



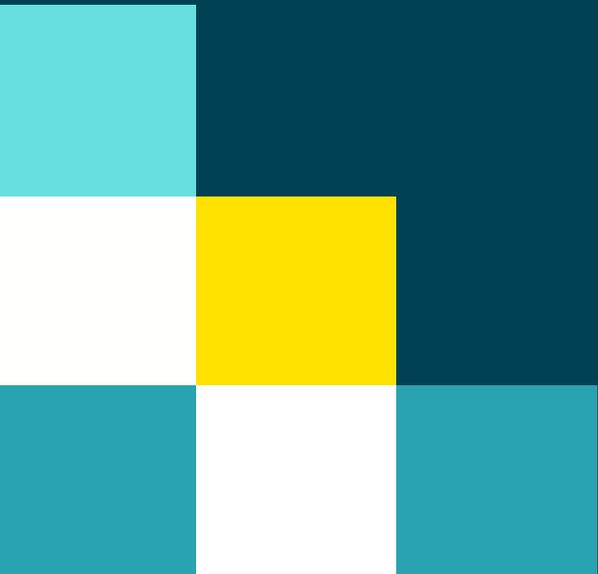
Wales Centre for Public Policy
Canolfan Polisi Cyhoeddus Cymru

Improving cross-cutting working

Evidence review and expert seminar

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Summary

- The First Minister commissioned the Wales Centre for Public Policy to review the evidence on cross-cutting working to assist in implementing the Welsh Government's 'Prosperity for All' strategy and other initiatives.
- Part one of this note summarises the main findings from our evidence review. Part two encapsulates the key points from an expert seminar convened by the Centre.
- Cross-cutting working is not new to Wales, and it possesses many of the pre-requisites for effective cross-government working.
- Research shows that cross-cutting working isn't a panacea or quick fix because it runs counter to the way in which government activity is usually organised and therefore requires high level political commitment backed by significant managerial capacity.
- We identify six cross-cutting mechanisms that have been used in Wales and other parts of the UK:
 - 'Boundary spanning' individuals, units and agencies (such as cabinet sub-committees, task forces and commissioners);
 - Cross-departmental budgets and performance targets;
 - Policy and legislative frameworks;
 - Shared infrastructures and pooled staff and other resources;
 - Partnership bodies;
 - Self-organising co-operation among 'frontline' staff.
- It is important to select mechanisms on a case-by-case in light of policy objectives and the level and type of integration required to achieve them.
- There are different degrees of integration ranging from co-operation between departments through to the wholesale transformation of existing departmental structures and processes in pursuit of 'holistic government'.
- The Government needs to be able to communicate a compelling narrative about why cross-cutting working is important which is cascaded to officials at all levels. It is important to be clear when cross-cutting working is necessary and what it is intended to achieve.
- Some of the most effective cross-agency working happens at local level and it is important that government supports this and does not get in the way of it.
- Cross-government working requires trade-offs between the priorities of the government as a whole and those of individual ministers and departments.

Introduction

The First Minister commissioned the Wales Centre for Public Policy to synthesise the evidence on cross-cutting working to assist the Welsh Government in implementing the ‘Prosperity for All’ strategy and other initiatives. We conducted an evidence review and in September 2018 designed and convened a seminar with the Permanent Secretary, directors of a range of government departments, and four external experts to explore the lessons from previous attempts at cross-government working. This note encapsulates the main findings from both stages of the project; part one discusses the evidence review and part two provides an overview of the discussion at the expert seminar.

Context

Wales is a relatively small country, with a tight knit policy community, a strong tradition of partnership working, and an unusual degree of continuity of political leadership at national level. This ought to make it relatively straightforward for Welsh Government departments to work together. But cross-cutting working is never easy. The vertical ‘silos’ around which much government business is organised result in funding regimes, performance targets and professional networks focused on individual services or sectors rather than on cross-government priorities. Add in the inherent complexity of the ‘wicked issues’ that ‘Prosperity for All’ is seeking to tackle, the challenges associated with austerity, the volume of other initiatives that officials are managing, and the uncertainty created by external shocks such as Brexit and welfare reform over which Welsh Ministers have little control, and it is no surprise that cross-cutting working is often difficult to achieve. Nevertheless, there continues to be agreement that it is very necessary to find ways to achieve ‘joined up working’ in order to address the strategic challenges identified in ‘Prosperity for All’ and other initiatives, such as the Well-being of Future Generations Act.

