race relations. Reviewed Burnley. Chaired by Lord Herman Ouseley (crossbencher) Commissioned by Bradford Vision (representing Regional key groups, including Bradford Council, the police, health authority, local businesses, voluntary groups and faith communities).</i>		15		5**
The Clarke Report <i>Reviewed Burnley Chaired by Lord Tony Clarke (Labour). Commissioned by Burnley Borough Council</i>	2*	1		

APPENDIX Q

1. PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE

Discourse Strand: Race Relations

Discourse Fragments: the white list (will have) damage and dangerous effects on the community.

Word Groups (Adjectives): chilling (f.1), damaging (f.1), destructive (f.1), dishonest (f.1), nastiest (f.1), tawdry (f.1), poison (f.3), unfair (f.4)

Word Groups (Nouns): community (f.3), damage, (f.14), dangers (f.4), effect (f.31), race card (f.11), race relations (f.33), racism (f.8), suspicion (f.2), xenophobia (f.4).

Modal verbs: can (f.3), could (f.2), may (f.3) might (f.2), must (f.4) will (f.28), would (f.5), shall (f.4) and should (f.1).

Evidentialities: Certainly (f.2), greatly (f.1), inevitably (f.1), merely (f.1), really (f.1), strongly (f.1),

Semantic devices: detrimental effect on race relations, result in racial discrimination, contentious atmosphere, playing the race card, inflame racial tension and other forms of xenophobia (at the expense of) asylum seekers, but also black and ethnic minority communities, pandering to xenophobic voters, promises of crackdowns on immigration

Discourse Strand: The opposition and objection to the order and the principle of the white list policy

Discourse Fragments: objections to the principle and practice, oppose the order, oppose the principle.

Word Groups (Adjectives): fundamental (f.1), unprincipled (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: as badly (f.1), disingenuous sophistry (f.1), have failed (f.1), let me make it absolutely clear (f.1), far more trouble than it was worth (f.1), preemptory (f.1), so-called (f.2).

Modal verbs: **would** (f.4) (-abolish (f.1), -not operate (f.1), -deal with (f.1)); **shall** (f.4) (-have failed (f.1), -not operate (f.2), -vote against (f.1)); **will** (f.1) (-summarily)

Evidentialities: absolutely (f.1), fundamentally f.1), need only (f.1), only purpose (f.1).

1. NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE

A.

Discourse Strand: Descriptions of asylum seekers

Discourse Fragments: aggressive, male, persistent, fraudulent, young, predominantly non-white

Word Groups (Adjectives): different (f.66) violent (f.22), alarming (f.1).

Word Groups (Nouns): Asians (f.304), Asian (f.125), Asylum (f.267), race (f.246), racist (f.103), racists (f.23), racially (f.29), seekers (f.137), young (f.135), youths (f.86), youth (f.41), violence, (f.127), immigrants (f.110), illegal (f.74), illegals (f.1), immigrant (f.18), illegal immigrants (f.27), men (f.108), refugees (f.94), refugee (f.69), group (f.91) groups (f.73) minority (f.47), minorities (f.43), migrants (f.41) extremists (f.42), extremist (f.19), tensions (f.39), tensions (f.34) criminal (f.29), gang (f.31), threat (f.25) target (f.19) foreign (f.18), stowaways (f.12), danger (f.19), bogus (f.6), scam (f.3), maniacs (f.3)

Word Groups (Verbs): Accused (f.30), arrested (f.34), attacks (f.74), attack (f.48), fighting (f.24), damage (f.27), smashed (f.24), convicted (f.19).

Modal verbs: will (f.2), would (f.1)

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text.

Semantic devices:

1. Refugees are stowing away on freight trains and hitching a free ride into the UK with alarming ease – **Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
2. “Between 15 and 20 people will appear in court today facing charges including breach of the peace and provoking racial tension” = **Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
3. “Yesterday the situation was calm with community leaders insisting the disturbances would not damage the city’s reputation for race relations = **Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
4. “It was the biggest attempt yet by asylum seekers to breach the country’s defences = **Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
5. “Operation to monitor the build-up of illegal migrants around the area in the hope of anticipating where they might next attempt to breach the border = **The Guardian** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
6. “the most serious breach of tunnel security to date” = **The Guardian** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
7. “Last night refugees at the centre, run by the Red Cross, vowed to try again to enter illegally = **Daily Express** Opinion/Commentary/Article
8. “Refugees, based at the controversial Red Cross Centre at Sangatte, continue to sneak on to trains bound for Britain” = **Daily Express** Opinion/Commentary/Article
9. “It does not show very much security, for this is a large group going about what they do with no pretence about hiding” = **Daily Express** - The Société Nationale Des Chemins De Fer Français (SNCF) Spokesman, Andy Lickfold
10. “I think the presence of the asylum seekers is clearly very much associated with the Sangatte camp, but even if that was to close I think they would still be trying to get into the United Kingdom” = **Daily Express** - Planning director of English Welsh Scottish railways, Graham Smith
11. “A French taxi driver jailed for smuggling asylum seekers into Britain boasted yesterday: You’ll never stop our lucrative trade” = **Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article

B.

