2019 PUBLIC POLICY NETWORK CONFERENCE AUCKLAND

29-31 JANUARY

LIST OF ABSTRACTS

Postgraduate Programme - Tuesday 29th January

Session 1 (PG)

Gay Marie Manalo **Francisco** (University of Auckland)

'Focusing Events, Critical Junctures, and Policy Change: Judicial Review and the Pork Barrel Scandal in the Philippines'

Presenter email gfra669@aucklanduni.ac.nz

This paper addresses two questions. First, when do focusing events lead to policy change? Second, what conditions should be present in order for focusing events to bring about policy change? It argues that not all focusing events trigger transformation and that while they play a crucial role, they do not work in isolation but are influenced by other factors. I developed these arguments by analysing the Supreme Court decisions about the pork barrel system in the Philippines with particular focus on its 2013 decision, which was rendered in the midst of a focusing event—a scandal involving pork barrel funds. I used Soifer's framework, which provides a structure for analysing causal mechanisms at work during critical junctures. Findings suggest that while the pork barrel scandal played a significant role in the abolition of the pork barrel system in the Philippines through the process of judicial review, it was its interaction with other factors, President Benigno Aquino III administration's anti-corruption agenda, the timely release of the special audit report on pork barrel transactions, and the popularity of social media, that paved the way for policy change. By analysing the court decisions in the context of time, we were able to see that conditions present at the moment have significant implications to how political actors arrive at their decisions that shape public policy.

Parisa Kooshesh (Massey University)

`From Lack of Confidence to Over-confidence: The Explanation of Migrants' High Levels of Trust in Host-Country's Public Sectors'

Presenter email: P.Kooshesh@massey.ac.nz

Some previous studies have indicated that when immigrants from countries with low quality institutions arrive in reasonably well-governed destination countries, they commonly show very high levels of trust in the public sector officials and institutions of their host nation. These levels of trust are commonly far higher than those reported by most native-born citizens. This paper explores the process of trust building and the possible reasons for this over-confidence among migrants, based on a case study of Iranian migrants in New Zealand. The paper also examines how this high level of trust can be interpreted for a better understanding of how migrants integrate into a new society.

In my qualitative study of 34 Iranian female migrants, almost all of the participants reported a high degree of trust in the New Zealand government and its public services. In contrast, almost all of these participants confirmed that they strongly distrusted government officials and public institutions while they were living in Iran. Interestingly, none of the participants reported any specific process of overcoming their previous distrust towards government. They simply replaced mistrust of their old government with a high level of trust in their new host country's government.

This paper, seeks to explain the process of overcoming previous distrust. It will evaluate various possible explanations, including the 'reference point theory'. According to this theory, migrants tend to compare the institutions of their host countries with those of their origin countries, and mainly based on this comparison, they develop much greater confidence in the institutions of their host country.

Madeline **News** (University of NSW)

'Framing Indigenous self-determination in health policy in Australia. A critical analysis of the National Strategic Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health.'

Presenter email: m.news@unsw.edu.au

The concept of self-determination, the right to live and act as one chooses free from external pressure, has increasingly appeared in policies concerning human rights internationally since the mid-1970s. It has been included in Australian policies in various ways over the last five decades and has slowly begun to emerge as an important concept for understanding freedom of choice, power imbalances, and the differing needs of Australia's diverse population. Health care is one area in which self-determination has begun to be utilised to target consistent issues that previous approaches have failed to address, such as closing the 'gap' that exists between non-Indigenous and Indigenous life expectancy and health outcomes. However, there is a lack of consensus and clear understanding as to what is meant by 'self-determination' in Australian health and how it should be applied in a policy context. Healthcare is complex and varies significantly across fields, so it important to reflect on the way in which Indigenous self-determination is portrayed by government

and integrated into policies to form a greater understanding of its role in meeting the health priorities and needs of the Indigenous community.

This paper will consider the problem definition of Indigenous self-determination in the Commonwealth Government of Australia's 2013 National Strategic Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health and its implementation plan. It will examine the framing and representation of Community Controlled Organisations and Aboriginal health workers, as potential solutions in the design of a health system that represents different notions of self-determination in practice. It will also document the conceptualisation of the purpose of Indigenous self-determination in the Framework. This paper aims to provide a critical analysis of the ways in which Indigenous self-determination is utilised in these key policy documents, to better understand the potential and limitations of self-determination in health for patients, health workers and policy makers.

Session 2 (PG)

Molly Wimonmat Srichamroen (Victoria University of Wellington)

'Through the Lens of Network: Health Promotion Policy Implementation for the Elderly in Thailand'

Presenter email: wimonmat.srichamroen@vuw.ac.nz

Thailand is one of the many countries entering an aged society. The country has to accommodate social and economic changes that result from the rapid shift in demographic structure. The Thai government has included health promotion in its national plans and strategies to directly address the health of the elderly. This health promotion effort involves many organisations. With an emphasis on ensuring that the elderly in the community benefit from the current health promotion policy and have access to health promotion services, decentralised governance – especially through the Local Administrative Organisations (LAOs) has become an essential mechanism in reaching out to the smallest unit of the community. The objective of my research is to analyse the way in which the LAOs and other government organisations at the local level implement health promotion policy for the elderly together. I use network and governance network theories to help analyse the governance structure, and characteristics that include relationship and functioning of this particular network of policy implementation. Factors affecting their collaboration and network actors' capacity will be identified in the research, particularly in regards of a network that developed from a semimandated national policy. The likelihood of achieving common goals and objectives can also be predicted by applying the theories. The research employs multiple network analysis tools and policy implementation case study approach. Methods of data collection include network mapping, non-participant observation, interviews, and questionnaire. The research is expected to provide empirical evidence to inform policy makers and practitioners about what aspects of implementation may need to be modified so that the policy can better accommodate the elderly and the aged society that Thailand is entering.

Sarah de Vries (University of Queensland)

'Public participation in urban planning'

Presenter email: sarah.dv1@gmail.com

The two case studies under investigation are both exceptional examples of major turnarounds in public policy positions by Australian State Governments in relation to major projects. The case of coal seam gas (CSG) projects in Northern Rivers having their licenses cancelled by the NSW Government in 2015, and the case of the inner Eastern section of the East West Link major road project in Melbourne being cancelled in 2014 by the Victorian Government after contracts had been signed. In both instances, the role of local communities and local governments in influencing the change in position was paramount.

