



A Fusion of Horizons

An Exploration of Text and Context in the Formation of Tusla, the Child and Family Agency

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Acronyms/Abbreviations

ANAO	Australian National Audit Office
BOBF	Better Outcomes Brighter Futures (DCYA Publication)
CAMHS	Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services
CES	Centre for Effective Services
CFA	Child and Family Agency
CFSA	Child and Family Support Agency
CYPSC	Children and Young People's Services Committee
DCYA	Department of Children and Youth Affairs
FRC	Family Resource Centre
FSA	Family Support Agency
HSE	Health Service Executive
ICC	International Children's Care
NEWB	National Educational Welfare Board
NPM	New Public Management
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
PSR	Public Sector Reform
TFR	Task Force Report
WOG	Whole-of-Government

Abstract

Niamh Sheridan

A Fusion of Horizons: An Exploration of the Formation of Tusla, the Child and Family Agency

This thesis is an exploration of the creation of Tusla, the Child and Family Agency. This state agency was formed in January 2014 with a vision of creating an organisation which would improve the safety and welfare of children in the Irish state. The creation of this agency heralded fundamental changes, including the disaggregation of children's services from the Health Service Executive, the dissolution of other non-governmental agencies and the reorientation of community organisations working in the area of children's services. This study focuses on the relationship between aspiration and reality and aims to explicate both the apparent and subterranean connections between one government report – ‘‘Report of the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency (2012)’’ and the experience of front line workers during the implementation of the findings of this report. The study is placed at the intersection between text and context and aspiration and reality, and explores the emerging paradoxes within this public sector reform process drawing on a range of disciplines, including social policy, anthropology, geography, complexity sciences and philosophy.

1.0 Introduction

1.1 The Arrival of a Report

For many practitioners, a report is something that arrives in an envelope from a government department. It has easy-to-understand graphics, at least one 2x2 matrix and is, inevitably, peppered with tables showing in what way and in what order the report is to be understood. This report is followed by a policy which is followed by an operational manual explaining what one must do to reach the goals floating in colourful bubbles on the page. There is, it seems, a new policy or framework document or strategic plan or implementation programme each week.

Mostly, practitioners ignore these documents wholesale (Tummers et al., 2015; Meyers et al., 1998; Sowell, 2007) and work on executing the programmes they are tasked to implement, trusting that someone will tell them if any of the information held within the glossy pages is important. There is little time to engage with reports and policy documents, let alone understand the theoretical underpinnings, the political context or, indeed, the ideological foundations on which these documents are built. There is little time to test the logic of these documents, to compare one report to the other, to identify the contradictions or understand the implications. Yet, these reports and policies do have implications for the work practitioners do every day. They influence the structure, the context, the budget, the orientation and, ultimately, the work experiences of practitioners. Crucially for this research, when reports recommend change and Acts are created to operationalise these recommendations, those working at the front line experience that change in an embodied way.

1.2 Study Aims

This study takes one report and one organisation and aims to achieve two ends – namely, to increase the understanding of the organisation's creation and to increase the understanding of the consequence of its creation on the ground level. The aim is to explicate the relationship between report and experience, text and context. The

organisation upon which the study will focus is Tusla, the Child and Family Agency, and the report is the ‘‘Report of the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency’’ (TFR) (2012).

1.3 Study Rationale

There are five reasons why this topic was chosen over others. Firstly, as a professional working close to the phenomenon, there was a tacit understanding of the link between the creation of Tusla and some of the observed practitioner experiences. Secondly, this tacit understanding was underpinned by twenty years’ experience of working in the sector. Thirdly, there was a sense of obligation to create knowledge which could be useful and revelatory to those working at a ground level. Fourthly, access to knowledge through key actors was possible due to the researcher’s long-standing within the sector. Finally, as a doctoral student, it was possible to undertake the time-consuming work of answering an important but nascent question which others could not take time to explore (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Williams and Sullivan, 2009).

1.4 Knowledge Gap

As noted above, the lack of empirical knowledge was part of the rationale for this research focus. There are few documents published which discuss the creation of Tusla and/or consequences the creation of Tusla had on front line workers experiences. In March 2016 and again in January 2018, an extensive search of journals was undertaken to identify published literature on the creation of Tusla or on the TFR document. This search yielded just four results. The first paper by McKeon (2013), published before the creation of Tusla, was concerned with the challenges to the organisation. The second and third papers by McGregor (2014a) and McGregor (2014b) concerned a survey of social workers’ perceptions of the creation of Tusla. The fourth report a ‘Case Study on Tusla: The Child and Family Agency (2017) focuses on ‘the establishment of Tusla and identifies learning for other large-scale public service reform initiatives’ (O Riordan and Boyle, 2017, p5). This report is a bounded study of the establishment of Tusla, beginning its consideration of the topic in 2011 and concluding with the agencies establishment in January 2014. The case study report converges with this study in certain areas. It

resonances with the first aim of this study: - to increase the understanding of the organisation's creation. However, the case study's scope does not address the second aim of this study: - to increase the understanding of the consequence of Tusla's creation on the ground level. Rather, this work focuses specifically on change management processes, a topic outside of the scope of this study. Regardless of the differences of focus, methodology and scope, Boyle's (2017) case study does note a number of key considerations raised and explored in this study, namely the importance of the TFR as a key report in the creation of, and evaluation of the creation of, Tusla, the incomplete nature of Tusla and the tensions experienced during the change process.

In addition to a search of published material, the RIAN database was explored for unpublished doctoral or post-doctoral work relating to the creation of Tusla. Reports from other government bodies whose publications are stored on this site were also investigated. These sites yielded many publications in relation to the work of Tusla; however, there was no research in relation to the creation of Tusla or the consequences of the creation of Tusla on those working at the front line of the organisation. While there was a dearth of academic scholarship in relation to the creation of Tusla, there was international and national scholarship in relation to the creation of new agencies (Egeberg and Trondal, 2009; Van Theil and Overman, 2016; Boyle, 2016) which provided guidance in the creation of the research and the orientation of the gaze in the absence of specific publications. The absence of specific studies and the international acknowledgement of the need for such studies encouraged the pursuit of the research topic.

1.5 Study Scope

This research studied the creation of Tusla and the consequences of its creation on those working on the ground level. The study is exploratory and, as such, the form and structure of the research emerged as the researcher began to understand the contours of the phenomenon. This research is not a study of the process of organisational change management or a treatise on leadership or resistance to change. The researcher acknowledges the potential value of such studies. However, for reasons outlined above, the researcher chooses to focus on the connection

between abstract policy and front line consequences desiring to foreground these lesser-studied aspects of the phenomenon (Christensen and Raynor, 2003). This research is undertaken with one report and one sub-population in one, geographically bounded area. The research findings do not claim to be representative of the population; however, the research suggests that the findings may be characteristic of the phenomenon (Crotty, 1998; Russell and Gregory, 2003; Weick, 1995) as discussed in Section 3.4.3. There is no attempt to identify a causal relationship, but there is an attempt to begin an exploratory process which may be continued in the future.

1.6 Study Contribution

The research is an original work which explores a previously unresearched phenomenon. Meacham states that ‘reality backs up when it is approached by the subject who tries to understand it’ (1983, p.130). Meacham explains that each new area of knowledge appears ‘simple from a distance of ignorance’ and the closer one gets to the phenomenon ‘the greater the number of uncertainties, doubts, questions and complexities’ (Meacham, 1983, p.120). This was certainly the experience of researching this phenomenon. This research contributes to knowledge in its willingness to engage with a difficult subject and to manoeuvre among these uncertainties and complexities. The contribution is in the examination of the phenomenon in an original way, utilising the richness of bricolage, phenomenology, hermeneutical phenomenology and sensemaking. The research brings together a variety of academic disciplines which assist in the investigation of a nebulous phenomenon; such disciplines include social policy, public sector reform, sociology, anthropology, geography, organisational psychology, complexity sciences and philosophy.

There are three valid critiques which could be levelled at this research, and it is prudent to engage with these as they may help the reader to understand the research, its intentions and scope. It could be stated that the study is *too broad for a comprehensive analysis within a project of this size*. This critique may be valid, and there were challenges in creating a study which encompassed the phenomenon.

However, research in this area is limited, and it was considered that an attempt to begin the process of engagement, with all its assured shortfalls, may encourage others' interest in the topic and progress more study in this area. Secondly, *there are too many factors discussed in the research and a more in-depth analysis of either the policy document or the effect of this policy on the ground would be more satisfactory*. This may be valid, and both a policy analysis and a phenomenological exploration were considered; however, the interconnectedness of the phenomenological findings and the TFR on which Tusla was founded was too important to scorn in favour of a more linear format. *Perhaps a case study format would have been more suitable for this study*. Indeed, a case study approach was considered; however, due to the interactive and exploratory nature of the work, it was feared that creating a bounded study would not allow for the emergence of elements not originally identified as part of the format. Thus, this case-study method was not utilised.

1.7 Chapter Overview

This research is presented to the reader in five chapters. **Chapter One** outlines the evolution of the project, the aims and scope of the research and the contribution of the study to the corpus of knowledge. It also highlights some of the challenges of the research process and concludes with an outline and brief discussion of the contents of the chapter. **Chapter Two** discusses the academic literature relevant to the creation of Tusla. This chapter discusses the creation of Tusla, the Child and Family Agency, utilising the lens of the 'Report of the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency' (TFR), and relates the creation of Tusla to the international literature on public sector reform. The chapter presents two international case studies of public sector reform (PSR) and discusses these in relation to the TFR. The discussion continues with the introduction of the key concepts of silos and agentification and the position of Family Resource Centres (FRCs), and introduces the significance of non-state actors in the creation of Tusla. The chapter then moves to a discussion of the challenges inherent in the utilisation of PSR to deal with difficult societal issues and engages with some alternative constructions of why PSR may fail. The chapter concludes with a summation and discussion of the paradoxes identified within the task force document. **Chapter Three** discusses the

methodological considerations in the creation of this research. The chapter begins with a discussion of the epistemological, ontological and design considerations of the study, introducing the reader to the application of bricolage, phenomenology, hermeneutical phenomenology and sensemaking – and their contribution to the research. The chapter then discusses the use of Boyatzis' (1998) construction of thematic analysis and its application to the fieldwork data, and concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations of this study. **Chapter Four** presents the findings of the fieldwork under four thematic headings, i.e. 'Fragmentation', 'Paradigm Shift', 'Relationships' and 'Money', and draws the reader into the embodied experience of working through the temporal period of the creation of Tusla and the continuing difficulties the formation of this organisation has created. **Chapter Five** examines the findings using the framework created by Weick in his article, 'The Collapse of Sensemaking in Organisations' (1993), revisits the two international case studies presented in the Literature Review and continues with a discussion of the key findings, their value and contribution. This chapter closes with a discussion of the limitations of the research. **Chapter Six** is the concluding chapter of the research and reasserts the research journey. The chapter sets the key findings in context and discusses the paradox of the creation of Tusla and the implications of the findings for the future of the agency. This chapter also discusses the emergent nature of the research design as a key component of the research and outlines potential future research. The chapter concludes with a reminder to the reader that while the tangible aspects of the research are concerned with public sector reform, government reports, paradox and dislocation, the spirit of the research is orientated towards the creation of knowledge, an understanding of which can support both the state and the individual to meet the needs of vulnerable children and families.

1.8 Conclusion

This research is a contemplation of the union of text and context, explored in an original way and presented here for the consideration of the reader.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This review explores the national and international literature relevant to the creation of Tusla, the Child and Family Agency, and applies this literature to the aspirational document, ‘The Report of the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency’ (2012). This approach is undertaken for a number of reasons. Firstly, the report sets out the ‘ideal’ structure for the new agency before bureaucratic and political factors were brought to bear. Secondly, the report is the most highly abstract document relating to the creation of Tusla and, thus, is the closest in content to the academic literature. Thirdly, concentrating on the report creates a connection between the abstract literature and the lived experience of the participants explored in Chapter Four. This connection will allow for a more in-depth analysis of these findings, in addition to a clear understanding of the significance of these connections for the reader as discussed in Chapter Five.

The exploration of the literature begins in **Section One** with a discussion of the context of the agency’s creation and the Child and Family Act 2013. **Section Two** opens with a discussion of high-level, public sector reform and the models of new public management (NPM) and whole-of-government (WOG), both approaches are evident in the report. This discussion is followed by a consideration of the language of public policymaking, with a focus on the concepts of ‘governance’ and ‘accountability’. The discussion then draws together the four themes of NPM, whole-of-government, governance and accountability. **Section Three** presents two international case studies of the operationalisation of public policy reform. These case studies bring the reader to the front line of public sector reform. They assist in understanding the complexities of the implementation of policies which are pertinent to the research findings. **Section Four** considers two concepts which are key to the discussion of the creation of Tusla – namely, those of agentification and silos. This section, also, discusses Family Resource Centres as “‘arm’s-length agencies” of Tusla. **Section Five** discusses the external influences which were significant in the creation of Tusla; these influences, while not overtly evident in the Report of the

Task Force, were present, and were significant to the creation and direction of the Child and Family Agency. **Section Six** contemplates success and failure in public sector reform and raises the question of why public reform attempts fail and considers some possible answers to this question. The section concludes with a summary of the discussion and an introduction to Chapter Three: Methodology.

2.2 Section One: The Child and Family Agency

This section sets out the main features of the Child and Family Agency as identified in the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency Report, beginning with reasons for the creation of this agency and a description of the services which would become part of the agency structure. The section continues with a discussion of the Child and Family Act 2013 – which created Tusla – and a consideration of the modifications of the Task Force recommendations evident in the Act. This will benefit the reader in three ways. Firstly, it promotes a familiarisation with the TFR, a document which is referred to throughout this literature review. Secondly, it will identify the key tenets of the TFR which are pertinent to this research and thirdly, it will highlight that even before the creation of Tusla, modifications to the ‘ideal’ had taken place which affect those participants in this research.

2.2.1 The Creation of the Child and Family Agency

In September 2011, the newly created Department of Children and Youth Affairs appointed a Task Force to consider the establishment of a structure to deal specifically with children and families. This Task Force was part of a ‘wider reform of health services’ and a commitment that ‘the Health Service Executive [would] cease to exist over time’ (Department of the Taoiseach, 2011, p.32). In addition to the public reform agenda, the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency was convened as a response to the failure of the existing system to provide adequate child protection practices which resulted in scandals surrounding the Roscommon Child Care Inquiry, the Monageer Inquiry and the Ryan Report among others. The Task Force states that “‘in spite of efforts of staff from varied agencies, the fragmentation and silos that exist in services is the systemic cause of the failure to meet children’s needs”’ (Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency, 2012,

p.iii). In addition to highlighting fragmentation and silos, the Task Force stated that the reports ‘have repeatedly pointed to a lack of accountability amongst agencies and professionals and failure to meet the needs of the child with devastating results’ (2012, p.iii). The Task Force went on to recommend that the government ‘create and resource a new agency, with a new alignment of services, which has the vision, integrated services, budget and clear accountability to the public and the Oireachtas recommended in this report’ (2012, p.iii). The Task Force deemed that the new agency should be ‘operationally separate from the DCYA’ and governed by a board ‘given its specific role and function which relies on professional assessment and decision making’ (2012, p.vii). The Task Force clearly set out the composition of the new agency, its membership and responsibilities. It stated that the new agency should directly provide or commission core services related to the following:

Table 2.1: Services named to be transferred to the new agency

Services to be Transferred to the New Agency	
1.	Child Protection
2.	Family Support
3.	Public Health Nursing
4.	Speech and Language
5.	Child and Adolescent Mental Health
6.	Psychology
7.	Educational Welfare
8.	Children in Detention Schools
9.	Domestic and Sexual Violence
(Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency, 2012, p.5/p.35)	

The Task Force recognised that the success of the new agency was contingent upon all of the services named in Table 2.1 being ‘consolidated [under the] management structure of the CFSA’ (2012, p.iii). It noted that ‘all of these services have been identified as critical to the needs of vulnerable children in recent reports’ (p.iii). The Task Force made explicit reference to the deleterious effect of silos – historically (2012, p.iv) – and stressed the elimination of silos as a critical success factor in the effectiveness of the new agency, noting that ‘The Child and Family Agency could only succeed if department and agency silos that characterise services to children and families are finally addressed’ (2012, p.iii). The Task Force was informed in its work by three background documents. One was prepared by the DCYA research team (unpublished), one by the Centre for Effective Services (CES) (an external expert agency) published as “‘Centre for Effective Services – ‘Children’s Services Reform’

(2013) and the third was the OECD report, ‘Public Management Reviews: Ireland - Towards an Integrated Public Service’ (2008). These documents influenced the creation, focus and shape of the new agency.

2.2.2 The Child and Family Agency Act

In 2013, the Child and Family Agency Act was placed on the statute books of the Irish State. The Minister for Children and Families, Minister Frances Fitzgerald, stated that the Agency would ‘rescue and emancipate the system from the rubble of the past’ (Fitzgerald, 2013). The act provided for:

‘the establishment of a body to be known as the Child and Family Agency; to provide for the dissolution of the Family Support Agency and the National Educational Welfare Board; to provide for the transfer of the functions of the National Educational Welfare Board to the Child and Family Agency; to provide for the transfer of certain functions of the Health Service Executive to the Child and Family Agency; to amend the Child Care Act 1991 to provide for registration of early years services and to provide for matters connected therewith (2013, p.9).

However, Section 4 of the Act stated:

‘The services referred to in subsection (3)(c) do not include— (a) psychological services associated with the provision of specialist mental health services to children, (b) adult psychological services other than services which relate to the effective functioning of families and the improvement of relationships between parents and children, including effective parenting, (c) psychological services to a child in respect of a disability, or (d) psychological assessments in accordance with section 8 of the Disability Act 2005 or with section 4 of the Education for Persons with Special Educational Needs Act 2004 (2013, p.13).’

It is notable that certain services which the Task Force stressed as critical for the success of the new agency were not, in fact, transferred. These were public health nursing, speech and language services, child and adolescent mental health services, and psychological services. These omissions left incomplete the suite of services identified as necessary for the realisation of the aims of Tusla. The Act set high standards for Tusla (McKeown, 2013, p.24) stating ‘the Agency shall, in the performance of its functions, demonstrate high standards of performance, transparency and accountability’ (2013, p.13), and Section 8 of the Act notes that:

‘The Agency shall facilitate and promote enhanced inter-agency cooperation to ensure that services for children are co-ordinated and provide an integrated response to the needs of children and their families’ (2013, p.13). The Act also identified the FSA as responsible for working across government departments to meet the needs of children (2013, p.57).

It was in this context that Tusla became a reality for those working in the organisations affected by the change and, indeed, for children and families across the Republic of Ireland.

2.3 Section Two: Public Sector Reform

This section will discuss public sector reform (PSR) at an international and national level and position Ireland with regard to the landscape of public sector management. The discussion will focus on two particular PSR processes – namely, new public management and whole-of-government approaches and will examine these in relation to the Task Force Report. The language of PSR will be explored, concentrating on governance and accountability which, again, will be coupled to the TFR. The section will conclude with an exploration of the consequences of the co-existence of NPM and WOG approaches. A discussion of these components of public sector reform will benefit the reader in three ways. Firstly, it will focus the discussion on aspects of PSR which are most pertinent to the research. Secondly, it will provide clear connections between the academic literature and the aspirations for the creation of Tusla. And thirdly, it will explore the nuance inherent in the presence of two different approaches to PSR within one construct.

2.3.1 Public Sector Reform and the Irish Public Service

Governments spend substantial time considering how to meet the needs of citizens. Once needs have been identified, change to bureaucratic structure is often necessary in order to meet these needs. These changes are designated ‘public sector reforms’. Pollitt and Bouckaert define a public sector reform as:

‘a deliberate change to the structures and processes of public sector organisations and/or services, with the objective of getting them (in some sense) to run better’ (p. 2011, p57).