Discourse Strand: Multicultural and multiracial Britain

Discourse Fragments: Disadvantageous, divisive, and detrimental

Word Groups (Adjectives): different (f.66), religious (f.34), foreign (f.18), angry (f.23), controversial (f.27), unfair (f.26), fair (f.20)

Word Groups (Nouns): Asians (f.304), Asian (f.125), white (f.278), whites (f.74), race (f.246), racist (f.103), racists (f.23), racially (f.29), ethnic (f.117), communities (f.222), community (f.151), national (f.186), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), security (f.73) fear (f.63), fears (f.41), failed (f.51), failure (f.31) system (f.51), segregation (f.47), tensions (f.39), tensions (f.34), question (f.32), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), hatred (f.32), threat, (f.25), hate (f.19), evidence (f.32), anger (f.27), resentment (f.25), doubt (f.23), development (f.23), democracy (f.23) cohesion, (f.22), prejudice (f.20)

Word Groups (Verbs): smashed (f.24), cause (f.39), caused (f.26)

Modal verbs: should (f.2).

Evidentialities: firmly (f.1)

Semantic devices:

1. “The only people responsible for Asian riots are Asian rioters. The multi-racial country is a bad idea.” = **The Daily Express** – British National Party leader, Nick Griffin*

2. “Mr Blunkett has now firmly set his face against “multiculturalism” which argues that incomers should be able to retain their own cultures distinct from that of their host nation” – **The Daily Express** Opinion/Commentary/Article
3. “I just think we should have this country for decent British people who have lived here for hundreds and hundreds of years” = **The Daily Express** – Mother of British National Party leader, Nick Griffin, Jean Griffin*
4. “Home Secretary David Blunkett called on ethnic minorities to do their bit to ensure that their children and grandchildren grow up with a ‘sense of belonging’”- **The Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
5. “Mr Blunkett said...‘If we are going to have social cohesion we have got to develop a sense of identity and a sense of belonging.” **The Daily Mail** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
6. “It is a two-way street - if we are going to have social coherence we have to develop a sense of identity and a sense of belonging,” Mr Blunkett said yesterday. But ministers insist that they are not demanding assimilation.” **The Guardian** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
7. “It addressed the deep fears of many people that Britain daily becomes less British and its leaders do not seem to care or even positively encourage the dissolution of the country” - **The Daily Mail** - Opinion/Commentary/Article

PERSPECTIVE 2

A

Discourse Strand: Labour’s immigration policy proposals create racial and religious tension and division
Discourse Fragments: past and present poor record on race relations; increasingly violent society and complacent government responses

Word Groups (Adjectives): religious (f.34), wrong (f.33), controversial (f.27), unfair (f.26), angry (f.23), fair (f.20) Desperate f.19 feeble (f.1), ineffectual (f.1),

Word Groups (Nouns): Police (f.427), policing (f.21), Asians (f.304), Asian (f.125), white (f.278), whites (f.74), Blunkett f.222, race (f.246), racist (f.103), racists (f.23), racially (f.29), Riots (f.241) rioters (f.30), Labour (f.175), ethnic (f.117), communities (f.222), community (f.151), national (f.186), violence, (f.127), Group (f.91) groups (f.73), public(f.86), pproblems (f.74), problem, (f.70), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), security (f.73), immigration (f.71), fear (f.63), minority (f.47), minorities (f.43) fears (f.41), failure (f.31) system (f.51), segregation (f.47), tensions (f.39), tension (f.34), disturbances f.37, measures (f.36), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), hatred (f.32), threat (f.25), lack (f.24) hate (f.19), evidence (f.32), cost (f.29), concern (f.29), anger (f.27), risk (f.27) resentment (f.25), doubt (f.23), development (f.23), democracy (f.23) cohesion, (f.22), allegiance (f.21), worse (f.21), prejudice (f.20), pressure f. (f.20) abuse (f.20).