It is well accepted that public participation is theoretical best practice for public policy decision-making, yet it is too often not undertaken or is 'tokenistic' – not enabling the public influence over the most critical aspects of the policies. These case studies are both examples where local communities demanded influence over the most substantive aspect of the governments' decisions – the option of saying no to major projects that would have significant impacts on their communities.

In both cases, local governments played an important role in advocating for their communities and helping to bring about the outcome they desired. As the level of government closest to the people, local governments have significant potential to help realise best practice public participation. This study seeks to explore how and why these local governments were able to advocate for their communities; and identify barriers to local governments' role being even more effective.

Findings are emerging under key themes including; the capacity of the local governments, their link with the identity of their communities, their role in legitimising the community's stance, and the role of formal and informal rights in being both a barrier and an opportunity to the state government responding to the community.

Oshan Jayawardena (University of Tasmania)

'Energy disadvantage, peak electricity demand and political blockages'

Presenter email: oshanj@utas.edu.au

Energy disadvantage is caused by peak electricity demand, and is a problem in both Australia and New Zealand. It disproportionally effects low income households, both in in their inability to afford energy and the impacts of climate change. Low income households in both Australia and New Zealand are affected because of rising electricity and emissions which are due to peak electricity demand. Low income households cannot smooth out household budgets, with self deprivation of heat or eat trade-offs, or disconnection and are least resourced to adapt to climate change impacts of extreme weather events.

Peak electricity demand happens during winter evenings and summer months. Households in both countries use more electricity to heat and cool in winter evenings and summer months which increases demand, creating a strain on the electricity system to generate and supply more electricity. This has the effect of increasing the price of electricity and emissions.

Australia's primary energy mix is fossil fuel. Australia is in a cycle of asset replacement and investment for primary energy generation. New Zealand's primary energy mix is renewable sources but choices of energy generation investment to meet demand will also need to be made. In New Zealand the renewable supply currently does not meet demand and fossil fuel is used. Increased investment in renewables in both countries has potential to solve the problem, however, good public policy is needed.

Understanding of energy disadvantage and peak electricity demand is emerging. This problem is significantly politicised through differing values, beliefs and interests on the role of renewable energy. In Australia and New Zealand there has been political debate on rising electricity prices and emissions without a proper consideration of energy disadvantage. This article will explore energy disadvantage, peak electricity demand and political blockages that have not enabled public policy to produce better outcomes for households in both countries.

Fang **Xu** (University of Auckland)

'Muddy waters? Understanding the policy implementation gap in China during the 10th and 12th Five-year Plans'

Presenter email: fxu332@aucklanduni.ac.nz

In the context of Chinese counties, this research seeks to understand the implementation gap in the clean water policies since 2006, focusing on the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plan (FYP), which have intended to set targets for various water pollutants. After implementing multiple policy instruments over a decade, the water quality at localities shows a variation. This paper takes the Huai River Basin, one of the major challenges on China's water governance, as a case study to discuss whether and to what extent the implementation of various clean water policy instruments that deal with transboundary water governance affects the environmental outcomes. The analysis seeks to understand both the central-local relations in contemporary China as well as the multilevel environmental governance in non-western contexts.

MAIN PROGRAMME

Day 1 (Wednesday 30th January)

Session 1

Values and Policy

Linda Botterill (University of Canberra)

'The Policy circus: the role of values juggling in keeping the show on the road'

Presenter email: Linda.Botterill@canberra.edu.au

Starting with Lasswell's exposition of the 'policy sciences', there has been a clear tendency in policy studies, and in public debate around policy, to miss the fact that policy is the output of the democratic process. As a consequence, policy frameworks, theories and approaches have tended to overlook, dismiss, or even demonise the political element of policy making. This paper will argue that values are the thread that connects citizen preferences to policy and that taking a political values perspective on policy can help us to understand policy debate and provide a more realistic account of how policy is made.

Brian Coffey (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology)

'Greening Government? Mapping the evolution of the environment portfolio'

Presenter email: brian.coffey@rmit.edu.au

Since the 1960s the environment has emerged as a significant of public interest. In response, governments around the world appointed Ministers for the environment as a means for providing leadership over this important area of public policy. Public interest in sustainability continues, and new challenges have emerged, with climate change, waste, and the effects of plastic being notable examples. Information and knowledge about 'the environment', and the effects of human activities on it, have also exploded, as have views about how the environment can and should be managed.

However, relatively little is known about the role of 'Minister for Environment', environment portfolios, and the ways in which their scope has evolved to meet changing needs and priorities. This is a significant gap given the central role that Ministers for the Environment occupy in environmental policy and governance.

This paper provides an exploratory account of the evolution of the environment portfolio. In doing so, it provides insights into an important aspect of recent political history in Victoria, by exploring the nature and scope of the portfolio and how it has evolved over time, including its alignment with other portfolios (e.g. planning and primary industries) and the machinery of government arrangements established.

Grant **Duncan** (Massey University)

"Trust in Government": Where is it going?'

Presenter email: L.G.Duncan@massey.ac.nz

Recent surveys of trust in government and in public services indicate increasing levels of political trust in New Zealand. While encouraging, at face value, this matches neither the recent declines in business confidence survey results nor the global findings that political trust (within democratic countries) is in crisis or in decline. Although New Zealand has not (since 1993) experienced the kind of populist electoral disruptions seen in some comparable democracies, this paper presents alternative survey evidence that the discontent and resentment that drive such politics are nevertheless observable here. These results (pre-election 2017) reveal negative evaluations of the performance of government, show how such opinions are skewed by political partisanship, and indicate a pattern of disillusionment and discontent. There is no room for a complacent attitude that a populist backlash "couldn't happen here." It is recommended, furthermore, that researchers look more deeply at what "trust" surveys purport to be "measuring" before drawing conclusions. Political trust is not the sum of individuals' spoken opinions; it is entailed in the complex sequences of public actions, policy choices and exchanges that occur within a community or nation. For public policy researchers and practitioners, the challenge is to consider how people experience and evaluate the reciprocity (or the lack of it) in their relations with public servants and elected representatives.