Governments, internationally, differ on their approaches to these reforms, and Pollitt and Bouckaert – from their study of OECD countries – identified four trajectories with which to categorise bureaucratic reform. These are a maintenance trajectory, a modernisation trajectory, a marketisation trajectory and a minimisation trajectory. These categories are touch points along a spectrum of reform from extremely conservative to highly radical. The categories are a method of identifying a country's approach to public sector reform. However, many countries are at varying places along this spectrum and may move backward and forward depending on political and fiscal climate (Pollitt and Summa, 1997, p.15). Maintenance countries maintain traditional bureaucratic structures where reform consists of a tightening of controls within current frameworks. Moderniser countries use private sector theory and practices to restructure the public sector landscape. Marketised countries embrace a more radical form of moderniser features, intensifying the privatisation of previous state services and introducing more competitive practices within government structures. Minimiser countries are at the farthest end of the reform trajectory, moving to a structure where the public sector itself is small and its main function is to award state contracts to private organisations and maximise market forces in services provision. These categorisations are widely used in the literature to situate national governments in discussion of approaches to public sector reform (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004; Torres, 2004; Christensen and Lægreid, 2007; Blum and Manning, 2009; Kuhlmann and Bouckaert, 2016).

2.3.2 New Public Management

Within this framework, Murray (2001), Kitchin and Bartley (2007) and Van Theil and Overman (2016) place Ireland on a modernisation trajectory and identify Ireland as a 'moderate NPM reformer'. Here, the authors refer to new public management (NPM) as an approach particularly associated with public sector reform in moderniser countries. There are key characteristics which identify this NPM approach. These are:

Table 2.2: Key Characteristics of New Public Management

<p>Key Characteristics of NPM</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Focus on efficiency 2. Move to outputs 3. Single-purpose agency 4. Financial incentivisation 5. Rational: scientific approach in addition to innovation 6. Agency autonomy 7. Quasi-market mechanisms to imitate competition 8. A customer focus 9. Accrual accounting and fiscal transparency 10. Union and professional bodies excluded from decision making 11. Political distance from operations <p>Goldfinch and Wallis, 2010, (p. 1100)</p>

Rhodes and Boyle acknowledge, but moderate, this categorisation of the Irish public service as a moderniser NPM state (2012, p.43). They note that while Ireland does have the characteristics of many moderniser countries associated with an NPM model – countries such as UK, New Zealand and Canada – there are also elements of the ‘neo-Weberian culture’ of Northern Europe within Irish public sector policies. This restrains the force of the NPM characteristics outlined above. While Rhodes and Boyle identify Ireland with some countries at the maintenance end of the spectrum of public sector reform, they distance Ireland from more radical characteristics of countries at the other end of this continuum. Boyle (2014) suggests that there is no evidence of Ireland shifting “‘significantly more towards the ‘marketise’ and ‘minimise’ trajectories” as identified in the Pollitt and Bouckaert framework (Boyle, 2014, p.41).

The characteristics of a moderniser state which utilises an NPM model are evident in the Task Force Report. The Task Force identifies a requirement for efficiencies in delivery of services, the need for effective services (p.6) and the necessity for a single purpose agency (p.ii), and advocates for an evaluation and monitoring department as a key component of the service. In addition, the document advocates for the setting of clear targets and deliverables (p.22), supports ‘managerialism’ as a model (p.11), conflates outputs/outcomes (p.11) and recommends a structure in which there will be financial and management autonomy (p.77). Based on the

characteristics above, it is possible to identify a correspondence between the process outlined in the Task Force Report and the NPM model.

Table 2.3: Correlation between Features of NPM and TFR

Features of NPM	Task Force Report recommends
Focus on efficiency	Efficiencies in the delivery of services
Move to outputs	Conflation of Outputs and Outcomes
Single-purpose agencies	Necessity for a single-purpose agency
Financial incentivisation	
Rational scientific approach in addition to innovation	Dedicated monitoring and evaluation section at national level
Agency autonomy	Management Autonomy
Quasi-market mechanisms to imitate competition	Contracting out where appropriate
A customer focus	
Accrual accounting and fiscal transparency	Focus on Transparency
Unions and professional bodies excluded from decision making	
Political distance from operations	Creation of Arms-Length Agency

While there are features of NPM within the Task Force Report, there are, also, other public sector reform processes present. These processes are divergent from the NPM model but are still within the moderniser trajectory of public sector reform (Pollitt and Summa, 1997, p.16). These are termed ‘post-NPM reforms’ by authors such as De Vries and Nemec (2013) and Christensen and Lægreid (2006). Here, the focus moves away from the linear understanding of issues to be solved using an NPM approach towards a conceptualisation of ‘whole of government’ responses to complex issues (Muir, 2014).

2.3.3 Whole-of-Government Approach

A whole-of-government approach is known by many titles, including ‘whole of government’ (Shergold, 2004, p.v), ‘joined up government’ (Pollitt, 2013, p.34; O’ Flynn et al., 2011; Davies, 2008, p.1), ‘networked government’ (Eggers and Goldsmith, 2003; Wilks, 2014), ‘cross governmental working’ (Bouckaert, et al., 2016) and ‘horizontal management’ (Lindquist, 2011, p.1).

Pollitt defines whole-of-government approaches as an ‘aspiration to achieve horizontally and vertically coordinated thinking and action’ (2003, p.35). Pollitt

states five reasons why governments engage with this approach: firstly, to ensure that policies created in different departments do not undermine each other; secondly, to use resources more efficiently; thirdly, to bring ‘key stakeholders’ together; fourthly, to reduce fragmentation in service provision for citizens; and fifthly, to overcome the silo effect (2003, p.35). Halligan et al. contribute a sixth reason to engage in a whole-of-government approach, to ‘redress the balance after a full-blown embrace of the tenants of the New Public Management’ (Halligan et al., 2011, p.78). In addition, ‘The Civil Service Renewal Plan’ (2014) acknowledges the increasing level of complexity inherent in the problems faced by national governments and the necessity to work ‘across multiple organisations to achieve results for the public in the most cost efficient and effective way’ (2014, p.15).

The language of complexity and cross-governmental working is a conceptual movement away from the strong emphasis on single-agency solutions to particular issues found in the NPM model. In addition to an acknowledgement at national level in the Civil Service Renewal Plan, the Task Force identified the need for these cross-governmental workings at a number of points in the TFR, many of which correspond to Pollitt’s rationale for the utilisation of WOG. The correspondence is categorised in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Whole-of-Government Approach Characteristics

Policies created in different departments do not undermine each other	In the past, services have developed across departmental lines such as health, education and justice; but children do not fit neatly into these categories. The establishment of a new Department has made explicit the desire of the Government to fully integrate thinking and policy on children’s services. (TFR 2013, p.25)
Bringing Key Stakeholders together	Engaging stakeholders and making accountability real (TFR 2013, p.9)
Reduce Fragmentation	An organisational design structure which is consistent with public sector reforms, and ... optimises synergies and integrated services with other critical agencies (e.g., HSE, government departments and Local Authorities (TFR 2013, p.20) (DCYA) Department, leads and drives towards the attainment of this vision across the whole of Government. (TFR 2013, p.6)
Overcoming of the silo effect	As evidenced in all the reports and reviews over many years, such endeavours can only succeed if the department and

	agency silos that characterise services to children and families are finally addressed (TFR, 2013, p.iii).
Rebalance NPM	As evidenced in all the reports and reviews over many years, such endeavours can only succeed if the department and agency silos that characterise services to children and families are finally addressed (TFR, 2013, p.iii).

There is an emphasis in the document on cross-governmental working as a requirement to meet children's needs. It is also emphasised that this approach is key to the breaking down of the silos which hinder both the operationalisation of cross-governmental working and, as a consequence, the meeting of children's needs.

2.3.4 Magical Concepts in Public Sector Reform

Within both NPM and whole-of-government approaches, there is a strong focus on governance and accountability as the cornerstones of public sector reform. Governance and accountability are two of the 'most-used concepts' in the field of contemporary public management (Pollitt and Hupe, 2011, p.642). Pollitt and Hupe label these much-used concepts of governance and accountability as 'magical concepts', citing the high level of abstraction, the universality of their application and their positive associative power as the key reasons for their widespread use and their magical nature (Pollitt and Hupe, 2011, p.642). They propose that the level of abstraction inherent in the terms serve to avoid the acknowledgement of 'oppositional ... doctrines' (Pollitt and Hupe, 2011, p.642). Previous to the proliferation of these magical concepts, it was necessary for public policymakers to discuss openly the distinct differences of approach of various groups in the policymaking process. They note that the abstract nature of the words facilitate a proliferation of different 'prefixes'. These prefixes simultaneously add and alter the original term. This 'conceptual stretching' creates variations, such as 'collaborative public management', 'collaborative governance' and 'civic engagement' terms, which all lack clear, coherent, operational definitions leading to 'inconsistencies in the nomenclature' (O'Leary and Vij, 2012, p.517). This stretching, coupled with the high level of abstraction, obscures the 'previous tensions and contradictions, such as public versus private, or bureaucracy versus markets' (O'Leary and Vij, 2012, p.647). Thus, a 'broad consensus' can often be reached in relation to the aspirations for whole-of-government at a policy-creation level. At an operational level, the abstraction inherent in the terms leads to difficulties. At this level, there is

uncertainty in relation to what these terms mean when applied to practice, as they ‘differ between the many stakeholders involved in this policy sphere’ (William and Sullivan, 2009, p.10). These authors emphasise that, in practice, the application of ‘governance’ to cross-departmental working is ‘more a process of deliberation and negotiation between local stakeholders than one of ideology and prescription’ and is inconsistent due to the ‘disciplinary backgrounds, organizational roles, past histories, interests, and political/economic perspectives’ of those involved in the process (William and Sullivan, 2009, p.10). At the front line, boundary spanners interpret concepts which are subjective depending on the context. Boundary spanners will be discussed further in 3.4.2 of the Methodology Chapter. These subjective interpretations then become the working understanding for that particular group (Williams and Sullivan, 2009, p.3).

2.3.5 Governance and Accountability: The Task Force Report

Within the Task Force Report, there is a strong focus on the concepts of governance and accountability. Governance is mentioned 78 times; 36 of these times before it is explained. The report does not define governance but instead gives a general understanding of the term. This is a thought-provoking approach considering O’Leary and Vij’s (2012) observations in relation to the nebulousness of the word. The report states that:

‘Governance is generally understood to encompass how an organisation is managed, its corporate structure, its culture, its policies, and the way that it deals with various stakeholders’ (Task Force Report 2012, p.9).

The report also discusses what good governance ‘means’; note, again, that the report does not say what good governance is:

Table 2.5: Task Force Report: Features of Good Governance

<p>Good governance means:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Focusing on the organisation's purpose and on outcomes for service users and service providers 2. Performing effectively in clearly defined functions and roles 3. Promoting values for the organisation and demonstrating the values of good governance through behaviour 4. Taking informed, transparent decisions and managing risk, 5. Developing the governing body's capacity to be effective, and 6. Engaging stakeholders and making accountability real. <p>(Task Force Report, p.9)</p>

In addition to the proliferation of the term 'governance' within the Task Force Report, there is also a multitude of prefixes which front the concept, including 'corporate governance', 'effective governance', 'good governance', 'appropriate governance' and 'critical governance'. Each of these terms denotes a different treatment of the concept, and none (other than 'good governance') of these concepts is defined or explained in the context of the report. Accountability is mentioned 52 times in the report and receives no definition or explanation in the context of the report. As with governance, the term 'accountability' is also subject to a number of prefixes including 'clear accountability', 'professional accountability', 'mutual accountability', 'direct accountability', 'lines of accountability', 'ultimate accountability' and 'local accountability'. It appears that in the game of 'magical concept bingo', while 'governance' and its prefixes were more numerous, accountability and its prefixes were more varied. NPM and WOG approaches co-exist in the creation of Tusla. Both are influential in the conceptualisation of the organisation's structure and functions. While these approaches are not mutually exclusive in the literature, they have fundamentally different conceptions of the structures with which to address societal problems. NPM considers single-agency, rational methodologies and autonomy to be the key factors in creating success, while whole-of-government considers cross-departmental, complex methodologies and integrated approaches to be key factors in creating success. The difficulties that the mixture of NPM and post-NPM approaches create when executed in NPM structures will be outlined in the following section and will highlight the policy/practice

dynamic at work and the difficulties of engaging with magical concepts, such as accountability and governance, in these environments.

2.4 Section Three: Public Sector Reform: Case Studies

This section will discuss two evaluations of whole-of-government approaches as utilised in countries identified as being on a moderniser trajectory – specifically, countries which use post-NPM approaches within NPM structures. A discussion of these case studies will benefit the reader in three ways. Firstly, it will offer an academic consideration of public sector reform at an operational level in institutions which address social issues using a public sector reform process. Secondly, it will give insight into the challenges of the implementation of whole-of-government approaches in moderniser NPM countries. Thirdly, it will bring the reader closer to the front line at which the participants of this research work and will give insight into the complexity of the study findings. The first case study from Australia considers a national whole-of-government approach, and the second is from Wales which considers a regional whole-of-government initiative. Both of these case studies will be revisited in the Discussion section of this study and discusses in relation to the study findings.

2.4.1 Whole-of-Government, Australian Case Study

In this first example, O’Flynn et al. (2011) study a whole-of-government initiative to address ‘the governance challenges’ (Shergold, 2004) of indigenous disadvantage in Australia. This case study illuminates an experience of whole-of-government within an NPM framework and draws some conclusions in relation to the interplay between whole-of-government approaches, silos (which will be discussed in Section 2.5.1), magical concepts and implementation. This initiative began in 2004 when a ‘bipartisan agreement was reached to undertake the massive institutional and policy reforms’ which would enable the Australian government to address the issue of ‘indigenous disadvantage’ (O’Flynn et al., 2011, p.246). This reform was outlined in the ‘Indigenous Affairs Arrangements’ which sought to “provide high-level stakeholder involvement through a Ministerial Taskforce, a framework for departmental collaboration ... and on-the-ground through a network of Indigenous Coordination Centers” (ANAO, 2007:12 in O’Flynn et al., 2011, p.246).

In their evaluation, the difficulties of operationalising this initiative were identified by O'Flynn et al. as a lack of supportive architecture for whole-of-government working, vertical-horizontal tensions and centralised decision making. The participants in this study illuminate the difficulties in practice. For example, one staff member notes:

‘You have this great vision ... Then you ... see it on the ground and this part of the office is [Department A] and this is the [Department B] ... And then [another group’s] got to get approval ... to talk to this person, all this sort of shit was going on. Unbelievable! (Senior Executive Service, ICC) (O’Flynn et al., 2011, p.249).

Another staff member stated:

‘The funding agreements that Government [uses] just makes it really, really difficult to do whole of government work because you’re funded by program, by department, and joining that up is really hard (Senior Executive Service, National Office) (O’Flynn, et al, 2011, p.249).

The omnipresence of departmental silos and the departmental nature of funding arrangements ‘were seen as impossible to combat, even in a setting where there was physical co-location and strong endorsement from Ministers and Secretaries’ (O’Flynn et al., 2011, p.249). O’Flynn et al. observed that the ‘deeply entrenched’ programme focus in the Australian Public Service contributed to the difficulties experienced in the initiative (O’Flynn et al., 2011, p.249). At the front line of these initiatives, staff ‘felt pressured to focus on programme work first and foremost’, instead of engaging in the cross-governmental work. This created ‘vertical-horizontal tensions’ and settings in which it was ‘more advantageous to focus on programme work (O’Flynn et al., 2011, p.249). Participants in O’Flynn et al.’s study also noted how the convoluted nature of the process of whole of government alienated citizens and community members from engagement with the initiative.

‘‘[In the past] you’d have a cup of tea and even if you said ‘no’ [community members] appreciated it. Whereas now, God, they’re too scared to pick up the phone. They just feel the concept of the decisions and the power over their life is just so far removed ... a lot of the funding has been removed back to [the capital] ... not only the position but the decision making [power]’’ (Executive Level, ICC in O’Flynn, et al., 2011, p.251).

While the study identified difficulties with the whole-of-government model, it also identified two factors which facilitated success in what O'Flynn calls 'this generally disappointing story' (2011, p.250). These included a craftsman-style leadership approach and the cultivation and leveraging of networked relationships, both of which were embodied in the successful leaders within the initiative. The ability to foster 'often informal' relationships between and across departments was a key component in access to resources and the shortcutting of 'protracted approval processes' (O'Flynn et al., p.252). O'Flynn et al. conclude that the study tells

'a powerful story of bureaucratic pervasiveness; of how, with all the best intentions, deeply embedded bureaucratic characteristics impede attempts at working across boundaries and of connecting outside of silos, to deliver on the joined-up agenda' (O'Flynn et al., 2011, p.253).

The aspirations of this Australian whole-of-government initiative are close to those of the Task Force Report in that they both wished to break down silos, engage in whole-of-government work and create change for vulnerable communities in society. However, in this case, while the vision was 'great' (O'Flynn et al., 2011, p.249), the operationalisation of this was hampered by the pervasiveness of vertical accountability and governance structures. It will be interesting to identify if this experience is similar to the experiences of the participants in this research.

2.4.2 Whole-of-Government: A Welsh Case Study

In this second example, Williams and Sullivan (2009) attempt to understand the challenges of integrating health and social service structures for children with disabilities in Wales. This initiative was undertaken after a Welsh Social Services Inspectorate review concluded that there was a high level of fragmentation within disability services. In this review, the Inspectorate listed the deficits within the system as 'lack of resources; poor leadership; lack of clarity as to who did what ... and a general lack of co- ordination between the individuals and agencies undertaking the services' (Williams and Sullivan, 2009, p.5). To address this issue, a multi-agency project board was set up headed by a strategic manager and facilitated by a joint working grant from the Welsh Assembly. The aim was to integrate services for children with disabilities, to streamline access to information,

assessment, assistance and services and to improve interdisciplinary working for members of different agencies to ‘provide a holistic approach to the needs of disabled children and their families’(Williams and Sullivan, 2009, p.5). Williams and Sullivan conclude that this initiative floundered due to budget ownership, lack of confidence in the initiative, satisfaction with the old way of working, confusion in relation to accountability, confusion in relation to different understanding of aspects of the project and lack of support for front line professionals. The project became, not an example of full integration, but a ‘half-way house’ arrangement with co-located staff; however, because of the absence of budget pooling and a distinct lack of power sharing, the project was not successful. Williams and Sullivan point to the difficulties in ‘rationalising and harmonising different bureaucratic, professional and administrative ways of working’ with special difficulties experienced in areas of ‘clinical and managerial accountability’, unified systems and policies (Williams and Sullivan, 2009, p.5). In this Welsh example, there were improvements due to co-location and improved management; however, closer to the front line these improvements were not perceived to be sufficient to warrant the effort. One participant in this project noted:

‘people have moved—but I don’t think that’s enough—in reality there has not been much change” ... One view was that it was: “a lot of bureaucracy to achieve not a lot—incredibly complex, legalistic and bureaucratic’ (Williams and Sullivan, 2009, p.5).

This level of restructuring created upheaval and uncertainty with many existing partnerships, networks and relationships destroyed or compromised (Williams and Sullivan, 2009, p.10). The project’s reliance on certain personal champions was also noted, with one participant stating that “if the manager left, the whole thing would unravel and go backwards” (Williams and Sullivan, 2009, p.5). This suggests that the initiative was not embedded in the structure but reliant on individual personalities. The aspirations of the Welsh whole-of-government initiative and the Task Force Report are similar in that they both wished to minimise fragmentation of services for vulnerable communities. However, in this case, the initiative was unsuccessful due to a high level of confusion, uncertainty and lack of sustained support. The initiative was not implemented as it had been conceived, and this lessened its effectiveness. Again, it will be interesting to identify if these experiences

resonate with the experiences of the participants in this research. It appears that, in countries that utilise NPM and WOG approaches together, these approaches may undermine each other. It appears that success which does occur may happen in spite of the system and not because of it, with informal relationships and personalities creating the change within structures which are resistant to change.