Part one: evidence review

Terminology

Before turning to the key messages from existing research and attempts to achieve cross-cutting working, we need a quick word on terminology. 'Cross-cutting working' is not a phrase which is widely used in the academic or policy literature. The literature refers to 'joined up government' (e.g. Pollitt 2003), 'integration' (e.g. Rayner & Howlett 2009), 'coordination' (e.g. Hood, 2005), 'whole-of government' (e.g. Christensen & Lægheid 2007), and 'holistic government' (e.g. 6, 2004), and different writers use the same phrases to mean different things. But in broad terms they all refer to the aspiration that different agencies, programmes, or institutions work better together, and all are therefore relevant to the Welsh Government's pursuit of more effective 'cross-cutting working'. For this reason, we use the phrase 'cross-cutting' throughout this note and included in our review all of these different terms.

Success factors

Much of the academic literature focuses on the determinants of successful cross-cutting working and most studies reach similar conclusions (see Carey and Crammond 2015 for an overview and synthesis). The problem is that the resulting policy prescriptions are often of the 'motherhood and apple pie' variety. The research repeatedly shows that effective cross-cutting working requires:

- Clearly stated and agreed aims;
- High level political support;
- The backing of senior officials;
- The commitment of key people in the agencies or departments which need to work together; and
- The allocation of adequate resources of time, money and capacity.

These findings won't come as a surprise to anyone with experience of leading cross-cutting initiatives, but they provide a useful checklist to ensure that the building blocks for success are in place and a diagnostic tool that can be used to identify where further 'organisational work' is needed in order to stand a chance of success.

Another clear message from research is that cross-cutting working is vulnerable to changes in the political environment. Again, no surprises there. But it does point to the importance of

securing broad based support for, and understanding of, the need to be able to work across departments so that cross-cutting working survives from one administration to the next.

Why cross-cutting government?

The research on cross-cutting government shows that it is important to be clear when it is needed and what it is intended to achieve. Keast (2011) suggests that that motives for cross-cutting working typically involve:

- A 'pragmatic' desire to **make more effective use of limited resources**; and/or
- 'Altruistic' attempts to **meet the needs of service users and citizens more effectively**.

These are not, of course, mutually exclusive objectives, and both lead to attempts to ensure that the policies and strategies developed by different departments are co-ordinated.

The important thing is that ministers and officials are clear about what they are trying to achieve and have realistic expectations about what can be done. This helps to ensure that cross-cutting working doesn't become an end in itself on the one hand or a panacea on the other.

The literature highlights risks that will be familiar to officials including the:

- Transaction costs of establishing and embedding cross-cutting government;
- Potential disruption of existing delivery chains; and
- Risk of generating procedural compliance without significant change in outcomes for citizens.

So although cross-cutting working may achieve more effective use of resources once established, attention should be paid to the potentially high cost of setting it up. And some researchers argue that over-ambitious, indiscriminate or poorly planned cross-cutting initiatives are not just ineffective, but also counterproductive because they produce 'collaboration fatigue' in organisations that repeatedly incur the costs of cross-cutting working without seeing any real benefits from it (Halligan, Buick and O'Flynn, 2011). In short, it may be better not to try to be cross-cutting if there isn't a clear and shared understanding of the reason for doing so and a realistic prospect of success.

What kind of cross-cutting working?

Another lesson highlighted by our review is that it is important to be clear about what kind of cross-cutting working is needed, i.e. what mode(s) do you need to operate in to achieve your objectives?

Cowell & Martin (2003) identify three sets of useful distinctions between:

- **Strategic** (more integrated policy development) and **operational** forms of cross-cutting working (for example focused on service delivery);
- **Interorganisational** and **intraorganisational** working;
- **Horizontal** and **vertical** working. The former describes working across departments. The latter refers to working between tiers of government.

Keast (2011) differentiates between cross-cutting working at macro, meso, and micro levels.

- 'Macro-level' cross-cutting working refers to joining up policies, strategic planning processes, and financial decisions;
- Meso-level working concerns managerial joining up and relationships between services in a region;
- Micro-level working refers to collaboration between service providers and users.

Very importantly, a number of studies distinguish between different degrees of integration. These can be thought of as a continuum running from co-operation through to full blown holistic government (see Table 1 below).