Session 2

Public Policy Theory and the Role of Interests

Lindy **Edwards** (University of NSW)

'Measuring Corporate Power in Australian Policy Making'

Presenter email: b.edwards@adfa.edu.au

There is a growing chorus of public servants expressing concern about special interests increasing capture of the policy making process. The issue demands research attention but presents a range of methodological problems to examine it in a rigorous way. 'Smoking gun' evidence is the exception rather than the rule, and causality is notoriously difficult to prove. This article proposes a four level analytical framework, for identifying the existence of corporate influence, the nature of the influence and its implications for democracy. It will then apply the framework to the Future of Financial Advice reforms policy process, to discuss the different forms of power being exerted by the big four banks on the policy making process.

Kate **Nicholls** (Auckland University of Technology)

'Putting Interest Groups in Their Place: New Zealand in Comparative Context'

Presenter email: kate.nicholls@aut.ac.nz

Scholars of comparative political economy in the advanced (post-)industrial countries have tended to put great emphasis on the importance of traditions of interest group mediation in explaining public policy outcomes. In particular, neo-corporatist and social partnership-type arrangements are associated not only with consensus-oriented policy making and a coordinated variety of capitalism, but substantive policy outcomes including greater socio-economic equality, more generous welfare states, and both active labour market programmes and cooperative vocational education and training. By contrast, the pluralist tradition is associated with liberal market capitalism, increasingly residual welfare states, and conflictual rather than cooperative labour relations. While the differential impact of the way in which states incorporate key interest groups into policy-making has been studied extensively across Western Europe and North America, this topic has arguably been under-studied in the New Zealand context. While a great deal of attention was given to the influence of business lobby groups during the market-oriented reform period of 1984-1996, a systematic theoretical treatment of the way that interest groups are incorporated in New Zealand policy-making and the potential impact of this tradition on policy outcomes is warranted. This paper seeks to start this conversation by describing the country's tradition of interest group intermediation, putting it in comparative context, and outlining some of the consequences for policy decision-making using a number of specific examples, including, but not limited to, the making of climate change and industrial relations policies. Above all, it highlights the still highly partisan and limited nature of interest group mediation in New Zealand, despite a supposed shift away from majoritarianism toward a more negotiated form of government since the electoral system was changed in 1996.

Alan Fenna (Curtin University)

'Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory and Policy Studies'

Presenter email: A.Fenna@exchange.curtin.edu.au

At PPN 2018, I presented a paper "Public Policy Theory: what's the point?" which argued, in broad brush terms, that the ongoing effort to build a field-specific body of theoretical literature was largely misguided. This paper substantiates these arguments by subjecting the most sustained and popular of those theory-building efforts, PET, along with its associated research program, the Policy Agendas Project, to a critical reading. It shows that PET and PAP exhibit a range of theoretical and methodological failings almost entirely unrecognized in the literature.

Lorraine Cherney (University of Queensland)

'The Right to Regulate: Establishing and maintaining regulatory legitimacy: the role of discourse and narrative within a gambling context'

Presenter email: l.cherney@uq.edu.au

Traditionally the responsibility for managing and controlling regulation has been the domain of governments and regulators. However, contemporary regulatory environments are no longer characterised by sole government regulation. Rather, regulation is deemed to be a shared responsibility with regulatees considered to play key roles, within an environment where regulatory resources are limited.

Contemporary regulatory theory (i.e., Responsive Regulation, Smart Regulation, Meta-Regulation) has been concerned with seeking to understand the key features that are required to achieve good regulatory outcomes (e.g., proportionality, accountability, consistency, transparency and targeting). Within this context a high level of industry compliance to regulation is seen as the essence of good regulation. However what factors motivate industry to comply with regulations?

This paper will present findings from a case study of Electronic Gaming Machine (EGM) gambling regulation in Queensland, Australia. Publically available documents on gambling regulation and policy were analysed using content analysis and 36 in-depth interviews were conducted with representatives from the Queensland gaming industry, the regulators office and the community sector. The case study will be used to illustrate the role of discourse and narrative in establishing and maintaining legitimacy and in rendering the regulator and/or regulations illegitimate.

Findings reveal the contested nature of the Queensland EGM regulatory domain where different narratives render account to either enhance or detract the legitimacy of the regulator. For example, regulators who were portrayed as being 'unfair' or 'heavy-handed' received low levels of cooperation and support. It will be argued that perceptions of legitimacy impact upon a regulators ability to carry out its functions. This argument is more pronounced in circumstances where political support for the regulator is called into question and regulatory resources are scarce.

Session 3

Expertise, economics and the policy process

Prudence R **Brown** and Brian Head (University of Queensland)

'Is economic analysis the saviour of Indigenous service delivery?: Analysing the Queensland Productivity Commission Inquiry into service delivery in Indigenous communities.'

Presenter email: p.brown3@uq.edu.au

In September 2016, the Queensland Productivity Commission (QPC) was asked to inquire into government investments in services delivered to Indigenous communities 'to identify what works well, and why, with a view to improving outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people' (QPC 2018, 1). The inquiry was the QPC's first significant foray into social policy. In their reflection on the lessons learned from conducting the inquiry, the report's authors suggest that their focus on 'economic analysis' allowed them to 'cut through the political and emotive arguments' that usually beset policy makers in this contested area, so that they could 'develop evidence based options'.

An important element of their analysis was to identify 'the "problems" in terms of incentives'. This analytical insight provided the 'missing link' to explain why current effort has not been delivering 'the desired returns' (QPC 2018, 5). In keeping with many other inquiries into Indigenous service delivery in the past, they recommend structural reforms to support a stronger 'partnerships approach' which 'puts the community at the centre of service design'. They also recommend economic reform, even though the terms of reference asked them to look at services and government investments (QPC 2017, 11).

In this paper we explore the QPC claim that economic analysis in this instance provided a clear vision of the problem and hence the solution, divorced from political biases or value judgements. This is important because the QPC is suggesting that the model adopted in this report should become the norm for 'complex policy reviews in the future' (QPC 2018, 8).

We draw on the publicly available documents to apply Carol Bacchi's approach to analyse how the problem was represented in the inquiry, why it was represented in that way and what this excluded from consideration. We also look at how that problem framing might have influenced the subsequent findings and recommendations. We conclude that, unsurprisingly, the situation is not as straightforward as the QPC would have us believe.