2.5 Section Four: Silos, Agentification and the Shadow State

This section will discuss three elements of the Child and Family Agency which have been alluded to but, as yet, have not been explored. These are silos, agentification and the shadow state. This discussion will benefit the reader in three ways. Firstly, these elements are important to understanding the structure of Tusla. Secondly, the discussion will illuminate how silos are created and how this relates to the agentification process and the significance of this relationship to the creation of Tusla. Thirdly, the discussion of the shadow state will explicate an oft omitted element of the structure of Tusla which is significant to this research.

2.5.1 Silos

Within the Task Force Report, one of the main aspirations for the creation of Tusla was the elimination of silos (Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency, 2012, p.iv). Fenwick and Brunsdon define a silo as an organisational unit ‘where there is a breakdown in communication, co-operation and co-ordination with external parties’ and state that silos can develop in organisations as a consequence of ‘silo mentality’ (2009, p.ii). Fenwick and Brunsdon identify that organisations can become ‘silod’ if they ‘unduly limit their connections with other organisations (2009, p.ii). Within the literature, various aspects of ‘silos’ are discussed, including the ‘silo effect’ (Halligan et al., 2011, p.78), ‘silo thinking’ (Christensen and Lægreid, 2006, p.7), ‘silo mentality’ (Moore and Hamilton, 2016), ‘government silos’ (Muir, 2014) and ‘functional silos’ (Esnor, 1988). From these categorisations, it appears that there are psychological, behavioural and organisational aspects to the phenomenon of the ‘silo’, culminating in a physical and mental cutting off at various levels from the personal to the government (Kreindler, 2012, p.348). Silos have been constructed by Fenwick and Brunsdon (2009) and Bevc et al., (2015, p.230) as a

negative concept. However, Fafard (2013) identifies a key reason why they exist. He states that the primary reason for the existence of silos is the presence of ‘ministerial responsibility’ (2013, p.8). In Ireland, this ministerial responsibility is outlined in the ‘Ministers and Secretaries Act 1924’ which holds a Minister to be the ‘Corporation Sole’ in which he/she is responsible for every action of the department (O'Malley, 2013). This ministerial responsibility creates ‘an inherent need to know who is accountable for what, who takes responsibility when things go badly and when things go well’ (Fafard, 2013, p.8). Subsequent to the understanding that ministerial responsibility is crucial in public service, a movement away from silos and towards whole-of-government approaches requires the blurring of these clear and necessary boundaries (Howard and Phillips, 2012). In these cross-governmental policies, Fafard states that ‘if everyone is accountable, then no one is accountable’ and that this position creates ‘extraordinary pressure to clarify line(s) of accountability’ – pressure which often leads to the abandonment of whole-of- government initiatives (2013, p.8). If we follow Fafard’s rationale for the existence of silos, then the creation of the DCYA with its cabinet-level minister and its “arm’s-length” agency (Tusla) has, in effect, and inevitably, created another silo.

2.5.2 Agentification

The Child and Family Act 2013 created Tusla, the Child and Family Agency. This process of creating agencies is termed ‘agentification’. Agentification denotes “the creation of semi-autonomous organizations that operate at arm’s length from the government. The primary role of these agencies is to carry out public tasks, regulation, service delivery and policy implementation in a relatively autonomous way (Bach et al., 2012, p.186). These agencies are ‘structurally disaggregated’ from the government and operate ‘under more business-like conditions’ than government bureaucracy (Talbot, 2004a, p.5). This phenomenon has grown within public administration internationally (Egeberg and Trondal, 2009) where governments experiment with ‘different combinations’ of agencies and departments in their efforts to create dynamic responses to societal issues (Fafard, 2013, p.2). These organisations have many labels, including ‘non-departmental public bodies, quangos, hybrids, and distributed public governance bodies’ but, most often, they are labelled ‘agencies’ (Boyle, 2016, p.8). While Boyle considers agentification to be ‘prolific’ in

Ireland (2016, p.8), Van Thiel and Overman considers Ireland's agentification to be gradual relative to other countries such as the UK and New Zealand (Van Thiel and Overman 2009, in Van Thiel and Overman, 2016 p.11/p.17).

Boyle states that 'at the end of 2015, there were 257 national non-commercial agencies shared across the 16 government departments and the Office of the Attorney General and that 11 'completely new agencies' had been created since 2010'. The Child and Family Agency (Tusla) is one of these completely new agencies (2016, p.6). In addition to its neoteric state, Tusla is one of the largest of these state agencies with 'approximately 4,000 staff and a budget of €676 million. This is clearly of a completely different size and scale to many other agencies' (Boyle, 2016, p.6). In addition to its size and scale, Tusla is an agency pieced together from other agencies, not a completely new entity. Internationally, this is not uncommon, and there is a trend for agencies created 'as bricolages of existing ... institutional elements' (Carstensen, 2017). Carstensen notes that these bricolages are indicative of how often policymakers 'respond to circumstances of uncertainty and crisis' (2017, p.140) and to the perceived lack of manoeuvrability of public bureaucratic structures to reply to these societal issues (Sørensen and Torfing, 2011). In addition to the use of agentification as a response to political uncertainty, these structures may also be a 'useful trade-off between blame avoidance and credit earning' for the parent governmental department as Ministers can create distance between themselves and the agency when political expediency requires it (MacCárthaigh and Turpin, 2011; Borins, 2001).

2.5.3 The Shadow State

The largest proportion of the 4,000 staff members transferred to Tusla in 2014 consisted of public servants. While the Family Support Agency's (FSA) core staff were also public servants, this agency funded 109 Family Resource Centres around the country which had approximately 600 staff in total (this number is approximate based on anecdotal information, as the number could not be obtained from the DCYA). These staff were not public servants but employees of not-for-profit community organisations which the FSA funded. The staff in these organisations are part of what Wolch (1990) and Gilmore (2007) call the 'shadow state'. This section

will discuss the landscape of the shadow state and how this is relevant in the discussion of the creation of Tusla.

The shadow state is part of the community sector, an ill-defined sector which 'lacks clear boundaries' (Faughan, 1990, p.72). This sector is made up of 'community development projects, Family Resource Centres and local development partnership companies among others (Towards Standards for Quality Community Work, 2008, p.13). All these organisations work in different ways and within different ideological frameworks. Kenny (2002) identifies these as the charity framework, the activist framework, the welfare state framework, the market framework and the third way politics framework. These five frameworks are constructed on distinct ideological foundations and employ different operational practices. *The charity framework* is based on the 'relief from poverty' model. Individuals are at the centre of this strategy, and the state does not take on the burden of the needs of the marginalised and underprivileged. *The welfare state industry framework* sees the state intervene through third-party organisations within the community and voluntary and/or private sector to ensure stability in the lives of its citizens. *The activist framework* is orientated towards social change; it is often issue-based and works towards participation and collaboration with the decision-making powers in society. *The market framework* is based on the principles of self-help, private initiative and service provision. This framework is based on the concept that privatisation and competition procure the best results. In this framework, services are implemented in communities while the government retains the funding, monitoring and evaluation roles. Third way politics is a mix of the previous four. Kenny (2002) describes the third way politics framework as a 'mix and match of different aspects of all four frameworks' (p.295). Kenny suggests that this third way politics framework reflects the ideological and operational complexity within the community sector as a whole. Within this framework, Family Resource Centres received core funding from the FSA – then an arm's-length agency of the DCYA – and received additional funding for different programmes from Pobal through the DCYA, in addition to monies from EU funds and philanthropic foundations such as the Kathrine Howard and Community Foundation of Ireland Fund. Family Resource Centres, also, received funding from other state departments, such as the Department of Health, through the HSE. Considering the variety of funding streams, the FRCs often had

manoeuvrability and autonomy at a ground level to respond to emerging needs as identified in the community. These needs varied from working with asylum seekers to supporting community garden projects. This 'third way politics model' has been moving towards a 'welfare state model' (Sheridan, 2014) as the state removes itself from front line service provision and utilises these organisations to undertake 'shadow state' functions.

2.5.4 Community Organisations' Relationship with the State

This movement from a 'third way' to welfare state model has been discussed by Defilippis et al. who state that 'the public sector has been in a protracted process of removing itself from the provision of basic services' (2006, p.674). The provision of these services has increasingly relocated to the 'not-for-profit' sector. Through the reorganisation of this work, the government has placed the implementation of formal state service in the hands of organisations with a lower costs base and a higher degree of flexibility with regard to staff roles and change management. There are differing views on how this reorganisation of service provision has affected the community organisations involved. Deslauriers and Parquets (2003) state that these changes have benefited the community organisations through an increase in 'institutional recognition' and an increase in status (p.53), while Parazelli and Tafdif (1998) believe that 'this process of assuming state service delivery is imposed by the state' and thus places the community organisations in a subservient role in relation to that state (p.46). Parazelli and Tafdif (1998) contend that 'local organisations become subsystems of institutional intervention and act as sub-contractors to the state.' Jessop (2002) calls this function of community organisations 'New Communitarianism'; Samimi entitles it 'Non-Profit Industrial Complex' (2008) and Gilmore (2007) and Wolch (1990) term it 'The Shadow State'. Gilmore (2007) identifies ten characteristics of the shadow state.

Characteristics of Shadow State's Relationship with Community Organisations
(Adapted from Gilmore, 2007, p.46)

The shadow state:

1. Is highly professionalized by their relationship with the state.
2. Has a high degree of confirmation to rules governing public money.

3. Is unwilling to lose the contracts to provide services because they truly care about clients who otherwise would have nowhere to go.
4. Has an experience of having been sucked into the world of non-profit providers.
5. Has an experience of being subject to both formal as well as informal hierarchies.
6. Has an understanding that the issues they (the workers) are paid to address have been narrowed to programme-specific categories and remedies.
7. Has staff who often have a great deal of understanding of the scale and scope of both individual clients and the needs of society at large and who become in their everyday practice technocrats through imposed specialization.
8. Has an experience of being without significant political clout.
9. Is forbidden by law to advocate for systemic change.
10. Is bound by public rules and non-profit charters to stick to its mission or suffer legal consequences.

(Adapted by Sheridan, 2017 from Gilmore, 2007 p.46, adapted from Wolch, 1990)

While Gilmore and Wolch attribute these characteristics to organisations and staff in the not-for-profit sector, these characteristics are recognisable in the comments of those working at the front line of state agencies also (as evidenced in the case study examples in 2.4.1 and 2.4.2). Thus, while the experiences of the difficulties of implementing public policy is common to both the public sector and the shadow state, shadow state organisations are, in essence, sub-contractors of the state agencies. In the case of Tusla, the Family Support Agency was dissolved and integrated into the Child and Family Agency. As a result, Tusla became the titleholder to its own assemblage of sub-contracted organisations working at “arm’s-length” of Tusla. Here, we see the further distance of policy creation and policy implementation with Tusla at arm’s-length from the DCYA, and Family Resource Centres at arm’s-length from Tusla. This approach reflects the NPM structure.

2.6 Section Five: Non-State Actors

This section will focus on the influence of one interest actor on state policy and will consider this actors influence on the creation of Tusla. This discussion will benefit the reader in three ways. Firstly, it will elucidate the relationship between private donors and state governments in the development of public sector reform, a task which receives little critical attention in the Irish literature (McCree, 2016: Knox and Quirk 2016). Secondly, it will introduce the reader to the ‘expert agency’ as a tool of philanthropic influence. Thirdly, this understanding will be related to the Task Force Report and the creation of Tusla to illuminate the process.

2.6.1 Atlantic Philanthropies

State authority is not always the only influential actor in the creation of a policy paradigm (Wilder and Howlett, 2014, p.188; Almog-Bar and Zychlinski, 2012, p.796). Often, other interest groups work to influence the creation of public policy. Philanthropic organisations as interest actors has been a development seen internationally (Morvaridi, 2013). These organisations have moved away from ‘palliative measures’ (Le Marche, 2014), such as hunger relief and scholarships, towards a focus on ‘systematic, long-term problem solving and scientific philanthropy’ with a specific interest in the application of scientific methods to public policy and societal reform programmes (Dowie, 2001, p.105). In addition to these characteristics, philanthropic organisations wish to be partners in the creation of the national social policy to which they contribute and, in doing so, maintain control of the distribution and allocation of their considerable assets (Brown, 2010, p.889). Within the narrative of the reorganisation of child and family services in Ireland, Atlantic Philanthropies a philanthropic organisation devoted the ‘service of humanity’ (Atlantic Philanthropies, 2018) identify themselves as an interest actor, investing €141 million with the goal of ‘transforming the way that children and young people receive services on the island of Ireland’ (Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015).

The international trends in philanthropy toward the creation of governmental partnerships and the involvement in change at policy level (Kania et al., 2014) reflects the emphasis of Atlantic Philanthropies' Irish endeavours in relation to children and families. This €141 million investment made by Atlantic Philanthropies was not given in a grant to the state government to distribute in line with government policy (Barkan, 2013, p.636). Instead, its allocation was determined through three strategic modes. Firstly, Atlantic Philanthropies funded pilot prevention and early intervention services focusing particularly on implementation and evaluation. Secondly, it invested in research with a focus on evaluating effectiveness and disseminating the result of this research widely. Thirdly, Atlantic Philanthropies built relationships with the Irish government to increase the sustainability of its efforts and to promote mainstreaming of its championed approach (Atlantic Philanthropies 2015, p.2).

2.6.2 Expert Organisations

It is a strategy of non-state actors to set up expert organisations to 'gain legitimacy' in the pursuit of their objectives (Wilder and Howlett, 2014, p.188). These experts provide non-state actors with both material and gravitas upon which to create alternative paradigms for the consideration of state actors (Surel, 2000, p.508). Through its pilot and research activities, Atlantic Philanthropies accumulated substantial expertise. To channel this expertise, Atlantic Philanthropies was a key actor in the creation of the expert agency the Centre for Effective Services (CES) in 2008. The mission of the CES is to 'connect policy, practice and research, helping to ensure the implementation of effective services, to improve the lives of people across the island of Ireland' (Centre for Effective Services, 2018). The establishment of this Centre was a joint project with the DCYA (then the Office for Children), the Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government and The Atlantic Philanthropies (McMurray, 2012, p.1). CES is a not-for-profit company limited by guarantee. It has offices in Dublin and Belfast. Atlantic Philanthropies contributed \$23,692,942 (€19,382,011) to the organisations activities under seven programmes between 2008-2015 (Atlantic Philanthropies, 2018)

According to Atlantic Philanthropies, the aims of this organisation were threefold: firstly, to help ‘children, youth and community services to make better use of evidence of what works’; secondly, to ‘deliver more effective services’; and thirdly, to ‘synthesise learnings from the initiative and elsewhere to support policymakers and organisations with effective implementation’ (Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015, p3). In its expert and advisory role, the CES was part of one of two sub-groups to the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency. This sub-group advised on ‘service model and governance’, and its role was to ‘propose a service delivery model for the services for which the Agency will have responsibility and [to develop] a corporate governance, management and accountability framework’ (Report of the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency, p.3, 2012). This places the CES at the centre of the structuring of the organisation which was to become Tusla.

2.6.3 Influence of Non-State Actors

Through the two apparatuses of funding and expertise, non-state actors:- in this case Atlantic Philanthropies, exert political influence on state structures (Howlett and Migone, 2011), developing the ‘institutional authority’ (Howlett et al., 2014, p.189) to influence these state actors. This is particularly significant in light of Howlett and Migone’s assertion that ‘these non-state actors not only influence the direction that solution(s) ... takes, but may also forbid ... other solutions (2011, p.189).

2.7 Section Six: Reflection on Public Sector Reform Programmes

This section will begin with a reflection on the challenge to public sector reform programmes and continue with a discussion of two possible suppositions as to why these reforms may fail. The first relates to the challenging nature of the problems being addressed, and the second relates to the modernist construction of the state intervention taken to alleviate the problems. This section will benefit the reader in two ways. Firstly, it will acknowledge the fallibility of public sector reform as an instrument of societal improvement and, secondly, it will offer the reader the opportunity to consider public sector reforms from outside the public sector reform paradigm.

2.7.1 Challenges to Public Sector Reform

Whether the approach to reform is cross-governmental or ‘silod’, whole-of-government or NPM, there appears to be little success to be had in the field of public sector reform (Davis, 2008; Bogdanor, 2005; Hood, 2005; O’ Flynn et al., 2011). Pollitt (2013) gives a comprehensive explanation of the reasons why this appears to be the case, and his argument can be summarised as follows:

Table 2.6: Summary: Pollitt’s ‘Why Public Sector Reforms Fail’

1.	Prescription before diagnosis: Solutions looking for a problem
2.	Failure to build a sufficient coalition for reform
3.	Launching reform without implementation capacity
4.	Action too fast and unsustainable
5.	Over-reliance on external experts rather than experienced locals
6.	Ignoring local cultural factors
Adapted from Pollitt, 2013, p.6 (Sheridan, 2017)	

Considering the low instances of success in public sector reform and the myriad of reasons why reform may fail, McKeon’s (2013) suggestion that Tusla’s chances of success are slim is consistent with the international literature discussed above. McKeon states that this PSR may fail because “attempts to create reform in children’s services had already been unsuccessful during the Child and Family

Services' time in the HSE'' (2013, p.25). McKeon's statement begs the question: 'Why is it so difficult to achieve success in child and family services through public sector reform no matter what format is employed?'

