Understanding the co-production of public services: the case of asylum seekers in Glasgow

Volume I

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SIGNED DECLARATION

This thesis has been composed by the student and is the student's own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the co-production of public services in the case of asylum seekers in Glasgow. It makes contributions on the theoretical and empirical levels. First, it integrates two theoretical standpoints on co-production from the public administration/management and services management literatures. This integration forms the basis for the development of an original conceptual framework which differentiates three modes of co-production at the level of the individual service user: consumer co-production; participative co-production; and enhanced co-production.

The thesis then extends co-production to consider organizational modes, considering specifically the role of voluntary and community organizations (VCOs) in the production of services. This discussion contributes to the expansion of the conceptual framework, by introducing the concepts of co-management and co-governance to refer to VCOs co-production in service delivery and in service planning and delivery, respectively. The result is the development of a 'Typology of Co-production' which differentiates all five types of co-production according to who co-produces public services and when.

These two conceptual frameworks are used to explore the case of asylum seekers and the social welfare services they receive in Glasgow. The case of asylum seekers is particularly interesting given the marginal nature of the group and their legal position as non-citizens. This serves to sharpen the focus on co-production.

Three research questions emerged from the theoretical work which are explored in the case of asylum seekers: to what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship? Can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship? And is individual service user co-production a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations?

The study took a mixed methods approach, consisting of policy/practice interviews, a small survey of public service organizations providing services to asylum seekers

and an embedded case study design of Glasgow, which involved a series of interviews, observations and document analysis. The empirical context provided a fertile ground to explore and better understand the five types of co-production differentiated in the theory. It further suggests that citizenship is not a prerequisite for each mode of co-production and also that the co-production of public services can positively impact the lives of asylum seekers, particularly around issues of integration.

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PEER REVIEWED PAPERS

Strokosch, K. (2009) 'Asylum seeker involvement and the provision of social care services in Glasgow: the theoretical framework of co-production and co-governance', Doctoral paper presented at the conference of the International Research Society for Public Management, 6-8 April 2009, Copenhagen.

Strokosch, K. and Osborne, S.P. (2009) 'Understanding the co-production of public services: developing a conceptual framework', Developmental paper presented at British Academy of Management Conference, 15-17 September 2009, Brighton.

Strokosch, K. (2012) 'The co-production of public services: can asylum seekers co-produce?', New Researchers' paper presented at the conference of the International Research Society for Public Management, 11-13 April 2012, Rome. Awarded best paper.

Osborne, S.P. and Strokosch, K. 'It takes two to tango? Understanding the co-production of public services by integrating the services management and public administration perspectives', currently under second review for the British Journal of Management.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH FOCUS AND AIMS

This thesis will focus on the co-production of public services. The initial research question was laid out in the application for funding: *how can the co-production of public services be better understood and differentiated, what forms can co-production take and what are the implications for service planning and delivery?*

Co-production is the term used to describe service user involvement during the planning and delivery of public services. The concept has been used across the services management (Norman, 1991; Venetis & Ghauri, 2004; Gronroos, 2007; Johnston & Clark, 2008; Vargo et al, 2008) and public administration/management literatures (Ostrom, 1978; Whitaker, 1980; Parks et al, 1981; Levine and Fisher, 1984; Rosentraub, 1981; Brudney and England, 1983; Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006; Bovaird, 2007; Alford, 2009). However, the two theories on co-production have never been integrated.

Reflections on the co-production of public services are drawn predominantly from the public administration and management literature, highlighting that the conceptualization of the term has evolved over time. Co-production is typically described as originating from the seminal work of Ostrom (1978) who subscribed to a classical Public Administration view, referring to the role of citizens and communities in the production of public services. Following this approach, co-production has been aligned closely to citizen participation (e.g. Brudney, 1987; Ostrom, 1999; Pestoff, 2006; Bovaird, 2007, 2009), the achievement of broad public policy objectives and efforts to improve democracy (Ostrom, 2000; Alford, 2002; Bovaird, 2007).

The discipline of public management has traditionally drawn on management theory derived primarily from the manufacturing sector, which was the basis of the 'New

Public Management' (NPM) movement. This perspective likens public services to manufactured goods where production and consumption are distinct processes. The NPM narrative confirms the idea of partnership that is espoused under Public Administration but shifts from the citizen to consumer co-producer. The focus here is improving service effectiveness and efficiency (Parks et al, 1981; Pestoff, 2006) through consumer mechanisms such as choice, exit and complaint.

The public management perspective has invariably ignored the dedicated theory and literature on services management – despite the fact that this may well have unique insights to offer to the understanding of public services management (Osborne, 2010). This body of work terms co-production as an integral part of service delivery. It situates co-production as an essential and intrinsic process of interaction, recognizing the intangible nature of the service and the inherent role played by the consumer during the service interaction – what Normann (1991) has termed 'moment of truth'. Consequently, it arguably provides a more accurate starting point for theorizing about public service production - and taken together with the public administration/management literature can stretch our understanding of co-production.

To develop a full understanding of co-production, account must also be taken of the way organizations work together to plan and deliver services. The public administration literature also adds significantly around this area. Pestoff and Brandsen, (2009) differentiate this inter-organizational role from individual co-production in two ways: as *co-management*, where the VCO co-produces, together with the service planners, the delivery of a public service on behalf of its service users; and as *co-governance*, where it co-produces during both the planning and delivery of a service. Co-production at the organizational level could include actors from across the range of public, for-profit and voluntary and community sectors. For the purposes of this work, focus will be placed on the role of voluntary and community organizations (VCOs), buying into Berger & Neuhaus' (1978) conception of VCOs as *mediating structures* which enable people to express their needs against the 'mega-institutions' of society.

Merging the literatures has resulted in the development of two conceptual models which can be used to better understand the nature and components of co-production. The first is the 'individual modes of co-production' which categorizes service user co-production into three types according to the mechanisms used and the goals aspired to. The second model, the 'typology of co-production', combines these three individual types with organizational forms of co-production in a matrix, providing a more holistic view of the concept. These models will be used during the empirical element of the study, in order to differentiate the various types of co-production that exist in practice.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

The empirical element of the thesis focuses specifically on the case of asylum seekers and the provision of social welfare services in Glasgow.

Co-production currently has a high profile in the UK, particularly in relation to the 'personalisation' reform agenda (Hunter & Richie, 2007) and the current coalition government's 'Big Society' reform agenda (Alcock, 2010). Although the focus of this thesis is Scotland, co-production is a global issue (e.g. Alford, 2002; Pestoff, 2006) and this work therefore has wider relevance.

Co-production on an organizational level has also been important. Scotland has a history of collaborative working in the delivery of public services which has become embedded latterly by the establishment of the 2007 Concordat and the subsequent development of Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs) between the Scottish Government and local level Community Planning Partnerships (Osborne et al, 2011). SOAs are unique to local authority areas and are therefore rooted within collaborative working between local authorities, for-profit organizations and the voluntary and community sector. This on-going legacy of collaborative working makes Scotland a particularly rich area for exploring the co-production of public services.

Having established the geographical location of the research, it is also important to

note the reasoning behind the selection of asylum seekers and the social welfare services they receive. Co-production has held an important place in the study and understanding of social welfare services (Evers, 2006; Pestoff, 2005) particularly because of the intricate nature of the relationship between the needs of, often vulnerable, service users and the service delivery system. Equally though, co-production is an issue that has import across a whole range of public services – such as education, policing, community development, and sports and leisure services.

The case of asylum seekers offers a fertile ground through which to explore the conceptual frameworks on co-production. Their marginal position in society may affect their capacity to be involved in service production and may have implications for the role they play if they are involved.

Asylum seekers sit in a contentious position, having exercised their legal right under the Geneva Convention (1951) to apply for asylum but remaining a non-citizen while they await the outcome of their case. Their lives are regulated and constrained by strict immigration laws, which are rooted within and built upon 'policies of deterrence' (Williams, 2006). Asylum seekers, as a result, have limited access to public services, cannot work for remuneration and are housed according to a 'no choice' dispersal policy. Glasgow is the sole authority in Scotland that entered into contract with the Home Office to house asylum seekers, providing sensible geographical boundaries for the empirical study.

Although immigration is a reserved issue, the Scottish Government is responsible for the provision of public services to asylum seekers. Statutory agencies in Scotland are responsible for various support functions including: housing; a reception visit from a caseworker; access to GPs; education for children; and social care needs (Wren, 2004). Furthermore, the voluntary and community sector has historically played a leading role in supporting asylum seekers in the UK (Wren, 2007).

Research conducted by Lewis (2006) suggested that there was a greater tolerance to asylum seekers in Scotland than England. Indeed, the Scottish media has latterly

tended to be less suspicious of asylum seekers compared to English counterparts (see for example, Johnston 2003, Anon 2005, Anon 2001) and there have been various examples of public demonstrations against the deportation or detainment of asylum seekers (particularly children). Despite the more favourable conditions for asylum seekers in Scotland in terms of the rhetoric espoused from the Scottish Government and public perception, they remain a group of non-citizens which has implications for the type and extent of their involvement. The identity of non-citizen has a negative impact on their capacity to engage politically. They cannot vote or have a say over the way in which their host country is governed.

Co-production may offer asylum seekers a route through which they can be involved, regardless of their legal status. Furthermore, the broad approach taken by the Scottish Government differs from that for the UK government, and this has implications for how asylum seekers are treated by public service organizations. Central to this difference is the fact that the Westminster government refuses to facilitate their integration into society until they have received refugee status. The Scottish Government, conversely, encourages integration from the outset. This has implications for how public services are delivered to asylum seekers and more broadly, how they are treated within society.

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Based both on the integrated theory of co-production and the context of asylum seekers, the following research questions were refined and developed:

- To what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship?
- Can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship?
- Is individual service user co-production a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations?

In order to answer these questions, the empirical research sought to map the nature and extent of asylum seeker co-production in the planning and delivery of social

welfare services in Glasgow and, in doing so, investigate the core components of co-production.

The empirical study comprised of three stages. First policy interviews were conducted with various respondents from Scotland who deal with asylum issues or the policy making around the provision of public services for this group. A postal survey of public service organizations providing welfare services to asylum seekers was then conducted. Finally, an embedded case study design was employed through which a series of interviews, observations and document analysis were carried out.

CONTRIBUTION

This thesis makes a theoretical and empirical contribution. It has theoretical relevance within the debate around co-production, integrating theory which has yet to be discussed together comprehensively. Using this revised theoretical basis, two conceptual models have been developed which explore a whole range of dimensions of co-production that were previously undifferentiated. This is important not only for focused research upon public services reform but also as a guide for policy and practice in the field.

This thesis situates co-production in the case of the marginalized group of asylum seekers, whose position is further complicated by their legal status as non-citizens. The empirical case makes clear that co-production is not simply about markets. It has the potential to have political implications around citizenship and is subject to the external environment; in the case of asylum seekers in Scotland, the nature of co-production has been influenced by the Scottish Government's largely positive reaction to asylum seekers. The case of asylum seekers makes clear that citizenship status is not a necessary precursor to co-production. The services management literature has given this argument theoretical weight. It positions co-production as an intrinsic element of service production, particularly during delivery. This will be confirmed by the case of asylum seekers, who will be shown to act as co-producers despite their position in society as non-citizens. Although they do co-produce, this does not have a positive impact upon their case for asylum. However, the discussion

will show that co-production can have a positive impact on their lives, allowing them to establish trusting relationships with service providers and helping them integrate into society.

Although asylum seekers are a very particular case, insight from this study will be applicable in other areas. There are continuing concerns about disengagement with the political process (Lister, 2003) and co-production may offer an alternative way through which to involve public service users.

ROUTE MAP TO THESIS

Chapter two introduces co-production by integrating the public administration/management and services management theories. Combining these two literatures provides a unique and valuable element of this study, resulting in the development of a conceptual framework which differentiates the modes of co-production at the level of the individual service user.

Chapter three introduces co-production at the organizational level. It focuses specifically on the role of VCOs, which are described as mediating bodies that benefit from their closeness to service users. The related concepts of co-management and co-governance are used to differentiate the ways that VCOs may co-produce public services.

Chapter four locates the research within the context of asylum seekers living in Glasgow as well as the policies that affect them and the social welfare services they receive. It discusses their position as non-citizens and also introduces the three empirical research questions in more detail and sets the scene for the empirical element of the study.

Chapter five describes and discusses the evolution of the research methodology used to conduct this study. It starts with a discussion of the philosophical position which underpins the research approach, before examining the methodological implications of adopting such a position. Next, the chapter considers the research focus of this

thesis and the associated research questions and objectives. This will provide a platform to discuss the research process and methods used to conduct the study, explaining both their appropriateness and limitations.

Chapters six and seven report the research findings emerging from the study. Chapter six refers to the data gathered in relation to asylum seekers living in Glasgow, the nature of the services they receive and the policies impacting their involvement in public service production. The data for this section was gathered primarily through the policy interviews, but is supplemented by the service manager interviews and also the data gathered from the questionnaire. Chapter seven focuses on the data concerning co-production and seeks to report the findings thematically. It will use the conceptual models developed during the theoretical work to examine the different individual and organizational types of co-production found within each of the case study sub-units. It also reports the findings from the document analysis.

Chapter eight provides the interpretation and discussion of the findings. It revisits the research questions to discuss and interpret the findings in relation to the literature, drawing out the broad conclusions of the thesis.

Chapter nine considers the theoretical and empirical contributions made by this thesis and poses some suggestions for further investigation through future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW PART I: INDIVIDUAL CO-PRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces co-production. It integrates the public administration and management theory with the services management literature in order to build a more comprehensive understanding of the co-production of public services. Combining these two literatures provides a unique and valuable element of this thesis, resulting in the development of two conceptual frameworks which attempt to improve our understanding of co-production, around the different forms it can take at the individual and organizational levels.

At the outset, it is important to clarify that this thesis is not concerned with the public administration literature that explores 'upstream' public policy formulation (sometimes referred to as co-construction, e.g. Vaillancourt, 2012), which focuses on the work of ministers and civil servants and their interactions with citizens. There is a robust literature that deals with this policy advice and formulation process (e.g. Scott & Baehler, 2011). Rather it is concerned with the implementation of public policy and most specifically with the reform, design and delivery of public services. Thus, the focus will predominantly be on the micro and meso levels, considering the co-production of public services with service users and other public service organizations.

This chapter will focus on the micro level, discussing co-production at the level of individual services users. It will start by drawing on theory from the public administration and public management theory to conceptualise co-production. Chapter three will discuss co-production at the organizational level.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first focuses on co-production from a public administration/management perspective. Ewert and Evers (2012) argue that two broad narratives have shaped the perspectives on co-production: participatory governance and consumerism. Reflecting this, the first part of this chapter will start by situating the debate around co-production within the public administration literature, referring to the seminal work of Ostrom. In doing so, the discussion focuses on citizen participation, referring specifically to Arnstein's ladder of civic engagement to explain how co-production can take place. Linked to this, the discussion will then focus on the use of the terms 'client' and 'citizen' and the implications for co-production.

New Public Management will then be considered to reflect the focus on consumerism. Here, co-production will be discussed as a means of improving the effectiveness and efficiency of public services through various consumer mechanisms, tied closely to Hirschman's (1970) conception of voice and choice. The first part will be concluded by drawing these two perspectives together to show how the concept of co-production has evolved.

The second part of this chapter will consider the services management literature. It starts by discussing the theory of co-production, describing services as processes which are rooted within the three core components of intangibility, inseparability and co-production. The basic conception of co-production, which is described as an integral element of the service encounter where the customer's contribution is unavoidable and key to satisfaction, is then considered in some detail. The service-dominant logic is then introduced in order to differentiate services from goods, before referring to relationship marketing as a potential mode of management for service production. The discussion then suggests that co-production exists on a continuum and can be extended through customer participation and the co-creation of service reforms and innovation. This part concludes with a short summary of co-production from the services management theory.

The final part of this chapter utilizes the two streams of literature to move to an integrated understanding of co-production through the development of a conceptual framework which differentiates three modes of individual co-production: consumer, participative and enhanced.

Co-Production Of Public Services

The co-production of public services has been in receipt of varying degrees of interest over time. The concept of co-production can be traced back to the 1920s and there was a renewed interest in the idea in the 1980s (Alford, 2009). Pestoff (2012a) suggests that the emergence of New Public Governance has again revived the focus on the concept with the development of a more pluralistic and plural model of governance and service provision.

Although a coherent body of literature exists on the co-production of public services, Pestoff (2012a) reflects that co-production has been used in various contexts and for different phenomena, making it difficult to untangle and clarify. This thesis will therefore seek to differentiate co-production into streams using the different narratives that have evolved in the literature.

Co-production is a multi-faceted concept (Brudney and England, 1983) which has evolved under two broad narratives of participatory governance and consumerism (Ewert and Evers, 2012), which can be ascribed respectively to the wider Public Administration and New Public Management movements.

To fully understand co-production, it is helpful to understand these two narratives and the specifics of each. They can be differentiated according to the roles ascribed to public service users (i.e. citizen or consumer), although developing clear categorisations has been challenging given that the literature has sometimes used the terms interchangeably. For example, Rosentraub and Warren (1987) argue that 'coproduction involves the participation of citizen-consumers in the production of services' and Brudney and England (1983, p. 63) refer to 'consumers (e.g. citizens)'. Each term nevertheless brings with it different connotations and implications for co-production.

Furthermore, both narratives share some core ideas about co-production, particularly around its application as a partnership, the active role of consumers/citizens and the nature of co-production as an supplementary element of service production (rather

than core to it). The proceeding discussion will further show that some scholars have suggested a more blended approach to co-production, falling across both narratives (e.g. Alford, 2002; Pestoff, 2006; Bovaird, 2007).

Public Administration and co-production

Prior to 1979, public service production centred around notions of professional autonomy and the dependency of clients (Clarke and Newman, 1997). Debate has generally set the co-production of public services apart - as a variation on the 'traditional' model of public service production (e.g. Ferris, 1988; Brudney, 1987) where 'public officials are exclusively charged with responsibility for designing and providing services to citizens, who in turn only demand, consume and evaluate them' (Pestoff, 2006, p. 506, my emphasis). This perspective placed responsibility for the design and delivery of services in the hands of public officials, while the role of the service user was largely passive (Ostrom, 1978; Brudney and England, 1983). Thus, any contribution made by individual services users has typically been received as an insignificant or supplementary role (Parks et al, 1981).

The seminal work of Ostrom in the early 1970s suggested a potential role for both individuals and communities in the production of public services. Ostrom – whose early work subscribed to a classic public administration view – coined the term co-production in the field of public services (Parks et al, 1981). She argued that public service organizations (PSOs) in the United States, such as the police force, depend upon the community for policy implementation and service delivery as much as that community depends upon them (Ostrom, 1972, 1978). Indeed, Ostrom studied urban reform in major cities in the United States and her findings suggested that most public services were not delivered by a PSO working alone, but by various public and private actors. Ostrom (1999) later compared the conditions for co-production in two developing countries. She recognized that producing public services was challenging without the active participation of citizens. Ostrom defines co-production broadly as a 'process through which inputs are used to provide a good or service that are contributed by individuals who are not in the same organization' (1996, p.1073).

Co-production, participation and citizens

Co-production in the public administration literature has been closely aligned with citizen participation (Percy, 1983; Wilson, 1981; Brudney, 1987; Ostrom, 1999; Pestoff, 2006; Bovaird, 2007).   This raises two points of interest for this thesis. First, the links between co-production and participation and second, the implications of referring to 'citizen' co-producers.

By promoting co-production as an alternative to the traditional model, the public administration literature suggests that something can be gained from introducing co-production or that co-production might be a means of achieving added value.

Who co-produces and which mechanisms are put into effect to facilitate co-production depends ultimately upon the underpinning goal of co-production. Co-production has generally been described as adding value to the service (Brudney and England, 1983; Brudney, 1987). Wilson (1981, p. 43), for example, argues that co-production 'involves a direct transformation of a product' through the joint action of the service provider and user, while Whitaker (1980, p. 240) argues that the service user is 'a vital "coproducer" of any personal transformation that occurs'. Thus, co-production is typically portrayed as a means of achieving a specific policy objective or outcome. The literature suggests various such goals during a discussion on the rationale behind co-production.

Alford (2009) suggests that as a value-creating activity co-production can contribute value both on a private and public level, with individual co-producers benefiting directly and any managerial commitment to co-production requiring the creation of public value. In terms of extending beyond private value, co-production has been associated conventionally with efforts to improve democracy by placing service users at the heart of the service based on the assumption that this will complement traditional democratic mechanisms and enhance the responsiveness of service organizations. Indeed, arguments in favour of co-production have typically made

reference to the growing democratic deficit[1], suggesting that co-production can reduce that deficit. Pestoff (2006, p. 504), for instance, argues that co-production 'provides a missing piece of the puzzle for reforming democracy and the welfare state'.

The literature on participation typically focuses upon public participation in mainstream political behaviours, such as voting and campaigning (Marschall, 2004). Such political participation tends to be bound to activities which seek to influence government actions, either directly through a contribution to policy-making or implementation, or indirectly through electing representatives. This leads Marschall (2004) to describe the political participation of individuals as short-lived, and taking the form of either communicating a preference or influencing an outcome. In contrast, co-production has typically been described as a partnership approach (Parks et al, 1981; Pestoff, 2006) where individual service users actively and voluntarily contribute to service production (Brudney and England, 1983; Whitaker, 1980; Pestoff, 2006), with the help of the PSO and particularly front-line staff. Another core and crucial difference is the location of co-production; it takes place during service production. Thus the focus is implementation rather than policy-making.

Various models of participation have been developed to provide an understanding of the democratic input people can have individually or collectively. Despite the distinctions between participation and co-production, these models are helpful in understanding the different ways that people can co-produce public services.

Arnstein's (1969) ladder of civic engagement has been promoted as a useful tool to understand these mechanisms as it differentiates various types of participation according to their extent. Although the model is dated, it continues to feature in the academic literature as a means of describing and understanding the extent to which

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[1] The democratic deficit refers to the problem of the under-representation in the policy process, with decreasing electoral turnout and decision-making being conducted by elected representatives or unelected managers/professionals with some consultation with, typically, a limited number of user activists (Gaster and Rutqvist 2000, Bochel et al, 2008).

individuals can co-produce services (e.g. see Farrell, 2010; Havassy and Yanay, 1990; Bovaird, 2007).

Arnstein's typology illustrates eight levels of participation in a ladder which is depicted in the diagram below.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  ┌──────────────────────┐                                         │
│  │   8. Citizen control │                                         │
│  ├──────────────────────┤            ┌──────────────────┐        │
│  │   7. Delegated power │  ────────▶  │  Citizen Power  │        │
│  ├──────────────────────┤            └──────────────────┘        │
│  │   6. Partnership     │                                         │
│  ├──────────────────────┤                                         │
│  │   5. Placation       │                                         │
│  ├──────────────────────┤            ┌──────────────────┐        │
│  │   4. Consultation    │  ────────▶  │    Tokenism     │        │
│  ├──────────────────────┤            └──────────────────┘        │
│  │   3. Informing       │                                         │
│  ├──────────────────────┤                                         │
│  │   2. Therapy         │            ┌──────────────────┐        │
│  ├──────────────────────┤  ────────▶  │ Non-participation│        │
│  │   1. Manipulation    │            └──────────────────┘        │
│  └──────────────────────┘                                         │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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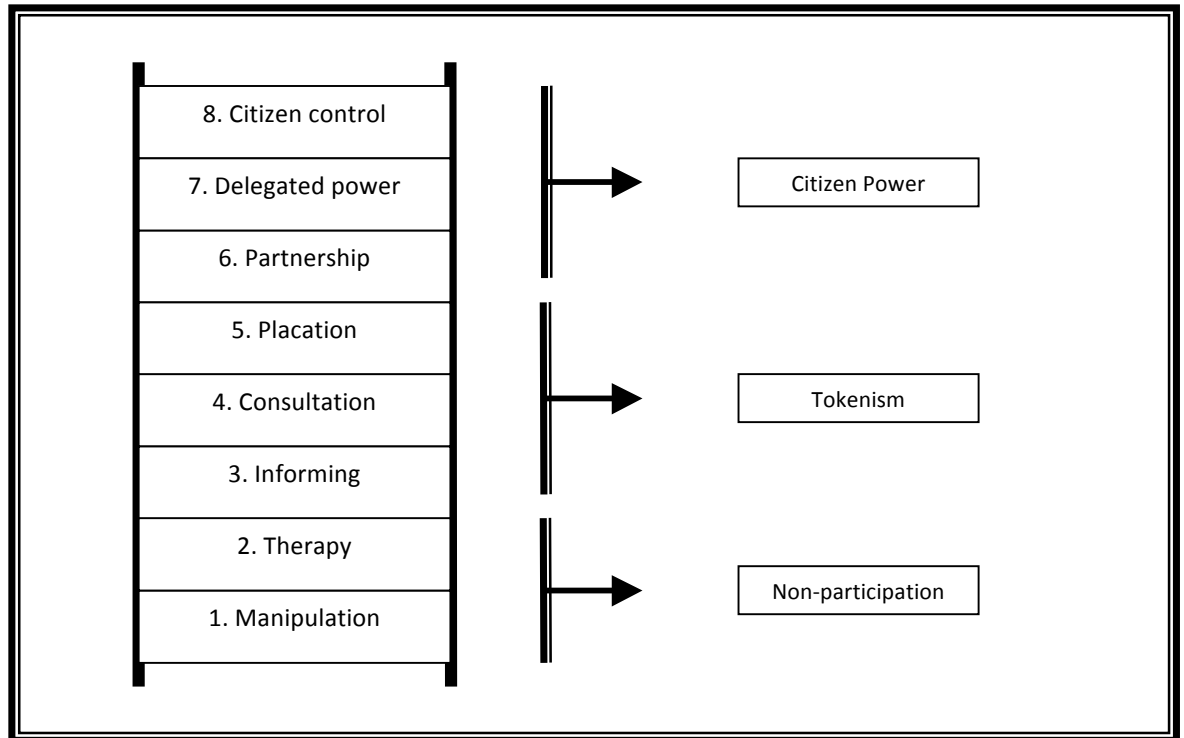
Figure 2.1: Arnstein's ladder of civic engagement (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216)

This model is helpful in exploring the actuality of co-production from the participatory democracy narrative. Its higher rungs correspond to the greater power and degree of influence that the individual can have through active co-production – such as being a member of a partnership board or acting as a volunteer.

A citizen co-producer plays the most active role where public service planning and delivery have been completely devolved to them (e.g. see Levine and Fisher, 1984; Parks et al, 1981). For example, in health and social care provision, there is a strong impetus towards self-directed support, where the service user or their guardian/carer controls their care budget and plans their care package according to their need. This

further suggests the participants in co-production and the beneficiaries are not necessarily one and the same (Pestoff, 2012a).

In his analysis, Ferris (1988) describes *volunteers* as co-producers, suggesting less power for the citizen than through completely devolved provision, but perhaps delegated forms of power. Ferris argues that although the focus upon citizen participation has been helpful in understanding co-production, it can overlook and misrepresent the role of volunteers in public service delivery. Rather, Ferris argues that voluntary action can reduce the efforts and resources required from PSOs to produce or improve services (see also Sundeen, 1988).

Others have taken a similar stance. Brudney (1987) contends that co-production includes the self-help and voluntary activities of individuals and organizations and Bovaird (2007) uses the number of active volunteers as a proxy for co-production in UK public services. Nevertheless, Alford (2009) makes a distinction between volunteering and co-production, suggesting that citizens contribute resources when they volunteer, but co-production requires both the contribution of resources and consumption of the service.

Partnership has also been described as a core element of co-production (Rich, 1981; Brudney and England, 1983; Levine and Fisher, 1984; Sundeen 1988; Marschall, 2004; Pestoff, 2006). Co-production according to Spiegel (1987, p.56) 'requires that all partners, though obviously not equal in resources and power, have at least a minimal threshold of influence that allows them to negotiate with more than empty hands'.

Rummery (2006) argues that partnerships can lead to methods of working that preclude involvement services, as resources may be diverted predominantly to the facilitation of the partnership and may also lead to 'organized tribalism' where professionals become more protective of their expertise and less open to outside involvement. Evers et al (2005, p.744) also note that professionals might be overly

concerned with 'defending their power and privileges' which could limit scope for co-production at this level.

An underpinning element of partnership in co-production is dialogue and interaction (Sharp, 1980). Indeed, Dunston et al (2009) differentiate co-production from the traditional participative approach of voice or choice, as a form of partnership which is rooted within dialogue and learning. They describe co-productive services as relational, involving dialogue, empathy and understanding.

Bovaird (2007) also emphasizes reciprocity and mutuality in co-production. Bovaird and Loffler (2012) expand this argument, emphasizing that service users are not passive and often have knowledge that the PSO does not and therefore have an essential role to play in service production. They can thus engage in a collaborative way rather than through the more traditional paternalistic relationship with public service providers. Nevertheless, the extent of collaboration is arguably dependent upon the type of public service. Front-line providers may promote and facilitate co-production, but may also 'refuse treatment, commit users to mental hospital or take children into care' (Wilson, 1994, p. 247). Further, Ewert and Evers (2012) argue that, in comparison to health care professionals, service users will always be positioned as second-class experts.

The lower rungs of Arnstein's ladder include less participative mechanisms that might be argued to be more cosmetic forms of co-production (such as consultation where there is no commitment to act upon the views of service users). However, co-production has also been differentiated from information provision and consultation as a result of their associated drawbacks and despite the fact that the terms are often used interchangeably in policy documents (Martin and Boaz, 2000). Needham (2007), for example, argues that consultation typically reaffirms traditional roles and divisions between service users and officials due to their one-off nature and the output of wish-lists, while co-production stresses dialogue, interaction and negotiation.

Despite its usefulness to the discussion of co-production, the ladder of participation is not without criticism. Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.161) argue that the ladder has 'missing rungs, snakes and multiple ladders'. With reference to missing rungs, they argue that the model fails to discuss the pre-conditions for involvement or the fact that different methods are required to engage with individuals, groups and organizations. Furthermore, Arnstein refers specifically to the participation of 'have-nots' (i.e. those who have been excluded from participative structures in the past), but the model says nothing about how to encourage such people to participate but rather the ways in which they might participate. The barriers restricting the participation of marginalised groups such as asylum seekers may be significant and a key objective of the empirical work of this study will be to examine whether asylum seekers co-produce through these participative mechanisms despite their status as non-citizens.

Tritter and McCallum also argue that the model overlooks considerable challenges, which they refer to as snakes, such as the sustainability of participation and the potential for citizen control to result in one sided service provision that meets the needs of some groups but not others. Finally, the authors find the one dimensional nature of the model inappropriate, as it fails to recognise the different types of user participation may be appropriate for the same people at different times.

Furthermore, Arnstein's model refers only to citizens, but consumers can be informed or consulted, albeit in a different way and for a different purpose. Consumers might, for example, be informed of a change to a service or might be consulted to gauge their level of satisfaction with a service.

From client to citizen co-producer

The term *client* has been traditionally associated with the public administration era when service users were treated as passive and dependent (Christenssen and Laegried, 2002), but the term has emerged in the co-production literature suggesting a more active role for service users.

It has, however, been subject to different responses. Alford (1998, 2002, 2009) discusses various co-producers, including clients, citizens, volunteers, service users and voluntary and community organizations, but his primary focus is on clients. In co-productive relationships, clients are said to be comparable to buyers, taking on a dual role as recipient of the service and contributory producer. Clients receive private value from services, exercise choice through market mechanisms and have a direct interest in their relationship with the service provider because they receive material benefit from the service (Alford, 2002).

According to Alford (2002), the relationship between PSOs and their clients is different to customer transactions in the private sector. Making reference to the social exchange perspective, he discusses how trust, co-operation and compliance are central to the relationship between the government and service users. Alford (1998) argues that without the contribution of clients, the service can fail; their contribution is generally responsiveness which can take the form of time and effort. For Alford (2002, 2009), certain services such as education and vocational training are completely dependent upon the co-productive activities of those using the service. He suggests in such cases that the roles of the service user and service provider are interdependent. For example, if a student does not respond to education delivered by a teacher by putting in the time and effort to study, then the value of the service becomes limited. Clients are part of the service process and to achieve valuable outcomes the client has to contribute, or at least must be responsive to the actions of the service provider.

However, in the earlier work of Ostrom and her colleagues there was some agreement that referring to a client co-producer was inappropriate. Ostrom (1996) notes, for example, that the term client is passive in the sense that clients are acted upon, while both Whitaker (1980) and Levine and Fisher (1984) argue that client wrongly infers that an individual is seeking the favour of the service provider. Thus, the term citizen was favoured because it implied a more active role (Ostrom, 1990, 1999).

A *citizen*, according to Alford (2002b), is part of a collective who express themselves through voice as opposed to choice, but they can also be viewed as individuals: 'citizens are often seen as the quintessential welfare state user. Control is exercised through political voice…' (Powell et al 2010, p. 326)

The previous discussion suggests that there are various mechanisms through which citizens might co-produce services. For example, drawing on Arnstein's model (1969), citizens may co-produce services through various mechanisms, the nature of which will impact the degree to which the citizen shares power with the service provider. Consultative mechanisms, for example, may be employed by service organizations when making changes to a service to gain feedback from service users. This would involve relatively short-term relationships between service provider and user. Longer-term partnerships may also be used to co-produce services with citizens who are perhaps viewed to hold the expertise and capabilities to contribute to improving the service.

The case of asylum seekers will be investigated in the empirical study. Chapter four will describe asylum seekers as a disenfranchised group of non-citizens which raises questions about their potential to co-produce through participative mechanisms. However, they *are* positioned as public service users. This can arguably lead to a juxtaposition of their status and the participative role they can play through the co-production of services.

Pickard (1998) makes some interesting distinctions between service users and citizens. Only citizens confer legitimacy upon political structures and increasing the involvement of citizens would strive towards creating greater active citizenship and trust in service providers. Service users, conversely, are described as being more sensitive to issues of responsiveness, but like citizens have a stake in accountability. Gilliatt et al (2000, p. 335) recommend that to involve service users in planning and delivering services, there is a need to move away from the narrow concept of the consumer towards 'a wider idea of citizenship which would empower users, giving them policy-making rather than policy-taking roles.'

Thus, a question arises about whether asylum seekers, as non-citizens but as service users, can co-produce services through the participative mechanisms described above.

NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND CO-PRODUCTION

The debate around co-production has also been influenced by the discipline of public management, which has traditionally drawn upon management theory derived primarily from the manufacturing sector. This was the basis of the influential New Public Management (NPM) movement. However, the influence of the private sector has been widely criticized. Powell et al (2010), for example, argue that the consumption of public services is more complex, due to the combined goals of efficiency and equity and the need to focus on consumers rather than individuals.

Under the NPM the focus of public service reform was underpinned by the empowerment of sovereign *consumers* with individual preferences (Aberbach and Christenson, 2005). It emphasized consumer satisfaction and therefore challenged the traditional view of public service production where services were produced solely by public service organizations (PSOs) (Hood, 1991; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). A key argument of Osborne and Gaebler (1992), for instance, was that public services should focus on steering rather than rowing, thus opening up an opportunity for the increased involvement of individuals and organizations in service production. However, the ways that individuals and organizations were involved were specific to the parameters of the movement.

According to Pestoff (2012b), NPM facilitates public service users to act as economically rational individuals, playing down values of reciprocity, collective action and co-production. However, the narrative around co-production arguably re-affirms the idea of partnership, despite the shift from citizen to consumer co-producer.

The combined efforts of the consumer and front-line service providers to determine the quality and quantity of services draws on an economic perspective which

recognises an overlap between the consumer and producer spheres. (Brudney and England 1983; Bovaird and Loffler, 2012). Parks et al (1981, 1002) refer to this as the 'mixing of the productive efforts of regular and consumer producers'. The diagram below highlights this overlap which is typically described as the site of co-production.

Co-production: 'the critical mix' where the two actors overlap
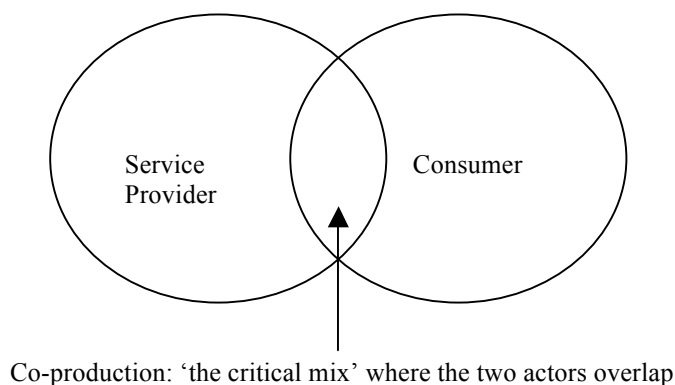
Figure 2.2: Mixing productive efforts, Adapted from Brudney and England (1983, p. 61)

The emphasis here is on the partnership of two parties that operate from different places in the production process (i.e. service provider and consumer) and whose productive efforts are combined to achieve an output. Parks et al (1981) define consumer producers as those who contribute to the production of services they consume, limiting the boundaries of co-production to include only beneficiaries of the public services. The service provider can include public sector agents or professionals from the private or voluntary and community sectors that provide public services (Parks et al, 1981; Pestoff, 2006).

Parks et al (1981) further describe two relationships where co-production is technically feasible: the substitution of the efforts of the PSO for the service user (e.g. the responsibility for sorting and placing refuse on the kerbside is conducted by the service user, to allow the collection agency to pick up); and the interdepedence of the two actors, meaning that both need to contribute to production to achieve any output (e.g. education in the classroom setting requires the contribition of both the teacher and student). The economic desirability of co-production, according to Parks

et al (1981), is dependent upon whether mixing the productive efforts of the PSO and service user is efficient.

Co-production has been linked to heightened effectiveness and efficiency (Parks et al, 1981; Brudney and England, 1983; Rosentraub and Warren, 1987; Pestoff, 2006). There is, for example, potential for co-production to improve service quality and responsiveness through a non-adversarial relationship between the public service provider and user (Marschall, 2004; Wilberforce et al, 2011). More recently Bovaird and Loffler (2012) have argued that co-production can achieve better outcomes and lower costs rather than simply being about the delivery of services.

Joshi and Moore (2004) distinguish between two sets of motivators that drive co-production based on efficiency and effectiveness. First, governance drivers can promote co-production as a result of ineffective service provision from government agencies. Arguments in favour of co-production might, for example, contend that public officials are overly self-interested or that statutory organizations are too big and bureaucratic to provide efficient services alone. The second set of motivators fall under logistical drivers, where the complexity of the environment along with the costs of delivering effective services cannot be matched by the government. Thus, 'wicked' issues such as social inclusion might be tackled more effectively where services are controlled and tailored at the grassroots level. Co-production can mobilise resources in the community that would not otherwise have been accessed (Bovaird, 2007).

Consumers as co-producers

Although NPM opened up a role for service users, it has been criticized for focusing on consumers rather than viewing them as co-producers of public services (Bovaird, 2007; Meijer, 2011). Furthermore, Jung (2010) recognises that under the vague concept of consumerism disagreement exists over what public service users should be called. The terms used to describe them have included consumers, citizens, clients and customers. These, coupled with more specific terms relating to the type

of service being provided (e.g. patients, pupils, parents, tenants and prisoners) lead to a lack of clarity about respective roles.

According to Needham (2007, p. 4), there are 'multiple and contrasting perspectives on what it means to be a consumer of public services'. Rhetoric has often compared and contrasted the role of the citizen and consumer, typically with the citizen being elevated and the consumer made the subordinate: 'citizens vote, consumers demand; citizens are public-spirited and consumers are self-interested; citizens inhabit cooperative communities and consumers live in isolated locales' (Schudson, 2006, p. 197).

Needham (2007) also discusses the various categories of the citizen (public, collectivist, common culture, active production and creativity, rights and obligations, political accountability) versus the consumer (private, individualistic, diversity, passive recipient, choice, market accountability). However, she caveats this distinction arguing that both citizens and consumers can step outside their conventional depictions. For example, consumers can have rights and are not necessarily passive, while citizens are not always active and can exercise an individual voice. In a similar vein, Schudson (2006) argues that the contrasts made between consumers and citizens tend to be inappropriate and that the concepts are blurred in three ways: first, consumer choice can be political; second, political choices are often bound with family, religious, ethnic and emotional considerations, can be based upon limited information and are not necessarily expected to have any personal impact; and third, there are greater barriers to political participation.

Consumer mechanisms for co-production

The mechanisms through which consumers co-produce differ from those available to citizens discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Gabriel and Lang (2006) argue that the idea of the 'consumer as chooser' has monopolized the debate about public services. However, in the context of co-production the role of the consumer includes and extends beyond choice.

One framework which can be drawn on to understand the mechanisms through which individuals can co-produce as consumers is Hirschman's (1970) discussion of exit, and voice. There has been a tendency in the academic debate to equate exit with economic mechanisms and voice with political mechanism (see, for example Powell et al, 2010). However, it will be argued here that as consumers, co-production can take place both through exit and voice.

Hirschman's (1970) framework concerns the review of choice strategies available to individuals, their capacity to exit the services and also whether they can utilize the mechanism of voice in order to make public services more responsive to their needs. Hirschman suggests that individuals who want improvements to the services they receive have two central strategies: exit or voice. Exit involves them selecting one service provider to the detriment of another, invoking a choice, and voice encompasses complaints made to the service provider. Another key element of Hirschman's (1970) work was the suggestion that exit and voice are not opposites, but can be combined to achieve service improvements.

Although Dunston et al (2009) differentiate co-production from voice or exit, arguing that co-production places the consumer in the central position of an 'insider' - who works with service providers, within the production process – other commentators such as Greener (2007) argue that co-production combines exit and voice. Thus, it is important to consider what implications these have for co-production. Indeed, Clarke (2007) found that voice and exit were two of the most prominent modes of exercising influence over the behaviour and output of service providers, with the service users wanting to be heard and recognized and the service providers wanting to learn from service users.

The idea of empowering the consumer has become a core theme of public management reform across the globe (Hood et al, 1996). Jack (1995), for example, refers to empowerment as consumerism where power shifts from the producer to the consumer. This equates the public service user with consumers of private services, who exercise choice, have access to information about services and who can follow

complaints procedures (voice). However, the extent to which consumerism has empowered service users is highly contestable (see for example, Jung, 2010; Haikio, 2010).

With NPM came an expectation that consumers would become more active, with the capacity to make choices. Consumer choice is embedded within the idea of individualization, where self-interested individuals make choices to meet their own specific needs. Perri 6 (2003) describes some choices consumers might have, including over the content of the service, its level/quantity, the manner of access and the identity of the service provider. Choice can be limited to expressing preference rather than having free rein (Jones and Needham, 2008). It seeks to promote independent advocacy by shifting some power and control away from the service provider and towards the individual consumer who is empowered through their ability to make choices in the marketplace (Osborne, 1994).

Nevertheless, choice can also be disempowering (Locke et al, 2003; Jung 2010) and sometimes limited (Scourfield, 2007). Bolzan and Gale (2002) argue, for example, that although consumers have power to influence the parameters of competition between service providers and can make demands and complaints, they cannot negotiate unacknowledged needs. Furthermore, Aberbach and Christensen (2005) argue that the focus on the consumer neglects collective action and participation.

Voice refers to the capacity of consumers to make complaints, suggestions or provide feedback on the services they receive. Co-production has been described as a means of providing service users with a legitimate voice, by transferring some power from professionals to service users (Bovaird, 2007). However, information provision, complaints procedures and market research do not promote empowerment in the sense of user involvement in planning services (Locke et al, 2003). Users as citizens, on the other hand, suggests participation and potential representation in decision-making.

Promoting an active consumer has been linked to the idea of the service user as an expert. Under consumerism there is a common thread of user responsiveness (Needham, 2009), with reference to users as experts in their own lives through their experiences, knowledge and understandings of their own situations.

The idea of expert has also been discussed in the social care literature concerning the personalization and co-production of services. From this perspective, co-production is described as an approach to service design and delivery, which promotes the service user as a potential contributor to service improvement (Hunter and Ritchie, 2007). It is based on the idea that the service user should be viewed as part of the team rather than the problem of the service provider. The provider must, however, create opportunities for productive partnerships which necessitates a change in behaviour from the traditional model where the professional acts as expert provider and the service user as consumer. However, counter arguments have been posed against the conceptualization of service users as experts. Clarke's (2007) research into public services in the UK found that service providers did not equate personal experience with professional expertise. Furthermore, he noted a challenge of creating 'expert consumers' or even 'responsible consumers' who have sufficient understanding of the service (Clarke, 2007).

Challenges of consumer mechanisms

There are also various challenges associated with consumer mechanisms. Haikio (2010) argues that discourses around voice and exit within the purchaser-provider model of reform do not recognise that some individuals in society may not have the power to use any of these mechanisms: 'the people who are most in need of public services have the weakest capacity to identify themselves as having political agency to take action' (p. 377). This raises important questions about who has the capacity to make choices and voice their opinions or complaints.

Making choices is dependent on the availability of necessary information and also the ability to understand this information in order to make informed choices (Jones

and Needham, 2008). Furthermore, although they have the power to exit, public service consumers do not exert the same degree of commercial power over service providers, compared to their private sector counterparts who can close businesses down by shifting their alliance elsewhere (Wilson, 1994). Some public services may also be invoked against the will of the service user (e.g. mental health services where treatment is forced on the service user and prison services) (Cowden and Singh, 2007; Jung, 2010).

Voice, on the other hand, can be time-consuming and frustrating for service users who may not see any impact from their contributions. Voice can also be time consuming for service providers; government officials have reportedly complained about having to listen to numerous different voices, preferring them to be collated into one unified voice (Bochel et al, 2008). There has also been some discussion around whether public service users have the necessary knowledge and understanding to comment on services. Indeed, the arguments against consumerism include the portrayal of consumers as disorganized individuals who are positioned against organized and well-resourced service providers (Jones and Needham, 2008).

Concerns over the depth and applicability of voice, and whether some voices will be heard over or will delegitimise others, have also been raised (Clarke, 2005, 2007; Jones and Needham, 2008). This is because organizations exercise control over which voices they listen to and act on. Furthermore some service users may be more articulate and louder than others.

Choice and voice may therefore result in an inequitable distribution of services, disadvantaging those who are most in need of the services.

Despite all the rhetoric about autonomy, choice and empowerment, there are real limits on direct consumer control for frail elderly people, children, people with severe learning difficulties and for marginalised groups, who make a substantial proportion of social service clients (Langan, 2000, p. 165).

Indeed, according to Bolzan and Gale (2002), individual consumers have few opportunities to negotiate the meeting of their needs, being recipients of services

predefined by professionals. They further argue that professionals act as gatekeepers, controlling access to resources, with front-line staff responsible for managing resources and balancing them against need. The disadvantage placed before asylum seekers is arguably made more acute. The marginal nature of this population and their status as non-citizens throws their ability and role in co-production into stark relief. A significant question which develops from this discussion is therefore whether asylum seekers can co-produce public services through mechanisms such as voice, choice and exit (and/or through the participative mechanisms described above).

Co-production: some common themes

The co-production literature shares the general assumption that public service users are not only consumers but also *potential* producers of services, although service users can play different roles in co-production through various mechanisms which are facilitated by PSOs.

The literature suggests that the shift towards co-production away from the traditional model of service production involves a corresponding shift from the passive individual to active participants who contribute to the production of the services they demand and receive (Alford, 2002; Pestoff, 2006). The active and voluntary co-productive behaviour of the service user has thus become a common thread when conceptualizing co-production (Whitaker, 1980; Brudney and England, 1983; Pestoff, 2006). In the words of Etzioni (1968, p, 4) '*To be active is to be in charge*; to be passive is to be under control, be it of natural processes, of social waves and streams, or – of active others' (emphasis in original). Complete passivity, argues Etzioni, is rare but the level of activity from the consumer/citizen will nevertheless vary.

The active role of public service users and the use of various citizen and consumer mechanisms (by PSOs) to facilitate co-production, suggests two important points: service users are not coerced into co-production; and PSOs control how co-production takes place.

The first point suggests that co-production is voluntary and this depends on various factors:

Citizens are not like a jack-in-the-box, just waiting for someone to push a button or latch to release their potential engagement in co-production. They will pick and choose when and where to participate according to their own preferences. The importance or salience of a particular service to them or their loved ones will help to trigger their willingness to participate. In addition, the facility or hurdles that they meet when they attempt to participate will serve to encourage or discourage them to participate in co-production. (Pestoff, 2012b, p. 377)

The second and equally important point suggests that co-production is *added onto* service production by the PSO, which therefore controls the extent to which public service users can actively co-produce their services through the facilitation of various mechanisms. At the service planning stage a PSO might, for example, introduce opportunities for service users to contribute to decisions over which services are produced, and the format that they take, by consulting them. An alternative mode of engagement at the service delivery stage might be through a service user's involvement in service provision as a volunteer – though invariably as an add-on to another service user's service experience. In neither formulation, though, is co-production seen as inherent to service delivery.

For co-production to work there needs to be buy-in from managers, professionals and service users (Boyle et al, 2006; Crowley et al., 2002). Gaster and Rutqvist (2000) argue that in order to understand local needs and uphold their accountability, delivery organizations rely on front line service staff to implement ideas in their local setting. According to Gaster and Rutqvist, the role of the 'front-line' staff in a PSO is essential if public services are to be successfully re-designed to meet need. This attributes a high degree of responsibility to those organizations delivering the services and particularly to their staff who have personal contact with the service users. The staff will essentially be the outward face of the delivery organization and potentially the service itself. Lipsky (1980) defines those public sector workers interacting directly with service users as street-level bureaucrats. He describes these individuals as having a high degree of discretion over the execution of their work and therefore having a significant impact on people's lives.

The policy delivered by street-level bureaucrats is most often immediate and personal. They usually make decisions on the spot (although they try not to) and their determinations are focused entirely on the individual. (Lipsky 1980, p. 8).

'Participative' co-production

Figure 2.3 illustrates this blended view of co-production from this public administration/management perspective. This approach to co-production posits that service users can contribute to public service delivery at two points – either during service planning or service delivery.
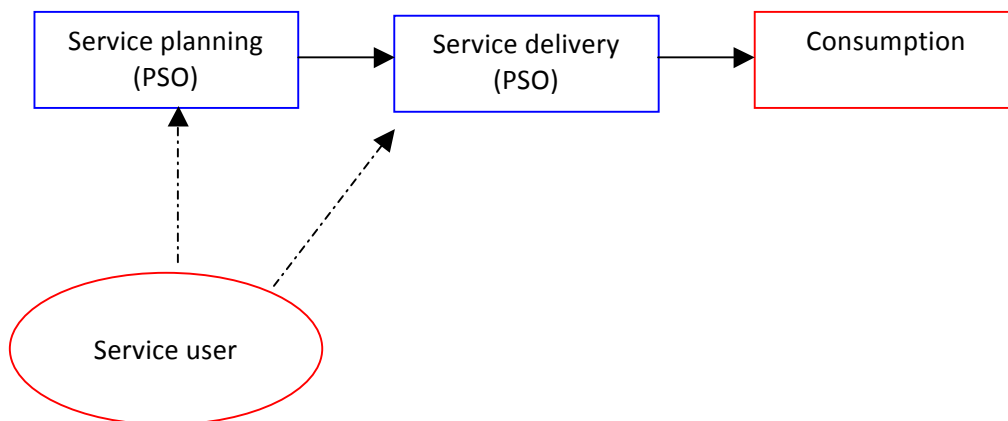
Figure 2.3: Participative co-production

The service user's contribution here is marked in the figure by dotted lines because this mode positions co-production as *an optional extension* of 'traditional' service production, rather than as a core component of it. Any co-production of the service is at the behest of the service provider.

The discussion has suggested the various ways in which the service user (as a consumer or citizen) can be 'added into' the process of service production and that co-production can only occur at the behest of, and controlled by, service professionals. In the figure, service planning and delivery are also deliberately represented above the service user to show the differentiation in roles between the

service provider and user.

Co-production has also been tied to both objectives of service improvement and the achievement of wider social objectives, suggesting that the goal of co-production is likely to have a bearing on the type of co-production ascribed to by a PSO.

Thus, co-production is an arrangement where service users through citizen or consumer mechanisms 'produce their own services at least in part' (Pestoff et al, 2006, p.592). Partnership can exist to differing degrees, suggesting that co-production exists on a continuum. The responsibility for service production might fall predominantly in the hands of the service provider, for instance, but the success of the service is ultimately dependent on the responsiveness of those who use the service.

Challenges of participative co-production

There is an assumption in much of the co-production literature that co-production itself, like public engagement, is a good thing. However, the literature also argues that co-production cannot be viewed as a panacea to all challenges within public service production (Percy, 1983; Levine and Fisher, 1984; Pammer, 1992; Bovaird, 2007).

The limitations of co-production include the blurring of boundaries between public and private interests and shifting costs and risk to service users who share the burden of production, its monetary costs, time and effort (Needham, 2007; Levine and Fisher, 1984). Hanvassy and Yanay (1990) also question whether co-production actually seeks to empower service users or co-opt them into the service delivery system, effectively neutralising their voice.

Co-production may also become time consuming and resource intensive for PSOs, diverting attention from the 'real' task of effective service delivery and therefore not worthwhile (Martin and Boaz, 2000). Co-production can bring further negative consequences, particularly where service users are contributing upon the basis of

misinformation, with the goal service improvement therefore unlikely to be achieved. Percy (1983) argues that service users typically lack the skills and expertise that would permit them to substitute the role of professionals during the production process. Indeed, service users may require specialized training, which may involve heightened costs to the service provider. Co-production has also been described as difficult to sustain in the medium to long-term (Levine and Fisher, 1984) - it is reliant upon service managers and/or employees developing and maintaining good working relationships with services users.

Rosentraub and Warren (1987) argue that if there is a lack of professional support co-production can be problematic for service production. Another concern is that professionals will lose control or authority over their own work. Professionals may resent and even resist the inclusion of untrained and inexperienced service users into the production process (Pestoff, 2006; Bovaird, 2007). Thus the interests of the service producer and service user will not necessarily match. Indeed, while the PSO will be concerned with efficiency, cost effectiveness, good management and responsiveness, the service user will focus on their personal rights, choices and opportunities. Thus, the co-production of services is likely to require a balance to be struck between the different goals.

Finally, service users need an appetite to co-produce which, from the public administration perspective, requires that they dedicate personal time and energy to service production. A debate exists as to whether they have either the time or inclination for this (e.g. Osborne et al, 2002). A key concern identified by Bovaird (2007) is who participates in co-production, which is likely to fall disproportionately to more well off sections of society. Alford (2002a) argues that motivations to co-produce are more complex than money or avoidance of sanctions, but might include feelings of personal satisfaction or obligation. However, he also notes that those who play different roles are likely to have different motivations; while customers might be self-interested and seek to maximize material rewards for themselves, citizens might be encouraged to produce for more complex reasons such as intrinsic rewards.

Co-Production: The Services Management Theory

The previous discussion indicated that public management has traditionally drawn on management theory derived primarily from the manufacturing sector. The goods-dominant logic suggests that production and consumption are separated as different and discrete processes (Vargo et al, 2008) – public services are conceptualized as goods to be produced by public policy makers and service professionals and consumed (relatively) passively by service users. Thus, co-production can only occur at the behest of, and controlled by, service professionals.

The debate around public services production has largely ignored the dedicated theory and literature on services management – despite the fact that this may well have unique insights to offer to the understanding of public *services* management (Osborne, 2010).

The 'consumerism' movement in public services delivery has drawn upon some elements of services management theory. However, as others have argued, this approach is a partial one that has sought to extract 'the consumer' from the overall service delivery process and fails to understand the logic of this process – and its implications for public services delivery (Jung, 2010; Powell et al, 2010). Indeed, there has been some debate over the extent to which the public sector can impersonate the private (Allison, 1979), with some commentators highlighting the difference in the nature of the tasks undertaken in each sector (Hood, 1991; Kickert, 1997). Conditions such as citizenship, equity and collective choice, for example, are present in the public sector and absent from the private (Ferlie et al, 1996) and the societal, political and legal environment makes the public sector distinctive (Kickert, 1997). Despite these important differences, learning and applications have been drawn from the private sector.

Understanding services: inseparability, intangibility and co-production

Services management theory stems from tripartite notions of inseparability, intangibility and co-production (Gronroos, 2007). Nankervis (2005) also includes variability and perishability as defining characteristics of services. Services are

variable in the sense that they can be diverse and customized; they are not fixed in the same way as manufactured goods and can be tailored to the specific needs of the customer. Services are also perishable experiences in that they cannot be replicated, stored or reused due to their diverse and customised nature. They are also perishable in the sense that they are time-limited and may therefore only be available for consumption at a certain point in time (Sampson and Froehle, 2006).

Services are often referred to as *intangible*. They are not concrete goods that that can be physically moved, consumed and/or owned at a time of the consumer's choosing (such as a washing machine). Rather they are intangible processes, with the issue of the subjective experience of the service delivery process by the consumer being a key determinant of the quality of the service (Nankervis, 2005; Gronroos, 2007) – the service experience in a restaurant, for example, is at least as important in the 'performance' of a restaurant as is the quality of the food served.

However, there is some divergence from the view that all services are intangible. Sampson and Froehle (2006, 335) argue, for example: 'Service processes are capable of being perceived, and service outcomes are often as tangible, or more tangible, than manufacturing outputs.' They suggest that all production processes have both tangible (that can be perceived by the senses) and intangible components, concluding that intangibility does not uniquely characterize services. Some services, such as dental treatment, provide both tangible (e.g. facilitating goods such as needles and supporting facilities such as the building within which the service is conducted) and intangible elements (e.g. the subjective experience of the service encounter). Thus tangible elements can support the intangible process of the service (Lusch et al, 2010). Likewise, in the case of manufactured goods, tangible goods may be supported by intangible services (e.g. after purchasing an electrical appliance, the manufacturer may offer a telephone service to receive advice on operating the goods).