As a rule, the more wide-ranging and intensive the mode of cross-cutting working, the greater its potential to disrupt existing systems, workloads, relationships, and cultures, and the greater the resources that it will demand. Co-operation between departments ought in theory to be relatively easier to secure than other forms of cross-cutting working and, at an operational and meso- or micro-level, may be established through relatively informal local arrangements. By contrast, an attempt to develop holistic government, which is by definition macro-level and strategic, is a complex transformative project that would require enormous investment of money, institutional capacity, political capital, and time.

There is, of course, no one 'right' mode of joining up; each has its advantages and limitations. But the literature shows that just as policymakers need to be clear about the rationale for cross-cutting working, so they should be clear about the extent and degree of cross-cutting working that they are seeking to achieve. And the choice of mode needs to take account not just of ambitions but also of the resources which are available to achieve it, including the extent of political and managerial commitment to cross-cutting working.

Table 1. Different Modes of Cross-Cutting Working

Mode	Co-operation	Coordination	Collaboration	Integration	Holistic government
Level of challenge to the status quo	Low				High
Characteristics	<p>Departments take account of each other's goals and share information.</p> <p>Linkages are temporary, informal, resource-light, and usually at a junior level.</p>	<p>Departments contribute to agreed, specific, programme of actions which align their activities in order to achieve shared goals.</p> <p>Strongly instrumental and task-oriented.</p>	<p>Departments see themselves as interdependent and work towards system change.</p> <p>Requires new terms of engagement based on shared goals, joint dialogue, and trust.</p>	<p>Departments are reconfigured.</p> <p>Embeds new systems and policy instruments which are not dependent on key individuals to sustain them.</p>	<p>Government starts with a clear and mutually reinforcing set of objectives framed in terms of outcomes and then works back from there to identify instruments to achieve those outcomes.</p>

(Keast et al, 2007; Keast, 2011; Rayner and Howlett, 2009; 6, 2004)

Ways to achieve cross-cutting government

Our review identified a range of different mechanisms that have been used in pursuit of cross-cutting working and the seminar provided an opportunity to explore some of these. Here we highlight some broad categories of different types of mechanisms.

Cross-cutting individuals or bodies

A common approach has been to give responsibility for encouraging and enabling cross-cutting working to 'boundary spanning' individuals, teams or units – within and sometimes outside of government. Examples include cabinet sub-committees, inter-departmental groups, task forces, and individuals such as commissioners and 'czars'.

The evidence suggests that these mechanisms are often used to (re-)establish political or executive control over cross-cutting issues and they share the strengths and weaknesses of other top-down approaches to policy making. For example, they can establish clear lines of responsibility and signal high-level commitment, but they may also find it hard to establish consensus and consistency across government.

Corry (2011) reflects on the UK's National Economic Council (NEC), established after the 2008 financial crisis, as a relatively successful example of this kind of mechanism, and identifies a number of lessons which can be drawn from it (see the NEC section in part two of this report for further discussion). The NEC was established in response to a crisis: governments need to be sure that committing effort and resources to set up a new committee will deliver worthwhile additional value. To make a committee like the NEC work, the lead department – in this case, the UK government's Treasury – had to be willing to cede some territory. A body like the NEC needs gravitas and authority, in this case flowing from the character of its secretariat, its style of working, the official and political committees, and the Prime Minister's full engagement in its work. Finally, for all these reasons there is a limit to the number of committees of this kind that can be run simultaneously.

Cross-cutting targets and performance management

A second, widely used, set of mechanisms are performance targets and management systems. Examples include Policy Agreements in Wales, Single Outcome Agreements in Scotland, and Public Service Agreements in England (Paun and Blatchford 2013, James and Nakamura 2015), which specified cross-cutting outcomes and held organisations and departments within them accountable for their delivery.

In some cases, these have been linked to sanctions and/or rewards, and there is now a body of experience about what works and what their limitations are. In particular, Michael Barber has reflected on his experience of using performance regimes in the UK government (Barber, 2007). And there are examples of what has worked and not worked in other parts of the UK. In general, this approach is, perhaps, more effective in achieving vertical integration (for example between central government departments and local government), rather than horizontal co-ordination across government departments.