2.7.2 Wicked Problems

An answer to the question posed above may be found in a discussion of 'wicked problems'. The Child and Family Agency responds to the needs of the most vulnerable children and families in the state, children with complex intersectional issues (McCall, 2005) such as poverty, homelessness, violence and abuse. Tusla works with children and young adults in the criminal justice systems, those out of school and those experiencing the effects of substance misuse. Tusla supports families in crisis and children in care. Sometimes, in fact often, one child can experience all the issues that have been listed thus far. These issues are termed 'wicked problems' (Rittel and Webber, 1973, p.160), labelled as such for their difficulty to solve and, perhaps, because they are also 'wicked' to those who experience them. Rittel and Webber claim that many or most of the 'relatively easy' problems have been addressed in western societies. They note that 'streets have been paved, and roads now connect all places; houses shelter virtually everyone; the dread diseases are virtually gone; clean water is piped into nearly every building' and the state may now turn its attention to the more "stubborn of society's problems" (1973, p.153). Sørensen and Torfing characterise these stubborn problems as 'ill-defined and difficult to respond to', in addition to requiring a 'high number of stakeholders' (2011, p.848). Head and Alford add characteristics, including 'institutional complexity and scientific uncertainty', acknowledging what has already been learned from our discussion thus far, i.e. that 'the mechanisms of public sector management tend to complicate and hamstring efforts to resolve such issues' (Head and Alford, 2015, p.719). To deal with these wicked issues requires a wide range of organisations and a cross-cutting approach (Pollitt, 2003), and traditional hierarchies are not successful in tackling these issues (Roy and Langford, 2008, p.4). However, considering the previous discussion on public sector reform, it appears that it may be inaccurate to single out hierarchies in this regard. It appears that these problems are

not solved by applying any ‘standard solution’ (Sørensen and Torfing, 2011, p.843) with ‘standard’ encompassing both hierarchical and whole-of-government approaches. It appears that off-the-shelf ‘solutions looking for problems’ do not address these issues, and the suggestion within the literature is to look for ‘innovative solutions’ (Bekkers et al., 2013). Innovation, like so many other concepts we have discussed thus far, is ‘slippery’ (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004; Bekkers et al., 2013). Ritter and Webber (1973) believe that “‘to understand the problem depends upon one's idea for solving it’” and, for them, a wicked problem can be solved with enough knowledge (p.161). In the Scottish model, the problem can be solved with ‘more emphasis on ... partnership working’ (Findlay and Slone, 2014, p.2). According to the CES, an understanding of what causes the problem will lead to more effective solutions (Colgan et al., 2014, p.4). Sørensen and Torfing (2011, p.843) consider networks to provide the solution, and Head and Alford consider that there is no solution (Head and Alford, 2015, p.718). So, the solution to wicked problems could lie in knowledge, partnership, understanding, networks or nothing. This is a bewildering array of approaches to taking *some* action to help improve services to the most vulnerable in our society. So, in an effort to remain in the discussion, it may be positive to look at where these approaches diverge and converge. All these authors consider networks across public, private, community and voluntary organisations to be key elements in approaching wicked problems. Within these networks, they see the necessity for a dialogical process. While Rittel and Webber (1973) see the outcome of this process as a co-emergence of problem and solution, Conklin (2007) sees the emergence of a range of possible solutions. So here, the process is the same, but the goal is different. For Rittel and Webber, there is a preconception that there is *a* solution and, for Conklin (2007), there is a preconception that there are multiple solutions. Head and Alford, also, suggest that there is no ‘definitive solution’ and that whatever initial solutions are created, these will need to be further interrogated and adapted (Head and Alford, 2015, p.716). The most recent literature points to a ‘satisficing’ approach where stakeholders negotiate a shared understanding and meaning about the problem and the objective of this approach is ‘a coherent action, not final solution’ (Conklin, 2007, p.5; Head and Alford, 2015, p.718). There is, however, a difficulty in matching these sensemaking (Weick, 1995), emergent (Griffith, 2001) and fluid approaches to contemporary practice. The approaches outlined by Conklin and Head and Alford are based on a

completely different understanding of how to create change than the understanding of standard NPM and even joined-up-government and outcomes-based approaches. NPM and whole-of-government approaches are based on a formative teleological process, one where the future is a mature version of itself. In effect, the future ‘unfolds an already enfolded form’ (Stacey, 2000, p.25), where the outcomes (goals) are identified in advance of the action taken to achieve these goals. Then, these outcomes are measured against the original goal. The more the action has the desired outcome, the more validity the action receives and the more the action is undertaken. The emergent model is based on a transformative teleological process (Stacey, 2000, p.25), where the action is taken before the goal is set and the outcome is considered to be the goal. If the outcome is helpful, the action is repeated; if the outcome is unhelpful, the action is abandoned (Snowdon and Boone, 2007). It appears that underneath the different ways of understanding wicked problems lie different ways of understanding.

To arrive at this juncture, we have interrogated the public policy literature at an international and national level focusing on public policy reform. Within this paradigm, we have heard various authors discuss why public policies fail and how to address these issues to create success. The relationship between the literature on public policy and the influence of that literature on one particular public policy have been investigated. In this narrative, it is clear that policymakers wish to create improvements for their citizens. There is no mention in any of the extensive literature of a government desiring a citizen to be without running water or a home or, indeed, a childhood. In fact, the documentation earnestly strives to bring these ‘goods’ (Ostenfeld, 1994, p.19) into being. If the aims of government are good and the realisation of these aims benefits the populace, Scott asks: ‘Why do so many well-intended schemes to improve the human condition go so tragically awry?’ (Scott, 1998, p.4)

2.7.3 High Modernism and Seeing like a State

Scott contends that the high modernist ideology underlying the rationale for public sector reform may be a contributing factor as to why these reforms are often unsuccessful. He defines this high modernist ideology as:

‘a supreme self-confidence about continued linear progress, the development of scientific and technical knowledge ... the rational design of social order, the growing satisfaction of human needs and, not least, an increasing control over nature (including human nature) commensurate with scientific understanding of natural laws’ (Scott, 1998, p.89).

Scott notes that high modernism has certain key features when enacted by the state, including:

Table 2.7: Key Features of High Modernity

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imposed by the state • Imposed from above • Imposed without acknowledgement of local/contextual knowledge • The strengths/weaknesses of the act are influenced by the strengths/weaknesses of the state commitment to the act • Based on the concept of the ‘abstract citizen’ • High modernism brackets contingency (emergence)

Adapted from Scott, 1998 (Sheridan, 2017)

Public policies are conceived and implemented by the state, not by the people for whom they were created to improve. Their success or failure is contingent on the level of state commitment to continuing and sustaining the chosen change regardless of dissent. Public policy is created for an abstract person, i.e. ‘the aboriginal native’, ‘the person with disabilities’, ‘the vulnerable child’, and the desired goals and outcomes in relation to these projects, i.e. ‘the good’, are decided by an expert, prior to the action, irrespective of the changing nature of reality.

Scott contends that reforms undertaken in this way are done, not to improve the functionality of the system, but instead to improve the legibility of the system for those observing it from afar. The principle here is that if the system appears streamlined and clear from a distance, then it must follow that the system is more functional for those who use it. It is as if increased legibility corresponded to increased functionality. However, this may not be the case. Jacobs (1961, p.378) discusses this concept of legibility and functionality in terms of the ‘helicopter view’ and the ‘street view’. In the helicopter view, the reform is stripped of context and the response is controlled and decided from a distance, a-temporally. This response makes sense when observing the whole from afar but, on the ground, it makes no

sense. Scott, following Jacobs, argues that ‘there is no necessary correspondence between the tidy look of geometric order on one hand and systems that effectively meet daily needs on the other’ (Jacobs, 1961). Jacobs contrasts this with ‘a street view’ (Scott, 1993, p.133) In this view, the everyday contextual and temporal environment makes perfect sense to those who experience it, with each person understanding how a particular response emerged at a particular time, is applicable to a particular place and progressed at a particular speed. However, without knowing the context and history of this experience, it would appear chaotic and illogical. Thus, on the ground, at street level, the pattern is clear but, from afar, it is unrecognisable. Therefore, in Jacobs’ view, a system may be functional but illegible. In these circumstances, the imposition of public reform by the state simplifies ‘the actual activity of the society’ and represents ‘only that slice’ of society that interests ‘the official observers’ (Scott, 1998, p.3), severing the conceptual and actual connection between the ‘slice’ which is of interest to the reformers and the other slices and bracketing the relationship between the part and the whole as if these relationships could be separated as easily in reality as they are in theory. The metaphor of the ‘jigsaw puzzle’ is often used to develop the idea that if the correct pieces are placed in the correct format, the complete picture will emerge. In Scott’s and Jacobs’ approach, the jigsaw puzzle pieces – while mixed up to the eye of the observer – have a pattern none the less. The pattern is not intelligible to those observing the apparently chaotic pile of pieces, but it is present. If these pieces were more difficult to move, perhaps connected together with multiple filaments, it would be easier for observers to see how these pieces were already connected, However, the reduction of the pieces to stand-alone parts disregards the real connections. This simplification allows state actors to proceed regardless of the contextual factors. Scott suggests that this approach to public sector reform will ‘only take us so far’ in responding to ‘spatially and temporally unique’ contexts in which change is to be enacted (1998, p.318).

Considering Scott’s and Jacobs’ conclusion that increased legibility from above may not result in increased functionality below, it is interesting to examine how Scott’s features of High Modernism respond to Pollitt’s reasons as to why public reform fails.

Table 2.8: Pollitt and Scott: A Comparison

Why public reform fails/Key lessons	Characteristics of High Modernism in state intervention
Prescription before diagnosis: Solutions looking for a problem	It brackets contingency (emergence).
Failure to build a sufficient coalition for reform	Imposed from above Imposed by the state
Launching reform without implementation capacity	The strengths/weaknesses of the act are influenced by the strengths/weaknesses of the state commitment to the act.
Action too fast and unsustainable	The strengths/weaknesses of the act are influenced by the strengths/weaknesses of the state commitment to the act.
Over-reliance on external experts rather than experienced locals	Imposed without acknowledgement of local/contextual knowledge
Ignoring local cultural factors	Imposed without acknowledgement of local/contextual knowledge

Adapted from Pollitt, 2013, p. 6 (Sheridan, 2017)

Adapted from Scott, 1998 (Sheridan, 2017)

There appears to be a level of overlap between high modernist features and the reasons why public reform projects fail. This suggests that it may be important to pay cognisance to the contextualised individual and their local knowledge, to emergence, to commitment to change and to speed of change (Head and Alford, 2015). These are highly changeable factors transforming almost on a moment-by-moment basis in real time. Scott notes:

‘One of the greatest paradoxes of social engineering is that it seems at odds with the experience of modernity generally. Trying to gel a social world, the most striking characteristic of which appears to be flux, seems rather like trying to manage a whirlwind’ (1998, p.93).

The continuous drive towards increased legibility does not appear to increase functionality in terms of either the understanding or the efficacy of actions taken in

the drive to provide for the needs of citizens. In this reading, the re-organisation of children's services to increase its legibility to those at the highest level of abstraction i.e. the government, may have dis-improved the functionality of service provision at its most granular level.

2.8 Conclusion

The conclusion highlights a number of paradoxical and discordant aspects of the creation of Tusla that have emerged during the interrogation of the literature which are pertinent to this study.

The Child and Family Agency was set up to address the cause of the failures of the Irish state to keep Irish children safe. The report cited silos, fragmentation, lack of accountability and lack of clarity as the main reasons why children could not be protected against the ravages of abuse. The aspiration of the Task Force was to create a structure which would redress the failures of the past. The reality fashioned from the TFR was Tusla, the Child and Family Agency. This literature review has revealed paradoxes which lie at the heart of the phenomenon which is Tusla.

Tusla was created as a separate arm's-length agency, by definition, a silo, to deal with the problems created by silos. Thus, the same strategy which was cited as creating the problem was used to solve it. The creation of Tusla signalled the fragmentation of the HSE, the FSA and the NEWB in all this, while fragmentation was cited as one of the reasons for the problem. And so it was that the formation of one structure was made possible by the fragmentation of other structures, *as if* the consequences of the fragmentation of the past and the fragmentation of the present would be unconnected in the creation of the future. The TFR stated that the presence of certain components was 'critical' to the success of the agency. Yet, not all these critical components were transferred to Tusla. Accordingly, before the agency even began there was a schism between the aspiration and the actual which was, in essence, another fragmentation. It appears enigmatic to create an agency without its critical components ... and expect success.

Within the TFR, there co-exists two juxtaposing approaches to creating reform; one advocates for autonomy and single-purpose agencies, while the other advocates cross- government responsibility and shared budgets. It is not that these cannot work together; it is that there is no acknowledgement that they *may not* work together and may, in fact, work against each other as was illustrated in the examples given. Paradoxically, this approach may mean that on the ground the work gets done despite the system – not because of the system (Snowden and Boone, 2007). The TFR placed emphasis on the need for strong governance and accountability; however, from the discussion it is clear that these concepts obfuscate fundamental differences between interest groups at all levels of the organisations. Thus, the strategy used to create clarity, may in fact create more ambiguity. This review has identified that public sector reform is rarely successful. This is particularly true when dealing with nonlinear, temporal, societal issues. Therefore, the government's use of an unsuccessful strategy to create a successful initiative is inherently flawed.

In addition to the inconsistency underlying the creation of Tusla, there are a number of additional aspects of Tusla's creation which are of interest to this research. Firstly, the influence of Atlantic Philanthropies in the formation of Tusla is indeterminate. However, the literature implies that non-state actors do affect state actors and, in doing so, alter the course state actors might have taken without this influence. The appropriateness of private donor involvement in the creation of state bodies is a question considered but not resolved in this review. Finally, the relationship between modernism and failure of public sector reform – and the overlay between the characteristics of these – tentatively suggests that in states on a modernist trajectory, public reform using modernist approaches may not be the appropriate strategy for addressing difficult societal problems (Crowley, 2013). This suggestion raises questions which are, also, not resolved in this review.

It is apparent in the literature that there are many threats to the success of the Child and Family Agency and that these threats are counter-intuitive, hidden behind seemingly standard approaches to generic problems. Yet, their presence, while often

unacknowledged, has an influence on the ability of Tusla to achieve its aims. Most important, these threats have an influence on the lives of vulnerable children who rely on the state for their safety.

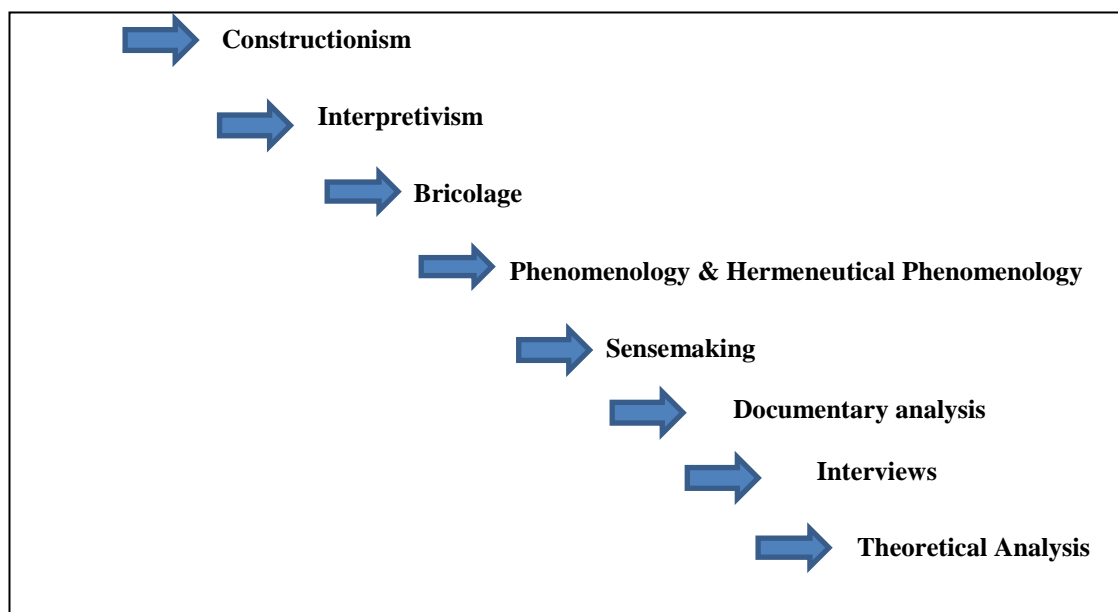
3.0 Methodology

3.1 Research Framework

The aim of this research design is to capture the nuance of a complex subject, within a small study. This chapter is divided into four sections. **Section One** discusses epistemological and ontological considerations pertinent to the research design and execution. **Section Two** discusses the methodology chosen and the methods employed in the creation of the empirical data. **Section Three** discusses the analysis of the data. **Section Four** discusses access, confidentiality issues and the ethical concerns inherent within this research. The chapter concludes with a summation of the components of the research design and an introduction to the findings.

The final form of the research framework was not identified prior to the research but emerged in an iterative process during the two years of this study and involved the consideration and rejection of many alternatives before these components were chosen. Thus, while the process is shown as linear in Table 3.1, the process itself was iterative and emergent (Tobin and Begley, 2004; Robson, 2011).

Table 3.1: Research Design



Adapted from Crotty, (1998 p.5)

3.2 Section One: Constructionism and Meaning in the World

This research utilises a constructionist epistemology, which views meaning as *constructed* by the participants in relation to the world and the objects in the world. For the purpose of this study, the object of research is the phenomenon of the change inherent in the creation of Tusla (which will be called ‘the change’ from this point). The change may not have meaning in itself but does have ‘a vital part to play in the generation *of* meaning’ by the participant (Crotty, 1998, p.48). The specific, methodological focus of the study is the capture and analysis of the meaning(s) of the phenomenon as it/they emerge from the research process. Using the constructionist lens, the study acknowledges that the meaning created in this research rests on a foundation of existing meaning present for each of the participants coming out of their own experiences of the world. Ontologically, the research is realistic in its construction of being, assuming that the world exists independently of the mind while acknowledging that meaning cannot exist without the mind (Crotty, 1998, p.10).

An objectivist epistemology was considered; however, the study focused on the emergence of meaning and on the assumption of the potential for multiple meanings – in addition to the relational and contextual nature of the study. As a result, this focus placed the study within the realm of constructionism and so did not lend itself to an objectivist epistemological stance. A subjectivist epistemology was, also, considered. However, this study assumes that meaning is created by beings-in-the-world (Heidegger, 1927) interacting with their worldly experiences and the meanings that emerge from them (Le Vasseur, 2003, p.415; Crotty, 1998, p.45). Thus, the object is a component of the construction of meaning, and the study cannot utilise a subjectivist frame. While there is acknowledgement in this study that meaning, when it is taken up by others, is different from the meaning that is created and envisaged by those who created it, the study is founded on an assumption that this subjectivism is, also, based on prior constructed knowledge.

3.2.1 Interpretivism

The study aims to increase the understanding of the creation of Tusla and to increase the understanding of the consequences of its creation on the ground level. In line with these aims, the study utilises an interpretivist theoretical perspective which agrees with the constructionist epistemology and the underlying assumption noted above. The study engages with particular interpretivist lenses – namely, phenomenology, hermeneutic phenomenology, bricolage and sensemaking. Each of these lenses will be discussed in relation to their contribution to the study.

3.2.2 Phenomenology and Hermeneutical Phenomenology

This study exploits the richness of phenomenology and hermeneutical phenomenology in two ways – firstly, to orientate the participant in the examination of the intentional object and secondly, to orientate the researcher in the interpretation of the intentional object. Hermeneutic phenomenology expands the breadth of the application of phenomenology and is also employed in two ways – firstly, to support the process of fusion between text (literature) and context (front line practitioners) and secondly, through the use of the ‘fusion of horizons’ theory in the creation of an understanding of the whole phenomenon through the interaction of its parts.

3.2.3 Participants and the Intentional Object

In the study, the participants were required to discuss their conscious understanding of the creation of Tusla and the changes that had taken place during this time. The participants were asked to engage in a discussion of the meaning that change has for them in the world. The object is brought to the participants’ attention as ‘change’, and the participant thereafter engages with this object using the lens created for them by the researcher. Thus, the creation of Tusla and the meaning it has for the participants becomes the ‘intentional object’ of study. Using this orientation, the researcher has set an ‘interpretivist strategy in motion’ (Fish, 1980, p.191). The use of phenomenology in the interpretation of the intentional object allows us to call into question the current meanings we attribute to the phenomenon and, indeed, in the case of this study to call into question the perceived wisdom / governmental policymakers’ meaning of the phenomenon (Fish, 1980, p.191). This speaks to the

second aim of the research, i.e. the creation of a dialogue between a participant's words and the policy document. For the purpose of this study, phenomenology is not seen solely as a 'study of people's subjective and everyday experience' (Crotty, 1998, p.83) but, instead, following Crotty's point has 'a note of objectivity ... and is an exercise in critique' (1998, p.83). The utilisation of phenomenological reduction ('epoche' or bracketing) following a Husserlian understanding (Le Vasseur, 2003) was considered for the development of this study; however, it was not possible to engage in this process with fidelity as the researcher's understanding was necessary at numerous points in the decision-making process in relation to the direction of the study (Salsberry, 1989). 'Epoche' as a concept remained useful to ensure a consciousness of the researcher's involvement in the research process and as a reminder that this involvement influenced the research.