The literature also refers to the *inseparable* nature of the production and consumption of services, the nature of services as processes, and the role that

consumers or customers ('services users' in a public service context) play in their production as well as in their consumption (Nankervis, 2005; Gronroos, 2007; Normann, 1991). In the services management literature, the focus is on the 'customer'. Johnston and Clark (2008, p. 74) recognize that customer has various meanings for service organizations, including 'individual consumers, users or clients, internal customers or operations/units, or external organizations and their employees with whom service organizations do business.'

The production and consumption of services is inseparable because they are produced and consumed simultaneously in time and at the same location – rather than with production and consumption being temporally and spatially separated as in the case of manufactured goods (Johnston & Clark, 2008). Thus, whilst manufactured goods are produced in one place (for example, a factory), sold somewhere else (a shop) and then consumed at a third site (perhaps in someone's home), the production and business logic for services is entirely different - production and consumption occur at the same time and in the same place (Vargo et al, 2008). A theatrical experience and/or hotel services are examples of such simultaneous inseparability of production and consumption.

Nankervis (2005) suggests that there are degrees of inseparability in all services. The service encounter is a process that consists of activities or a series of activities within which there is some kind of interaction between the service organization and the customer (Gronroos, 2007). From the goods approach, the customer has traditionally taken a role of dependency, playing a largely passive role as an observer and reliant on service organization employees' knowledge and skills to produce and deliver services on their behalf. Similarly the service organization is dependent on the customer whose primary role is to consume the service. However, the traditional demarcation between consumption and production has become less rigid (Nankervis, 2005). Through inseparability, the service user is more than a passive consumer, playing an active role as participant in the service and likewise, the service organization is more than just service provider, having to manage the customer's role in the production process.

Finally services are invariably *co-produced* by the service staff and the consumer. Lovelock and Young (1979) were among the first to consider co-production, forwarding the idea that customers are an important contribution to a firm's productivity. They argue that consumer behavior is crucial for productivity gains in services for three reasons: services typically involve the consumer in the production process; services tend to be labour-intensive; and services tend to be time-bound and therefore managers place a strong emphasis on capacity utilization. Since, there has been considerable literature on the theory of co-production, but limited empirical work.

The literature situates co-production as an essential and intrinsic process of interaction between any service organization and the consumer at the point of production of a service (Gronroos, 2007) - what Normann has termed 'the moment of truth' in services provision:

Most services are the result of social acts which take place in direct contact between the customer and representatives of the service company. To take a metaphor from bullfighting, we could say that the perceived quality is realized at the moment of truth, when the service provider and the service customer confront one another in the arena. At that moment they are very much on their own. What happens then can no longer be directly influenced by the company. It is the skill, the motivation and the tools employed by the firm's representative and the expectations and behavior of the client which together will create the service delivery process. (Normann, 1991, p.16/17)

Thus, the moment of truth is where the quality of the service is determined (Normann, 1991; Gronroos, 2007; Glushko and Tabas, 2009). The experience of a service process is shaped as much by the subjective expectations of the consumer and their active role in the service delivery process as by service staff themselves. Service organizations can only 'promise' a certain process or experience – the actuality is dependent upon the Normann's (1991) 'moment of truth'. A classic example of this would be the co-produced experience of residential care by the interaction of staff and service users in a residential home for the elderly.

The services management literature refers to co-production as a process of interaction between the service organization and customer, which is considered

fundamental to any service encounter (Gronroos, 2007). Indeed, Sampson and Froehle (2006) discuss services as having unique, individual elements of service production and further suggest that this heterogeneity in process and outcome results from the heterogeneity in process caused by customer inputs.

Due to the focus on the service encounter, the role of the service provider is crucial, particularly those on the front-line. The relationship is between individuals rather than with the organization (Johnston and Clark, 2008), which has implications for how the relationship might be managed. Thus, the effective production of the service depends upon the performance of individuals from both parties in the relationship.

Responsibilities inferred through co-production fall on both parties to the relationship; the provider must perform certain activities during production and the customer must also perform activities that 'transform their own states' in order to achieve benefit or value from the service (Spohrer and Maglio 2008, p. 240). Indeed, the quality of services is determined by the expectations, skills and experiences of both the service provider and customer (Nankervis, 2005; Meuter et al, 2005; Gronroos, 2007). Since the service always involves the customer, the customer will gauge the quality through the service interaction (Normann, 1991).

In reality, co-production and inseparability are more of a continuum than a steady state. Normann (1991) identifies six specific points at which the customer can co-produce, illustrating the various levels of co-production and inseparability: specification, production, quality control, and maintenance of ethos, development and marketing. Specification includes instances where customer input is restricted to participation in the diagnosis of the problem which might include a patient providing his doctor with information to help him diagnose an illness. Production, according to Normann (1991, p. 81) refers to '*pure co-production,* whereby the client does some of the (physical) work which could conceivably have been done by the service company' (emphasis in original). Thirdly, quality control includes situations where the customer looks on, thereby bringing an element of quality control into the service. Fourth, maintenance of ethos refers to instances where the customer

participation is facilitated and promoted by the service organization in order to benefit the service organization employees by providing them with interesting experiences or valuable interaction. The fifth function described by Normann (1991) is where the customer is involved in the development of the entire service system. Gronroos (2007) also make reference to customers' role in development, arguing that they support the development of new ideas, solutions, and technologies and also by placing demands on service organizations. Finally, the customer may participate in the marketing of the service where they pass on their experience of the service to other customers.

Services such as residential care and education are clearly instances where co-production and inseparability are high, owing to the fact that consumption and production take place at the same point in time, and with direct face to face contact between the service user and the service provider (in the care home or the classroom respectively). By contrast, they are rather lower for electronic financial services – because production and consumption of such services occur through the medium of an electronic interface that does not have the inter-personal immediacy of face-to-face contact between the service provider and the service user. Yet even such services do still exhibit co-production from a services management perspective – even if the co-production of a financial service is essentially passive (inputting financial data on yourself or choosing from a list of pre-set options), compared to the more active case of student–teacher interaction in the classroom.

Although some of the literature around public services (e.g. Wilson 1994, Bovaird 2007; Bovaird and Loffler, 2012; Meijer, 2011) has drawn upon Normann's (1984, 1991) work in the private sector, the discussion around co-production within the discipline of public management has arguably stopped short.

Fountain (2001), for example, examines the structural features of the private sector services management in her discussion of the paradoxes of customer service in government in the United States. Interestingly, her discussion touches on the intangibility of services, the inseparability of production and consumption and co-

production (some of the issues that will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter). However, she does not seek to explore how understanding these core elements of services management might impact our understanding of the co-production of public services.   Rather, Fountain argues that the market-based perspectives can change the relationship between the state and its citizens, focusing on the idea of customers with limited power. A core aim of this thesis is to contribute to the debate by taking these ideas further.

Dunston et al (2009) also draw some inferences from the services management literature in their discussion of the co-production of public services. They suggest that the concept of co-production can improve our understanding of public services and the relationships that are crucial to the production process. In their review of the principles of co-production, Dunston et al (2009) suggest some interesting and salient points that are of interest to this study. First, they suggest that services are not commodities produced by one provider alone and linked to this the second point, that consumers are not passive recipients of services. Finally front-line service providers do not simply implement services but also interpret, influence and translate them. The Public Administration literature suggested that as co-producers individual service users are not passive, but Dunston et al (2009, p. 43) suggest that 'the complex processes of [public] service production' have been misrepresented by the attachments to the goods-dominant logic, which views 'consumers as passive, incompetent and as recipients only.'

Goods-dominant versus service-dominant logic

A recent criticism of public management is its failure to differentiate services from manufactured goods (Osborne, 2010; McGuire, 2012). The exception to this is the recent work of Osborne and Brown (2011) who argue that public services innovation should embrace the service-orientated approach, recognizing the distinctive nature of services and in particular the tripartite notions of intangibility, inseparability and co-production. In doing so they contrast public service production with the goods orientated approach and promote the core role of the service user as co-producer of

innovations. The focus on the shift toward the 'service-dominant' logic has been a core facet of the services management literature.

Vargo and Lusch (2004, p. 2) define services as 'the application of specialized competencies (knowledge and skills) through deeds, processes, and performances for the benefit of another entity or the entity itself'. Definitions of services have been numerous and varied, invariably trying to encapsulate the essence of the term and its difference from goods (Sampson and Froehle, 2006). Nankervis (2005) suggests that the various definitions of services ultimately seek to emphasize the dynamic interactions between the provider and customer. He suggests three implications from a review of the definitions of service: firstly, services are distinct from goods in their nature and systems of delivery; secondly, services rely on the perceptions and expectations of customers; and thirdly, the output of services are more difficult to quantify compared to goods.

The process-nature is a key characteristic of services because it underlines their construction as a series of activities to which various resources contribute (Gronroos, 2007). Gronroos further contends that because customers participate in the process, the process becomes part of the solution. Thus as a process, services are inherently relational. The process includes the way the customer is dealt with by the service provider, including: the responsiveness of the organization; flexibility of front-line staff; degree of personal interaction; accessibility of personnel and information; courtesy and competency of staff; and interactions with other customers (Johnston and Clark, 2008).

Gronroos (2009) notes a trend in the research around value, with a shift away from a value-in-exchange view, typically associated with manufactured goods, and towards value-in-use, where the value is created during the interaction between producer and consumer. Indeed, services have been described as processes where the resources of the two actors interact to ultimately create value (Gronroos 2007).

> *… customers are always co-producer… Because the firm is in charge of the production process, customers are allowed to engage themselves with this process and thus become co-*

producers. However, as the customers are in charge of their value creation, they are the value creators and the firm may be allowed to engage itself with the customers' value creation during customer-firm interactions, and become co-creators of value with the customers. (Gronroos, 2009, p. 357/8)

This reflects the relational nature of services and also suggests there is no value for the consumer until they make use of the service. Ramirez (1999) also differentiates value creation from a goods perspective and the alternative services perspective which suggests value co-production. In relation to services, Ramirez argues 'Value is not simply 'added', but is mutually 'created' and 're-created' among actors with different values.' (Ramirez, 1999, p. 50)

More recently, and predominantly through the work of Vargo and colleagues (2008), clear distinctions have been drawn between the goods-dominant logic (G-D logic) and service-dominant logic (S-D logic). Vargo and Lusch (2011) argue that understanding value creation from the S-D logic provides a more comprehensive view than is suggested by the G-D logic:

It brings into view not only local actors – the focal service provider (e.g., firm) and beneficiary (e.g., customer) – but also the context – the networks of resources and resource-providing actors – available to these actors (Vargo and Lusch, 2011, p. 183).

Figure 2.4 on the following page summarises the main differences between the G-D and S-D logics.

	G-D Logic	S-D Logic
Value driver	Value in exchange	Value in use/context
Creator of value	Organization (with input from others in the supply chain	Organization, network partners and customers
Process of value creation	Value embedded in goods or services, value added by enhancing/increasing attributes	Organization proposes value through market offerings, customers continue process through use
Purpose of value	Increase wealth of organization	Increase adaptability, survivability and system wellbeing through service
Resources used	Primarily operand resources	Primarily operant resources
Role of organization	Produce and distribute value	Propose and co-create value
Role of goods	Units of output, embedded with value	Vehicle for operant resources
Role of customers	To use or destroy value	Co-create value through the integration of organization's resources and other public and private resources.

Figure 2.4: Value creation from a G-D logic Vs a S-D logic, adapted from Vargo et al, 2008, p. 148

The G-D logic focuses on goods or products (including both tangible and intangible elements) as the focus of exchange (Spohrer et al, 2008). The organization or service provider produce the product in isolation from the customer and embed value during the manufacturing process. It suggests that the organization, as sole provider, makes goods as a resource available to the customer who through the act of consumption becomes the sole creator of value. Thus, the producer is distinguished as the creator of value, while the consumer is described as the destroyer of value.

According to Vargo and Lusch (2004), the G-D logic obscures a full appreciation of services and a complete understanding of marketing. They argue that the exchange of goods is the basis of the traditional G-D logic, where goods were the end products and the customer the recipient of those goods. Essentially, therefore, customers are acted upon, with service providers taking full responsibility for production,

distribution and promotion. Thus value is determined wholly by the producer and embedded within the goods produced.

In contrast, the S-D logic locates services as the application of knowledge and skills for the benefit of another (Spohrer et al, 2008). According to Gummesson and Polese (2009), both customers and businesses are operant resources and therefore both act rather than react. Thus, customers are positioned as key contributors to value-creation processes as co-producers of the service.

This means more than simply being consumer orientated; it means collaborating with and learning from customers and being adaptive to their individual and dynamic needs. A service centred dominant logic implies that value is defined by and cocreated with the consumer rather than embedded in output. (Vargo and Lusch, 2004, p. 6)

The central role of the customer further suggests that the service-dominant logic is based on relational exchanges between the service provider and customer. Indeed, Vargo and Lusch (2004) recognize that, although their role is often invisible and intangible, customers contribute to service production as 'active participants in relational exchanges and coproduction', rather than being acted upon (2004, p. 7). Thus, value is no longer created by the service provider but is perceived and determined by the consumer through 'value in use'; the service provider can only make value propositions.

... value is always co-created through the combined efforts of firms, employees, customers, stockholders, government agencies, and other entities related to any given exchange, but is always determined by the beneficiary (e.g. customer). (Vargo et al, 2008, p. 148)

Vargo and Lusch extend their argument with reference to tangible goods, suggesting that production and therefore value-creation does not conclude after manufacturing. Indeed, they describe goods as 'appliances that provide services for and in conjunction with the consumer' (2004, p. 11), which the customer must learn to use, maintain and adapt to their own specific needs thereby continuing the process of value-creation through consumption, well after the goods have been manufactured. This links to arguments made by Gummesson (1998) who suggests that if the focus is on the consumer, value creation occurs only when services or goods are consumed.

Managing the service relationship: relationship marketing

It is clear that as co-producers, customers are an integral part of the production process of the service they consume. They are present when the service is being performed and often contribute effort or information to the production process which can be crucial to creating and/or enhancing their service experience (Kelley et al., 1990). Early service management literature on co-production has focused primarily on the business case for customer co-production, highlighting the benefits to the service organization and particularly increased productivity (Lovelock and Young, 1979). Co-production is perceived to reduce labour costs thereby lowering the cost of the service, benefiting organizations' competitiveness and lowering prices. Bendapudi and Leone (2003) warn however, that the reduced monetary cost does not necessarily coincide with an overall reduction in cost, as non-monetary costs such as time and effort may be higher for both the organization and customer. Significant import is therefore attached to managing co-production in the service relationship.

According to the basic premise of co-production, productivity and quality are interrelated in the service process; as the customer participates in the service process they influence the service outcome, and ultimately their own satisfaction with the service. According to Gronroos (2009) marketing is essentially about customer management and Ramirez (1999) suggests that customers should be managed as factors of production, or assets. Indeed, the value gained from the service might depend on how well the customer and service organization staff relate to one another, how well the customer explains their expectations and whether the employee understands their expectations (e.g. a customer has to explain to their hairdresser how they would like their hair cut/styled). The relationship exists primarily between the customer and front-line staff within the service organization. Indeed, service organizations depend on employees for their knowledge, skills and motivation to produce an effective service. The interaction is key:

... a company can influence service quality, consumer satisfaction, and repeat purchase behaviour by focusing on the small dance carried out by the customer and contact employee. (Bowers et al 1990, p.56)

Managing the employee-customer interface is essential to the success of the service, and relationship marketing has been suggested as an appropriate management technique. As early as 1979, Lovelock and Young recommended a focus on the relationship between customers and front-line employees to promote co-production. They outlined specific steps for managers: develop positive and trustful relationships with their customers in order to promote a willingness to accept change; take steps to develop an understanding of customers' habits; undertake careful testing of any new procedures; attempt to understand why customers behave the way they do; be prepared to teach customers how to use service innovations; promote the benefits of service innovation to encourage customers to change their behaviour; and monitor and evaluate the performance of new procedures to ensure they are continuing to work effectively over time.

Gronroos (2000, p. 98) defines relationship marketing as:

the process of identifying and establishing, maintaining, enhancing and, when necessary, terminating relationships with customers and other stakeholders, at a profit, so that the objectives of all parties are met, where this is done by a mutual giving and fulfillment of promises.

Gummesson (1998) argues that relationship marketing offers a welcome paradigm shift from traditional marketing management. The emphasis of relationship marketing is on inter-dependent, collaborative and long-term relationships of mutual respect, where the customer is viewed as a partner (Gummesson, 1998; Wright and Taylor, 2005; Kinard and Capella, 2006). However, as Gronroos (2000) suggests relationship marketing can also be used to terminate relationships in a positive way.

Relationship marketing recognizes the crucial role of the customer in contributing to their own satisfaction with the service (Veloutsou et al, 2004). Relational strategies are typically communicated through advertising, customer care and customer loyalty programmes (O'Malley and Prothero, 2004). The aim is to establish, develop and sustain relationships with customers, which is achieved through normative methods such as trust and commitment rather than contractual arrangements. Thus, there is a shift away from manipulation and the transactional approach towards

communication, knowledge sharing and genuine customer involvement (Gronroos, 2007).

With a focus on relationships, networks and interactions, relationship marketing does not only consider the customer-provider relationship, but also relationships among suppliers and with competitors (Gummesson, 1998).

Relationship marketing has already been discussed in relation to public services (e.g. Laing, 2003; Wright and Taylor, 2007; McLaughlin et al, 2009; McGuire, 2012). Wright and Taylor (2007) argue that, despite the shortcomings of transferring private sector marketing concepts into the public sector, relationship marketing has a potentially significant contribution to make given its focus on relationship building between providers and both their customers and suppliers. They argue that healthcare providers should be aware of the importance of building relationships with customers, while also focusing on the intangible dimensions of service delivery. They suggest two roles for relationship marketing in the health care setting. First, create a shift away from transactional approaches to services by focusing on the service user and the relationship with them; provide services for them rather than to them. Second, they suggest that relationship marketing focuses on the relationship between healthcare employees and their customers to embed customer-focus and responsiveness.

More recently McGuire (2012) has defined relationship marketing as a partnership approach which redirects attention from short-term transactions and contracts to longer-term relationships built on trust. She makes a methodological contribution, arguing that relationship marketing has something to offer in the context of public services. However, she further discusses the challenges of transferring relationship marketing into the complex and diverse public services context, particularly given its nature as a broad range of approaches. McGuire suggests that relationship marketing reflects a process view of relationships, which are underpinned by collaboration. She adds: 'A fundamental insight from RM [relationship marketing] is that managing interactions is the key to relational exchanges' (p. 546).

Co-production on a continuum: customer participation and co-creation

Co-production from the services management perspective, has been described as integral to the process nature of the service and therefore unavoidable. However, the concept of co-production has been extended in two broad ways. First, it has been associated with customer participation and more recently, co-production has been tied up with the idea of value co-creation.

Customer Participation

The idea that co-production sits on a continuum is suggested in a strand of the services management literature, which like the public administration literature, refers to co-production as a form of participation, focusing specifically on consumer mechanisms (Fitzsimmons, 1985; Mills and Morris, 1986; Kelley et al, 1990; Bitner et al, 1997; Bendapudi and Leone, 2003). The suggestion is that customers can become more active in producing and delivering the service than what is facilitated through the inseparable nature of the service encounter.

Customers can co-produce through various mechanisms such as choice, information provision, complaints procedures, service evaluation forms and self-service activities (Bitner et al, 1997; Gronroos, 2007). Such an approach to co-production has already been discussed in the realm of public services production under the auspices of NPM.

Arguments have been forwarded to suggest that services can be classified according to the degree of customer involvement during the service encounter. Nankervis (2005, p.18), for example, refers to a continuum of active or passive contact from very high to very low. Others have also suggested that customer participation can be plotted onto a continuum. Fitzsimmons (1985), for example, refers to a 'spectrum of service delivery' which places the individual service user according to the degree of involvement they have in service production. He argues that 'productivity can be enhanced by capitalizing on the active participation of the consumer in the service process' (p.61).

Bettencourt et al (2002) suggest that although co-production exists in all services, it can be more pronounced in certain services, which they describe as knowledge intensive. In such services, the clients are described as knowledgeable and competent and organizations are said to be dependent upon their collaboration for the effective production of the service. Indeed, Betterncourt et al (2002) suggest that organizations should seek out high performing clients whose contributions, along with the organization, will ultimately enhance the operational effectiveness of the service. They promote the idea of the 'partial employee', as do others (Mills et al, 1983; Mills and Morris, 1986; Bowers et al, 1990; Bitner et al 1997). The creation of partial employees is said to swell the boundaries of the organization to include temporary members who fulfil tasks that were traditionally undertaken by paid employees (Mills et al, 1983; Bitner et al, 1997).

There is, however, a counter argument to the one for partial employees. It reflects upon the uncertainty that customers bring to the production process and suggests their input should be limited (Bitner et al, 1997).

Service co-production and co-creation of value

The services management literature makes a further contribution, broadening our understanding of how services are produced. At its most basic level, consumer co-production exists as an integral element of the service interaction which involves an exchange between service provider and user (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004). It can improve customer satisfaction, through understanding the nature of services and particularly the inseparability of consumption and production in the service encounter. However, the concept of service co-production has recently been expanded.

The service-dominant logic has promoted the conception of co-creation (Vargo and Lusch, 2004; Vargo and Lusch, 2008), a term coined by Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000) who discuss the changing role of customers within the service relationship. Co-creation represents a shift in thinking away from the G-D logic view where value was exchanged when the service was provided to the customer, to the S-D logic

which suggests that value is determined by the customer during consumption, usage and process (Kristensson et al, 2008; Ordanini and Pasini, 2008; Vargo and Lusch, 2008).

Vargo and Lusch (2008) take the argument further, suggesting that rather than viewing the customer as co-producer (as is determined by the nature of services) the customer should always be viewed co-creator of value. Value is not created by the service organization, but rather 'cocreated' by customers when they integrate resources (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2000, 2004; Vargo and Lusch, 2008; Lusch and Webster, 2011) to co-develop personalized service experiences through an active and equal dialogue with service providers through the service encounter. Personalizing the service experience through co-creation is achieved through individual interactions and outcomes; it involves more than pre-determined choices provided by the organization, giving the customer the opportunity to choose how they interact with the experience environment provided by the organization (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004). Co-creation is therefore a very individualized undertaking. It extends beyond the service interaction, which is the basis of consumer co-production, offering a deeper opportunity for customers to shape the service experience.

Traditional economics focuses squarely on the exchange of products and services between the company and the consumer, placing value extradition by the firm and the consumer at the heart of the interaction. In the co-creation view, all points of interaction between the company and the consumer are opportunities for both value creation and extraction. (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004, p.10/11, original emphasis).

Ordanini and Pasini's (2008) work helps to differentiate between the concepts of co-production and co-creation. They argue that the S-D logic locates the customer in a central position, suggesting that they are always co-producer (Vargo and Lusch, 2004) and as such, react to the value propositions made by the service organization. They describe two propositions. First, customer relationships represent a service system rather than just market-based relations because the organization incorporates its resources and competencies into the service process (service co-production). Second, the value of the service exchange materializes from the exchange because it

is the pre-requisite for the service that is produced rather than the service itself; the process is completed only when the customer integrates their own resources (value co-creation). They produce a diagram (see figure 2.5 below) to explain this.

SERVICE PROVIDER

Resources & Competencies — SERVICE CO-PRODUCTION — Resources & Competencies

Resources & Competencies ← CUSTOMER
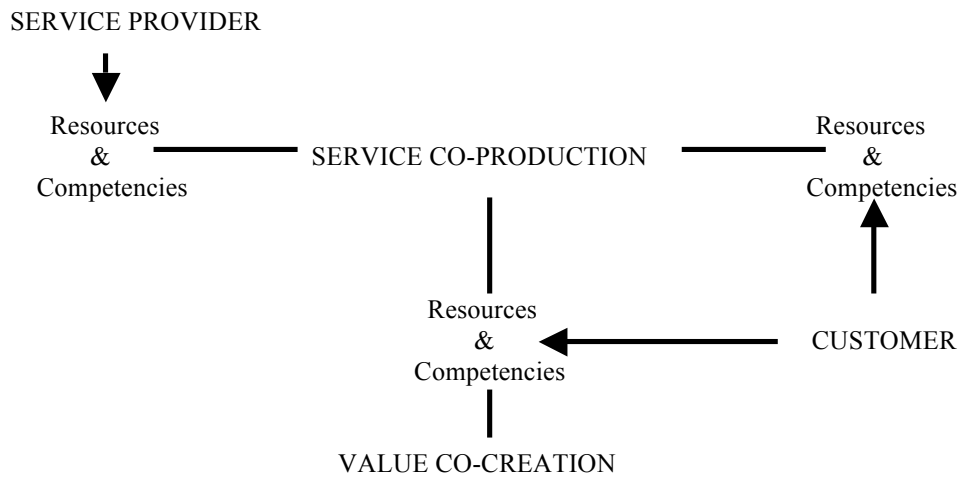
VALUE CO-CREATION

Figure 2.5: Service co-production and value co-creation according to service-dominant logic (Ordanini and Pasini, 2008, p.291)

Figure 2.5 shows that customers co-produce a service when they integrate resources and competences to the service process. It is only when a customer integrates such resources and competencies that the process can be completed and value can be achieved (through co-creation). Thus, value is highly dependent upon the customer.

Through co-creation, the service organization proactively seeks to discover, understand and satisfy 'latent needs', rather than simply reacting to expressed needs (Kristensson et al, 2008). The mechanisms through which customers co-create in service design include brainstorming, interviews, mock service delivery and team meetings (Alam, 2006). The traditional approach was to first scrutinize customer need, and then attempt to satisfy that need. The idea of co-creation is to shift the role of the service provider to 'mere facilitator and partner of consumer ingenuity and agency' (Zwick et al 2008, p. 173). The task for service managers is establishing and maintaining co-operation with co-creators, which Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000)

argue can be achieved by shaping their expectations through two-way communication and education.

Managing value co-creation

Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000) argue that the move towards customers as co-creators has brought with it a move away from relationship marketing towards active dialogue with a view to shaping expectations. Dialogue suggests interaction, deep engagement and the capacity and willingness to act by both parties, therefore requiring that both parties act as joint and equal problem solvers (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004) through communication and cooperation (Zwick et al, 2008).

Vargo and Lusch (2008), contend that the relational element of service is not a normative option, but inherent to the premise of the co-creation of value. Co-creation and the service dominant logic emphasise a close and productive relationship between service providers and customers; a relationship which is mutually beneficial to each (Zwick et al, 2008). This is based on an assumption that customers are skilled workers - which is at odds with the traditional Fordist image of unskilled customers who rationalize the production process through the control mechanisms constructed by the organization – who should be enabled to freely articulate their needs and share their expertise to shape services. This suggests that customers are potential innovators who can supplement the creative efforts of the service provider. Thus, the focus becomes the process of the service and the combining of actors' resources, stepping away from any emphasis on output or the intangible product (Vargo and Lusch 2008).

The idea of customers as innovators has also been discussed by von Hippel (1998) who argues that services users can be empowered to develop innovative solutions to specific problems. von Hippel (2005) later refers to the 'democratizing' of innovation, which places the user in the role of service developer. The role of the 'lead user' has been of particular interest to von Hippel. Lead users are defined as those who expect to profit from making innovations and who experience needs in advance of the majority of the remaining market for the product (von Hippel, 1996).

Morrison et al (2000) contend that innovation will occur among lead users when the local community has unique needs and where it is more cost effective to innovate from scratch rather than search and acquire the innovation from elsewhere.

In an early paper, which discusses innovation, von Hippel (1986) suggests that many services and products are developed and refined by those using them. This is particularly true of instances where an individual faces a specific problem with a product or service and requires them to make a modification to it to better suit their needs: 'Users can and commonly do create customized end effects for themselves by combining standard products and services to create a customized system' (von Hippel, 1998, p. 641). Any modifications can then be fed back to the provider.

It is here that 'sticky information' becomes of interest. Sticky information is a term coined by von Hippel (1994, 1998) and refers to information which is costly to acquire and transfer. Such information emerges from the local level – typically among service users or 'lead users' - and can, according to von Hippel (1998), be important for innovation and the customization of products according to need: ' ... when users can innovate for themselves to create precisely what they want, rather than being restricted to a set of options on offer that have been created by others, their satisfaction is significantly higher.' (von Hippel, 2007, p. 310).

Public service users can be suppliers of labour, information and knowledge (Alford, 2009) and may therefore hold sticky information required to make innovations to services. In their discussion of innovation in public services Osborne and Brown (2011) suggest that innovation can only be promoted and sustained through an open systems approach rather than within closed organizational boundaries. Innovation can therefore be a product of public service users and networks rather than individual service providers working alone. Furthermore, such open system approaches to innovation have been described to increase social welfare benefits (Henkel and von Hippel, 2005), therefore potentially benefiting beyond the services users who are co-producing the innovations.

However, channelling the expertise of customers is not without challenges and depends upon continuous dialogue between equals, allowing the customer an opportunity to shape their experience. This is dependent, however, on the co-operation of the customer (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2000). According to Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004), customers who are connected, informed, empowered, active and dissatisfied with the available choices will seek interaction with service organizations with the aim of co-creating value.

Co-production from the services management perspective

The discussion of the services management has suggested a different starting point for theorizing about co-production. It contends that through the process nature of services and due to the inseparability of production and consumption, co-production is integral to services.

The discussion has suggested that co-production has also been extended in the services management theory. It has similarities to the public management debate in that it refers to customer participation as a means of co-production whereby the customer becomes a more active contributor to the service. Finally, the term co-creation has been employed to refer to a more embedded role for customers in the consumption, usage and process of services. These three dimensions of co-production are explained in Figure 2.6 on the following page.

Increasing customer activeness in co-production of services ------→		
Co-production	Customer participation	Co-creation
Integral to the process nature of services due to the inseparability of production and consumption	Customer-induced interactions through consumer mechanisms, such as choice and complaints procedures	Customers integrate resources to shape whole service experience at individual level
Located within the service encounter	Can extend into service planning	Embedded into whole process of service production to develop personalized experiences
Customers are always active players in service production	Customers can be active players, but this is facilitated with the service organization	Customers are always active players in service production but are also potential innovators with specific skills and expertise to offer
Interaction between two parties key	Extent of customer participation facilitated and controlled by service provider	Active and equal dialogue to discover, understand and satisfy 'latent' needs
Quality and value determined during 'the moment of truth'/service interaction	Employed to make service improvements	Value co-created through consumption, usage and process.

Figure 2.6: Differentiating co-production in the services management literature

Co-production is a central construct in the services management literature. The literature emphasizes the interaction between the service producer and the service user and the interdependency between these two due to the inseparability of production and consumption. Co-production in this discourse occurs at the point of service delivery (Normann's 'moment of truth'). It is not an add-on and does not result from the service provider providing additional and optional opportunities for the consumer to co-produce – it is an unavoidable element of the service production process. Thus, co-production here does not result from a dedicated public policy initiative (such as the personalisation reform agenda) or as a direct consequence of public officials offering means through which individual service users can voice their opinions.

The user's contribution during service production is not only unavoidable, but is also crucial to his own satisfaction with the service and the effectiveness of the service.

This satisfaction is thus based upon the perceived experience of a service by its user, including its co-production.

Another strand of the literature has focused on customer participation as a means of extending co-production. Although it suggests that customers can become more active in service production through various consumer mechanisms, unlike the essential form of co-production, customer participation is facilitated and controlled by the service provider.

The third dimension of co-production suggested in this literature implies a deeper role for the customer in service production. Co-creation is embedded into the whole process of service production (rather than being confined to the 'moment of truth') and involves an active and equal dialogue in order to create personalized service experiences and co-create value within these.

CONCEPTUALIZING INDIVIDUAL CO-PRODUCTION

Model of individual co-production

The discussion has demonstrated that co-production from the public administration/management theory is significantly dissimilar conceptually from that portrayed in the services management literature. The appreciation of co-production is improved significantly by their differentiation.

It has been argued that the services management literature offers a better starting point for theorizing about the co-production of public services, offering insight into the process nature of services and the related implications for service production. However, the public administration/management literature offers valuable insight around how co-production can be extended through various participative mechanisms. Taken together, the two literatures add further to the debate, suggesting that co-production can be enhanced both through the use of various mechanisms and by developing deeper relationships with service users.

Figure 2.7 draws together the two theories on co-production. Integrating the two perspectives in this way provides a more comprehensive view of the co-production of public services, showing that different levels of co-production can be achieved through various mechanisms. It suggests that there are three potential modes of co-production for the individual service user – a consumer mode, a participative mode and an enhanced mode. Each mode is discussed in depth below. The examples suggest that within each mode of co-production, public service users are never passive, but that they can play a more or less active role in co-production.

Consumer co-production	Participative co-production	Enhanced co-production
Consumer co-production results from the inseparability of production and consumption during the service encounter and focuses upon the engagement of the consumer in the service production process in order to maximize his satisfaction with the service	Participative mechanisms, such as consultation to co-produce services to achieve broader societal aims (e.g. integration). Also includes consumer mechanisms, such as choice and complaints procedures to make service improvements.	The co-design of service innovations under the goal of service improvement and to enhance the achievement of public policy objectives . The role of the service user is embedded into whole service process to develop personalized experiences.

Figure 2.7: Individual modes of co-production

Consumer co-production. The act of service consumption is the cornerstone of co-production, as it is this action that results in consumers' contribution to production at the most basic level. Because the consumer co-produces the service experience their expectations and experiences are central to their satisfaction with the quality of a service, irrespective of its outcome. In this first mode, therefore, co-production is an inherent component of service production due to the inseparability of production and consumption. This accepts that co-production is in fact *involuntary and unavoidable* on the part of both the service user and PSO. In other words, PSOs do not have to employ any special mechanisms to encourage, facilitate or sustain co-production, nor does the service user have to make a conscious choice to co-produce. It is inherent to the nature of a service and our understanding moves beyond the G-D logic that underpins manufactured goods.

An example of consumer co-production in the public services setting is the services provided by a social worker to a child in the care system. Consumer co-production suggests that the relationship should not be paternalistic where the professional provides the service and the client is the recipient, but instead rooted within interaction. This core relational element of co-production is located during the service interactions ('moment of truth) between the two parties. In order for the child to receive any satisfaction with the services, she needs to share information and communicate with the social worker.

A patient with health problems also co-produces his health care with professionals. For example, a doctor can only make an accurate diagnosis if a patient has provided accurate information regarding his symptoms. Failure to provide complete or accurate information could negatively impact the quality of the care. Similarly, education is reliant on the attendance and participation of learners. Their participation may however, be more or less active (i.e. learners may simply choose to listen to the teacher and take notes or they may also ask questions and provide feedback during the class).

From this perspective, co-production is not an issue of choice and design but of the management of the relationships between the PSO and the service user and one that is essential to the quality of a service and the satisfaction of service users with the service (Vargo et al, 2008). In this context co-production is thus a core element of the effective management of public services on a day-to-day basis. Again, this goes beyond 'simple' consumerism and towards a more sophisticated understanding of the service delivery system and the roles that service planners, producers and users play in this system.

Participative co-production. In the second mode, co-production is extended beyond the consumption logic of a single service alone and into the overall public policy process (including planning, delivery and evaluation). Service users can thus take on a more active role in service production than co-producing solely through consumption. This can be achieved through either citizen participation or consumer mechanisms, which are utilized at the behest of the PSO.

PSOs can introduce consumer mechanisms such as choice, complaints procedures and service evaluation forms (Gronroos, 2007). By establishing such consumer mechanisms, PSOs can promote independent advocacy which can shift responsibility and control away from the service provider and towards the individuals consuming services (Jack, 1995). This includes, for example, a parent and child's choice over which school is attended. This may not be free choice, but rather a suggestion of preference, with the final allocation being decided by authorities and according to

postcode and availability. In terms of complaints, all public sector organizations (e.g. NHS hospitals, housing associations and prisons) have formal procedures and if a service user is not satisfied with the outcome of following such procedures they can take their complaint to the Scottish Public Services Ombudsman who will seek to remedy the issue and share any learning to improve services.

The mechanisms associated with citizen participation suggest a potentially deeper role for public service users through participative co-production, which may extend into service design. For example, when planning a new service a PSO may consult current or potential service users to gauge their needs and therefore help develop a framework for the service. Co-production in this form therefore tends to be on an ad-hoc basis, being added on and its format depends upon the goal of the PSO.

Participative co-production can also include volunteering. PSOs may utilize the skills and knowledge of service users during the production of a public service to another group. One example of this might be a volunteer visitor in a hospital who can undertake various activities including supporting the nursing staff on the ward by talking to patients and assisting at meal times. Participative co-production might also include partnership approaches where public service users or their representatives (e.g. guardians or carers) contribute to service planning. For example, parent councils operate in English schools and provide parents with the opportunity to work in partnership with schools by contributing to decision-making.

Enhanced co-production. The previous two modes of co-production do not have to be conceptualized simply as alternatives. It is possible to combine elements from both to develop the 'enhanced' mode of co-production.

A core element of enhanced co-production is in the field of service reform and innovation. Enhanced co-production suggests a deeper role for public service users where they can contribute their expertise to co-design service innovations, to enhance the achievement of public policy objectives. Here, the role of the service user is embedded into whole service process, drawing on their resources and skills

(or sticky information) to develop customised experiences. This is facilitated by an active and equal dialogue between the PSO and service user in order to discover, understand and satisfy 'latent' needs. The potential for value creation therefore extends beyond the service interaction or moment of truth to all points of interaction between the service user and provider.

To take once again the healthcare example and the relationship between a doctor and patient, enhanced co-production suggests that value creation and satisfaction is not limited to the moment of truth, but can be extended through consumption and usage of the services. While doctors may prescribe medicine and suggest a change in diet, success of the service and the ultimate satisfaction with this advice is dependent upon the patient. Firstly, they must communicate fully with the doctor, explaining their symptoms (as is required during consumer co-production) and secondly, they need to act on the professional advice provided. This second stage takes place after the service encounter but is necessary for value creation and ultimate satisfaction with the service.

Another example of enhanced co-production in the public services setting is in the case of self-directed support which has recently had much interest in social and healthcare services in Scotland (the related policy will be discussed in Chapter six). Self-directed support suggests that an extended dialogue takes place between the two parties working in partnership, and the service user may be given a greater degree of choice over how needs are met (Hunter and Ritchie, 2007). The role of the professional is one of advocacy, where they assist the service user, who is considered an expert in their own needs, to navigate through the system. In some instances the service user may be take responsibility for designing their own care packages and are therefore in control of their own budget – with the assistance of the professional.

Limitations of the conceptual framework

This model is subject to its own limitations, especially in the relationship between service professionals and service users. Three points are important here. First, just as service users bring important expertise to co-production so too do service

professionals. Co-production is not about the replacement of the role of professionals by public service users, but about bringing these different forms of expertise together. To take a simple example, one would not want to replace the role of the surgeon by the patient in the co-production of oncology services – their professional expertise is vital here.

Second there are inevitably cases where the public service user is an unwilling or coerced user. The prison service is a classic example here. In this context the professionals of the prison service have a custodial function that it is hard to co-produce. Even here, though, it could be argued that the electronic tagging of a convicted criminal within the community is a form of co-produced custody (Corcoran, 2011).

Finally co-production is particularly fraught where public services, as is often the case, can have multiple and perhaps conflicting users. In the above case of custodial prison services for example, it is a moot point who the actual service user is – the convicted criminal themselves, or the court, victims of crime, or society at large. This dilemma is highlighted particularly by Bovaird (2005).

SUMMARY AND INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has integrated two bodies of literature on co-production to develop a new conceptualization of co-production at the level of the individual service user. The conceptual framework which locates three modes of co-production (consumer, participative and enhanced) provides strong theoretical grounding to explore the co-production of public services in the case of asylum seekers in Glasgow. It suggests, firstly, that co-production is an integral element of service production and will therefore be present in the consumer form in all public services. Second, the conceptualisation suggests that there is potential for co-production to be extended beyond the consumer mode through participative mechanisms and co-design through service innovation. Furthermore, this chapter has suggested that each mode of co-production suggests that public service users are never passive, but can play a more

or less active role is service production. These are core ideas that the empirical study will seek to explore in greater depth.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW PART II: ORGANIZATIONAL CO-PRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The discussion thus far has explored the relationship between public service organizations and individual service users. However co-production can also take place at an organizational level, where inter-organizational relationships are core to service planning and delivery. By integrating organizational modes co-production, this chapter will seek to further conceptualise co-production.

This chapter begins by introducing the idea of inter-organizational relationships through a discussion of both governance and networks which now sit alongside hierarchies and markets creating various challenges for public services management. The role of Voluntary and Community Organizations (VCOs) in inter-organizational relationships will the be considered – the focus on VCOs is justified in the case of asylum seekers whose services are delivered predominantly by this sector (this will be discussed in Chapter four). VCOs are described as mediating bodies which are close to service users and therefore capable of articulating needs which government can capitalise on through involving them in public service production.

The concepts of co-management and co-governance which differentiate VCOs' roles in production according to the location of their involvement will then be introduced. Using the theory around governance and networks, the two modes of organizational co-production and their associated challenges are developed and understood. Finally, the services management literature is drawn on once again. It provides valuable insight into the management of inter-organizational relationships. The theory focuses specifically around how organizations interact and the significance of personal interactions and trust as a mechanism of governance.

ORGANIZATIONAL CO-PRODUCTION: EXPLORING INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Inter-organizational relationships: governance and networks

The public administration literature suggests that co-production can take place between groups of service users and public service providers. Joshi and Moore's (2004) definition of co-production, for example, refers to 'groups of citizens' who are in 'long-term relationships' with state agencies (Joshi and Moore, 2004, p.40). Furthermore, in their typology of co-production, Brudney and England (1983) differentiate three types: individual, group and collective. Individual forms of co-production were discussed at length in Chapter two, but Brudney and England's conceptions of group and collective co-production are of interest here. Group co-production extends beyond personal benefits and involves the voluntary and active involvement of multiple citizens (e.g. neighbourhood watch groups). The benefits of such group co-production are restricted to those involved. Under collective co-production, the services co-produced are intended to benefit anyone in the community regardless of who participates.

Co-production can also take place on an organizational level where two or more organizations work together to plan and/or deliver public services. Indeed, there has been considerable rhetoric and a strong government push for inter-organizational relationships through partnership, collaboration, networks and joint working (the policy will be discussed in Chapter five). Such relationships have been regarded to result in a whole host of benefits such as increased efficiency, shared learning and spreading both risks and costs (Huxham, 2000) and the increasing complexity of the broad social challenges facing governments and the resulting need to forge an inter-organizational approach during both policy making and the implementation process (Bovaird and Loffler, 2003; Klijn, 2008). There have also been ideological reasoning behind inter-organizational working; such approaches are considered to offer stakeholders an opportunity to participate in decision-making processes or empower them to take a more central role in processes (Huxham, 2000).

Although inter-organizational relationships are not a new thing, with literature dating back to the 1960s (Aiken and Hage, 1968; Levine and White, 1961; Pfeffer and Nowak, 1976) there has been an increased focus on joint working over the past twenty years which has led to developments in conceptualizing and practising public services management. The emergence of New Public Governance builds on organizational sociology and network theory (Osborne, 2006) and suggests that public management is becoming increasingly fragmented. Indeed, services are no longer delivered by public agencies alone; they are produced by organizations from the for-profit, voluntary and community and public sectors and further, are often delivered by networks of these organizations. Working across organizational boundaries is now a core role for public managers (Huxham, 2000).

These developments have been accompanied by increasing attention on the concepts of networks and governance (e.g. Rhodes, 1997; Kickert et al, 1997; Huxham and Vangen, 2005). Indeed, the literature on inter-organizational relationships draws strongly from network theory, suggesting that public service delivery is moving towards network production whereby the production process is conducted across various organizations (Brandsen and van Hout, 2006; Bode, 2006a).

Governance can be described as a relatively murky concept, having multiple meanings. Thus, it is important to establish the focus and parameters of this study in relation to governance. Klijn (2008) suggests four broad definitions of governance: good governance which refers to the functioning of public administration; governance as new public management which focuses on performance improvement and accountability through markets with government steering rather than rowing; multilevel governance where inter-governmental relations are the focus; and network governance where governance takes place within networks of public and non-public players making interactions complex and negotiation imperative. For the purposes of this study, the emphasis is on the last form of governance and specifically the interactions between public sector agencies and VCOs during service planning and delivery – the focus is on implementation rather than policy making.

Rhodes (1997, p.15, emphasis in original) expands on network governance, referring to '*self-organizing, interorganizational networks* characterized by interdependence, resource exchange, rules of the game and significant autonomy from the state.' Furthermore and importantly for this study, Kooiman (2005) differentiates three modes of governance: hierarchical governance, self-governance and co-governance. Hierarchical refers to top-down governance, where a central actor takes control and directs others. Self-governance is the opposite, referring to bottom-up approaches where a collectivity controls and represents itself (see Prentice, 2006 for a discussion of the role of VCOs in planning and delivering childcare services in Canada without government support). Finally co-governance suggests co-operation between a collectivity through a process of mutual shaping and representation, suggesting that the actors play an equal role in governance. It is the concept of co-governance and implications of mutual relationships among service providers during service production that are of interest here.

Network governance theories, although concerned primarily with policy formulation, provide useful grounding for understanding the co-governance of public services during implementation. It is underpinned by a rich theoretical tradition with the concept of network dating back to the 1970s (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000). Network governance lays greater emphasis on partnership approaches and networks, as well as the process of interaction between organizations, in comparison with top-down (hierarchies) approaches which tend to be results-orientated and concerned with predicting policy outcomes (Schofield, 2001; Bode, 2006a). There is a further adjustment away from the market and intra-organizational behaviour of organizations, with increasing attention to *inter*-organizational relationships. That is not to say that business issues such as efficiency and effectiveness become immaterial under network governance, but the process of achieving these is different (Kickert, 1997). Indeed, the network approach sits alongside markets and hierarchies rather than replacing them, which has implications for their management.

According to Head (2008) networks can be differentiated into three categories. They can be co-operative, coordinated or collaborative (Head 2008). Co-operation is

described by Head (2008) as the most common form of network; it typically takes place where the work is task-focused and short-term and requires voluntary participation of organizations which maintain their own identities.   Coordinated approaches are used for more complex issues; they involve joint planning where the relationship may take a greater level of stability and formality.   Collaboration denotes long-term relationships where the members are closely linked creating genuine inter-dependence and power sharing.   The type of relationship is arguably dependent upon various factors.

Kickert and Koppenjan (1997) suggest that there are various challenges and issues associated with inter-organizational working, such as the financial, monetary and time costs of the participation of multiple actors and also the need to make compromises. In a similar vein, Rhodes (2000, p. 74/75) argues that managing networks is 'time consuming, objectives can be blurred, and outcomes can be indeterminate'.   Indeed, individual organizations have diverse and diverging interests, motivations and therefore, potentially conflicting objectives (Kickert and Koppenjan, 1997; Evers et al, 2005). Co-ordination is therefore a core challenge for networks (Klijn, 2008).

The emergence of new public governance has not replaced hierarchies and markets (Osborne, 2006; Klijn, 2008); both PA and NPM exist and each is of importance for understanding public services management. The co-existence of the three paradigms does not mean that they fit together neatly. Rhodes (2000, p.84) argues for example: 'Marketisation undermines trust, co-operation and reciprocity in networks. Organizational complexity obscures accountability. The search for co-operation impedes efficient service delivery.' Rhodes (1997) describes a 'persistent tension' between central control and the dependence upon the actions and compliance of outsiders.

Bode (2006a) takes a similar line of argument, suggesting the market rationale has had a negative effect on network relations, essentially disorganizing networks that were based on consensus. Competition for contracts might breed secrecy and distrust

among service providers while the networks call for inter-organizational co-operation (Goodin, 2003; Brandsen and van Hout, 2006). Furthermore, Craig and Manthrope (1999, p. 70) argue that the 'most damaging of all' factors in the relationship between government and the voluntary and community sector, is that most VCOs 'continue to understand that they are subservient to and dependent on the local authority, rather than equal partners with it in policy development and service delivery'.

THE VOLUNTARY AND COMMUNITY SECTOR AND CO-PRODUCTION

Introducing co-management and co-governance

The literature has focused predominantly on the role of VCOs in the co-production of public services (Vidal, 2006; Pestoff and Brandsen, 2009), but it is feasible that any organization could co-produce. Indeed, Bode (2006a) notes that social welfare provision is increasingly co-produced through a process or inter-organizational working across the sectors. For the purposes of this research, the focus will be on the role played by VCOs in co-production due to the sector's particular importance in the case of asylum seekers which will be discussed in chapter four.

The Voluntary and Community sector is characterized by its diversity, which is partly the result of the multiple functions undertaken by the organizations which leads Kendall and Knaap (1995) to describe the sector as 'a loose and baggy monster'. In the UK, the functions of the Voluntary and Community Sector continue to fall under various social activities, including advocacy, self-help, support groups for the vulnerable and community activity (e.g. youth groups) and public service provision. To complicate matters, VCOs are often multi-functional, taking on more than one of these roles (Kelly, 2007).

McLaughlin (2004) splits the sector in two. One is a non-institutionalised sector dependent on voluntary income and working predominantly on the periphery of public service delivery. The other comprises the modernised sector, made up of

'preferred' VCOs dependent on government funding and committed to producing public services. For the purposes of this research, the interest is around this second sub-sector and the VCOs' roles during service delivery and planning.

Figure 3.1 below illustrates that organizational co-production occurs when a public sector organization/government agency works with a VCO to produce services. Organizations rather than individual service users are the principal actors here. Nevertheless, service users are depicted as feeding into the VCO.

Organizational co-production
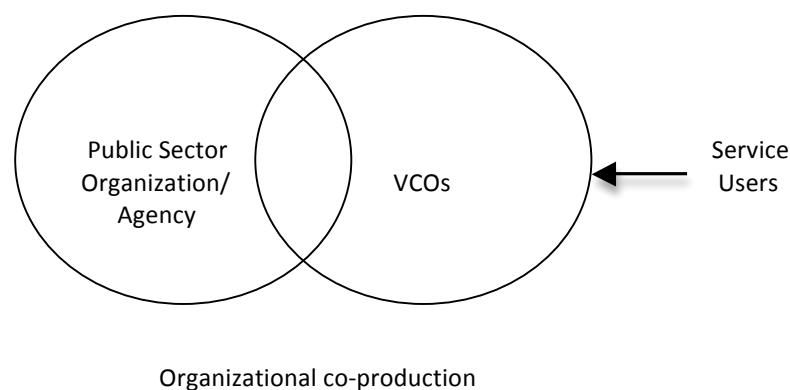
Figure 3.1: Organizational Co-production, Adapted from Brudney and England, 1983, p. 61

In their seminal work, Berger & Neuhaus (1978) posit VCOs as *mediating structures*. This discussion is insightful to understand the role of VCOs in co-producing services. The argument starts with the presumption that people are the best experts in their own lives, but that mediating structures are necessary to enable the expression of these needs against the mega-institutions of society. Mediating structures are thus defined as 'those institutions standing between the individual and his private life and the large institutions of public life' (Berger and Neuhaus, 1978, p. 2); this includes organizations such as churches and neighbourhood, family and voluntary associations. Their value is seen to be their capacity to expand the boundaries of the welfare state without expanding the boundaries of overly

bureaucratic government structures that tend to offer little personal meaning to individuals.

According to Berger and Neuhaus, mediating structures play a dual role. They are both in a position to attach political order to the values and realities in an individual's life, while at the same time, legitimising political order by transferring meaning and value to government structures. Indeed, Schmid (2003) suggests that VCOs delivering services act as a buffer between the government and service users, serving to minimise friction between the two. Furthermore, the responsive nature of VCOs has been described as one of the qualities which makes them best placed to understand and articulate local need (Haugh and Kitson, 2007).

Their role in service production may also result in the inclusion of groups that do not have the necessary resources or organizational capacity to be otherwise involved (Kearns, 1995). VCOs are often considered channels of empowerment, providing alternative means of engagement and offering opportunities for active citizenship (Burt and Taylor, 2004; Elstub, 2006). Through VCOs there is potential to enhance democratic participation, particularly among groups that are less inclined to participate in traditional political structures. As mediating structures, VCOs enable the inclusion of marginal groups in service production who do not have the necessary resources, capacity or power to articulate their own need (Kearns 1995; Haugh and Kitson, 2007).

Nevertheless, engaging with marginalised groups is challenging as they typically lack the necessary skills, resources and opportunities to seek outside assistance. Success in reaching these groups may therefore depend to a large extent upon the resource capabilities of the organization (Marshall, 1996). In addition, the extent to which those 'preferred' organizations that are involved in public services are close to citizens, particularly in light of McLaughlin's (2004) depiction of a two tier sector, is unclear. Furthermore and significantly for this research, there is an ongoing debate about whether the involvement of VCOs genuinely enhances co-production, through the strength of collective action, or actually diminishes it, by placing the VCO

between the individual service users and their services – that is, that it meets the needs of the VCO rather than the service user (Brenton, 1985; Pestoff et al, 2006).

Brandsen and Pestoff (2006) further differentiate the inter-organizational relationship between PSOs and VCOs, suggesting that two relationships exist. *Co-management* is where the VCO produces public services in collaboration with service planners, and *co-governance*, where it co-produces during both the planning and delivery of a service. Thus co-management is restricted to service delivery, while co-governance also falls into the role of planning public services. The concept of co-governance has also been extended into the arena of policy formulation (Pestoff, 2006), but for the purposes of this research the focus will be firmly on implementation. The next section will attempt to unpick the roles played by VCOs in each broad inter-organizational relationship.

Co-management

Co-management describes instances where VCOs contribute to service *delivery* (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006; Pestoff et al, 2006). The Voluntary and Community sector plays a substantial role in public service delivery in the UK and inter-organizational relationships at this level are a core feature of service provision.

Interorganizational linkages are a defining characteristic of service delivery. The term 'network' describes the several interdependent actors involved in delivering services. These networks are made up of organizations which need to exchange resources (for example, money, authority, information and expertise) to achieve their objectives, to manage their influence over outcomes, and to avoid becoming dependent on other players in the game. (Rhodes 1997, p. xii)

Brandsen and van Hout (2006) argue that co-management is not a new phenomenon and that a long history of co-operation across organizational boundaries exists. Indeed, the sector has played a crucial role filling gaps in service provision, dealing particularly with marginalised groups (Deakin, 1995; Edelman, 2004).

Tsukamoto and Nishimura (2006) describe co-management as those relationships that focus on service delivery and particularly those that are governed by contracts.

From the 1980s marketisation introduced the purchaser-provider relationship, where public sector organizations/government agencies began to work as 'business partners' with VCOs (Turner and Martin, 2005). VCOs typically bid for and worked under government contracts to provide public services (Bode, 2006b). The contractual relationship makes clear a division of labour, with responsibility for service delivery falling to the VCOs and the government controlling the purse strings (Schmid, 2003). Thus hierarchy can prevail through markets, with government retaining control over the planning of public services and leaving market forces to regulate the organizations delivering the services.

As it is no longer delivering services, the government's day-to-day interaction with service users is reduced. Although this may position those VCOs delivering services as a buffer between government and service users serving to minimise friction between the two (Schmid, 2003), government also becomes increasingly dependent on feedback from those organizations, meaning that good channels of communication become imperative.

The competition that resulted from marketisation prompted the internal organizational change, which resulted in VCOs being increasingly likened to their for-profit counterparts (Taylor and Lansley, 1992; Goodin, 2003). To win contracts and, attributing success to the for-profit sector, some VCOs restructured their internal management procedures and processes to model themselves on their opposite numbers. Indeed, there has been some blanket application of fashionable management practices (particularly under the New Public Management agenda). For example, some VCOs hired professional staff with the skills and expertise to tender for government contracts. In order to keep a check on those VCO's working in the field of public service provision, government have also introduced accountability mechanisms to account for public spending and to ensure organizations are meeting centrally devised targets.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) describe this process of modelling as mimetic isomorphism. This involves organizations modelling on another organization's

perceived successful approaches rather than developing novel approaches with the goal of becoming more legitimate or successful. Nevertheless, such an approach has been criticised as both inappropriate and unsuccessful. Although there is some recognition that the voluntary and community sector can learn from other sectors, the interpretation of practices needs to be context-specific (Myers and Sacks, 2001). Balancing the needs of funders, donors, beneficiaries, members and employees is challenging (Moxham and Boaden, 2007), and these multiple external pressures make the development of a rational strategy difficult (Parry et al, 2005). Furthermore, increased bureaucracy within VCOs has been criticized as resulting in loss of independence and flexibility, leading to suggestions that their decision-making structures have become increasingly distant from clients (Milligan and Fyfe, 2004).

Working under government contracts can dilute a VCO's role, original values and mission (as a mediating structure) to empower people, reconstructing its strategic purpose to that of the government agency funding them (Pifer, 1967; Deakin, 2001) and overriding its distinctive characteristics which are often equated with closeness to service users such as independence, responsiveness and creativity (Schmid, 2003; Bode, 2006a). Craig and Manthorpe (1999, p.60) describe VCOs working in partnership with government as "unhealthily dependent on the changing financial and political priorities of local government". This is linked to the argument that mediating structures such as VCOs can be co-opted by and become instruments of government (Berger and Neuhaus, 1978). Furthermore, VCOs may be apprehensive of acting in opposition to government if this will influence their likelihood to win contracts.