Word Groups (Verbs): riot (f.106), rioting (f.49), attack (f.48), blame (f.30), blamed (f.26), failed (f.51), warned (f.58), fight (f.45), fighting (f.24), cause (f.39), caused (f.26), question (f.32), voting (f.24), voted (f.22), promote (f.23), doubt (f.23), assault (f.17), challenge (f.22), prevent (f.22), broke (f.19), divided (f.18), rejected (f.17)

Modal verbs: none identified in targeted text

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text

Semantic devices:

1. “Britain's immigration policy has been so badly bungled for so long, and is being bungled again now” = **Daily Mail** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
2. “David Blunkett is the man who has most muddied the waters on the tricky question of race and religion” = **The Guardian** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
3. “His rabble-rousing interview has damaged the terms of the crucial debate on race and religion before it even began” = **The Guardian** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
4. “the problem about the Home Secretary is that it can be taken, given the language he used, in a way that is not at all helpful given the delicate race relations we all know we have in this country at the moment” = **The Guardian** - * The Liberal Democrat leader Charles Kennedy
5. “Britain’s most senior black race relations adviser has launched an attack on outspoken Ministers, accusing them of encouraging the growth of a violent gang culture and neglecting the disaffected teenagers who roam this country's streets” = **The Guardian** – Commission for Racial Equality, Deputy Beverly Bernard*
6. When he made his recent statement about certain communities, and schools in particular, being

“swamped” by asylum seekers he (the Home Secretary) knew he would cause a furor and he was unrepentant when this duly happened. In fact he loved being challenged on his use of offensive language, as it provided the opportunity to reassert his tough talking credentials. He must have calculated the likely damage done to race relations ... but would have regarded it as negligible and easily ignored. - **The Guardian** - Opinion/Commentary/Article

B.

Discourse Strand: Citizenship classes, English language classes and naturalization/accluculturalization tests

Discourse Fragments: Offensive, patronising, polarising

Word Groups (Adjectives): insensitive (f.1), offensive (f.1), sensational (f.1), disturbing (f.1).

Word Groups (Nouns): Asians (f.304), Asian (f.125), Blunkett (f.222) white (f.278), race (f.246), racist (f.103), racists (f.23), racially (f.29), English (f.148), communities (f.222), community (f.151), national (f.186), ethnic (f.117), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), security (f.73), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), fear (f.63), fears (f.41), system (f.51), segregation (f.47), minority (f.47), minorities (f.43) tensions (f.39), tensions (f.34), question (f.32), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), resentment (f.25), doubt (f.23), development (f.23), democracy (f.23) cohesion, (f.22), prejudice (f.20), inability (f.1)

Word Groups (Verbs): condemned (f.1), criticised (f.1), warned (f.1), branding (f.1) called for (f.1),

Modal verbs: could (f.1) will (f.1)

Evidentialities: we all know that... (f.1)

Semantic devices:

1. “the problem about the Home Secretary is that it can be taken, given the language he used, in a way that is not at all helpful given the delicate race relations we all know we have in this country at the moment” = **The Guardian** - * The Liberal Democrat leader Charles Kennedy
2. “the leading black Trade Unionist Bill Morris also called for Mr. Blunkett to calm down” = **The Guardian** – Trade Unionist, Bill Morris
3. “offer ammunition, offensive to regard second or third generations as immigrants” = **The Guardian** = Deputy Mayor of Oldham, Riad Ahmad*
4. “fondness for fruity phrases”, “inability to pick his moments” = **The Times** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
5. “condemned Mr Blunkett’s comments as “insensitive”, [sic] them “sensational” and “disturbing”.” = **The Times** = Shahid Malik, Labour Councillor*
6. “the demand on the need to speak English/learning more English /more interfaith schools --- “absolute nonsense, sharply criticised” = **The Guardian** = Lady Uddin, as part of **The Cattle Report**

2. PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE

Discourse Strand: Fair and firm immigration control

Discourse Fragment: Need to strike a balance between the two

Word Groups (Adjectives): controversial (f.7), desperate (f.2), fair (f.16), firm (f.10), good (f.38), inconsistent (f.3), proper (f.23), speedy (f.1), straightforward (f.1), untold (f.2),

Modal verbs: can (f.1), could (f.1), must (f.3) will (f.2), would (f.2), shall (f.3) and should (f.2)

Evidentialities: Absolutely (f.1), possibly, (f.1), necessarily (f.1)

Rhetorical devices: covert racism, desperate effort, draconian, little wonder, stir up, untold delays, Conservative Government had failed to achieve a balance between fairness and firmness; between justice and control; the rules are harsh and draconian; the system does not treat people from the white list, the same as people who are **not** on it, the whole system must be speeded up, **it** must work in a way that is fair and just: we want a speedy system but that must not be achieved at the expense of fairness

2. NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE

A

Discourse Strand: David Blunkett’s law and order policy re: the severe sentencing of Asian rioters

Discourse Fragment: - illogical, inflammatory and misguided

Word Groups (Adjectives): hurtful (f.1), offensive (f.1), dangerous (f.1)