Tom Baker (University of Auckland)

'Financialising the welfare state: Elite perspectives on the emergence, opportunities and challenges of Social Impact Bonds'

Presenter email: t.baker@auckland.ac.nz

The international growth of Social Impact Bonds has seen investors and financial logics inserted into decisions about the provision of publicly-funded social services. Social Impact Bonds are financial instruments involving private 'impact investors' financing time-limited social service interventions

for populations associated with high costs to public agencies, such as the homeless, unemployed youth, and prisoners. With the achievement of agreed outcomes thought to result in reduced public costs into the future, government repays the private investors, plus profit. If agreed outcomes are not achieved, financial burden is said to be absorbed by the investors. Through the perspectives of politicians, investment bankers, philanthropists, social service managers, consultants, and lawyers, this presentation will discuss the perspectives of elite actors central to the internationalisation and local implementation of Social Impact Bonds. How and why have Social Impact Bonds come about? What opportunities and challenges are involved? This presentation discusses these questions, drawing on interviews with over 80 key informants across six English-speaking countries.

Cosmo **Howard** (Griffith University)

'Explaining relationships between politicians and statisticians in liberal democracies'

Presenter email: c.howard@griffith.edu.au

Liberal democracies depend on statistics to inform policy making, economic management and democratic accountability. Governments produce a wide variety of statistics to suit their specific needs, but one can also find a core set of official statistics common to all western democracies, constructed using relatively standardised classifications and methods. Liberal democracies also share the norm that official statistics should be produced at arm's length from politicians, to ensure accuracy, impartiality and public trust. It is puzzling then to observe that liberal democracies maintain significantly different governance arrangements for their statistical agencies. The formal degree of autonomy enjoyed by statisticians and their location within broader administrative systems varies considerably between these countries. This study asks: why do governance arrangements for statistical agencies differ across the liberal democratic world? The paper summaries the findings of a comparative study of statistical agencies in Australia, Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. These jurisdictions span the variety of governance arrangements for statistical agencies in liberal democracies. I interviewed 83 senior government statisticians to gain insight into the nature of their relationships with government, and to understand the drivers of variation within and between countries. I applied four potential explanations to the analysis of the data. These suggest variation is the result of different: functional requirements; administrative contexts; historical legacies; and performances of statisticians. I argue that all factors play a role and that differences between countries are a product of the dynamic tensions between the multiple drivers of statistical governance. This study is significant because very little empirical research has been conducted into relationships between politicians and statisticians. Furthermore, it provides insights into the broader issue of the role of experts and autonomous agencies in contemporary politics and policy making.

Tim Hazledine (University of Auckland)

'The Economist as Dentist? Uses and limitations of neoclassical economics for Resource Management Policy in New Zealand'

Presenter email: <u>t.hazledine@auckland.ac.nz</u>

In the policy realm, standard ('neoclassical') microeconomics depends on two assumptions: first, that the results of policy can be summarised in monetary terms ('costs and benefits'), and, second, that process is unimportant: in particular, that the use in itself of monetary metrics does not alter the behaviour of the people affected by the policy (over and above direct incentive effects of taxes and subsidies).

In many relatively small scale, familiar, policy situations, these assumptions may be not problematic, even if their applicability may not extend to all relevant dimensions of the issue. For example, Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) can be usefully applied to the question of the economic viability of an extension of the Wellington International Airport runway; or to taxpayer support of the hosting in Auckland of the America's Cup yacht race.

However, some of our most important policy problems do not yet have well known, 'technical' solutions. Here, both the attitudes and the capabilities of the people actually involved in the problem will be crucial to working through it successfully -- what is called their 'morale' – and in such situations relying on monetised incentives may be counterproductive. In New Zealand, these more subtle and complex issues include: (i) fresh water quality; (ii) pest eradication; (iii) greenhouse gas emissions. (iv) renewable resource management; (v) biodiversity; (vi) urban development.

The paper will set out a framework for the useful intervention of economic analysis and policy tools in our resource management system.

Session 4

Ideas, knowledge and research

Meredith **Edwards** (University of Canberra)

'The Public Policy Process in Australia: reflections from experience'

Presenter email: meredithedwards@netspeed.com.au

This paper is written from the perspective of a policy adviser in the Hawke-Keating years. It deals with reflections on the process of developing policy in in terms of the three main but related roles of a policy adviser: the analytical, administrative and relational roles. The chapter also compares the policy context in the 1980s-1990s to that which policy advisers face today. Specifically, reflections covered include: considering the political, economic and social context; covering all stages in the policy process, although not necessarily in any order; the role of values and evidence; the importance of attention to organisational structures and processes; dealing with ministers and their staff; the power of networks, dialogue and relationships; managing the researcher-policy practitioner interface; and being pragmatic as well as managing ambiguity.

Oliver Fritsch (Murdoch University)

'Do regulators use science in policy formulation?: Evidence from European Union and Australian regulatory impact statements'

Presenter email: oliver.fritsch@murdoch.edu.au

The debate on the use, non-use and abuse of science in regulatory policy is as old as the field of regulation. But there have been few attempts to link the different usages to specific policy instruments. In this paper I focus on a policy instrument called impact assessment (IA, at European Union level, in Australia: regulatory impact statement, RIS). IA is now a common tool for policy appraisal in all OECD countries including Australia as well as at European Union level. Its thrust is to analyse the likely effects of primary and delegated legislation. This analysis revolves around a definition of the problem to be regulated, an appraisal of the status quo and its likely evolution, consultation, an (ideally) monetised analysis of the effects of a range of feasible alternatives that address the identified problem, and an indication of the preferred policy option. The three-fold characterisation of 'impacts' typical for many IA systems – economic, social and environmental – suggests that policy makers cast their net widely when it comes to the search for scientific knowledge, covering both the social and the natural sciences as well as a range of other sources to inform IA. But is this the case, and how do we know? I have taken a statistically representative sample of IAs in two jurisdictions, Australia and the European Union, published between 2008 and 2017, stratified by year and department/agency (in the EU the correct term would be 'Directorate Generale'). This represents 25 per cent of the total number of IAs supporting legislation and regulations, covering policy areas as diverse as health and safety, environment, media and communications. I then code the type of scientific and non-scientific evidence mentioned in the references of the document to explore four competing theoretical approaches: First, IAs as tools to bring scientific evidence into the policy-making process, either to learn from science or in order to appeal to a target community - resulting in a high number of scientific references. Second, IAs operate in a specific legal context and bring together various strands of the bureaucracy – resulting in a high number of references to legal acts, policy documents, and court cases. Third, IAs reflect policy initiatives that respond to or anticipate the concerns of their core audiences, i.e. interest groups – resulting in a high number of references to statements made and documents published by stakeholders. Fourth, one could assume that policy makers prepare IAs for symbolic reasons, with no specific concerns as to the impact of IA on regulation. The observable implication is that we should find no specific citation pattern. IAs then may contain very few or too many references – this should be erratic, because in the end the use of science or legal acts or anything else would be just decorative and perfunctory. The conclusions contribute to the literature on regulatory policy and the usages of science in government.