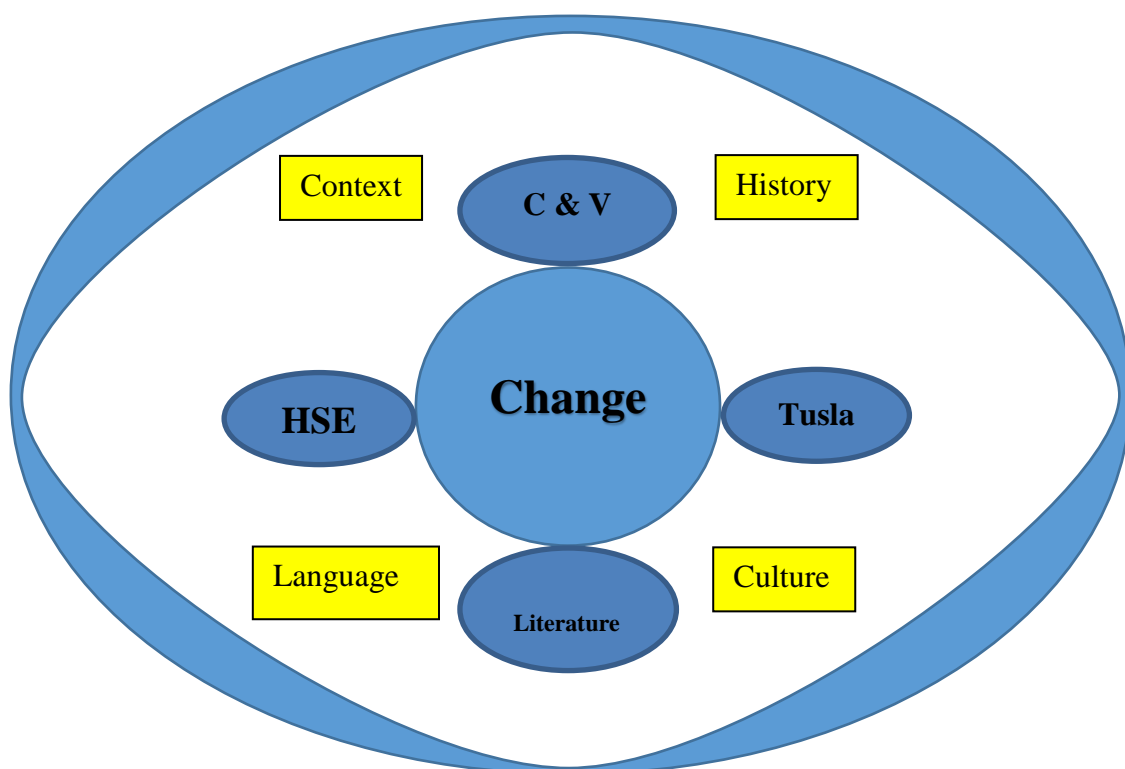
3.2.4 Hermeneutics and Hermeneutical Phenomenology

Hermeneutics is the study of interpretation and of the interpretation of texts. Gadamer states that hermeneutics is 'understanding understanding' (Grondin, p.37, in Dostal, 2002). Within this study, hermeneutics was useful in understanding how to engage with both the meaning that authors created within the literary texts and how the participants created meaning within the written interviews. Hermeneutic phenomenology supports other elements such as sensemaking and bricolage. There is a need to theoretically understand the language of policy documents within a framework which can encompass it in terms of the rest of the study.

Gadamer's concept of 'fusion of horizons' informed the conceptualisation of the interaction of the data from the three sub-groups of participants namely, HSE participants, Tusla participants and Community and Voluntary Sector participants (discussed further in Section 3.5.3 Reduction of the Raw Data.). In the absence of the compare and contrast process (as is present in a case study or inductive thematic analysis) (Boyatzis, 1998, p.27), it was necessary to create a framework and conception which would bring the data together to see how the participants 'made sense' across horizons and how this sense could be synthesised and enhanced using the literature. This approach created a structure in which to visualise the participants and to understand that each participant alone would not represent the whole picture.

Additionally, that the picture could not be seen without a consideration of how each participant's data interacted with other participants' data and how these understandings and the limitations of these understandings could create a 'fusion of horizons' for, and with, the researcher, was important. A continuous appreciation of the separate, yet interconnected, nature of the participant reality reminds the researcher to hold the emerging meaning lightly throughout the process.

Figure 3.1: Fusion of Horizons in Context



As the diagram above illustrates, each one of these components touches the phenomenon and is surrounded in space and time by the forces of context, language, culture and history. All these interact to create an understanding of the phenomenon. Hermeneutical phenomenology also assists us to stay with the 'phenomenon' and not focus too strongly on the impact of the event. This supported the researcher to stay with the meaning created by the participants. Additionally, this hermeneutical phenomenological focus of staying with the meaning created an understanding of the limits of the research and a boundary for the study. Other interpretivist approaches were also considered when developing the research, particularly the 'critical theory' approach. This approach would have created a rich interpretation of the components

of the study. However, this approach would have used a very particular theoretical lens to create meaning (Zimmerman, 2015, p.7) and, after consideration, it was decided that this approach would orient the gaze of the reader in a particular way, perhaps limiting the space for the reader to create their own meaning. Additionally, this approach may have resulted in the loss of the meaning which was emerging from the participants. In cognisance that the explication of participants' meaning was one of the primary aims of the research, a critical theory approach was not pursued.

3.2.5 Bricolage

One of the study aims was to provide some space for a dialogue between abstract, high-level policy and embodied front line experience. The challenge here was to create space where both the voice of the literature and the voice of the practitioner could represent one conversation – not separate conversations – and to consider how these might converge and diverge. Bricolage is a construct created by Claude Levi-Strauss in his seminal work 'The Savage Mind' (1966) to elucidate the need for openness in understanding how things may be used by different people in different environments. In contemporary constructions of bricolage, this stance promotes an interdisciplinary approach to research and endorses the analyses of data using various theoretical lenses. In addition to this, the approach acknowledges the complexity of the lived experience of respondents and recognises the potential for contradiction within findings and analysis. The approach can encompass an 'at the same time' construction of the world rather than an either/or, or indeed, a both/and construction (Stacey et al., 2000, p.25). This acceptance of contradiction and plurality of knowledge allows a consistent epistemological, ontological and methodological foundation – but does not bind the *findings* within one research paradigm. However, it is with caution that this approach is used in this research. It is not an opportunity to engage in undercover subjectivism; rather, it is to allow for all the elements of the research to be considered for what they were and are. Bricolage is used to focus on the 'intentional object' of the study and how the emerging components of the intentional object are used and how these components fit together. The concept is not used in relation to the self-reflexivity espoused by Kincheloe (2001) or the subjectivist construction of bricolage proposed by Denzin and Lincoln (2000).

3.2.6 Sensemaking

In this research, the use of a sensemaking approach was particularly valuable as it ‘alerts researchers that the subjective basis of action has non-subjective results’ (Weick, 1995, p.66). It is this connection between subjectivity and reality which was used to support an understanding of not only what can be seen in the world but how those who have created reality can understand their situation. This allowed the researcher to make valuable connections and ‘see’ what may otherwise have remained unacknowledged. This approach also connects with the phenomenological concern for the ‘intentional object’ and the hermeneutical concern for a fusion of text and context. This sensemaking approach was used primarily in the development of the interview questions as a way of building the explication of social complexity into the orientation of these questions. A sensemaking case study is also used in the discussion section to expand the understanding of the findings of the research. This approach allows the researcher to think with the participant (Arendt, 1954) while still maintaining an anchor in the theoretical and epistemological space. A key component of sensemaking is the utilisation of the concept of multiple ontologies. This perspective acknowledges that participants are influenced by a range of different factors and can respond in different ways, dependent on place and time. Weick notes that ‘if people have multiple identities and deal with multiple realities why should we expect them to be ontological purists? To do so is to limit their capacity for sensemaking’ (Weick, 1995, p.35; Snowden and Stanbridge, 2004). To ensure that participants’ ‘capacity for sensemaking’ is not inhibited, it was necessary to allow for multiple ontological perspectives within the findings. Weick notes that ‘people who study sensemaking oscillate ontologically because that is what helps them understand the actions of people in everyday life who could not care less about ontology’ (Weick, 1995, p.35). Snowden and Stanbridge agree with this approach, stating that ‘multi-ontological sensemaking reflects the need to adopt different diagnostic techniques, different intervention devices and different forms of measures depending on the ontological state’ (Snowdon and Stanbridge, 2004, p.146). Theorists outside of the paradigm critique ‘ontological oscillation’; the ‘very mixing of ontologies’ is what drives Burrell and Morgan (1979, p.266) ‘nuts’ (Weick, 1995, p.35). Burrell and Morgan’s difficulty is with oscillation in the ‘operationalisation of

research ideas within an empirical context’ (Khazanchi and Munkvold, 2003, p.1). In this study, the concept of multiple ontologies or ‘paradigm crossing’ (Schultz and Hatch, 1996, p.533) is applied to the research findings – and not to the research design. This acknowledgement of multiple ontologies at the findings stage is necessary as participants in this study experience a confusing change where the ideological and organisational framework in which they work is shifting. These shifts often involve encompassing changing ontological and epistemological frameworks which lie behind the policy documents upon which these changes are based. To understand these changes, it is necessary to allow for multiple understandings of reality as meaning is constructed and reconstructed through the change process.

3.2.7 Documentary Analysis

Document analysis is the systematic process of reviewing documents (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rapley, 2007; Labuschagne, 2003) to ‘elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge’ (Bowden 2009, p27). Inquiry into documentary realities should not be ‘confined to the inspection of documents themselves’ but should also acknowledge how documents were ‘produced, circulated, read... and used’, in addition to an understanding of the ‘special work’ that the document undertakes’ (Atkinson and Coffey 2011, p 78). Documents are not noumenal objects but ‘constructed realities’. They do not represent *the* truth but an interpretation of reality. Documentary analysis utilising aspirational documents, such as the TFR, should be used in conjunction with other forms of research as ‘it is usually difficult to test the realism of such aspirations by documentary analysis alone’ (Shaw et al. 2004, p 261). While Shaw et al. caution against acceptance of aspirational documents as a single data source, they acknowledge the functional value of these documents as ‘conscious statements of policy’. Additionally, Shaw et al. note that documents ‘may influence action’ giving certain documents more relevance in the world (Shaw et al. 2004, p 261).

3.2.7.1 Documentary Analysis and the Task Force Report

The interrogation of the TFR is ubiquitous in this study. To undertake this analysis three key methods were used: - manifest content analysis, latent content analysis and the examination of the TFR in relation to other texts recognized as ‘intertextuality’ or intertextual analysis (Orr, 2003). Manifest content analysis was undertaken by counting the presence of key terms such as ‘governance’ and ‘accountability’. The quantification of these terms and their sub-terms stimulated a greater understanding of the complexity of both the text and the context. Latent content analysis considered the ‘style, tone, agenda, facts [and] opinions’ within the document (O’Leary, 2014). The examination of the latent content rests on the epistemological and ontological foundations set out in Section 3.2 and was undertaken using the lenses identified in this section, most particularly hermeneutical phenomenology. The analysis is interpretivistic in its approach utilising a constructionist epistemology and the TFR is fundamentally seen as a ‘non-reactive item’ (Bryman, 1989), an object in the word. While a constructivist epistemological stance views documents as non-reactive objects, Prior (2008) suggests that documents are social actors, part of a network of actors both human and non-human ‘regarded by others as allies, enemies, or perhaps simply instigators of further actions’ which interact to create change (Prior, 2008, p828). While cognisant of the value of Priors view, within this study, humans as seen as the social actors, it is they who create and consume documents, acting with and upon them in the phenomenal world. A distinction between documents as reactive or non-reactive is useful in the discussion of intertextual analysis and its utility for this study.

3.2.7.2 Intertextuality

Intertextuality ‘names a text’s relations to other texts’ (Orr, 2010, p148) and places this relationship within the wider cultural and societal frame. Intertextual analysis is a process through which texts are re-evaluated by means of ‘comparison, counter-position and contrast’ (Orr, 2003, p53). Care was taken to compare the information in the TFR to other literature as illustrated in Table 2.3, 2.4, and 2.8. This detailed analysis of textual meaning and its relationship to other texts, while time consuming, lends legitimacy to the authors suggested connections between texts and explicates these connections in a tangible way (Shaw, 2004, p264). Through this process the

meaning of the TFR as intended by its authors and the meaning created by the researcher, in the dialogue between the TFR and other documents, e.g. the literature and interviews, re-evaluates the TFR and (re)-presents it to the reader as the ‘earlier ends ... play[ing] the part of means’ (Levi-Struss, 1962, p20). In doing so the reader ‘sees’ connections between things which at first may not seem to go together (Levi-Struss, 1962, p9).

3.3 Section conclusion

Phenomenology, hermeneutics, bricolage and sensemaking advance the aims of the study. In relation to the first aim of the study – that of understanding the change – phenomenology clarifies the intentional object and orientates the gaze of the researcher. Hermeneutic phenomenology situates the intentional object in a textual and contextual frame. Bricolage encourages a focus on how components of the study may fit together in unexpected ways, and sensemaking informs the medium (interviews) through which the intentional object will move from a tacit to an empirical form. In relation to the creation of a dialogue between the high-level abstract documents and the experience of the front line staff, whereas phenomenology supports the creation of an intentional object which encompasses the phenomenon, hermeneutic phenomenology creates a ‘way of seeing’ with which to understand the meaning that is created without the use of a narrow theoretical lens (Willis, 2001, p.9), and documentary analysis and the use of intertextual analysis provides the method with which to perform the process. Bricolage encourages a view of the data and literature which allows for a combination of components in new ways. Sensemaking focuses strongly on meaning and orientates the gaze towards the interrelationship between the subjective experience and the non-subjective results of actions taken based on those experiences.

The concepts and tools of the approaches outlined were brought to bear on the design of the research project.

3.4 Section Two: Research Design and Execution

One of the study aims was to identify how the creation of Tusla was experienced by those who went through this change. To meet this aim, it was necessary to identify people within the milieu who would discuss their experiences with the researcher. Considering the exploratory nature of the research and the short duration of the study, it was not possible to engage with the total population affected by the change. To this end, a non-probability purposeful sampling method was used to identify respondents for this study. Patton states that this type of sampling is appropriate if ‘the research believes that the most information can be gathered by interviewing [a] particular group (Patton, 2002, in Merriam, 2009). This purposeful sampling took the form of targeted sampling, a method used when it is necessary to identify ‘the various subgroups that might exist in the population of interest’ (Shaghaghi, Bhopal and Sheikh, 2009). To attempt to develop a structure in which to create a ‘fusion of horizons’, it was necessary to engage participants from across the spectrum of those affected by the creation of Tusla and recruit individuals from sub-samples within this population.

3.4.1 Population

The total number of staff transferred to the newly created Child and Family Agency can be estimated at approximately 5,000 individuals. This includes some 4,000 staff who transferred from the employ of the HSE, some 150 staff who transferred from the dissolved National Educational Welfare Board and some 100 staff from other transferred departments. Additionally, some 600 salary lines were transferred from the dissolved Family Support Agency, but these posts are not in the direct employ of Tusla. Instead, they were given to Community and Voluntary organisations with incorporated companies and independent boards of management as discussed in the literature review (Section 2.5.3, The Shadow State). These staff do not have Tusla employment contracts. This is important as these staff have a different perspective on the change and add another horizon to the subject. The number of remaining HSE staff, who continued in the employ of the HSE and who were affected by the disaggregation process, is unquantifiable to this study.

To guide the creation of the purposeful sample, sampling criteria were established. These sampling criteria enabled the researcher to identify the most appropriate participants for this research project. The criteria included a specification on sector identification, length of service and a participant's occupation of a boundary spanning role. These categories were chosen to ensure that the study would involve key informants who could provide rich data which would inform the aims of the research. Only participants possessing all the attributes were considered as meeting the sample criteria.

3.4.2 Sampling Criteria

The sampling criteria for this study included three key categories, category a) boundary spanning roles, was the most significant factor for the inclusion of a participant in this study and will be discussed in depth. Category b) sector identification ensure all participants were from an agency engaged in the change and category and will be outlined below, category c) length of services ensured that all participants were present, before, during and after the creation of Tusla and will also be discussed.

a) Boundary Spanning Roles

This study recruited participants who were at the boundaries of their organisation, both before and after the creation of Tusla. Boundary spanners are 'the key managing agents within inter-organisational theatres' individuals who bridge the gap between organisations (Williams, 2002, p 103). Utilising boundary spanners allows for the examination of the 'policy practice disconnection' (Braithewaite, 2010, p3) which was a key component of the research as meaning is made not only with official documentation but also with 'informal boundary spanning dialogue' (Howard and Summerville, 2008, p1). Here, individuals share knowledge 'beyond the constructs of particular communities of practice' (Howard and Summerville, 2008, p3).

This strategy was pursued for seven specific reasons:

- i. Boundary spanners experience the impact of change before others in an organisation. An investigation involving participants in this role at the edges of

inter-organisational work can create richer data than an investigation of change on the organisation as a whole (Aldrich and Herker, 1977, p.228). These persons are, metaphorically speaking, the ‘canaries in the coal mine’ who provide the first signals (Snowdon and Stanbridge, 2004) of the consequences of change.

- ii. In a situation of transition as in the creation of Tusla, boundary spanners give access to the most cogent experience of the membership and non-membership of organisations where the inclusion/exclusion criteria were in flux (Thomson, J., 1962).
- iii. Boundary spanners manage information and external representation and link the organisation to the external environment by ‘buffering, moderating or influencing the environment’ (Aldrich and Herker, 1977, p.218).
- iv. Boundary spanners are not only close to the external environment but are also active in their engagement with that environment.
- v. In addition, this activity is both outward towards the external environment in the form of ‘influencing’ but also inward as the boundary spanner acts as a protective line between the external environment and the internal organisational context.
- vi. The boundary spanner moderates and ameliorates the external environment for those cosseted within the organisation, in a process which March and Herbert (1958) term ‘uncertainty absorption’.
- vii. The meaning that boundary spanners make of the external environment and their experiences of this environment is a factor in how others in the organisation experience the external environment (Aldrich and Herker, 1977, p.219).

The identification and utilisation of participants in boundary spanning roles in this study was particularly useful. Tusla as an organisation was only in existence for two years when this study was conducted. Thus participants in boundary spanning roles provided indications of changes which may not have been experienced by others at such an early stage in the development of the organisation. This study aspired to link the external document ‘The Report of the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency (2012) with the experiences of front line workers. Participants in boundary spanning roles were familiar with both the external environment, in relation to the change, and also with the internal environment within their organisation. This placed these participants in a position to contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon of change with reference to both external and

internal factors. This position also allowed participants to discuss their experiences on negotiating the changes and allowed the researcher access to how the participants explained and discussed the changes with their colleagues both internal and external to Tusla. Boundary spanning participant's discussion of how they managed uncertainty gave insight into how Tusla was being understood and discussed. Participants in this study are often discussing each other during the interviews. This increased the interconnectedness of the data and allows for the researcher to 'see' the participant's experiences of the creation of Tusla from multiple perspectives and enhances the fusion of horizons.

For the purpose of this study, boundary spanners provide a rich data source in the construction of the meaning of the creation of Tusla. They facilitate the study of change using a small sample and maximise the relevant data due to their proximity to the change process.

b) Sector Identification

It was necessary that all respondents were employed in an affected agency before, during and after the change process. This ensured that the data collected was temporally equivalent across participants.

c) Length of Service

It was necessary that all respondents were working in the parent agency for at least five years prior to the change. This ensured that the participants were fully integrated in the parent agency before the change.

The study initially had thirteen participants labelled A-M. Participant 'F' and participant 'L' were both academics who were interviewed with a view to integrating an additional horizon into the exploration of the creation of Tusla. As the study evolved this horizon was not included as the data included did not fit with the final study design. The information gained in these interviews was instead used to inform the literature review. The eleven remaining participants formed the sample for the data analysis process. These participants comprised five male and six female, drawn

from across the affected agencies. Pre-Tusla, six participants worked for the HSE, one for the National Educational Welfare Board, two from the Family Support Agency, one from Domestic Violence Services and one for an organisation funded by the HSE. Post the creation of Tusla, two remained working for the HSE, while all the other participants came under the Tusla umbrella.