Linking back to the idea of mediating structures forwarded by Berger and Neuhaus, there has been some discussion around whether the involvement of the voluntary and community sector in the mixed economy of welfare provision contributes to the democratization of service delivery or whether, by increasing the reliance of these organizations on state contracts and grants may instead bolster state control over welfare provision (Milligan and Fyfe, 2004, p.76). One of the core characteristics of

the sector, which may be diminished by the contractual relationship, is the autonomous nature of VCOs which is typically associated with their perceived closeness and responsiveness to citizens (Schmid, 2003; Bode, 2006b).

However, Brandsen and van Hout (2006) argue that co-management does not necessarily result is a loss of autonomy because organizations can contribute to policy changes from the bottom-up by working to resolve any challenges during implementation. Developing this argument, O'Toole et al (1997) recognize that there is no single implementation structure for national programmes and that these various structures typically involve a range of actors at the local level.   Local level of service delivery is also critical to the translation of government policies.

It is at the local level that prior commitments unfold and operational responsibilities are translated into concrete actions; it is here that daily routines are worked out and applied, and where decisions are taken regarding the factual allocation of programme outputs. (O'Toole et al 1997, p. 144)

Network governance also recognizes the critical role of street-level bureaucrats who may exercise a high degree of discretion and control over the extent to which policies are implemented (Schofield, 2001). Thus, services may be planned and delivered on the ground in reflection of policy developments at government level. However, the level of power an individual has depends ultimately upon his hierarchical position in the organization (O'Toole et al, 1997).

Co-governance

Since 1997, increasing attention has been paid to the role of VCOs in policy formation and specifically, the shaping and commissioning of public services (Kelly, 2007). This relationship has been coined *co-governance* (Vidal, 2006; Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006). The interest here is on the co-governance of public services and the role of VCOs in the planning and delivery of services, rather than policy formulation which has been discussed extensively elsewhere (e.g. Kickert and Koppenjan, 1997; Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006; O'Toole et al, 1997).

Co-governance has been described as a new form of steering which focuses on joint working as opposed to working alone (Kooiman, 1993). It introduces an opportunity for VCOs to bring their interests and agendas into the political realm of service planning and contribute to the governance of public services. Thus the decision-making capacity has become increasingly dispersed across to actors rather than concentrated within government (Morison, 2000).

The theory on network and governance is of particular interest here. Network approaches to service planning and delivery bring together expertise, knowledge and resources from across sectors as a way of tackling complex problems and improving the effectiveness of service provision. Furthermore, Somerville and Haines (2008) argue that co-governance has potential to enhance democratic accountability and to result in fairer and more effective decision-making. Network members can also seek specialist skills and information from within the network (Brandsen and van Hout, 2006), reducing the likelihood of duplication. However, Hartley and Benington (2006, p. 105) warn that 'knowledge is often hoarded, concealed or fails to transfer because of professional or organizational loyalties, assumptions and roles.'

Network governance is a process of complex interaction between multiple actors who are mutually dependent and reliant on one another's resources (e.g. financial, political or informational) (Rhodes, 1997). This interdependence means that co-operation is essential, although it does not preclude conflict. Each actor takes its own perspective on the nature of the problem and the solutions, creating tension between dependency and the diversity of goals and interests. The success and failure are thus based upon the extent to which co-operation is achieved (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000). The relationship between actors is not balanced because resources are not equally distributed (Hill and Hupe, 2003). The result is that no one actor dominates the process (Rhodes, 1997; Kickert, 2003) and less powerful actors can influence the proceedings. Any actor can remove their resources in order to block or make decision-making more difficult. Power does not therefore emanate from resources alone but is also determined by the actor's strategic use of resources in the game (Klijn et al, 1995). Thus, daily interactions between actors are critical (Klijn, 2008).

Cooperation and collaboration do not come about naturally, so there is a need to steer the interactions within networks which requires the process to be managed by a mediator (Kickert et al, 1997; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000). According to Klijn et al (1995), the mediator plays two distinct roles: game management (influencing the interaction processes between actors); and network structuring (induce change within the network). The mediator has a vested interest in the operations of the network (i.e. it has something to gain), but sits outside the network (Klijn et al, 1995). The role of mediator might fall to government. Within any network, government will occupy a distinct position as a result of the resources it retains (e.g. substantial budgets, democratic legitimacy): 'Government cannot dominate and unilaterally, hierarchically dictate, but is, nonetheless, not completely horizontally equivalent to all other actors' (Kickert, 1997, p. 738). However, networks are essentially autonomous from the state with the actors not owing any accountability to the state (Rhodes, 1997). Thus, the state does not hold a privileged position but can steer networks.

Tsukamoto and Nishimura (2006) argue that for VCOs to play a role in co-governance, the following challenges have to be overcome: the development of a mixed resource strategy, where VCOs become less dependent on government funding; the creation of representative and networking structures, where VCOs 'have real power in coordinating and managing the inter-organizational network of non-profits independently of government' (Tsukamoto and Nishimura, 2006, p. 580); and strengthening the political function of VCOs through advocacy and a collective influence on government policy.

Despite having potentially advantageous connections with marginalised groups and a perceived closeness to citizens (Turner and Martin, 2005), the Voluntary and Community Sector has been criticized for lacking legitimacy as non-democratic bodies (Hill and Hupe, 2003) with a predisposition to advocate certain voices at the expense of others. However, Taylor and Warburton (2003) recognise that individual VCOs do not purport to be representative; the fact that individual organizations represent specific sets of needs might be advantageous so long as diverse

organizations input to the process. However, the extent to which VCOs have been involved in planning services is contested, with some arguing that their role has predominantly been limited to service delivery (Taylor and Warburton, 2003; McLaughlin, 2004; Evers et al, 2005). Brandsen et al (2005) argue that the distinction between decision-making and delivery is often too sharp because those organizations on the ground delivering services will shape them according to local needs. This relates back to O'Toole et als' (1997) argument that policies are translated at the local level by those planning and delivering the services on the ground.

Another significant challenge is related to the fact that co-governance operates within a context of hierarchies and market mechanisms (Bode, 2006a; Head, 2008). The consequence for VCOs is that they might be expected to work in with other organizations to plan services (co-governance), compete for (market mechanism) and work under government contracts (co-management) and also work within top-down results-orientated systems (hierarchies). Bode (2006a, p. 563) argues, for example, that the continuation of the market-approach has meant that although co-governance plays a part in the public services arena, it is "a complement to the steering process, given that everyday business is very much subject to public control and market governance". The co-existence of these different systems may make it difficult to achieve the co-operation that is required for co-governance. The combination of competition and co-operation can be challenging for service managers with the result being differentiation through competition and integration through networks (Brandsen and van Hout, 2006). While sharing information among those in the chain may be important, competition arguably instills a view of maintaining competitive advantage. The co-existence of hierarchies, markets and networks can also cause confusion for service users, who may not understand the respective roles and responsibilities of the various parties:

Citizens tend to have little regard for bureaucratic sensitivities and often address their demands to whichever organization they happen to be in touch with… there remains a tension between the differentiation within public service delivery and the unitary, messy nature of demand. (Brandsen and van Hout 2006, p.543)

LEARNING FROM THE SERVICES MANAGEMENT LITERATURE: INTERACTIONS AND TRUST

Brandsen and Pestoff (2006) suggest co-management and co-production can co-exist within the same organizations. However, they are arguably predicated upon very different management approaches; while co-management typically manifests through contracts, co-governance exists through networks. Inter-organizational relationships through network approaches have been described as reliant on the existence of credibility, reputation, reciprocity and trust among members (Vidal, 2006; Newman, 2007). Indeed, the literature on networks and governance has discussed the changed role of public services managers as one that is dependent upon building and sustaining relationships across organizational boundaries.

As managers no longer maintain control of the services their organization offers, they increasingly have to operate through incentives and persuasion rather than hierarchy. This is where co-management starts to undermine the managerialist ethic: managers will lose power as their organizations diversify and stretch out. To be more precise, they will have to exercise a different kind of power, with an emphasis on charisma and inspiration rather than rule-making. Also, it will become more important to watch the quality of the organization's gatekeepers and boundary spanner. (Brandsen and van Hout 2006, p.547)

It is around the management of these inter-organizational relationships that theory from the services management literature can once again provide valuable insight, thus deepening our understanding of organizational forms of co-production and particularly co-governance.

The literature on inter-organizational relationships and trust developed in the late 1980s and through the 1990s (e.g. Ring and Van de Ven, 1992, 1994; Gulati, 1995; Tsai and Ghosal, 1998; Zaheer et al, 1998). This research suggested that inter-personal relationships and trust exist in these exchanges and also that they are of considerable import (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992; Gulati, 1995; Zaheer et al, 1998).

The management of inter-organizational relationships is essentially concerned with interpersonal relationships and trust (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992; Nooteboom et al, 1997; Kale et al, 2000). Indeed trust has been pinpointed at the individual level and

even likened to friendship (Ring and Van De Ven, 1994; Gulati, 1995; Kale et al, 2000). This has led to some discussion around the challenges in conceptualizing trust in inter-organizational relations.

Trust, essentially, is an individual-level phenomenon which must be translated to the organizational level: 'it is *individuals* as members of organizations, rather than the organizations themselves, who trust.' (Zaheer et al, 1998, p. 141). However, Zaheer et al translate the operation of trust at the organizational level describing it as:

the extent to which organizational members have a collectively-held trust orientation toward the partner firm, which is quite different from stating the organizations trust each other. In contrast, we view interpersonal trust as also made up of three elements – reliability, predictability, and fairness – but with an individual as both the referent and origin of trust. (p.143)

Thus, it can be argued that the role of individuals is core to building and sustaining inter-organizational trust. Zaheer et al (1998) argue that establishing trust at the inter-organizational level, through individuals, eases negotiation and reduces conflict within the relationship. Ring and Van De Ven (1994) take a similar view, arguing that personal relationships are core to shaping and changing the structure of inter-organizational relationships, thereby determining the level of co-operation that exists. Another reason underpinning the importance of trust is that it facilitates both learning through close interactions and the exchange of information and know-how (Kale et al, 2000).

Ring and Van de Ven (1994) suggest that inter-organizational relationships emerge out of three basic interactions which evolve over time through the formal and informal processes of negotiation, commitment and execution: first personal relationships enhance formal role relationships; second psychological contracts replace formal legal contracts; and Voluntary and Community formal agreements such as rules and policy increasingly mirror informal agreements and understandings. However, Nooteboom et al (1997) warn that conflict can result between the personal and formal role relationships. They suggest that co-operation based on trust through inter-personal relationships may cause loyalty to deviate from organizational

interests and furthermore, that staff turnover may result in a breakdown in relations between organizations due to a loss of personal trust.

This ties in with ideas from relationship marketing which suggest that business-to-business relationships 'are created by the behaviours of a small number of individuals who form and hold the relationships by their words and actions' (Johnston and Clark, 2008, p. 93/94). The literature on relationship marketing, in addition to considering business-to-customer relationships also considers business-to-business (B2B) (Johnston and Clark, 2008). Thus, as players move on and change, so will the nature of the relationship. The tension that exists between the personal and organizational levels leads Ring and Van de Ven (1994) to argue that trust should not be the sole mechanism of governance:

Organizations can be like oceans, and in dealing with uncertainties brought upon by their roles, prudence may require that the parties employ "life jackets" recognized by their organizations (e.g. formalized contracts, exogenous safeguards) in lieu of exclusive reliance on trust. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1994, p.96)

CO-PRODUCTION: TOWARDS A NEW TYPOLOGY

This chapter has introduced the idea that co-production can exist on an organizational level, focusing on the inter-organizational relationships that can exist between government and VCOs. As mediating structures, VCOs are often regarded as close to service users and therefore better positioned to articulate and respond to need. The discussion has suggested that as co-producers VCO's can take two roles: they can contribute to service *delivery* (co-management) or to both the *delivery and planning* of services (co-governance). Theory around governance and networks has been critical to understanding these concepts and their associated challenges, but the services management literature around relational capital and trust has also provided valuable insight into how inter-organizational relationships operate.

A key issue has also emerged from the discussion which is significant for this study. It has been suggested that co-management and co-governance can take place within the same organizations (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006), but what are the implications for the individual forms of co-production discussed in the previous chapter? This will be an important consideration for this thesis.

The discussion so far has explored the relationships between PSOs, service users and VCOs in the co-production of public services. It has posited several distinctive dimensions to this construct. These dimensions are now brought together in a typology (Figure 3.2). This combines the insights about co-production at the individual and organizational levels, showing that service users and VCOs can co-produce services with PSOs in different ways. These are displayed in a matrix in order to distinguish between different types of co-production.

Individual service user

Participative co-production And Enhanced co-production	Consumer co-production

Planning
& Delivery

Delivery

Co-governance	Co-management

VCO
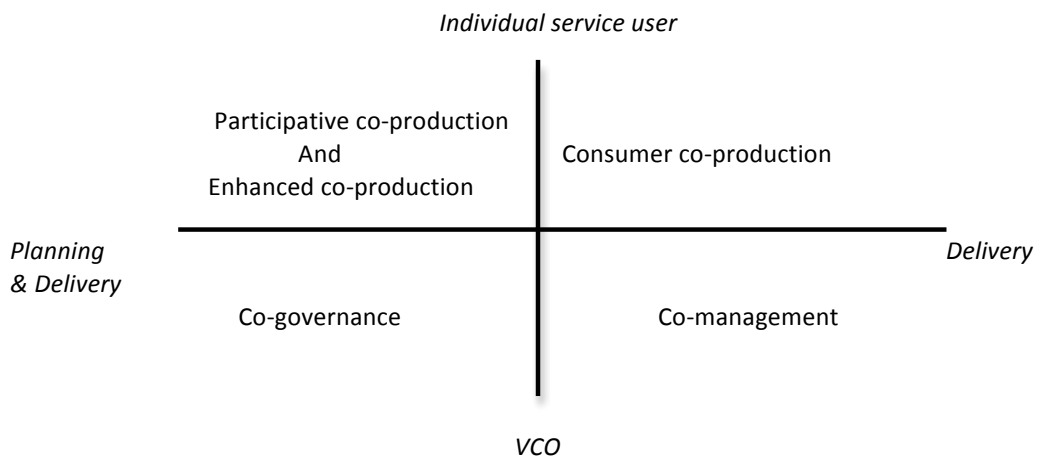
Figure 3.2: Typology of co-production

On the vertical axis, the typology illustrates that either individual service users or VCOs can co-produce public services with PSOs. The horizontal access shows that either party can co-produce during service delivery and/or decision-making about the services. By understanding these relationships in this way, five types of co-production can be differentiated and such an approach integrates the isolated discourses on co-production within the services management and public administration/management literatures.

The two upper quadrants of the typology comprise individualised co-production, referring to the relationships between the individual service user and the PSO producing a public service. They both differentiate between involvement in service delivery alone and involvement in service planning as well, and between more or less active forms of co-production. Thus, *consumer co-production* refers to co-production by service users as part of the service experience. As discussed previously, there is no differentiation between the production and consumption of a service – both take place at the same time and with the consumer as co-producer. In this case therefore, a service user has no alternative but to co-produce a service and may do this consciously or unconsciously.

Participative and enhanced co-production, again as above, refer to co-production that is explicitly sought by service managers in order to achieve some broader

objective, whether in relation to that service (such as innovation) or broader public policy objectives. In this case, it is not the unalienable element of the service production process but rather it is consciously sought out because it can lead to another goal – such as in relation to social inclusion or citizenship.

The two lower quadrants of the matrix illustrate organizationally based co-production, involving relationships between VCOs and PSOs. In these cases, the PSO is choosing to use the VCO as a service delivery vehicle and/or to work with them to plan or develop a service. In these organizational modes, a VCO can be responsible for delivering a public service (*co-management*) or it can contribute to service planning (*co-governance*).

CHAPTER FOUR

SETTING THE SCENE: ASYLUM SEEKERS AND CITIZENSHIP

INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets the scene for this study. Research on asylum seekers has typically focused on their position in society as non-citizens and the associated immigration policies, or the mental health implications of seeking asylum and the issues of prejudice, racial harassment and detention (e.g. Burnett and Peel, 2001; Phillips, 2010; Chantler, 2012). There is a dearth of research on asylum seekers and the public services they receive, and nothing on co-production with regards to this group. Thus, it is important to set the scene, discussing asylum seekers and public services in Scotland.

This chapter introduces the case of asylum seekers, both in relation to their numbers, the asylum process, the wider UK context and the Scottish context in relation to the planning and delivery of public services. In doing so it touches on the policy context, but this will be returned to in chapter six. The chapter concludes by considering the position of asylum seekers as non-citizens and highlights some of the issues that need to be considered in relation to the co-production of public services.

THE CASE OF ASYLUM SEEKERS

Who and how many?

Asylum seekers sit in a contentious position, having exercised their legal right under the Geneva Convention (1951) to apply for asylum but remaining a non-citizen while they await the outcome of their case. Refugees, on the other hand, are those whose applications to remain in the country have been accepted and are therefore granted the same rights as a UK citizen. Thus, refugees are those who have proved that they have left their indigenous country and are unable to return because they have a well-founded fear of persecution due to their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group.

Another group of people, who sit between asylum seekers and refugees, are those who have been refused refugee status but with Exceptional Leave to Remain in the UK on humanitarian grounds. In accordance with the European Convention of Human Rights, the UK is prevented from sending anyone to a country where they will be exposed to torture, or inhumane or degrading treatment. Those who have been granted such leave will have their cases reviewed periodically by the Home Office and therefore lack any permanent security to settle in the UK.

The Home Office supplies quarterly data providing details of the numbers of asylum seekers in the UK. However, the accuracy of this data is not without debate, failing to include those asylum seekers and refugees who are not supported by government programmes (Wren, 2007). Beyond the official figures, an unknown number of asylum seekers enter the UK illegally and others are thought to have gone 'underground' after receiving a negative decision in their asylum case. Such groups do not benefit for the available support services. Instead they stay with friends or family and might work illegally without having gone through the necessary procedures or receiving the required documentation.

Quarterly statistics supplied by the Home Office show a 6% reduction in the proportion of applications for asylum with 24,250 applications in 2009 (the year the

fieldwork was conducted) compared to 25,930 in 2008 (Home Office, 2010). When dependents are included the figure of applicants, the number of applications to the UK show a decrease of 5% in 2009 (29,845) compared with 2008 (31,315).

Asylum process

Prior to 2007, the application process was typically a drawn out affair that could take a number of years, leaving asylum seekers uncertain over their future in the UK and hindering the process of resettlement (Spicer, 2008). The asylum process was overhauled in 2007 and since the introduction of the New Asylum Model, the decision making process has sped up considerably. Indeed, data from the Home Office (2010) shows that 24,550 initial asylum decisions were made in 2009; an increase of 27% since 2008 (19,400). Of those decisions, 73% were refusals, 17% were grants of asylum and the remaining 10% grants of Humanitarian Protection or Discretionary Leave. In terms of appeals, the Asylum and Immigration Tribunal received 15,350 in 2009 which was 44% higher than in 2008 (10,660). In 2009 14,595 appeals were determined, of which 66% were dismissed and 28% were allowed (the remaining 6% were withdrawn).

Since March 2007, the New Asylum Model introduced a single case owner approach to asylum cases, where one individual is responsible for each new asylum case from beginning to end. That caseworker aims to conclude applications within a six months timescale with the applicant either gaining refugee status within that timeframe or being sent home either voluntarily or through enforced removal.

The UK Borders Agency describe the asylum process on their website (UKBA, 2010). The initial screening stage is conducted at the port of entry or the asylum screening unit in Croydon. It is here where asylum seekers are interviewed briefly and asked to produce documentation in support of their application and also to establish their identity. The case owner is allocated within a few days of an asylum application and is the single point of contact for an asylum seeker and his/her representatives throughout the process. A key part of the process is the asylum interview, during which the applicant is expected to provide a full account of the

reasons for seeking asylum in the UK, including the provision of any documentation in support of the application. On the basis of the evidence provided, the caseworker makes a decision on whether to award asylum. During the time in which it takes for a decision to be made the asylum seeker is expected to regularly report to the UKBA and also keep the Agency informed of any changes to their circumstances, such as a change in name, a new address or change in family circumstances such as relatives leaving or joining them in the UK.

SEEKING ASYLUM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Immigration: Policies of deterrence

Asylum is treated as an issue of immigration, which is a reserved issue under the remit of the Home Office and is regulated by the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 (amended in 2002 by the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act). The legislation reinforces a controlled approach to migration, which restricts entry and settlement in the UK.

Asylum policy in the United Kingdom is rooted within 'policies of deterrence' (Williams, 2006). Since the mid-1980s, successive UK governments have taken increasingly strict measures to keep people out or contain them within their home countries (e.g. visa requirements). Equally, deterrence strategies have been intensified through, for example, reduced access to appeals, surveillance and detention. According to Cemlyn and Briskman (2003) a key strand of deterrence policy has been the dismantling of social rights for asylum seekers, thereby detaching them from any provisions associated with citizenship. This is compounded by negative media attention and political rhetoric (see for example, Hickley 2009, Crawley 2003).

Since the 1990s, UK policies regarding immigration have heightened restrictions, making it increasingly difficult for asylum seekers to enter the UK. For those who do gain access, their entitlement to social rights has been curtailed. Consecutive pieces of legislation have gradually withdrawn mainstream rights and services from

asylum seekers. For instance, the 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act introduced constrained access to social housing and the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act removed entitlement to social security benefits for those who applied for asylum in-country (this was reversed by the 1999 Act) and those appealing a Home Office decision (Bloch, 2000). The 1999 Act excluded those subject to immigration control from non-contributory benefits and also increased policing by extending powers of search, arrest and detention.

Deterrence policies have often been criticised for feeding off an assumption that welfare provision lures asylum seekers to UK, who threaten to overwhelm diminishing resources (Bloch and Schuster, 2002; Tyler, 2010). The assumption that welfare and employment opportunities, for example, incentivise those from less well-off countries to apply for asylum has not been substantiated by empirical evidence. Research has suggested that asylum seekers do not necessarily come to the UK voluntarily (smugglers may choose the destination) and often have limited prior knowledge of the UK and the rights afforded to them (Bloch and Schuster, 2002; Gilbert and Koser, 2006).

Taking the idea of stratification further, Gilbert and Koser (2006, p.1209) argue that asylum seekers "are often portrayed as criminals or scroungers who beg, steal, rip off the welfare system or cause problems for the health service". Indeed, policies are said to start from the presumption that the majority of asylum seekers are undeserving and that those who are awarded permanent residency are the deserving minority. This leads Tyler (2010) to argue that British citizenship has been designed to fail certain groups.

Legislation has also widened the gap between asylum seekers and secure, long-term residents, with the 1999 Act making clear distinctions between the social rights of asylum seekers and UK citizens and non-citizen residents. Asylum seekers are not, for example, permitted to gain paid employment while they are awaiting the outcome of their application. The inability of work has led many to argue that asylum seekers cannot be fully integrated into society, instead promoting feelings of frustration

among asylum seekers who become dependent and lose their confidence. Indeed, Bloch (2000) recognises that access to employment is crucial to the settlement and inclusion of refugees as it provides economic independence, builds self-esteem and immerses them into the language. Although asylum seekers cannot gain paid employment, the motivation to work among the group tends to be high with asylum seekers being generally well educated and qualified (Sim and Bowes, 2007).

Although policies regarding asylum seekers have been discussed in terms of their exclusionary effects, a conflict may arise in relation to wider social policies and values. Policies of deterrence do not fit well in a generally open society that typically promotes (or at least tries to promote) tolerance, integration, community cohesion and shared values (Tyler, 2010). This conflict has led Duvell and Jordan (2002) to argue that the implementation of these policies of deterrence can result in lax implementation.

The UK prides itself on being an open society and economy, with freedom and tolerance as its most widely shared values; in practice, this means that xenophobic political rhetoric is often combined with laissez-faire implementation so that there is, at present, no way of knowing how many failed asylum seekers actually leave the country, only the (very small) numbers who are actually removed. It seems that this relative lack of regulation makes it a more attractive destination for some asylum seekers. (Duvell and Jordan, 2002, p. 513)

Although their arguments hold some persuasion, Duvell and Jordan gloss over the fact that the media in the UK has been quite damning of asylum seekers, with media reports often reiterating the assumptions that policies of deterrence are based upon (e.g. that asylum seekers are scroungers etc.) (see for example, Hickley, 2009; Crawley, 2003). It is the view of some that the media has fed and nurtured negative public opinion and thus, a lesser degree of tolerance for asylum seekers than is suggested by Duvell and Jordan. Both politicians and the media have demonized asylum seekers and racism against asylum seekers and refugees has been described as particularly acute in the UK compared to European counterparts (Cemlyn and Briskman, 2003).

Support and access to services

The legislation has built a very much stratified system of social rights which limits asylum seekers' access to services and singles them out as a visibly in-need group distinct from mainstream society (Sales, 2002). Limited access to benefits reinforces the categorisation of asylum seekers as undeserving. While awaiting the result of their application, asylum seekers can claim a living allowance that is 70% of the basic income support available to UK citizens, although they are placed in fully furnished accommodation and have their utilities paid for.

Asylum support is provided by the Home Office under the guise of the UK Borders Agency (UKBA) to asylum seekers while they await the outcome of their application. Three types of support were available while this research was being conducted: accommodation only; subsistence only; or accommodation and subsistence. Those who are considered destitute are likely to qualify both for free housing and financial assistance. The accommodation provided by the UKBA is rent-free and includes utilities (gas, electricity and water). The rates of support according to the UKBA website (2010) are:

- Qualifying couple (married or civil partnership): £72.52
- Lone parent aged 18 or over: £43.94
- Single person aged 18 or over: £36.62
- Person aged between 16 and 18: £39.80
- Person aged under 16: £52.96

The number of asylum seekers in receipt of any type of support from the Home Office has reduced from 44,495 in the fourth quarter of 2007 to 29,150 in the same quarter in 2009 (Home Office, 2010).

Support under Section 4 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 is provided to those whose application for asylum has been refused but they are destitute and cannot leave the UK. Such support comes in the form of accommodation and vouchers to cover the cost of food and other basic essential items. At the end of 2009, 11,655 applicants (excluding dependents) were in receipt of section 4 support, compared to 10,295 at the end of 2008 (13% increase).

Asylum seekers have access to various public services such as education and health. Indeed, it is compulsory for all children aged between 5 and 16 to attend full-time education and free healthcare is available during the entirety of the asylum application process. Asylum seekers also have access to legal aid. Nevertheless, access to mainstream services can be made difficult by bureaucratic procedures such as complicated registration processes. To apply for benefits, for example, individuals must show that they have made an application for asylum as soon as was reasonably practicable on arrival in the UK and that they are destitute with no other means of support. Such bureaucratic hoops may perpetuate the exclusionary nature of policies on asylum seekers.

THE SCOTTISH CONTEXT

Asylum seekers in Glasgow

Since the 1970s, the policy in the UK has been to disperse asylum seekers throughout the country but the 1999 Act introduced, for the first time, a nationally co-coordinated approach to the resettlement and support of asylum seekers. The 1999 Act also introduced 'no choice' dispersal in an attempt to lessen the strain felt by London and the South East.

Under the 1999 Act the National Asylum Support Service (NASS), later renamed the UK Borders Agency (UKBA) in 2009, was established which is the UK-wide agency responsible for the co-ordination of housing and welfare support for asylum seekers while they await the outcome of their application. Contracts between the UKBA and housing providers from local authorities, the third sector and private landlords throughout the UK were entered into in order to provide accommodation for asylum seekers. Glasgow City Council was the only local authority in Scotland to enter into such an agreement.

By the end of 2009, 2,535 people were receiving asylum support in Scotland, with very few living outside Glasgow (Scottish Refugee Council, 2010). Although asylum seekers living in Glasgow come from diverse locations, the Scottish Refugee Council

(2010) refer to ten countries from which the majority of asylum seekers living in Scotland originate from: China, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Iraq, Eritrea, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria.

At the time of this study there were three accommodation providers in Glasgow: Glasgow City Council, the YMCA (renamed Y People since this research was conducted) and the for-profit organization Angel. Glasgow City Council was the main housing provider, having worked under a contract with the UKBA since 2000. It had the highest charge of any accommodation service for asylum seekers outside London. However, the number of asylum seekers it housed had fallen considerably over the years and for this reason, the contract was terminated by the UKBA on 5 November 2010.   The UKBA and Glasgow City Council agreed a new contract in 2006 which extended into 2011. At the time of the contract termination, the City Council housed 54% of asylum seekers in the city (1,282 people) compared to 4,300 in August 2006 (Scottish Affairs Committee, 2011). The responsibility for housing asylum seekers has since been transferred to the remaining two providers, Angel and YMCA. However, not all asylum seekers are accounted for as some are not in receipt of accommodation services from the UKBA; some asylum seekers might, for example, live with friends or family and may or may not receive subsistence support.

Scottish Government responsibilities

The Scottish Government is responsible for the devolved policy agenda and therefore have responsibility for the provision of public services to asylum seekers whose immigration applications are being processed.

Although responsibilities for immigration policy lie clearly with the UK Government, there are differences in Scotland compared to England, both in terms of demography and political climate. During the time of the fieldwork there were concerns about the population decline in Scotland, coupled with low fertility and an ageing population (Wren, 2007). This has led some to argue that asylum seekers could potentially fill a skills gap and has also prompted policies which aim to attract more skilled migrants to Scotland (Sim and Bowes, 2007).

The SG is responsible for the provision of public services to asylum seekers, including access to healthcare, education for children, legal advice and social care needs (Wren, 2007).

The initial dispersal of asylum seekers into Glasgow brought with it a steep learning curve for public service providers. Indeed the pace of dispersal was faster than expected, giving service providers limited preparation time and causing them to respond reactively with services being delivered on an ad hoc basis to those in desperate need (Wren, 2007). This has been attributed partly to the fact that service providers in Glasgow had very limited contact with asylum seekers or refugees prior to 1999. Indeed, Sim and Bowes (2007) recognise that historically Glasgow has had limited experience of multiculturalism compared to some English cities. Furthermore, the areas within Glasgow where asylum seekers have been placed have not necessarily had ethnic minority communities already living there, which has meant that ethnic minority organizations may not have strong links with these communities. Indeed, Glasgow's settled BME population is of Pakistani, Indian or Chinese heritage, the majority of whom do not reside in the communities to which asylum seekers have been housed.

On arrival to Glasgow, asylum seekers in receipt of accommodation support have typically been placed in very deprived communities where housing is readily available due to low take up by local people. Such areas are typically characterised by above average rates of unemployment, limited community facilities, low-income households and multi-storey housing blocks (Sim and Bowes, 2007; Spicer, 2008). Asylum seekers' needs are therefore placed in competition with the longstanding acute needs of the community, reinforcing the likelihood of social exclusion. Research conducted by Lewis (2006) also found that there was a greater tolerance to asylum seekers in Scotland than England. However, Lewis did find some concerns, particularly among younger people and those in social classes C2DE, that asylum seekers were a threat to local jobs and housing. The longer-term impact of placing asylum seekers in deprived communities may increase the likelihood that, if given refugee status, they are directed into low paid work and low skilled work. The

exclusionary impact on asylum seekers suggests a lack of commitment to their inclusion into society. However, according to Wren (2007), placing asylum seekers in the community rather than temporary centres suggests the process of integration begins during the application process rather than when refugee status has been awarded.

Another important difference in Scotland, compared to the UK, is its integration policy. The SG promotes the integration of asylum seekers into Scottish society as soon as they arrive in the country, rather than if and when they receive refugee status, as is the case in the UK.

Integration is a murky concept, meaning different things to different people. Ager and Strang (2008) propose a framework within which they attempt to summarise what constitutes successful integration. They specify various core domains including: access to employment, housing, education, health; social connections in the community, including ethnic or religious identity; social bonds with members of other communities; social links with institutions; safety and security; and language and cultural knowledge. This suggests the integration is a two-way concept process which requires effort both from asylum seekers and the host country (Da Lomba, 2010). For example, the host country may provide opportunities for integration, such as English language classes[2] and translation assistance, while the individual should make efforts to acquire the necessary language skills and cultural knowledge.

As this chapter has discussed, asylum seekers do have rights and access to health care, accommodation and education. However, rights and access are restricted, particularly in terms of residence status, employment and family reunion and these restrictions have negative implications for integration (Da Lomba, 2010).

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[2] At the time of the fieldwork, the Scottish Further Education Funding Council waived fees for asylum seekers attending Further Education Colleges to study ESOL or part-time courses. (www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/07/20144150/41525, 2009).

Voluntary and Community Sector public service provision

Historically, the Voluntary and Community Sector (VCS) has played a leading role in supporting asylum seekers, responding on an ad hoc basis in reaction to individual crises and establishing support programmes for specific groups (Wren, 2007). Although some commentators have suggested that the strong presence of the VCS has had an exclusionary impact for asylum seekers regarding statutory provision (Bloch and Schuster, 2002; Sales, 2002), the VCS has generally been considered to play a core role in public service provision (Griffiths et al, 2006; Scottish Government, 2008).

It has been recognised that due to the complexity of their needs, a multi-agency approach is key to supporting asylum seekers (Scottish Government, 2006). This was emphasised, for example, through the inauguration of the Scottish Refugee Integration Forum (SRIF) in January 2002 by the then Scottish Executive to support partnership working among Scotland's statutory and voluntary agencies. The SRIF Action Plan was published the following year and outlined key actions related to improving access to services, translation and interpretation support and breaking down barriers to employment (for refugees). These actions were to be implemented by TSG, local authorities and other service providers.

Furthermore Integration Networks have been established throughout the city of Glasgow. They were funded primarily by the Scottish Government with partners from across organizational boundaries and sectors sitting together to plan services on an operational level. Regardless of government funding, Wren (2007) found that networks evolved and functioned at the local level and tended to be independent of outside control.

According to Griffiths et al (2006), the role of VCOs dealing with asylum seekers and refugees has predominantly been one of gap filling and meeting basic needs, rather than active involvement in the development of policies and/or services. The authors further argue that organizations typically play their role on the periphery of the community which may hinder the integration of asylum seekers and refugees,

while Wren (2007) argues that VCS provision is not directly substitutable for statutory service provision which can better meet the diverse needs of asylum seekers.

A diverse number of organizations contribute to the provision of public services for asylum seekers - including churches and refugee community groups - many of which have no contractual relationship with UKBA (Barclay et al, 2003). The boundaries between voluntary and statutory sector service provision have been described as increasingly blurred (Sales, 2002). Indeed, Wren's (2007) research found confusion among asylum seekers over which organizations were responsible and accountable. This confusion worries Wren who further argues that voluntary services are not.

The introduction of Compacts under New Labour launched (at least at a rhetorical level) a more collaborative relationship between government and the VCS. Under the Compacts, the VCS is considered to perform a complementary role and the partnership agenda is furthered to suggest that a more holistic approach to public service provision is required (Milligan and Fyfe, 2004).   This suggests wider and deeper involvement of VCOs with more organizations working in alliance with government throughout the process of service provision. However in practice, the Compact has brought the closer involvement of a limited number of actors from government departments and national VCOs (Osborne and McLaughlin, 2004).

The available research says little about the working links between asylum seekers and statutory agencies at the level of service delivery. Bloch (2000) nevertheless argues that the direction of government policy has had an adverse affect on asylum seekers' participation in society. Because they do not receive the same benefits and access rights as others in society, Bloch argues asylum seekers become disempowered and marginalised which makes any future attempts at inclusion more challenging.

The literature suggests that effective support systems may operate at the local level, particularly with regards to inter-organizational networks. Because migration tends

to be involuntary and asylum seekers face a complex array of negative factors such as poor housing, language difficulties, discrimination, isolation and access problems to social welfare, social exclusion is a challenging issue for asylum seekers. Networks have been promoted as ways of offering practical support, including assistance in accessing welfare services, interpreters and emotional support (Bloch, 2000; Spicer, 2008). Spicer (2008) found that living in inclusive neighbourhoods was beneficial for the development of social networks which, in turn, aided access to services and resources. In Glasgow the establishment of networks may have been challenging initially because asylum seekers are relatively new to the city but evidence suggests that local VCOs have been effective in developing support mechanisms for asylum seekers.

Research conducted by Wren (2007) found that between 2000 and 2003 a total of ten networks were established in Glasgow, which had led to the development of community based activities such as church drop-ins and language support. In her exploration of these networks, Wren found that some had been more successful at engaging statutory agencies and likewise some were better at actively involving asylum seekers. The involvement of asylum seekers on networks may aid the process of integration into the community.

ASYLUM SEEKERS AND CO-PRODUCTION

Non-citizen status
The case of asylum seekers sharpens the focus on co-production. The extremely marginal position of asylum seekers makes them a disenfranchised group who do not share the rights bestowed on the indigenous population at birth, such as citizenship.

The case of asylum seekers is particularly interesting, given that they are a group that exists at the nexus of the policy discourses both about the consumption of public services and about the nature of citizenship. They have been described as having limited access to services, having to contend with, for example, complicated bureaucratic procedures to apply for benefits and are placed in housing on a 'no-choice' dispersal policy (Sales, 2002). In addition, their identity as non-citizens,

whose lives are regulated and constrained by immigration laws arguably impedes their potential to integrate into society and their ability to involve themselves through the participative mechanisms used with the indigenous population. Their status has a negative impact on their potential to engage politically, prohibiting them from participating in democratic structures.

Notions of citizenship have historically been constructed as a means of excluding outsiders, or at least conceptualizing those who do enter the country as the 'Other' whose rights are limited to protect the indigenous population (Cemlyn and Briskman, 2003; Choules 2006; Tyler, 2010).

Citizenship plays a central role within this securitised state, enabling specific groups and populations to be legitimately targeted and criminalised as non-citizens or failing citizens. (Tyler, 2010, p. 64)

Negative responses to asylum seekers have been associated with the need to protect the rights of citizens within the western world, or the privilege of citizenship (Choules, 2006). However, the impact of such responses on human rights and social justice has been significant (Choules, 2006), with Brysk and Sharif (2004) describing the disparity in rights afforded to citizens compared to outsiders as the 'citizenship gap'.

Descriptions of citizenship point towards it being a largely contested concept, which is in receipt of considerable debate regarding its meaning and the scope of its membership. On the most basic level, citizenship suggests a belonging to a particular nation state. Thus, being between states, asylum seekers are generally considered to have no expectation of citizenship rights. However, Choules (2006) describes three fundamental elements of citizenship: membership in a community of shared character; membership in political community; and membership in a welfare state. Asylum seekers can potentially be members of a community of other asylum seekers and also access welfare services. However, their membership to a political community is arguably far more restricted for asylum seekers living in the UK.

Although Lister (2003) differentiates between citizenship as a status and a practice. Status is about *being* a citizen, while practice is about *acting* as a citizen. Asylum seekers certainly do not have the legal status of citizens, but perhaps co-production provides a route for them to practice a partial form of citizenship. As a practise, citizenship enfolds both rights/obligations and political participation through meaningful interaction (Lister 2003). Asylum seekers do not have any political agency; they are not allowed to vote or contribute to policy planning. They do, however, receive public services and the Scottish Government therefore has responsibility for providing for their social welfare needs while they live in Glasgow. As Dreydus (1999) suggests a more extended conception of citizenship can be applied where 'the activities of the State apparatus are under the control of the people who are involved in the decision-making process or at least are informed of the decisions, specially when they are affected by them.' (Dreydus, 1999, p.7). A question therefore arises as to whether they can participate through the co-production of the services they use.

Participation has been described as a core human and citizenship right (Lister, 2007). Brannan et al (2006, p. 995) argue that participation should be viewed as a core element of citizenship rather than a 'bolt-on optional extra'. Nevertheless, participation is a challenge for marginalised groups in society. For asylum seekers in particular, do not have any rights to participate on a political or economic level. As service users they may, however, participate in service production. Indeed, as Rouban (1999) suggests the success of public services is reliant on participation: 'It is, in fact, highly likely that there cannot be quality, or in other words, true effectiveness, without user, or citizen, adhesion or actual participation.' (Rouban 1999, p.1).

Niiranen (1999) refers to two conceptions of citizenship which are tied to service production. The first ties citizenship to individual rights, placing him as a user and consumer of public services with associated consumer rights. Secondly, the citizenship can be seen under the idea of collectivity. Here, the citizen is a community participant who participates in democracy through partnership and

involvement. To participate and influence at either level, Niiranen argues that information and channels of open communication are crucial.

SUMMARY AND INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

The case of asylum seekers offers a fertile ground through which to explore the co-production. Asylum seekers are a marginalised group, having exercised their legal right under the Geneva Convention (1951) to apply for asylum but remaining a non-citizen while they await the outcome of their case. Their lives are regulated and constrained by strict immigration laws, which are rooted within and built upon 'policies of deterrence' (Williams, 2006). The legislation has built a very much stratified system of social rights which limits asylum seekers' access to public services and singles them out as a visibly in-need group distinct from mainstream society (Sales, 2002).

Although immigration is a reserved issue, the SG is responsible for the provision of public services to asylum seekers. Nevertheless, asylum seekers remain non-citizens under the auspices of immigration laws and policies. The identity of non-citizen has a negative impact on their capacity to engage politically and economically. They cannot vote or have a say over the way in which their host country is governed or work for remuneration. But a question arises about whether they co-produce public services in any of the ways described by the conceptual framework introduced in Chapter two (i.e. through consumer, participative, or enhanced co-production). If they can co-produce public services this may have implications for discussions around their integration into society and their position as non-citizens. This leads to the first two empirical research question for this study: to what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship? And can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship?

Furthermore, the VCS has been described as playing a leading role in supporting asylum seekers, responding on an ad hoc basis in reaction to individual crises and establishing support programs (Wren, 2007). Thus, a further question arises around the presence of organizational forms of co-production (i.e. co-management and co-

governance) which were introduced in the typology of co-production in chapter three and leads to the final empirical research question: is individual service user co-production a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations?

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes and discusses the evolution of the research methodology used to conduct this study. It starts with a discussion of the philosophical position which underpins the research, before examining the methodological implications of adopting such an approach. The chapter will then go on to consider the research focus of this thesis and the associated research questions and objectives which have evolved out of the theory on co-production and the context of asylum seekers in Glasgow.

Next, the chapter will provide a comprehensive discussion of the research process and also the methods being used to conduct the study, explaining both their appropriateness and limitations. Each method and the data sources that were used in this study will then be discussed, providing an explanation of how they will be analysed in the proceeding chapters.

PHILOSOPHICAL POSITION

A philosophical position constitutes the basic set of beliefs that guide the research from the outset (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). This means that the researcher starts with a collection of ideas (ontology/theory) from which they can devise questions in order to gain further or missing knowledge (epistemology) through the collection and examination of some form of data (methodology/analysis).

There are three commonly espoused and conflicting philosophical positions that are typically adopted in the study of social sciences: positivism, constructivism and critical realism. The two former traditions essentially view the world as either objectively known through the systematic application of empirical techniques (positivism) or through discourses (constructivism).

The positivist paradigm (also referred to as the quantitative approach, traditional, experimental or empiricist) has dominated much of social science research since the 1930s. Positivists consider a 'real' reality to exist which can be objectively understood, using experimental methodologies to produce knowledge that is essentially true (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). Advocates of this paradigm typically employ quantitative methods and seek to test and verify hypotheses through the collection of numerical data which can be subjected to statistical testing.

The constructivist (also know as the qualitative paradigm, naturalistic, hermeneutic, or post-modern perspective) developed as a critical response to positivism offering an alternative approach on how to view the world and examine it. For constructivists, realities are locally constructed by individuals and their subjective knowledge of reality (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). Knowledge is generated through dialectical methodologies (between the researcher and the researched).

Critical Realism

For the purposes of this research, the study will be rooted firmly within the critical realist paradigm, which emerged in the mid-1970s essentially as a critique of both positivism and constructivism. Critical realism refutes both aforementioned

philosophical positions, arguing that any explanation of events must be understood both through social structures, such as mechanisms, relations, power, resources and institutions, and the meanings that actors attribute to these (including the discourses actors use to express these meanings) (Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000).

Critical Realism is drawn from various contributory perspectives and developments, emanating both from philosophical ideas and the study of social phenomena (Danermark et al, 2002). As a philosophy of science, critical realism is most closely associated with the work of Bhaskar (1975, 1979). Bhaskar was strongly influenced by his teacher Rom Harre who built the foundations for a comprehensive criticism of positivism, arguing that generative mechanism had to be present for the world to be analysed in terms of cause and effect (Harre, 1970). Bhaskar's work has been continued and expanded by various commentators (see for example, Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000; Tsoukas, 2000; Outhwaite, 1998; Healy and Perry, 2000; Danermark et al, 2002). This body of work will be considered in more detail before discussing the methodological implications of adopting such an approach in the context of this study.

Fundamental to critical realism is a switch from epistemology to ontology, and within ontology a switch from events to mechanisms. Indeed, the starting point for understanding the philosophy of reality is an ontological one, explained by Bhaskar (1979, 13) through the following fundamental question: 'what properties do societies and people possess that might make them possible objects of knowledge?' Such a starting point is at odds with the positivist approach which starts with an epistemological question of how knowledge is possible.

From a critical realist perspective, ontology is stratified, structured and changing. As such it is not confined to the actual and empirical but also stems into the deep or real, which is illustrated in Bhaskar's (1975) ontological map in Figure 5.1.

	Domain of Real	Domain of Actual	Domain of Empirical
Mechanisms	X		
Events	X	X	
Experiences	X	X	X

Figure 5.1: Structured Ontology, Adapted from Bhaskar (1975, p.13)

Figure 5.1 also highlights the complexity of the real world and purports there to be three ontological domains: the empirical, actual and real. The positivist approach, by comparison, would seek to collapse each of the three domains of reality into one empirical world, an approach heavily criticised by critical realists 'the epistemic fallacy'.

Critical realists differentiate the domains, arguing that mechanisms can seldom be observed directly, but can often only be experienced indirectly (Danermark et al, 2002). Mechanisms have the potential to generate social phenomena or an event in the actual domain, which can in turn be experienced (directly and indirectly) to become an empirical fact. Thus, for critical realists, attention must be placed on what produces the event (underlying causal mechanism) by generating knowledge of mechanisms, rather than focusing purely on empirically observable events. Mechanisms exist independently from the patterns of events that they produce and similarly, events can be differentiated from the experiences in which they are apprehended.

Although the starting point for critical realists is ontology, epistemological questions about the nature of knowledge, how we acquire knowledge and how we can know what we know are key. For critical realists, the world is a social construct which takes an autonomous form, consisting of 'abstract things that are born of people's minds but exist independently of any one person' (Healy and Perry, 2000, p.120). That is, while the social world is a consequence of human action, social phenomena are not necessarily conscious objectives of those actors that reproduce those phenomena. Thus, knowledge is conceptually mediated, creating theory-laden

empirical observations that have been subject to our own and other people's diverse experiences. Social phenomena cannot therefore be studied without taking account of the concepts that people, including researchers, have ascribed to them: 'It is necessary to understand the meaning people assign to their actions in order to understand their actions.' (Danermark et al, 2002, p.36)

For critical realists, objects of knowledge exist independently of us and our investigations of them and this leads Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2000) to argue that social entities can be ambiguous and difficult to observe directly. This does not mean that these objects cannot be analysed and understood but it does mean that knowledge can be incomplete (Stiles, 2003) and that some forms of knowledge can be better than others.

Critical realists also describe knowledge as fallible, varying in both usefulness and truthfulness. A prerequisite for obtaining useful knowledge is that the mechanisms which produce empirical events are known; a considerable challenge given that these are often concealed. Any theories in science can, therefore, only be described as the best truth about reality we have currently, rather than the ultimate authority – new theories replace and sometimes override the old.

The essential argument made by critical realists is that reality cannot be investigated sufficiently by neutral, empirical observations alone because there is an ontological gap between what we experience and understand (Danermark et al, 2002). Causal analysis, or the explanation of why what happens actually does happen, is core to the critical realist paradigm. This has implications for the nature of empirical investigation. While statistical studies may well inform through empirical regularities and statistical correlations, they cannot inform causes, nor can they produce explanation around the social relationships and structures built by people. The critical realist ontology is transformational, placing importance on understanding the way that agents and structures interact:

Nothing happens out of nothing. Agents do not create or produce structures ad initio*, rather they recreate, reproduce and/or transform a set of pre-existing structures. Society and*

institutions continue to exist only because agents reproduce and/or transform those structures they encounter in their social actions. (Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000: 14, emphasis in original)

Critical realism is concerned with the explanation of events, which in turn requires causal explanation. Elster (1989) argues that a focus on mechanisms encapsulates the dynamic nature of scientific explanation: the urge to produce explanations. He discusses causal explanation in more depth, distinguishing it from causal statements where only the cause is provided and from story-telling which does not necessary seek for a truthful account. Causal explanation requires an account of why an event happened, suggesting which causal mechanisms are at play.

Methodological implications

This research will assume there to be a degree of objectivity, coming from the critical realist perspective that entities exist independently of us and our investigation of them. However, the approach adopted in this study will recognise that the inquiry cannot be completely value-free and as a result, actions will be taken to keep any bias in check; these will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

A fundamental aspiration of critical realist research is explanation. Explanation is generated through the understanding of causal relations which are in turn, rooted within the interactions of generative mechanisms and Outhwaite (1998, p.282) notes that 'these interactions may or may not produce events which in turn may or may not be observed'. The postulation of possible mechanisms will be generated through a robust research design, which incorporates a mixed methods approach (discussed below).

Ackroyd (2004) argues that critical realist methodologies possess two essential characteristics, conceptualisation and empirical investigation. Conceptualisation is the starting point, where theories are drawn up to explain the real world. The task of explanation is to go beyond the surface of experiences and perceptions to understand structures, mechanisms, powers, relations that exist and how these produce related events and experiences. The second of critical realism's characteristics, empirical

investigation, tests the accuracy of theoretical propositions. Lewis (1999) upholds this argument, arguing that the significance of critical realism rests within the distinction between *establishing* that something exists and the unrestricted investigation to *explain* what exists.

Critical realism does not predispose certain methods into the field of better or best understanding, preferring to opt for those methods that are fit for the purpose of the study. Indeed, although explaining how events come about is central, explanation is not the only principle steering the research study. Danermark et al (2002) remark that certain contexts may profit from description, counts, survey or interpretation of the phenomena, making the choice of methods and analysis an important consideration. Thus, the nature of the object of study determines what research methods are suitable and also what kind of knowledge it is possible to have. This provides the researcher with an array of options in terms of the tools available to collect data. Furthermore, Ackroyd (2004) insists that the sole retrieval of data is not sufficient, with effective research being dependent upon the inferences drawn and sense made of the data in order to explain what is happening at a deeper level. This is core to the critical realist approach. The researcher must reflect upon the concepts that emerge from the data, establishing what people hold to be true and their concepts of reality.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study followed a spiralling research approach (Berg, 2004), starting with an idea that developed as part of a proposal for funding which matured as a result of generating a deeper understanding of the relevant concepts through a review of the literature.

The initial research question was: *how can the co-production of public services be better understood and differentiated, what forms can co-production take and what are the implications for service planning and delivery?*

The exploratory nature of the study allowed the research question to be refined as the literature review was conducted and the conceptual models were developed. The research began with a comprehensive review of the literature on co-production which integrated the public administration/management and services management discourses.

The preliminary theoretical work was used to generate and refine the research question and also helped to define the parameters of the research site and the feasibility of studying asylum seekers in Glasgow. Indeed, the preceding literature review in chapters two and three discussed the emerging themes and gaps in understanding co-production. Chapter four sets the context for the empirical study, discussing the marginalised position of asylum seekers in Glasgow and the nature of the public services they receive. Taken together, the theory and research context led to the development of three empirical research questions.

Integrating the literature from the public administration/management and services management theories was crucial to conceptualising and better understanding the co-production of public services, both at the level of individual service users and organizations. The services management literature added considerable insight to the understanding of public *services* production, suggesting a different starting point to theorise about co-production. Taken with the public administration literature, it arguably provides a more comprehensive understanding of the co-production of public services. Two conceptual models were developed as a result, which differentiate co-production on the individual and organizational levels.

Working within a critical realist paradigm requires that these conceptual developments are explored through empirical investigation. Indeed, the review of the literature added considerable insight into the different forms that co-production can take, but the concepts and their implications need to be understood in the context of both policy and practice in the case of asylum seekers.

Chapter four introduced the context of the study and a further layer of interest around the conception of co-production. Asylum seekers were selected because they are a particularly interesting case to examine given their marginal position in society as non-citizens. This positioning has negative implications for their capacity to contribute economically and politically. However, the discussion suggested that although they are without legal rights to citizenship, they are public service users and may therefore co-produce the services they receive.

Based both on the integrated theory of co-production and the context of asylum seekers, the following research questions have been developed:

- To what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship?
- Can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship?
- Is individual service user co-production a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations?

In order to answer these questions, the research sought to map the extent and nature of asylum seeker co-production in the planning and delivery of social welfare services in Glasgow; investigate the components of co-production; and evaluate the policy-practice interface within which co-production exists and its implications for user involvement and citizenship.

DESIGNING THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

Considering the exploratory nature of the research and specifically the need to explore the applicability of the conceptual frameworks developed as part of the literature review, a flexible research design was considered appropriate (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The research design has also been pragmatic, with a methodology being developed which is considered to best suit the research problematic and the population being studied, which fits with the critical realist paradigm.

The research design which was adopted could also be described as 'spiralling' (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The study took an inductive approach, aiming to build

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upon existing theories and further explanation, as opposed to testing hypotheses. In practice the research approach was fluid and iterative, moving between the theory and empirical work to build a comprehensive understanding of co-production (Bryman and Bell, 2007). This is explained in Figure 5.2 below.

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│ 6.  Writing up                    │
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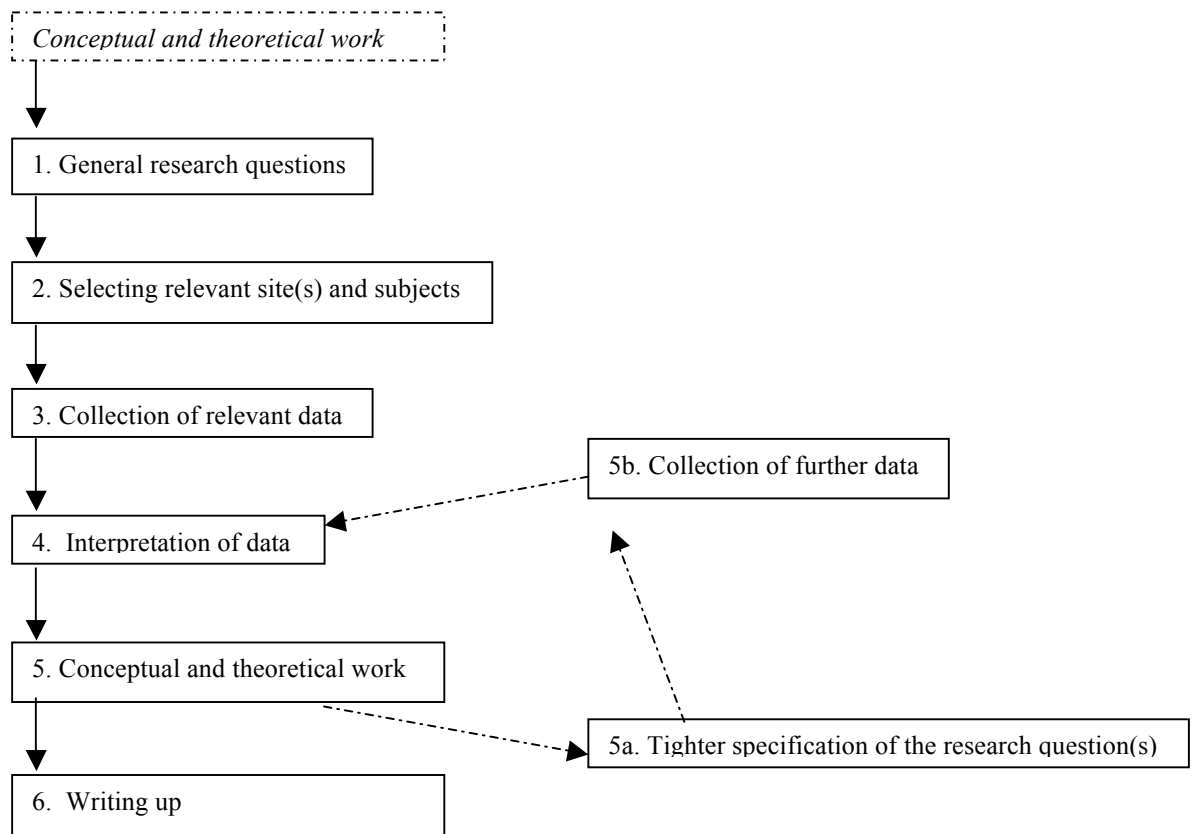
Figure 5.2: Research approach, Adapted from Bryman and Bell (2007)

As mentioned previously, the general research question emerged out of the application for funding. The early theoretical work and the empirical context of the research led to the development of three empirical research questions, which were refined as the research progressed.

The modes of co-production outlined in the conceptual frameworks require explanation, in terms of their component parts, whether they are present in the context of public services for asylum seekers in Glasgow and their implications for both service production, social inclusion and citizenship status. Co-production will

also be considered on an organizational level, examining whether individual modes of co-production are a prerequisite for co-production at the meso level.

These considerations have resulted in a largely qualitative approach. A key strength of qualitative research is its ability to explore a new area, where there has been no previous research of where that research has been sketchy or where incomplete. Qualitative research generates rich, descriptive accounts of people's perceptions and views and can also be used to understand and interpret events and behaviour (Hakim, 2000). It also permits for cases to be explored in context, thereby adding richness to any data generated. Such an approach is wholly appropriate to this study, where a key issue is understanding the service interaction and how asylum seekers, as service users, interact and are involved with those organizations (and staff within them) providing services.