Wonhyuk **Cho** (Victoria University of Wellington)

'Turning Managerial Pain into Resilience Gain: The Influence of Training and Development Practices on the Curvilinear Demand-Resilience Relations among Managers in New Zealand Public Sector'

Presenter email: wonhyuk.cho@vuw.ac.nz

Many studies have found that job resources not only lessen the potential strain of job demands, they also can provide the ability to respond with resiliency when managers experience conditions that are uncertain, adverse, or surprising. Using activation theory, we extend this idea by investigating the influence of training and development practices – leadership training, job rotation, mentoring program, - on the curvilinear job demands-resilience relationship among managers. In a sample of 1,832 managers in the New Zealand public sector, results showed several different demand-resilience relationships depending on the managers' job resources. Notably, leadership training showed a linear relationship to resilience, regardless of demands. Formal mentoring moderated the inverted U-shaped demand-resilience relationship. Managers who participated in mentoring program demonstrated more resilient behaviour in response to intermediate rather than low or high levels of job demands than managers who did not participate in the program. In contrast, managers who participated in a formal job rotation program, high levels of job demands stimulated behaviours that are more resilient. These findings indicate while leadership training is associated with high resilience, job rotation has particular strengths in building resilience for staff heading for highly demanding managerial jobs. In contrast, high levels of mentoring are possibly harmful to resilience in the face of high demands, possibly through mechanisms of overdependence on a mentor. The implications of these findings for public sector management development are discussed.

Alastair **Stark** (University of Queensland)

'Institutional Amnesia and Public Policy'

Presenter email: alastair.stark@ug.edu.au

Institutional amnesia continues to be ignored by policy scholars despite the fact that it can undermine the effectiveness of public policy in various ways. In calling on policy scholars to start taking amnesia seriously as a research concern, this article provides data and analytical tools to help develop that agenda. The data are drawn from an international comparison of policy learning and amnesia in four Westminster systems (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, UK), which highlights how public-sector leaders widely regard amnesia as a serious matter of concern. Analytical tools are presented in the form of a working definition of amnesia that can operationalize research; a series of hypotheses about how amnesia can act as an independent variable in relation to other policy concerns; and a variety of research-based pathways through which policy practitioners might seek to address the risk of memory-loss.

MAIN PROGRAMME

Day 2 (Thursday 31st Jan)

Session 5

Policy design and new policy instruments

M Ramesh, Azad S. Bali (National University of Singapore; University of Melbourne)

'Policy Design and Policy Tools in Health Care'

Presenter emails: mramesh@nus.edu.sq; a.bali@unimelb.edu.au

The growing interest in policy design has led scholars and practitioners to focus on the specifics of policy measures to achieve desired goals. As a part of the broader efforts, focus has concentrated on understanding the particular effects of different policy tools. However, the policy tools literature, which developed largely to understand economic policy, sheds little light on social and particularly health policy issues which tend to be inextricably intertwined, making it hard to design clean and sharp tools. The standard classification of tools – Nodality, Authority, Treasure, and Organisation (NATO) or Information, Regulation, Financing, and Organization -- fails to capture some of the most critical tools in health care. Thus, for example, capitation and/or fee for service payment arrangements, service contracts with hospitals that accompany subsidy, and so on are hard to capture under the NATO framework. The paper proposes to expand and refine the concept of "procedural tools" to understand the range of policy tools used in health care. The paper will not only identify and analyse the range of tools in health policy but also assess the synergies among them and the capacity required to deploy them. The conceptual discussion will be developed through illustrative examples from a range of countries with focus on China, Singapore and Thailand which employ an unusually large number of tools for intervening in the healthcare sector.

Christopher Walker (University of NSW)

'The growing role of e-government and digital surveillance systems in the delivery of regulation and compliance systems.'

Presenter email: c.walker@unsw.edu.au

E-government and digital technologies are increasingly being utilised in the delivery of social services, information sharing and forms of regulation by governments in Australia and around the world. Government agencies that deploy these digital tools often cite increased accessibility, ease of use and convenience, services being more specifically tailored to the individual and greater agency for clients as some of the benefits resulting from the use of digital technologies.

The day to day experience of these services can also reveal more complicated effects. Less access to humans with professional experience, difficulty in accessing services due to lack of technological literacy and financial stress, cost and infrastructure barriers, and a greater burden on the client to carry out administrative tasks previously performed by an agency employee are some of the challenging consequences of digitising government services and functions.

This paper aims to explore the growing role of e-government and digital surveillance systems in the delivery of regulation and compliance systems. Discussion starts with a general overview of the progressive role out of digital functions across a range of government activities, the benefits and risks and then moves to a more specific focus on how digitisation can be observed in regulatory and compliance practice. Digitisation provides significant advantages for systems that require surveillance and the regular processing of data. However, the increasing ease in collecting behaviour and performance data also raises significant social and public policy questions. This paper explores the benefits and risk of digital forms of regulation and will explore other motivating and consequential factors that may influence the increasing use of digital technologies in regulatory systems. This includes the growing role of private surveillance providers and their analysis and reporting on the performance of others. This is an exploratory paper that aims to map out some of the critical public policy questions that are associated with the emerging and expanding use of digital systems in regulatory and compliance systems.