Word Groups (Nouns): Police (f.427), policing (f.21), Asians (f.304), Asian (f.125), Blunkett f.222, race (f.246), racist (f.103), racists (f.23), racially (f.29), riots (f.241) rioters (f.30), ethnic (f.117), communities (f.222), community (f.151), national (f.186), violence, (f.127), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), security (f.73), minority (f.47), minorities (f.43), failure (f.31) system (f.51), segregation (f.47), tensions (f.39), tension (f.34), disturbances f.37, measures (f.36), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), hatred (f.32), hate (f.19), evidence (f.32), cost (f.29), concern (f.29), anger (f.27), risk (f.27) resentment (f.25), democracy (f.23) cohesion, (f.22), allegiance (f.21), worse (f.21), prejudice (f.20), pressure f. (f.20) abuse (f.20), unnecessary (f.1)

Word Groups (Verbs): riot (f.106), rioting (f.49), attack (f.48), blame (f.30), blamed (f.26), failed (f.51), warned (f.58), fight (f.45), fighting (f.24), cause (f.39), caused (f.26), question (f.32), voting (f.24), voted (f.22), promote (f.23), doubt (f.23), assault (f.17), challenge (f.22), prevent (f.22), broke (f.19), divided (f.18), rejected (f.17) mismanaged (f.1)

Modal verbs: will (f.1) must (f.1) want (f.1)

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text

Rhetorical devices: “tough on crime and tough on the consequences of crime” (f.1) illogical (f.1), inflammatory (f.1), misguided interventions (f.1), risks alienating some communities (f.1), attempting to please others (f.1), it is not for the Home Secretary to seek to influence the Appeals process (f.1), it is not for him to deny people their rights (f.1), makes no sense (f.1), lost the plot (f.1), it's a dangerous game (f.1), pandering to populist prejudices (f.1), bordering on authoritarianism, (f.1) civil liberties and human rights bodies - distinct impression that he is not a fan (f.1)

Modal verbs: will (f.1) must (f.1) want (f.1)

B.

Discourse Strand: Prime Minister's plan to take command of the asylum crisis with stringent policy proposals

Discourse Fragment: - reactionary, short sighted and placatory

Word Groups (Adjectives): Controversial (f.27), resentment (f.25) angry (f.23), unfair (f.26), fair (f.20)

Word Groups (Nouns): Asylum (f.267), communities (f.222), community (f.151), national (f.186), seekers (f.137), ethnic (f.117), immigrants (f.110), immigrants (f.18), refugees (f.94), refugee (f.69), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), security (f.73), minority (f.47), minorities (f.43), system (f.51), segregation (f.47), tensions (f.39), tension (f.34), disturbances f.37, measures (f.36), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), hatred (f.32), hate (f.19), evidence (f.32), question (f.32), failure (f.31), cost (f.29), concern (f.29), anger (f.27), risk (f.27), resentment (f.25), democracy (f.23) cohesion, (f.22), allegiance (f.21), worse (f.21), prejudice (f.20), pressure f. (f.20) abuse (f.20), target (f.19), foreign (f.18) unnecessary (f.1)

Word Groups (Verbs): Fear (f.63), fears (f.41), warned (f.58), cause (f.39) question (f.32), blame (f.30), blamed (f.26), caused (f.26), promote (f.23), doubt (f.23), challenge (f.22), prevent (f.22), divided (f.18)

Modal verbs: will (f.1) could (f.1)

Evidentialities: Definitely (f.1)

Semantic devices:

1. “The far reaching scope of Mr Blair's plan to tackle the asylum “crisis” will cause alarm among refugee welfare groups in Britain, around Europe and in the developing world...It is understood that Claire Short, the international development secretary resisting the move on the grounds that such conditions on overseas aid projections would be illegal” = **The Guardian** – International Development Secretary Claire Short*
2. On BBC1s Question Time, the International Development Secretary Claire Short, confirmed the Guardian report (on the options paper) and said she opposed tactics that used aid as a carrot and stick weapon on asylum because it was illegal. Dismissing the paper as written by “some clever little person” at No 10, she called it “not thought through and not sensible.” = **The Guardian** – BBC1s Question Time / the International Development Secretary Claire Short*
3. The Liberal Democrats yesterday accused Tony Blair of appeasing racist sentiment with his proposals to get tougher on asylum-seekers. Simon Hughes, the party Home Affairs spokesman,