A quantitative study, which may seem more scientific, due to its production of 'hard' numbers was not deemed appropriate for this research given the relatively small population (i.e. the number of organizations providing services to asylum seekers) and the difficulty in accessing asylum seekers due to both language barriers and their reservations about talking openly with an outsider. Despite this, gathering evidence on the nature and extent of asylum seeker co-production was necessary in order to map co-production in this setting, which could be generated from a small quantitative element to create a baseline of co-production.

As a result of these considerations this study took a mixed methods approach. The main methods used were a small-scale survey, depth interviews, direct observations and document analysis. Each method will be considered in turn, providing both the justification for its use and its associated criticisms, but first the case study approach will be discussed as this will form the basis of the empirical research.

Case study approach

The case study approach also offers a flexible research design. An authority on the case study, Yin (2009), describes the approach as a linear yet iterative process. He provides a twofold definition to illustrate both its scope and characteristics:

1. *A case study is an empirical inquiry that*
   - *investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when*
   - *the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.*
2. *The case study inquiry*
   - *copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result*
   - *relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result*
   - *benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (Yin, 2009, p.18)*

Case studies are thus holistic approaches where the subject (e.g. community, organization, person, event) is treated as an integrated, multifaceted whole. Indeed, Stake (2005) describes case studies not as a methodological choice, but rather a 'choice of what is to be studied' (p.443). Cases typically have indistinct boundaries, but are constrained both by time and place (Creswell, 1998). They are holistic not only in terms of the subject, but also through the use of various methods of data collection which create for a more rounded study. Case studies are generalisable to theoretical propositions rather than populations or universes (Yin, 2009). The confidence in the generalisability of their results is enhanced with the number of cases studied.

The case study method has capacity to provide deep explanation. When conducted and analysed rigorously, they have the potential to become comprehensive studies; however as an approach the case study exists on a continuum:

At the simplest level, they provide descriptive accounts of one or more cases. When used in an intellectually rigorous manner to achieve experimental isolation of selected social factors, they offer the strengths of experimental research within natural settings. In between these two extremes there is an extended range of case studies combining exploratory work, description and the testing out of hunches, hypotheses and ideas in varying combinations. The case of the social research is equivalent of the spotlight or the microscope: its value depends crucially on how well the study is focused. (Hakim, 2000, p. 59)

Yin (2009) advocates that the case study researcher should aspire to create the rigour associated with a 'scientific' approach and suggests another way of achieving this is through the development of a structured and transparent approach to data collection.

The use of a case study protocol which clearly and accurately records the chain of evidence is therefore important. Such an approach facilitates conformability, whereby recordings and field notes (an audit trail) can be accessed by an external observer who can judge whether logical steps have been followed and relevant conclusions drawn (Christie, et al, 2000). This is particularly important for studies embedded within the critical realist paradigm which attaches weight to understanding causal mechanisms.

Case study research has sometimes been criticised as 'anecdotal and non-scientific' (Rubaie, 2002, p. 31). There have been particular concerns over the lack of rigor of case study research and this study therefore followed systematic procedures and sought to limit the influence of bias or errors. However, Yin (2009) argues that well-constructed research designs go some way to negate these concerns, particularly when quality control measures are built into the design. Multiple sources of evidence were collected (data triangulation) to improve the construct validity of the case study and the case study design was founded upon the theoretical work conducted in the earlier part of the study. The use of interviews, observations and document analysis represent a further form of triangulation: methodological triangulation (Downward and Mearman, 2007). This will be discussed in more detail later.

Postal survey

A questionnaire is one of the most widely used data collection with a survey strategy, but can also be employed during experiment or case study strategies (Saunders et al, 2007). Questionnaires are an efficient way of collecting data, with each person being asked to respond to the same set of questions, delivered in the same format. Nevertheless, a drawback of the questionnaire is that respondents cannot be re-approached to ask further questions or probe answers. Thus, the effectiveness of the questionnaire rests strongly upon its design.

The use of questionnaires is appropriate where standardised questions can be developed that will be understood and interpreted in the same way by all respondents

(Robson, 2005). Questionnaires can also be used when the researcher seeks to generate descriptive or explanatory research (rather than exploratory). Descriptive questionnaires are used to identify and describe variability in different phenomena, while explanatory questionnaires would generate data that could be used to examine and explain relationships between variables.

Non-response to questionnaires reduces the sample size which can skew the results and introduce bias (Edwards et al, 2002). Response can be improved through various strategies, such as the inclusion of a clear cover letter, re-sending the questionnaires out to respondents, the clarity of the questionnaire and monetary incentives. According to Saunders et al (2007), a 30 percent response rate is reasonable for postal surveys.

Depth Interviews

Fontana and Frey (2005) discuss the nature of interviews as a method of science, describing them as ' not merely the neutral exchange of asking questions and getting answers' (p.696) but as a collaborative effort to generate data through an active interaction between the researcher and respondent, which leads to 'negotiated, contextually based results' (p.698)

Different types of interviews are available, each with its own advantages and challenges. Structured interviews, for instance, are used when all respondents are asked the same set of pre-established questions and are offered a limited set of response categories. These interviews leave little room for flexibility; they prevent probing and responses are recorded according to coding schemes. Unstructured interviews, by comparison generate rich data, but the capacity for making comparisons and drawing links between interviews would be limited.

Depth (or semi-structured) interviews were considered to be the most appropriate form of interviews for this study, where various respondents from differing backgrounds were being considered and due to the complexity of the study in seeking for explanation and understanding of co-production.

Depth interviews offer a flexible mode of data collection, with use of an interview guide to keep track but allowing the respondent room to steer the conversation and allowing them 'to bring in all sorts of tangential matters that, for them, have a bearing on the main subject' (Hakim, 2000, p. 35). The semi-structured format makes room for a degree of comparability, allowing the same questions to be asked between respondents while also allowing a degree of flexibility for probing (Bryman, 2008). Unlike structured, questionnaire-styled interviews, the interviewer also has the opportunity to adjust the line of enquiry and probe interesting responses (Robson, 2005). The combination of structure and flexibility ensure that perceptions and experiences can be gathered without leading to a wealth of information which would perhaps be valuable individually, but difficult to draw general themes from (Howard and Sharp, 1983).

Direct Observations

Observation is of value where behaviours and interactions need to be understood in 'real' world contexts because they enable a deep exploration of the situation without asking them what they think about it (Robson, 2005). Indeed, while interviews provide an opportunity to uncover experiences and perceptions, observations generate a partially independent (of the research respondents') view of the experience (Tjora, 2006). Essentially, they offer an opportunity to collect naturally occurring events in natural settings, allowing the researcher closer to the 'real life' situation.

The role the researcher takes in the context for an observation sits on a continuum. Taking the two extremes, for example, he can be a complete participant or a complete observer (Angrosino, 2005). Sitting between these are instances where participants are also observing the situation that they are participating in. Participant observation requires that the researcher be immersed in the research setting through prolonged participation, thereby establishing a degree of familiarity and making the research non-obtrusive (Watts, 2011). Despite the associated benefits of such an approach to the validity of the data produced, it does have ethical implications given the lack of informed consent from research participants.

In this study, it was decided that the researcher would not take the role of a participant in any of the cases being studied, but rather act as a complete observer. Ethically, this approach was positive given the open presence of the researcher in the situation. However, the concern associated with this approach was the extent to which the context would be managed or modified for the benefit of the observer. Nevertheless, Watt (2009) recognises that although the initial presence of the researcher as observer may distort behaviour, people cannot maintain a 'front' for a long period of time and are typically more concerned with the task at hand rather than the presence of an outsider.

Tjora (2006) discusses various approaches to observation. For example, a researcher might aim to approach the field in a completely open manner, seeking to generate data to provide a complete picture of the research setting. Another may target 'critical incidents', or incidents that sharply contrast normal events. Similarly, Angrosino (2005) discusses three types of observation which offer different approaches to data collection. First, descriptive observations generate masses of data, requiring the observer to record everything. Second, focused observations redirect attention only to material that is pertinent to the study. Finally, selective observations focus on a specific category of the case due to its particular interest. Descriptions are not good at capturing reality, but instead skim the surface perhaps providing some justifications as to why the area is being studied (Watt, 2009). Focusing only on pertinent data is likely to result in a loss of contextual understanding and may also overlook contradictory cases. Selective cases, on the other hand, would offer an opportunity to focus in on the different ways co-production translates into practice.

Observation provides an important opportunity cross checking and for data triangulation (Tjora, 2006). The data from the observations will feed into the other streams of data that are being generated from questionnaires and interviews and will be used to corroborate the findings from interviews and documentation analysis conducted during the case study.

Document Analysis

Document analysis is defined by Bowen (2009, p.27) as 'a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents', offering an additional means through which to understand the subject matter.

Documents contain both text and images that have been recorded without any intervention from the researcher. They can take various forms from newspaper articles and minutes of meetings, to letters and diaries. Documents are also described as socially organized and, at the same time, much of social life can be mediated by them (Perakyla, 2005; Atkinson and Delamont, 2005). According to Prior (2003) documents form a field of research in their own right rather than simply being viewed as props for human action. Documents, as a result, can offer an important complementary role in this research study, adding both to the contextual understanding and also providing examples of where co-production might exist and what forms it takes.

They must be found, rather than collected and 'their value will depend on the degree of match between the research questions addressed and the data that happened to be available.' (Hakim, 2000,p. 47/8). They are typically analysed through content analysis, which Bryman and Bell (2007, p.304) define as 'an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner'. At its most basic, content analysis involves counting the frequency at which certain words appear. However, Prior (2003) and others (Perakyla, 2005; Atkinson and Delamont, 2005; Bowen, 2009) recommend that documents are understood as situated, social products. Thus, deeper contextual types of analysis can also be employed to generate an understanding of the categories used within the texts (Silverman, 2005).

Exploring documentation through content analysis is a relatively unobtrusive method, but is open to researcher bias in interpretation which can be limited through structured analysis. In addition, the documentation may be incomplete or inaccurate,

may contain rhetoric and could be time-consuming to analyse (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF FIELDWORK

Piloting the research

The study was carried out within the ethical guidelines framework of the University of Edinburgh. Furthermore, prior to conducting any fieldwork, ethical approval was sought from Glasgow City Council.

The process of data collection was iterative and commenced with informal discussions with organizations such as the Scottish Refugee Council, Cosla and Glasgow Council for the Voluntary Sector. These discussions proved helpful in developing an appropriate research design for the study and also drawing up research contacts. These organizations also expressed an interest in the research which provided some reassurance that the study would be of interest to practitioners.

The policy and practice interview was piloted soon after these discussions. The pilot provided valuable insight into any potential issues which may negatively impact the study (Robson, 2005). At that stage the interview took a much less structured format than how the interviews actually transpired. Although the questions were developed, the respondent was allowed considerable leeway to lead the conversation, making the interview far less structured. This resulted in considerable amounts of prose, which went off subject and would not have been useful in contributing to the research objectives. Thus, it was decided that the interviews should take a more structured format, but not overly structured given that various different organizations were being studied and the need to be exploratory.

The service provider interview was also piloted with a service manager in a Voluntary Organization. Insight had already been taken from the previous pilot so a semi-structured format was adopted. However, this pilot was still informative. Various organizations were being studied, with respondents including both service

managers and front-line staff. Thus, it was decided at this stage that it would be important to ask both about the role of the organization and the interview respondent in order to clearly understand the context within which substantive answers around co-production lay.

The questionnaire was piloted with two individuals from organizations that work for/ with asylum seekers. Both individuals have worked in the field for a considerable period of time and therefore had a good knowledge of the organizations that would be sampled for the survey element of the research. They were able to advise on whether the questions were appropriate and would be understood. Their feedback was invaluable in developing the questionnaire.

A pilot observation was also conducted during the early stages of the research in order to test the data collection method. The pilot highlighted the need to tweak the observation sheet to include space for direct quotes from those being observed (previously, the form had only provided space for chronological events and the researcher's reflections).

The pilot interview conducted with an asylum seeker accessed through a community organization was invaluable in uncovering the challenges and sensitivities associated with accessing this group. It was clear from this pilot, that asylum seeker respondents' grasp on the English language was variable which meant that the interview questions had to be simplified and it was also decided that interviews would be kept short (approximately 30 minutes). This learning experience highlighted the importance of making the interviews as informal and relaxed as possible and also speaking in clear and plain English to ensure that questions were fully understood. The pilot also emphasised that some asylum seekers might be uncomfortable being recorded.

The research process
The data was collected between October 2008 and December 2009. The empirical study took a mixed methods approach and included three core elements: policy and

practice interviews with key national and local stakeholders; a postal survey of service managers in PSOs providing social welfare services to asylum seekers; and a cross sectional case study of Glasgow. The purpose of each will be discussed in full below.

The fieldwork process is illustrated in Figure 5.3 below.
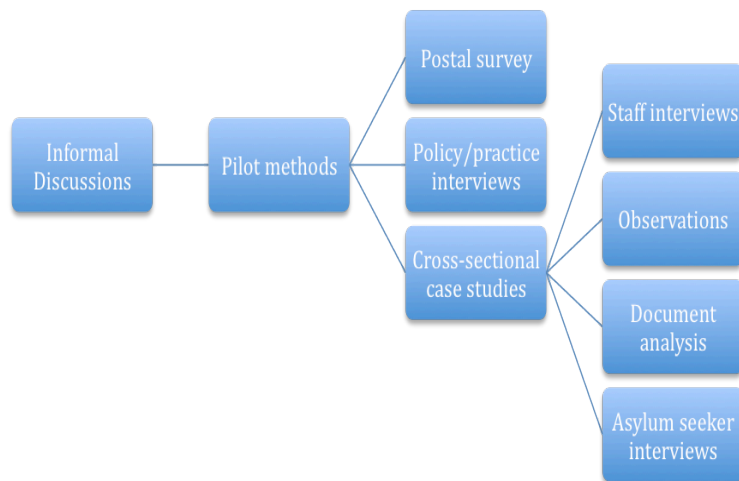
Figure 5.3: Research Process

Although the focus of this thesis is co-production and it is recognised that certain research designs can be employed to co-produce knowledge between the researcher and research participants, this was not deemed appropriate for this study for various reasons. Research co-production has been described as a collective exercise (Jung et al, 2012) where the researcher and researched can together initiate, develop and implement a research project. As discussed previously, informal conversations were conducted with various key organizations in order to develop the research design, but because this was a PhD study it was deemed important to retain ownership over the project.

Jung et al (2012) suggest that various challenges exist in such a joint approach, including developing trust with vulnerable research subjects and merging competing agendas. In this case, the researcher and research participants are not working to

achieve the same outcome, with the researcher aiming to produce original knowledge to achieve a PhD and the research participants ranging from various backgrounds, including policy makers, public service managers and asylum seekers. Each had different aspirations associated with their different roles and responsibilities. Asylum seekers, for example, are a particularly vulnerable group who had difficulty engaging with the research due to their lack of trust for others. Policy makers, on the other hand, may be described as an elite group who may wish to safeguard information – although the majority of policy respondents seemed relatively open and interested in the research, one was wary of the research process and asked not to be quoted in any research findings or publications.

Policy interviews and secondary data analysis

The first stage of the research involved in-depth interviews with six key national and city-wide organizations. These organizations were selected through the use of a purposive sampling technique. Each was considered to have an interest in the provision of social welfare services, asylum seekers and /or the role of the Voluntary and Community Sector in planning/delivering public services.

In total, six policy interviews were conducted; the types of respondents are displayed in Figure 5.4 below.

POLICY RESPONDENTS
Scottish Government Policy 1
Scottish Government Policy 2
Scottish Government Policy 3
UK Government Agency
Accommodation Provider Strategic Manager
Community Planning Partnership Manager

Figure 5.4: Policy Respondents

From the Scottish Government, one respondent dealt specifically with policy around the VCS, another dealt with asylum seeker policy and the third, with the policy around a specific service which is targeted at asylum seekers, among others.

The UK Government Agency was responsible for any issues of immigration which is an issue reserved to Westminster. The respondent in this study was from the Glasgow branch of the agency and therefore very aware of the context specific to Scotland.

A Community Planning Partnership manager also participated during this phase of the empirical research. As the data was collected it became clear that community planning was fundamental to the way that public services are planned and therefore, the snowball approach to sampling suggested that this respondent be approached.

Initially, it was hoped that all interviews would be conducted face-to-face but this stage of the research required gaining access to policy makers and managers within organizations who were often pressed for time. This meant that four of the six interviews were conducted over the telephone. Conducting the interviews face-to-face allows the interviewer to read and act on non-verbal cues but this was lost during the telephone interviews. However, the telephone interviews generated rich and illuminating data and made it possible to reach individuals who would not have otherwise been able to participate in the research.

Data from these interviews will be used mainly to establish the current policy and trajectory for policy developments around asylum seekers, public services and the voluntary and community sector.

The data from these interviews will be analysed and interpreted alongside the current policies which were mentioned by respondents and also those general policies which are important to co-production and asylum seekers. The second type were found through a search of the Scottish Government's website for documents relating to co-production. The findings in this thesis do not report an exhaustive list of those policies that refer to co-production but rather seek to establish the various narratives around co-production and to understand the different meanings which are being attached to co-production. The documents analysed are set out in Figure 5.5.

Policy Documents: Secondary Analysis
Refugee and Asylum seekers support
Race Equality Statement
A Partnership for a Better Scotland
National Standards for Community Engagement
Scottish Community Empowerment Action Plan
Quality Strategy
Scottish Government Disability Equality Scheme
Age, Home and Community: A Strategy for Housing for Scotland's Older People
National Strategy for Self-Directed Support
Concordat between the Scottish Government and local government

Figure 5.5: Policy Documents: Secondary Analysis

Postal survey

The second stage of the research was a Glasgow-wide postal survey of service managers in those public service organizations providing social welfare services to asylum seekers and VCOs working on behalf of asylum seekers. A copy of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix A. The survey was used to map which modes of co-production were apparent in social welfare services provided to asylum seekers in Glasgow. The questions within the survey predominantly used nominal levels of measurement, although a number of ordinal attitudinal questions were also asked. There was also space at the end of the questionnaire for respondents to include open-ended comments, which was completed by ten respondents.

A large-scale postal survey was not deemed appropriate for this study given the context surrounding public services for asylum seekers and the relatively small number of organizations providing services to them. The result of the small-scale survey approach is that sweeping conclusions cannot be drawn from the results. Furthermore, although an online survey was considered, early discussions with practitioners in the field suggested that such an approach would be inappropriate as many potential respondents were small community organizations that would not have Internet access.

The survey aimed to sample the whole population of organizations providing social welfare services to asylum seekers in Glasgow due to the small numbers involved

(the questionnaire was initially sent to 100 organizations). Developing the sample was a challenge given that no definitive list of such organizations exists. In order to develop as comprehensive a sample as possible core agencies, such as the GCVS and the Scottish Refugee Council, were approached early on in the empirical research. They provided advice on which organizations were providing services to asylum seekers in the city and permitted the researcher to make use of their online directories of service providers.

Initially the Scottish Refugee Council agreed to send the questionnaire to all Refugee Community Organizations on its mailing list, because it had an interest in the research findings. This would improve the likelihood of sampling the whole population. The questionnaire was translated into French on the recommendation of Scottish Refugee Council, who suggested that this would likely yield a higher response rate. Some of the organizations on the mailing list had already been included in the list of organizations which were sent the questionnaire in the main batch, but the Scottish Refugee Council was not able to share the details of these organizations due to data protection issues.

Although the researcher made various attempts to follow up this agreement, she lost contact with the Scottish Refugee Council, which subsequently did not send out the questionnaires. To account for this, additional questionnaires were sent out to organizations that were discovered during the fieldwork, attempting to capture any RCOs that may have been missed in the initial mailing list. In total 107 questionnaires were distributed.

The questionnaires were sent to named individuals where possible and were coded to keep track of responses. This allowed for non-responses to be chased up by telephone in an attempt to boost response rates.

In total, 43 completed questionnaires were returned, providing a reasonable response rate of 40 per cent. However, the small initial sample size had implications for analysis. Although attempts were made to conduct chi square analysis, the small

sample size made this challenging (this will be discussed in greater depth in chapter six). As a result, the analysis was limited to descriptive statistics. Graphs and tables will be used in chapter six to represent the data visually. The tables will provide frequencies including: types of organizations that responded to the questionnaire (i.e. voluntary, public, business organization); the types of services they provide; when they involve asylum seekers; and how they involve them.

Embedded case study

For the purposes of this research, an embedded case study design was adopted in order to take a concentrated focus on the city of Glasgow which homes the highest number of asylum seekers in Scotland (Home Office, 2008). The data generated from the case study will be used to investigate the five modes of co-production which were differentiated in the conceptual frameworks by gathering data around various perceptions and experiences of co-production and trying to understand the events through which these occur and the structures that underlie them.

The preliminary theoretical work suggested that co-production can take various different forms and as a result, an embedded case study design was developed to explore multiple units of analysis. Yin (2009) describes an embedded case study design as a single case that has more than one unit of analysis which produces a more complex design than looking simply at one case. On the following page, figure 5.6 illustrates the embedded case study design.
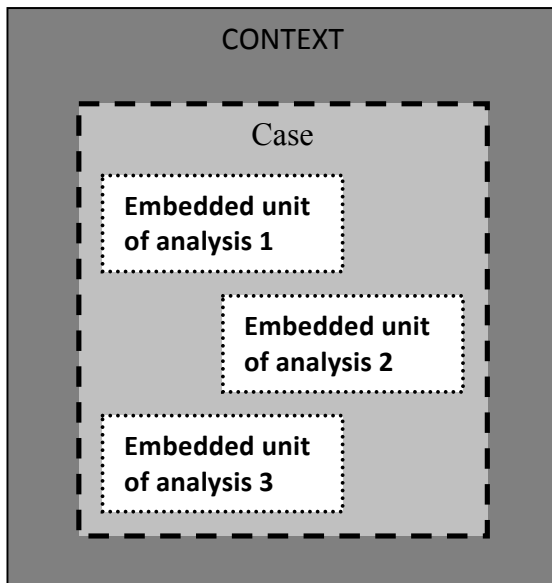
Figure 5.6: Embedded case study design (Adapted from Yin, 2009: 46)

Each embedded unit of analysis (sub case) took the form of an organization or group, using Miles and Huberman's (1994) approach to defining a case in order to understand the boundaries of each unit of analysis. They explain this diagrammatically (replicated in Figure 5.7 below), describing the focus of analysis to exist at the 'heart' of any case but that the case also has indeterminate boundaries which encapsulate what will be studied.
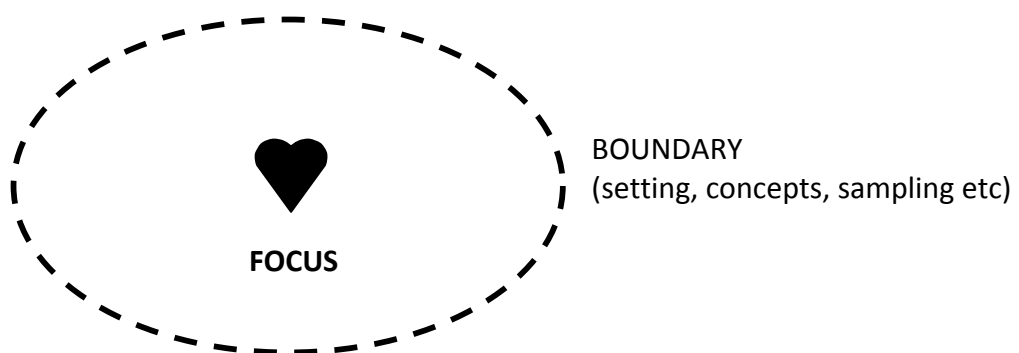
Figure 5.7: The case as the unit of analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.25)

Each sub case is described in Figure 5.8 which is displayed on page 131. The table presents the name of the sub case (i.e. the organization or group being studied) and a description of each case, providing both the focus of the case and its boundaries. For example, in the case of 'Church A' the focus or as Miles and Huberman describe it, the 'heart' of the study is the services provided by asylum seekers within the context of the organization. Figure 5.8 also provides a brief description of how each sub case will be investigated, providing a list of the methods used.

A mixture of community based and large voluntary organizations and statutory agencies were selected to generate different discourses and a full account of the context. A selection of evidence was collected including documents, interviews and observations. Ideally, for each sub-unit, data would have been gathered through each of these methods but this was not possible due to access issues.

Sub cases	Case description	Methods used
Church A	A small community organization providing various services to asylum seekers	• Service manager interview • Observation • Document analysis
Church B	A small community organization providing various services to asylum seekers	• Service manager interview • Asylum seeker interview • Observation • Document analysis
Accommodation provider	A PSO that houses asylum seekers in Glasgow under a contract with the UKBA	• Service manager interview • Strategic Manager interview* • Government Agency • Observation
Humanitarian Organization	A national organization that provides various services to asylum seekers	• Service manager interview • Front-line staff interview • Document analysis
Development organization	A city-wide organization that offers services to asylum seekers	• Service Manager interview x2 • Front-line staff interview (duo) • Asylum seeker interview (duo) • Observation • Document analysis
Young Persons' Group	A group which provides various services to asylum seekers leaving care	• Service manager interview • Asylum seekers' group interview • Observation • Document analysis

* The Strategic Manager of the Accommodation Provider offered insight both on a policy level and an operational level, and is therefore included in the Accommodation Provider sub unit.

Figure 5.8: Sub cases and methods used

In addition to these six sub cases, analysis of the preliminary findings suggested that two forms of network exist in the case of Glasgow: Framework for Dialogue Groups and Integration Networks. Initial analysis suggested that these were core structures in the design and delivery of social welfare services for asylum seekers and thus their investigation was of import to this study. Figure 5.9 provides a brief description of the two networks that were investigated and describes the methods used to gather data in the two contexts.

Network	Description	Methods used
Framework For Dialogue Group	A group facilitated by PSO3 and Charity which acts both as a means of information provision and a forum for asylum seekers to influence the planning of services	• Service manager interview x2 (PSO2 and PSO3) • Asylum seeker interviews x6 • Observation • Document analysis
Integration Network	A group which meets regularly to plan services in the area for asylum seekers	• Service manager interview x4 (VOAP, PSO1, PSO2, Church B)** • Observation • Document analysis

** Respondents from various organizations sat on the Integration Network which was facilitated by the Voluntary Organization Accommodation Service Manager, with the aid of PSO2 Service Manager. PSO1 Service Manager and Church B Service Manager were also party to the Network and were, as a result, asked questions about the Network during their interviews.

Figure 5.9: Networks and methods used

Sampling for the case study was conducted through a snowballing approach. Questionnaire respondents indicated in their responses if they were willing to participate in further research. In such cases, they were contacted to arrange a service provider interview and from this a snowballing sampling procedure was adopted. Given the challenges in generating a complete population for asylum seeker public service providers in the postal survey element of the research, the snowballing sample was deemed appropriate in trying to access any 'hidden' members of that population (Noy, 2008). In addition, cold calling was also

employed, using a purposive sample to ensure that service providers from key organizations were included in the study.

CASE STUDY METHODS AND ANALYSIS

Public service provider interviews

Within each organization, service managers were interviewed in the first instance as they tended to be the first point of contact and often acted as a gatekeeper to collecting other forms of data. Where possible, supplementary interviews were also conducted with front-line staff delivering services, ensuring that a range of different perspectives were obtained. The case study interview respondents are detailed in Figure 5.10 below.

CASE STUDY INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS
PSO1 Service Manager
PSO2 Service Manager
PSO3 Service Manager
Accommodation Provider Service Manager
Voluntary Organization Accommodation Provider Service Manager
Young Persons' Organization Service Manager*
Church A Service Manager*
Church B Service Manager
Development Organization Service Manager1*
Development Organization Service Manager2
Development Organization Front-Line
Humanitarian Organization Service Manager
Humanitarian Organization Front-Line
Accommodation Provider Strategic Manager*

* denote instances where the respondent may have played a dual role – where they both managed the service and worked on the front-line to provide the service to asylum seeker

Figure 5.10: Case study interview respondents

For three sub-units (Church A, Young Persons' Group and Church B) only service managers were interviewed. This was due to access constraints or because, in the

case of one of the churches and the Young Persons' Group, the service manager was also responsible for delivering the services directly.

All interviews were recorded using a digital Dictaphone, permitting full transcription.

The interviews that did not progress to sub-units within the case study design were considered valuable and reliable sources of data and were therefore included in the analysis as contextual stakeholder interviews. Figure 5.11 below details those who participated in such interviews.

STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS
Charity Service Manager
Small Voluntary Organization Service Manager
Local Authority Arms Length Company Service Manager
Small Charity Service Manager
Women's Voluntary Organization Service Manager
Women's Voluntary Organization Front-Line1
Women's Voluntary Organization Front-Line2
Women's Voluntary Organization Front-Line3
FFD Interpreter
Scottish Refugee Policy Forum Representative

Figure 5.11: Stakeholder Interview Respondents

The embedded design represents the complexity of the context and also provides an opportunity for extensive analysis into the case. Nevertheless, Yin (2009) identifies a disadvantage of embedded case study research as being overly concerned with sub-unit analysis. However, this limitation will be offset partly by the survey and interviews that will be undertaken separately from the case study, which will provide larger unit analysis for the research design.

Asylum seeker interviews

Accessing asylum seekers was an essential element in the research design, as their input provides valuable insight into the extent and nature of co-production. Nine individual, face-to-face interviews were conducted with asylum seekers. In addition, a group interview was conducted with four young asylum seekers. This method was considered more appropriate given the age of the asylum seekers as it was thought that they would be more relaxed in an interactive group setting (Robson, 2005). Data from the asylum seeker interviews and focus group will be used to add further explanatory power to the case study findings.

Only two individual interviews and the group interview with young people were digitally recorded. Comprehensive notes were taken for the remaining seven interviews and were written up immediately afterwards. The interviews were relatively brief, lasting around twenty minutes.

Screening was employed prior to undertaking the interviews to ensure that respondents were indeed asylum seekers awaiting the results of their application to reside in the UK. In addition, steps were taken to interview asylum seekers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, from both genders, in order to achieve multiple perspectives. Out of the thirteen asylum seekers who were spoken to seven were men and six were women. The came from various countries including Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Serbia, Nigeria and Afghanistan. Asylum seekers were accessed through the sub case units and service providers played a crucial role in generating interest around the research and then encouraging people to participate.

Steps were taken to ensure that those asylum seekers who participated were not limited to 'the usual suspects' who are typically English speakers. During four interviews interpreters were present. Various difficulties arise in relation to the need for interpretation. For example, interpretation means that data from the interviews is modified prior to analysis which creates bias. This bias could be reduced by back

translating transcripts and supplying these to respondents for confirmation prior to analysis but this was not possible due to financial constraints and time pressures.

Furthermore, the presence of the interpreter complicates the interview, adding two additional relationships between the respondent and interpreter, and the interviewer and interpreter (Farooq and Fear, 2003). Three interpreters were used; one for two interviews and one each for the remaining two interviews. The interpreters were fully briefed on the aims and the purpose of the research prior to commencing the interviews and were asked to take a passive stance, adding and omitting nothing, acting purely as a neutral conduit between the interviewer and respondent and translating what is said verbatim to ensure the quality of the data (Wallin and Ahlström, 2006).

Despite the associated challenges of using interpreters during interviews, on reflection the interviews conducted with interpreters seemed to go more smoothly. In a couple of cases where interpreters were not present the interviewer had to repeat questions in order to ensure that the participants fully understood what they were being asked. Having an interpreter present reduced the uncertainty over whether the participants fully comprehended the questions being posed.

Direct observations

A decision was taken to limit the number of observations to eight due to time constraints and also to ensure that the data remained manageable.

For the purposes of this study, an open approach was developed. An unstructured observation sheet was developed (see Appendix B) in order to log the data during the observations; because different situations, different people and different activities were observed each time, a structured approach was not appropriate. The observation sheet was tested out and refined in a pilot setting which emphasised the need for flexible recording due to the variety of activities taking place within one setting.

Although the observations took an unstructured format, the theory guided their focus. The observations were used to generate rich data around the interactions between public service providers, service users and VCOs during service planning and delivery and the theoretical work that was conducted in the initial part of this study has identified some core issues that need to be explored further.

The observation sheets made a distinction between descriptive and reflective notes; this separation is crucial as it allows the researcher to accurately describe events and processes before they are interpreted or understood (Tjora, 2006). The descriptive notes took the form of a description of activities which will be logged in chronological order to provide some clarity over the relationship being studied in each observation setting, while the reflective will provide details about the observer's reflections on the interactions. The notes taken during the observation were detailed and thorough and the descriptive elements will aim to be as factual and accurate as possible.

The observations were coded by hand, noting reflections in the margins and sorted to identify themes and differences between sub units.

Document analysis

For the purposes of the case study, primary literature was sought and analysed for each of the case study sub units. The documents were gathered from respondents and from organizational websites (where available). The types of documentation that have been collected include organizational information from websites, minutes of meetings and annual reports. Analysing such documents will provide a greater understanding over the extent to which different types of co-production exist and how they manifest in policy and practice.

The purpose of document analysis is not to compare like with like. Indeed the documents that have been gathered were varied. The purpose of this element of the research design is to explore organizational discourses about co-production,

providing valuable insight into the extent to which each type of co-production is present within different organizations and groups.

The documentation was investigated using content analysis, which Bryman and Bell (2007, p. 304) define as 'an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner'. The content analysis was conducted by counting the frequency of words associated with co-production such as involvement, empower, consult, engage and choice. In total, 42 words were predefined; these words were selected both as a result of the theoretical work and after early analysis of the primary research findings, again emphasising the iterative approach to this research design. The frequency of characters or significant actors (Bryman and Bell, 2007) associated with co-production was also counted (e.g. customer, volunteer, charity). The frequency counts will be used to establish the extent to which different organizations have embedded co-production within their policies and practices.

In addition to the quantitative element of the analysis, the context will also be examined through qualitative content analysis. This will be used to add context to the frequencies and generate an understanding of the categories used within the texts (Silverman, 2005). When analysing the results of the frequency counts for each document the following categories will be used: subject matter; how co-production is viewed (favourably or not); what goals or intentions are revealed in relation to co-production; what mechanisms are used to achieve these goals; who are the actors that will use these mechanisms. Doing this contextual analysis will provide insight into how different organizations are using the words associated to co-production. While the quantitative element of the document analysis used predefined categories, this part of the analysis will use these initial categorisations but will allow flexibility to refine and expand these themes (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

Exploring documentation through content analysis is a relatively unobtrusive method, but is open to researcher bias in interpretation which can be limited through structured analysis. In addition, the documentation may be incomplete or inaccurate,

may contain rhetoric and could be time-consuming to analyse (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The possibility of conducting computer-assisted content analysis was looked into in the early stages of design but because many of the documents gathered were in hard copy format, using such an aid for analysis was ruled out.

Analysis of sub cases

Although it was anticipated that each sub-case would display a specific mode of co-production, in reality there was considerable cross over, with organizations exhibiting more than one form of co-production. Thus, the analysis of the findings will discuss the results thematically, providing evidence about the various forms of co-production under each sub case. Using the data in this way ensures no substance is lost and also provides a more realistic account of the environment that is being studied.

All interview data was coded according to interesting or theoretically relevant themes that emerge from the data. The sheer volume of data meant the use of a qualitative computer package such as NVivo was crucial (Bryman and Bell, 2007), allowing the masses of data to be organised and coded effectively. Indeed, using NVivo made it possible to merge, re-title and reposition nodes with ease according to the inclusion of new data. Each interview transcript was initially read as a separate part, with emerging themes and patterns being coded within it. Analytical memos were also included; these were fed into the analysis and discussion element of the thesis, providing an avenue to explore ideas.

Analysis through NVivo was useful in pulling out the general themes drawing links between data sources and also back to the theory. Indeed, the approach was iterative; although the themes emerged from the data, this process was guided by the literature. Saturation was also sought during the analysis of the interview data. The transcripts were read after they had been written up, were re-read for coding on NVivo, the coded data was then re-read in order to reposition the nodes. Such steps are important in developing more detailed concepts and ensuring that data has been appropriately coded. Going through these processes also helps the researcher

analyse the data comprehensively, ensuring that nothing has been missed, thereby making analysis saturated (Glaser and Strauss, 1966).

A skeptical stance was also adopted in order to challenge ideas and seek possible alternative explanations. Data regarding negative cases, for example instances where co-production did not exist were sought during analysis.

The next stage of the analysis was exploring each sub-case in depth using data reduction techniques. Data reduction is a key aspect of qualitative analysis. It involves the selection, summary and paraphrasing of data in order to organise, focus, discard and sharpen it to draw conclusions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). However, in doing so a firm focus will be placed on the context so as not to lose any meaning from the data.

The qualitative data gathered during the interviews and observations (the documentation was analysed separately as discussed in the previous section) has been displayed in an organised format, using tables to present the vast information in a compressed format. Each interview was analysed in this way with reference to the following key issues: nature of service; purpose of service; funding; service users; when are services users involved; why are they involved; challenges of involvement; types of relationships with service users; relationships with other organizations; and challenges of inter-organizational relationships. The purpose of this approach was to reduce the data down under key areas and show the spread of views and narratives across all methods of data collection that were used in the case study design. This will aid the process of forming conclusions and answering the three research questions.

The process, nevertheless, started in a less structured format, with considerable time being spent processing the data conceptually. Corbin and Strauss (2008) warn that analysis can vary from superficial descriptions to theoretical interpretation through the construction of themes and explanation of the process. Thus, care will be taken to conduct in-depth analysis to produce new knowledge and deeper understanding.

Although extended text through the use of quotations through analytic text will be used, this will be used to clarify the information provided in display tables and to elaborate on areas. Conclusions will be drawn and verified by cross-checking with data from different sources and re-considering the data where necessary. Furthermore, the context will be used to ground the data and emerging concepts to ensure that meaning is not distorted (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the evolution of the research methodology used for this study. It has suggested that the critical realist philosophy will underpin the research, focusing on explanation and specifically *whether* co-production exists in the case of asylum seekers and seeking to explain through an investigation of experiences, events and mechanisms *what* exists.

The three empirical research questions were developed from the theoretical work conducted around co-production and the particular research context of asylum seekers and the social welfare services they receive in Glasgow: To what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship? Can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship? And, is individual service user co-production a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations?

To answer these, a spiralling research design has been developed. This suggests that the research process is iterative, switching between the theory and empirical data in order to fully answer the research questions.

The study was conducted through a mixed methods approach which was devised to generate a deep understanding of co-production through various narratives and explanations. Such an approach also allows for data triangulation, thereby improving the validity of the research. Three main methods were described: policy interviews, a postal survey of service managers delivering public services to asylum seekers and an embedded case study. The policy interviews set the context for the study and the

underpinning narratives around co-production in Scotland. The postal survey will contribute to mapping the nature and extent of co-production in the case of asylum seekers in Glasgow. Finally, the case study, through a series of interviews, direct observations and document analysis will contribute a contextual account of public services co-production, drawing on various narratives, events and experiences.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS PART I: ASYLUM SEEKERS, POLICIES AND PUBLIC SERVICES

INTRODUCTION

Chapters six and seven will now present the findings from the empirical study with a view to answering the research questions.

This chapter will commence with a discussion of the policy context in Scotland. It is split into two parts. The first draws both on policy interviews (analysis table presented in Appendix C) and the secondary analysis of policy documentation to discuss the policy issues of immigration, integration and co-production at the level of individual service users and at an organizational level. The second part reports the findings from the survey. It discusses the data collected through a small survey of PSO service managers providing social welfare services to asylum seekers in Glasgow in order to explore the nature and extent of co-production. Combined, both parts help to set the scene for the empirical element of this study, before presenting the case study findings in chapter seven.

ASYLUM SEEKERS: POLICY CONTEXT

Immigration and co-production

Respondents commented on how the City was ill prepared for the arrival of asylum seekers in 2000. Compared to England, nevertheless, Scotland and particularly Glasgow is considered a welcoming place for asylum seekers. One respondent referred to England as 'more negative' (AP Strategic Manager), making particular reference to the detrimental media coverage around asylum.

Although the numbers of asylum seekers coming to Scotland have reduced over time, there was a constant influx of asylum seekers into Glasgow at the time of this research: 'Since 2001, maybe 80% of asylum seekers who come to the UK are sent to Glasgow, something like that, 70 to 80 a week...' (Refugee Policy Forum respondent). Indeed, asylum seekers were considered a transient community, even more so now with the new asylum model where decisions have to be taken on an asylum seeker's status within six months. Thus, decisions were being made much quicker than they had previously, with asylum seekers sometimes hearing the outcome of their case within a few weeks. There was also some recognition that not all asylum seekers reported to the authorities and some who had not received permission to remain in the UK had chosen to go 'underground' rather than returning home to their native country.

Co-production at the policy level through the input of asylum seekers as individuals is marred by their status as non-citizens. Indeed one respondent noted that it is difficult for asylum seekers to engage around issues of Immigration policy and legislation: 'because of their status, asylum seekers are not formally meant to engage' (AP Strategic Manager).

Asylum seekers were generally considered to have a powerless legal position in the United Kingdom and this was closely associated with the impact of immigration legislation and policies that restrict the extent to which asylum seekers control their lives by, for example, providing authorities with full discretion over where they are housed and prohibiting asylum seekers from undertaking paid work. Policy

respondents were clear in confirming the limited power the Scottish Government has over influencing the rights of the group in a country where 'the balance is tipped very much against the interests of asylum seekers …' (CPP Respondent).

Thus, the challenge of engagement around Immigration issues exists at various levels, for the Scottish Government, the Voluntary and Community Sector, public sector organizations and asylum seekers living in Scotland. Nevertheless, a respondent from the Government Agency provided a conflicting view, citing examples of where external stakeholders have been involved in workshops across the UK, providing them with opportunities to contribute to primary and secondary legislation. The challenge for them was an unwillingness of certain parties to talk and listen: 'But it's not helpful, it's not productive when they come to meetings with a pre-set agenda and they're not willing to listen or discuss.' (Government Agency).

The centralised nature of immigration policies was a key factor for respondents working in the Scottish context. Respondents also spoke of the challenges that emerged from asylum seeker policies being made in Croydon and therefore often failing to reflect Scottish differences, such as the legal system and different stance around integration.

A National Stakeholders Forum, held in London by the Home Office, exists to discuss issues pertinent to asylum seekers. It is predominantly VCOs that sit round the table and the Charity and a representative from the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (Cosla) also attend. This shows an adversity to work in silos and an attempt to recognise the wider system and different levels of knowledge and information. Interestingly, this discussion also highlighted that the Charity and AP are sitting on national groups which the Scottish Government is not party to. Input into the UK policy often takes the form of large meetings with 30 to 40 people present round the table without any pre-agenda meetings, making it difficult to prepare and contribute effectively: *so it tends to be, you get the papers, you turn up, there's presentations, there's discussions, agenda item moves onto the next one.* (AP Strategic Manager)

The Government Agency in Glasgow is essentially an operational body that deals with claims for asylum rather than setting the policy agenda. Although the respondent from the Government Agency spoke of having 'personal working relationships with people', she also pointed out the barrier to working across organizational boundaries: '… the staff are so busy with the asylum cases and working through such a heavy case load that they don't have that time for interaction with stakeholders.'

The respondent recognised that there 'should be' partnership working between operational staff and local agencies, but that such engagement often takes a back seat due to other work commitments and also if there are 'too many people working in too many work streams and in too many different jobs… [or in] a silo approach' (Government Agency). However, she further reflected that with a backlog of asylum cases still to be considered, maintaining effective working relationships is crucial: 'it's really important that we maintain the working relationships that we've established over the 5/6 years and we're working hard to do that...'

The relationship between the Government Agency and asylum seekers in Scotland appears to be relatively one-sided with asylum seekers being legally obliged to inform the Government Agency of any material changes to their circumstances: 'If you have a change in circumstance you're legally obliged to let [the Government Agency] know' (Government Agency). The respondent further suggested that the Government Agency did not want to have a close relationship with individual asylum seekers regarding issues of accommodation; the Accommodation Provider, which works under a contract for the Government Agency, and its complaints mechanisms were operating as a mediator.

… the way to do that [report an issue with the accommodation] is not to constantly phone us five times a day and say that… and let them know what the avenue of that referral process would be so it's actually logged and dealt with appropriately. (Government Agency)

Integration: Scotland-England divide

Integration policy is divided between Scotland and England. Various respondents explained that from the Scottish perspective, integration should start as soon as asylum seekers arrive in the country rather than waiting until they are awarded status, as is the case in England:

... if people arrive in Glasgow, the first thing we try and do is help integrate them into the community for however long their stay is. So that's a different view from us... to the Central Government. And that's caused some tensions in the past... (AP Strategic Manager)

Such a stance coincides with the Scottish Government's view on integration, where strong economic drivers have been a factor promoting the integration of asylum seekers. Indeed, respondents noted that whether Labour or SNP are in power, there has been a commitment to maintaining a Scottish population of above five million and to achieve that, inward migration is essential. The Scottish Government do not believe in deskilling asylum seekers while they await their decision and are therefore keen to encourage opportunities for volunteering and education. Furthermore, asylum seekers and migrants entering Scotland have the option of signing onto English for Speakers of Other Languages classes, as these are considered to have a beneficial impact upon community integration and potential that groups such as asylum seekers can provide to the economy: 'Community integration and the economic... you know when they move up they'll provide to the economy' (SG Policy 1).

Over £12.5 million has been invested in the promotion of refugee and asylum seeker integration since 2001 (www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Equality/Refugees-asylum/support, accessed 2012). This is described as not only to benefit asylum seekers and refugees but also the indigenous population, and particularly vulnerable communities. Between 2008 and 2011, £5.6 million was awarded through the Scottish Government Race, Religion and Refugee Integration Fund. This represented a shift in the policy, moving away from an independent fund for refugees and asylum seekers, which are now part of a broader group of minority ethnic and faith communities. As of April 2008 a three-year funding stream was introduced by the Scottish Government. The specific focus of the funding was to tackle

inequalities, increase race and faith equality and promote good relations between different racial and faith groups.

The Race Equality Statement, published in December 2008, sets out the SG's approach to race equality over a three year period and outlines the approach to integration and addressing race equality in the long term. The statement outlines four themes which were to be carried forward: improved opportunities for minority ethnic groups, including asylum seekers; more responsive communities which are better supported by services; safer communities where lasting connections can be built; and more active and vibrant communities with increased participation and engagement to foster integration and strengthen community relations.

Co-production policy

The secondary analysis of the policy documentation from the Scottish Government showed there was no specific 'co-production policies' as such, but various policies that underpin the idea of co-production.

At the UK level, the Personalisation agenda underpins the health and social care policy, with a focus on increasing the choice and control afforded to individuals when it comes to their support. The vision of personalisation was set out in the Department of Health's Green Paper – Independence, Wellbeing and Choice – in 2005. It focuses on adults and also suggests a vital role for the VCS. The UK government sought to further personalized care in England, with 'Putting People First' (HM Government, 2007) which was backed by £520m in development funding.

In Scotland, there have been various developments around the personalisation agenda. A Partnership for a Better Scotland (Scottish Government, 2003) was among the first clear directions from the SG around the personalisation of public services. It placed the individual in a central position as a participant shaping those services they receive. The aim was service user empowerment, by encouraging them to work with public service professionals to manage resources and risks.

There has also been a focus on community engagement. In May 2005, for instance,

the SG launched National Standards for Community Engagement which it describes as highlighting the Government's commitment to people's voices being heard in the planning and delivery of services. Although the standards are not compulsory they have been suggested as good practice and as such adopted widely in Community Planning Partnerships. The ten national standards are as follows: *involvement* of people and organizations who have an interest in the focus of the engagement; *support* and overcome any barriers to involvement; *planning* how to engage; use *methods* that are fit for purpose; *work together* effectively and efficiently; *share information*; *work with others*; *improve* the skills, knowledge and confidence of all the participants; *feedback*; *monitoring and evaluation*.

The Scottish Community Empowerment Action Plan (2009) directs increasing responsibility to communities and individuals to work together. Indeed, empowerment is portrayed as a core commitment of the Scottish Government. Their website suggests the reasons for community empowerment:

*Where communities are empowered we would expect to see a range of benefits: local democracy boosted; increased confidence and skills among local people; higher numbers of people volunteering in their communities; and more satisfaction with quality of life in a local neighbourhood. Better community engagement leads to the delivery of better, more responsive services. (*http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/engage, accessed 2012)

More recently there has been increasing reference to co-production in the policy documentation originating from the SG, which focuses on various services including housing, older people, disabled people and healthcare. A few examples will be discussed here, showing the varied definitions and applications of co-production.

Some policies have focused on co-production as a means of including service users in the public services production in order to make service improvements. In 2010 the NHS Scotland published its Quality Strategy, referring to the co-production of health and healthcare as a means of placing people at the heart of the NHS by listening to their views and perceptions about how to improve care. Co-production has also been extended into public services development and delivery and policy making. The Scottish Government Disability Equality Scheme (2010, p.10) refers to co-

production as where 'disabled people are fully involved in policy and service planning and development'. Others have focused specifically on service planning and design; Age, Home and Community: A Strategy for Housing for Scotland's Older People (2011) ties co-production to the planning and design of services.

Self-directed support (SDS) has more recently come to the fore of the SG's agenda, within which the idea of co-production is embedded. The Social Care (Self-directed support) Bill Scotland (2012) confirmed the approach and the National Strategy lays out the particulars (Scottish Government, 2010). It is a ten year strategy which aims to ignite a cultural shift in the way that social care services are produced, recognising that service users are equal citizens with rights and responsibilities. The SG recognises that despite being in times of austerity, innovation through SDS is a viable option and is available to all but not imposed on anyone. An overarching aim of the strategy rests around citizen participation through the empowerment of service users.

Social care policy generally reflects the inappropriateness of seeing people as 'users' of a public service which is delivered, relegating them to a passive role which adds little social value, and provides no opportunity for equal participation in our services.

Understanding that people have skills, capabilities, knowledge and experience to contribute unleashes huge potential for co-producing better outcomes across public services. (Scottish Government, 2010, p.15)

The strategy describes the importance of working together by 'embed[ding] co-production in out approach to the delivery of self-directed support locally and nationally' (Scottish Government, 2010, p.2). It goes on to describe co-production as the 'process' which supports SDS, defining it specifically as an 'equal partnership between people and professionals' (p. 7). Co-production is viewed essentially as a means of altering the relationship between clients and public service professionals 'from dependency to mutuality and reciprocity' (p.15).

Asylum seekers and public services co-production

There was a widespread view among policy respondents that asylum seekers should and were engaged around public services: '… they are still service users and there

are still public duties around engagement there.' (CPP Respondent). However the respondents' views were divergent around when asylum seekers should co-produce. For example, while one SG respondent suggested that asylum seeker learners 'should be at the heart of planning' (SG Policy 1), another policy respondent argued that co-production during service planning was described as overly 'ambitious' (CPP Respondent).

Comments from the Government Agency respondent reflected the professional ambivalence to forms of co-production, arguing that it was not always appropriate for asylum seekers to be directly involved in decision making at a strategic level, either because they were not equipped for this level of involvement or because these strategic issues (often involving an implicit assumption of citizenship and a commitment to broader social goals) were deemed inappropriate for discussion with asylum seekers as service users.

Not at the strategic level because a lot of things that we discuss is not for disclosure. And it really wouldn't be an appropriate forum for them anyway because to be fair, we're not talking about the operational issues, we're talking about business planning, forecasting for the future.... (Government Agency)

In Scotland, user-led service provision has been an underpinning strategy of public services but it is also a core feature of community development and integration.

Another respondent, spoke of learner forums that are used in relation to ESOL and how they provided asylum seekers with a 'voice': 'the learner forums allow them to voice what they think about the quality, the quantity and what's needed to help them to progress in their learning. It's giving them a voice.' (SG Policy 1).

The Scottish Government does not tend to engage with asylum seekers directly, instead funding the Charity and other voluntary organizations to provide services to asylum seekers and also gather their views. Indeed, the Charity plays a significant role in inputting to policy at the level of the SG. One policy respondent described her role as one of co-ordination and said that any other departments that were thinking about altering any policies affecting asylum seekers would be advised to

contact the Charity before doing so (SG Policy 2). As such, there is an expectation that the Charity will have the appropriate structures in place to consult asylum seekers. One such structure is the Framework for Dialogue Groups, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter seven.

A Scottish Refugee Policy Forum has also been constituted which is also available for the SG to consult through. However, a respondent from the SG admitted that this had not been done as yet. (SG Policy 2) The aim of the SRPF is one of capacity building, to provide asylum seekers and refugees with a direct voice (SG Policy 2). It was established by the Charity and is composed of various refugee community organizations. It also has links into the Framework for Dialogue structures and Integration Networks (also discussed in chapter seven) which exist across the city. The role of the SRPF is to lobby MPs, MSPs and the Home Office around issues pertinent to asylum seekers in Scotland (SRPF Respondent).

Another key facet of SG policy rests within Single Outcome Agreements which have been agreed and signed by Local Authorities. Central to the Single Outcome Agreement is the race equalities' program. The Race Equality Statement published in 2008 focuses on capacity building for the minority ethnic community and as such, aims to encourage civic participation among that community, including asylum seekers. All Community Planning Partners have signed up to this program and part of the commitment involves effective community engagement. Thus there is an expectation on partners that they will engage with the community that they serve:

So partners are increasingly engaging through neighbourhood initiatives, engaging with communities around their priorities and delivering services or shaping the services around those priorities. (CPP Respondent)

Here, the emphasis is not on engaging asylum seekers specifically, but the wider group of service users and also engagement with the voluntary and community sector. Nevertheless, there was some discussion from respondents over whether asylum seekers should be considered a distinct group or mainstreamed under the broader area of race. At the Community Planning Partnership level, asylum is

considered under race as this is seen to promote a more integrated approach: '... you need to bring together where there are common issues and try and strengthen their voice' (CPP Respondent). However, some respondents questioned this approach and cautioned the grouping of asylum seekers with migrants and established ethnic minority groups, all of which have differing needs which would make it difficult to create and uphold blanket policies (Charity Service Manager).

Co-production and the Voluntary and Community Sector

The VCS have been described by the Scottish Government as playing a core role in the growth of Scotland's economy, the wellbeing of the Scottish people and also the improvement of public services (www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/15300, accessed 2012).

The Scottish Compact, first published in 1998 and revised in 2003, sets out the particulars of the agreement in Scotland which elevates the voluntary sector as a 'partner' and opens up opportunities for the sector to become involved in the decision-making process. The relationship with the VCS is based upon partnership working through mutual trust (Scottish Government, 2003). The VCS is involved in the development and implementation of policies due to their perceived closeness to the needs of users and therefore their capacity to make more responsive policies.

Community Planning also places the VCS in a prominent role. It provides the underpinning framework for partnership and co-ordination within complex environments and its particulars are laid out in The Local Government in Scotland Act. The 2003 Act placed a responsibility on Local Authorities to undertake Community Planning and in doing so, genuinely engage communities in the decisions made on public services which affect them and promote a commitment from organizations to work together in providing better public services www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Government/PublicServiceReform/community-planning, accessed 2012). It is predicated upon cross-sector participation and as such, is considered to improve links between priorities at various levels and aims to tackle so called 'wicked' issues. However, the 2003 Act is not prescriptive about the

format or implementation of Community Planning, which is dependent on local circumstances.

A new relationship between the SG and Local Government was set out in the Concordat in 2007, which required each Local Authority to develop a Single Outcome Agreement (SOA) with the SG. Since 2009-10, all SOAs were developed with the full involvement of respective Community Planning Partnerships, including VCOs. SOAs set out the strategic objectives for the Local Authority based on the national outcomes and indicators. A goal underpinning SOAs is the generation of greater consistency of interests across partners, while also allowing partners to identify priorities and pool resources accordingly, aiming to break down inter-organizational barriers and foster innovation and new forms of partnerships. www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Government/PublicServiceReform/community-planning, accessed 2012).

Integration Networks operating into the city feed into the Community Planning Partnership. The INs were established as a means of providing deeper forms of engagement, providing an opportunity for various organizations that represent asylum seekers and other ethnic minority groups to sit round the table and contribute to the development of an operational strategy.

… in terms of involvement, that network then brings together an action plan, a kind of menu of activities for the year. And should ensure that menu is influenced and informed by asylum seeker service users… That you engage them effectively in the design of the services and you're checking those services off with service users. Are these the services that they want? Are they at the right time? Do they make sense to you? Do they work? And in that way, I think, you're going to get a much richer, much more effective grassroots involvement. (CPP Respondent)

In relation to asylum seekers, the Race Equality Statement situates the VCS in a core role, referring to the Scottish Refugee Council among others as a 'strategic partner' (Scottish Government, 2008). The SG states that the Scottish Refugee Council is accountable for achieving certain responsibilities under the funding arrangements that were agreed. Furthermore, VCOs at large are described as playing a significant role in specialist expertise and service provision.

Role of the Voluntary and Community Sector

The Voluntary and Community Sector was invariably described as playing a key role in creating dialogue between asylum seekers and both public service organizations and policy makers. VCOs were often described as sitting between service providers/policy makers and asylum seekers:

This would probably come through Citizen's Advice, Refugee Council and those kinds of support forums. I think the advantage of doing it in that… it's not just one person asking us… (Government Agency)

Talking generally of the role of the VCS, rather than specifically in relation to asylums seekers, one policy respondent discussed the mediating role of the sector in more detail.

People who… are quite vulnerable and might not necessarily trust the state or indeed the private sector. But the third sector can actually effectively reach out to these people and can transform their lives, and have an effective track record of being able to do that… (SG Policy 3)

Comparisons to England were made often when the issue of partnership working was discussed; due to the geography of Scotland, being a relatively small area and having asylum seekers housed mainly in the City of Glasgow, rather than spread through the many Boroughs of London, partnership working was considered easier north of the border. Various respondents mentioned a Scottish mindset towards and, history of, partnership working when asked about their relationships with other organizations (e.g. SG Policy 2, AP Strategic Manager).