3.4.3 Representativeness

Considering the size of the study population and the total number of staff in the HSE and Tusla, the number of participants is not representative of the population of those involved in the change and, therefore, the findings are not statistically generalisable to the whole population. The study is not constructed to elicit statistical data, however, but to advance an understanding of the phenomenon. In this sense the researcher suggests that the study may be representative of at least some characteristics of the phenomenon (the phenomenon being the fact of the creation of Tusla and the consequences of its creation on those working on the ground level) (Weick, 1995). Williams (2000, p215) terms these ‘moderatum generalisations, where aspects of *S* can be seen to be instances of a broader recognisable set of features’ (Williams, 2000, p215). A further investigation of this claim to representativeness would necessitate the replication of the methodology created in this study perhaps utilising a case study format. This process would seek a ‘disconfirming case’ (Znaniecki, 1934: Booth, 2013) to confound or alter the suggestion that the phenomenon has the meaning for a wider population which is suggested in this study (Cooper et al., 2013: Williams 2000, p217). This process would also identify the transferability of both the methodology and the findings, to the larger population. This is beyond the scope of the study and in the interim the suggestion that the finding may be representative of the phenomenon stimulates deeper consideration of the phenomenon itself.

3.4.4 Access to key informants

Access to key actors or ‘elites’ (Harvey, 2011, p. 433) who were systematically important in both the understanding of the creation of Tusla and also the implementation of change (Weber, 2015, p 69), was crucial to the validity of the study (Okumus et al., 2007; Johl and Renganathan, 2010, Seidler, 1974). The

purposeful sampling method and the identification of boundary spanners as key informant's necessitated access to respondents who, a) matched the criteria, b) could provide a rich data source and c) functioned at a significantly senior level with their organisations. The sensitivity of the research and the reluctance of professionals in governmental agencies to discuss their experiences with those outside of their trusted colleagues, was identified as a barrier to engaging key informants (Monahan and Fisher, 2014, p710; Wu and Savic, 2010 p722; Shenton and Hayter, 2004, p226).

To gain access at this level it was necessary to protect the identity of these respondents (discussed further in the Ethics Section 3.6), and thus a fuller description of the roles of these key informants cannot be given least their anonymity be dissolved. It can be said that the informants within this study would be considered 'key' under the criteria set down for the identification of 'key informants', criteria such as access to in-depth information (Tongco, 2007, p151), the ability to perceive patterns of behaviour (Seidler, 1974 p817), the ability to exert influence (Harvey, 2011, p443) and a key role in the organisation (Marshall, 1996, p92).

The complexity of issues and the reluctance of key actors to engage might have proven a threat to both initial access and the elicitation of rich data for this research (Mikecz 2012, p484). However, a number of factors made access to key informants possible in this instance. Firstly, the researcher has a professional connection and had established a rapport with all the participants (Arksey & Knight, 1999 ; Jehn & Jonsen, 2010). This familiarity with the researcher was important in gaining access. Here, the participants had personal experience of the researcher's trustworthiness and integrity over many years. Secondly, while the researcher had a relationship with the participants, she did not work with, or for, any of the participants. Thus, while the research was 'socially situated' (Vygotsky, 1962) close to the participants, there was an important distance between them. This combination of high levels of trust, while not working with the organisations in question, proved the cornerstone of successful access. To illustrate this connection, all the participants were initially contacted with the request for interview via email. It was envisaged that this approach would allow prospective participants time to think about the request and, also, would alleviate the pressure to refuse which a face-to-face request might have

created. However, all eleven potential participants who received emails responded positively within a twenty-four-hour period.

3.4.5 Interviews

To progress the aim of the study and to understand the phenomenon of change as experienced by those affected, the interview was the method by which data was collected (Tuckman, 1972; Cohen and Manion, 2000). The potential participants were purposefully identified by the researcher as discussed in Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, and a request for interview was sent via email (Appendix B). All the participants contacted agreed to take part in the study. The interview granted direct access to the individual and provided an 'exploratory device' to further the aim of the study (Cohen and Manion, 2000).

3.4.6 Interviews and the Sensemaking

The set of semi-structured interview questions was designed using a sensemaking approach (Appendix C). The questions focused on drawing out knowledge from participants of their lived experience in relation to the phenomenon being studied (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997, p.127). These questions were created with close reference to the literature. To illuminate the procedure undertaken in the process of creating the interview questions, an example is given of one interview question below. This process was followed for each interview question: - the full process is presented in Appendix C.

Step 1: Identify the aspect of the phenomenon on which to elicit information

How will this research find out what work is currently valued in the organisations and how the participant is understanding this and making sense of what is currently valued in work? (Question Creation Framework, Sheridan, 2017, Appendix C)

Step 2: Create a rationale for asking this question

This is important to know because to study the phenomenon of change in the creation of Tusla, it is necessary to provide the participants with an

opportunity to discuss what is valued in the current work and what is not valued. (Question Creation Framework, Sheridan, 2017, Appendix C)

Step 3: Identify the difficulties and bias within the question format

To ask this question directly may elicit a list of items that are valued without reference to change or insight into why this is so. This approach would not assist in the aim of making sense of the phenomenon.

(Question Creation Framework, Sheridan, 2017, Appendix C)

Step 4: Consult the literature for guidance

Weick (1995) and Snowden (2009) informed the process of the creation of the question which would capture the nuance of the change process and its consequences more faithfully. Weick discusses that in sensemaking the peripheral cues, and what Snowden would call ‘weak signal indicators’ are important not just for the future as Snowden suggests but also to present action. (Question Creation Framework, Sheridan, 2017, Appendix C)

Step 5: Link the literature to the context

‘As arousal increases and cues from the periphery (*in this case HSE/Tusla/Community Organisations*) are neglected, people continue to pay attention to the central project (*in this case the core work of Tusla as laid down in BOBF*). But if the cues in the periphery were crucial contextual cues for the centre, then the loss of these peripheral cues may mean that the person doing the project gets better at performing something that now makes no sense to continue performing (Weick, 1995, p.105). (Question Creation Framework, Sheridan, 2017, Appendix C)

Step 6: Create final question

What isn't talked about any more that was talked about before? Why do you think that is? (Question Creation Framework, Sheridan, 2017, Appendix C)

Utilising this approach to the creation of the interview questions ensured that the questions were thoroughly grounded in the literature, orientated towards the focus of the research and in line with the aims of the overall study. This process was important for the analysis of the findings. Here, the clear explication of the purpose and rationale for the interview questions grounded the researcher when analysing the data and generating the results.

3.4.7 Pilot Interview

At this stage, the interview questions – developed using the strategy above – were tested in a pilot interview. This pilot interview was undertaken with a participant who had experience in the research process and who had, also, matched the criteria set down in the sample selection. This was undertaken to test the interview schedule and to elicit constructive and insightful feedback on the various elements of the interview process and schedule. This pilot process led to the reordering of a number of the questions. The researcher was satisfied that the questions could be answered comfortably in the allotted time. The pilot interview was incorporated into the study.

2.4.8 Interview Process

Following amendments made in line with the findings of the pilot interview, the remaining interviews were undertaken. All these interviews took place in person. The location of the interview was chosen by the participant from a range of options provided by the researcher. These options included a) a neutral location, b) the participant's work place or c) the researcher's work place. Four of the interviews took place in the work place of the researcher, and seven interviews took place in the work place of the participant. The interview schedule was designed to be approximately one hour in duration. Care was taken to ensure that the time allotted to the interview was pre-arranged and the interview process was clear. Prior to each interview, the researcher spoke to the interviewee on the telephone and ensured they were able to give over the time to the interview. Encouragement was given to the participant to ensure they felt their understanding was both valuable and interesting to the interviewer.

A semi-formal interview schedule was employed where the interviewer allowed the respondent the freedom to deviate from the schedule (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997, p.127). However, each individual was asked the original set of questions, in addition to any other questions that arose. This ensured that a percentage of the data was comparable.

3.4.9 Transcription

The interviews were audiotape recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999). All interviewees were required to read the transcript and comment on, or change, any of the data prior to the data analysis stage of the research. This process acted to increase the strength of the informed consent process, as the interviewee was informed that they could remove their interview from the study at this stage (see Appendix D). This was important to the process, considering that all but one of the interviewees remained in the employ of the organisation about which they spoke. One interviewee asked for a number of sentences to be redacted, and two interviewees corrected errors in the researcher's transcription in relation to details misheard during the dictation process. No other changes were requested.

3.5 Section Three: Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was the method chosen to encode the data gained from the interview process. This method assisted the researcher to 'recognise the important moments' in the data (Boyatzis, 1998, p.1; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006) using an inductive data driven approach (Boyatzis, 1998, p.51). This process was utilised for four reasons. Firstly, it gave the researcher access to a rigorous means of analysing and solidifying the emerging themes and supported the researcher's 'search for insight' (Boyatzis, 1998, p.vi). Secondly, this approach provided a framework in which both the manifest and latent meanings present within the text could be identified and analysed in a way that minimised the chance of corruption by researcher bias. Thirdly, the approach secured a high amount of credibility for the research. One of the aims of this study was to generate interest in the phenomenon to promote further studies by other researchers. Thematic analysis creates a strong foundation for the findings of the study and may entice other researchers to consider future research on the phenomenon. Fourthly, the high level of clarity demanded by an engagement in this process produces clear themes and codes which create clarity in both the communication of the findings and the discussion of the findings.

This approach, also, links with phenomenology as it places a focus on the emergence of the intentional object, with hermeneutics – as it requires a clear focus on language,

context and meaning – and with bricolage as it requires the researcher to engage with how components may fit together, often in ways which have not been considered.

3.5.1 Inductive Code Development

The process followed Boyatzis’ three-stage thematic analysis framework. The adherence to this framework ensured that the analysis was structured, transparent and replicable. Each stage of the process will be discussed.

Table 3.2: Boyatzis’ Thematic Analysis Framework

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
1. Deciding on sampling and design	1. Reducing the raw information	1. Applying the code to the remaining raw information
2. Selecting sub-samples	2. Identifying themes within sub-samples	2. Determining validity
	3. Comparing themes across sub-samples	3. Interpreting results
	4. Creating a code	
	5. Determining the reliability	

Sheridan, 2017 – Adapted from Boyatzis, 1998

3.5.2 Stage 1: Sampling and Design

The sampling issues have been discussed in Section 2.4.1 above. For the purpose of this study, the units of analysis and coding are defined as follows:

Unit of Analysis:	The individual
Unit of Coding:	What the individual said in ‘linguistic segments’ (Boyatzis, 1998, p.64) (Appendix F, Code Book)

There was sufficient variety of types of unit of analysis – ‘the individual’ – to allow for ‘between unit’ variance but not enough participants to allow for generalisation. However, there was sufficient variety of units of coding – ‘linguistic segments’ – to allow for a comprehensive analysis of the unit of analysis. There is no compare-and-contrast element of the study, and the study did not involve a comparison between those who had not experienced the change and those who have experienced the change. Instead, the study focused on gaining an understanding of the phenomenon through the meaning made by the participants in a ‘fusion of horizons’. Thus, there was no ‘appropriate criterion split for code development’ (Boyatzis, 1998, p.64.) To

this end, the study relies on the relationship between the meanings created by the participants to minimise researcher bias.

The quotes used to illustrate the codes within this study were chosen for three reasons, firstly for their ability to provide clarity for the reader, secondly for their insightful information and thirdly, for their ability to illuminate the topic under examination most cogently for the reader. Thus, respondent 'K' and respondent 'D' feature prominently in the study accounting for over one third of the quotes used. It is valuable to note that the themes were created through an analysis of all of the information and that only themes which were present in all of the interviews were utilised. The code book provides full detail of the quotes. Thus the use of quotes is not indicative of the presence of the themes in only these interviews.

3.5.3 Stage 2: Reducing the Raw Data

Analysis of data was undertaken at both the manifest and latent level, and the reduction of the raw data for this study involved two distinct parts. The data was reduced using word similarity to look for clustering of participants, and the data was reduced at the latent level through the creation of linguistic segments and the subsequent identification of themes within these linguistic segments. This process was undertaken to ensure that both the manifest and latent meaning in the data could be explored and to create an interaction between these two levels of meaning which would bring out the richness of the data and create meaningful themes. The manifest analysis was undertaken using NVivo, and the latent analysis was undertaken manually using codes and sub-codes created by the researcher.

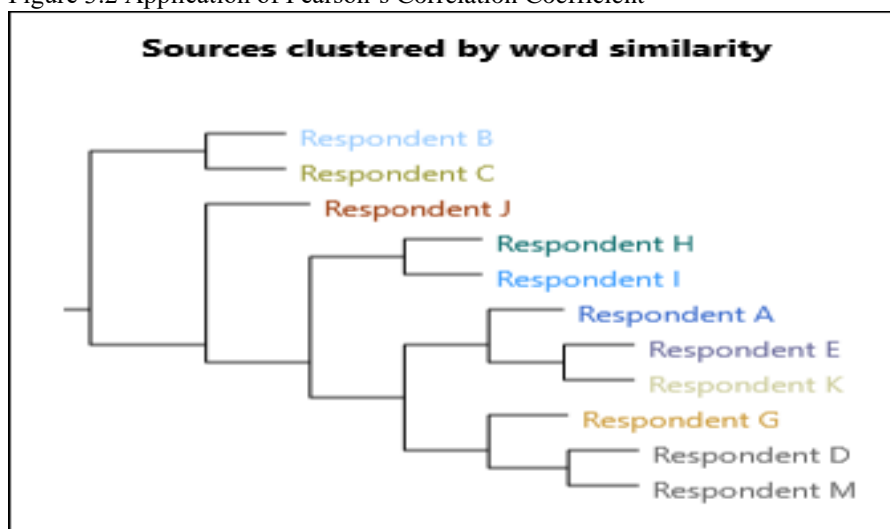
3.5.4 Manifest Content Analysis

Manifest content analysis was utilised to investigate the researcher's assumption that participants would fall into three distinct categories: HSE, Tusla and community and voluntary representatives for the purpose of analysis. NVivo was utilised to undertake these investigations. The raw interview data was analysed to identify word frequency and then cluster these frequencies.

The researcher analysed the data for word frequency, initially using the Pearson Correlation Coefficient to generate clusters of respondents. However, using this co-

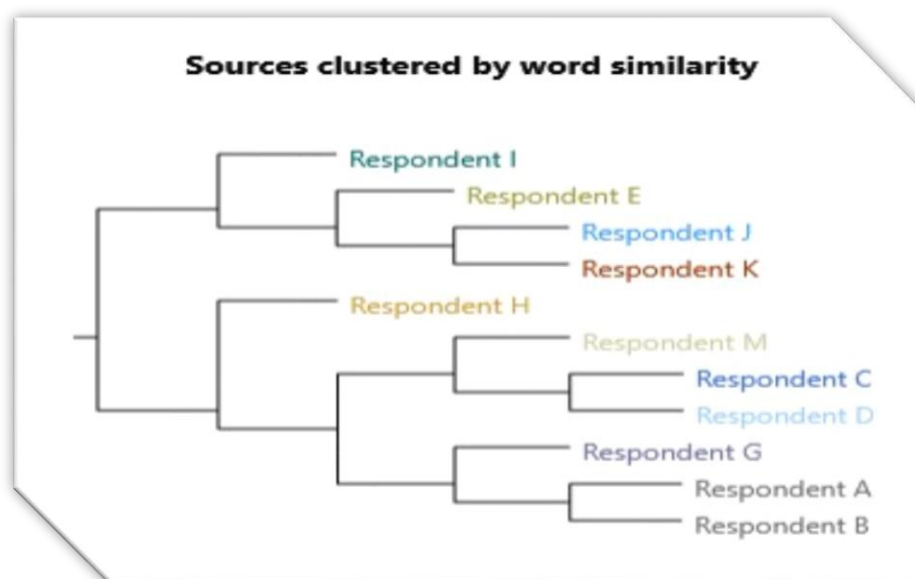
efficient did not produce patterns which corresponded to the researcher's assumption in relation to the three perceived sub-groups. This brought into question the researcher's tacit knowledge gathered during the interview and transcription process.

Figure 3.2 Application of Pearson's Correlation Coefficient



This finding was puzzling, and the researcher could identify no coherent pattern within the dendrogram. Further analysis was undertaken using a different co-efficient, the Jaccard co-efficient. The use of this co-efficient produced patterns which corresponded significantly to the researcher's manual reading. The difference between the operations of Pearson's correlation coefficient and Jaccard's co-efficient was found in the analysis of the absence and presence of words. Therefore, for the purpose of replicating this study, the use of the Jaccard co-efficient – where only the similarity between the words which are present in the data sets is used to create the clustering – is more representative of the data than the use of Pearson's co-efficient.

Figure 3.3: Application of Jaccard's Co-Efficient

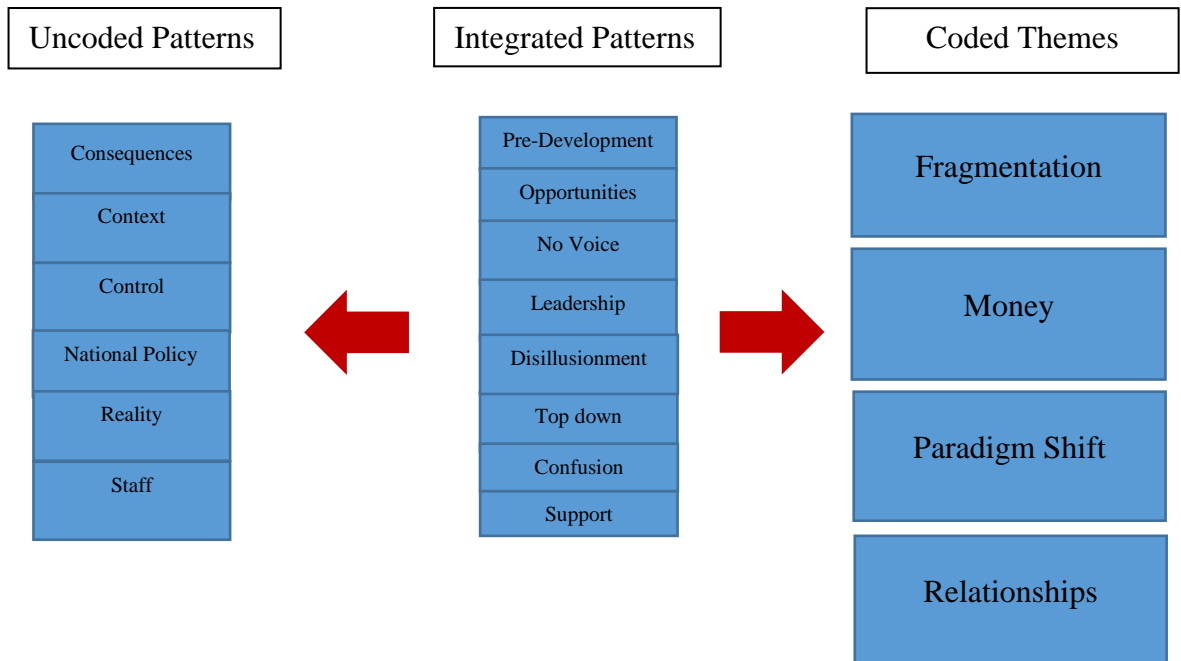


The manifest analysis represented in the dendrogram above confirmed three sub-samples in the data – namely, HSE, Tusla and Family Resource Centres. This manifest analysis created a structure in which to frame the latent content-analysis and the interpretation of both the raw data and the subsequent findings of the study.

3.5.5 Latent Meaning Analysis

At this point, the researcher began to cluster the linguistic segments in a first pass at identifying potential themes. Each linguistic segment was investigated for its meaning and given a short title, which encapsulated that meaning (Appendix F Code Book). This process was undertaken for all eleven interviews. These synopses began to reveal the patterns in the data. Twenty-two initial patterns were identified. Four of these patterns emerged very strongly, and six emerged as fairly strong. The eight remaining weak patterns were re-examined, and six were integrated into one of the ten strong and very strong themes. At this stage, the four very strong themes emerged as the most coherent for the purposes of the study and possessed the most numerous ‘linguistic segments’. From this point in the investigation, these patterns were considered ‘preliminary themes’. A theme was defined as ‘a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organizes possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon’ (Boyatzis, 1998, p.vii).