- warned the Prime Minister against trying to counter the strong showing of far right parties in Europe while taking a headline on refugees - “there is a danger that that the government is starting to pander to the Prejudice that they think exists around Europe on the basis of what has happened in France and the Netherlands he told BBC’s Breakfast with Frost program = **The Guardian** – Simon Hughes, The Liberal Democrats Home Affairs spokesman* / BBC’s Breakfast with Frost
4. Richard Dunstan, immigration policy officer at the National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux, said the move was “desperately short-sighted and will only be counter-productive“ = **The Daily Express - Article**
 5. Tony Blair marks a lurching retreat from the countries’ readiness to accept and protect refugees fleeing from persecution... All manner of new barriers are proposed, but without any manner of the rights of genuine applicants. The paper has the stench of a panic response to the rise of the far right in Europe. Nothing could be more short sighted = **The Guardian - Opinion/Commentary/Article**
 6. Resistance around Whitehall grew to Tony Blair’s confidential plans to tackle the asylum crisis... Ministry of Defence sources yesterday made clear they had reservations about the proposal to use Warships to intercept boats carrying illegal migrants.... Nick Hardwick, the chief executive of the Refugee Council, said that Mr Blair’s decision to take personal charge of the issue meant he now ran a serious risk of being left with egg on his face. “The proposals are wrong in principle and unworkable in practice. The government has abandoned any attempt to protect refugees fleeing persecution” = **The Guardian** – Article - Nick Hardwick, the chief executive of the Refugee Council

C.

Discourse Strand: Labour’s policy initiatives to deal with asylum and immigration

Discourse Fragment: - require greater stringency and security.

Word Groups (Adjectives): Fear (f.63), fears (f.41), wrong (f.33), controversial (f. 27), tough (f.23), unfair (f.26), fair (f.20), desperate (f.19), danger (f.19) unnecessary (f.1)

Word Groups (Nouns): Police (f.427), policing (f.21), Asians (f.304), Asian (f.125), white (f.278), whites (f.74), asylum (f.267), communities (f.222), community (f. 151), national (f.186), Labour (f.175), seekers (f.137), political (f.122), politics (f.49), ethnic (f.117), immigrants (f.110), immigrants (f.18), refugees (f.94), minister (f.86), refugee (f.69), election, (f.87), elections (f.71), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), security (f.73), immigration (f.71), system (f.51), minority (f.47), minorities (f.43), migrants (f.41), segregation (f.47), forces (f.20), tensions (f.39), tension (f.34), disturbances (f.37), measures (f.36), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), hatred (f.32), hate (f.19), evidence (f.32), failure (f.31) , cost (f.29), concern (f.29), anger (f.27), risk (f.27), crisis (f.25), resentment (f.25), democracy (f.23) cohesion, (f.22), allegiance (f.21), worse (f.21), prejudice (f.20), pressure f. (f.20) abuse (f.20), target (f.19), foreign (f.18), strategy (f.17), attitude (f.8)

Word Groups (Verbs): warned (f.58), failed (f.51), fight (f.45), fighting (f.24), force (f.38), forced (f.28), cause (f.39) question (f.32), calls (f.31), blame (f.30), blamed (f.26), concern (f.29), damage (f.27) caused (f.26), voting (f.24), voted (f.22), lack f.(24) promote (f.23), doubt (f.23), challenge (f.22), prevent (f.22), increase (f.20), pressure (f.20), demand (f.20), change (f.19) divided (f.18) rejected (f.17) toughen (f.1), appeasing (f.1) , appease (f.1), pandering (f.1), playing (f.1)

Modal verbs: will (f.1) must (f.1) can (f.1) want (f.1)

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text

Semantic devices:

1. Mr Duncan Smith said “Over the last eight months, we have said to the Government that their asylum problem is one of their own making”. This proposal to close Sangatte and for us to take large numbers from Sangatte is the wrong move. It is a weak move and it is a move that would make the French laugh at us.” = **The Guardian** - Shadow Sec. of State for Defence, Iain Duncan Smith
2. Claiming up to 8,000 British jobs were at risk, Mr Smith said: “It’s getting absolutely farcical. Here we are trying to operate an international rail freight business, a fundamental plank of the Government’s transport strategy, and we are just being pre-vented from doing it - **The Daily Express – English, Scottish Welsh Railways, Planning Director, Graham Smith**
3. Shadow home secretary Oliver Letwin said the proposed centres will do “little or nothing” to

- reduce Britain's asylum chaos - **The Daily Express - Shadow Home Sec. - Oliver Letwin**
4. The shadow Home Secretary Michael Aheram ...accused ministers of trying to negotiate a secret deal with the French government Sangatte : "here is the government again doing another back door deal behind closed doors. it is quite extraordinary that you can make deals about this particular type of problem. "**= The Guardian - Shadow Home Secretary Michael Aheram.**
 5. EWS's chief executive, Philip Mengel, blamed the British government for failing to put pressure on French to provide adequate searches of trains in Calais....Mengel said "THE UK government is overseeing the systematic collapse of the international rail freight business as a direct result of the actions of the French government - = **The Guardian - English, Scottish Welsh Railways, Chief Executive, Philip Mengel**