Policy and legislative frameworks

The Future Generations Act is a potentially powerful and ground-breaking example of the policy and legislative frameworks approach. Impact assessments offer another mechanism of this kind, and our predecessor, the Public Policy Institute for Wales, analysed ways in which these could operate more effectively in the Welsh context (Grace, 2016).

Policy frameworks can be useful in articulating a shared vision and set of values to guide and inform policy making across government departments and seek to bring about essential 'cultural - institutional' change by uniting stakeholders behind a common policy aim. But if the scale of that aim is too broad and general, it may be difficult to translate it into practice, and it may create vague and diffuse domains of responsibility. There is also a risk that, especially if the framework has high political salience, policies which were not really about the original aims become attached to it for political reasons, or existing policy decisions may be given a gloss related to the framework's aim (Carey, Mcloughlin and Crammond 2015).

Shared infrastructure and resources

Examples of shared infrastructure include integrated data sharing and information systems and the lack of these is frequently identified as a practical barrier to cross-cutting working. Shared or integrated funding streams and performance regimes have also been used in a number of contexts including for example the 'Total Place' pilots in England in the late 2000s and by some Local Service Boards (LSBs) in Wales (Guarneros-Meza and Martin 2016). There were also attempts by some LSBs to co-locate staff from different organizations or to create single teams from across two or more organisations

Sometimes there are good reasons not to share infrastructure and resources. For example, there are valid concerns about accountability for use of resources, or about the security and confidentiality of some types of data. But shared funding streams, in particular, can provide a powerful incentive for cross-cutting working provided they are not seen as being less important than 'mainstream' departmental funding.

Shared systems and resources can, of course, become the focus of disagreement rather than cross-cutting working, and for this reason it is important that there should be an arbiter whose authority to make binding decisions about allocations is respected by all parties.

Partnership bodies

Wales has a strong tradition of partnership arrangements partly designed to enable cross-cutting working. Some are national sectoral bodies, for example the Partnership Council for Wales, the Third Sector Partnership Council, and the Welsh Language Partnership Council. Others are regional partnerships such as the Regional Economic and Skills Partnerships, Regional Education Consortia, and Regional Partnership Boards for Social Services. Some have a national thematic focus, for example, the Workforce Partnership Council Wales (with trade unions and employers) and the Fair Work Commission.

Almost by definition, partnership bodies recognise that their members have, alongside a shared interest in a particular field, their own distinct interests, as well as distinct strengths and resources which can be drawn upon by the partnership. They therefore appear to be better suited to less radical forms of cross-cutting government such as co-operation and co-ordination, although there may be a risk that they become a forum for competition rather than cross-cutting working.

Informal approaches

Finally, some attempts at cross-cutting working rely on informal networks and communities of practice. These are sometimes given encouragement by government through, for example, ministerial endorsement, financial backing to pilot new approaches, and recognition through award schemes.

At the front line of service delivery, cross-cutting working is often achieved fairly informally: staff in two or more organisations find ways round problems that hamper their ability to work in a common field, so that they can do their jobs more easily. There is an element of enlightened self-interest here, which may or may not always be equally present at a strategic and policymaking level.

Informal approaches of this kind can be helped or hindered by more formal cross-cutting mechanisms. For example, even when joint boards or co-location of staff do not achieve their ostensible aims, they will often add value by facilitating social networks and contacts that can contribute to better cross-cutting working.

Part two: expert seminar

After an introduction by the chair, Professor Steve Martin, the Permanent Secretary set the context for the seminar with some reflections on the Welsh Government's approach. She emphasised the importance that Ministers attach to cross-cutting working and the opportunity that now exists to achieve this. The Wellbeing of Future Generations Act and the Prosperity for All agenda provide powerful frameworks for cross-government working, underpinned by strong encouragement from the Cabinet.

The Permanent Secretary noted that the Welsh Government has in place many of the factors identified in the evidence review as prerequisites for 'joining-up' working. She cited the successful hosting of the 2017 Champions League Final and the challenge sessions which she has run which have demonstrated that there is substantial goodwill and a desire to work together for a common purpose. The challenge is to roll out this commitment to cross-government working across the civil service so that it becomes the norm and is embedded in the organisational culture of the civil service in a sustainable way that does not depend on the commitment of key individuals to make it work.

There then followed four presentations from external experts.

The National Economic Council

Dan Corry

Dan Corry was a civil servant in Whitehall in the 1980s, before working as a special advisor in a number of government departments. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, there was considerable interest in joined-up government, partially because it was thought that departmental 'silos' had a negative impact on the ability of front-line services' to meet the needs of vulnerable groups.