Table 3.3: Data Integration Process



3.5.6 Code Creation

At this stage in the research, only patterns that were identified in all the data sets were acknowledged as themes. These four themes were: Money, Fragmentation, Relationships and Paradigm Shift. Each of these themes was furnished with a code.

This code consisted of:

- a) A label
- b) A definition
- c) Indicators
- d) Examples of what constitutes the theme.

For example, the theme identified as '*Money*' was given a label, a definition and a set of indicators to clarify the theme. This process resulted in a code whereby the theme could be identified.

Table 3.4: Code Example

Label*	Money
Study Definition	The respondent identifies money as a significant factor in their understanding of the creation of Tusla.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is coded when the respondent uses the words ‘money’ or ‘finances’ or ‘resources’ in relation to the way they are understanding change. • This is coded when the respondent’s verbal description describes resources as a significant factor without explicitly using the word.
Definition of Label*	The assets, property and resources owned by someone or something (wealth) – https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/money

Examples: *Yes, it’s all about money. And this (HSE / Tusla issue) is all about money. D/9/11*

When the theme was large and multifaceted as with the ‘Money’ theme, sub-codes were developed to further examine the data. For example:

Table 3.5: Sub-Code Example

Label*	Dividing the Money
Study Definition	The respondent identifies the process of dividing money as a significant factor in their understanding of the creation of Tusla.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is coded when the respondent uses the words ‘separating money’ or ‘reorganisation of finances’ or ‘redistribution of resources’ in relation to the way they are understanding change. • This is coded when the respondent’s verbal description describes dividing up the money as a significant factor without explicitly using the words.
Definition of Label*	<p>The assets, property, and resources owned by someone or something (wealth) – https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/money</p> <p>Separate (something) into portions and share out among a number of people. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/divide</p>

This process of code and sub-code was undertaken in all instances where the theme and code did not sufficiently capture the nuance in the data and where the creation of a separate theme would undermine the integrity of the data. Sub-themes and sub-codes were necessary in the case of two of the four themes.

3.5.7 Determining Reliability

At this point in the research process, it was necessary to determine the level of consistency of the codes developed. Boyatzis notes that ‘consistency among various viewers is attained when different people observing or reading the information see the same themes in the same information’ (1998, p.147). Due to the time and resource constraints on this dissertation, calculating the inter-rater reliability of the codes was not possible. Instead, a system of double coding was undertaken. While not as rigorous as calculating the inter-rater reliability, it is sufficiently reliable to continue with the research (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p.75). The process of double coding involves a second researcher reading the material and using the codes the first researcher has developed. If the second researcher agrees with the application of the codes, then the research is said to have sufficient validity for the research to continue. In this study, double coding was undertaken with the assistance of a colleague who had previous experience of the research process. This colleague undertook to read one interview and highlight data that was consistent with the code developed for the theme ‘Money’. This process was successful, and a large part of the data was identified by the second viewer. Permission was received from the interviewee to share their interview data with another individual.

3.6 Stage 3: Application and Analysis

3.6.1 Code Application

The codes were then applied to the full data set.

3.6.2 Determining Validity

In this study, it was not possible to determine validity through the compare-and-contrast method, usually utilised in the thematic analysis. Accordingly, the researcher endeavoured to identify other validation methods (Fielding and Fielding, 1986). The researcher employed Maxwell’s concept of validity threat (2013, p.108). Once the codes were identified, the data was interrogated to identify any counter evidence. For example, regarding the code ‘Money’, the question was asked: ‘What else could it be if it is not money?’ Evidence of “‘it’s not the money”” was sought to

support this claim. This step was repeated for all the themes identified. Interestingly, utilising this investigation for the counterfactual (Maxwell, 2013, p.113) yielded surprisingly little data, and where the answer was ‘not the money’, the answer to the question was often to be found in one of the other themes.

3.6.3 Respondent Validity

In addition to an investigation of the counterfactual, the study incorporated an element of respondent validation. Here, one of the research participants read the first draft of the ‘Findings’ chapter. The feedback from this participant identified that the study findings resonated with them (Maxwell, 2013, p.111).

As this study is exploratory, it is reasonable to assume that some of the findings will be incomplete. However, this study is constructed as a starting point in the exploration of the phenomenon of the creation of Tusla and does not lay any claims to ‘absolute truth’. The validity is not in learning the answer but in learning something about the issues which could support further study in this area.

3.6.4 Results Interpretation

The interpretation of results will be undertaken in Chapter Four – ‘Findings’ – and will be discussed in Chapter Five – ‘Discussion’.

3.7 Section Four: Ethical Issues

The researcher received ethical approval from DCU to commence this study in April 2016. Three main ethical considerations were identified in this study methodology. Namely ‘informed consent, confidentiality and the consequences of the interviews’ (Cohen and Manion, 2000, p.292).

3.7.1 Informed Consent

The acquisition of informed consent was an important aspect of the study considering the potentially sensitive nature of the research (McCosker et al, 2001; Lee and Renzetti, 1990) and the guarded nature of the research population as discussed in section (3.3.3 Access). The prospective interviewees were identified (as discussed in section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2), and contacted by email with a request to

undertake an interview. This email contained information about the research topic. Once this request was accepted, the researcher sent a copy of the informed consent form which included additional information on the topic. The research obtained signed consent prior to the interview (Appendix F). In addition to this, each interviewee was provided with a copy of their transcript and requested to undertake three activities. The first activity was to read the transcript for error, the second to complete a reflection template (Appendix H) and the third to return an email to the researcher with the completed template and an acknowledgement of consent to continue (Appendix I). The purpose of this reflection template was to ensure that the respondent has indeed read the transcript and had considered its contents before returning an email to the researcher. No transcript was used until a confirmation email was received from the interviewee (Cutcliffe and McKenna, 2002). This minimises the opportunity for bias and misrepresentation and also provided an additional consent post-interview.

3.7.2 Confidentiality

Each interviewee was assured of the highest level of confidentiality with regard to the data received. Each interviewee was given a number, and no names were used in the dissertation. It was important to change some details of verbal description to protect the identity of the interviewee. In this case, interviews were transcribed verbatim, but the verbatim information was not used in the final copy.

3.7.3 The Consequences of the Interviews

There was one consequence of the interview process which was observed by the researcher; that was the possible identification of interviewees through the interview process.

3.7.4 Anonymity

At different points in each interview, the interviewee chose to speak about internal management and outside agencies. Some of the responses were uncomplimentary and negative and might have allowed for the interviewee to be identified. It was felt that changing the situational information would not sufficiently hide the identity of the interviewee. It was important for the researcher to carefully consider the

ramifications of including these comments in the dissertation. In this situation, this data was included in the production of themes and codes, but was not used to illustrate points or for analytical purposes within the body of the text (Homan, 1991, p.140).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological processes undertaken in the design and execution of this study. It has demonstrated the ‘in-depth planning, careful attention to the phenomenon under study’ and rigour applied to the study (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p.80). It has given a step-by-step account of the stages in the development of the project and has discussed and rationalised each of these stages. The chapter highlights the rigorous methods employed in the study and demonstrates their application to the data through examples. The chapter, also, shows how the researcher has attended to the methodological conventions necessary to undertake a rigorous and comprehensive research project.

4.0 Findings

4.1 Introduction

The Child and Family Agency was established to address the failures of the Irish state to keep its children safe (Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency, 2012, p.iii). The literature review has explicated the main changes at a policy level, including the creation of a new agency, the disaggregation of children's services from the HSE and the disintegration of both the FSA and NEWB. The literature review has discussed all this from an academic perspective, a 'helicopter view' as Jacobs (1961) described it, or as Gadamer would term it 'one horizon'. This horizon has been helpful in providing a sweeping panorama of the landscape of change and in highlighting some of the topographical features which are of interest to the research. However, Jacobs contends that this view can only provide a particular perspective and, to gain more insight, it is necessary to take a 'street view', to gain another horizon, to investigate at ground level the impact the creation of Tusla has had at the front line of service provision.

The discovery of how the creation of Tusla was experienced by those affected by this event was the subject of the fieldwork undertaken for this research. These findings were organised by theme, sub-theme, component and sub-component (shown in blue, grey, yellow and green, respectively, in the diagrams). There are four themes, four sub-themes, twenty-four components and eleven sub-components. This detailed examination of the findings assists the reader in navigating the participants' complex and nuanced experience of the creation of Tusla and, also, in engaging with the participants' multiple realities as they move through the change process (Rice and Ezzy, 1999). The findings serve not only to illuminate how the participants are making sense of their reality (Patton, 2002), but also which aspects of that reality are meaningful to them. Following the participants on this journey draws us into the world of the creation of Tusla.

This chapter will proceed as follows. Each theme will be introduced, and its code presented. Subsequently, the evidence of the presence of the theme will be explored.

All the themes are analysed to the highest level of granularity available within the data sets and investigated using sub-themes, components and sub-components. Each theme has a short summary. The chapter closes with a summation of the findings and their relevance, in preparation for the Discussion.

4.2 Fragmentation

As discussed in the literature review, one of the main aims of the creation of Tusla was to reduce the fragmentation of services for vulnerable children. However, the presence of fragmentation was one of the findings of this research. This fragmentation stemmed from the disaggregation of services from the HSE, the dissolution of the Family Support Agency and the dissolution of the Educational Welfare Board. This fragmentation was exacerbated by the distrust, suspicion and polarisation identified in the ‘Money’ theme (Section 4.10). ‘Fragmentation’ specifically explores the contours of fragmentation as experienced by participants during and after the creation of Tusla. This is explored using the code below.

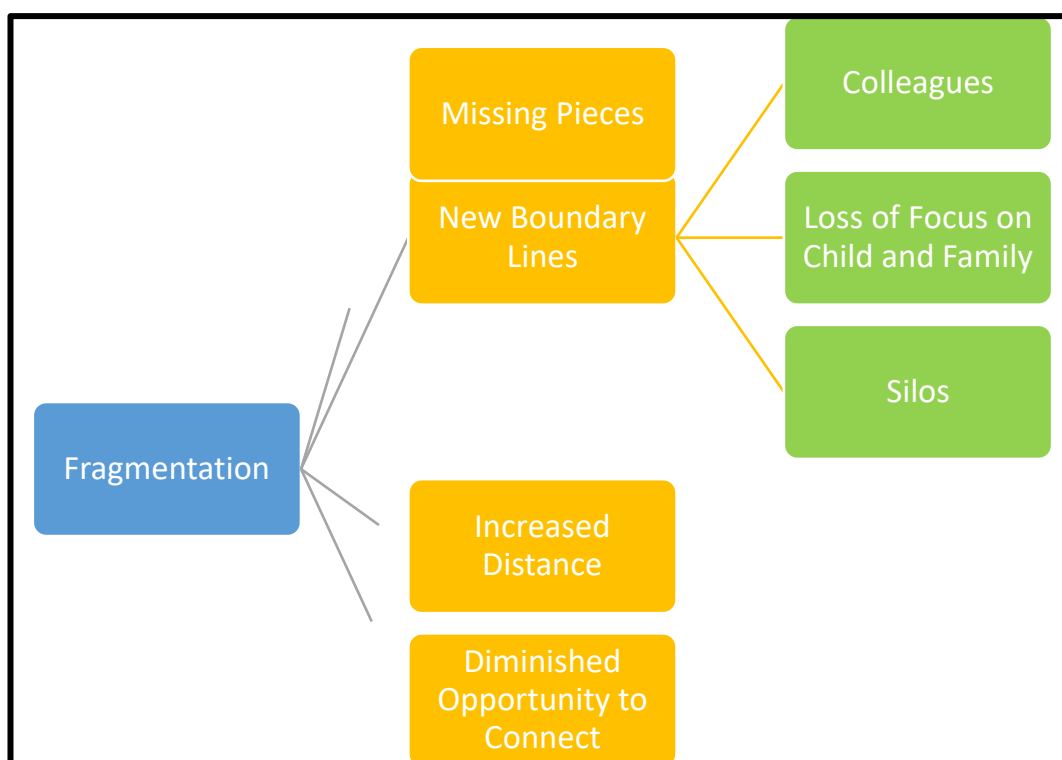
Table 4.1: Fragmentation Code

Label*	Fragmentation
Study Definition	The respondent identifies an experience of fragmentation. The respondent identifies this experience as significant to their work.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is coded when the respondent discusses how the fragmentation affects their ability to provide a service. • This is coded when the respondent’s verbal description describes fragmentation without explicitly using the word.
Definition of Label*	<p>Fragment: A small part broken off or separated from something. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/fragment</p> <p>Fragmentation: The process or state of breaking or being broken into fragments. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/fragmentation</p>

Four components emerged within the theme. Participants spoke of the new boundaries between the HSE and Tusla and the effects this change had on their experience. Participants spoke of the breakdown of relationships with former colleagues, the shunting of issues across organisational boundaries, the creation of new silos and the loss of focus on children and families. Participants, also, spoke of

the increased distance between HSE and Tusla staff and the diminished opportunities to connect. Finally, the participants discussed the difficulties of working in an organisation with missing pieces.

Figure 4.1: Fragmentation Diagram



4.2.1 Empirical Evidence of Theme

4.2.1.1 New Boundary Lines

The creation of Tusla redrew the organisational map in relation to the provision of children and family services. At a ground level, the new boundary lines were confusing for participants who could no longer gain support from former colleagues, who did not know where to go for clarity and who found themselves in unknown territory. This uncertainty and confusion manifested itself as a retreat from the boundaries of their organisations. This retreat was identified in three areas:- reinforcement of silos ,colleagues and the loss of focus on the child and family. These will be discussed in turn.

4.2.1.1.1 Silos

One of the key aspirations of the TFR was to ‘eliminate silos’ (Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency, 2012, p.iii) as a critical success factor in responding to the needs of children. Respondent C introduces the concept of ‘Silos’ in their discussion of fragmentation:

We are in an ideology at the minute that is very challenging ... Silos were created to keep things apart. It separates things because you don't want them to mix. What we have done as a State is we've created divisions. I'm not a fan of removing children and families into one silo. C/2/11

This is echoed by Respondent E:

I think what might be happening is that people are hiving off into their own service and the 'silo' mentality has reinforced that. E/6/5

While Respondent C above notes that silos are not preferable, they also discuss their own reinforcement of silo boundaries:

Some of the stuff you are involved in the community I now have to say, 'That is no longer our business.' For example, with the Early Years, we're getting invited to things, but we don't work with that sector anymore. C/5/2

This is an assertion of the clear lines created during and after the creation of Tusla. These two quotes from Respondent C, also, demonstrate the ontological isolation necessary to work in a confusing and changing environment. Respondent I acknowledges the reality of this conceptual confusion when they note that while the HSE and Tusla may be separate, in reality the two organisations need to work together:

The central tenet was that it was a new agency independent of the HSE with its own identity, corporate structure and independent funding. But there was a lot of involvement with the HSE which there currently is as well. There is a lot of crossover. I/1/27

The necessity to work across boundaries echoes the ‘cross-government’ work discussed in the literature. However, as in the literature, the ‘silo’ structures hinder attempts to do this in practice. Respondent E’s comments that ‘silos’ have been ‘reinforced’ is opposite to the aspiration of the creation of Tusla.

4.2.1.1.2 Colleagues

Prior to the disaggregation of Child Services from the HSE, staff worked together as colleagues. Since the creation of Tusla, this is no longer the case:

Whereas before we were all one, the public health nurses, for example, could pick up the phone informally and ring the duty worker and say, "We are concerned about this" and then do something jointly. Now, you have a big process and unless social work decides that it's really a Child Protection issue, it's "Well, you deal with it." D/5/6

Respondent D notes the need for joined-up processes which no longer exist.

Respondent I notes that the new boundaries have impaired collegiality:

I think there were big links with the acute hospitals and the social work teams there. That is definitely a loss to the service. At the end of the day, in certain situations, we were under the one umbrella; we were all colleagues, in different departments and different services and that has been lost to some degree. I/1/45

Respondent E notes that communication has been cut between former colleagues:

There is a certain amount of integration that has been lost since we left the HSE. Now, it is never as rosy as it was when you look back on it. But there was some idea that you could put a blanket over children and family services when you were in the HSE and colleagues could pick up the phone and talk to each other. E/3/20

Ten of the eleven participants lamented the loss of the large and varied network of colleagues which they used as a support system while part of the HSE. The final participant had moved from a smaller agency, and did not express loss in relation to collegial relationships.

4.2.1.1.3 Loss of Focus on Child and Family

The cost shunting which will be discussed in the 'Money' theme (Section 4.10) has a direct impact on vulnerable children and families. Respondent E notes that:

We say the HSE are responsible for this and Tusla are responsible for that, and we play a lovely splitting game where the child at the end of the day is left there. E/10/15

Families go through different services, mental health, HSE services and Tusla services. It is hard to split them off into one agency or another so the work was trying to negotiate with the HSE ... where the boundary lines start and where they ended. Who was responsible for what? Again, that work is still ongoing; I think it has advanced over the last few years. E/2/31

Respondent J, also, notes the difficulties of separating services into different governmental departments, which are inherently connected:

That process [creation of Tusla] started with the DCYA. It has been going on for six years, and it is still in process so it is not as easy as you think, going back to what I said about the different departments and strands. You just can't create one unit in Tusla when the unit belongs to DCYA and DES and others. J/5/2

The reality of the 'splitting game', as Respondent E calls it, is in direct contrast to the aspiration of the creation of Tusla and highlights the fragmentation present when attempting to provide services to children who need support from more than one department.

4.2.1.2 Missing Pieces: CAMHS and Psychological Services

As discussed in the literature review, certain elements of the HSE were considered critical for the success of the Child and Family Agency. However, these elements did not move to the new agency and, instead, remained within the HSE. Respondent D discusses the consequences of this:

I think one of the biggest mistakes was that CAMHS did not go over to the new agency. This is my personal opinion: It was a political decision. I think CAMHS should have gone personally. Of all services, it was the closest to the remit of the Child and Family Agency. A lot of the children and families that are attending CAMHS are also involved with social work. Tusla wanted primary care psychologists to go ... To me, your specialist service was CAMHS, and that's what should have moved. D/5/36

The consequence of this lack of provision of important departments was fragmentation of services:

I think the whole notion was of a vision of an organisation dealing with Child Protection ... It would be taken out of the monolith or behemoth that was the HSE and be seen for what it is. Unfortunately, because those services did not come across [CAMHS and Psychology], it has led to a fragmentation of services and a divergence of services. K/2/1

Respondent E echoes this observation:

The obvious loss for Tusla was a not-coming-across of the CAMHS to Tusla. Again, that would have helped with the integration. E/3/30

The consequences of the absence of CAMHS from the Tusla family of services is reflected upon by Respondent E:

I wonder sometimes about the whole 'CAMHS' not being part of Tusla and the whole Adult Mental Health Services not being part of Tusla. That is not talked about as much now as it was in the beginning. And Psychology not coming over, you know. I wonder about that myself. In the beginning, it was a big lack and now we have operated for a number of years with the lack. I would say, anecdotally, on the ground people are really feeling that. E/5/43

While Respondent E notes the ongoing absence of Psychology from Tusla, Respondent K notes the difficulty in accessing this service when it is within another agency:

For example, Psychology didn't come across to Tusla; what we found out then is that Psychology has disappeared off the radar. It makes it almost impossible for social workers to get a referral accepted by Psychology, to the point that they have stopped referring. K/1/34

This comment shows, the distance between the HSE and Tusla.