Tim Fadgen (University of Auckland)

'New Zealand's Community Organisation Refugee Sponsorship Pilot and New Public Governance'

Presenter email: timothy.fadgen@auckland.ac.nz

In November 2011, the Better Public Services Advisory Group issued a series of recommendations aimed at improved public service delivery for impact in New Zealand. The document's core unifying principle was the need for government to address "complex, long-term issues that cross agency boundaries" through a series of steps emanating from a sector-based approach focused on a narrow set of key results. Later, in 2015, the New Zealand Productivity Commission issued a paper focusing on the particular needs of the most vulnerable in New Zealand and emphasised several elements of an improved social services system including client empowerment, improved contracting of services within an agile and innovative policy system driven by smart investments and improved stewardship. At the same time, the global refugee crisis and the role of New Zealand's refugee policy in relation to it, was being debated, driven by both the national media and domestic interest groups. In August 2017, the then-National-led government's Cabinet Economic Growth and Infrastructure Committee adopted a pilot of a community organisation refugee sponsorship category to "complement" New Zealand's refugee quota. While small, the program is based upon a successful Canadian model that has been promoted internationally and is currently being piloted in three other nations, including Argentina, Ireland and the United Kingdom. This paper shall examine this pilot within the context of recent shifts in public service delivery emphasizing innovation, vertical and horizontal service delivery and an increasing emphasis upon community-led service delivery often referred to as New Public Governance. The paper will argue that while the issue of refugee resettlement will always be fraught, the existence of such small numbers of individuals and comparatively low risk to social services delivery experimentation, the policy area affords unique opportunities to policymakers to explore diffused areas of innovative policy delivery that might inform the larger social services service delivery milieu.

Brian Head & Stephen Jones (University of Queensland)

'Policy Innovation and the Limits of Behavioural Economics and Behavioural Insights'

Presenter email: brian.head@uq.edu.au

This paper provides an overview of a research project comparing the use of Behavioural Insights (BI) approaches to policy innovation in four jurisdictions in Australia and New Zealand*. We explore the perceived strengths and limitations of Behavioural Insights approaches to policy design and service delivery in Canberra, Wellington, Sydney and Melbourne. We have completed extensive document analysis and 40 interviews.

There has been increasing interest in using BI methods to tackle a range of policy and administrative issues within the OECD group of countries. Many service programs and communication channels are being refined or redesigned, in the ongoing search for cost-efficiency, improved compliance, and behaviour change. Building on behavioural economics and cognitive psychology, BI approaches are seen as providing a deep understanding of how citizens respond to different styles of information, to different incentives, and to tailored messages based on positive social norms. BI approaches have been adopted in many public agencies internationally, with the assistance of expert consultants and researchers.

The early years have been characterised by 'methodology-driven' approaches, addressing relatively simple problems of administrative efficiency and client communication that can be readily analysed through rigorous field trials. We examine the application of BI-BE approaches to policy, regulation and service examples. We find that, with a few noteworthy exceptions, major policy issues have not yet been the central focus of BI initiatives in these four jurisdictions. But we also show how BI approaches could make important contributions to tackling more complex problems – in conjunction with broader approaches to analysis, design and deliberation.

[*This project is funded by a grant from the Australia & New Zealand School of Government]

[This project is foliated by a grant from the Australia & New Zealand School of Government]

Session 6

Policy design and Indigenous public policy

Charlotte **Moore** (University of Auckland), Verna Smith, Jackie Cumming and Amohia Boulton

'Whanau Ora: An indigenous policy solution'

Presenter email: cmooo39@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Whānau Ora (the holistic wellbeing of families) is an innovative approach to indigenous health and social services policy in Aotearoa New Zealand. The initiative empowers the whānau as a whole and devolves, to whānau members, self-determining processes to improve their health and social wellbeing. Launched in April 2010 following extensive consultation with Māori communities across Aotearoa New Zealand, the Whānau Ora initiative ultimately seeks to address endemic issues of over-representation of Māori whānau in poor social and health outcomes. This is the first time in New Zealand's history that such an approach to social service delivery has been funded and implemented nationally, though there have been many localised initiatives resembling Whānau Ora

which have paved the way. This paper charts the story of the design and implementation of Whānau Ora as told through the words of its designers, implementers and evaluators. A qualitative methodology was adopted, utilising documentary analysis and seeking semi-structured interviews with decision-makers, leaders and participants who were directly engaged in the design of Whānau Ora. On the one hand, we argue that there are a number of grounds upon which the success of Whānau Ora can be demonstrated. Whānau Ora represents a unique policy innovation, improving Māori governance over services for Māori. However, Whānau Ora also faces challenges in terms of sustainability. In particular, as an approach that is explicitly designed around indigenous concepts, practices and values, Whānau Ora operates within a political environment that has proved itself to be indifferent to Māori initiatives at best, and outright hostile at worst. Demonstrating improved outcomes for whanau will be its ultimate test of success.

Diana **Perche**, (University of NSW)

Out of sight, out of mind? Markets and employment services in remote Indigenous communities

Presenter email: diana.perche@unsw.edu.au

In recent decades, we have seen concerted efforts by Australian governments to impose market logics in Indigenous service delivery, as in other mainstream social services. This paper examines the case study of employment services in remote communities, in particular the Community Development Program (CDP) introduced by the Coalition government in 2015 as a new 'work for the dole' scheme for over 1000 communities across Australia, predominantly affecting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. In line with the broader push for contestability and streamlining of Indigenous service delivery under the government's Indigenous Advancement Strategy, employment services in remote communities are determined through a competitive tender process. As a market-based program, the CDP suffers from a number of design flaws, identified by the Productivity Commission, notably the lack of alternative providers, the disconnect between decision-makers and affected communities, and the lack of government oversight of performance metrics and quality of service. It is also striking for its substantially greater demands for work-like activity when compared with similar programs aimed at the non-Indigenous population. Furthermore, the CDP program is directly linked to Centrelink payments, and service providers are thus charged with responsibility for reporting and punishing breaches of work-like activity obligations, resulting in the withdrawal of welfare payments for up to eight weeks at a time. Critics have noted the exceedingly high rates of breaches and the deleterious impact on families and communities. The application of market liberalisation and mutual obligation in this case does not appear to be a response to pressure from business or other group interests in remote communities, and goes directly against the longstanding demands from Indigenous people for self-determination and community development. This paper concludes that partisan ideology has driven the reform agenda, in the context of path dependency around settler colonialism and the elimination of cultural difference.

Keri Mills (Auckland University of Technology)

'Oral history for co-management policy'

Presenter email: keri.mills@aut.ac.nz

Co-management arrangements between indigenous and government groups over conservation areas are proliferating across the world. In Aotearoa the government's main intent for these arrangements is to help establish new and more fruitful relationships between government and Māori. Whether this aim is achieved will have a large impact on reconciliation in Aotearoa. Co-management scholars widely agree that the most important factor in the success or failure of these arrangements is the quality of working relationships. Scholars also acknowledge that relationships do not begin when the co-management arrangements begin, but have often-fraught histories for many years beforehand. Although this is acknowledged in scholarly literature, there has been little actual research to date into the historical relationship and the historical memory of participants involved in conservation management relationships.