A variety of methods were attempted. Merging departments was not viewed as a success. Alternative approaches included the creation of central units, for example the Social Exclusion Unit, to encourage cross-government working, and giving the Treasury a strong role in co-ordinating policy making.

The National Economic Council (NEC) was created by the Prime Minister to ensure a cross-government approach to the financial crisis of 2007 and 2008. It was influential because of the sense of urgency surrounding the crisis and because, for a time, it had the strong personal backing of the Prime Minister.

The NEC was a Cabinet committee which met regularly in the COBRA briefing room and comprised Secretaries of State from most departments. It was regarded as a success on a number of levels. It demonstrated that the government was taking decisive action to address the crisis. Ministers felt jointly accountable and officials wanted to make sure that their departments were seen to be 'pulling their weight'. Two shadow councils - of Special Advisers and Permanent secretaries - reinforced political and administrative commitment. There was, though, concern among Treasury officials that the NEC was encroaching on their territory and some departments tried to use the NEC as a forum for spending bids.

The success of the NEC raises questions about how to generate cross-government working when there is not the same sense of urgency that was generated by the global financial crisis. Subsequent attempts to adopt a similar approach, for example the National Domestic Policy Council and the Democratic Renewal Council, which lacked the imperative which came from a crisis, were seen as less effective. One approach could be to create pressure from 'the bottom up' for cross-government working to address the crises facing vulnerable groups, households and local communities.

Cross-government working in Whitehall

Cath Haddon

Cath Haddon is Senior Fellow at the Institute for Government and led its work on reform in Whitehall. She noted that formal processes for cross-government working are well established in Whitehall. The cabinet was originally created for this function, and cabinet committees and the board of the civil service are important for setting strategic direction and ensuring consistency across departments.

Cross-cutting units or individuals provide another mechanism for cross-government working. Examples include the Social Exclusion Unit established by the Blair government, czars and task forces. These initiatives usually depend for their existence on sustained interest of the executive and their effectiveness is often reliant on the relationships and networks of the individuals who lead them. For these reasons, they are usually time limited initiatives and sustaining interest and energy is often significant challenge. In some cases, it is best to simply accept that they will be temporary and set achievable goals that reflect this.

Experience in Whitehall shows the importance of being clear about what change is needed and at what level of government. The difficulty of sustaining a large number of cross-government initiatives at once means that it is important to be selective and focused.

Cross-cutting government requires individuals to share data and power and it is important to take account of what drives individuals' behaviours and align incentives accordingly. Cross-government objectives and targets imposed by the Centre may be subject to gaming and ritual compliance. Pre-existing informal networks amongst civil servants demonstrate that there is a will to overcome structural barriers to inter-departmental working, and it is sometimes useful to consider ways of supporting these networks rather than creating new structures and processes.

Cross-government can incur substantial transaction costs (as can other ways of working), and those leading them need support and time to succeed. It is important to review initiatives regularly and to reorient or discontinue them if they are shown to be ineffective. However, cross-government working needs time to become established, and jettisoning new processes and structures prematurely risks unhelpful 'policy churn' and initiative overload.

The long view

Perri 6

Perri 6 is Professor in Public Management at Queen Mary, University of London. He has researched and written on the subject including two books that were published in 1997 and 2002.

Perri noted that attention usually focuses on the effectiveness of cross-government working but it can clash with other important considerations. Moreover, effectiveness is not synonymous with cost-effectiveness: if cross-cutting working is designed to be preventive, it will take time for cost reductions to come through and ministers need to be able to explain this time lapse.

Feasibility is another important consideration but again is not the same as effectiveness. For example, it may be easier to join up mental health policy with health and social care than with employment policy, although the latter may be more important to outcomes for citizens.

Political imperatives are also important. Under the New Labour government, there was a conflict between the goal of cross-government working and a desire to parcel services into packages that could be feasibly contracted out.