Policy makers and service managers alike discussed the benefits of partnership working and two such advantages were avoiding duplication of work or over-engagement. One respondent spoke of the network approach that has been established in Glasgow through Community Planning Partnerships, where partners from across sectors work together to engage service users

… individual agencies engage with a particular client group and then two months later a different agency will engage with the same client group… And all that does is confuse the client group. So we're a partnership, so we are insisting on collective engagement… And

that hopefully will… reduce the amount of engagement but will strengthen the quality of engagement. (CPP Respondent)

Reduced public spending was identified as a trigger for increased partnership working. One policy respondent suggested that reduced public spending would likely result in bigger contracts from government bodies which the VCS could only effectively compete for through collaborative working. However, the same respondent noted the associated challenges in bringing contracts together:

… often the smaller the contract then the more personalized the level of service. So if you are bringing contracts together, you should be very, very careful of that, treating them in such a way that doesn't have a negative impact on the quality of the service (SG Policy 3)

Nevertheless, he further argued that such collaborative working between the for-profit sector and VCS can also draw on the benefits that typically characterise each sector 'because you can get some of the economies of scale that the private sector are perhaps able to deliver, but with some of the personalization of services that you get with the third sector' (SG Policy 3). The respondent further suggested that VCOs which collaborate with for-profit organizations tend to 'develop and mature' and adopt 'more business-like ways of operating' while maintaining the core social benefit that they wish to deliver at the heart of their business.

There are challenges associated with working with the VCS in the planning and delivery of service, which one respondent summed up:

So the real challenge… will be for… the sector to be able to play a full role in community planning and therefore being able to design single outcome agreements… I think the second key challenge is for the public sector to recognize the fact that where you've got services which are being delivered to… people who are particularly vulnerable, you do need to ensure that the actual services user itself, and their representative bodies in the third sector, are able to play that role in deciding the services… the third challenge, it's being able to ensure that the third sector is, or that the budgets are sufficient for those services where the services are being delivered to those vulnerable individuals who need a greater degree of personalization of care. (SG Policy 3)

Providing Public Services To Asylum Seekers: Survey Data

Providing welfare services to asylum seekers

Forty-two organizations responded to the postal survey, providing a response rate of 40%. Of these organizations, 29 were voluntary organizations, four were community organizations, five government agencies and four were further education colleges. The organizations surveyed varied in size, from small community organizations to large public organizations. Indeed of those surveyed, the average number of paid staff was 420, while the average number of unpaid staff was 45.

Table 6.1, on page 160, illustrates the types of services that were provided by the organizations surveyed. Information and advice (73.8%) was a key aspect of public service provision. Service providers in various settings provided asylum seekers with information about other services available and advice on their asylum claim. Language courses (50%) and drop-in centres (40.5%) were also key services provided by respondents.

In addition to the services mentioned in Table 6.1, a variety of other services were provided by a smaller proportion of respondents. For example, 4.8% of respondents provided computer classes for asylum seekers, 4.8% provided employability support by offering opportunities for asylum seekers to volunteer and 4.8% provided social events to allow asylum seekers to network and integrate. The qualitative responses to this survey question further confirmed the varied nature of service provision, including for example: family reunion, crisis support, access to education, practical help, support to find volunteering opportunities and employability support.

Only one organization (2.4%) said that it provided an advocacy service. The interviews confirmed this to some extent, with respondents suggesting that they did less work around advocacy than they had previously, when asylum seekers had first come to Glasgow. There were, nevertheless, examples of softer forms of advocacy, with certain organizations working to ensure that asylum seekers receive appropriate

services from public sector organizations and that structures were in place for integration.

Involving asylum seekers: when, how and why

Survey respondents were asked at what stage do they involve asylum seekers in service provision. The results are displayed in Table 6.2 (page 160). The results show that asylum seekers are involved at each stage of service provision, but particularly during service delivery (69%). Almost half of respondents said they involved asylum seekers after services had been delivered (47.6%) and just over one third said asylum seekers were involved in planning services (35.7%). The results from the data also confirmed the idea that service providers are not facilitating a single type of co-production, but rather involve asylum seekers at different times during the service production process and through different mechanisms.

The open-ended qualitative responses also provided some insight into the types of relationships that existed between service providers and service users. One, for example, described the development of 'friendships':

[Our] involvement with asylum seekers in projects such as the production of a community play or the publication of an anthology of stories or the formation of an international choir has fostered friendships between staff and participants. This often leads to helping people with advocacy and interaction with official bureaucracy.

Another respondent, whose focus was the social and economic integration of asylum seekers, explained why they did not involve their 'clients' in designing services

Because our service is specialised and is direct response to the gap in knowledge that clients have, the ability and usefulness of designing services is limited. It is up to us to provide the expert knowledge and a professional service and while we take on board feedback on programme and incorporate suggestions on delivery or content accordingly, our main influence on service provision are employers, the economy, the labour market and the needs and sustainability of these elements... Asylum seekers have so few rights and live in such a specific manner with their own case being the most important thing to them, experience shows that their voice is often not the most appropriate for service delivery and more focused on lobby or policy which is not our remit. Other organizations would disagree.

Respondents were also asked about the mechanisms used to involve asylum seekers during service production. The results are displayed in Table 6.3 (page 160).

Feedback was the most commonly used mechanism, with over half of respondents stating they used it (52.4%). This was closely followed by consultation and choice (both 42.9%). The least used mechanism was board meetings (21.4%).

Respondents also suggested other ways in which asylum seekers are involved in service production such as service user focus groups, informal communication on a constant basis through teacher-student relationships and volunteering. In the qualitative response section one respondent elaborated on the importance of volunteering opportunities, but also the difficulties associated with getting asylum seekers volunteering places:

Asylum seekers, without exception, want to work. Volunteering is the next best alternative for them. People who use our services tell us that it is very depressing for them to sit in the house all the time. It is difficult for them if they have no language skills (English)… we managed to get some short term funding that paid for childcare and travel expenses for asylum seekers. In 18 months we were able to connect 110 people into volunteering opportunities, which in turn enabled them to connect with their new communities. Unfortunately, the funding ended and no more was available. All of the women (98) who were placed into volunteering had to give it up as there was no alternative childcare.

Service type	Frequency	Percentage
Counselling	8	19%
Befriending scheme	9	21.4%
Training	13	31%
Information and advice	31	73.8%
Languages	21	50%
Drop in	17	40.5%

N.B. 1 count (2.4%) of missing data

Table 6.1: Services provided by survey organizations

Stage of involvement	Frequency	Percentage
Planning	15	35.7%
Delivery	29	69%
After delivery	20	47.6%

N.B. 5 counts (11.9%) of missing data

Table 6.2: When are asylum seekers involved?

Mechanism of involvement	Frequency	Percentage
Consultation	18	42.9%
Self-directed-support	11	26.2%
Community meetings	14	33.3%
Choice	18	42.9%
Feedback	22	52.4%
Board meetings	9	21.4%
Complaints	11	26.2%

N.B. 9 counts (21.4%) of missing data

Table 6.3: Mechanisms of involvement

In order to examine why service providers involve asylum seekers, respondents were presented with a number of statements relating to the nature of asylum seeker involvement and were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with these statements. These results are illustrated in the pie charts on pages 163 and 164 (N.B. not all respondents answered each question which explains why the responses do not total 100 – missing data is reported under each chart).

Chart 6.1 illustrates that almost two thirds of respondents agreed/strongly agreed that asylum seeker involvement can improve the effectiveness of the service. Only 2.4% disagreed with the statement.

Chart 6.2 shows that a proportion of respondents (38.1%) considered asylum seeker involvement in service provision as a time consuming task. Over a quarter (28.5%) disagreed with this statement.

The vast majority (69.1%) of respondents agreed that asylum seeker involvement is important when designing new services, with only 2.4% disagreeing with the statement (Chart 6.3).

Almost half of respondents (47.6%) disagreed that asylum seekers have plenty of opportunities to influence decisions regarding services (Chart 6.4).

45.2% of respondents agreed that asylum seeker involvement was a cost-effective initiative (Chart 6.5). Along similar lines, one respondent noted in their qualitative response that some service users cannot be overlooked simply because service provision is more costly for them:

We provide a service to adults and young people contemplating suicide and/or who self harm. We see a number of asylum seekers. The involvement process we use as standard normally takes longer with someone from a different cultural background, with an interpreter present, and someone who has uncertain expectations of the services. This can/does impact on resources, but is NOT a reason to avoid involvement. We have targeted asylum seekers for early intervention/preventative work.

The response to whether asylum seekers' views are sought before making significant changes to the way that services are delivered was split, with 35.7% agreeing with this statement and 40.5% disagreeing (Chart 6.6).

Chart 6.1: Asylum seeker involvement improves the effectiveness of the service
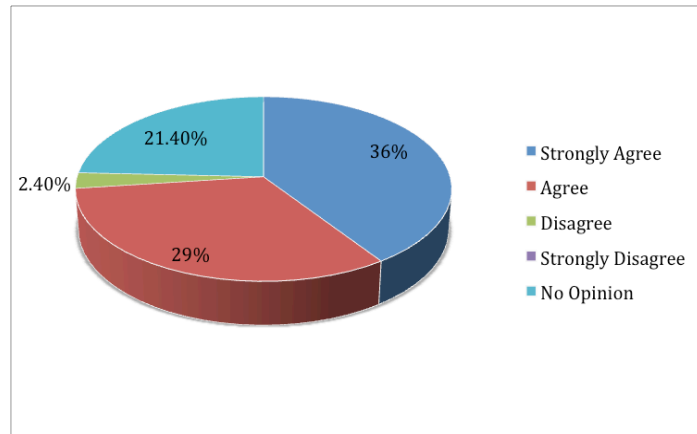
N.B. 5 counts (11.9%) of missing data

Chart 6.2: Asylum seeker involvement in welfare service provision is time consuming
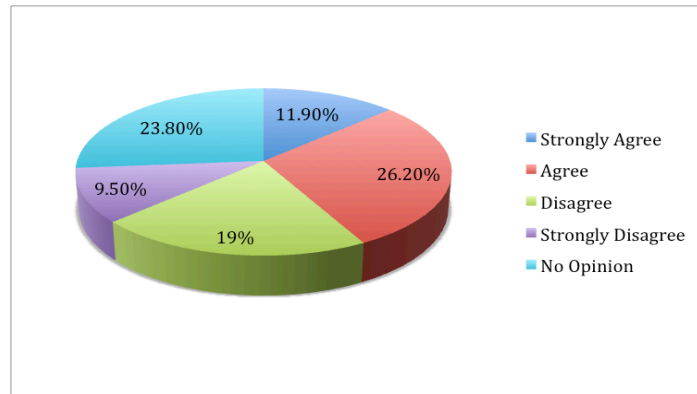
N.B. 4 counts (9.5%) of missing data

Chart 6.3: Asylum seeker involvement is important when designing new services
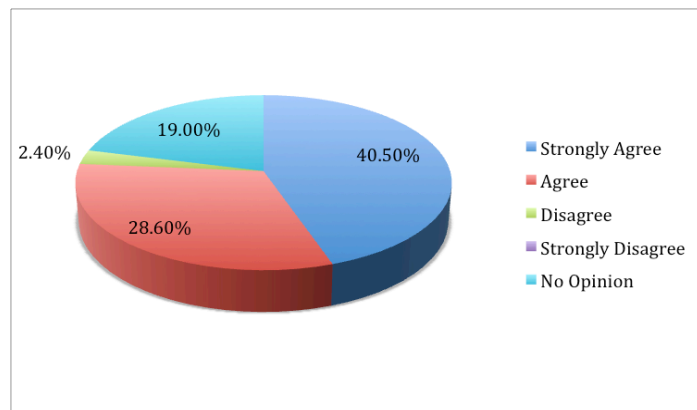
N.B. 3 counts (7.1%) of missing data

Chart 6.4: Asylum seekers have plenty of opportunities to influence decisions made about the services they receive
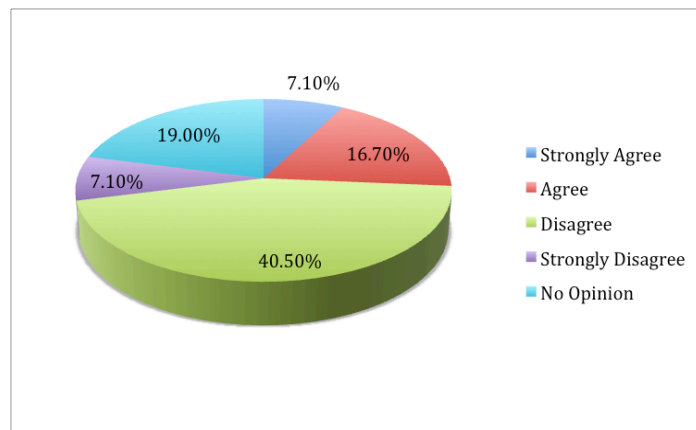
N.B. 4 counts (9.5) of missing data

Chart 6.5: Involving asylum seekers is cost effective
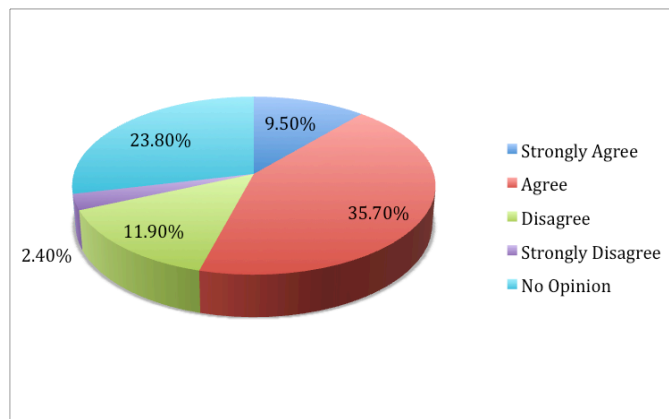
N.B. 7 counts (16.7%) of missing data

Chart 6.6: The views of asylum seekers are always sought before making significant changes to the way welfare services are delivered
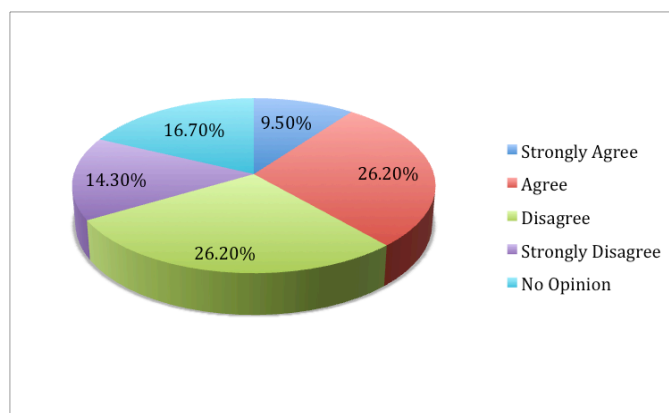
N.B. 3 counts (7.1%) of missing data

Chi square analysis

Further analysis was conducted around these figures relating to asylum seeker involvement and organization type using a chi square test, which ascertains whether the relationship between two variables is based on chance. In order to complete this 95% significance (there is a 5% chance this test will be wrong, which is the generally accepted percentage in the social sciences) chi-square test there are two criteria: two variables; and each cell in the table has five counts or more.

Thus, in order to conduct the chi square test the categories of each of two variables were regrouped (see Table 6.4 on page 166); this was necessary due to the small sample size of the database. First, the variable of asylum seekers' involvement has been recoded into two categories: Asylum seekers are involved in *any* aspect of service delivery (policy, service delivery, post-delivery and 'other'), which is a yes; Asylum seekers are *not involved in any* aspect of service delivery (policy, service delivery, post-delivery and 'other'), which is a no. Second, by organization type: whether they are voluntary/community or governmental/statutory. Any further recoding would have made the data meaningless. However, the categories of asylum seekers not being involved by government/statutory have only 2 counts, which only *partially* compromises the chi-square test.

A chi-square test ascertains whether the relationship between two variables is based on chance. In the social sciences a percentage below 5% would mean that there is a strong chance that the relationship is not based on chance. The result here is 78.42% (see Table 6.5 on page 166) meaning this claim cannot be made (i.e. there is a 78.42% chance that the relationship is based on chance). This is due to the sample size. For the purposes of this study and the context of the research this is a reasonable sample, but for a chi-square test it is a small sample.

	Are Asylum Seekers Involved in Service Delivery?		
Organization Type	No	Yes	Total
Voluntary/Community	6	27	33
Government/Statutory	2	7	9
Total	8	34	42

Table 6.4: Organization type by Asylum Seeker involvement in services

Chi-Square Results	
Pearson Chi-Square Result	0.075
Pearson Chi-Square Probability	0.784
Pearson Chi-Square Percentage	78.42

Table 6.5: Chi-square results

Working with the Voluntary and Community Sector

The questionnaire asked service managers whether they worked with VCOs when providing services to asylum seekers. A majority (83.3%) said this was the case. Although the questionnaire advised those respondents whose organizations do not work with VCOs to skip to the next section, many respondents did not so the responses here are based on the full sample (missing data is indicated where appropriate).

Organizations were working with various different VCOs including Glasgow Housing Association, the YMCA, Scottish Refugee Council and Community Groups such as Red Road Women's Centre. Of those organizations working with VCOs, 31% said they did so during the development of policies, 78.6% said they did so during service delivery and 47.6% said they involved VCOs after service delivery. Again, these figures highlight that service providers engage in the different types of co-production, but particularly during service delivery.

The majority of respondents said they worked with VCOs through informal communications (76.2%) and formal meetings (73.8%) (see Table 6.6 on page 168) Fewer described VCOs as working under contracts (16.7%).

Service managers were also asked to describe their relationships with VCOs; the responses are shown in Table 6.7 (see page 168). The table shows that the relationships were described by most respondents as partnerships (61.9%) but networks followed at 50%. Only 9.5% of organizations described their relationship with VCOs as contractual.

Types of VCO involvement	Frequency	Percentage
Informal conversations	32	76.2%
Formal meetings	31	73.8%
Consultation	22	52.4%
Community meetings	25	59.5%
Contract work to them	7	16.7%

N.B. 7 counts (16.7%) of missing data

Table 6.6: Types of VCO involvement

Type of relationship with VCO	Frequency	Percentage
Partnership	26	61.9%
Contractual	4	9.5%
Part of a network	21	50%

N.B. 8 counts (19%) of missing data

Table 6.7: Nature of relationships with VCOs

The questionnaire also asked service managers to indicate their level of agreement with statements about VCOs. The results are illustrated in the pie charts displayed on pages 170 and 171.

Two thirds of all questionnaire respondents (66.6%) agreed to some extent that voluntary and community organizations represent asylum seekers' needs. This is illustrated by Chart 6.7. A similar percentage of respondents (66.7%) agreed to some extent that involving VCOs was a cost effective approach in service provision. The responses to this statement are shown in detail in Chart 6.8.

When asked to consider the extent to which their organization worked with VCOs in the service design stage, 56.9% of service managers agreed with the following statement: 'my organization always works with voluntary and community organizations when designing services.' (Chart 6.9)

The majority of respondents (78.2%) disagreed to some extent with the following statement: 'there is no added value gained from involving VCOs in producing services.' (Chart 6.10). Finally, 64.3% agreed that 'the effective delivery of services is dependent on the involvement of VCOs' (Chart 6.11).

Chart 6.7: Voluntary and community organizations represent asylum seekers' needs
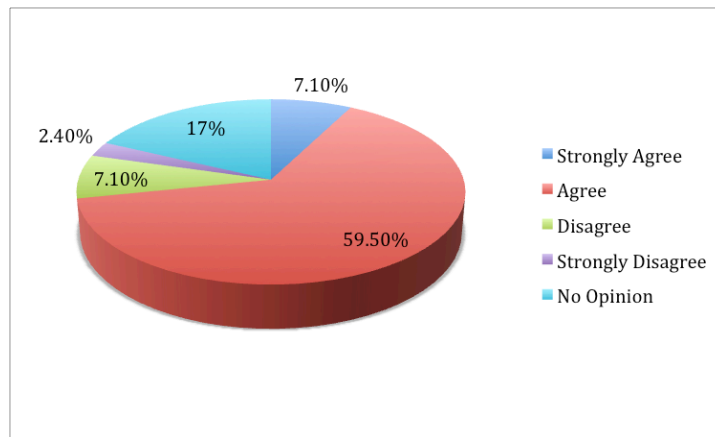
N.B. 3 counts (7.1%) of missing data

Chart 6.8: Involving voluntary and community organizations that represent asylum seekers is cost effective
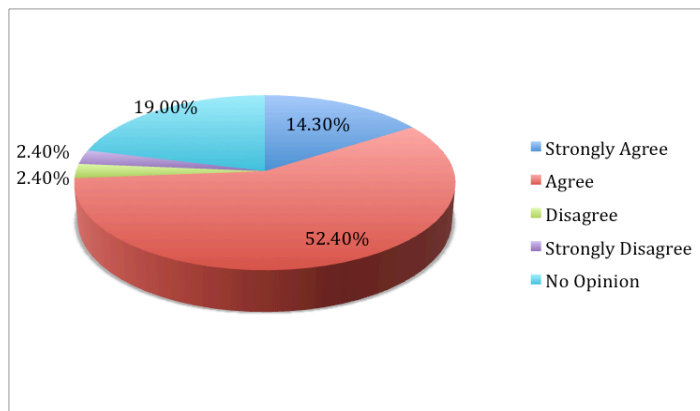
N.B. 4 counts (9.5%) of missing data

Chart 6.9: My organization always works with voluntary and community organizations when designing services
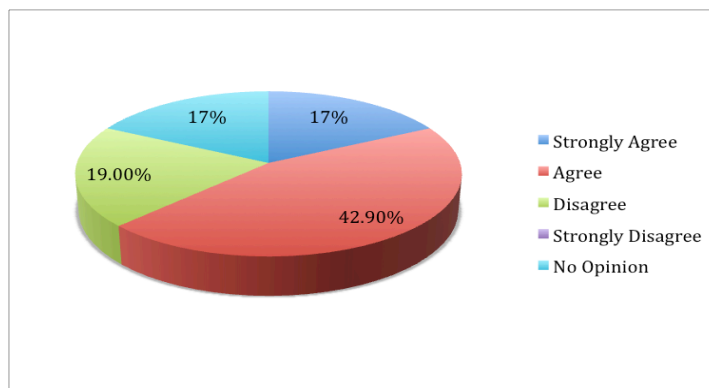
N.B. 2 counts (4.8%) of missing data

Chart 6.10: There is no added value gained from involving voluntary and community organizations in producing services
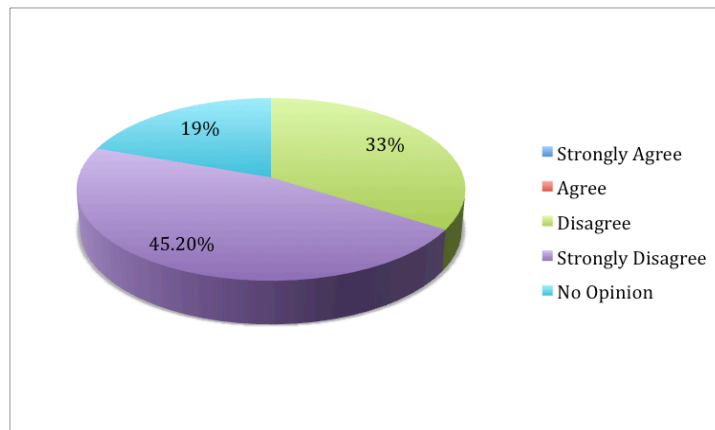
N.B. 1 count (2.4%) of missing data

Chart 6.11: The effective delivery of services is dependent on the involvement of voluntary and community organizations
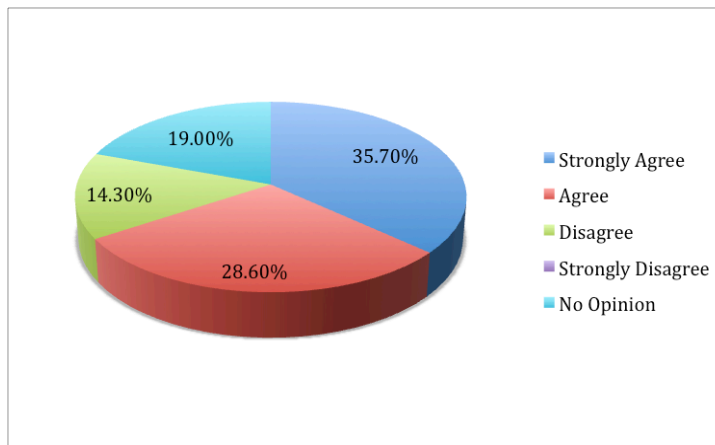
N.B. 1 count (2.4%) of missing data

Organizations representing asylum seekers

The final section of the questionnaire was directed at those respondents who felt their organization represented asylum seekers. When asked whether they represent asylum seekers to public service providers, over half of respondents responded positively (54.8%). These respondents went on to indicate their level of agreement with various statements regarding this role.   The data is illustrated in the charts on pages 173 and 174.

The majority of respondents agreed to some extent (86.52%) that their knowledge of asylum seekers was 'valued by service providers' (Chart 6.12). A similar proportion (82.59%) also agreed to some extent that 'Service providers listen to what I have to say because I'm acting on behalf of service users' (Chart 6.13). Less agreed that service providers needed their 'input when providing welfare services to asylum seekers' (65.21%) and a quarter disagreed with this statement (Chart 6.14).

Nearly two thirds of respondents (65.52%) disagreed to some extent with the following statement: 'Service providers don't act on the advice I give them' (Chart 6.15). Finally, 82.6% of respondents in this section agreed to some extent that 'Asylum seeker voices are represented by the organization I work for.

Chart 6.12: My knowledge of asylum seekers is valued by service providers
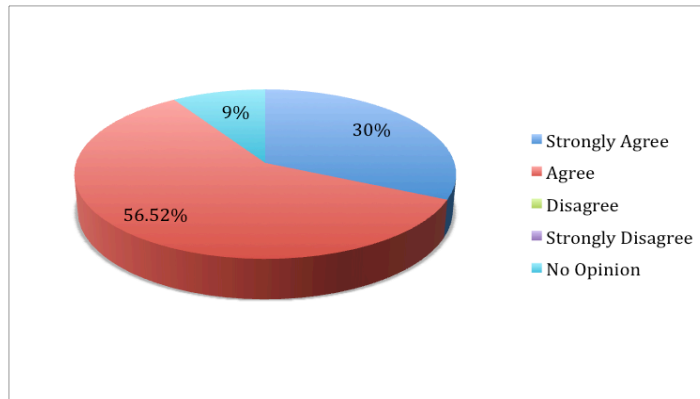
N.B. 1 count (4.3%) of missing data

Chart 6.13: Service providers listen to what I have to say because I'm acting on behalf of service users
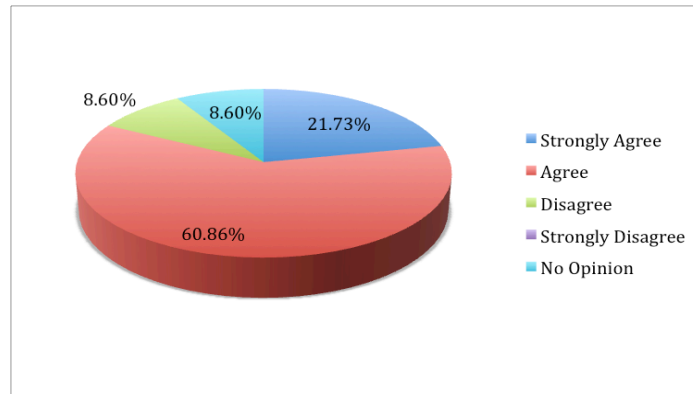
Chart 6.14: Service providers need my input when providing welfare services to asylum seekers
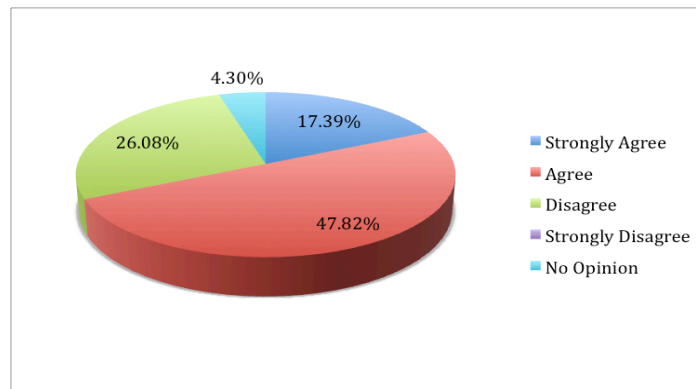
N.B. 1 count (4.3%) of missing data

Chart 6.15: Service providers don't act on the advice I give them
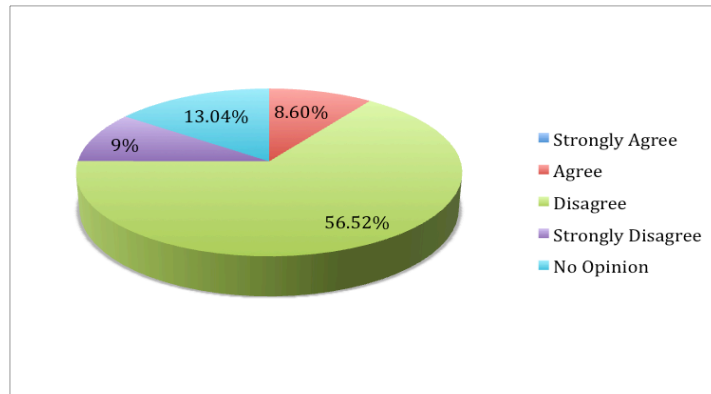
N.B. 3 counts (13.04%) of missing data

Chart 6.16: Asylum seeker voices are represented by the organization I work for
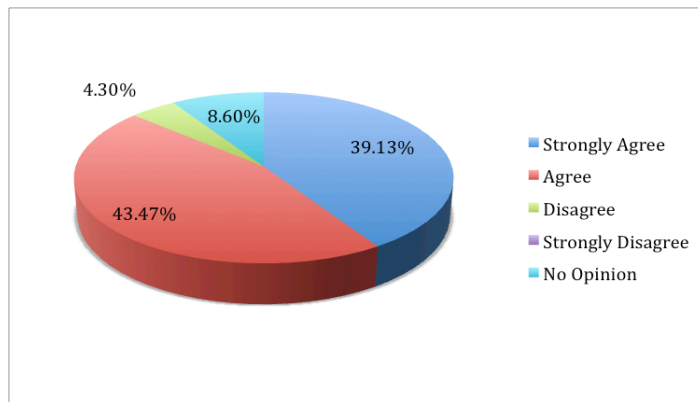
N.B. 1 count (4.3%) of missing data

SUMMARY AND INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

The findings from this chapter have helped to map the nature and extent of asylum seeker co-production and have also suggested that co-production is not dependent on citizenship. The status of asylum seekers as non-citizens prevents their engagement at the UK policy making level. Indeed, asylum seekers were generally described as 'powerless', with immigration legislation and policies restricting their capacity to contribute to civic life. However, asylum seekers were also described as *public service users* and as such their involvement in the co-production of services was generally regarded as integral to service production.

Co-production was largely considered to improve service effectiveness. This was particularly the case at the operational level where services are planned, delivered and evaluated on the ground. Strategic level decision-making and professional services were less open to co-production. Asylum seekers co-produced through various mechanisms of which feedback, consultation and choice were the most prominent. Thus, these findings would suggest the presence of both consumer and participative forms of co-production.

There were clear differences in approaches to asylum seekers in Scotland compared to England. Integration policy was a key example of this; asylum seekers are encouraged to integrate as soon as they arrive in Glasgow, as opposed to England where they must first receive refugee status. This is in line with the Scottish Government's objective to maintain the population and to maintain any skill that exists within the asylum seeker population which may aid the economy in the future. However, the Scottish Government was also described as being in a relatively powerless position when it comes to immigration policy and legislation. Thus, it has no say over asylum cases, nor the granting of legal citizenship.

Organizational forms of co-production have also been found. The findings suggest that the VCS play a core role in the provision of public services to asylum seekers, offering various services such as information and advice, language classes and drop-in centres. Although certain VCOs play an advocacy role, this was found to a lesser

extent compared to the service production role. The majority of questionnaire respondents also said they were working with VCOs during service production, and particularly during service delivery, suggesting the presence of co-management. VCOs were described as playing a mediating role, facilitating dialogue with the asylum seekers they represent and public sector organizations/policy makers.

Public service organizations from across sectors are working together through individual partnerships and broader networks, suggesting the presence of co-governance. Organizations work together on various levels, including strategic and operational levels. The geography in Scotland was described as being conducive to such relationships and working together was also thought to prevent duplication and result in service improvements. There was no evidence to suggest that either co-management or co-governance is reliant on the existence of individual forms of co-production but this will be explored in greater depth in chapter seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS PART II: CO-PRODUCTION AND THE CASE OF ASYLUM SEEKERS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present the research findings from the embedded case study, with the aim of answering the three empirical questions laid out in chapter five.

This chapter is split into two parts. First, the findings for each of the case study sub-units are presented individually and discussed thematically. As discussed in chapter six, respondents came from various organizations, from across the public, voluntary and community sectors. Each sub-unit focuses on one organization, but the data from contextual stakeholder interviews are included where they add to the discussion.

Analysis tables have been produced for each case study sub-unit (see Appendices D to K) to show the spread of responses and observation findings around the following key issues: the nature of the service; funding; key players in service provision; extent of service user involvement; why they are involved; challenges of involvement; type of service relationship; relationship with other organizations; and challenges of inter-organizational relationships. These will be supplemented by drawing on data collected during the stakeholder interviews to make comparisons, show differences and discuss similarities (See Appendices L to N for analysis tables).

Second, the findings from the document analysis are reported. Primary literature from each of the sub-units, with the exception of the Accommodation Provider - is analysed to provide a greater understanding of co-production and the narratives under which it exists. The chapter concludes by merging the data from the sub units, pulling out the key findings.

CHURCH A

Nature of the service

Church A ('CA') is a small community organization that provides various services to asylum seekers, including drop-in sessions for women and children, craft groups and English classes. The services are funded by the Community Planning Partnership.

The methods used to collect data were a service manager interview and a direct observation. The analysis table is presented in Appendix D.

The services provided by CA were largely volunteer-led, although the service manager (a paid employee) has responsibility for steering the overall nature of the services. For example, the service manager and eight volunteers ran the after-school drop in session which was observed.

There was one example of an asylum seeker volunteer. While the other volunteers had been recruited through the 'Development Organization', the asylum seeker had made an ad hoc request to volunteer at the after-school drop in session. However, the impact of her volunteering on the service seemed to be minimal during the observation as she did not interact with the children at the craft session, but her role was perhaps beneficial to herself, providing her with an opportunity to integrate with others.

The service manager described the purpose of the services as providing a 'social and safe and comfortable environment' where people can 'integrate and socially interact'. The after-school drop-in service observed at CA also highlighted an example of integration. The service was directed at children, as a way of encouraging adults into CA and therefore fostering integration among asylum seekers. The stakeholder interviews confirmed this with one respondent explaining how the service encounter can be used as a means of achieving goals such as integration, while also recognising that for certain groups such points of access do not exist:

Kids integrate [at school] and they then allow the families to integrate slowly... But when you've got a group of single males, there's nowhere for them to go, rather than sticking together, so you can't go to like youth clubs... (PSO1 Service Manager)

Service providers themselves play a crucial role in facilitating integration at the community level and this was identified as a key goal for some service organizations, not only as a policy objective but also a way of getting people to use services:

...you come up against these misconceptions that the activities are only for asylum seekers and therefore local people aren't welcome and all that. And we had street teams going out helping to dispel that myth, but the knock on effect was that street violence also went down. (PSO5 Service Manager)

Our whole aim is that asylum seekers and refugees integrate into the community. That's what it is - it's to make sure they feel part of it. (Small VO Service Manager)

It would be flying in the face of integration if it wasn't involving your local folks... But the people who are using [the services] are not just from the BME/asylum seeker/refugee community but from the local community. People in need, families in need... (VCO AP Service Manager)

Nevertheless, respondents also recognised the challenges associated with integrating asylum seekers and the indigenous population, particularly if the service is considered to be an asylum seeker service: '… it's very difficult to get indigenous people to come in because they see it as an asylum seeker and refugee people place, but slowly, slowly, that's happening.' (Small VO Service Manager).

Furthermore, the observations undertaken at CA highlighted the low uptake by male asylum seekers. Indeed, one drop-in session was targeted specifically at female asylum seekers and the observation of the after-school drop-in showed that the service was used predominantly by children and women; only four male asylum seekers were observed at the session and they did not stay for long. The service manager suggested that the low uptake by men is because 'the cultures don't mix well'. During the observation, a female volunteer who ran the café at CA's afterschool drop-in session also reflected on the issue that men do not often come in and when they do they 'stay just for a short time' because 'it's not their place'. She again pointed to cultural differences to explain this.

During the observations at CA, a relaxed and informal environment was apparent, which made it conducive to interaction between volunteers and asylum seekers, allowing the service providers to provide advice and help.

The service manager had developed 'friendships' with asylum seekers using the services, one of whom complained that the service manager had not yet visited her home. The service manager was also trusted to provide advice regarding asylum cases: 'Can you help me with letters?' The service manager described her relationship with service users as having both professional and personal elements, confirming that she had been invited to their homes on a friendship level, but also advertised other services, shared information and provided advice. Indeed, the observation of the drop-in session highlighted that while the service manager, working on the front-line, made an effort to converse with service users (often focusing on personal interactions rather than the activity being undertaken), the service encounter was also used as a means of advertising other services (e.g. a trip and English classes). By providing support and advice, trust was built up and led to the development of a more personal relationship: 'But trust is built up, it means that asylum seekers are able or are willing to trust me to try and fix problems for them'.

This type of relationship was not confined to organizations within the VCS. A PSO service manager, whose role involves front-line service interaction, also pointed to the development of personal relationships to the benefit of the service.

… it's more a friendship. They phone me. Asylum families will phone me out of the blue and say, 'we've not seen you in ages, why don't you come for lunch?' … and then when you go, that's when you find out the problems… (PSO1 Service Manager)

However, lack of trust for authorities was described as an issue which can make it difficult to establish the relationships needed for engaging with asylum seekers as service users.

Trust, trust. A lot of the problem is that… the reason they're fleeing their country is because authorities and police… so to get them to try and [understand]… that we're different and we're there to help them is a major problem. (PSO1 Service Manager)

Individual co-production

CA offered various services to asylum seekers, including a craft session for women and an after-school drop-in session for families. Observing these sessions highlighted that such services are accessed as and when asylum seekers choose. This was confirmed by the service manager of the small community organization who noted: ' … as asylum seekers they're not obliged to do anything anyway… that's their choice, they choose to come and see us.' Asylum seekers were also found to be exercising choice at the Women's Voluntary Organization which offered a range of services, from ESOL to integration initiatives: '… we try to get them into storytelling and all those things and then it's up to them whether they want to get involvement' (WVO Frontline2)

Asylum seekers were not involved in the operational or strategic planning services at CA: 'Not here, we don't specifically have asylum seekers and refugees helping to plan things out here.' This was attributed to the informal structure of the services provider and was confirmed by the observations. The ladies at the drop-in session, for instance, mentioned that they had not been asked where they would like to go for a trip, but would like to have some input.

When interviewed, the service manager noted a number of issues that made service user involvement with asylum seekers challenging, such as language barriers and having to manage expectations.

I have found it personally difficult because of the language barrier sometimes, the cultural barrier… They don't necessarily appreciate how the cogs work in, you know, getting things done and that can be frustrating and but also challenging.

The observation also highlighted practical constraints which prevent asylum seekers using other services: 'No, I don't have time… I need a crèche.' The issue of time and its impact on service use and the potential for co-production was also mentioned during the stakeholder interviews: 'They come in, sit down and expend all their energy. They're learning, learning, learning, then they're shooting out the door.' (WVO Service Manager)

Inter-Organizational Relationships

The service manager attends one of the Integration Networks in the City (data on this issue was collected solely from the service manager interview and was not directly evidenced in either of the observations). She discussed the benefits of attending and of networking more generally, although she mentioned that the meetings could be 'too long, too drawn out'. She noted that it was a personal choice to be involved in the Integration Network:

I have got more into it because for me personally I've always seen that kind of thing as a networking thing. The more people you know, the more people you can call upon for advice and help.

However, she recognized that being party to such a structure could be detrimental to her day job: 'It's easy to get sucked in to what the network as a whole is organizing.' One remark she made was in relation to a network event at which she tended a stall and provided information about the services provided by her VCO. However, she expressed disappointment at the lack of attendance to the event:

I just felt that was my first open day and I felt that for the amount of work and effort that was going into it for all the groups concerned, there was very little feedback and… very few people coming to the stalls…

This comment would suggest that the service provider needs to feel valued and expects to receive some sort of intrinsic benefit for attempting to engage with service users. On a similar note, later in the interview, the respondent talked of improving the service:

I think always there is that feeling that we're not getting the numbers of asylum seekers into a project that we'd like to. But there's always that sense of we could do better, we could do better.

Furthermore, although she regarded the relationships within the network as 'quite positive', she said that Churches sometimes feel 'left out' because they are faith-sharing agencies which do not have a specific remit such as education.

CHURCH B

Nature of the service

'Church B' (CB) is a small community organization providing various services to asylum seekers, including a cut-prices shop, computer class, craft session and English classes. In addition, CB provides ad hoc support to asylum seekers, signposting them to other services and helping homeless individuals/families find accommodation and contact solicitors.

In this sub-unit, the methods of data collection were: a service manager interview, an asylum seeker interview and a direct observation. Appendix E presents the analysis table for Church B.

The purpose of the service is underpinned by charitable aims to: 'relieve poverty and its effects among refugees, asylum seekers and members of the local community, to assist in integrating them into the wider community through the promotion of educational opportunities' (CB Service Manager).

The service manager described the Church as meeting needs of asylum seekers by responding to their need and filling gaps in service provision.

… when the asylum seekers first came… they didn't have the infrastructure for them, so really what happened was they gravitated towards the Church as a place where they were looking for clothing, prams, shoes, sheets… and then they saw that they needed help with their English classes… so they set up English classes for them.

The services provided by CB are volunteer-led, with the service manager being the only paid employee within the organization.

Church B's service manager did not view asylum seekers as customers, viewing that as a 'very impersonal' term. She said the focus of Church B was to build up relationships with people and on the basis of that to provide them services. For her, this relationship was one of 'trust and a relationship of friendship', distinguishing it

from a teacher-student relationship because of the presence of 'an equality' and 'social interaction'

The two service users interviewed reinforced this idea, describing CB as their 'small family'. They had a positive image of the organization, which was at odds with their experiences of other services; they mentioned being fearful of complaining about their accommodation and said they did not get help from other service providers when they asked.

The service manager furthered her assertion that relationship-building was an important element of the service, saying that dialogue was crucial.

...it's making sure that you communicate with them; it's making sure that you consult them; it's making sure that you regard them as being on equal footing, and in fact that you're serving them... You're actually doing what they want.

She added that building trust opened up opportunities for service providers to assist asylum seekers in other areas, rather than specifically around the service they were providing.

But trust is built up, it means that asylum seekers are able or are willing to trust me to try and fix problems for them, to go on the phone for them. To try and help them out with form filling...

A stakeholder respondent mentioned the likelihood of failing to commit asylum seekers to the task if they are forced to do something without any discussion: 'We always feel if you ask people what they want, then they'll do stuff with a passion rather than forcing it on them and then you struggle to get them to do anything.' (Small VO Service Manager). Here, the service provider was talking specifically about soft services than are offered on an opt-in/opt-out basis and therefore need to offer a positive experience for service users to remain committed to them. This issue was witnessed during the observation of CB where the ladies participating in the service were not informed that they had to pay for the craft materials until after the session; some of the ladies seemed very unhappy with the prospect of paying.

Individual co-production

Service users were encouraged to decide what activities they would participate in during the craft sessions. Church B's service manager talked about asylum seekers' 'right to participate' in order for them to have ownership over the services they are using:

You want them to own it, as being theirs. I think you've got to give people the dignity. I mean otherwise you're just imposing things on people and you're not actually giving them the dignity of making their own decisions. So, I think it's very much that they have got the right, if you're providing a service, to actually have their say about that.

Similarly, respondents from the stakeholder interviews considered the involvement of asylum seekers as a way of promoting them as stakeholders which will have a positive impact on the effectiveness of the service:

... if you've got the confidence of the people round you in the service who feel enough that they actually are stakeholders in the service. Then that has a genuine effect upon the development [of a] service. You're building something really the way it should be. You're building something that's reflective... It doesn't matter if you're a charity or not a charity, unless you're providing a service that's reflective of the needs of your consumers, you're not actually providing the best service. (VCO AP Service Manager)

The service manager at Church B was also of the opinion that involving asylum seekers in decisions about which activities and services are provided to them encouraged them to buy into those activities/services in a way that they possibly would not had the service provider created them alone.

... because they have participated, I think it might be quite a reasonable expectation, then they'll be actually quite happy to take part in it. Whereas, if I do just say, 'this is what you're going to do', then they've obviously thought, 'I don't want to do that'. (Church B Service Manager)

However, the observation of the craft group at Church B seemed contrary to this. Although there were opportunities for the participants to decide on the format of the group, these sometimes seemed relatively tokenistic. When, for example, the service manager asked whether the participants would mind if a lady joined the group with her young child, the participants seemed quite happy with the idea. Nevertheless, their responses seemed to be discounted by the service manager, who seemed to

exercise full control over the format of the session; indeed, her question about whether to involve the lady and her child was more rhetorical than genuine.

Tokenistic forms of engagement were also described as a challenge to meaningful engagement with asylum seekers.

Aye, you're talking about it to me but you've not actually demonstrated it. It looks very good, looks very good in applications and this is what you're doing. Show me. Show me the proof. (VCO AP Service Manager)

CB also used evaluations, asking service users what 'difference… the project makes to their lives and… how they would feel if the project was not here.' A very informal evaluation was witnessed at the observation of the Craft session, where service users were asked for feedback on whether the session 'was different' from the previous session.

Inter-organizational relationships

CB worked with other churches in the area, including CA (joint crèche provision). This relationship was described as unproblematic because both partners had the same aims: 'it does go quite smoothly because we're both going for the same thing.' The service manager was also a member of the Integration Network and suggested that CB would 'work with really just anybody!'

CB had not established formal partnership relationships with statutory agencies, but the service manager recognised that an exchange of information and advice took place as and when required.

… that lady today, she may have to be taken from the Housing Service or the Homelessness Service… to the Social Work Department, so therefore in that sense we're working with them but not in terms of partnership with them. We're really just using them…

Although CB had worked directly with Health Visitors in the past, this had stopped due to funding constraints.

A challenge of inter-organizational working that was mentioned by the service manager was the concern that some organizations may seek to work together to 'piggy back on your success'. She argued that organizations, in the past, have sought to use CB's premises to deliver a service which did not fit with the 'ethos' of the church or the needs and wants of the service users. A similar argument was made during the stakeholder interviews:

You've got to have a good relationship with the organizers before you can actually get to the service users because if they don't like you they're like 'well, what can you do for us?' So we need to be very sensitive and very aware of how... establishing our links and then building up trust and then going out to deliver. (WVO FL2)

ACCOMMODATION PROVIDER

Nature of the service

The 'Accommodation Provider' (AP) is a public sector organization that is responsible for housing asylum seekers dispersed to Glasgow, operating under a contract with the Government Agency.

The methods employed in the sub unit were: a service manager interview, a strategic manger interview (which was also used during the discussion of the policy data), an interview with the Government Agency (which again was part of the policy interviews but some data was also applicable here) and a direct observation of a project worker from the AP. The analysis table for this sub-unit is presented in Appendix F.

There was evidence of the AP and other organizations' reliance upon the contribution of asylum seekers, particularly during first encounters. The observation of the AP, for example, highlighted the need for communication with asylum seekers to find out what their needs were. The appropriate information was then relayed to other public sector organizations (e.g. Social Work, Education).

Initial interactions were often said to be key to establishing good relationships and some service providers recognized that building such relationships was founded upon hard work from their side. One service manager from a public sector organization, for instance, spoke of 'chapping doors' and distributing his contact details to people and then promising them he would help and then 'delivering' on that promise. Fostering relationships was also viewed as a means of supporting integration, but the service manager from AP discussed the difficulties associated with the quick decisions brought by the new asylum process:

So then we're having to go out to people who have got leave to remain and they've only been here a day so they're not integrated. We've hardly told them where the post office and the school is, they've not had a chance to go to a community group but they've got a decision. (AP Service Manager)

The nature of the AP's work meant that front-line Project Workers had direct and early service encounters with asylum seekers arriving in Glasgow. The Project Worker observed in this case provided support and advice on an individual basis where he could, going beyond the main objective of checking the accommodation to ensure well-being in a number of cases. The relationship observed was identified as a professional one.

Developing trust was a key goal within this Project Worker's remit. However, the associated challenges were recognised. Not only was building trust a long, slow process but also being a confidant for asylum seekers was a challenge for those delivering service. The AP service manager spoke of this, particularly in relation to the early days of dispersal.

... the project workers were getting told, probably more than they should have been with people who they'd built up trust, like if they had been victimised or raped or tortured' (AP Service Manager)

However, he also recognised that in the early days of dispersal, the organization did not have the time or foresight to develop strong relationships with asylum seekers. Their role was simply to place them in accommodation but over time that role has changed to providing a good service. This was made easier because the influx of asylum seekers to the city has reduced and the systems for housing and supporting their needs have been firmly established.

Individual co-production

The 'constraints of the contract' with the Government Agency were described as making it challenging to involve asylum seekers. Indeed, the AP service manager reaffirmed the issue of no-choice dispersal when it comes to housing asylum seekers. However, he suggested that considerations were taken over where people were housed, with the AP attempting to house clusters of people with similar cultures and languages in order to avoid racial incidents.

Further limitations were also recognised; postcode and language barriers were considered to hamper the extent of choice that asylum seekers could exercise over public services. Indeed, language barriers were observed as a key issue hampering the Project Worker from delivering services to asylum seekers. These limitations impacted on how service providers viewed asylum seekers, with the AP referring to them as clients rather than customers: 'If you walk into a shop then you're a customer and if you don't like the service then you can just go to another shop. An asylum seeker can't go anywhere else.' (AP Service Manager)

Although the service manager interviewed from the AP described asylum seeker service users as clients, the approach ascribed to by the Project Worker and witnessed during the observation suggested that in practice, he viewed asylum seekers as people, rather than simply service users or clients. His approach was sensitive and humane and he seemed to genuinely care about the well-being of each individual he had contact with. However, this could have been an approach specific to that Project Worker rather than to the service provision.

AP had a complaints procedure, but the service manager reinforced the need to differentiate between the types of complaints that asylum seekers might raise and treat them accordingly.

My washing machine is not working, could you fix it?' 'Aye, we'll get it fixed.' Now that's a complaint about the washing machine. 'X, I've phoned you forty times about my washing machine and you've not fixed it, you've not done anything, I'm going to your boss.' That's a complaint.

However, one asylum seeker said that he would be cautious of making complaints to the concierge about noise made by other tenants in the high rise accommodation that he lived in, saying: 'the concierge is Scottish and the man downstairs is Scottish, so he is more likely to take the Scottish man's side.' (AS9)

However, the AP argued that it was open to 'any suggestions of ways we can improve' and an example was provided showing that asylum seekers had an input into changing the geographical location of the service.

... we were asked could we have a sub office up in Sighthill because we had a lot of asylum seekers in Sighthill and they were having to travel into the city to our office. And we managed to secure an office up at the Sighthill flats… So they probably influenced us. (AP Service Manager)

The Strategic Manager focused more specifically upon the participative mechanisms of involvement. He suggested that the UK Government's stance that asylum seekers should not be integrated or involved did not 'sit comfortably with us in Glasgow'. Forums for Discussion Groups, for example, were described as 'vehicles to tackle issues at a low level basis before they become major' which centre around 'communication' and 'building up trust' and offer a means through which to critique public services. However, at the local government level, a formal consultation process that facilitates input into decision-making does not exist for asylum seekers and the extent to which Forums for Discussion Groups would be accessible to asylum seekers was dubious. The respondents further noted that working within the parameters of Home Office regulations made consultation with asylum seekers challenging: '… influencing policy, that's more difficult because a lot of it is linked to the Asylum and Immigration Act…' (AP Service Manager).

The Strategic Manager also reflected upon the general challenge of getting service users to engage, regardless of their social grouping:

There's issues about public engagement with services generally; how do we get our service users more involved in the planning and delivery of services? … whether it's local homeless people, people with additional issues, people with learning disabilities, people with mental health problems

Interestingly, however, one respondent from the VS Accommodation Provider spoke of the Residents' Association that had been established for asylum seekers, the first of its kind in the UK: '… it's to give the asylum seekers a voice in the running of this building; the responses to staff and responses to the accommodation.' (VCO AP Service Manager).

The issue of involving asylum seekers in service planning was also picked up by the Charity Service Manager, who viewed them as integral to the whole process, but also

noted that such an approach is not easy: 'You have to start from where people are and develop their thinking and that's been challenging and remains a challenge.' Indeed, various respondents from across the public and VC sectors made a case for asylum seeker involvement in service production: 'I do feel that, you know, there are a lot of people who have a huge amount to contribute' (WVO Service Manager). Nevertheless, a conflicting argument was posed around not involving asylum seekers. This was not, however, related to an unwillingness to engage with asylum seekers on the behalf of professionals or service providers but rather the reluctance of asylum seekers. The most commonly espoused concern was related to the negative impact involvement might have upon a claim for asylum:

I could say that the Home Office could prevent me from saying something. (AS8)

Asylum seekers are very wary of doing anything that will jeopardize their claim. (AP Strategic Manager)

Furthermore, certain groups of asylum seekers were considered to be particularly averse to engaging in service production or indeed, any form of integration. Respondents noted, in particular, that asylum seekers were less likely to become involved through participative mechanisms:

… you'll probably find to a certain extent that we'll know and be able to pick out the nationalities who will not engage. We know who… because they have their own communities. They don't want to be involved. You know if you're a single male Iraqi you'll not be doing volunteer work… You have your own community, your own friends, you don't engage, you don't interact.... (Government Agency)

There's as much cultural differences between many asylum seeker groups as anything else and that doesn't make for easy working… No one particular group has been particularly noted for its involvement. (ALLA Service Manager)

Counter arguments were posed, however, arguing a willingness among asylum seekers to engage, with the Charity Service Manager describing asylum seekers as 'very willing' to engage and the service manager from WVO saying: 'Asylum seekers actually engage really well. When they're given the opportunity to say their piece, they turn up for events, they're motivated to comment on services.'

Inter-organizational relationships

This section is split to reflect the nature of two main relationships the AP had with other organizations: a contract under the Government agency and a relationship with the VCS.

Contractual relationship

The AP works under a contract with the Government Agency to provide housing to asylum seekers. That contract is subject to 'huge financial penalties' for any mistakes which is also accompanied by a strained relationship between the two parties: 'We think we should work in partnership with them. It's more, you're the contractor; you signed a contract, get on with it.' *(AP Service Manager).* The service manager also discussed the negative implications of having a contractual relationship which punishes the contractor for mistakes while not acknowledging the faux pas of the other:

… they can make huge mistakes. No wee… big, big mistakes. And we can't do anything about it… the staff get a bit annoyed that we're getting financial penalties. So they take it a bit personal, I think.

The relationship is made difficult by the geographical distance between the two parties and the sheer size of the Government Agency, which was described as not communicating with colleagues in its Glasgow Office. The contract also has implications for the extent to which the AP can advocate on behalf of asylum seekers. Speaking about detention centres, the service manager said 'we were all moaning. The staff were moaning about it but we can't… We're the contractor.'

The strategic manager reinforced the tension between the AP and the Government Agency, complaining that Scotland tended to be 'tagged on, rather than an integral part to that [policy] cycle', although he and his counterpart at the Charity were party to national meetings. He also argued that the challenging relationship with the Government Agency made is particularly important to work across organizational boundaries within Scotland.

Making comparisons to England, the Strategic Manager spoke of how the Scottish landscape is more conducive to joint working than elsewhere in the UK, making integration easier.

[In Scotland] there's a maybe easier cultural mix or easier dialogue. Now if you compare that with some place [in England] ... and you get the "Daily Mail" press saying it's all these asylum seekers that have taken our jobs, or defrauding housing benefit. It's very negative. It's maybe more difficult then to have that....good working relationships because it becomes more political. So maybe there's something about the context we all operate in Scotland, through the media... I would think that in Scotland we have seen more integration.

Another issue underpinning Scotland's welcoming and inclusive stance towards asylum seekers is the Scottish Government's commitment to maintaining Scotland's population above five million: 'Scotland's own needs, in terms of inward migration, make it I think easier to work with asylum seekers.' *(AP Strategic Manager)*

The service manager did not view the Scottish Government as having a prominent role to play with regards to asylum seekers, due to the reserved nature of immigration: 'MSPs don't know anything, that's reserved for London.*'* However, he recognized that they do have some influence, citing the joint effort between the SG and interested organizations across Scotland to stop dawn raids and prevent children being detained at Dungavel.

Furthermore, the strategic manager provided evidence of some joint working with the SG. First, the Strategic Migration Network was mentioned which 'deals at a political, strategic level' and combines the efforts of 'a range of voluntary sectors and Third Sector Trade Union, CBI etc. all taking part with local authorities, Scottish Government and UK Government.' Nevertheless, the same respondent argued that effective structures need to be in place below the strategic group in order to allow it to work effectively: 'people need to form alliances and do preliminary work outside that group to make it work.'