3. PARLIAMENTARY NARRATIVE

Discourse Strand: Britain's international legal obligations

Discourse Fragment: conflict with Britain's (strict) asylum and immigration policy

Word Groups (Adjectives): elusive (*f.1*), inadequate (*f.3*), misjudged (*f.1*), provocative (*f.1*), unfair (*f.4*)

Word Groups (Nouns): breach (*f.11*), convention (*f.81*), co-operation (*f.3*), 1951 Article 33 (*f.23*), refoulement (*f.3*), international (*f.36*), justice (*f.31*), obligation (*f.6*), procedure (*f.110*), signatory (*f.1*), treaties (*f.1*)

Modal verbs: can (*f.7*), could (*f.4*), may (*f.4*) might (*f.1*), must (*f.3*) will (*f.9*), would (*f.2*), shall (*f.4*) and should (*f.7*).

Evidentialities: Clearly (*f.1*), certainly (*f.2*) plainly (*f.2*), surely (*f.1*), plainly (*f.2*).

Semantic devices: disingenuous sophistry (*f.1*) judicial breach of international obligations and conventions; we cannot legally operate the procedure because Article 33 of the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees...states: "... No Contracting State shall expel or return"— that is "refouler" in French—a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality", etcetera; it does not work to have a game of pass the parcel, or pass the refugee around the world from one country to another... That is refoulement, and it is the greatest breach of the convention that there can be; by international conventions, the United Kingdom is bound to consider each asylum application on its merits, but the so-called white list of designated countries will in practice prevent that from happening; the proposed white list would treat applicants from the countries on the list in bulk unless an individual could meet what could, even in well-founded cases, be an almost impossible burden of proof: the white list's only purpose is to put applicants from the designated countries at a disadvantage; this concoction of misjudged, unfair, inadequate and provocative measures are either inconsistent or not supported by the facts

Discourse Strand: White List will not be abolished but will continue to be operated, subject to the due scrutiny of individual cases being manifestly unfounded and being put into an accelerated appeal procedure

Discourse Fragments: will continue, but... intends to continue, subject to... no, actual, perceived, perception of unfairness....

Word Groups (Adjectives): actual, additional, appropriate, better, certain, comprehensive, continuing, country-wide, determined, due, efficient, fairer, firm, important, improved, more-discriminating, necessary, new, perceived, satisfied, streamlined, unfairness, unfounded, unsatisfactory, wrong.

Rhetorical devices: decided to deny (*f.1*), perception of unfairness (*f.1*), so called (*f.1*), tackle the complexities (*f.1*), the Government is committed (*f.1*), unsatisfactory feature (*f.1*), we are determined (*f.1*). is satisfied that (*f.1*).

Modal verbs: would (*f.3*) (-be fairer (*f.1*), -enable (*f.1*), -be to replace (*f.1*)); should (*f.1*) (-be replaced); will (*f.3*) (-be abolished (*f.1*) -continue (*f.1*), -make (*f.1*)); can (*f.1*). (-be picked up (*f.1*)).

Semi-modal verbs: needs (*f.1*). (-to be replaced (*f.1*))

Evidentialities: necessary (f.1) (-application of firm measures (f.1).)

3. NEWS MEDIA NARRATIVE

1.

Discourse Strand: Current immigration statistics in Britain

Discourse Fragment: overwhelming and uncontrollable.

Word Groups (Adjectives): feeble (f.1), ineffectual (f.1), worse (f.21), fear (f.63), fears (f.41), wrong (f.33), controversial (f.27), unnecessary (f.1)

Word Groups (Nouns): Asylum (f.267), communities (f.222), community (f.151), national (f.186), Labour (f.175), seekers (f.137), political (f.122), politics (f.49), immigrants (f.110), immigrant (f.18), refugees (f.94), minister (f.86), refugee (f.69), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), security (f.73), immigration (f.71), system (f.51), hundreds (f.40) tensions (f.39), tension (f.34), disturbances (f.37), measures (f.36), disorder, (f.18), (f.32), failure (f.31), concern (f.29), thousands (f.28), record (n.) (f.28), anger (f.27), crisis (f.25), resentment (f.25), cohesion, (f.22), prejudice (f.20), scene (f.20), scale (f.20), pressure (f.20) abuse (f.20), target (f.19), foreign (f.18), invasion (f.7), invade (f.2), invaded (f.2), tide (f.5), rush (f.5)