Oral histories can gather both kinds of information: how these relationships have changed over time, as well as the historical memory participants involved in these relationships carry into their interactions. This paper presents reflections on the results of two research projects into the recent history of relationship between tangata whenua and central and local government. Relationships in the two case study areas began and developed in a trial and error process, involving legal battles, mediation, and creative solutions worked out, on the ground, by the people at the flax roots. Vital lessons about the drivers of and barriers to good relationships can be learned from these people and the histories they tell.

Judith **Dwyer** (Flinders University), Tim Tenbensel, Josee Lavoie, Angelita Martini, Cath Brown, Jeannie Devitt, Paula Myott, Edward Tilton, Amohia Boulton
'Institutional barriers to reform in Aboriginal health sector, Northern Territory'

Presenter email: <u>Judith.dwyer@flinders.edu.au</u>

In public policy and administration, institutional evolution and change are products of the interplay of multiple 'accidental logics' unfolding over time. Within this broad context, actors (both individuals and organisations) design and attempt to implement institutional change. Implementation is usually challenging, and this particularly holds true in the relations between governments in settler societies and Indigenous peoples. The objective of this study is to explicate institutional barriers to needed reform in the public administration of Aboriginal health care.

Using institutional theory and the literature on systemic racism, we analyse attempts to create new institutional arrangements in response to a reform policy endorsed by national and territory health authorities and the Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation (ACCHO) sector. Implementation of the policy required a shift in the relationship between health authorities and the communities/ACCHOs, from an arms-length contract-based relationship towards network governance of the PHC system.

While the attempts to create new institutional arrangements faltered, the analysis offers insights on the shaping of alternative public administration approaches. First, widespread recognition of the

need to build meaningful engagement by government with Aboriginal communities and organisations in the governance and delivery of public services provides a stimulus for change in the approaches used by government and its agencies. Second, alternative institutional forms could be developed collaboratively. They are likely to take the form of network governance at local/regional level, and perhaps a statutory tri-partite Aboriginal Health Authority at jurisdiction level. The Health Authority could be charged with the effective development of the ACCHO sector as an essential PHC service, and with policy and funding coordination for the PHC system. Third, an Authority could be invested with adequate authorisation and necessary powers to ensure its viability and that all parties are able to meet accountability requirements.

Session 7

Politics and the Policy Process

Michael Howlett (Simon Fraser University)

'Dealing with Volatile and Inert Policy Mixes: Unpacking Spill-Over Effects, Maliciousness and Gamesmanship in Policy Designs and Designing'

Presenter email: howlett@sfu.ca

Current work on policy design often adopts a panglossian vision of the subject, viewing policy-making activity through "rose-coloured" glasses as a well-intentioned effort on the part of governments to address and resolve problems in a dispassionate, technical way. Even those studies which insist on the political and power-based nature of policy narratives and target constructions still hold out hope that such 'distortions' can be corrected and clearer visions of evidence-based policy solutions emerge from the policy process. Such thinking does a disservice to policy design and policy studies, however, by failing to address head-on the possibilities, often observed in policy-making practice, that policy-makers are (a) often driven by malicious or venal motivations rather than beneficial and disinterested ones and (b) policy targets are also not saints and also have proclivities and tendencies towards activities such as gaming, free-ridership and rent-seeking that must be curbed if even well-intentioned policies are to achieve their aims. This paper addresses these issues and the state of the policy design literature and proposes a new research agenda dealing with this 'dark side' of policy designs and designing.

John Phillimore and Alan Fenna (Curtin University)

'The partisan politics of urban transport policy in the Australian States'

Presenter email: J.Phillimore@curtin.edu.au

This paper tests the proposition that one of the major differentiators between Labor and the Coalition at the sub-national level is in the area of public transport. Despite the extensive centralisation of Australian federalism, the States retain primary responsibility and control in this domain. It, meanwhile, represents one of the most significant expenditure areas for State governments. If Labor offers some sort of social-democratic alternative to the Coalition at the State level, we would expect to see Labor governments prioritising investment in public transport and,

more specifically, in the development of rail-based public transport. This paper examines patterns of expenditure and planning decisions in all the States to undertake a multi-case longitudinal comparative test of that proposition.

Karen **Jones** (University of Queensland)

'Interpreting Traditions: Rendering the Politics of Policy Processes Visible in a Transnational Context'

Presenter email: k.jones11@uq.edu.au

This paper demonstrates empirically how interpretive analysis renders the politics of transnational policy negotiation processes visible. To do so, I analyse Australia's unilateral legislative changes to trans-Tasman migration in 2001, which prevailed through a discourse of increased transnational governance and economic integration. However, interpretive analysis uncovers the influence of neoliberal conceptions of labour as a commodity, which thereby enabled competing traditions of exclusion and border control to override longstanding more inclusive trans-Tasman traditions.

Drawing on the work of Bevir and Rhodes, I analyse documents and interviews to understand the influence of ideas and beliefs on the ways the issues were problematised, the political construction of 'evidence' and the way a solution was framed to achieve political ends. I find that conflicting traditions created a dilemma for Australia, which sought to maintain the advantages of the free labour market whilst minimising the problem of granting access to social security and citizenship to those perceived to be unsuitable. I argue that considering the dynamic interplay of national and transnational traditions in motivating political action elicits a more complex and nuanced understanding of how policymakers manage conflicting dilemmas.

John Halligan (University of Canberra)

Recasting the Provision of Policy Advice in Anglophone Countries: The Significance of New Instruments and Networks in Politicised Contexts.

Presenter email: John.Halligan@canberra.edu.au

The central dynamics with policy advice in Anglophone countries have entailed the externalising and politicising of its provision. The political executive's takeover of policy leadership and their sourcing of advice from elsewhere have meant a decline in the public service role, diminished policy capability and quality because of lower demand, and affected the ability to respond when needed.

There have been recent initiatives that seeks the reaffirmation of the policy and stewardship roles of the public service and involve the enhancement of both the internal capability and contributions to public policy that lie outside the immediate priorities of government, including long-term questions of public interest. The favoured instruments are formal policy networks within the public service to improve the quality of advice, open policy approaches for sourcing inputs from a wider range of external actors, and measures for entrenching policy capabilities that range beyond narrow partisanship.