Cross-government working has a long history. Perri described one of the most enduring instruments of cross-government working - the Committee of Imperial Defence created by the Balfour government 1902-1905. The committee brought together a series of offices and lasted for 45 years and developed the 'clearing house' model of collaboration later practised by the

Cabinet Office. An important factor in the Committee's longevity was the Prime Minister's support. Balfour was prepared to defend the Committee's existence in Parliament. Equally important was the involvement of a 'fixer' Viscount Esher, who worked behind the scenes sometimes using unpleasant tactics and breaking rules. This highlights the importance of bringing together informal capacities before instituting formal systems, so that people don't simply work round cross-government systems. Wales has a dominant logic of consensual collaboration but joining-up may at times require more 'muscular' approaches. Whichever approach is taken, it is important that it has, and is seen to have, strong ministerial backing.

Cross-cutting government is most problematic in areas outside of social policy where there are no direct clients. For example, the effects of climate change on Wales will call for coordinated action by multiple departments, but it is hard to identify an 'end user'. Wales has faced cross-cutting challenges in the past, for example, managing the effects of deindustrialisation, and learning from these experiences may help to inform responses to the big challenges of the future.

What has worked elsewhere?

Colin Talbot

Colin is Professor Emeritus at Manchester University and a Research Associate at the University of Cambridge.

He explained that it should not be assumed a priori that cross-government working is always a good thing. Issues of coordination have existed for as long as there has been division of labour within human societies. Equally, there will always be inherent tensions involved in joining-up within a democracy which is based on premises such as the separation of powers. Some of the most effective cross-government working happens under dictators but this does not mean that it is desirable.

Policy logics, management logics and service logics are not necessarily compatible. It is often easier to 'join up' at the local level and across front line services. Identifying barriers to joined-up services can often be traced back to a lack of cross-government policy making, and this can help departments to see where they need to collaborate. There is an extensive literature on collaboration in the private sector and on interprofessional working which may be instructive.

Formalising cross-government working through contracts or performance agreements can be effective, but this approach has limits because it is difficult to manage a plethora of different agreements with multiple organisations.

Discussion

Questions to Dan and Cath highlighted the following:

A key challenge is to reach the position of seeing another person's problems as one's own. Put another way, one of the challenges to cross-government working is to enable and encourage officials to understand the contribution that they can make to tackling issues that have previously been seen as 'belonging' to another part of the government. There is, of course, no easy way to do this, and there will often be winners and losers in terms of power and resources. This underlines the importance of really understanding what motivates individuals to act in a joined-up way and what prevents them from doing so.

Often, officials find ways of working together in spite of incentive systems that do not encourage collaboration. Equally, they may devise workarounds to circumvent cross-government working and it is important to try to anticipate and head these off.

'Front line staff' may have good reasons for eschewing joined-up working. Performance indicators and funding focused on single services are a barrier, as is a genuine belief in existing policy pathways.

It is imperative that the cross-government narrative is supported at key moments. Incentive systems need to reward 'front line' staff and policy officials who further cross-government working agenda. And ministers need to model and mandate it, and this may be at odds with their desire to secure their own legacy.

Crises act as a powerful spur to effective cross-government working and we need to look at ways of encouraging the same focus and sense of urgency in routine working.

A strong Cabinet Office or Treasury has a key role to play and external bodies, such as the What Works Centres, could provide valuable institutional memory and evidence about cross-government working.

Discussion following Perri's and Colin's contributions highlighted the following:

It is important to have a clear narrative about the imperative for cross-government working. One way to frame this is in terms of making a positive difference to outcomes for the people of Wales. Sometimes, what works well for citizens is not what makes a good story, as is borne out by some of the essential work done by local governments.

There is a need to identify areas where a clear difference can be made, and to focus cross-cutting government initiatives on these starting from the ground level, identifying barriers and devising practical ways to address them. Data sharing is often one of the most difficult barriers.

There is also a tension between the need for accountability to ministers and the importance of allowing services to adapt to local needs. And there are challenges involved in scaling up cross-cutting approaches. It is not always the case that a pilot programme that has been successful in one area will be successful if rolled out to others and an understandable desire to avoid a 'postcode lottery' in service provision may undermine the dynamism of local initiatives and prevent local agencies from responding effectively to the needs of their areas. For example, Sure Start began as a bottom-up initiative that was then rolled out and lost some of its local responsiveness. It was said that frontline services sometimes keep quiet about approaches that are working well in their areas for fear that central government will 'interfere'.

Take away messages

Both the evidence review and expert seminar made clear that cross-cutting working is not a panacea - sometimes there are very good reasons to structure policy making and service delivery around vertical 'silos' (which is why they have proved to be so enduring). Nor is it a quick or easy fix.