Word Groups (Verbs): Attacks (f.30), attack. (f.48), warned (f.58), failed (f.51), fight (f.45), fighting (f.24), force (f.38), forced (f.28), cause (f.39) question (f.32), calls (f.31), blame (f.30), blamed (f.26), concern (f.29), damage (f.27) caused (f.26), voting (f.24), voted (f.22), lack (f.24) promote (f.23), doubt (f.23), challenge (f.22), prevent (f.22), increase (f.20), pressure (f.20), demand (f.20), change (f.19) divided (f.18) rejected (f.17) toughen (f.1), appeasing (f.1), appease (f.1), pandering (f.1), playing (f.1) accused (f.1)

Modal verbs: will (f.1) would (f.1) want (f.1)

Evidentialities: Absolutely (f.1)

Semantic devices:

1. The Home Secretary have not yet managed to establish a sufficiently successful working relationship with the French authorities. “There must be means of ensuring prevention of such disorderly scenes. A fair and efficient system of asylum obviously needs to operate against a background of calm and good order” = **The Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
2. Meanwhile, British ministers were facing a growing backlash over plans to build up to 15 accommodation centres for refugees in rural areas. Shadow home secretary Oliver Letwin said the proposed centres will do “little or nothing” to reduce Britain’s asylum chaos = **The Daily Express** = Shadow Home Sec. - Oliver Letwin.
3. Mayor of Frethun Catherine Fournier... told how each night the streets are swamped by hundreds of asylum seekers scaling over fences and ditches in their bid to reach Britain = **The Daily Express** - Mayor of Frethun Catherine Fournier
4. The attempted invasion, in two waves on Tuesday night and the early hours of yesterday morning, was foiled after a massive manhunt that held up cross channel rail traffic for more than 10 hours = **The Guardian** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
5. Following a refugee invasion at the weekend after police abandoned the freight terminal, Downing Street was assured a special squadron of officers had been ordered back to guard it = **The Guardian** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
6. The issue of the Red Cross centre at Calais, just over a mile from the mouth of the Channel Tunnel, has been a long- running source of Anglo-French tension. Eurotunnel has also sought to close it down, after a Christmas Day bid by 500 asylum seekers to invade the Channel Tunnel and walk to Britain = **The Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
7. Eurotunnel went to court to try to regain control of its warehouse last September, but the judge rejected its arguments. Now the company hopes the court will take a different view. Spokeswoman Anne Leva said: “The fact that the centre is so close to our terminal is the reason we are being invaded” = **The Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article – Eurotunnel Spokeswoman Anne Leva
8. His warning came after another night of trouble in France with 244 asylum seekers rounded up = **The Daily Express**- Opinion/Commentary/Article

9. **Sangatte Stampede - Hundreds of illegal migrants are flocking** to the controversial Sangatte centre at Calais to beat a deadline for British asylum applications = **The Daily Express** = Opinion/Commentary/Article
10. Asylum seekers are still **streaming into Britain** despite promises by the French to increase security around the Channel Tunnel. Refugees are **stowing away** on freight trains and **hitching a free ride into the UK with alarming ease** = **The Daily Express** -Opinion/Commentary/Article
11. No end to tide of refugees: Illegal immigrants continued to pour into Britain through the Channel Tunnel yesterday despite French assurances that security had been stepped up = **The Daily Express** -Opinion/Commentary/Article
12. “It was the biggest attempt yet by asylum seekers to **breach the country’s defences** = **Daily Express** - - Opinion/Commentary/Article
13. However, the only way we will end this appalling trade completely will be with the introduction of an EU-wide policy so that asylum seekers are treated in the same way no matter which country they settle in. That would stop the **desperate rush** to get to Britain = **Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
14. As Mr Pakhomoff reveals today, the trade is thriving because smugglers like him can make up to £15,000 a night. But these greedy, self-serving individuals must not be allowed to win the battle against illegal immigrants being brought into Britain **en masse**. = **Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
15. “We have tried seven times to get into the tunnel and keep being returned, but England is where we want to be.” The drama on Christmas night led to the tunnel being closed for 10 hours and journeys being severely disrupted. Refugees had made their way **en masse** from the camp to Eurotunnel’s terminal at Coquelles, near Calais, one- and-a-half miles away. They had chosen the holiday period for their attempt because they knew rail traffic was reduced and believed fewer guards and police would be on duty = **Daily Express** - Opinion/Commentary/Article.

2.