The Strategic Manager also discussed the Scottish Stakeholders' Forum chaired and 'led' by UKBA in Glasgow. That group includes the Scottish Government, Glasgow City Council, COSLA, Edinburgh City Council, the Scottish Refugee Council,

British Red Cross, the Victims of Torture the Legal Practitioners' Forum, the International Office of Migration, Strathclyde Police and Health. Although the Forum is used primarily to discuss national issues at a local level, the Strategic Manager said that they also used it as a means of picking up local issues to be taken to the national meetings. However, the respondent went on to describe the challenge of working at different levels:

It's almost like three dimensional chess… You know those kiddie books you get about joining up the dots? Sometimes that's what it feels like, you know. You go from one meeting to another meeting and what you try and do is make the link and build onto the next stage …

Furthermore, although these structures were in place, the respondent recognized that they may not be sufficient in the eyes of the VCS: 'I think there would always be a desire, I think particularly from the voluntary sector, to get in earlier in the planning cycle and make an influence.'

VCS relationship

Rather than involving individuals via tenant surveys or participative groups, the Strategic Manager advocated for cross-sectoral working and dialogue.

I think what we try and do is have a very close relationship with what I would call our critical friends… various groups who will take up issues for asylum seekers. And what we need to do is have clear communication with them and have a kind of trusting dialogue…

He further argued that any communications should be rooted in evidence: *It should be a distillation of all the views that you get coming in.* This view was upheld by the AP Service Manager who suggested that community organizations offer a way of involving asylum seekers that other organizations can tap into.

The service manager described a strong link between the AP and 'the Charity' which was described as a fundamental mediating structure, operating between asylum seekers and the AP, providing a route of complaint for asylum seekers who might be fearful of approaching the AP directly. He added that work had been done to build an awareness of one another's roles which has reduced the number of complaints that 'the Charity' refers to the AP. The strong relationship between the two was

reinforced by the strategic manager who described a 'personal' relationship with his counterpart in the Charity. Both are members of the National Stakeholders' Forum, which is held in London by the Home Office, and provides an opportunity for members to contribute to policy-making. The respondent described how he and his counterpart from the Charity meet quarterly and 'try and agree what would be a good line for Scotland'.

The Strategic Manager recognized that inter-organizational relationships did not exist in constant harmony, but suggested that 'understand[ing] each other's position' and communication ensured that disagreements did not result in 'the whole… edifice tumbling down.' He also reflected on the need to 'work in the middle', acting within the boundaries of funding. Related to this, the Strategic Manager discussed the difficulty in working with organizations which play a dual role as service provider and advocate:

I think sometimes there's been a bit of role confusion, because if somebody acts as a provider of a service and, if you like, takes the Prime Minister's shilling, if you like, then they are part of, like it or not, an operational partnership… And then if an organization stands back and then criticizes that, it can be difficult....

The interviews with asylum seekers also uncovered some confusion over which organizations provide services. For example, one asylum seeker was not aware of which organizations provide accommodation under contract with the Home Office: 'I've never had any contact with the City Council. The Home Office provides the accommodation' (AS2). Indeed, that individual was at the time of interview residing in accommodation provided by the VCOAP, but it was interesting that he associated housing provision with the Home Office rather than one of the three APs working in the City.

HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATION

Nature of the service

The 'Humanitarian Organization' (HOrg) is a national organization, which developed services in response to the dispersal of asylum seekers. Four services were mentioned by respondents: International Tracing Service; Orientation Service; Newspaper; volunteer drop-in sessions; and outreach work with schools.

The data from this sub-unit was collected through a service manger interview and a front-line service manager interview (duo) (see Appendix G for the analysis table). Although the organization was approached to participate in a direct observation, access was never granted.

Production of the newspaper is funded by the European Refugee Fund. Although the newspaper produced by the organization might be better described as a good than a service, it was used to promote services provided by RCOs and also asylum seekers/refugees were involved in its production.

The volunteer-led drop-in sessions provided a means of social interaction for asylum seekers and access to ESOL classes. The International Tracing Service contributes to preparing cases for family reunion and the HOrg also conducts outreach work to raise awareness with 12-14 year olds in Scotland about refugee and humanitarian issues.

The discussion focused predominantly on the services' Orientation Service, which was described by the service manager as:

... [a] key refugee service, which provides one to one volunteer support to asylum seekers or refugees to help them with the integration process, to help them to access statutory services, to help them get in contact with refugee community organizations...

Individual co-production

Asylum seekers were involved in the production of the newspaper, being asked to submit stories or ideas to ensure that a 'worthwhile piece of work' was produced.

However, the service manager recognised that there were restrictions regarding the extent to which asylum seekers can contribute to the newspaper; he spoke of the need to balance their personal agendas with the wider users of the newspaper. He suggested that those who come with their 'own' agenda can potentially impact the 'professionalism' of the newspaper which is read by a wide audience (from asylum seekers to policy makers).

The service manager and front-line staff described how the orientation service was 'client –led', with the service being planned and executed on an individual level and the time spent with individuals being gauged in terms of vulnerability.

We call it… non-directional advocacy, so you can advocate on behalf of somebody… it's assisting someone who can't quite make their point, not going… into a meeting and saying "She needs this, she needs that."… It is about that person saying I would like this service… (HOrg Service Manager)

The non-directional nature of the service means that, in practice, asylum seekers are given various choices from which they can guide the nature of the service they receive from the volunteers.

Asylum seekers were matched to one individual volunteer. Again, this is an area where they can exercise a degree of choice. The respondents working on the front-line recognised that while some clients may wish to work with someone who speaks their native language, others might want someone from another country due to issues of privacy or they may want to practise their English. However, another respondent from the VCS spoke of the care that needs to be taken that asylum seekers do not become over reliant upon one particular service provider: 'We try to encourage that people work with different people anyway, because then you don't get to rely on somebody and feel like oh, if they aren't coming in then I'm not coming in.' (WVO Front Line 1)

The Orientation Service volunteers were considered well placed to provide support as they had experienced the hardships of the asylum process; the service also

benefited from their skill set, cultural knowledge and language skills. This was confirmed by the stakeholder interviews:

I don't think that anyone who hadn't been through that process would have had the sort of tact that he had at the time. He knew what to do… and I felt he was like a support to her. (WVO Front Line2)

The respondents from HOrg also discussed the importance of promoting trust within the service relationship; this was considered to be of particular importance given the vulnerability of the group. The volunteer discussed the process:

At our first meeting they don't tell you everything but as you give them another appointment, another appointment, another appointment they come out and they tell you. So by that time, you know exactly where you're going to refer them, what they are going through… Just give them time to get used to the idea and begin to trust you. (HOrg Front-line)

Interestingly, in this case, the service users are referred to as clients by both the service manager and front-line staff. Although there was a focus on building relationships, the volunteer underlined the nature of the relationship as being 'professional': 'We are not allowed to make different friendship with them, just professional friendship... We don't go to their homes and we don't tell them about our details.' (HOrg Front Line).

During the stakeholder interviews, the task of maintaining professional boundaries was described as a challenge, given the nature of the services provided by the organizations working with asylum seekers, particularly those working in the VCS:

I think it's a privilege that you're invited into someone's life and it's amazing. But you've got to draw a boundary and you've got to protect yourself and mentally say, I can't get too involved, and I don't. And there is times you just think oh my god! You need a pair of socks or this, go out and get them. But we can't do that because you're stepping over that line. (WVO Front Line 3)

A respondent from the public sector also spoke of the process of building trust as being a lengthy task and said that once established, the onus is on the service provider to maintain a trusting relationship by providing a good service: '… it takes something to happen and if you promise somebody something, you have to deliver…

You have to build up trust with them and it takes a long time.' (PSO1 Service Manager)

HOrg also involved asylum seekers through the evaluation of its services. The newspaper and drop-in sessions were formally evaluated with a view to improving them. The stakeholder interviews highlighted that evaluation was conducted in differing ways and to differing extents. One voluntary organization, for example, spoke of having a paid position for a 'part-time Monitor and Evaluator' (Small VO Service Manager). Informal evaluation was also being used as a method for testing whether services were meeting the needs of asylum seekers. For example, one PSO that was providing services to young asylums seekers did not gather feedback through a formal evaluation process, but used the uptake or popularity of the service to gauge its success: 'they're coming back and they're bringing friends with them' (PSO1 Service Manager)

For HOrg, evaluation was also linked to accountability; not simply to government funders, but the rest of the voluntary sector and the clients they provide services to.

… if we want to be challenging and we want to think of how we're doing things, and we want to continually be held accountable to… by the refugee community and by people who work in the sector to say, 'yeah, this is good, this is bad, improve, get better.' (HOrg Service Manager)

Evaluation was particularly common in the voluntary sector and was often associated with funding requirements. Indeed, one respondent criticised the requirement of evaluation, saying that it can lead to an over-emphasis on collecting information and feedback from service users: 'There was an almost paranoia to gain feedback, to see if what was being provided was correct' (ALLA Service Manager). However, HOrg valued the process of evaluation even though there was no direct call for it from outside bodies or individuals.

Inter-organizational relationships
The service manager from HOrg discussed the existence of good and growing channels of communication with TSG, UKBA and the Charity. On a policy level, he

recognised that the SG was easier to work with than the Westminster Government, due to its inclination towards integration: 'there's a mindset within the Scottish Government which is extremely different to the mindset within Westminster. And the mindset within Holyrood is one about integration.' However, he added that the Government Agency would listen to policy recommendations made from the VCS if they were substantiated by evidence and that a key role of HOrg is to position itself as a check against government:

[This organization] sees themselves at that level of working with government to try to get improvements in policy and improvements in procedures. I mean we're obviously a politically neutral organization but that doesn't preclude us from saying there are problems with a system that need to be improved, and what we would want to do is be able to evidence that.

The service manager recognised that partnership working was particularly challenging during the early days of a service. He highlighted a need to establish an effective service before considering inter-organizational working: 'I didn't go out proactively to the Scottish Government, to Glasgow City Council. We were very eager, heads down, kind of wanting to develop what we felt were really good resources.'

Furthermore, speaking of AP, he argued that dispersal led a focus on 'the potential of genuine backlash' from the indigenous population rather than an engagement with the VCS. However, he said that over time there has been increasing communication. This was associated partly with the reduced number of agencies working in the field, but also due to the establishment of the effective levels of support for asylum seekers:

... there's some very good tiers of support. And when you go into a meeting now and somebody gets up and starts to rail against the Borders Agency and the Government and the [AP], and you now kind of look at them go, really? You're talking nonsense. If you are a refugee in Glasgow and you want support and access in education, it's there. If you want support and access in employment, it's there. If you want support in improving integration, it's there. Now it might not be perfect, perfect, perfect, but there's probably as much or as many levels of support there as there would be for somebody in the indigenous population... (HOrg Service Manager)

The respondent also expressed the need for there to be someone at the top of a PSO to steer it to work with the VCS and recognise that the sector is of value. Again referring to the AP, he said that the current strategic manager had moved the organization in a different direction: 'I think there's suddenly been a realisation that oh actually, my goodness, there's a broader voluntary sector who have been working with this community, who've been doing a lot of very strong and very good work.'

HOrg also works in partnership with various organizations in the VCS. The Service Manager spoke of strong inter-organizational relationships developing over time since the early dispersal of asylum seekers to Glasgow, with less players now operating in the field.

… that makes this sector better because it's the established agencies… and they're now very good at what they do and more able to work in partnership… you're not going to a coordinating meeting and finding forty people in the room, of which some people are one person agencies or five people with a very strong agenda. (HOrg Service Manager)

He also spoke of the personal working relationships that had developed across organizational boundaries. This is something that, from his experiences, had not been replicated in the English Boroughs and was regarded as specific to Glasgow which he described as 'the biggest village in the planet'. He justified this by saying:

I think of all the team that I worked with, something like sixty/seventy percent are now working for other organizations in the field, and you pick up a phone to them, and some are still at [the Charity], so there is that thing, I mean if you're stuck with something, you'd pick up the phone to, who you would see as a colleague, because you used to work with them. (HOrg Service Manager)

Personal relationships were also discussed by a respondent in the public sector. The service manager referred to the equal importance of personal and professional relationships: 'I knew X at college in the 1980s… And I guess as a Community Development service, we are such a shrinking band of workers, that we kind of cling to each other.' (PSO2 Service Manager)

The HOrg service manager also spoke of colleagues in other organizations acting as a check and balance on the quality of the Orientation Service: 'if the volunteer is

pushy or aggressive , or tries to do something that we would feel inappropriate, they phone myself… so that we check that behaviour.'

DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION

Nature of the service

The 'Development Organization' (DO) is a city-wide organization that offers various services to asylum seekers, including ALN classes. A broader aim of the organization is to help those from underrepresented groups (including asylum seekers) find volunteering opportunities. Thus, those who sign up for literacy classes are prospective or active volunteers.

For this sub unit, the following data collection methods were used: two service manager interviews, a front-line staff interview, asylum seeker interview (duo) and a direct observation. The analysis table for DO is presented in Appendix H.

DO aim to help find volunteering opportunities for underrepresented groups, including asylum seekers, working with various organizations which are looking for volunteers. According to DO Service Manager 1, the aim of the volunteering project, which ran for 18 months, was to improve asylum seekers' mental health, their everyday lives and help immerse them into the Scottish culture. She noted that volunteering opportunities tend to be taken by male asylum seekers and women with school age children.

Associated to this core role, DO provides adult literacy classes for adults who are volunteering or who are prospective volunteers. The literacy services are focused on informal education, being based on the social practices model. Thus, the focus of the classes is to teach English for everyday use, although the Front-Line Staff interview also suggested that the sessions may be tailored to help learners to prepare for the citizenship test.

Individual co-production

Two services were investigated: the adult literacy service and volunteering. The literacy service was provided as a way of readying asylum seekers for volunteering and ultimately for work. Individual learners' needs were assessed and tutors planned what they would teach as a result. However, the service manager highlighted the

issue of funding constraints which meant that initial assessment sessions were not as informal as she had hoped.

The observation emphasized the informal and fluid nature of the literacy class, with the tutor steering the general format of the class, but the participants deciding what would be covered. This social practices approach is particular to ALN and ESOL learning, where policy and curriculum encourages learner-led teaching. During the session, the asylum seekers changed the focus of the class by asking grammatical questions, causing the tutor to reassess what he was teaching and alter it according to need. This flexible approach seemed to work particularly well in the small class setting and also because the asylum seekers participating in the class had reasonably good English so were able to voice their opinion and questions. The asylum seeker interviewed said that he was involved in what was covered in the class, but he also suggested that the experience and knowledge of the tutor made him well placed to decide the content of the class.

The service is evaluated every six to eight weeks. While the front-line tutor recognized that funders want 'value for money' so they want to 'know about learners' progressions', he said that evaluation was also conducted to make improvements to the service: 'We don't do happy sheets that are filed away and never looked at again; we do read them and take things on board.'

The Service Manager also said that interim meetings were conducted with learners to ensure they were satisfied with the service, to make improvements and to encourage them into other services: 'We try and have them not leaving… I do an interim with them to see how they've moved on and if they're ready to move on to… training or college.' (DO Service Manager 2). She also spoke of establishing agreements between the service provider and service users to ensure that the service was not misused, suggesting professional boundaries were established through written contracts. This reflected the learner-teacher relationship that was established and identified by the tutor respondent. Although it was not in the traditional classroom

setting, there was an expectation that there would be a degree of respect between tutor and learner, with responsibilities falling on each side of the relationship.

The service manager and tutor noted various challenges in relation to the adult literacy service. The tutor mentioned the mixed ability of classes which made it difficult to pitch the class at the correct level, but also noted that individual teaching was too resource intensive. The service manager noted cultural challenges which can make the learning interaction challenging for tutors:

… one tutor who was working with a male asylum seeker… and he was telling her what to do, he was quite aggressive… telling her this and that, and it was getting to the stage it was getting away from the literacies. So culturally it's how to deal with that. Should he have had a male tutor? But we wouldn't have had one available. (DO Service Manager 2)

The second service provided by DO was around volunteering. Volunteering was considered to lead to a host of benefits for asylum seekers, including improving their English language, fostering cultural exchange and giving them a sense of self-worth through engaging with the community:

… it [volunteering] improved people's mental health, they were happy, they were able to practise their English…. It really helped to develop people's understanding or the cultures that people had come to… (DO Service Manager1)

one man said to me…'This country gave me warmth and shelter and safety, I can't work to pay my way, so I want to volunteer to give something back'. That man had a blood clot in his brain and was still out volunteering. (DO Service Manager1)

Other respondents highlighted that volunteering opportunities were important for asylum seekers who cannot work.

… let's face it, if you're stuck in Glasgow and have no work and are not really allowed to do anything, volunteering is a great opportunity… (Government Agency)

Volunteering is brilliant… it helps people engage and integrate and it also gets people into jobs in the long run. (DO Front-line)

… they've got lots of skills themselves, lots of knowledge, you know, but they can't work, they're not allowed to work. (Small Charity Service Manager)

Related to volunteering, asylum seekers had a degree of choice over whether they took a volunteering opportunity and they were given 'taster' sessions which meant they could choose not to go back to an organization. One service manager related choice to providing asylum seekers with some of the power back, which they had lost in the process of seeking asylum: '… because we don't say you have to do this, you know, this is about the only thing that they can make a choice about whether they do it or not, you know.' (DO Service Manager 1)

Indeed, various respondents confirmed the powerless legal position of asylum seekers living in the United Kingdom: 'I think they're very powerless, do you know what I mean, and that's a horrible feeling ain't it. You know like when you have absolutely no power at all to do anything about your situation' (DO Front-Line). Powerlessness was closely associated with the impact of immigration legislation and policies that restrict the extent to which asylum seekers control their lives by, for example, providing authorities with full discretion over where they are housed and prohibiting asylum seekers from undertaking paid work. Furthermore, asylum seekers themselves expressed a constant fear of the powers of authorities to detain and deport them, with one saying their concerns had been heightened since coming to the UK: 'Coming into this country has given me more stress and worry. There is always a fear that I could be detained at any time' (AS2).

Despite this feeling of powerlessness, perhaps surprisingly asylum seekers were considered to be a largely motivated group who were keen to learn and integrate into the community. This was suggested both by the DO and by the stakeholder interviews:

See asylum seekers, refugees, they're up there; they're like 'Oh we need it, we need help, give us what you can'. (DO Service Manager 1)

[They are] incredibly motivated, incredibly talented, wonderful women. (Women's VO Service Manager)

They want to learn, they are keen. (Women's VO Frontline2)

In the case of DO, asylum seekers are not necessarily involved in operational planning before services are delivered but their feedback and input after delivery is used to shape and change services accordingly. One respondent spoke of how they encourage feedback from both the asylum seekers and organizations that they are volunteering in: 'We always say to people if you don't like it, you can come back to us, don't just disappear and say 'oh it was bad and it wasn't good.' (DO Service Manager 2)

The service manager regarded language barriers as the key barrier to volunteering; she mentioned the problems that this can cause for health and safety issues and also highlighted the expense of hiring interpreters. This point was reiterated by the Charity service manager, who blamed language barriers for limiting the number of organizations prepared to take asylum seekers as volunteers. Other respondents mentioned the likelihood that some asylum seekers volunteer purely for their own benefit, to help their claim as a challenge associated with volunteering:

… some of the volunteers that we've had, they come for their own benefit… You know, they need a letter for their solicitor to say that they are doing something and then when they get status… (Small Charity Service Manager)

the incentive will be to get citizenship and to just almost like sleepwalk through a volunteering programme, with the end result being you've got a tick in the right box… (WVO Service Manager)

Inter-organizational relationships

The volunteering element of the service provision involved considerable interaction with organizations from the public, but predominantly voluntary, sector who would take asylum seekers as volunteers.   Furthermore, the service manager referred to organizations that deal with asylum issues as 'a real mine of information'.

The adult literacy element of the service is funded by Arm's Length Local Authority and the service manager mentioned how this was linked to lots of paperwork and an expectation 'to do an awful lot for little.' Furthermore, the funding organization was said to encourage partnership working. Respondents from the stakeholder interviews also referred to the expectation from funders around partnership working: 'I know

when you're in community groups you're always asked to work closely with other people and develop things.' (Small Charity Service Manager)

Networking at the operational level was important for the adult literacy service manager, as she was seeking to build up links, exchange information and promote interest in services: 'I go into all the integration networks as well… to let people know who I am, which services I've got and through that I'm getting referrals.' Successful networking was associated with a 'who you know' mentality: 'So what happened was I already had networks because I did this type of job so I knew who to go to and I knew who to ask…' (DO Service Manager 2).

YOUNG PERSONS' GROUP

Nature of the service

The Young Persons' Group (YPG) is a thematic Social Inclusion Partnership which was set up to tackle the issues faced by young people leaving institutional care. The Board is comprised of key agencies involved in this work, such as Social Work, Housing and Education representatives from the Local Authority, the Health Board, Benefits Agency and Barnardos. Support was provided to young asylum seekers leaving care around housing, employment and training, health and well-being, and social support.

Data was collected through a service manager interview, a group interview with four young asylum seekers, and a direct observation of a session during which 13 young asylum seekers were present. The analysis table is presented in Appendix I.

The service manager interviewed worked on the front-line, directly with young asylum seekers. She was based in the Local Authority. The group provided information to young asylum seekers leaving social care, offered an opportunity for social interaction/friendship and was also used as a point of referral. The young people are aged 12 to 25 and approximately 47 people participated in the group at the time of the fieldwork.

Despite the focus on the group, the service manager also reflected upon the need to deal with individual needs.

It's not just been about the group, it's been about what their individual needs are as well. And there has been situations where young people have had different needs that's had to be addressed by different professionals... (YPG Service Manager)

This was reinforced during the observation when one of the participants raised concerns about his accommodation and complained that 'nobody was listening'. The issues raised by the young person were very personal and the service manager agreed to 'try and help'. This observation also highlighted the trust that the young person had for the service manager of the YPG. Indeed the young people generally

discussed the relationship with service providers as being on a personal level and the YPG service manager also described the relationship as a friendship but noted that there was a core element of professionalism as well.

During the group interview, the young asylum seekers spoke at length of the importance of developing relationships with social workers. The health of these varied between individuals, with some having positive reflections such as, 'my social worker is good to me', and others saying 'I don't have relationship with my social worker'. The young people described this as a 'personal thing': 'For my friend, they can't stand their social worker… It depends on the individual but mine is ok.'

Asylum seekers often mentioned the close relationship that they had with the Charity. This was attributed specifically the advocacy role the organization played: '[The Charity] have really helped me a lot… I am their kid! Their baby!'

Another challenge for the young people was their lack of knowledge about who to contact with their problems. However, some recognized that the YPG would assist them.

Individual co-production

The service manager explained that the YPG was set up in response to a recognized need 'for young people to have a voice and be recognized within the system' and to gaps in service provision: 'I think because of the shortfall in things like education, their care needs… I think there were lots of big gaps right across the way.'

Young people had sat on the Board of the Partnership, but that was no longer the case because of the unknown 'changes' ahead of the group (the service manager was unsure whether funding would be continued). Despite this, the service manager was of the view that the core aim of giving young people a voice was still achieved.

… unaccompanied young people's voices are still being heard through other routes and that's been fed into the Board when they've met, within papers and within other documents, within consultation papers and things like that…

The service manager referred to the use of dialogue that takes place with young people using the service, and said that she used that dialogue conduct the strategic part of her work, but also drew on the knowledge and experiences of the service users when working at a strategic level. Likewise, a policy respondent who represented a strategic player recognized that input from the ground level was crucial. Speaking of a former asylum seeker who attends and contributes to various workshops, the respondent noted: 'She understands the terms of reference because she's been through the process' (Government Agency)

Young people contributed to the content and format of group, with one respondent saying: 'Yeh, the majority wins. They ask us, don't they? Do we like it and if the majority say yes they go for it.' Indeed, the service manager for the group provided various examples of when they were involved in making decisions about the format of the group:

... we used to have the young people involved fortnightly. We've now got them involved monthly and that was down to them making that decision.

But again it's regularly reviewed and evaluated so young people can tell us, 'I don't want this, I want less of this and I want more of this'.

The observation confirmed this level involvement; the group decided on the format of the consultation exercise after they were given a choice about whether they worked together in a larger group or split off into smaller groups.

The group interview with asylum seekers also highlighted that services providers can play an invaluable part, not only providing asylum seekers with choice, but also helping them to make choices about services by providing them with information and advice: '… most of us we don't know our rights as a young person so they make sure that we know our rights… They'll tell us what our options are.'

While the service manager supported needs-led services, she argued that there was a need for professional support to manage the process and that it would be too difficult

to fully transfer responsibility to this particular set of service users. There was a need for administrative and professional support:

… in the early days we hoped that the group… begin to facilitate it, but I think to give somebody that responsibility of pulling together the group… I think it's harder for that to happen when there are new young people coming in as well. And I think they need that professional support as well. You know from workers who've got that expertise and knowledge... (YPG Service Manager)

A service manager from a voluntary organization reinforced that although there was a place for asylum seekers to contribute to the process of service production, there was a need for balance between their input and the contribution of professionals who know the systems, procedures and restrictions.

They don't necessarily see the restrictions, you know, the other issues the organization sees. So it might seem to be a bit unfair or we can't do that, but there's no reason behind that. So it's that kind of balance. (VCO AP Service Manager)

Consultation was a core element of the group's activities, with various organizations using the group as a means of accessing the young people. The observation conducted as part of this research illustrated this. A social care organization consulted the group about how they contribute to public service providers and would like to contribute in the future.

Respondents from larger VCOs were of the opinion that consultation was fundamental to service planning: 'What we're saying is you don't develop services for a client group without having clear ways of consulting with that client group' (Charity Service Manager). The stance from the YPG service manager fell along similar lines. She described some creative methods being used, highlighting that consultation is not confined to a formal written method, but tailored to the group being consulted: 'We've had a talking wall, you know put stuff up and draw bricks on the wall and we've just put post-its up as well.' Another respondent avoided form filling and instead tried to promote more novel approaches to evaluation:'…we don't ask people to fill in evaluation forms… We have creative ways if finding out how people do or if people enjoy things.' (Small VO Service Manager) Furthermore, for

the YPG service manager, feedback was a key element of consultation: 'Feedback's really, really important.'

The service manager recognized that engaging asylum seekers through consultation was a rewarding activity: '… just seeing young people coming together and having a voice… it's just amazing to see the development. It's such a high in my job.' However, the challenge of language barriers was witnessed during the observation of the YPG. Indeed, the group dynamic was, to some extent, lost with the presence of the interpreter, as the time taken for him to translate was causing some of the young people to lose concentration and chat among themselves. This difficulty was reinforced by the stakeholder interviews:

If you've got three or four interpreters… I've experienced this before at a meeting, a complicated meeting, where there was a lot of jargon. It can actually become really quite problematic. (Voluntary AP Service Manager)

In addition, the YPG service manager also noted further challenges. Firstly, the information being shared and discussed at the meeting might be inappropriate for asylum seekers; secondly, asylum seekers might not be equipped to contribute to such meetings; and third, some organizations sitting round the table might not welcome the views of the young asylum seekers.

… I think some things for a young person to hear first hand can be quite distressing… some young people's level of understanding, and the speed at which some things can take place as well can be quite frustrating.

There are some organizations that are very young person friendly and have an understanding of the value and importance of young people being there. Equally I think there are people who sit round tables and think 'what are these young people doing in here?' (YPG Service Manager)

The young people were also said to have a strong focus on education which limited the time they had to participate; an issue which was also clear from the stakeholder interviews. Furthermore, the service manager spoke of the success of engagement depending on the individual and the provision of appropriate mechanisms to reflect the necessary level of involvement.

I think it can be down to the individual. We've got some young people who are really dynamic and really fantastic and have no fear about entering any kind of environment… But equally sometimes some young people maybe don't quite know where the boundaries… and equally we've got some young people who fear and dread going into something but they do want to contribute and they do want to hear what's happening.

Before they get to the meeting they've kind of had… I don't mean a rehearsal as such but they've had some kind of briefing that they have an understanding and they've had some time to think and digest the information… (YPG Service Manager)

Mechanisms established to involve the indigenous population in particular, were described as inappropriate for asylum seekers:

… community reference groups are really to kind of articulate the work of the community planning partnerships and targets… And again it would certainly be an area of involving the asylum seeker community. But again they're totally under-represented, in fact they're not represented at all. But there's nothing obvious that would bar that involvement, apart from the barriers which we can't see which must be obviously very visible to asylum seekers. (YPG Service Manager)

Inter-organizational relationships

The YPG is rooted within a partnership between various organizations and it is these roots which the service manager describes as creating 'buy-in'. The YPG draws in various external partners to conduct different pieces of work, which is one of the key principles used to guide its partnership work: 'There isn't a group of partners that solely support the [YPG]. We go out and seek different partners to do different pieces of work.'

The group interview with young people and the observation demonstrated that various organizations had approached the group to collect information or consult the young people. Respondents recognized that an exchange of information between themselves and these organizations was valuable for both sides: 'You can get experience from them and information from us.'

The YPG service manager referred to the Charity as a key link in the chain, bonding service organizations on the coalface to strategic players: '[The Charity] are very involved with the Government… we get information back and that information that our group gathers gets fed back through that structure as well.'

Furthermore, the service manager was a member of the Practitioners Forum, run by the Charity. The Forum is used primarily for information exchange and keeping up-to-date with developments on the national level and also feeding information back to government. The respondent recognized the benefits of doing this collectively:

… sometimes some people don't really want to put their name to something or maybe their organization's not got that strength behind it but collectively there's a strength in the group…

This argument was also reflected during the stakeholder interviews, when a service manager from a PSO said that a challenge exists in encouraging an organization to take the lead in a joint initiative.

There aren't many organizations out there, in my opinion, that want to take the lead unless it's something that is going to be… A lot of publicity for them, where they're going to get a lot of attention… or it's going to look good for them. (PSO1 Service Manager)

Talking about partnership and past structures that had operated in the City, the YPG service manager said that having lots of partners round the table can be a challenge but also reflected on the different strengths of voice within the collectivity as a positive:

I've worked with a lot of different partners that have had a lot of strength and have made big differences but I think sometimes there are some partners that have got a louder voice. And I think that can affect other partners in a negative way and obviously kind of plays down some characters in a group as well.

She also commented upon the impact that dwindling resources can have on the potential for partnership working, causing people to 'make a choice between the care and getting out and about to meetings.' This point was also reflected in the stakeholder interviews. Time pressures and financial constraints were a challenge for partnership working, particularly for smaller service providers working directly on the coalface: 'I think the difficulty for most people is time and resources now… you get caught up with your own sort of thing.' (Small Charity Service Manager).

NETWORKS

In addition, to these six sub units, analysis of the preliminary findings suggested that two forms of network exist in Glasgow which are of interest to this research: Framework for Dialogue Groups and Integration Networks. Neither possessed clear organizational boundaries, being made up of various organizations which differentiates them from the six sub-units above. Nevertheless, they were still considered to be important mechanisms operating in the case which required exploration as sub-units of analysis.

The findings from each will be discussed in turn.

FRAMEWORK FOR DIALOGUE GROUP

The Framework for Dialogue Group (FFDG) was one of eight such groups operating in the city. They are intended to act both as a means of information provision and a forum for asylum seekers to influence the planning of services.

For this network, data was collected through the following methods: two service manager interviews (from PSOs working with FFDGs), six interviews with asylum seekers participating in the FFDGs and a direct observation (see Appendix J for the analysis table).

FFDGs are facilitated by and managed/administrated by a community development worker from the public sector and the Charity (at the time of this research, monetary constraints were causing the Charity to scale back its involvement with FFDGs). In the case that was observed, the FFDG was facilitated by PSO3 and the Charity. The groups are therefore professionally led. However, one such professional was concerned that they might act too much like a gatekeeper.

A lot of the stuff is channelled through 'David' or I, just because we've got the phone number, we've got the office space... I hope we don't too much act as gatekeepers or seem to be keeping people out… (PSO2 Service Manager)

Interestingly, the other service manager who facilitated another FFDG suggested that control over the group might be placed with asylum seekers in the future 'so that if

the workers supporting it are withdrawn, that there's still a mechanism for keeping it going'. (PSO3 Service Manager)

The Charity Service Manager discussed the idea that underpinned the groups: 'The idea is that the Framework for Dialogue increasingly provided a refugee/asylum seeker voice in the assessment of need process, the development of service bids and in the leadership of the networks themselves.' Indeed, the FFD structure provides a means through which asylum seekers can raise any issues with services to those sitting in more strategic positions.

So what you've got now on the basic level is people who get together on a neighbourhood level and they can in some cases take issues up to service level locally or at a bigger level. And they can take issues up with government in various ways, both at the Scottish level and the Westminster level. (Charity Service Manager)

The FFDG are linked to Integration Networks operating in the local areas, upon which various service providers sit to plan services together. One respondent described the two structures as having 'conterminous boundaries', with each sharing the function of 'building bonds' (Charity Service Manager). The direct link with Integration Networks provides asylum seekers participating in FFDG with access to service planning

Formally, the group's voice is heard in the local Integration Plan… They have to sign off on that plan as potential service users… apart from that, it's really up to the group members themselves to define what it is that they want their voice to be heard on. (PSO2 Service Manager)

The FFD Groups also link into the Scottish Refugee Policy Forum which is also open to all refugee community organizations and offers asylum seekers a voice at the strategic level.

… it's about trying to see the bigger picture, if you like to as well, because the SRPF, they have face to face meetings with the Home Office officials and things like that so it's a good opportunity for people to kind of get their involvement up a notch. (PSO2 Service Manager)

… the forum meets regularly with UKBA now, the immigration authorities, and one of the things they do is they make the proposals, they make propositions, and another thing they do is to complain and be oppositional. And sometimes as a result of that, of both of those

activities, things get changed and I would say that's the same with any service that folk engage with. (Charity Service Manager)

FFDG remit: information and consultation

FFDG were described as having a dual role, both as 'information provision networks' and 'consultation mechanisms'. As such, FFDGs were not providing services on their own, although some were running activities which placed them 'in a kind of hinterland' (Charity Service Manager). They were also considered to give asylum seekers a voice over services with one respondent describing them as mechanisms through which service providers can 'help them [asylum seekers] to help themselves' (Small VO Service Manager).

A number of public sector organizations, such as the Police, housing providers, Health Services and Fire Services, have utilised the FFD structure to provide information to asylum seekers; the information provided and organizations involved is led by asylum seeker needs: '… the group have raised that they feel that some of their information needs haven't been met and they want there to be a series of information briefings for the group…' (PSO3 Service Manager)

The FFDG observed during this study proved to have a strong element of information provision. It also provided an opportunity for service users to take some control, with participants being asked to take minutes and chair the meeting. Such an approach was confirmed by a service manager: 'as often as not, it's the group members involved in setting the agenda of the meetings.' (PSO2 Service Manager). However, the observation highlighted that such an approach was not without its challenges as the Chair of the group (who was an asylum seeker) did not appear to fully understand what was being said and often lost track of the discussions. Indeed, the entire session seemed to be led, predominantly by one service manager who dominated the conversation. She provided the group with a large amount of information about services that were available and programmes that were taking place and required participants. There was limited to no reaction to requests for volunteers and the asylum seekers generally seemed quite passive during most of the session.

The FFDGs are also unique in the sense that they bring many different groups together:

In all the other kind of dispersal cities, refugees have their own Congolese Association or Iraqi Community Association, but nobody's brought them together on this kind of cross cultural sort of basis and done the work that we're trying to do with the voluntary organizations and community groups to try and make sure that there's a kind of welcome embedded in the local service structures so that people don't find it difficult to access those kind of basic services. (PSO2 Service Manager)

At the FFDG observed for the purposes of this study, ten men and four women from Sudan, Somalia, the Ivory Coast and Eritrea were present at the session.

Another core function of the FFD structure is to create dialogue between asylum seekers and public service organizations.

… the agencies would lose if there was no Framework for Dialogue group because it's a group where people are available, people are quite open about giving their views about things… they are a good kind of avenue for community engagement for a number of organizations (PSO2 Service Manager)

A clear example of this was observed at the FFDG. During the session, the Charity conducted a 'sticky note' consultation exercise to gather views on its strategy and how the organization should progress. During this exercise, the asylum seekers attending the group were observed to be at their most active and seemed willing to contribute.

Challenges

When asked about the challenges surrounding the FFDG, the responses tended to be associated with logistical issues:

Well, we don't provide childcare unfortunately because we meet on the 28th floor and there's no crèche up there. Ideally you would be offering childcare, Language support, interpreting and resources. (PSO2 Service Manager)

But what you're up against at times is, when… they're still asylum seekers, quite often their focus can be poor, because it's quite hard work being an asylum seeker. (PSO3 Service Manager)

One respondent argued that the relationship between FFDGs and the Networks could be more direct: 'Ideally, the dialogue would be more direct' (PSO2 Service Manager). Furthermore, the idea that networks consult FFDGs is perhaps more a good intention than a working reality. Time constraints, resourcing issues, language barriers were all recognised as barriers that impede the involvement of FFD during network planning sessions. Thus, there was a reliance on the community development workers to represent the views coming from the FFDGs at Network meetings, rather than involving asylum seekers directly in service planning.

FFDG asylum seekers

Six asylum seekers were interviewed who were accessed through one of the FFDGs operating in the city. They were asked general questions around co-production and public services, rather than specifically around the FFDGs.

Asylum seekers broadly stated that they had input to services at the point of delivery. They typically associated this to the propensity of service providers to listen to their service needs and act upon them, with many recognising that service providers listen to them, while the Home Office do not.

Yes, everybody used to be asked what they would like to do next week and people's opinions used to be asked and they used to ask what people want to do. (AS3)

I get support and I'm listened to by all the organizations, like schools and GPs. The only organization that doesn't listen is the Home Office. (AS2)

The interviews highlighted that there was limited awareness and knowledge of the systems in operation, with respondents unsure where to complain if they have any concerns about the services they are using: 'I don't know where I would say my complaints.' (AS4)

Likewise, the asylum seekers who participated in the study were largely keen to speak up about the services they receive through participatory mechanisms: 'Nothing would stop me voicing my opinion' (AS5). However, there was some concern that views would not be listened to, highlighting the issue around tokenistic forms of

engagement: '… when we started, I felt that what we're going to say about it is just going to be thrown in the bin. It's not important for people. But after that we felt that we were heard...' (AS8).

The interviews also confirmed the importance of volunteering opportunities, with respondents recognizing that such places were crucial given their inability to work: 'I like volunteering because I'm not working' (AS6); 'I also volunteer in the community – I like it, I like helping people.' (AS5)

Asylum seeker respondents also broadly agreed that trust was 'important' (AS2). A trusting relationship was typically associated with the qualities espoused by service providers:

I can trust people if the people in this organization are good people, like X and Y and people from other groups. (AS8).

[The Charity] do listen but it depends on you speak to. Some help and some don't help. Some are very difficult. (AS5)

INTEGRATION NETWORK

The 'Integration Network' (IN) is one of ten such networks operating in the city. It comprises of members from across the voluntary and public sectors who are responsible for the delivery of services to asylum seekers. The group meets regularly to plan services in the area.

Data was collected through the following methods: four service manager interviews and a direct observation (see Appendix K for the analysis table).

IN were established to support asylum seekers and refugees and aid their integration into the Scottish community. The Community Planning Partnership has since altered the boundaries of the Networks, using them to take forward a broader agenda to include migrant workers and the settled BME communities. This has been challenging for some Networks in Glasgow. In the North, for example, the

population has traditionally been white working class and has never had a large BME population, meaning their resource levels have been reduced.

With the advent of the Community Planning Partnerships, there has also been a move from project to programme funding. Government money is allocated to service providers for the delivery of services through the networks. The networks have a responsibility for planning, delivering and evaluating services and also have to feed this information back to funders. The Charity Service Manager recognised that the integrated approach to planning through networks improves service effectiveness and efficiency.

... we want to see the network having a primacy in planning and delivering and monitoring what's happening locally. And it's not that helpful when you've got people operating in a maverick way and wasting money or duplicating services or whatever… So an integrated approach is something that we would favour.

The IN which was observed had been operating for a number of years and therefore was considered to have a 'good foundation'. The meeting was very professional and organized with the agenda being followed. Twenty people were present at the meeting representing various community organizations, voluntary organizations and PSOs (two representatives from the for-profit accommodation provider arrived late). The aim of the meeting was to exchange information and find opportunities to work together.

In total, only six people talked during the meeting and the development worker, PSO service manager and Chair were the main contributors. On the way out of the meeting the Chair commented that the meeting was relatively quiet but 'it's not usually like that… there are lots of new people.'

During the meeting the PSO service manager did a lot of chasing up and the development worker had to provide an explanation about what has been happening and why. There seemed to be some tension in the relationship between two individuals, although this was not confirmed during the interviews. The development worker spoke positively of his colleague:

Her raison d'etre for being there is to assist the development and support development, so she's got a wealth of knowledge and a wealth of understanding in integration activity at the local level, the Government level and UK level… which gives her dominance… (VCOAP Service Manager)

However, the service manager recognised that some individuals may be more vocal than others which is a difficulty resulting from the fact that organizations with diverse interests are coming round the table. Also some people may not have the confidence to speak up which led her to say: 'it's kind of up to me to stick my hand up and say, 'well, nobody's mentioned this yet,' (PSO2 Service Manager)

Partnership

The intention of the network structure is to create a structured collaborative approach. The respondents spoke of having joint planning sessions and are also expected to report to others round the table about what they were working on and there were examples of joint service provision. When asked about which organizations they worked with, one service manager said her organization worked on various levels

Both because through the Networks when you come together it's looking for decisions… we'll do something with other local organizations in the community and that may be statutory and may be voluntary; we don't differentiate between the two. (Small VO Service Manager)

The Network was considered to have strong foundations for partnership working because the partners share a 'common goal' and also because of the 'humanitarian' foundation of the work done by the network.

It's about acceptance and tolerance and breaking barriers. Where you may have instances of friction would be when there's a competition for funding, but there's no competition for funding as such. (VCOAP Service Manager)

Within the collaborative approach, trust was considered to be a central element which can make or break a partnership.

the key to a partnership, if you can get trust… You can have one or two partners that you don't particularly like, but can tolerate. If you all hated one another, it would just fall apart and we've seen it at certain times. (ALLA Service Manager)

The service manager from PSO2 listed various benefits of the network structure including: venue sharing; referrals to services; access to service users through FFDGs; and links to other networks across the city. She further argued that working together was 'crucial because the plan will be the basis on which we prioritise resource allocation… and there's a dwindling amount of money'.

The networks are responsible for developing their own Integration Plans. Here, organizations sitting round the table have an opportunity to contribute to the operational direction of the network. The approach is very much bottom-up which was considered as fundamental to the effectiveness of planning services and the services themselves.

… it comes very much from the coalface; it comes from the bottom… These guys know what they're talking about because they do it day in day out… If it was any other way it simply wouldn't function. (VCOAP Service Manager)

However, the effectiveness of planning was dependent upon people sitting round the table, raising pertinent issues and one respondent noted that important issues may be otherwise overlooked.

… once the Plan's all done and dusted and it's all been agreed, somebody comes and says, 'Oh by the way, there's nothing about Mental Health in that Plan… half the asylum seeking population have real Mental Health problems, so why's that not in the Plan…' Well, why did you not come to the Development Day, and you could have raised it then? (PSO2 Service Manager)

Indeed, having relevant organizations and agencies sitting round the table, sharing information and communicating with one another was said to improve service provision, making it easier for the appropriate organizations to be involved at appropriate times.

You've got Z, they supply housing, they're now bringing a lot more to the table… (PSO1 Service Manager)

So it's not just information, it is introducing to people, supporting you and saying, 'yeah, that could work, this works for us' (Small Charity Service Manager)

Partly it's about sharing information, about keeping everybody's knowledge up to date… are there trends that we need to know about and how do we respond to them as service providers? (PSO2 Service Manager)

However, another respondent recognised that sharing information about asylum seekers across organizational boundaries can be challenging and could harm any relationship that has been developed between the service provider and asylum seeker:

… when you're dealing with somebody's life and they're slowly telling you things, you've got to keep in mind they've come from military regimes, they've been raped, they've been beaten up… they're very mistrusting of authorities. (WVO Front Line 3)

Challenges of working together

One of the challenges of partnership working was that organizations might fear other organizations overstepping the boundaries and taking their responsibilities: 'There's always a fear, particularly when you work with partners, is that everybody will start wandering into everybody else's patch.' (ALLA Service Manager). This is associated with a fear of losing funding as a result of other players taking over core functions and therefore having a negative impact upon the lifespan of the organization. Indeed respondents considered the consequences for their business and sustainability of working in partnership, not simply whether there will be positive implications for the service users.

Partnership working can be particularly challenging in the early stages of the relationship where there is limited communication and a lack of clarity over each other's expectations.

It was grim to begin with. We were at each other's throats… And it took a wee while to kind of introduce some sort of agreed mechanism that we could start communicating. (ALLA Service Manager)

This respondent also said that in partnership working it is important to lay the parameters of the relationship clearly, equally stating what the organization can do

and what it cannot. However, speaking about planning for the network, another respondent spoke of extreme co-operation, which was considered to have potentially negative impact on service planning.

... people are very polite... Usually at meetings, anyway. Yes, I think this year we're getting somebody external to facilitate the day for the Network. So that may help us overcome any qualms that we might have about commenting on different services... (PSO2 Service Manager)

Another respondent inferred that she had a lack of trust for other organizations that were receiving funding but not doing their job:

... there's a lot around people getting money and not doing enough or passing people onto the service and then taking credit for, you know, that kind of thing... (Small Charity Service Manager)

A specific challenge for the networks was that individual service managers did not necessarily have the power to become involved in collaborative services or additional tasks due to workload pressures.

... people don't always have time to maybe do all the kind of follow-up stuff... everybody has their own job to do... doing something on behalf of the Network, is an added extra and is not integral to their role and that's an issue that we're struggling with sometimes. (PSO2 Service Manager)

This respondent also referred to gaps in relationships within the network:

It does highlight where we don't have those informal relationships though. I suppose the BME voluntary sector are doing their own thing... (PSO2 Service Manager)

There was a desire to involve asylum seekers more directly in the network process, but the challenge is how to achieve that involvement:

You know, the consensus on the Network is yes, we do. The next trick is well, how do you get that? How do you raise that? Working on it! (VCOAP Service Manager)

We would like people to come and actually be active members of the Network, rather than I have to take things back to the next Framework meeting and say, 'What do you think about this?' (PSO2 Service Manager)

One respondent spoke of their good intention to consult asylum seekers before the development day to lay out the Integration Plan, but that resourcing issues made that a challenge. There was a feeling that asylum seekers need to be involved through consultative mechanisms for their voice to be heard and filtered up higher echelons:

We always want to make sure that we precede our Development Day with some kind of consultation event or Open Day so that we make sure we've got the voices of Framework for Dialogue Group for example and other service users. (PSO2 Service Manager)

The benefit of the network structure is that the organizations sitting round the table tend to be actively involved with asylum seekers, providing services to them, and are therefore in a relatively good position to speak on their behalf. Furthermore, links with the FFDGs provide scope for asylum seeker involvement. Representatives sit on the FFDGs and are supposed to act as a conduit between those groups and the Integration Networks.

So one is used as a sort of agenda setting and an agenda checking tool and participation tool because the reps will go to networks. In that way, generally speaking, services we think meet people's needs quite well locally. (Charity Service Manager)

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Primary literature was sought and analysed to provide a greater understanding of the extent to which co-production exists in the case of asylum seekers and the narratives under which it exists.

Documents were analysed in each of the sub units – including the two networks - apart from the Accommodation Provider where no documentation could be accessed. Figure 7.1 (page 230) describes the various documents that were investigated in each case. The table also describes who the intended audience of each document was, providing greater context.

As Chapter five discussed, documentation was analysed through content analysis, where the frequency of words associated with co-production such as involvement, empower, consult, engage and choice were counted. The frequency will be used to establish the extent to which different organizations have embedded co-production within their policies and practices.

In addition to the quantitative element of the analysis, the context will also be examined through qualitative content analysis. This will ensure that the frequencies are not misconstrued by including the context within which individual words have been used in the text. The following contextual issues will be considered: subject matter; how co-production is viewed (favourably or not); what goals or intentions are revealed in relation to co-production; which actors are using these mechanisms.

	Documents	Description	Intended audience
CA	Programme Activity	Application for programme activity to IN. Describes how the service will contribute to integration activity, Glasgow's Single Outcome Agreement and the IN's priorities.	Integration Network
	Activity Budget	Details activities undertaken in 2008/09 as a result of IN funding and information about evaluation and outputs.	Integration Network
CB	2009 Report	Annual report detailing the aims and objectives of providing support to asylum seekers. Against these objectives, the report details the achievements made and the planned activities for the next 12 months.	Integration Network and other funders
HOrg	Information Guide	Information guide for new arrivals and refugees, which provides details of the City of Glasgow, support agencies, maps and public transport	Asylum seekers and refugees.
	Newspaper A, B, C and D (4 editions analysed)	Free newspaper that discusses refugee matters in Scotland. Includes interviews with asylum seekers, service providers and policy makers, and articles about asylum/refugee issues.	Policy makers, service providers, asylum seekers, refugees, indigenous population
DO	Strategy	Details the strategy for volunteering in Glasgow. Describes the national and local context before providing examples of how volunteering supports the key themes of Glasgow's Community Plan. It then outlines the core objectives of the strategy.	Policy makers and service managers
	Participant Agreement	Agreement signed by learners and tutors which establishes the ground rules for each party	Learners and tutors
	Web Page	Details the core aims of the DO and how to become a member of the organization.	Indigenous population and disadvantaged groups, including asylum seekers
YPG	Activities 2004-2008	Recordings of group activities from 2004 to 2008	YPG and funders
	Web Page	Describes YPG and its partners	Service users and other organizations
FFD	Background Information	Brief document that describes the process of establishing the FFDGs in Glasgow.	Policy makers and service managers
	Minutes	Minutes of a meeting of a FFDG	FFDG
IN	Information Booklet	Advertises various services in the area, as well as providing general information about the purpose of the IN.	Asylum seekers and refugees
	Development Plan	Details of the IN and its partners. Also describes the planning process and the local environment.	Integration Network and its partners, as well as policy makers
	Work Plan 2009-10	Describes key activities undertaken. Also suggests the lead agency for each piece of work, the resources required, resources committed and the timescale.	Integration Network and partners

Figure 7.1: List of documents analysed

Figure 7.2 below illustrates the total counts for all the documents analysed within each sub-unit of the case and the two networks. The discussion afterwards examines these counts by examining the contextual meaning of the words that have been used in the documentation.

	C A	CB	HORG	DO	YPG	FFD	IN	TOTAL
Involve(ment)	5	5	23	13	2	6	3	57
Participate	1	2	3	7	3	1	1	18
Engage(ment)	1		9	3	4	1		18
Contribute	2	1	12	20	1		4	40
Dialogue			5			12	6	23
Influence					2			2
Together	1		9				1	11
Support	3	16	84	28	1	2	23	157
Advice		4	40				6	50
Help	1	3	36	1			5	46
Advocacy			2					2
Campaign		1	1	1				3
Lobby			1				1	2
Partner(ship)	1	11	10	6	25	3	13	69
Network	5	6	15	2	1	11	25	65
Information	4	1	76	3	4	6	9	103
Complaint			3					3
Choice			3	5				8
Evaluation	2	1		1				4
Feedback	1		2		2	1		6
Voice		1	4				1	6
Empower(ment)			1	4				5
Consult(ation)			4		6	1	1	12
Volunteering		2	9	81			1	93
Active		2	3	6			3	14
Trust			1	1				2
Integration	7	1	16	1	2	6	36	69
Inclusion				1	2	1		4

Figure 7.2: Frequency of counts across sub-units and networks

The analysis of documents across the sub-units highlighted the focus of organizations on providing support, advice, help and information to asylum seekers. The high count for 'information' was also associated with the types of document that were analysed – e.g. the information guide produced by HOrg.

Sometimes the documents were helpful in clarifying the roles of the organizations or networks. The Information Booklet from the IN, for example, described the role of

the IN: 'The Network is not just about services, it is about local people and finding ways to support them to live, work, learn and socialize together regardless of race, religion or country of origin'. Furthermore, information which was for internal use provided background detail about the FFDGs. They emerged following a consultation by TSG which uncovered concerns over: the need to improve services for asylum seekers; the fact that asylum seekers could not work; the negative images of asylum seekers in the media; and anti-social behaviour towards asylum seekers. A group of asylum seekers agreed to take these issues forward to start a 'dialogue' with service providers.

Interestingly, the higher counts for 'support', 'advice', 'help' and 'information', were accompanied by smaller counts for words such as 'advocacy', 'lobby' and 'campaign', although these were mentioned by some VCS documentation. Church B, for example, made reference to a campaign to stop the deportation of a failed asylum seeker and the IN referred to lobbying around local policy issues as a key goal.

Documentation was also used to advertise services to asylum seekers, particularly when aimed at asylum seekers. The Humanitarian Organization information booklet, for example, provided the details of various support services. Furthermore, the Integration Network's information booklet, advertises the Network and asks for the involvement of people and projects who are committed to integration. The minutes from the FFDG meeting also suggested that various services are advertised through the group.

It was anticipated, through the theoretical work and the early analysis of the preliminary findings that certain words, such as 'involve', would be used as a proxy for co-production. Although there was a high count for the word 'involve', which appeared across the sub-units, the word was not typically associated with co-productive activities, perhaps suggesting the word was too broad. Indeed, Church A referred to the activities it was involved in, rather than referring to the involvement of asylum seekers. One of the newspapers from the Humanitarian Organization used

the word in the context of advertising a project: 'we would love you to be involved'. The Development Organization and Church B, however, referred to projects/services that volunteers were 'involved in' to support asylum seekers. Church B also referred to the 'involvement' of asylum seekers in shaping the services that they 'participate in'. This suggests that different narratives were being used across organizations.

The newspapers produced by the Humanitarian Organization also used the word 'involve' in a negative sense, referring for example to asylum cases: 'people who are involved in the illicit transfer of goods get involved in the illicit transfer of people'; 'it can involve detention'. However, in the same documents, it was also used to explain the conduct of asylum seekers in organizations (e.g. women were involved in the development of an organization; getting people 'involved' in volunteering) and sometimes even to refer to partnership (e.g. 'involve' statutory agencies and voluntary organizations).

The word 'choice' was used in a similar manner, referring mainly to 'no-choice dispersal' rather than choice over services, which may be associated to ideas of co-production (e.g. HOrg). Documents from the Development Organization, on the other hand, referred to volunteering as a 'choice', suggesting that asylum seekers have a choice over the extent of their involvement.

Other words that might have been associated with co-production were also found. Consultation was mentioned both as a means of gathering views from asylum seekers and other organizations (e.g. HOrg). One of the newspapers also discussed 'no consultation' prior to dispersal – referring to consultation with indigenous population rather than asylum seekers. In the case of the YPG, consultation was with young people, but the documents highlighted how the YPG acts as a conduit through which other organizations/partners can consult the group and also that the group can act as a 'feed back' mechanism from the young people to other organizations.

The documents from the IN pointed to consultation as a way of promoting integration. For example, one activity detailed in the work plan was the provision of

a sports and arts programme to integrate young asylum seekers and refugees. Another was to build on links with local schools to promote integration with the indigenous population.

The documents from the Humanitarian Organization made one reference to the 'empowerment' of asylum seekers; this was associated with giving them the capacity to communicate. Interestingly, 'voice' did not receive a high count. Church B used 'voice' around the issue of asylum claims, rather than the services they receive. Likewise, 'dialogue' was not typically used in the context of having a dialogue with asylum seekers, as might have been expected. Indeed, the Humanitarian Organization documents mentioned 'dialogue about asylum seekers' and 'dialogue between organizations'. The FFDG documentation was the only example of dialogue being used in a different context, referring to 'ongoing dialogue' between asylum seekers and refugees and partner organizations. 'Evaluation' did not receive high counts and where it was found it was typically associated with a requirement of funding (e.g. Church A).

The word 'engagement' was used in the documents from the Young Persons' Group to refer to engaging other organizations in partnership and likewise, 'participation' was a role directly attributed to partners. 'Participation' was also used to refer to participation in services and volunteering. For example, the Development Organization described volunteering as 'direct engagement with the community and active civic participation'. Church A also referred to the after-school drop-in service as a way of allowing asylum seekers to 'engage' with the 'volunteers' running the services.

In documentation from the Young Persons' Group, 'partnership' was used to describe the set-up of the group. However, the analysis also highlighted the broad aims of the Young Persons' Group: to engage with other organizations, influence the policy and practice of partners and create innovative approaches through 'partnership'.

The SIP was not designed to be directly involved with service delivery. It set out to influence the policy and practice of its partners and to link into existing agencies which provided services to care leavers. By linking into existing partnerships and joint planning frameworks, there was a greater opportunity for the innovative approaches that were developed to become part of the mainstream activities of partners.

Partnership was also referenced on the operational level, during the delivery of services; for example, the FFDG discussed the partnership between the Charity and Scottish Government to support public service delivery. In the Humanitarian Organization documents reference to 'partnership' tends to be associated with joint projects or services and is also related to making improvements to services and the asylum system. Church B referred to 'partnerships' with local organizations. Working 'together' was used as a way of describing the partnership approach in Scotland (e.g. HOrg). Documentation from the IN confirmed that partnership working was also conducted around the planning of services locally.

The reference to 'integration' and 'networks' in the documents from the Integration Network referred mainly to the name of the group (this was also the case for the high count of 'network' in the documents from the Humanitarian Organization). However, the documentation also referred to integration as a core goal. For example, one Humanitarian Organization newspaper referred to integration from arrival as 'essential' and that organizations and communities had to 'work together' to achieve 'integration'. The documents from the Humanitarian Organization also confirmed the Scottish Government's commitment of the integration of asylum seekers and also spoke of re-integrating asylum seekers.