Our evidence review highlights three key considerations:

- **Motives** – It is important to be clear about why the government is seeking to work in a cross-cutting way i.e. what outcomes is cross-cutting working expected to deliver?
- **Modes** – There are different types of cross-cutting working and varying degrees of integration. It is important to evaluate what kind of cross-cutting working is needed and achievable and which individuals and organisations need to be involved to make a success of it.
- **Mechanisms** – There is no shortage of mechanisms for pursuing cross-cutting working. We have highlighted six including several that have been attempted in Wales. It is important to assess which approaches are most likely to work in what circumstances – on their own or in conjunction with each other.

Judgements about what can realistically be achieved, what level of integration is needed, and which mechanisms offer the best prospects of success should be made on a case-by-case basis and in light of the available resources, political commitment and organisational capacity and capability.

Concluding the expert seminar, the Permanent Secretary reiterated the importance of cross-government working in Wales and thanked the Wales Centre for Public Policy for facilitating

the seminar and the speakers for their contributions. She highlighted some of the key messages that she had heard in the discussion including:

- Wales has many of the pre-requisites for effective cross-government working.
- It is important to be clear about the purpose of cross-government working and the Government needs to be able to communicate why it is important.
- Examining the experiences of citizens can help to highlight the importance of more joined up services.
- Some of the most effective cross-agency working happens at local level and it is important that government supports this and does not get in the way of it.
- Data sharing is a fundamental requirement for cross-government working.
- Cross-government working requires trade-offs between the priorities of the government as a whole and those individual ministers and departments.
- It is important to understand individual's motivations and to incentivise and reward cross-government working.
- Cross-government initiatives often have a short lifespan because they depend on the support and actions of key individuals. It is important to find ways to imbed cross-government working so that it becomes the norm and is therefore sustainable.

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Annex: Experts

Perri 6

Perri 6 is Professor in Public Management at Queen Mary, University of London. His research interests lie in the explanation of diversity in styles of political judgement and policy decision making in the core executive in government. He is currently researching why cooperation among states in global regulation has been so resilient even when those states are in conflict with each other.

He has carried out extensive research and consultancy as well as policy studies on a very wide range of fields of public management. In the 1990s and 2000s, he published widely on holistic and cross-cutting government and governance, and how public management practices strike settlements between imperatives for joint working on the one hand and client confidentiality on the other. He has provided consultancy advice to many UK departments of state including the Cabinet Office, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Department of Communities and Local Government, as well as regulatory authorities such as the Office of the Information Commissioner, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris.

Dan Corry

Dan Corry has been Chief Executive of the think-tank and consultancy NPC since 2011, following a variety of posts in public policy and economics. He was Head of the Number 10 Policy Unit and Senior Adviser to the Prime Minister on the Economy from 2007 to 2010 and ran the New Local Government Network think tank between 2002 and 2005.

He is a Visiting Fellow at Southampton University, a trustee of St Mungo's, 19 Princelet Street and of the What Works Centre for Wellbeing, and a former member of the Research Committee of the ESRC and of the Greater Manchester Economic Advisory Panel.

Catherine Haddon

Catherine Haddon is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Government, which she joined in 2008 after a career in academia. She has led the Institute's work on Whitehall reform, managing changes of government and general elections, evidence and policy making and now also runs their professional development and ministers' programme. Her areas of expertise include the history of government, civil service reform, the role of the Cabinet Office and No.10, UK constitutional governance issues, national security and crisis management.

She advises and gives evidence to parliamentary select committees, has featured on radio and at party conferences, and is regularly cited in the press. She has written articles for numerous publications including the BBC website, The Guardian, Civil Service World, Total Politics, as well as academic publications.

Colin Talbot

Colin Talbot is a Research Associate at the Judge School of Business, University of Cambridge, and Cambridge Public Policy, and Professor of Government (Emeritus) at the University of Manchester. His main area of expertise is in public services and public management reform.

He has completed major international comparative studies on the creation of arms-length agencies (for the UK government and ESRC), the use of performance reporting systems (for the National Audit Office), and budget participation and scrutiny systems (for the Scottish Parliament). He has provided advice on performance and public spending issues for the Parliamentary Treasury, Public Administration and Welsh Affairs Committees, and has advised a wide range of international public sector organisations.

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