Discourse Strand: Labour’s asylum and immigration policy

Discourse Fragment: too lax, too lenient and the primary cause for Britain’s appeal to immigrants

Word Groups (Adjectives): feeble (f.1), ineffectual (f.1), worse (f.21), Fear (f.63), fears (f.41), wrong (f.33), controversial (f. 27), tough (f.23), unfair (f.26), unnecessary (f.1)

Word Groups (Nouns): Asylum (f.267), communities (f.222), community (f. 151), national (f.186), Labour (f.175), seekers (f.137), political (f.122), politics (f.49), immigrants (f.110), immigrant (f.18), refugees (f.94), minister (f.86), refugee (f.69), election, (f.87), elections (f.71), problems (f.74), problem, (f.70), policy (f.73), policies (f.21), security (f.73), immigration (f.71), system (f.51), tensions (f.39), tension (f.34), disturbances f.37), measures (f.36), order (f.32), disorder, (f.18), (f.32), failure (f.31), concern (f.29), anger (f.27), risk (f.27), crisis (f.25), resentment (f.25), cohesion, (f.22), prejudice (f.20), pressure f. (f.20) abuse (f.20), target (f.19), broke (f.19), foreign (f.18), strategy (f.17), attitude (f.8), crackdown (f.7)

Word Groups (Verbs): warned (f.58), failed (f.51), fight (f.45), fighting (f.24), force (f.38), forced (f.28), cause (f.39) question (f.32), calls (f.31), blame (f.30), blamed (f.26), concern (f.29), damage (f.27) caused (f.26), voting (f.24), voted (f.22), lack f.(24) promote (f.23), doubt (f.23), challenge (f.22), prevent (f.22), increase (f.20), pressure (f.20), demand (f.20), change (f.19) divided (f.18) rejected (f.17) toughen (f.1), appeasing (f.1) , appease (f.1), pandering (f.1), playing (f.1) accused (f.1)

Modal verbs: will (f.1) would (f.1) can (f.1) want (f.1) have to (f.1)

Evidentialities: none identified in targeted text

Semantic devices:

1. “This country received more than 51,000 applications while Germany came second with 36,259, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees figures show...The Conservatives and the pressure group MigrationWatch, which will also give evidence to the Home Affairs select committee next week, will argue the UN figures are **proof of the need for more radical reform**” = **The Daily Express** – MigrationWatch/Conservative Party
2. “There are small, obvious, immediate things that show, such as making sure that the BNP doesn't win seats in Burnley or Oldham through low turnout, **Labour complacency, split votes**” = **The Guardian** – Opinion/Commentary/Article

3. “Conservative home affairs spokesman Nick Hawkins said that the government should reinstate a bilateral agreement allowing Britain to send any asylum seekers back to France...“We are our own worst enemy by letting the message get through that they can just get here and disappear because our regime is so lax!” = **The Guardian** – Conservative Home Affairs Spokesman Nick Hawkins
4. “This proposal to close Sangatte and for us to take large numbers from Sangatte is the wrong move. It is a weak move and it is a move that would make the French laugh at us.” = **The Guardian - CONSERVATIVE Shadow Sec. of State for Defence, Iain Duncan Smith**
5. **Britain's contempt for France is doubly hypocritical.** British opinion polls frequently register opposition to immigration on a par with M Le Pen's 17 per cent poll share. Mr Blair boasted to The Guardian on Tuesday that Britain would never see the rise of fascism because "we've got a robust political process" and because "we're responding in a responsible way". If he meant his handling of asylum, his conditions in detention centres and his schools and health-care for newcomers, he should beware of insulting the French = **The Times** Opinion/Commentary/Article – **The Guardian (The Time quoted the Guardian here)**
6. FRANCE delivered a humiliating rebuff to David Blunkett yesterday by refusing to close the Sangatte camp until Britain sorts out its asylum system. The Home Secretary had hoped to agree a deal to shut the camp when he met his new French counterpart Nicolas Sarkozy. But the French minister declared that France was happy to discuss closure once Britain has passed new laws to crack down on illegal immigrants. His reaction provoked fury from Tories, who complained that Mr Blunkett was allowing the French to dictate to him = **The Daily Mail** - Opinion/Commentary/Article
7. In the absence of a deal on **Sangatte**, Mr Blunkett agreed to help pay for a GBP 5million improvement in security at the Channel Tunnel rail yard in Frethun. Earlier in the day the Home Secretary had put the closure of **Sangatte** at the top of his list of objectives, although he warned that it was the beginning of a 'marathon not a sprint'. But Shadow Home Secretary Oliver Letwin said last night: 'This sounds like a complete failure of negotiation. There is no new bilateral agreement and no closure of **Sangatte**. The Home Secretary will have to try harder. = **The Daily Mail** - Opinion/Commentary/Article - **CONSERVATIVE Shadow Home Sec. - Oliver Letwin**
8. Government policy on immigration remains feeble and ineffectual. The worst thing about it is the ease with which people can arrive here illegally and the huge difficulty of getting rid of them when they do. The second worst is the anti-British multicultural idea that we should adapt to the immigrants, rather than the other way round = **The Daily Mail** - Opinion/Commentary/Article