The integration of asylum seekers in the community through service provision and projects was also paramount for some organizations. For example, the Church A's application for funding referred to the Mother and Toddlers' Group providing a space where 'children are able to mix and play together'. Church B also associated participation with a broader goal, stating that participation in services promoted 'integration'.

The documents also discussed volunteering as a vehicle for integration. Indeed, the issue of 'volunteering' was counted nine times for the Humanitarian Organization's documents; they also referred to 'volunteers' on fifty-five occasions, detailing the opportunities for volunteers on various projects.

All of the documents from across the sub-units referred to 'volunteers' or 'volunteering' suggesting that volunteering was a core element of the various organizations' work, whether that be asylum seekers volunteering or the indigenous population. Church B, for example, provided volunteering opportunities for 11 asylum seekers and 22 local people. The documents from the DO had a high count for 'volunteering' and 'volunteer' because this was a core component of the service provided by that organization. Its strategy discussed the need to increase the 'participation' of under represented groups. Volunteering, it suggested, contributes to wider policy objectives, such as social inclusion and also contributes to personal outcomes (e.g. empowerment), leading to benefits on the social and individual levels.

Figure 7.3 below presents the counts across documentation of the actors that could co-produce, to try and understand how asylum seekers are viewed by service providers and also to examine which types of organizations are working across organizational boundaries.

	C A	CB	HORG	DO	YPG	FFD	IN	TOTAL
Service user	3	1					1	5
Customer			3					3
Consumer			2					2
Client		12	1	1				14
Volunteer	6	19	55	78	2	1	3	164
Community Org			4	1		1		6
Voluntary Sector/Org			7	8	1	1	1	18
Charity		1	6	1				8
Third sector							2	2
Statutory Org			5		1	1		7
Government			4					4
Public sector				4			2	6
Private sector		1		4				5
Expert			1					1

Figure 7.3: Frequency of actors across documents

One of the documents examined from Church A's, an application for funding, referred to service users and volunteers as the main actors in the service provision. Indeed, volunteers were key actors in services, being mentioned across the documents and referring both to asylum seekers becoming volunteers and those volunteers providing services to asylum seekers. Church B also referred to service users linking this role to asylum seekers having a voice in planning the services they receive.

Asylum seekers were also described as 'clients' by three organizations. Church B referred to asylum seeker service users as 'clients' who it wanted to 'attract' to services. Although there were a few counts for customer and consumer, these mainly referred to dialogue around for-profit organizations rather than public services. These did not seem to be terms used to describe asylum seekers using public services.

The voluntary sector, charities, community organizations and third sector were mentioned on 34 occasions in total. This reflects the environment of public service provision for asylum seekers. However, that is not to say that statutory agencies and the government were not mentioned. The Government Agency plays a fundamental role in policy making around immigration and the documentation confirmed the role of the Scottish Government in promoting integration.

The word 'expert' was only found in a document emanating from the Humanitarian Organization; it was used to refer to the Charity which was viewed as having the necessary expertise to 'provide solutions'.

SUMMARY AND INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

The analysis has shown that various welfare services are delivered to asylum seekers in Glasgow from a range of organizations, including small community organizations, larger voluntary organizations and public sector organizations. The services provided by organizations included statutory service such as housing, but were dominated by responsive services that aimed to fill gaps in service provision and meet the needs of asylum seekers (e.g. English classes and drop-in sessions), as well as information provision about the services available.

The goal of integration underpinned the majority of the services explored. Indeed, integration was described both as a policy goal of the Scottish Government and also an aim of services. There were however challenges of getting certain groups to integrate and even to use the services; this was particularly so in the case of male asylum seekers.

The analysis has illustrated the presence of different types of co-production at the level of individuals and organizations.

The analysis suggests that different service relationships exist. On one level, relationships were described as friendships and this was linked to building trust (e.g. CA and CB), but others described the service relationship as professional (e.g. AP and HOrg). Interestingly, the analysis of Church A suggests that by developing friendships, the service manager was able to build a trusting professional relationship with asylum seekers, allowing her to provide advice and information.

Building trust was generally considered a challenging task, given asylum seekers' lack of trust for authorities and was thus a long and slow process of relationship building. First encounters with asylum seekers and dialogue were important to building trust and establishing needs.

Asylum seekers were described as service users, clients, learners and people, but not consumers or customers, given their limited capacity to make choices. Indeed, there

was widespread recognition that asylum seekers were housed on a no-choice basis. They were considered to exercise some choice over services, but this was limited by postcode and language barriers.

Although various service providers had complaints procedures, asylum seekers seemed wary of making complaints. This was interesting given that other asylum seekers mentioned their willingness to voice opinions, although they were concerned that they would not be listened to.

Formal and informal types of service evaluation were found. Services were evaluated both as a funding requirement in relation to value for money and also to make improvements, ensuring that they met needs.

Many of the services were volunteer-led. Although the services observed were predominantly using volunteers from the indigenous population, the Development Organization suggested that there were opportunities for asylum seekers to volunteer, which was beneficial to them and wider society. Asylum seekers also suggested that they enjoyed volunteering.

Encouraging asylum seekers to contribute to operational service planning was considered to increase their commitment to the services and lead to feelings of ownership. This was seen to have a positive impact on the service. However, tokenistic forms of co-production during operational service planning were witnessed. Furthermore, although FFDG was promoted as means a of asylum seekers to contribute to the Integration Network, this was not shown in practice. It was however used as an effective consultation mechanism for organizations that wish to capture the views of asylum seekers on a particular issue. Other participative mechanisms used with the indigenous population were not open to asylum seekers.

The Humanitarian Organization's orientation service was a good example of a completely client-led service which was planned and executed on the individual level and based on trust and strong professional relationship. The literacy services

provided by the Development Organization also followed a learner-led approach, where the learners had choices and there was flexibility during service delivery to shape the focus of the class, although this was a less personalized group setting. The Young Persons' Group had made attempts in the past to place asylum seekers on the Board but the service manager suggested that a balance needed to be struck between needs-led and professional knowledge, which considered formal processes and limitations.

The challenges to co-production during service planning were associated with language barriers and time. There was a split in responses over the willingness of asylum seekers to engage. Interestingly, professional ambivalence to asylum seeker co-production during planning was not mentioned during the interviews, although the observations suggested that in certain cases, service providers were providing tokenistic opportunities to engage in service planning.

Inter-organizational working was promoted by the SG but was also deemed by some as a personal choice. Respondents generally spoke positively of partnership and networking, as these relationships allowed them easy access to advice and help. Established structures and organizational remits were also considered to create a viable environment for inter-organizational relationships.

The Integration Network was well attended but the observation suggested that only a few contributed to the discussions. Furthermore, although the Integration Network subscribes to a joint planning approach which was described as bottom-up, the effectiveness of planning was also dependent on the contributions of all. Members of the Integration Network also described the challenges of working together, suggesting the process was more time consuming and resource intensive. There were also concerns about overstepping boundaries or taking responsibility.

Inter-organizational working was linked to strong personal relationships between individuals in organizations, particularly between those at the top who are responsible for steering the direction of the organization. Furthermore, the Charity

was placed in a central position both as a key service provider for asylum seekers but also a link between organizations.

There was only one example of a contract relationship and this was described as relatively strained. However, respondents generally described the Government Agency as more challenging to work with, given the differences between the UK and Scottish Government's approach to integration. Some respondents suggested that the Government Agency was willing to listen to views so long as they were distilled and based on evidence.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present a discussion and interpretation of the research findings in relation to the theory. It will seek to explore the applicability of the two conceptual frameworks developed in chapters two and three by making sense of the data reported in chapters six and seven.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first revisits the conceptual frameworks which have been developed to differentiate and better understand co-production in a public services setting. The second part considers the three empirical research questions: to what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship? Can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship? And is individual service user co-production is a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations? In doing so, it focuses on the five modes of co-production, drawing on the empirical case to discuss the nature of each and the implications for citizenship and social inclusion.

Revisiting The Conceptual Frameworks

The analysis of the policy documentation suggests that co-production is a murky concept, being used to describe different types and levels of service user involvement in both policy design and service planning and delivery. This finding confirms the need for greater conceptual work around the concept of co-production and for the purposes of this thesis, the focus has been on the operational level of service planning and delivery.

Chapter two argued that the theory on co-production from two distinct bodies of literature (public administration/management and services management) are conceptually different. The integration of these theories arguably aids our understanding of the nature of co-production. Through this integration two conceptual frameworks were developed.

The first (illustrated below in Figure 8.1) draws together the two theories on co-production at the level of the individual service user. It suggests that there are three potential modes of co-production for the individual service user – a consumer mode, a participative mode and an enhanced mode.

Consumer co-production	Participative co-production	Enhanced co-production
Consumer co-production results from the inseparability of production and consumption during the service encounter and focuses upon the engagement of the consumer in the service production process in order to maximize his satisfaction with the service	Participative mechanisms, such as consultation to co-produce services to achieve broader societal aims (e.g. integration). Also includes consumer mechanisms, such as choice and complaints procedures to make service improvements.	The co-design of service innovations under the goal of service improvement and to enhance the achievement of public policy objectives. The role of the service user is embedded into whole service process to develop personalized experiences.

Figure 8.1: Individual modes of co-production

Locating the various types of co-production was achieved through examining which defining characteristics were present in each sub-unit analysed within the case study.

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The three modes of individual co-production were distinguished by the following characteristics.

Consumer co-production was defined as an inherent component of service production due to the nature of services, which are characterized by the inseparability of production and consumption (Normann, 1991; Nankervis, 2005; Gronroos, 2007). Co-production is thus *involuntary and unavoidable* on the part of both the service user and PSO.

While the goal of consumer co-production is service user satisfaction, *participative* co-production is concerned with achieving added value and typically a broader social goal. The mechanisms supporting participative co-production have been divided into two categories. They have, on one hand, been associated with the NPM agenda and the marketisation of public services, empowering service users as consumers who can exercise choice, complaints and evaluation during service delivery (e.g. Greener, 2007) and, on the other, with mechanisms typically associated with citizen participation such as consultation, volunteering where the service user may contribute during service delivery and planning (e.g. Pestoff, 2006; Bovaird, 2009). Service users can thus take on a more active role in service production than co-producing solely through consumption. However, the type and extent of the role they play in co-production is determined by the PSO, depending on what goal is aspired to.

Finally, the *enhanced* mode of co-production is based upon an integrated view of the theories. It relates to service reform and innovation and includes the idea of co-creation forwarded by Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000). Co-creation has been defined as the personalization of the service experience through an active and equal dialogue between service provider and user with the aim of satisfying latent needs (Kristensson et al 2008). This is characterized by the involvement of service users throughout the service production process (rather than simply during service delivery as is the case in consumer co-production) and typically involves their long-term, embedded involvement to create a 'personalized' service experience (Prahalad and

Ramaswamy, 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2008). An example of this might be self-directed-support where the service user or their guardian has control over a care budget and can decide how it is spent. Thus, the service user is not restricted to making pre-determined choices that are guided by the PSO and which would fall under participative forms of co-production. Rather the service user exerts greater agency over their whole care package, within the confines of the budget. The role of the PSO is one of facilitation rather than direction (Zwick et al, 2008).

The discussion has further suggested that enhanced co-production also includes the co-design of service innovations with the goal of enhancing the achievement of public policy objectives. Service users potentially have knowledge or 'sticky information' that is important for the innovation and customization of services according to need, but difficult for service providers to acquire and transfer (von Hippel, 1998). Other users can benefit from these innovations if they are freely shared (von Hippel, 2007). Thus, co-production has the potential to benefit on both the private and public levels.

The second framework builds on these individual modes to include an organizational dimension, suggesting relationships exist also between PSOs and VCOs in the co-production of public services. The five dimensions are illustrated in the typology below (Figure 8.2).
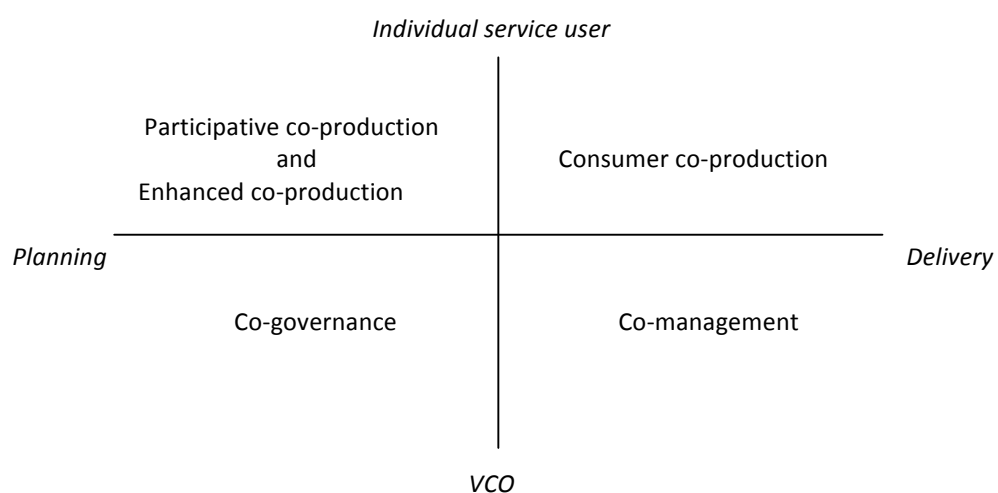
Figure 8.2: Typology of co-production

On the vertical axis, the typology illustrates that either individual service users or VCOs can co-produce public services with PSOs. The horizontal access shows that either party can co-produce during service delivery and/or decision-making about the services.

At the organizational level, co-production is differentiated in two ways according to the location of VCO involvement. Co-management describes instances where VCOs contribute to service *delivery* and co-governance refers to the role of VCOs in the planning *and* delivery of services (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006; Pestoff et al, 2006).

These frameworks were used to examine and differentiate the types of co-production that exist in the case of asylum seekers and the social welfare services they receive in Glasgow. The following three empirical questions were considered: to what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship? Can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship? And is individual service user co-production a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations?

The study took a mixed methods approach and comprised of three broad stages: policy interviews; a postal survey of public service organizations providing welfare services to asylum seekers in Glasgow; and an embedded case study, which involved a series of interviews with service managers, front-line staff and asylum seekers, direct observations and document analysis.

The focus of the remainder of this chapter will be a discussion of the empirical findings in light of the theoretical work with the aim of answering the research questions.

TO WHAT EXTENT IS CO-PRODUCTION DEPENDENT UPON CITIZENSHIP?

Asylum seekers: non-citizens but public service users

A central issue to this thesis is the position of asylum seekers as non-citizens. Chapter four described asylum seekers as a marginal and disenfranchised group who do not possess the political agency necessary for citizenship (Haikio, 2010) and as such are typically described as the 'Other' with limited rights (Cemlyn and Briskman, 2003; Choules, 2006). Indeed, asylum seekers do not have political agency equal to that of the indigenous population, given their legal status and they do not have equal levels of economic agency because they are not permitted to work for remuneration.

The status of asylum seekers as non-citizens prevents their engagement at the UK policy-making level. Asylum seekers were generally described as 'powerless', with immigration legislation and policies restricting their capacity to contribute to civic life. However, asylum seekers were also described as *public service users* and as such their involvement in the co-production of services was generally regarded as integral to service production. Public service providers spoke of the importance of asylum seeker co-production to ensure buy-in and use of the services.

Although asylum seekers are firmly positioned, legally, as non-citizens in Scotland (and the rest of the UK), they *are* positioned as public service users. This can arguably lead to a juxtaposition of their status and the role they can play through the co-production of services. Asylum seekers are not privy to economic and political participation afforded to citizens, but there are opportunities for the co-production of services and social participation through community groups. Niiranen (1999) has suggested that citizenship can be attached to individual rights, where individuals as a user and consumer of public services make use of associated consumer rights. Their role as public *service user* is therefore crucial. The following discussion suggests that as public service users, asylum seekers can co-produce on various levels regardless of their citizenship status.

Asylum seekers: public service clients

PSOs typically referred to service users as clients rather than customers or consumers, focusing on serving their needs but also reflecting on the fact that asylum seekers have limited capacity to make choices particularly when it came to housing. *Client* has associations with the public administration era when service users were treated as passive and dependent (Christenssen and Laegried, 2002), while the term consumer has typically been tied to NPM, often with some criticism (Bovaird, 2007; Meijer, 2011).

The public administration literature took two diverging perspectives on viewing clients as co-producers. Some suggested that 'client' was inappropriate for co-production as it suggests the service user is passive and dependent upon the service provider (Whitaker, 1980; Levine and Fisher, 1984; Ostrom, 1996). Nevertheless, Alford (1998, 2002) suggests that through co-production, service users play a dual role of recipient and producer, which arguably reflects the notion of inseparability discussed in the service management literature, and he suggests that without client responsiveness, the service can fail. He draws a distinction between client-PSO relationships and customer transactions in the private sector. Making reference to the social exchange perspective, Alford (2002) discusses how trust, co-operation and compliance are central to the relationship between the government and service users.

The analysis further suggested a preference among certain service providers to refer to and treat asylum seekers as people rather than using consumer or client, and also to use more specific terms relating to the type of service being produced, such as learner. The disagreement over what public service users should be called was recognized by Jung (2010), who suggests that a lack of clarity about respective roles could result.

Locating individual modes of co-production

Each of the individual modes of co-production differentiated were clearly identified during the case study. Figure 8.3 on the following page illustrates that different modes of co-production co-exist within the case study sub-units.

	CA	CB	AP	H.Org	DO	YPG
Consumer co-production	X	X	X	X	X	X
Participative co-production		X		X	X	X
Enhanced co-production				X	X	

Figure 8.3: The existence of individual co-production across case study sub-units

Individual modes of co-production were more apparent through the observations and interview data, rather than the document analysis. Indeed, the document analysis found examples of asylum seeker 'involvement' but there were low or no counts for words such as 'empowerment', 'voice' and 'dialogue', and when they were found they were not in the context of co-production. This perhaps suggests that co-production is not immersed into organizations' planning, but the interview data does not uphold this argument. Instead, it might be better to describe co-production as integral to the service production process and therefore not always aspired to directly. Furthermore, the consumer mode of co-production may take place without being consciously recognized by public sector managers given its involuntary and unavoidable nature.

Consumer Co-production

Figure 8.3 illustrates the presence of consumer co-production in all of the organizations delivering public services: where there was a service encounter, there was consumer co-production.

This suggests that as a service user, an individual never plays a passive role and emphasizes the inherently relational nature of the service production process (Dunston et al, 2009). In its most basic form, co-production is predicated upon dialogue and interaction between the service provider and service user during the

service encounter; it emerges from the inseparable nature of production and consumption (Normann, 1991; Gronroos, 2007). Indeed, respondents attributed importance to the service interaction as a means of building a relationship and trust with the vulnerable group of service users.

According to the basic premise of co-production from the services management theory, productivity and quality are interrelated in the service process; as the customer participates in the service process they influence the service outcome and ultimately their own satisfaction with the service (Normann, 1991; Gronroos, 2007; Glushko and Tabas, 2009). Each service encounter observed during the fieldwork involved face-to-face interactions between the service user and front-line provider. The relationships observed reflected Normann's (1991) conception of the 'moment of truth' in service relationships and the importance of individual interactions and relationships at the point of service delivery (Johnston and Clark, 2008).

The findings further suggest that any value or service user satisfaction gained from the service is dependent upon how well the customer and front-line staff relate to one another (Nankervis, 2005; Gronroos, 2007). This was demonstrated clearly during the interviews with those asylum seekers from the Young Persons' Group. They described their relationships with social workers as ultimately a 'personal thing' and whether it was described as a good or bad relationship seemed to depend upon whether they felt their service needs were being met. Likewise, various front-line staff were at pains to point out the importance of developing relationships and build trust with those whom they described as a vulnerable and marginalized group of services users. Developing relationships through the service interaction was also suggested as critical to meeting need and ensuring that asylum seekers were accessing the public services they required (and to ensure service uptake in order to secure long-term funding for the service).

Consumer co-production was typically demonstrated through examples of services which had been designed by the public service organization, and which therefore offered predefined services to asylum seekers (Bolzan and Gale, 2002), who had no

involvement in design/planning process. This was again demonstrated in the case of the Young Persons' Group, where the service users contributed to the content and format of the group during the service delivery but to a much lesser extent during operational service planning, which was conducted by various agencies involved in the Social Inclusion Partnership.

Interestingly, in two sub units – Church A and the Accommodation Provider - consumer co-production was the only form of individual co-production that was evidenced. Although Church A had an asylum seeker 'volunteer' involved in part of their services, the analysis suggested that her role was much more withdrawn compared to those volunteers from the indigenous population. Indeed, she spoke of making use of the service as a means of integrating with others but there was little evidence to suggest that she was contributing as a volunteer.

The Accommodation Provider similarly, provided a core service but also offered support and advice to asylum seekers. Developing relationships and building trust with clients was deemed crucial to meeting need. The Accommodation Provider relied on asylum seekers sharing information and communicating their needs to ensure that they (or other PSOs) could deliver appropriate services. This further suggests that service users play an active role during the service delivery process (Nankervis, 2005; Gronroos, 2007; Normann. 1991) and emphasizes that as processes, services rely on interaction to achieve satisfaction (Gronroos, 2007).

Participative co-production

In the second mode, co-production extends beyond the consumption logic of a single service into the entire service production process, including planning and evaluation. Participative forms of co-production have been associated with efforts to improve democracy (Alford, 2002; Bovaird, 2007) by empowering public service users to contribute through various participative mechanisms. These included both mechanisms associated with citizen participation, including consultation, and also consumer mechanisms, such as choice and complaints' procedures, which were also discussed in the services management literature.

As was made clear in the early chapters of this thesis, the interest here is service planning rather than upstream policy formulation. Thus, the focus is on the role of participative co-production during implementation of public services, including planning, delivery and evaluation.

Four of the sub-units investigated evidenced participative co-production (see Figure 8.3). Asylum seekers co-produced through various mechanisms of which feedback, consultation and choice were the most prominent. Essentially then participative co-production was found to take place both through consumer and citizen participation mechanisms.

Consumer mechanisms

Although PSOs were wary of describing service users as consumers ('client' was the preferred term), market mechanisms were in operation, with asylum seeker consumers given some leeway to make individual choices over the services they received. On a basic level, and with the exception of housing, asylum seekers were largely able to choose and exit social welfare services, which typically took the form of drop-in sessions and adult education (as opposed to essential mainstream services such as healthcare or education). Providing choice and information sharing was considered necessary to ensure service user commitment and confidence in their role in service production.

The services provided by VCOs for asylum seekers were provided on a voluntary basis; asylum seekers have a choice over whether they use services and also the extent of their involvement. Choice was generally restricted (e.g. by postcode, language barriers) but provides some opportunity empowerment through active involvement (Parks et al, 1981). Indeed, services were advertised through the FFDGs and although a large degree of competition was not witnessed, PSOs reflected upon the need to retain service users to ensure funding and therefore the longevity of the services.

The availability of channels to complain about services, and particularly statutory care services, was also viewed by some as important and as a significant conduit for social inclusion for such a highly marginalized group. However, there has been some skepticism raised in the public administration theory to suggest that consumer mechanisms do not result in the inclusion of marginalized groups (Bolzan and Gale, 2002). Two predominant methods of complaint were uncovered during the research: direct complaints to organizations responsible for service provision or policy-making; and complaint via a mediating organization that voiced opinions/concerns to PSOs on the behalf of asylum seekers. Complaints through mediating organizations seemed to be the preferred option for both public service providers and asylum seeker service users. While service providers highlighted a preference for complaints and feedback to be collated, asylum seekers showed some confusion over which organizations were responsible for which services and were therefore unclear of who to raise complaints with.

There were also various examples of PSOs obtaining feedback or seeking to formally evaluate the services they provide. Indeed, the majority of PSOs interviewed said they were doing some form of evaluation. Polarized examples of evaluation emerged from the study, with more or less formalized approaches being used. Regular feedback and evaluation was considered to establish service user input and also ensure services were needs-led. PSOs were generally willing to modify the service in line with the service users' feedback and needs, proactively responding to their feedback rather than just evaluating for the sake of it or to tick a box with funders. Indeed, evaluation can be linked to accountability; not simply to government funders, but the rest of the voluntary sector and the clients they provide services to.

Citizen participation mechanisms

Asylum seekers co-produced during operational service planning, as opposed to policy making, where the area of immigration is reserved to the UK Government, (this was often mentioned by respondents as being outwith the realms of co-production for asylum seekers). The VCS was described as more inclined to facilitate co-production during service planning, but this was challenging. Indeed,

respondents from across the public and voluntary sector spoke of attempting to involve asylum seekers in network planning sessions or board meetings, but mentioned logistical difficulties (e.g. language barriers) and also sometimes the unwillingness of organizations to have asylum seekers contribute.

Mechanisms such as consultation were embedded during operational service planning and delivery. Various respondents discussed the issue of providing asylum seekers with a 'voice', whether it is through an organized meeting such as a Residents' Association or by expressing their views via the Framework for Dialogue structures that exist. For example, the Charity used group-based brainstorming events through sticky note exercises in order to gather views on reviewing its organizational strategy during a FFD meeting which was observed. Such an exercise capitalized both on the inseparability of service production and consumption and on the relaxed atmosphere in which PSOs had established trust with the asylum seekers.

Framework for Dialogue Groups (FFDG) operating throughout the city were also used as 'information provision networks'. The analysis showed that although there was potential for the FFDG structures to be used as consultative mechanisms, providing easy access to a group of asylum seekers, their use seemed to centre strongly on information provision. Although, this sits at the lower end of Arnstein's (1969) ladder, information is arguably a core element of participative co-production. Indeed, much of the information provided was about available services and opportunities to participate in the service production process.

PSOs from the VCS invariably provided volunteering opportunities for asylum seekers or encouraged them to volunteer for other PSOs. Volunteering was considered to lead to a host of benefits for asylum seekers including improving their English language, fostering cultural exchange and giving them a sense of self-worth through engaging with the community. Asylum seeker volunteers were seen, in some instances, to improve service provision (Ferris, 1988) given their experience and cultural knowledge. Thus, the associated benefits of volunteering were tied to both social inclusion and service improvement. Volunteering was not, however,

confined to service delivery. Respondents from across the public and third sector spoke of attempting to involve asylum seekers in network planning sessions or board meetings.

One of the key challenges that arises from volunteering, according to service providers, was the likelihood that some asylum seekers volunteer purely for their own benefit to help their claim. Indeed, a couple of respondents raised the possible issue about volunteering being potentially about helping a case for asylum rather than giving anything back to the community or improving the service for others.

Challenges of participative co-production

Various other challenges were raised in relation to participative co-production. There was a belief among a few respondents that public services required professional management. Associated to this, there were suggestions that extending the role of the service user was not warranted because of their lack of experience or understanding of the service production process, a suggestion that was also made in the public administration literature (Percy, 1983). For example, in the case of the Young Persons' Group, professional support was considered imperative to the effective delivery of services and although asylum seekers had previously been contributed to the Board, some organizational representatives did not welcome such an approach. This is perhaps indicative of the presence of a service user – provider dichotomy, where the professionals retain power and control over the process of service production (Bolzan and Gale, 2002). This can be contrasted with the work of von Hippel (1998) who argues that service users can possess 'sticky information' which professionals do not hold and therefore have an important contribution to make in terms of service innovation and customization.

Other staff comments also reflected the professional ambivalence to forms of participative co-production, arguing that it was not always appropriate for asylum seekers to be directly involved in decision making at a strategic level, either because they were not equipped for this level of involvement or because these strategic issues were deemed inappropriate for discussion with asylum seekers as service users. This

was also discussed in the theory, where it was suggested that professionals might resent or resist the inclusion of untrained and inexperienced service users in the public services production process (Pestoff, 2006; Bovaird, 2007).

Asylum seekers were generally considered to engage through participative mechanisms but consulting asylum seekers was a challenge for some PSOs. Although various community mechanisms were in place to facilitate wider consultation among the indigenous population about public services, respondents recognized that asylum seekers did not engage with such mechanisms. This finding suggests that, as Bovaird (2007) highlights, participative forms of co-production, may be more suited to well off sections of society. Respondents suggested that there were two potential reasons for this: the mechanisms needed to be tailored to asylum seekers as a particular group, through the provision of interpreters for example; and, the focus of asylum seekers is invariably upon their own individual needs rather than those of the wider service or indeed, broader social objectives.

The theory suggested that service users may not have the time or inclination to co-produce through participative mechanisms (Osborne et al, 2002). Confirmatory evidence was found in this study. Some respondents from PSOs suggested that there was a lack of willingness of asylum seekers to engage due to fears of this negatively impacting upon their claim for asylum. Language barriers and asylum seekers' focus on their own asylum cases and personal aspirations (e.g. education) were also frequently mentioned barriers to co-producing beyond consumer co-production. Participative co-production was also challenging for PSOs because asylum seekers were deemed to have a lack of trust for authorities and had a perceived poor understanding of the democratic system operating in the UK.

The survey results suggested that co-production can be time-consuming and resource-intensive for PSOs (Martin and Boaz, 2000). Furthermore respondents suggested that participative mechanisms already used with the indigenous population were not appropriate for asylum seekers, while also recognizing the general challenge of engaging any marginalized group.

Certain groups of asylum seekers were described more difficult to engage, particularly when there is no common area where they might congregate or where they have not made use of the services provided (e.g. for cultural reasons, men were suggested to be less likely to engage with drop-in services provided by smaller community organizations). Logistical challenges were also associated with having a dialogue with asylum seeker service users, particularly given that multiple interpreters can be party during group consultations which made for long and convoluted discussions. These challenges suggest that the success of participative co-production rests strongly on the willingness and inclination of service managers and front-line staff (Gaster and Rutqvist, 2000; Boyle et al, 2006) to implement and facilitate co-production.

Asylum seekers who participated in the study were largely keen to speak up about the services they receive: 'Nothing would stop me voicing my opinion.' There was a general feeling that participating and particularly volunteering in service production provided both material and intrinsic benefits for individuals (Alford, 2002a) such as improving their employability should they receive refugee status in the future. However, there was some concern that views would not be listened to, highlighting the issue around tokenistic forms of engagement: '… when we started, I felt that what we're going to say about it is just going to be thrown in the bin. It's not important for people. But after that we felt that we were heard...'

Interviews with asylum seekers also suggested a difference in the extent to which they were consulted by PSOs, or at least their awareness of such mechanisms being used. Indeed, when asked whether organizations such as social work ask for their input to or feedback on services, the respondents responded negatively: 'No, they don't ask.' However, the observations showed otherwise, with an example of a service manager from a public sector organization consulting to 'get views, opinions and ideas' about how the young people would like to participate in the services provided by the organization. In this example, the service manager from the Young Persons' Group acted as a mediator between the public sector organization and the young asylum seekers. Thus, the feeling of not being consulted by public sector

organizations might have stronger associations with a lack of understanding of the roles played by organizations, with mediators perhaps unintentionally camouflaging the engagement work conducted by other organizations. The asylum seekers did, however, seem to be more aware of the consultative work conducted by voluntary organizations such as the Charity.

Enhanced co-production

Enhanced co-production is not situated in the realm of high-level policy-making or strategic planning, but rather is concerned with deep involvement in the design of services to meet needs. It was described in the conceptual work resulting in service reform and innovation.

Enhanced co-production suggests a deeper role for public service users where they can contribute their expertise to co-design service innovations, to enhance the achievement of public policy objectives. The role of the service user is embedded into whole service process, drawing on their expertise to develop customized experiences, as opposed to focusing on the service encounter during delivery which is the location of consumer co-production (Kristensson et al, 2008; Ordanini and Pasini, 2008; Vargo and Lusch, 2008). This is facilitated by an active and equal dialogue between the PSO and service user in order to discover, understand and satisfy 'latent' needs. The potential for value creation therefore extends beyond the service interaction or moment of truth to all points of interaction between the service user and provider.

Examples of enhanced co-production were less frequent compared to other modes but some were uncovered in the case of asylum seekers. The analysis suggests that enhanced co-production exists on a continuum with two clear examples being found which could be described as existing at different ends of the continuum.

One example of enhanced co-production was witnessed in the Development Organization through the provision of adult literacy services. A core goal underpinning this service was the inclusion and integration of asylum seekers; this

goal was espoused both at the operational and policy levels. The observation demonstrated the informal and fluid nature of the service, which although directed by the tutor, was shaped by the contributions of the service users throughout the process of service planning, delivery and evaluation. The service users contributed to their individual learning plans, to tailor what they would learn and then again during the course of the class, through interactions with the tutor. Afterwards evaluations were undertaken to make improvements to the service.

Another example of enhanced co-production was the provision of a client-led service by the Humanitarian Organization, which was planned and executed on an individual level. In this case the service user was more active than in the previous example, again suggesting that enhanced co-production exists on a continuum of service user activeness.

The service delivered by the Humanitarian Organization was based on the idea that asylum seekers are experts in their own lives and therefore in a position to make important contributions to the service.   Von Hippel's (1994) conception of sticky information is of relevance here, suggesting that asylum seeker service users may possess sticky information and can therefore contribute to the innovation and customization of services (von Hippel, 1998).

In this service, the needs of the asylum seeker shaped the service, and the interactions between the asylum seeker and caseworker were crucial to tailoring the service to individual needs.   There was a focus on fostering asylum seeker independence in a supportive way rather than dictating their needs. The caseworkers were typically volunteers who had been granted refugee status and were therefore considered well placed to provide support as they had experienced the hardships of the asylum process. Working on an one-to-one basis was considered to provide fertile ground for a relationship to develop, which in turn led to greater information sharing by both parties and therefore better equipping the caseworker facilitate the meeting of needs. Such an approach to service production suggests that the provider took proactive steps to uncover and satisfy latent need (Kristensson et al, 2008) by

placing the service users in a core role in the service production process while the caseworker supported and facilitated them in meeting their own needs (Zwick et al, 2008).

However, channelling the knowledge and resources of service users can be challenging and depends upon continuous and equal dialogue between the service user and provider (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2000). The analysis of the Humanitarian Organization's service suggested that allowing service users to shape their own services was dependent upon the development of a close but professional relationship of trust. Furthermore, the asylum seeker community has been described as transient, particularly now with the New Asylum Seeker Model where decisions are taken within six weeks. Thus, there is less time for PSOs to set up and develop dialogue with service users.

Can Co-Production Act As A Conduit To Build Social Inclusiveness And Citizenship?

'Acting like citizens'

None of these three modes of individual co-production provide asylum seekers with what Lister (2003) would describe as citizenship status. Rather, each provides an opportunity for asylum seekers to play a more or less active role in the service production process. This arguably offers asylum seekers a way of *acting* like citizens (Lister, 2003), albeit in a partial and significantly restricted capacity. Asylum seekers cannot vote, participate in paid employment or move freely, but they can and do play an active role in public services production through co-production as service users. The role ascribed to public service users, according to Niiranen (1999), forms citizenship at the individual level.

The analysis and discussion have suggested that consumer co-production always exists because asylum seekers as public *service users* contribute to service production during the 'moment of truth' which is integral to the service production through the inseparability of production and consumption. Thus, service users are always active in the production of public services.

The level of service user activeness can be extended through participative or enhanced co-production. This depends ultimately upon the policy direction towards social inclusion and the extended forms of co-production (i.e. participative and enhanced), public services managers' disposition towards co-production and perhaps most importantly, the willingness and ability of front-line staff to build and sustain relationships with service users.

Niiranen (1999) also describes a second form of citizenship, which can be viewed under the idea of collectivity. The role shifts from an individual to a community participant who participates in democracy through partnership and involvement. Asylum seekers cannot participate in democratic structures open to the indigenous population, but there are examples of them - as a collective - being involved and

working in partnership with PSOs to achieve service improvements but also broader public policy goals such as integration.

Consultation was conducted through participative co-production, typically during the service encounter, where PSOs could gather the views of asylum seekers while also benefiting from the 'moment of truth' within the encounter which provided access to active and engaged service users. Another important mechanism for the inclusion and integration of asylum seekers was the FFDGs operating in the city. VCOs and particularly the Charity were crucial to the development of the Framework for Dialogue structure in Glasgow, suggesting that their role in empowering asylum seekers as a collective group had been important. The FFDGs were regarded largely as an important mechanism through which asylum seekers' voices could be collated and fed back to public service providers and policy makers.

Building relationships and trust through co-production

In the case of asylum seekers, co-production might also be viewed as starting the process of integration and offering a route towards citizenship or even a pre-citizenship stage. There is a strong impetus towards the integration of asylum seekers in Scotland and the service encounter was often used as a means of developing relationships with asylum seekers to promote integration. Indeed, the majority of the welfare services examined were geared around integration. For example, some respondents focused on preparing asylum seekers for work, and others on integrating asylum seekers with British culture and/or among asylum seekers of different nationalities.

Integration was also defined as a core policy goal of the Scottish Government under the objective of maintaining the population and any skill sets that exist within the asylum seeker population which may aid the economy in the future. This approach differs from the UK Government's stance of non-integration, until refugee status has been awarded, and also sits in general conflict with the exclusionary policies around immigration (Cemlyn and Briskman, 2003; Williams, 2006). The Scottish Government was also described as being in a relatively powerless position when it

comes to immigration policy and legislation, having no say over the outcome of asylum cases. This further reinforces the dichotomy between the goals of integration and the position of asylum seekers, legally, as non-citizens.

According to Niiranen (1999), to participate and influence at either level of citizenship (i.e. individual or collective), information and channels of open communication are crucial. Service providers from the public and voluntary sectors alike, showed a divergence away from the core service task (e.g. policing) to focus on more social welfare type services that would help to integrate asylum seekers in the Scottish society. By developing healthy, trusting relationships with service users, the service providers could encourage them to make use of other services, which was considered to result in greater integration. Indeed, building trust with asylum seekers through the service encounter was considered fundamental not only to the improvement of public services, but also to facilitate integration.

Service managers and front-line staff from both sectors attributed importance to developing trusting relationships. First encounters were used to build trust with asylum seekers, who were often framed as a vulnerable group who needed dedicated support from one individual. Building trust was also fundamental to identifying and meeting need and therefore improving service provision. It was also viewed as a means of developing relationships to advertise other services to potential service users and therefore retain funding in the longer-term.

There was however some variance in whether front-line staff developed a 'friendship' with service users, or maintained a professional relationship. The larger organizations tended to establish professional boundaries in order to 'protect' staff, while smaller community organizations were more inclined to develop personal relationships. The development of these types of relationships was not confined to the community sector, however, with one example of a public sector organization developing friendships in order to build trust in order to deliver a more effective service, the focus of which was integration.

Building trust was also perceived as a significant challenge for PSOs particularly given the marginalized nature of asylum seekers. Although service encounters are critical sites for integration, for certain groups such points of access do not exist (e.g. male asylum seekers) because they are not using the public services.

The theory suggests that co-production is predicated upon buy-in from front-line employees, managers and professionals (Boyle et al, 2006; Crowley et al., 2002) and their capacity to develop and maintain effective, trusting relationships with service users. In other words, the service relationship and individual interactions which are the basis of consumer co-production can be managed and are essential to the quality of a service and the satisfaction of service users with the service (Vargo et al, 2008).

Co-production is thus a core element of the effective management of public services on a day-to-day basis but this is dependent upon the extent to which public service managers and front-line service providers realize and apply this. The theory suggested relationship marketing as a potential means of managing service users and, specifically the relationship with the service provider, to promote co-production and achieve greater value from the service (Ramirez, 1999; Gronroos, 2009). This relationship exists primarily between the service user and front-line staff within the organization. Its emphasis is on inter-dependent, collaborative and long-term relationships based on trust, communication and commitment and where the service user is viewed as partner (Gummesson, 1998; Wright and Taylor, 2005; Kinard and Capella, 2006). Adopting such an approach would, nevertheless, require that public service managers were aware of co-production in its various modes.

IS INDIVIDUAL SERVICE USER CO-PRODUCTION A PREREQUISITE FOR CO-PRODUCTION AND PARTNERSHIP WORKING BY PUBLIC SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS?

Organizational forms of co-production

The emergence of new public governance has not replaced hierarchies and markets (Osborne, 2006; Klijn, 2008) and this research suggests that hierarchies, markets and networks co-exist. In the case of asylum seekers, immigration policies stem from central government; hierarchy prevails with strict control placed upon asylum seekers' status and entitlement through the Home Office. However, services are delivered both by the public sector organizations and VCOs who compete for government contracts in the market and work together in partnerships and networks, on various levels, to plan and deliver services.

Asylum seekers' social welfare services in Glasgow have strong foundation within the VCS. This role of the VCS was confirmed both by the theory (Wren, 2007) and the empirical study, with the majority of service providers coming from voluntary or community sector. Over time, the VCS has established into a key service provider and/or advocate lobbying on behalf of asylum seekers. Indeed, the VCS offers various services to asylum seekers living in Glasgow, including information, advice, counselling, training, empowerment initiatives and in some instances, campaigning.

Nevertheless, the strong role of the VCS in service provision has caused the boundaries between voluntary and public sector service provision to become increasingly blurred (Sales, 2002). Indeed, Wren's (2007) research and the empirical findings suggest confusion among asylum seekers over which organizations were responsible and accountable for public services.

The study identified various inter-organizational relationships between PSOs. Figure 8.4 illustrates the presence of co-management and co-governance. Co-management was found where VCOs were contributing to public service delivery (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006; Pestoff et al, 2006) while co-governance refers to instances where

VCOs contribute to both the process of implementation, including both the planning and delivery of services (Vidal, 2006; Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006).

Taken with Figure 8.3 (refer back to page 249) these findings confirm that individual co-production and the two organizational forms of co-production can co-exist (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006) but are co-management and co-governance dependent upon the presence of individual co-production?

	CA	CB	AP	H.Org	DO	YPG
Co-management	X	X	X	X		
Co-governance	X	X	X	X	X	X

Figure 8.4: The existence of organizational co-production across the case study sub-units

Figure 8.5 on the following page illustrates the landscape of the case study, showing which organizations contribute on the strategic and operational level and also how they link to other organizations. This illustration is useful in understanding the reality of co-management and co-governance in the case of asylum seeker social welfare services.
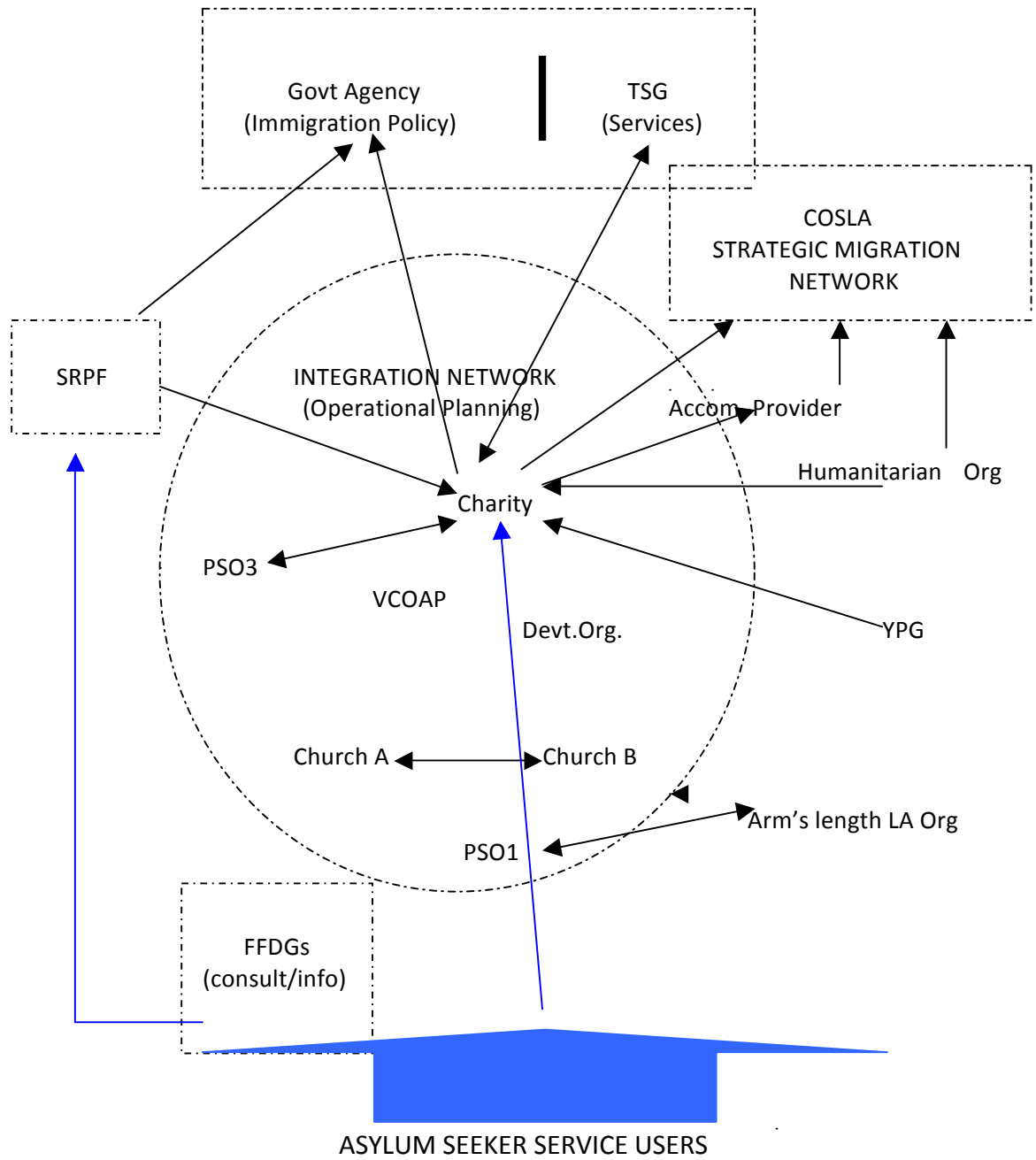
Figure 8.5: Landscape of the case study on the asylum seekers' social welfare services provision in Glasgow

All of the public service organizations examined spoke of developing some kind of relationship with asylum seekers during service delivery (consumer co-production), which is why the diagram situates asylum seekers at the bottom, to represent how they as public service users feed into the process.

Neither co-management nor co-governance was described as reliant upon the presence of individual forms of co-production. Rather, inter-organizational working was often described, by service managers, as a requirement of funding (policy around the VCS and community planning places a strong emphasis both on inter-organizational working) and a preferred working style. However, the findings suggest that service improvement is better rooted in forms of co-management and co-governance which are connected to and informed by services users.

Co-management

In terms of *co-management*, the Scottish Government funded various VCOs to deliver services for asylum seekers, ranging from support around integration to the provision of drop-in centres or arts and crafts activities. The VCS played a core role in service provision for asylum seekers and the trust built through service relationships – essentially consumer co-production – was important for the Scottish Government which consulted asylum seekers through organizations such as the Charity.

However, co-management was not restricted to government contracts. It was also found to exist between PSOs delivering services on the ground. For example, the two churches studied provided shared crèche services to enable asylum seeker women to make use of other services. PSO1 and the Arm's Length Local Authority also worked in partnership to deliver a service aimed at promoting integration among young asylum seekers and the indigenous population. In the second example, the relationship between the organizations was described as strained, lacking both clear lines of communication and trust.

Links across organizational boundaries and the exchange of information were crucial both to the asylum process and to the delivery of appropriate public services to meet individuals' needs. For example, the observation of the Accommodation Provider suggested the links between the Project Worker and the Charity, Education and Health were of import to the provision of the necessary public services to asylum seekers who had just arrived in Glasgow. Prior to the Project Worker's first visit, for instance, the authorities were sometimes unaware of whether there were school-aged children or healthcare issues.

The geographical landscape was repeatedly described as making Scotland conducive to inter-organizational working, as were the structures that had developed since the initial dispersal of asylum seekers and working together was also thought to prevent duplication and result in service improvements. Asylum seekers and refugee services are now well established in Glasgow, within the confines of the regulations and laws coming out of Westminster, making it easier for organizations to work together. Respondents suggested that there was less need for wrangling over substantive issues because agencies from both the public and third sectors have a history of working together and have laid the foundations of asylum seeker and refugee services down together.

There was still a place for advocacy and larger VCOs generally sat in a good position to raise concerns or lobby against issues despite this strong undercurrent of joint working. Indeed, various PSOs played a dual role, managing services and working on an adversarial basis to represent asylum seekers and campaign on their behalf around issues of immigration and for improved services. The perception around this adversarial role differed among respondents. While some considered it to result in more fruitful discussions which led to awareness and understanding of the landscape and parameters within which different organizations were working, some public officials described this role as: 'Not helpful, not productive because this is an ideal opportunity for them, literally, to get up on their soapbox…'

On the whole, respondents thought the advocacy role had to be played in a professional way; feet stamping and making demands was not appropriate. Rather, gathering evidence and contributing to negotiations was deemed the way forward. There was a strong suggestion in the research that well established VCOs were in a position to collate the needs of asylum seekers as a community and discuss these with strategic players and policy makers. This could be viewed as providing asylum seekers with a collective voice, another element which may contribute to their capacity to *act* like citizens (Alford, 2002).

Figure 8.5 also illustrates the central role of the Charity, which not only sits on the Integration Networks, but is also funded directly by the Scottish Government to provide services to and consult with asylum seekers. It also plays a key adversarial role, working directly with asylum seekers (providing services and representing their needs to others) and lobbying the Government Agency around issues of immigration policy that are pertinent to asylum seekers. The Charity has strong links with organizations such as the Accommodation Provider and Humanitarian Organization. Both of these organizations also sit on the Migration Network and therefore contribute on a strategic level with others like the Charity, Scottish Government and Government Agency (co-governance). The Scottish Refugee Policy Forum (SPRF) which represents refugee community organizations also feeds in at the strategic level and benefits from links to the FFD structures.

The survey findings show a high regard for VCOs which are generally viewed as adding value to public services and contributing to their effectiveness. In particular, the view of the Charity among other PSOs was very positive. PSOs were generally at pains to explain the importance of the Charity's role as mediator (Berger and Neuhaus, 1978) due to their close links and knowledge of asylum seekers in Glasgow. Indeed, the Charity was generally viewed as supporting the inclusion of asylum seekers and Refugee and Community Organizations. As a mediating structure, the Charity was able to include asylum seekers as a marginal group in service production who may or may not have the capacity to articulate their own needs (Kearns, 1995; Haugh and Kitson, 2007). It was a key player in establishing

the FFD structures and also expended time and energy ensuring asylum seekers contributed to its own strategic objectives as an organization.

Notwithstanding its fundamental role, the Charity was also noticed to be a powerful organization with strong links with the Scottish Government and the wider VCS. Thus, although this was not directly evidenced in terms of service production, the Charity could also potentially play the role of disabler, by steering the agenda to its own accord rather in reflection of the needs of service users (Brenton, 1985; Pestoff et al, 2006).

Co-governance

Co-governance was demonstrated by the presence of service planning and delivery networks operating in the city. Three models were apparent. First, bodies such as Accommodation Provider, The Scottish Government, the Government Agency and the Charity sat together on a Strategic Partnership Group that discussed policy at this level. The SRPF, representing various refugee community organizations, also fed into the strategic level. Second, various VCOs and public sector agencies (such as Community Healthcare Partnerships) collaborated on Integration Networks to share information and work together to plan services on an operational level (public funds were distributed to these Networks via Community Planning Partnerships). At this level, a practitioners' network was also in operation. Third, at the neighbourhood level, eight 'Framework for Dialogue' groups were in operation across Glasgow. As mentioned previously, these acted both as 'an information provision network and [as a] consultation mechanism or participation mechanism'. As neighbourhood groups they were posed as important mechanisms through which operational considerations could be filtered up to strategic decision-making level, as they have direct links with the Charity and SRPF.

At the strategic level, the relationship between the Charity and Accommodation Provider was described as strong and rooted within the close relationship between two senior members within the organizations. Indeed, respondents noted the Accommodation Provider's early reluctance to inter-organizational working which

had since changed as a result of having established core services and the approach of the senior manager. Furthermore, respondents on the front-line suggested that it was the job of managers to negotiate and raise concerns with the Scottish Government, suggesting there were lines of communication to the policy level.

The organizations sitting on the IN were involved in planning services together during scheduled development days where they draw up the parameters of the Integration Plan. The INs could be described as co-operative networks (Head 2008); they were generally task-focused, taking the form of regular meetings within which organizations from across sectors participated while maintaining their identities. The members of the INs were working on the ground and were therefore thought to be close to service users and understand their needs.

Although the INs were generally described as effective, this relationship was not necessarily continued on a day-to-day basis, with day jobs eating up time and resources. This highlights the challenge for organizations in balancing priorities. Indeed, working in a silo until the service was established was sometimes considered to be an appropriate precursor to engaging with other organizations.

The IN had a dual role, being used both as a means sharing information about services across organizational boundaries and also connecting to FFDGs to plan services together. Indeed, the FFDGs and INs were generally considered to have conterminous boundaries, with the FFDGs offering service organizations and policy makers easy access to asylum seekers.

The FFD structure was a prime example of a key challenge facing VCOs who act as mediators. Although VCOs play a core role in enabling the inclusion of marginalized groups (e.g. Burt and Taylor, 2004; Elstub, 2006; Haugh and Kitson, 2007), the discussion in chapter three questioned whether the involvement of VCOs genuinely enhances co-production, through the strength of collective action, or actually diminishes it, by placing the VCO in between the individual service users and their services (Brenton, 1985; Pestoff et al, 2006). For example, the service

managers who take responsibility for organizing the FFDGs played the role of conduit between the asylum seekers and the Strategic Partnership and Integration Networks. However, one manager recognized that such a role may result in them being viewed 'as gatekeepers or seem to be keeping people out.'

There were also instances - particularly during the observations - where the mechanisms for co-production appeared to be used more for the benefit of the organization rather than the asylum seekers using the service. For example, the observation of the FFDG was dominated by the service manager although it was supposed to be led by the asylum seeker participants. Although there was some consideration that the responsibility for the FFDGs may be placed with asylum seekers in the future, but this was closely associated with resourcing issues rather than an attempt to bypass any effects mediation has on co-production. In the case of Church B, which described its services as being co-designed by service users during the service encounter, tokenistic forms of participative co-production were noted during the observation.

Inter-personal relationships and trust

Respondents emphasized that even at the organizational level, individual personal relationships were essential to co-management and co-governance, confirming the arguments in the literature that inter-personal relationships and trust are crucial during the exchanges between organizations (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992; Gulati 1995; Zaheer et al, 1998).

Personal relationships across organizational boundaries were important both on an operational and strategic level. For example, the Humanitarian Organization described how many people started out in the Charity as colleagues and have since moved to various other organizations operating in the field. As a result, they have established close working relationships as colleagues, which have been transferred into the current roles where they work for different organizations. Indeed, trust has been described as developing over time through frequent and close interaction (Gulati, 1995; Nooteboom et al, 1997; Tsai and Ghosal, 1998) and between

individuals rather than organizations (Ring and Van De Ven, 1994; Gulati, 1995; Zaheer et al, 1998; Kale et al, 2000).

Respondents spoke of the benefits of face-to-face interactions in developing improved working relationships across organizational boundaries and the dangers of no personal contact and high staff turnover (Nooteboom et al 1997) for effective collaborative working. Little trust was found to exist between organizations contracted to work for the Home Office, where there was limited face-to-face contact and restricted lines of communication at the operational level. In contrast, the relationship between the Accommodation Provider and Charity seemed strong. As two key PSOs from the public and voluntary sectors, the relationship was founded upon that of the strategic players at the top of the organization which seemed to be forged also at the operational level with front-line staff sharing information and working together to meet the service needs of clients.

SUMMARY AND INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has integrated the theory and empirical findings to answer three research questions: to what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship; can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship; and, is individual service user co-production a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations?

The discussion commenced with a reminder of the two conceptual frameworks that have been developed in this thesis to differentiate and better understand co-production in a public services setting. It then showed how these frameworks were applied to the case of asylum seekers and the public services they receive in Glasgow. Both models were integral to making sense of the data and answering the three research questions.

The case of asylum seekers sharpens the focus on co-production. The fact that co-production is integral to the process nature of services is critical to the debate. The analysis and discussion confirms the existence of consumer co-production, suggesting that as public *service users,* asylum seekers will always play an active role in the process of public service production through consumer co-production. The fact that co-production is integral to the process nature of services is critical to the debate. The analysis confirms the existence of consumer co-production which results from the inseparability of the production and consumption of services and hence, the integral role of the service user at the 'moment of truth' (Normann 1991).

The discussion has further shown – through the application of the conceptual frameworks - that co-production can be extended beyond the consumer mode in the case of asylum seekers. Public service users are never passive, but they can be more or less active under each mode of co-production.

The evidence pointed to the existence of participative co-production, through consultation and volunteering mechanisms, as well as consumer mechanisms such as choice and complaints procedures. Enhanced co-production was also found – albeit

to a lesser extent - with PSOs facilitating deeper co-production by encouraging service users to contribute their expertise to customize services.

The PSO controls whether and how this basic form of co-production is extended into the participative and enhanced forms. Indeed, there was a widespread view among policy respondents and service managers alike that asylum seekers should and were engaged around public services as service users. The difference in opinion came over the issue of when asylum seekers should co-produce; that is whether co-production be restricted to service delivery through the consumer and participative modes or whether it be extended into service planning and design through participative and enhanced modes.

None of these three modes of individual co-production provides asylum seekers legal citizenship status, but it has been argued that each provides an opportunity for asylum seekers to *act* like citizens, albeit in a partial and significantly restricted capacity. Co-production has also been suggested as starting the process of integration and offering a route towards citizenships or even a pre-citizenship stage. Indeed, co-production in the case of asylum seekers has also been promoted through a strong agenda for integration, which is the goal of many of the public services studied.