This paper seeks to evaluate the efficacy of these trends, which are both countervailing and complementary; how these issues are played out in relation to dominant political executives, which seek to control policy processes and to dictate departmental priorities; and the significance of different country approaches to the tensions inherent in these debates. It draws on interviews in four countries about the condition of and responses to the policy quandary.

Session 4

Environmental and Health Policy

Patrick **Barrett** and Priya Kurian (University of Waikato)

'Participatory processes in estuarine environment restoration: a discursive institutionalist analysis'

Presenter email: patrick.barrett@waikato.ac.nz

This paper will report on a National Science Challenge project examining participatory processes in environmental policy making. It involves an analysis of an estuary restoration initiative by the Bay of Plenty Regional Council through a discursive institutionalist lens. Discursive institutionalism recognises the interaction between discourses and institutions, particularly the way new discourses become institutionalised in planning processes and regulations, leading to the reconstruction of problems and the reorganisation of interactions among policy actors. The analysis of an archive of historical records, planning and technical documents, and 25 in-depth interviews with participants representing different groups involved in the initiative reveal that the 'success' of participatory processes can be understood as reflective of changes in the discursive and institutional contexts over time. We draw on the notion of a 'discursive institutionalist spiral' (den Besten, Arts and Verkooijen 2014) as a way of capturing the evolution of discourses and institutions that shape the exclusion and inclusion of actors and ideas at different points in time. Principles and practices for successful participation emerge within the context of these evolving institutional contexts.

J.W. Den Besten, B. Arts, P. Verkooijen. The evolution of REDD+: an analysis of discursive institutional dynamics, *Environmental Science and Policy*, 35 (2014), pp. 40-48.

Susannah Nichols and Yvonne Haigh (Murdoch University)

'Challenging vested interests, or maintaining the status quo: an historical institutionalist approach to childhood obesity policy in Australia'

Presenter email: Y.Haigh@murdoch.edu.au

This paper examines the Australian Federal Government's limited action on childhood obesity prevention policies. The paper draws on a range of State and Federal policies that aim to respond to increasing levels of childhood obesity across Australia. As a policy issue, childhood obesity prevention is embedded in a range of legislative frameworks, from regulations that cover food advertising to young people and onto a range of regulatory tools that aim to enhance children's

knowledge around food and physical activity. Existing policy initiatives across Australia appear to emphasise voluntary codes of conduct for the food industry; this has done little to address advertising of unhealthy food and beverages in media therefore contributing to the declining food environment to which children are exposed. Despite recommendations from national and global health organisations, the Australian Federal Government appears hesitant to implement policy initiatives that could rigorously address childhood obesity.

In order to grasp the complexities that underpin the prevention of childhood obesity in Australia, this paper considers the policy trajectory through the lens of Historical Institutionalism. The paper explores the institutional factors that led to several unsuccessful attempts to implement legislation to ban junk food advertising from 2006 – 2011. The paper demonstrates, through the lens of historical institutionalism, that vested interests of the food and grocery industry act as an organising principle in policy decisions that affect the advertising of unhealthy food and beverages. The paper highlights therefore both the usefulness of historical institutionalism as an analytical tool, while also drawing out key insights into the challenging the current status quo that frames childhood obesity prevention strategies.

Adam **Hannah** (University of Melbourne)

'Ideas, problem pressure and hospital reform in Australia'

Presenter email: hannah.a@unimelb.edu.au

Although the dominant trend of the welfare state literature in the 1990s was to focus on policy stability, it has since become clear that welfare states continue to evolve. As such, more recent literature has sought to explain why change continues to occur, and why governments sometimes engage in the risky business of reform to major, entrenched programs.

Despite this recent flourishing of literature, particularly concerning the key role played by political ideas, relatively few major contributions have been made with regards to Australian case studies. This is a missed opportunity, as Australia contains several interesting features and examples of major reform that should be of interest to international scholars of the welfare state.

This paper seeks to apply some of the findings of recent literature to the Australian welfare state, by examining a major reform effort in health care, namely the Rudd-Gillard government's suite of hospital reforms. Specifically, it makes use of the 'open functional' approach (Vis & Van Kersbergen 2013; Hannah 2018), which sees 'functional pressure', which threatens the proper functioning of policy systems, as creating space for policy ideas and beliefs.

The analysis finds that systemic and politically salient policy problems played an important role in bringing hospital reform to the front of the agenda for the incoming Labor government in 2007. However, I also argue that the decision to take on reform cannot be fully explained without reference to long-held Labor Party preferences regarding centralisation of social policymaking. These preferences aligned closely with Prime Minister Rudd's specific framing of the reform effort as a means of overcoming 'blame', 'fragmentation' and 'duplication'.

More broadly, the paper suggests that although Australian leaders might seek to portray themselves as reactive fixers of problems (Grube 2010), they are just as capable of being ideationally motivated reform seekers.

Tim **Tenbensel*** (University of Auckland), Lisa Walton, Ryan Stangroom, Linda Chalmers, Pushkar Silwal

'Policy as Recreation of Paradox: The case of the System Level Measures in NZ Health Policy'

Presenter email: t.tenbensel@auckland.ac.nz

Many public policies can be understood as having a paradoxical character. A paradox can be defined as a duality in which two elements are oppositional to one another yet are also synergistic and interrelated within a larger system. Policy processes can be understood as expressions of the evolution of dilemmas and tensions that persist over long periods of time. In health policy there are some fundamental tensions that have a paradoxical character. For example, how to steer a health system that has been built by health professionals whose professional identity encourages them to resist attempts at being steered.

New Zealand's System Level Measures framework for stimulating health system performance is an example of a paradoxical policy. This policy requires collaboration between local publicly funded health organisations (District Health Boards) and primary care organisations in their district (Primary Health Organisations). These collaborations produce and implement plans that are designed to improve health system outcomes such as amenable mortality (deaths that, in theory, can be avoided if health services are delivered well), and patient experience of care.

In this paper, we argue that the System Level Measures Framework needs to be understood as a paradoxical product in which underlying tensions and contradictions are embedded in the fabric of health policy and performance management.

We conducted 14 interviews with key stakeholders, including public officials, District Health Boards, Primary Health Organisations and policy consultants between October 2017 and February 2018. We explore the historical development of the System Level Measures and map these developments in terms of three inter-related paradoxes: the paradox of primary care identity versus system integration; the paradox of the use of performance measurement in health systems; and paradox of responsibility for performance.