Organizational forms of co-production have also been discussed through the concepts of co-management and co-governance. The interpretation has shown that neither co-management nor co-governance are predicated upon the presence of individual service user co-production. The existence of both types of inter-organizational relationships was linked to a Scottish mindset of partnership working which was facilitated by geography, Government support and the perceived benefit to service effectiveness.

No one mode of co-production was found to be reliant on another form of co-production, although consumer co-production was evidenced in each of the public services studied. Thus, individual forms of co-production do not preclude the

organizational forms and because an organization has, for example, facilitated participative co-production, this does not mean that the consumer mode will no longer take place, or that enhanced co-production cannot also be endorsed. Indeed, the findings suggest that inter-organizational relationships can benefit from a VCO service provider's relationship with asylum seeker service users, which is established through consumer co-production.

A key and underlying theme for both individual and organizational forms of co-production has been the relationships between, either front-line staff or individuals across organizational boundaries. Indeed, building trust with asylum seekers was considered fundamental to the improvement of public services for a vulnerable group, pointing to a potential role for relationship marketing in public services management. Furthermore, building and sustaining relationships across organizational boundaries was deemed necessary for successful partnership working and linked to this, the successful delivery of services to meet needs.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

This final chapter considers the original contributions of this thesis. First, the theoretical contribution will be discussed, referring once again to the two conceptual frameworks that were developed through this work. The contribution to policy and practice will then be discussed, before considering the potential direction of future research on the co-production of public services.

CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY

This thesis has contributed theoretically to the debate on the co-production of public services. It has synthesized two conceptually different ideas of co-production from public administration/management and services management literature. Although others have touched on the services management theory (e.g. Wilson 1994, Bovaird 2007; Bovaird and Loffler, 2012; Meijer, 2011), theorizing about public services production has generally been drawn from the public administration and public management literature. The services management literature has therefore never been integrated in any substantive way and this has proved a notable gap in the discussion.

The public administration and public management literature have important offerings to the debate on co-production (e.g. Ostrom, 1978; Bovaird, 2007; Alford, 2009). Here, co-production extends into the whole process of service production, including service design and evaluation. Public service users can thus take on a more active role through both citizen participation and consumer mechanisms. They can, for example, be involved as volunteers working directly with a PSO to provide a service for other service users, be involved in planning and delivering services on an operational level or be consulted when a new service is being planned. Consumer mechanisms might include the provision of choice over which public service provider is used or making complaints about services which have not delivered the desired level of quality.

However, co-production is positioned as *an optional extension* of 'traditional' service production, rather than as a core component of it. This reflects the goods-dominant logic which is implicit in much of the literature on the co-production of public services (Vargo et al, 2008), and which places firm demarcations between production and consumption. Under this logic, responsibility for production falls with the public service provider and any co-production of the service is therefore at the behest of the provider.

This literature adds further, suggesting that co-production can exist on an organizational level. Brandsen and Pestoff (2006) suggest that VCOs can take two roles in co-producing public services: they can contribute to service *delivery* (co-management) or to both the *delivery and planning* of services (co-governance).

The focus of this thesis has been on the inter-organizational relationships that can exist between public service organizations and VCOs, but it is accepted that organizational modes of co-production could exist between various types of organizations. VCOs were the focus given their prominent place in public service production in the case of asylum seekers (Griffiths et al, 2006; Wren, 2007) and also because they are typically positioned as close to service users and therefore able to articulate and respond to need (Berger & Neuhaus, 1978).

This thesis has argued that the theory on co-production from the public administration and public management literature is significantly dissimilar conceptually from the services management literature. Drawing on this body of work has improved our understanding of the nature of public services as processes and the inherent role of co-production as a result. This moves beyond the more commonly espoused conception that likens public services to manufactured goods under the goods-dominant logic where production and consumption are distinct in both location and time.

The services management literature suggests a different starting point for theorizing about co-production. It situates co-production as an essential and intrinsic process of interaction which is embedded in the nature of the service process where consumption and production are inseparable (Normann, 1991; Gronroos, 1997).

The services management literature further suggests that co-production can be extended beyond the consumption logic, suggesting that co-production exists on a continuum of service user activeness. It refers both to customer participation mechanisms (e.g. Kelley et al, 1990; Bitner et al, 1997; Bendapudi and Leone, 2003), which have already been picked up under New Public Management and also to co-creation through which the role of the customers is embedded within the whole

process of service production (Kristensson et al, 2008; Ordanini and Pasini, 2008; Vargo and Lusch, 2008) rather than being confined to the 'moment of truth' (Normann, 1991).

The synthesis of the theories resulted in the development of two conceptual frameworks which explain and differentiate co-production.

The first framework, 'the individual modes of co-production', illustrates and explains that three modes of co-production can be differentiated at the level of the individual public service user: consumer co-production, participative co-production and enhanced co-production.

This model draws on the services management theory to provide a better theoretical standpoint for theorizing and understanding co-production, focusing on the nature of services as processes and the integral role the service user plays in the production process. It differentiates each mode according to the mechanisms used to facilitate it and the goals aspired to, which has implications for the relationship between service provider and service user. The framework suggests that co-production is not only an inalienable part of the service delivery process (consumer co-production) but can also be extended to achieve broader public policy goals such as social inclusion (participative co-production) and service innovations (enhanced co-production). Thus, through a synthesis of the theories, this framework enables a richer understanding of co-production both as part of the service experience and as a public policy goal in its own right.

The second conceptual framework, 'the typology of co-production' differentiates co-production at the individual and organizational levels. This adds another layer to the debate, suggesting that co-production can be explored as a means of inter-organizational relationships, through co-management and co-governance (Pestoff et al, 2006). This facilitates the exploration of co-production as a means to establish inter-organizational relationships as compared to the individual experience in the service process, and to contrast the role of VCOs as delivery agents alone compared to a more strategic one in the service planning process.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLICY AND PRACTICE

This thesis contributes to the public management and public services reform agenda in Scotland, providing the evidence base for policy and practice. It provides guidance about the nature and processes of co-production at the individual and organizational levels, their relationships with issues of social inclusion and citizenship. The work provides a synthesis of the services management and public management/administration theories, which enables a richer understanding of co-production both as part of the service experience and as a public policy goal in its own right. It facilitates our ability to understand the dynamics of co-production as an inalienable part of the service delivery process as compared to when it is sought as a service design feature and policy goal.

The two conceptual frameworks may be used as tools to aid policy makers and PSOs. They differentiate between co-production at the individual and organizational levels. This permits the exploration of co-production as a means to establish inter-organizational relationships as compared to the individual experience in the service process, and to contrast the role of VCOs as delivery agents alone compared to a more strategic one in the service planning process. The study also contributes to knowledge around asylum seeker co-production of the social welfare services they receive, which is an area that has not been researched previously.

The conceptual frameworks were applied to the case of asylum seekers and the public services they receive in Glasgow to explore three empirical research questions: to what extent is co-production dependent upon citizenship; can co-production act as a conduit to build social inclusiveness and citizenship; and, is individual service user co-production a prerequisite for co-production and partnership working by public service organizations?

There has been a dearth of research on asylum seekers and their role in the production of public services and it has been argued that this study group has sharpened the focus on co-production. Although asylum seekers are a very particular case, insight from this study will be applicable in other areas of practice. There are

continuing concerns about disengagement with the political process (Lister, 2003) and co-production may offer an alternative way through which to involve people as public service users and unique opportunities to benefit from service user knowledge or expertise (von Hippel, 1994).

Asylum seekers are a marginalized and disenfranchised group who do not share the political or social rights bestowed on the indigenous population. They are positioned without citizenship and as a result have limited political agency and their rights have been significantly restricted by legislation and policies of deterrence (Bloch, 2000; Cemlyn and Briskman, 2003).

Despite their legal status, the findings from this study have shown that they have a position as public *service users* and as such co-produce the public services they receive due to the inseparable nature of production and consumption. However, the discussion has also shown that co-production can be extended beyond the consumer mode, with evidence of both participative and enhanced co-production being found in the case of asylum seekers.

The mode of co-production and the level of activeness played by the public service user in the production process has been linked to the policy direction towards social inclusion and the extended forms of co-production (i.e. participative and enhanced). Public services managers' disposition towards co-production is also important, particularly in relation to the participative and enhanced modes which have been described as being at the behest of PSOs. However, there was also some suggestions in the findings that the existence of consumer co-production was not recognised by respondents and was therefore not being managed. Front-line service providers' willingness and ability to build and sustain relationships with service users is of equal importance. In terms of relationships, building trust with a vulnerable group such as asylum seekers was considered fundamental to the delivery and improvement of public services. There may, as a result, be an important role for relationship marketing in managing the co-production of public services.

Co-production, it has been argued, offers a route to a partial and restricted form of citizenship at the individual and collective levels, allowing asylum seekers to act like citizens rather than hold their legal status. It has been argued that co-production supports the Scottish Government's agenda around the integration of asylum seekers. Co-production has also been suggested as starting the process of integration and offering a route towards citizenship or even a pre-citizenship stage.

The thesis has also suggested that organizational forms of co-production exist in their own right and are not reliant on, but can be supported by, the presence of individual forms of co-production. Co-management was demonstrated through both government contracts with VCOs to deliver services and also through relationships between PSOs delivering services. Co-governance was demonstrated through three layers of public service planning and delivery networks that were operating in the city on the strategic, operational and neighbourhood levels. The discussion also suggests that although VCOs play a notable role in the provision of public services and enable the inclusion of asylum seekers, they can also sit in between asylum seekers to the potential detriment of co-production.

The geography in Scotland was described as conducive to inter-organizational relationships and working together was thought to prevent duplication and result in service improvements. Personal relationships between service managers across organizational boundaries were of particular importance in facilitating co-management and co-governance. Indeed, building and sustaining inter-organizational relationships was deemed necessary for effective partnership working and linked to this, the successful delivery of services to meet needs. This has important implications for public service management and how inter-organizational relationships are managed to improve service production. Indeed, by exploring the nature and processes of co-production on both the organizational and individual levels, this thesis has suggested that by recognizing and differentiating co-production through its various modes, the service relationship may be more effectively managed.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research on co-production should be conducted to test the wider applicability of the two conceptual frameworks in different settings, to establish whether there are additional modes of co-production that can be differentiated. The focus of this thesis has been on asylum seekers as co-producers of the public services they receive. They have therefore been framed as the beneficiaries of the services. However, the participative mode of co-production could be applied to co-production among non-service users, but those acting on behalf of the service user (e.g. a parent's contribution to a child's education). Furthermore, the focus here has been on face-to-face service provision. Future work may be conducted around electronic services to examine the various interfaces through which co-production may take place and the implications of these for managing the service relationship.

There is also potential to conduct further work into managing the various modes of co-production. Relationship marketing has been suggested here as a technique which can be employed to manage the co-production at the individual level. At the organizational level, interpersonal relationships and trust between individuals within organizations were described as important to co-management and co-governance but further work could be conducted to explore the management of these relationships. Co-production is an issue that has import across a whole range of public services, such as social care, health, education, policing, community development, and sports and leisure services. Thus there is much scope to explore the applicability of the two conceptual frameworks across various services.

In the case of asylum seekers, the empirical focus of this thesis, the arguments about improving democratic ideals may be assumed to be defunct given asylums seekers' position as non-citizens, who cannot use traditional democratic mechanisms. However this thesis has shown that as public service users, asylum seekers may be included as public services co-producers, under the goals of service satisfaction, service improvement or even to achieve broader policy goals such as social inclusion.

Other marginalized groups might also prove a valuable testing ground for the frameworks. For example, gypsy travellers may face similar issues around integration and community cohesion which could be explored through the debate on co-production. Also, a possible comparison to the case studies here would be asylum seekers in England where the differing policies around integration may impact the types of co-production experienced.

Understanding the co-production of public services: the case of asylum seekers in Glasgow

Volume II: References and Appendices

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questionnaire is being conducted as part of a study of asylum seeker involvement in the provision of social welfare services (e.g. ESOL, befriending schemes and information/advice). The research is sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council and the Scottish Government and the findings will be used to assist with evidence-based policy and practice in Scotland.

The questionnaire has been sent to all organizations providing social welfare services to asylum seekers in Glasgow. The questionnaire has been split into 4 sections. The majority of questions are tick box or ask you to circle a response and space has also been provided for open ended comments. The questionnaire should take approximately 15 minutes to complete. All respondents will be provided with a short summary report of the findings.

Respondents' identities will remain confidential; responses will be analysed and reported in a way that cannot be attributed to individuals. The research will be conducted according to the University of Edinburgh's ethical guidelines.

Please send your completed questionnaire back in the stamped addressed envelope provided. Thank you in advance for your time and effort.

If you have any questions regarding this questionnaire or would like any further details regarding this research please contact:

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Further research

If you would be willing to participate in more detailed research, please fill in the details below and return with your questionnaire response. Alternatively, the details can be emailed to K.Wallace-7@sms.ed.ac.uk**. All those who participate in this research will receive a summary report of the research findings.**

Name:

Tel:

Email:

A. General details

1. What type of organization do you work for? *(please tick ONE answer)*

Local Government ☐   **Voluntary organization** ☐

Central government ☐   **Community organization** ☐

Business organization ☐   **Other (please specify)** ☐

_____

2. How many paid employees work for your organization? *(please state number)*

_____

3. How many unpaid staff work for your organization? *(please state number)*

_____

B. Provision of services and asylum seeker involvement

> **In this section, you are presented with questions regarding the involvement of asylum seekers in the social welfare services that your organization provides.**

4. Does your organization provide any of the following social welfare services to asylum seekers? **(tick all that apply)**

Counselling ☐   **Language support (e.g. ESOL)** ☐

Befriending ☐   **Drop in centres** ☐

Training ☐   **Other (please specify)** ☐

Information and advice ☐ _____

If NO, please skip to question 24 in section D.

5. When planning or delivering social welfare services, does your organization involve asylum seekers at any of the following stages? **(tick all that apply)**

The development of policies ☐   **At the point of service delivery** ☐
After service delivery ☐   **Other (*please specify*)** ☐

If NO, please skip to question 13 in section C.

6. In what ways does your organization involve asylum seekers? (***tick all that apply***)

Consultation   ☐   **Customer feedback forms**   ☐

Self directed support   ☐   **Invite them to board meetings** ☐

Through community meetings ☐   **Complaints procedures** ☐

Allow them to make choices   ☐   **Other (*please specify*)**   ☐
about the services they receive

_____

_____

> *The following set of questions will be presented as statements. Thinking about your organization, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by indicating whether you: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD), or have No Opinion (N). Please circle your response*

7. Asylum seeker involvement improves the effectiveness of the service.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

8. Asylum seeker involvement in welfare service provision is time consuming.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

9. Asylum seeker involvement is important when designing new services.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

10. Asylum seekers have plenty of opportunities to influence decisions made about the services they receive.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

11. Involving asylum seekers is cost effective.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

12. The views of asylum seekers are always sought before making significant changes to the way welfare services delivered.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

C. Working with voluntary or community organizations that represent asylum seekers

> ***In this section, you are presented with questions regarding collective asylum seeker involvement in welfare services. Instead of involving asylum seekers as individuals, voluntary and community organizations (e.g. a local church or***

13. When your organization is providing welfare services, do you work with voluntary or community organizations that represent asylum seekers?

YES ☐   **NO** ☐

14. If yes, which voluntary and community organizations does you organization work with?
If NO, please skip to question 24 in section D.

_____

_____

15. At what stage do you work with voluntary and community organizations**? (*tick all that apply*)**

The development of policies ☐   **At the point of service delivery** ☐

After service delivery ☐   **Other (*please specify*)** ☐

_____

16. In what ways do you work with voluntary and community organizations? (***tick all that apply***)

Informal conversations ☐   **Community meetings** ☐

Formal meetings ☐   **Contract work to them** ☐

Consultation ☐   **Other (*please specify*)** ☐

_____

17. How would you describe your relationship with the voluntary and community organizations you work with? (***please tick ONE answer***)

Partnership ☐   **Contractual** ☐

Part of a network ☐   **Other (*please specify*)** ☐

_____

18. Voluntary and community organizations represent asylum seekers needs.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

19. Involving voluntary and community organizations that represent asylum seekers is cost effective.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

20. My organization always works with voluntary and community organizations when designing services.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

21. There is no added value gained from involving voluntary and community organizations in producing services.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

22. The effective delivery of services is dependent on the involvement of voluntary and community organizations.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

23. Do you think there is any difference between working with *voluntary* and *community* organizations and if so what are they?

_____

_____

D. Organizations that represent asylum seekers

> **In this section, you are presented with questions regarding your role in representing asylum seekers to welfare service providers.**

24. Does your organization represent asylum seekers to service providers?

YES ☐   **NO** ☐

25. If yes, which service providers do you work with? **If no, proceed to the end of the questionnaire (page 6).**

_____

_____

> **The following set of questions will be presented as statements. Thinking about your organization, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by indicating whether you: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD), or have No Opinion (N). Please** *circle* **your**

26. My knowledge of asylum seekers is valued by service providers.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

27. Service providers listen to what I have to say because I'm acting on behalf of asylum seekers.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

28. Service providers need my input when providing welfare services to asylum seekers.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

29. Service providers don't act on the advice I give them.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

30. Asylum seekers views are represented by the organization I work for.

SA   **A**   **D**   **SD**   **N**

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

If you have any further comments please provide in the space below:

Please send completed questionnaire back in the stamped addressed envelope provided

APPENDIX B: OBSERVATION SHEET

Organization/Location:
Date: Start time: End time:
People present (number and description of roles):
Activity observing:
Context (what are actors trying to achieve):

Description of activities and individual actions (chronological order)	Direct Quotes	Reflections

Appendix C: Analysis Of Policy Interviews

Respondents	Co-production policy	Integration policy	Immigration policy	Partnership between policy makers	Partnership with VCOs
Scottish Govt 1	Learners should be at the heart of planning their services	Community integration and economic			
Scottish Govt 2	TSG keen for volunteering opportunities – not want to deskill AS Fund volunteering programmes Encourage all minority ethnic groups to take part in civic participation		Up to UKBA to consult on this UKBA overlook differences in Scotland	Co-ordinating group meets quarterly	Fund VCOs Consult through Scottish Refugee Policy Forum Fund the FFDGs Assumption that Charity is consulting AS Geography makes partnership working easier
Scottish Govt 3	Challenge for public sector – providing vulnerable people with a role in decision-making over services (as individuals or through organizations)				Collaborative working key due to reductions in public spending. Careful that bringing contracts together does not have detrimental effect on the quality of the service Keen for VCS to collaborate with for-profit sector VCS can learn from for-profit sector VCS close to service users and trusted by them VCS role to help deliver SOA – help design and

					deliver services Challenges – for the VCS to play a full role in community planning (i.e design services),
UK Govt Agency			Do what works best in the region rather than following the lead from Croydon		'Working relationship' with VCOs Difficulties around working with advocacy organizations Opportunities to feed into primary and secondary legislation
Accom Provider Strategic Manager	AS not formally meant to comment on services until they receive status Need more ways of engaging with services at LA level.	Integrate immediately in Scotland	Complexities arise when ask AS or VS for views on Immigration policy Scotland sometimes tagged on to end of UK policies	Good links with UKBA at operational level rather than policy	Glasgow is Lead Authority making it easier to get things agreed and progress Context and geography in Scotland makes partnership working easier. 'Everybody knows who everybody is.' Good links with Charity
Community Planning Partnership Manager	Community Planning requires effective community engagement Engaging around service planning is too ambitious AS can volunteer Integration Networks should be influenced by AS	Integrate immediately in Scotland	Asylum policy should be treated with other race issues. Scotland has little control		Is an emphasis on working with the VS through community planning

	Collective engagement through CPP to prevent duplication and strengthen quality of engagement				

	Service Manager Interview	Lady's Drop-in Session	After-school Drop in
Nature of service	Volunteer-led services which aim to provide a 'social and safe and comfortable environment' where people can 'integrate and socially interact'	Activities varied from week-to-week, but for this session the ladies were learning to knit.	Ran from 2.15pm until 4.30pm. Various activities including, outdoor football, table tennis, drawing and a café.
Purpose of service	Started as an opportunity to fill a gap Aim is to build relationships with AS	Service manager described the group as a "pastime" where the ladies have a chance to "chat and have a tea or coffee", while their young children are in the crèche (paid for and organized by Church A). Social interaction often favoured over providing a specific service (i.e. the service manager was more inclined to chat than to give instructions about the task hand). The underlying objective of the session was to provide a drop-in session for asylum seeker women to integrate and converse which was being achieved. However, as the service manager was not trained or experienced in teaching adults the aim of the session (learning to knit) was perhaps not being achieved so well. The service encounter was used as a means of advertising other services, e.g. a trip that was being organized by Church A and another community organization and English classes.	On the basic level, to provide a safe place for asylum seeker children and their parents to come together and socialize. Focus on children used as a way of encouraging adults into Church A and therefore fostering integration among asylum seekers. Opportunities for discrete, but very necessary advice to be provided around asylum cases and statutory services such as education.
Are the aims of the service	Not evidenced.	The lady with refugee status had been in	Lots of interaction among service users

being achieved?		Scotland for nine years and said that although she no longer lived near to Church A, she still attends: "I still come here… If I don't come, I'm not happy."	themselves and with service providers.
Funding	Funded through Community Planning Partnership	Not evidenced.	Not evidenced
Service Provider	N/A	Service Manager	Service manager and eight volunteers - three were female and five were male; one was a young man in his twenties, three were aged between 30 and 40 (one of which was a female asylums seeker) and the remaining volunteers were retired.
Service users	Mainly women and children. A few men come to the English class and after-school drop in, but the 'cultures don't mix well'	Six asylum seekers, one refugee – all female	Between 60 and 70 school aged children came to the session, as well as 14 female asylum seekers and four male asylum seekers (the men did not stay for the entire session).
Are AS involved	During service interaction. AS choose which areas they want to participate in. Not involved during service planning.	During the discussions about the trip it was noticed that the asylum seekers had not been consulted and specifically, had not been asked where they wanted to go on their trip. One participant noted that the trip was to a safari but that she had already been to a safari three times, "it's too much, I like the beach."	Choice both over whether they attended the session and if they did, over the activities they participate in. Interaction with the volunteers running the session was immediate and sustained throughout the session to differing degrees. That interaction was often initiated by the volunteers and the relaxed and open atmosphere was conducive to this. However, there were also plenty of opportunities for asylum seekers to ask for assistance and this seemed to be particularly useful for those seeking help associated to their

			asylum claims.
			Asylum seeker volunteer worked on the craft table - said that she comes to the church every week to 'meet friends'. She had limited interaction with the children at the craft table, who often asked her for feedback on their work.
Why involved	Build relationships with AS during the service encounter in order to build trust	More of a personal relationship developing between service manager and service users, than a professional one.	
Challenges of involvement	Language and cultural barriers Managing expectations Difficult to involve through things like FFD because they are such a transient community	Barriers to using services and therefore involvement through service interaction, e.g. when asked by another, one of the asylum seekers said she could not attend computer or English classes: 'No, I don't have time… I need a crèche.'	
Type of relationships with service users	Personal – goes to AS homes. Professional - advertise other services, 'share information' and provide advice	The service manager had developed a very good personal relationship with some of the ladies who attended the session and this created a very relaxed and informal atmosphere. Indeed, during the session one of the ladies complained how she had invited the service manager to her house but that she had not been to visit yet. Service Manager also trusted to provide advice and help with regards to asylum cases – e.g. at the end of the session one of the ladies also asked the service manager for help related to her asylum case: "Can you help me with letters?"	

Relationships with other organizations	Part of network Personal choice to be involved in networking Relationships within the network are 'quite positive'	Not directly observed but co-organized trip mentioned	Not evidenced
Challenges of relationships	Get 'sucked into' what the network is doing Some network meetings are 'too long, too drawn out' Churches sometimes left out because they do not have a specific remit	Not evidenced.	Not evidenced

	Service Manager Interview	Asylum Seeker Interview (duo)	Observation
Nature of service	Various services: cut prices shop; computer class; craft session; English classes Also provide support, e.g. find accommodation for homeless asylum seekers and help contact solicitors Signpost asylum seekers to other organizations	Not evidenced	Craft session
Purpose of service	Charitable aims to relieve poverty and assist integration into the community Services driven by need – responsive	Not evidenced	To learn a craft activity and socialize.
Are the aims of the service being achieved?	Services meet needs and steps taken to ensure lines of communication are open to keep services responsive	Value the service – "Small family" Friendly and welcoming	All the members participated in the activity.
Funding	Service Manager post funded by Tearfund Integration Network fund creche	Not evidenced	At the end of the session all participants asked to pay £1 to cover the costs of the materials – they were not aware of this and were not happy with the prospect of paying.
Service Provider	Paid employee is service manager Services provided by volunteers, including asylum seekers	Not evidenced	Volunteer did the session Service Manager came in briefly on two occasions
Service users	Asylum seekers, refugees and indigenous population	Asylum seekers – two females	8 asylum seekers, 2 indigenous members of the population – all female
Are AS involved	Evaluation to see what a difference the services make to lives Involved in deciding what activities are done in craft sessions Volunteer at shop	Scared to complain about other services, e.g. accommodation Get to choose what services use at Church B and also what format the craft session takes	Asylum seekers were asked whether a new lady could participate and bring her child with her. Feedback at the end of the session
Why involved	Asylum seekers are said to "have a right to participate" – want them to own the services	Not evidenced	Not evidenced
Challenges of involvement	Sometimes they decide what they want to do and then fail to turn up for a session	Do not get help about other services when ask for it.	Tokenistic form of involvement – service manager made the decision and the

			offer of involvement seemed more rhetorical than genuine. Feedback – participants were asked whether the session was different from the previous session, rather than whether it was worthwhile or enjoyable
Type of relationships with service users	Described as a relationship of trust and friendship rather than teacher/student Interaction leads to a "very close relationship" between asylum seekers and volunteers Key aim is to build relationship with people.	Friendship/family	Volunteer acted as instructor and facilitator Service Manager's role seemed to be authority figure
Relationships with other organizations	Work with other churches, e.g. provide crèche Integration Network member Have worked with Health Visitors in the past Share premises with other organizations Provide and seek advice/help to and from statutory agencies as and when needed – do not have partnerships with them (leave this to larger VOs)	Concern about complaining to other organizations	Not evidenced
Challenges of relationships	Funding has stopped visits from Health Visitors Some organizations want to "piggy back on your success" or are unwilling to offer flexible services in line with asylum seekers wants/needs	Not evidenced	Not evidenced

APPENDIX F: ANALYSIS OF ACCOMMODATION PROVIDER

	Service Manager Interview	Strategic Manager Interview	Government Agency Interview	Project Worker Observation
Nature of service	"an accommodation provider for asylum seekers arriving in the UK."	Not evidenced	Support and accommodation, including discontinuation of support.	Book in new asylum seeker families and check their accommodation was satisfactory. Each project worker is responsible for around 60 flats and they are expected to visit each of them once a month Check on the well-being of current clients and briefly inspected their properties. Deliver letters with offers of accommodation to those who had recently been given refugee status or leave to remain.
Purpose of service	"When they are dispersed to us, that's when they become our responsibility." Asylum seekers are provided with a furnished flat while they await the outcome of their case. They are supplied with a 'Welcome to Glasgow' pack in their own language. Asylum seekers sign legal documents, e.g. a tenancy agreement. They are provided with local information (buses; location of the local post office which is vital for to get their money; where the	Not evidenced	Various controls and requirements placed on asylum seekers to inform the Agency of any changes to their circumstances	Project Worker went beyond the provision of accommodation advice, although he was, in the first instance, using each visit to ensure that the Accommodation Provider's properties were being used appropriately. Additional focus was ensuring client well-being.

	schools are; and any local organizations that might be working in that area who'll be able to help) Project worker does monthly checks, but main purpose is to ensure flat and furniture are in working order.			
Are the aims of the service being achieved?	Many details of how contract fulfilled and how additional support is provided	Not evidenced	Not evidenced	Evidence of accommodation checks and data to prove that well-being support is provided.
Funding	Contract with Home Office, accompanied by "huge financial penalties."	Contract with Home Office	Government funded.	Not evidenced
Service Provider	Front-line Project Workers Mixed backgrounds – from housing, social work and some are former asylum seekers who had worked for interpreting services after receiving leave to remain.	Not evidenced	Office-based role, although previously had field workers. Responsible for assessing cases for asylum and ensuring support and accommodation are provided.	Project worker
Service users	Asylum seekers being placed into accommodation Referred to as clients	Not evidenced	Not evidenced	New asylum seekers who are being housed; asylum seekers already placed in housing; those with leave to remain. Project Manager's approach is humane and sensitive, viewing asylum seekers as people rather than just service users or clients.
Are AS involved	No choice dispersal in operation:	UK Govt view that asylum seekers	Reduction in face-to-face contact	Through the service interaction.

	Social consideration over where people are housed – attempts to cluster with similar cultures, languages, racial incidents Community organizations offer a way of involving asylum seekers which the organization can tap into. Willing to act on suggestions made by asylum seekers: e.g. suboffice in Sighthill established as a result of requests from asylum seekers. Consumer mechanisms used to involve: AP has "always had a complaints system." "all the clients knew how to complain and they weren't fearful of complaining."	should not be involved or integrated – 'that doesn't sit comfortably with us in Glasgow' Forums for discussion at neighbourhood level to discuss issues before they become challenging Communication over services and how they are performing – needs to be an appropriate way for asylum seekers to communicate any issues. Involvement not integral to formal planning cycle. Involve through VCS meetings.	is negative for building relationships and also finding and dealing with any problems Asylum seekers not party to strategic meetings "because a lot of the things that we discuss is not for disclosure" Previously did some outreach work in the VCS which is thought to be a type of involvement Involvement through VCS organizations which can then collate issues and report them to the Agency.	Lots of evidence of Project Worker's efforts to build relationship and trust (e.g. uses humour to make newly arrived asylum seeker relax).
Why involved	Not evidenced.	Linked to Scottish Government's wish to integrate immediately To improve services	Outreach work used to make clear what the role of the Agency was.	To ensure needs are being met by passing on any relevant information to other service providers, e.g. Health, Education or Social Work.
Challenges of involvement	"constraints of contract" make it challenging to involve asylum seekers Challenges of complaints but the voluntary sector helps	Worried about jeopardizing their claim for asylum.	Involving asylum seekers directly is difficult because they focus on their personal issues and agendas.	Language barriers Some would not answer their door or were not home, despite the Project Worker writing to them to tell them of a visit.
Type of relationships with service users	Front-line service providers develop relationship with asylum seekers Challenges of language and	Through Forums for Discussion and meetings with VCS. Aspiration to have clear lines of communication and build trust to	Not evidenced	Project Worker asked each asylum seeker he visited whether they were ok generally and specifically, whether their

	accent	make asylum seekers feel comfortable providing feedback or criticizing services.		support was ok. He also provided support and advice on an individual basis where he could. Goes beyond main aim which was to check accommodation, to ensure well-being of those in the accommodation.
Relationships with other organizations	Share information with other statutory service providers. Also signpost asylum seekers to other services once they have developed trusting relationships with them Strong links with the Scottish Refugee Council. Not working in partnership with the Home Office – working under a contract and HO is superior No strategic relationship with other organizations, but boss involved at higher level	Differing roles of the VCOs – competitors and advocacy role Is an inclination to work in partnership with the VCS VCS want to be involved earlier Relationship with the HO – Scotland often tagged on rather than being an active contributor that is integral to the process. This reinforces the need to work together in Scotland Examples of working together on the strategic level Partnership working made easier due to geography of Scotland. Also meets at National level Need to understand how the systems work to work together effectively Need dialogue and trust to work effectively	Relationships with other organizations essential - 'basically I can't do my job without interacting with other support services.' Issues can be resolved quickly by working together Operational meetings with service providers (accommodation only) and stakeholders Strategic meetings facilitated by Cosla. Opportunities for stakeholders to feed into the legislation through consultation Reference made to the idea that certain members of staff within another organization might be easier to work with than others. Limited work with the Scottish Government due to staffing issues.	Good contacts with colleagues working in Education, Social Work and the Police through quite informal conversations: "We talk to them everyday". Knowledge of who does what and which organizations to contact for information or to make referrals. Also had informal relationships with VCS which he was willing to tap into to sort out problems.
Challenges of relationships	Various challenges of working with the Home Office. No information provided or it is	Challenges of undisclosed information which may sway a point of view or response –	"… people come with their own agenda." which can be in conflict with the legislation.	Not evidenced

	incorrect. Mistakes made by Home Office not dealt with, while Accommodation Provider has financial penalties for mistakes.	pressure to 'work in the middle' 'Role confusion' – how much information to share with organizations which might work in service provision and play a role of advocate.	Not all stakeholders are willing to contribute through mechanisms provided, such as consultation. Strategic groups are further away from the ground and therefore less aware of asylum seeker needs	

	Service Manager Interview	Front-line staff Interview (duo)
Nature of service	Generally work with people in crisis and provide destitution support, but services particular to Glasgow developed from a blank canvas in 2003 in response to dispersal of asylum seekers. Different services provided: International Tracing Service; Orientation Service; Newspaper production; outreach work with schools.	Orientation Service where volunteers provide one-to-one support to asylum seekers Volunteer-led Drop-In Sessions
Purpose of service	International Tracing Service and also help prepare cases for family renunion Orientation Service provides one-to-one support to asylum seekers to "help them with the integration process" Newspaper to provide information to the asylum seeker and refugee community; and to promote RCOs services Outreach work to raise awareness with 12-14 year olds in Scotland of refugee and humanitarian issues.	Help clients access the right services and refer them to other organizations Drop-in provides social interaction, fun activities and ESOL
Are the aims of the service being achieved?	Newspaper receives positive feedback.	Drop in evaluated – both clients and volunteers provide feedback
Funding	Newspaper funded by the European Refugee Fund Orientation Service funded by Humanitarian Organization	Not evidenced
Service Provider	Service Manager was previous editor of newspaper Volunteers provide Orientation Service (some are past asylum seekers) Also employ paid workers	Women's Service Co-ordinator Volunteers
Service users	Asylum seekers and refugees – referred to as "clients"	Referred to as "clients"
Are AS involved	Newspaper evaluated through feedback forms and focus groups but there are restrictions Can contribute to the Newspaper but some issues raised about	Asylum seeker involvement as volunteers described as crucial to Orientation Service. Also clients using the service are involved due to the nature of the

	maintaining a balance – asylum seekers can come with their own "agenda" which could potentially impact the "professionalism" of the Newspaper. Orientation Service provides "non-directional advocacy" over a 6-8 week period (depending on vulnerability). Volunteers acts as advocates and clients are encouraged to take the lead.	service – the client is provided with options which they can choose from. Also have a choice over who they work with (e.g. a volunteer from the same or different country or an English-speaking volunteer) Drop-in described as being volunteer-led (some of which are asylum seekers) which is, in turn, led by client need.
Why involved	Newspaper – to ensure it is a good and worthwhile piece of work. For the Orientation Service, the aim is to develop a relationship to 'build trust'	Orientation Service – asylum seekers involved as volunteers because they have language, cultural knowledge and have experienced many of the same things Clients using the Orientation Service involved due to the nature of the service being client-led and to build trust Drop-in – to ensure it meets client need
Challenges of involvement	Balance between what asylum seekers want in the newspaper and what it appropriate for other people reading it, e.g. Government Ministers	Issues with asylum seekers not trusting someone from their native country or someone from a country which may be in conflict with their own – challenge for the service relationship
Type of relationships with service users	Not evidenced	"Professional friendship"
Relationships with other organizations	Feedback on Newspaper from SRC. Also exchange info and make referrals Developed better links with the Accommodation Provider over the years – in the early years of dispersal the AP was more 'reactive' Growing relationship with TSG Meetings are less adversarial because there are "very good tiers of support" Good communication channels with TSG, UKBA and SRC Provided evidence to UKBA and it is willing to act on recommendations – have an input to policy Mindset of TSG is different from Westminster -"about integration" – making it easier to work with them. Partners with various VCOs and RCOs See many of those working in other organizations as "colleagues"	Some aspiration to work with other organizations for the Drop-In sessions.

	Geography makes partnership working easier – "Glasgow is the biggest village in the planet" Also Glasgow is seen to have a specific "personality" which is more pro-asylum seekers than other parts of the UK or Scotland. Volunteers in the Orientation Service work with front-line staff of other organizations – the Humanitarian Organization relies on other organizations for feedback on whether the volunteers are acting appropriately.	
Challenges of relationships	In the early days of dispersal there were so many organizations that it was difficult to engage with them all Need to be established with own agenda before you can engage effectively	Difficult for some volunteers to work with other organizations when they do not have a knowledge of the landscape or processes. The volunteers might be new or have limited English – recognized that this really depends on the individual.

	Service Manager Interview	Service Manager Interview	Front-line Staff Interview	Asylum seeker interview	Observation
Nature of service	Volunteering opportunities for asylum seekers Work with organizations which provide volunteering opportunities English classes for asylum seekers with good spoken English but poorer written	Literacies for adults who are volunteering or would like to volunteer, including asylum seekers – about non-formal education and based on the social practices model	Provide literacies tutoring	Not evidenced	Literacy provision
Purpose of service	A volunteering project for asylum seekers ran for 18 months and its aim was to improve mental health, involve asylum seekers in everyday life, help immerse them into culture. Now volunteering opportunities tend to be taken up by male asylum seekers and women with school-aged children Aim to help underrepresented people (including asylum seekers) find volunteering opportunities	Provide informal literacy classes to those volunteers or potential volunteers who need literacies training.	Improve learners English. Help learners prepare for the Citizenship test. Learners want to do test for different reasons – help with English and practice if they are looking to gain citizenship. Also do IT with learners but it is "challenging" because the tutor has to "teach two things"	Not evidenced	Help asylum seekers and refugees improve their English
Are the aims of the service being	Examples of asylum seekers volunteering	Learners are said to come back because of the non-	Learners given certificate at the end of the course –		Format allowed the teaching to be directed to

achieved?	provided	formal nature of the service provision	more about attendance because it is not accredited. Complements services provided by Colleges Funding cuts have not impacted on attendance		specific needs around the English language
Funding	18 month project funded by Home Office (funding for childcare and bus fare).	Previously funded by Local Authority but now by Arm's Length Organization – no longer funding for crèche and travel, but not thought to impact attendance Lots of paperwork associated with funding – "expect a lot for a little"	Not evidenced	Not evidenced	Not evidenced
Service Provider	Literacy tutor Service provider dealing with volunteering opportunities is not evidenced	Development Officer Tutors		Literacy tutor Service professionals who find volunteering opportunities	Literacy tutor and volunteer tutor
Service users	Asylum seekers	Asylum seekers, refugees and indigenous population Learners	Asylum seekers and refugees Learners	Male Serbian asylum seeker, been in Glasgow for 11 months.	Three learners – two women and one man
Are AS involved	Volunteering opportunities Choice over which opportunities they take up	Individual learners are assessed, but recognition that this should be done informally over a cup of coffee, but that this is not possible due to funding constraints Evaluation of the service	Evaluation every 6-8 weeks Fluid approach to teaching – change focus on the basis of what the learners want/ask	Is involved in deciding what is covered the literacy class, but also suggests that the tutor knows what to cover. Would like to volunteer but is awaiting an opportunity.	Format of the class was very informal and fluid, with the tutor steering the general format of the class, but the participants deciding what areas would be covered – through their Individual Learning Plans

					and also by asking questions during the course of the session. The asylum seekers participating in the class had reasonably good English so were able to voice their opinion and questions. Lots of interaction between tutors and learners throughout the course of the session
Why involved	Choice given to provide them with some power back. Help asylum seekers feel like they are contributing to society. Ask for feedback on volunteering placements, but this is not done systematically.	Leaners are given interim meetings because the organization does not want them to leave – encourage them into other services. Evaluation a funding requirement but also done to improve service	Funder want "value for money" so they want to "know about learners' progressions". Evaluation also done to make improvements to the service based on learner need. Service is linked to getting people into volunteering - "Volunteering is brilliant… it helps people engage and integrate and it also gets people into jobs in the long run"	Not evidenced	The class is "learner-driven" so is structured to the needs of the class.
Challenges of involvement	Asylum seekers who do not speak English makes volunteering difficult –	Cultural differences can make the service interaction challenging	Tutors can take learners out of the classroom but this takes longer and is	Not evidenced	The tutor had to ensure that he was meeting the needs of all the learners

	interpreters are expensive, lack of English can result in health and safety issues.	sometimes	more resource intensive. Learning outwith the classroom also challenging, e.g. museums - the language used on the information boards can be quite difficult. Mixed ability of class can make service provision challenging		and also keep to task, rather than changing the focus with every question asked – there was a balance to be struck
Type of relationships with service users	Not evidenced	Informal teacher-learner Expect a degree of respect		Not evidenced	Tutor-learner relationship, but not in the typical classroom way – relationship was more relaxed
Relationships with other organizations	Speak to other organizations for information – "a real mine of information" Refer on volunteers mainly to VCOs but also some public sector organizations Refer to VCS drop-in sessions for social interaction	Referrals from other organizations. Very good links with funding organization, which encourages partnership working. Attends Integration Network which is good for information provision and referrals. Share premises with organizations.	Development Officer builds up really good relationships with other organizations. Referrals from organizations of individuals who need to improve their English. Other organizations come in to provide information on the services they offer.	Said he did not use any other organizations as he just "wants to learn"	Not evidenced
Challenges of relationships	Not evidenced	None – individual spoke of enjoying networking		Not evidenced	Not evidenced

APPENDIX I: ANALYSIS OF YOUNG PERSONS' GROUP

	Service Manager Interview	Asylum Seeker Group Interview	Observation
Nature of service	Group for young people who are looked after and accommodated and young people who are formally looked after	Information provision and social interaction.	Group for social interaction among looked after children
Purpose of service	Look at earlier intervention with young people within the care system. Service set up because a need was identified that young people need to have a voice and be recognised within the system. Also used to fill gaps in service provision Represent asylum seekers to other organizations. Information provision Social interaction Refer individuals onto other organizations for specific support	To provide information and ensure that young people know their rights	Social interaction, information provision and consultation.
Are the aims of the service being achieved?	Service users see group as their "Scottish Family"	The purpose of the Group is said to be 'very important'.	Lots of interaction and talking. Time for questions and good rapport between service manager and young people.
Funding	Not evidenced	Not evidenced	Not evidenced
Service Provider	Service Manager of the Group	Young Person's Group and the Charity	Service Manager from Group and Assistant Service Manager from outside organization responsible for social care Interpreter
Service users	Young asylum seekers in looked after care aged 12 to 25 (approx 47) See as individuals rather than a group	One female and three male asylum seekers from Nigeria, Iraq and Afghanistan. The individuals had been in Glasgow for 1-2 years.	13 asylum seekers – 6 girls and 7 boys – in looked after care. The young people originated from various countries, including Afghanistan, Nigeria, Kenya and the Congo.
Are AS involved	Young people have sat on the Board	Choice over which activity they do and	Consultation exercise, using sticky notes.

	Consultation in various formats Young people involved in relation to the frequency of the group meetings. Reviews and evaluation Asylum seekers need to establish a relationship with interpreters	the 'majority wins'.	Group decided on the format of the session (i.e. working together in the larger group rather than splitting into two)
Why involved	To ensure service is meeting their needs – "it is their group" Give young people a voice and empower them	Not evidenced	Social Care Organization wanted to collect views of the young people regarding how they would like to participate
Challenges of involvement	Although there is an aspiration to make the group independent of professional support, this was not deemed appropriate or possible. Involvement at strategic level not appropriate (the way information is provided and discussed) – better to involve on their level and feed back to strategic players. Some organizations are not welcoming or willing to listen to input from young people. Impact of involvement depends on the individual. Young people have strong focus on education which can affect engagement with group. Not getting feedback on consultations Interpreters are not always up to scratch	Working with social workers was challenging for some respondents. This was considered to be 'personal' issue and was related to an unwillingness on the part of social workers to meet immediately. Lack of knowledge about who to contact with problems among some of the asylum seekers.	Interpreter made the discussion drawn out and some of the English-speaking young people lost interest in the discussion. Need to manage expectations – one young person raised concerns that 'nobody was listening' to his wish to move to another unit. The Service Manager agreed to take the issue up and try to help.
Type of relationships with service users	Friendship, but also professional	Friendship/personal – one described her relationship with the Charity as being 'their kid'	Friendship with the Service Manager, but also professional during the session.
Relationships with other organizations	Is a partnership organization – buy in from other organizations is thought to make the group successful Seek different partners to do different pieces of work on and operational and strategic level. Practitioners forum for information exchange.	Other organization collect information about them through the group. Respondents recognized that this was often an exchange of information which was also valuable to them.	Social Care Organization was consulting the Group The group mentioned various organizations that had asked for their views in the past

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	Good to have a collective voice when working more strategically Important to provide evidence to strategic players Feed information to TSG through a VCO Partnerships are not equal – depends on the role of the organization		
Challenges of relationships	Having lots of partners round the table can be challenging Limited resources can reduce potential for partnership – choice between providing service and going to meeting	Not evidenced	Not evidenced.

APPENDIX J: ANALYSIS OF FRAMEWORK FOR DIALOGUE GROUP

	PSO2 Service Manager Interview	PSO3 Service Manager Interview	Asylum seeker interview x6	Observation
Nature of service	FFD Groups emerged out of a consultation by TSG which found that: services for asylum seekers could be improved; asylum seekers could not work; negative images in the media; anti-social behaviour. A group of asylum seekers agreed to take these issues forward and start a 'dialogue' with service providers about them. Meet fortnightly but likely to move to monthly due to resourcing.	Meets fortnightly Organizations come to provide information and also engage with the group Idea behind the FFD was to create a sustainable consultation structure Now FFD structure is for BME Community (implications for funding) FFDs are unique to Glasgow – bring asylum seekers and refugees from different countries and cultures together	Provide information, help and socialize Different organizations come to provide information about services or explain about asylum claims Encourage to learn English	Information provision and engagement session Creche provided
Purpose of service	"Work with people to help themselves"	Focus of community engagement for asylum seekers and refugees. Provide information about services and asylum issues Support asylum seekers to plan their own events To ensure an embedded local service structure – ensure access to basic services	Trust very important for most interviewees To integrate	To provide information about services and any other information pertinent to asylum seekers. Used as a means of engaging with asylum seekers directly
Are the aims of the service being achieved?	Not evidenced	Described as really successful – brought people together	Some asylum seekers come every week since they have arrived in the country highlighting the importance of the group.	Lots of information provided Example of engagement – Charity used the session to consult on its strategic direction
Funding	Funds from the Charity and sometimes the Integration	Fairer Scotland Fund through the Local Integration Network	Not evidenced	Not evidenced

	Network.			
Service Provider	Community Development Engagement Worker	Community Workers facilitate and support FFD – administrative role. Hopes not to act too much like a gatekeeper	Not evidenced	Service Manager from the Charity. Service Manager from PSO. Refugee who now works with the Charity. 3 interpreters
Service users	Very well attended group – up to 26 members (two crèches provided). Men and women attend, but mostly women	Usually 20 people at the group, but mailing list of 60-70	5 female and 3 male from Sri Lanka, Congo, Pakistan	14 asylum seekers – 10 men and four women – from Sudan, Somalia, Ivory Coast and Eritrea.
Are AS involved	Due to concerns about loss of funding, they are looking to have an organiser's sub-group to ensure there is a mechanism to keep the group going. Organizations also come to consult with asylum seekers. Asylum seekers can be party to the decision over which information they require and can suggest that certain organizations come to talk with the group.	Involved in setting the agenda of FFD meetings. Mini-planning sessions conducted with asylum seekers for 6-month periods. Sign off Local Integration Network plan as potential service users. Have choice over which organizations come to talk to them. Consultation events. Provide information so they can be involved as and when they want. Group is independently constituted so has three office bearers in control of finances, who are supported by service provider. Aspiration to have asylum seekers at network meetings. FFDs link with Refugee Policy	No choice over schools or GPs. Interpreters important for asylum seekers to have a say over services. FFD uses asylum seekers as representatives for the whole group – they talk to the HO and take issues forward. The reps are chosen by everyone through a majority-wins voting system. Volunteering through FFD	Group members asked to take minutes and chair the meeting. Consultation exercise by the Charity part way through the session

		Forum which links at a city-wide level with RCOs and national level with the UKBA		
Why involved	Gather views through consultation. Meet needs through information provision	To shape services according to need	Volunteer because like helping (gives purpose)	Not evidenced
Challenges of involvement	Time – people busy with their claims for asylum and want to learn English. Time constraints have meant the group meets in the evening	Interpreters make the meetings lengthy High turn over of asylum seekers Practical challenges – people busy, no childcare Challenge of feeding asylum seeker voice into development plan for the Local Integration Network	Some unwillingness to be involved due to worry of being detained, but others are happy to voice opinions Some confusion over who to complain to	Session seemed to be centred on information provision with service providers dominating the conversation. There was limited reaction to any requests for volunteers Not clear whether the asylum seeker chairing the meeting was listening or understood what was being discussed
Type of relationships with service users	Not evidenced.	Support role	Friendship and trusting of FFD facilitators	Asylum seekers seemed passive for most of the session, but engaged as interested parties during the consultation exercise
Relationships with other organizations	Party to Integration Network Reliant on the Charity's links with UKBA to feedback information about the asylum process and any changes Organizations (e.g. Police and Health Services) come to the group to provide information Used to attend Practitioner's Meetings held by the Charity but stopped due to resourcing issues Dependent on the Charity talking	Work with Scottish Induction Service who refer people to the group Organizations that have given up time to participate in Networks have good intentions. Integration Network - joined up plan is "crucial" to resource allocation. Different networks in the city but all share the purpose of sharing information, keeping up to date	Charity – financial support, advice, contact lawyers, campaigning Charity described as very important organization and respondents mentioned that they trusted the organization. Home Office – asylum claim and accommodation One respondent went to a Women's group to socialize and participate in activities College – English classes	Charity and PSO are responsible for managing the service

	to the UKBA to then brief other organizations and asylum seekers about the asylum process	and promoting integration. Share venues Practitioner's Forum to keep up to date with policy and share information Are informal relationships between people across organizations (friends and former colleagues)	Voluntary Organization Accommodation Provider	
Challenges of relationships	Not got good links with the private accommodation provider which means that asylum seekers do not hear about events, services and information	Planning can be difficult – depends on who is round the table and how vocal they are. People do not have time to follow up on Network things as they have day jobs. Voluntary sector is not as accessible as it was – they can offer something for nothing. People are polite and not always willing to share their views publicly so need to find a way of anonymising input to planning. Informal relationships with those in BME community are missing.	Home Office do not listen and are suspicious. Complaints to concierge about accommodation (noise) not always dealt with	Not evidenced

	PSO1 Service Manager	VOAP	Observation
Nature of service	Asylum liaison and race crime	Works as development worker for IN	Integration Network meeting Very professional and formal environment – chaired meeting with agenda
Purpose of service	Integration, engagement and crime reduction Sports programme to integrate asylum seekers and latterly to tackle gang violence and youth crime	IN works to Local Integration Plan which was developed by IN – it links to community planning and goals are around integration of asylum seekers	To provide updates on progress and share information
Funding	TSG, Community Planning Partnership, The Big Lottery	CPP funding – project based	Not apparent.
Service users	Asylum seeker families and indigenous population	Not discussed/applicable	Not applicable
When involved	Young people involved in Steering Group Early engagement with AS to build trust – 'chap doors'	Not involved in IN – aim to do this in future Residents Association for VOAP	Not applicable
Why involved	Funding requirement and to ensure they are getting what they want	Resident Association established to provide asylum seekers with a voice in running the building Involvement is worthwhile because it creates 'stakeholders' and services that reflect need	Not applicable
Challenges	Scared involvement will impact asylum claim Building trust More male asylum seekers who are difficult to approach	Interpreters make involvement difficult and time-consuming Difficult for organizations to demonstrate involvement – tendency to talk about it or promise it rather than actually do it.	Not applicable
Type of relationships with service users	Develop trust and over long term, friendships	Not discussed	Not applicable
Relationships with other organizations	Multi-agency approach to solve problems quickly Member of Integration Network – information	Various organizations involved in IN Board of Directors of IN from various organizations including Police, CPP, YMCA	There seemed to be some tension in the relationship between the Development Worker and PSO service manager - the PSO

	sharing	IN supports 8 projects Relationships described as very co-operative due to sharing common goal	service manager checked up on the Development Worker in a very public way and she looked quite frustrated while doing so.
Challenges of relationships	Organizations unwillingness to take responsibility Political issues which were not expanded upon	None provided.	Some confusion over who was dealing with a project: 'people change and organizations change.' In total, only six people talked during the meeting and the Development Worker, PSO service manager and Chair were the main contributors. However, on the way out of the meeting the Chair commented to me that the meeting was relatively quiet but 'it's not usually like that… there are lots of new people.'

APPENDIX L: ANALYSIS OF STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEWS I

	Charity Service Manager	Small VO Service Manager	SRPF
Nature of service	Lobbying role Support asylum seekers by providing advice and information Promote self organization and Refugee Community Organizations	Initially about providing humanitarian aid Now practical support (e.g. find lawyer, ESOL classes) Training programmes for volunteers	Chairman of Refugee Policy Forum which has representatives from various RCOs
Purpose of service	Support function Support 8 FFDGs Support Integration Networks – to plan and deliver services	Community integration – break down barriers	Represent FFDGs and Integration Networks Advocate and lobby MPs, MSPs and HO
Funding	TSG		Charity and HO
Service users	Asylum seekers and refugees	Asylum seekers, refugees and indigenous population AS are mixed age, male and female	Not discussed
When involved	Consult 'clients' to develop services Not a great deal of choice compared to indigenous population	Volunteers Service evaluation Needs led organization – ask service users what they want FFD give AS voice	Through FFDGs
Why involved	Integration and service improvement	To ensure they make full use of service Integrate into the community	Get response from Govt about pertinent issues relating to asylum seekers.
Challenges	Cultural and language barriers.	People worried about 'putting their head above the parapet' Also, asylum seekers tend to focus on their claim	Not about status, AS will not take part Suspicious of government – do not understand democracy Some AS think Charity is part of the HO
Type of relationships with service users	Client	Not discussed.	Not discussed
Relationships with other organizations	Work with various VCOs, PSOs and RCOs	Part of Integration Network Work with various VCOs – 'networking' relationships	RCOs working together Close relationship with Charity
Challenges of relationships	Not discussed.	Not discussed.	

	LAALC Service Manager	Small Charity Service Manager	FDD Interpreter
Nature of service	Sport services to young asylum seekers	Asylum seeker advice Lobby MSPs, MPs Programme to train asylum seekers as volunteer advisors across Glasgow	Interpretation during FFDGs
Purpose of service	Community integration Provide sports coaches to facilitate PSO1's programme	Asylum seeker volunteers – benefit from their skills and they benefit	Not discussed
Funding	Glasgow Housing Association TSG	City Council Programme funding from TSG	Not discussed
Service users	Asylum seeker young people and indigenous young people, plus their families	Indigenous population, asylum seekers and refugees seeking advice on various issues	Asylum seekers
When involved	Dialogue and feedback on the operational level	Volunteers involved in operational decision making Build relationships with volunteers so they feel part of the project Clients evaluate service and can use complaints system	Not all AS participate in forums – particularly the well educated. Input at an operational level
Why involved	Better at articulating their own needs	Service can benefit from AS volunteers knowledge and skills Some may volunteer for their own benefit (help their asylum claim) Ensure client satisfaction	Not discussed
Challenges	Attempts to involve in decision making difficult – AS not willing to be involved	Not discussed	AS generally powerless – no involvement at the strategic level FFDGs not empowering AS – just for 'entertainment' Little integration with Scottish people due to the current approach to

			integration and placement of AS in deprived areas TSG has little power compared to HO
Type of relationships with service users	Strong relationships on the ground between asylum seekers and street workers.	Client	Not discussed
Relationships with other organizations	Partnership with PSO1	Work with various VCOS – referrals, information sharing, share practices Part of Integration Network	Not discussed
Challenges of relationships	Very challenging initially due to a lack of communication and unaware of each other's roles and responsibilities	Time and resources for participation	Not discussed.

	WVO Service Manager	WVO FL1	WVO FL2	WVO FL3
Nature of service	Literacy services for women Campaigning on behalf of AS	Literacy and improving English language classes	Lifelong learning and outreach work	Literacy and ESOL
Purpose of service	Integration	Improve English and upskill people to enter the labour market	Improve English through accessible services; interact with communities	Improve English, integration Empower women to be independent
Funding	Not discussed	European funding	Not discussed	Not discussed
Service users	BME women from various backgrounds including asylum seekers	Female asylum seekers	BME groups (women) including AS	Women from BME groups including AS
When involved	Volunteers Consult over new premises	During service encounter – through Individual Learning Plans Plan evaluation - not conducted yet	During service encounter Informal evaluation	During service encounter ILP to determine needs – learner led through negotiation
Why involved	AS have lots to contribute 'contribute to the life of the organization'	Gauge what learning needs are	To find out needs	Determine needs
Challenges	Anxious about participation and impact on their refugee case	Using male tutors Time to commit to service due to focus on case for refugee status and family commitments	Time to participate in service	Cultural differences Need to maintain boundaries as service provider Stress of asylum claim
Type of relationships with service users	Friendships	Teacher, learner	Not discussed	Teacher, learner
Relationships with other organizations	Partnership with community organization	Work with other VCO to provide service GCVS provides training for tutors	VCOs – develop links and build trust to access service users Signpost service users to other organizations	Not discussed
Challenges of relationships	Not discussed.	Not discussed.		Not discussed