4.2.1.3 Increased Distance

In the years subsequent to the creation of Tusla, the HSE and Tusla experienced further polarisation. Respondent D notes that the distance between the HSE and Tusla has increased:

I suppose one of the biggest challenges is for them to find a structure where they can work together, and somebody needs to lead that. I think it has become so far apart, so separated, that to bring it back together will be very difficult. D/7/5

They note that a new structure is needed to bring these services closer together again. (This is interesting in light of the fact they have just been sundered). Respondent M echoes this observation that the HSE and Tusla have gone in two different directions:

What you have is Tusla, seen as some kind of by-product of the HSE that is out there sailing its own ship, and the HSE is off sailing in a different direction. M/5/21

Respondent M's metaphor of ships sailing in different directions is evocative of the silos spoken about in previous findings. As these ships sail in opposite directions, it appears the gulf between them grows larger, becomes more difficult to re-cross and becomes more normalised.

4.2.1.4 Diminished Opportunity to Connect

The gulf between the HSE and Tusla has consequences for staff on the ground.

Respondent I notes that there are fewer opportunities to build relationships:

The opportunities for development would be more limited. There still is some crossover. There is some training where you see Tusla and HSE people on it but, for the most part, the organisations have separated and they have separate training now which is quite unfortunate. We all look at things differently. You have your medical model, and you have your social model as well. They don't always marry, and it needs to be teased out and engaged with collectively. We all need a bit of understanding of both to come to the best understanding that we can. I/4/16

Respondent C gives an example of this:

We had a particular worker that transferred from my department into Tusla. [They] had a good interest in [a particular area of work] and had done quite a bit of work in that area ... I highlighted that there is a staff ... now transferred to the other agency, for whom the training would be of benefit. I checked with their boss to say, 'Look, I have put their name on a list; it would be a pity to lose the experience and expertise that he has developed.' The boss said, 'No problem with that, we would be delighted.' But then, somebody [higher level manager] gave him a call, saying he shouldn't be on the list because that's HSE. The list is not a Tusla list. C/3/21

It appears from this quote that the extent of fragmentation is noteworthy when attempts to collaborate at local level, in a turbulent and contentious period, are prohibited by other agents. This prohibition is, also, suggestive of entrenched silo mentalities at a higher level of the organisation.

4.3 Section Conclusion

Ten of the eleven participants' experiences of the creation and operation of Tusla suggest that the new boundary lines have had a negative effect on ground-level working. Silos, far from being broken down, have been reinforced. The incomplete nature of the agency and the inability to access services are in direct opposition to the aspiration of the creation of Tusla. Former colleagues can no longer count on each other for support; in fact, the distance between colleagues has increased with fewer opportunities to build connections. Cumulatively, these factors may result in the loss of focus on the vulnerable child and family.

4.4 Paradigm Shift

The theme of ‘Paradigm Shift’ emerged almost unilaterally in answer to the interview question, ‘*What is not talked about anymore?*’ This theme has a more interpretative label than the previous themes. The label was utilised in cognisance of Boyatzis’ caution in relation to the creation of themes using language not found in the data itself. He notes:

‘The researcher can unintentionally hasten this process of confusion, obfuscation, and distortion by using labels that, instead of sticking close to the raw information ... reflect what the researcher wants the theme to be’ (Boyatzis, 1998 p. 33).

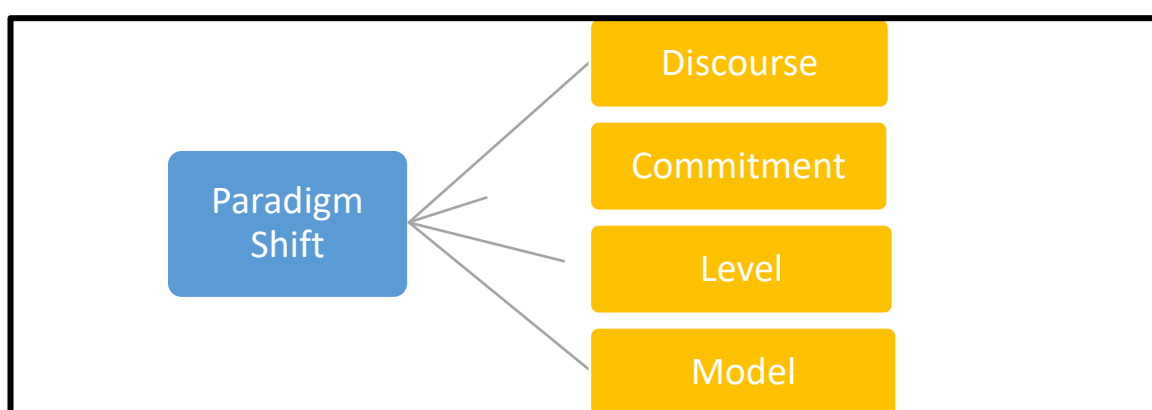
The label was used to probe the participants’ discussion of change of ideology and practice in relation to Family Resource Centres. As discussed in the literature, prior to the creation of Tusla, FRCs were co-ordinated by a separate agency, i.e. the Family Support Agency, and worked from a Community Development model having previously been an agency of the Department of Community Equality and Gaeltacht Affairs. This agency was dissolved and integrated into the Tusla structure upon its creation.

Table 4.2: Paradigm Shift

Label*	Paradigm Shift
Study Definition	The respondent identifies a move away from a Community Development way of working and towards a social work way of working.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This is coded when the respondent uses the words ‘change and Community Development’ or ‘different and Community Development’ in relation to the way they are understanding change.• This is coded when the respondent’s verbal description describes change in relation to community without explicitly using the word.
Definition of Label*	For the purpose of this study, a paradigm is defined as: ‘a cognitive framework shared by members of any discipline or group.’ A framework contains basic assumptions, ways of thinking and a methodology that are commonly accepted by members of a community. http://www.dictionary.com/browse/paradigm .

Four components emerged in this theme. Participants discussed how Community Development as a model of working is no longer valued, and the commitment to this approach, which was present in the HSE, is no longer present in Tusla. They discussed how Community Development has been rebranded in line with Tusla concepts, thus changing the gaze of those working in both Tusla and the community organisations. Participants were concerned with the individualisation of work and the movement away from a collective approach. And finally, the consequences of this individualisation were seen as a movement towards a social work model.

Figure 4.2: Paradigm Shift Diagram



4.4.1 Empirical Evidence of Theme

4.4.1.1 Discourse

Respondent B notes Community Development has disappeared from the discourse:

Community Development isn't talked about. That's definitely not talked about. B/9/32

Respondent M notes the absence of Community Development approaches:

My experience of Tusla was that the Community Development preventative approach to Child and Family Wellbeing was not where they were coming from and it was not even on their radar. M/1/42

Respondent B notes that the Community Development model is now obscured:

We provide a range of different services traditionally from a Community Development model. Now, that is moving more towards a Family Support model, while still holding some of the Community Development principles at the back of us. B/6/1

Respondent B notes that while Community Development begins where the person 'is at', the new model focuses on where the person 'already should be'.

The need to support people isn't coming across in the legislation. That we need to support people where they are at, rather than where we think they might want to be or already should be. B/10/26

This comment is interesting in that it mirrors the teleological discussion in Section 2.7.2 of the Literature Review, in relation to the pre-determination of goal versus the emergence of goals. It appears that the Community Development model is closer to the emergence approach.

Respondent B notes that:

Community Development is definitely not talked about, which is a shame because I get really frustrated when I see buzzwords coming ... these new buzzwords that people latch on to. Things we've always been doing but they're calling it something different. Like 'Meitheal' and 'Family Support' and 'wraparound services'. We've always been doing 'wraparound services'. It is the same provision of support. B/9/36

The rebranding of work that would have been called Community Work using 'Tusla' words like 'Meitheal' orientates the gaze (Dahlberg, 1999, p.119; Ranson, 1997, p.19) of the individual and creates a situation as if these practices were owned by Tusla when, in fact, according to this respondent they had been working in this way prior to the creation of Tusla. Community workers are now working as 'Family Support workers' or are seen as such to ensure that they are matching the Tusla agenda.

The terms used are important. It's influencing roles that are coming into the centres. Like with the Community Development worker in our centre. There was a huge fear here two years ago that we would lose funding when the whole 'Family Support model' came in. But they kept it [Community Development post] possibly because we are supporting families through our Community worker as well. B/10/4

The respondent notes that, at a national level, there are negotiations in relation to how the model of Community Development and the new structures, such as 'Meitheal', can be integrated. The need for a committee at national level to integrate these models may highlight some underlying difficulties with this integration process. In the place of a Community Development discourse, a new discourse has emerged. The consequence of this new discourse is a change of language. This change subsequently reorientates the gaze of those involved in the field.

4.4.1.2 Commitment

Seven of the eleven participants noted that the move of the Family Resource Centres to Tusla have affected the relationships between community organisations and the organisation which was committed to Community Development as a process, i.e. the HSE. Respondent C identifies a strong commitment to Community Work in the HSE:

In this area, there was strong commitment to Community Development for over 40 years from the Health Board. C/1/7

This commitment to Community Work by the HSE is observed by Respondent G, a community respondent. This respondent noted that the HSE continued to undertake this work:

The Community Work comes through the Community Health Project which is HSE, and I think there is a stronger commitment there to Community Work than there is in Tusla. G/6/26

Respondent D gives a rationale for the HSE commitment to Community Development Work:

Unlike other jurisdictions, for example in Britain, in Ireland the social work focus is on Child Protection. There is a difference between Child Welfare and Child Protection. HSE would have always said that we still want to keep the Child Welfare bit because that's really ours. The pre-work we were doing was actually preventing the Child Protection bit. You were doing the pre-work before the child is received into care. Why do we have to get to that point, if we can do the pre-work? D/2/25

This commitment to Community Work by the HSE and the HSE's support of Community Development organisations, including FRCs, are not being continued by Tusla, according to Respondent G:

There is no commitment to Community Work with Tusla. G/6/27

Respondent C suggests that this lack of commitment may be due to a lack of understanding of Community Development among Tusla staff:

My sense is that the intricacies of what is there [in the community] are probably not fully captured by Tusla. C/7/1

This is confirmed by Tusla staff:

I would have known anecdotally about Community Work which came now into our brief in Tusla, the transfer of services. I didn't know a lot about them. I don't think any of us would have really. We would have talked with them, but we wouldn't have known what was involved as such. It was a big

learning curve for me as well to find out what was going on in the community. What was going on in the organisations that transferred across? To be honest, it took a fair bit of time to go out and visit and find out what was going on. E/1/34

This lack of knowledge of Community Work among the some statutory staff within Tusla and the integration of the FSA staff into Tusla have reduced the value placed on this work and this, in turn, may make it easier to reorient these sub-contracted state services. In addition, the breakdown of the HSE / Tusla relationship and the withdrawal of the HSE's support for FRCs, may have, in effect, left Family Resource Centres without a champion, further weakening the position of Community Development.

4.4.1.3 Level

As discussed in Chapter Two, one of the key differences between a Community Development approach and a service delivery approach is the difference between the levels on which the work is undertaken. This can be constructed as a 'collective / collaborative' or 'individual level'. The data indicates a move from the collective to the individual. Respondent C explains that pre-Tusla, the HSE worked with communities and community organisations, including FRCs, to identify their needs:

These things were developed using collaborative approaches ... working with communities to respond to community needs. That is what we were doing at that time. We were working with communities to respond to the needs that communities identified. There was a strong commitment to investing in children, in parents, in supporting parents. C/1/31

Respondent C expresses the opinion that this approach is no longer utilised.

Respondent C, also, notes that the move away from this approach has created difficulties:

In the system nationally, it doesn't allow for that local flexibility or collaborative working. So, with the best will in the world, there are tensions. C/3/20

Here, again, Respondent C alludes to the reinforcement of silos. Respondent M notes that the new model is very individualist and does not engage at a community level:

It was very individually orientated. All the work was focusing in on the individual family and the individual child and that would have been one of the things that we would have been trying to bring to the table as well. That you need to do something else as well and that is situate the family and child

within the community and make sure that the infrastructure is within that community so that there are opportunities for families to be part of different things. M/6/35

Respondent K notes that when problems are pathologised within the individual only, the contribution of societal and systems factors are not visible:

It almost pathologises the problem in the individual and leaves out the societal or systems contribution to that problem ... because your individual's pathology is predicated on a society which we have constructed for them. When you take these tools away, you might as well go to the I.T. to learn a task ... a set of technical skills for a job. K/8/36

Respondent H notes that:

The long-term view was that we should be trying to do ourselves out of a job. In a generation or two, the conversation would be such that we would deal with the fundamental problem ... social problems and money problems and education problems and a lot of things. That concept has died, and we don't have any platform to engage in that conversation anymore. Not that I am aware of, and I am certainly not part of it and the agency is not part of it. Whether any groups in the country are doing it, I don't know. H/5/41

The individualisation of difficulties and the lack of analysis have consequences for the alleviation of societal issues at a wider level.

4.4.1.4 Model

As the respondents discussed the move away from a Community Work model, they noted a move towards a social work model. Respondent G notes that the value is placed in social work rather than in the community:

There is a more immediate value in putting money into ... social work, which says to me even though there is talk about the value of prevention and early intervention that there actually isn't a real value put on it. G/3/9

Respondent D observes that social work is the focus of Tusla:

Tusla are Child Protection and if you don't meet the threshold, we don't provide the service ... thank you very much. D/6/26

This is echoed by Respondent M who, also, notes the need for a more holistic approach:

You need to do something else as well [as social work] and that is situate the family and child within the community and make sure that the infrastructure is within that community so that there are opportunities for families to be part of different things. There wasn't much emphasis on that side of things in that national documentation. M/6/37

Respondent M suggests the use of both a Community Development and a social work model would provide a promising approach:

I felt that was a big mistake in terms of child and family wellbeing in Ireland to focus on only an interventionist model. And such an expensive way to go as well! If they invested in the Community Development approach, working alongside the interventionist model, then in the longer term what they would be doing would be trying to ensure that the number of children and families that would ever reach intervention would be minimised. M/2/6

This approach is also suggested by Tusla staff in the comments of Respondent K:

If we were a service who only dealt with Psychology and someone came along and said 'BP Skinner': Behaviourism, it's the only show in town, forget about Freud, forget about CBT, forget about Reality Therapy, all you are doing is Behaviourism. Would we do it? Would that be a service that psychologists would want to join? Would they feel that they had professional scope and room to grow? NO. They would feel boxed into Behaviourism and that would be it. We are the same, we are press ganging ourselves into a very small box and that is about control. K/7/40

However, the continued lack of clarity from national level makes the national choice of approach difficult to pinpoint:

Tusla are trying to get out of lower-end services and only work with higher-end. A lot is pre-determined on what is Tusla's view in relation to universalist versus targeted services within the Hardiker range. We haven't got great clarity on that yet. I would believe that you have to have universal services as well as targeted services as in many ways the universal services attract people in a non-stigmatising way and, once that relationship is developed in a service, other issues come to the fore and can be re-referred even within that service or externally. Once the relationship has been established, other things become possible. So, I think I would be against everything going up beyond the universal. K/3/21

However, regardless of the fuzziness in relation to approach, the language of community and collaborative working is weak in Respondent K's quote. Conversely, the language of services is pronounced:

My worry would be that Tusla would become a high-end, Child Protection only service and everything else would either be outsourced or not dealt with by us and farmed out to others. I think that would be a retrograde step. It, also, seems to be at variance with some of the developments that Tusla is doing, like the PPFS. K/3/29

Respondent K also voices their concern about the singular focus of Tusla:

I think we should have had Psychology and Public Health Nurses and that should have been held out for because that has led to a much more narrow service that we have. A uni-disciplinary service? I don't think any service is well serviced if you only see it through the prism of one discipline. K/10/7

There may be indications that the ‘uni-disciplinary’ nature of Tusla is increasing. Respondent J, a member of an agency that was amalgamated with Tusla, notes:

We are now a referral-based service. So, for schools or anybody to get a service from us they must put it into a referral form. J/3/46

Respondent J, also, notes that their new referral system is modelled on the social work case load management system:

In Tusla, we are about to mirror the case load management that they were using in social work. So, one of the advantages was that we were able to build on the expertise of the people who did that for them. J/8/16

In addition, Respondent J suggests that more posts within the Educational Welfare section of Tusla may be filled by social workers.

Yes, in the last recruitment process, we had recruitment for two teams and yes, both appointments have been social workers. They have been a breath of fresh air in many respects because they would say: ‘Yes, we used to do that in social work’. Again, it brings us closer into alignment with Tusla. J/8/29

4.5 Section Conclusion

The experience of participants suggests that the Community Development approach used in Family Resource Centres has been weakened by a number of factors. Firstly, it has been affected by the movement to a more individualistic model in line with a social work approach. Secondly, it has been weakened by the animosity between the HSE and Tusla. Thirdly, we have learned that the social work model is growing in strength and this trend may become more pronounced within Tusla in the future. This may serve to strengthen a silo mentality and enhance the uni-disciplinary composition of Tusla which is a nascent feature of the organisation.

4.6 Relationships

The participants in this research were chosen for their position as key informants in boundary spanning roles. These were individuals at the edges of their organisations, individuals who on a daily basis worked with other organisations close to the change process. It was these individuals who struggled to understand and implement the changes necessary to operationalise Tusla at a ground level and who grappled with the contradictions and limitations of a system created at a much higher level. In addition to their boundary spanning roles, these individuals were colleagues of long-standing who had worked together over many years in different departments and organisations, but who viewed themselves as all working to meet the needs of vulnerable children and families. In fact, all the participants in this study were professionally familiar with all the other participants in the study.

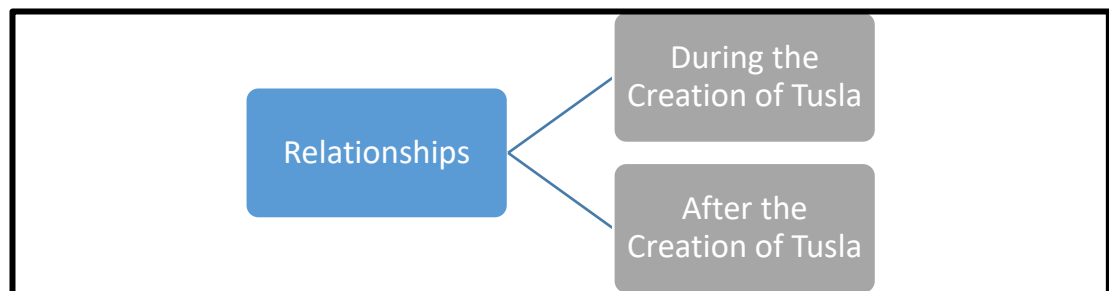
The creation of Tusla had an effect on the participants of this research, effects we have already identified in the previous two themes. In fact, the theme of 'Relationships' will not essentially reveal new data. However, it may be the most important theme in the research as it deals with the most granular component of our understanding of the phenomenon that is the creation of Tusla. It deals with the relationships between people. This theme reveals how the creation of Tusla sundered bonds developed over many years. This theme is the furthest away from the abstraction of the aspirational Task Force Report and resonates most closely for those at the front line. Without the explication of this theme, it would be possible for the reader to see relationships as part of other themes but not a significant theme in, and of, itself. This would underestimate the value of relationships in our understanding of the past, our appreciation of the present and our actions in the future.

Table 4.3: Relationships Code

Label*	Relationship
Study Definition	The respondent identifies their relationships with others as significant in their experience of the creation of Tusla.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is coded when the respondent uses the words ‘relationship’ or ‘colleagues’ in relation to the way they are understanding their experience. • This is coded when the respondent’s verbal description describes a relationship without explicitly using the word.
Definition of Label*	For the purpose of this study, relationship is defined as: ‘The way in which two or more people or groups regard and behave towards each other.’ https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/relationship

Through a close examination of data using the ‘Relationships’ code, it was possible to discern two further patterns within this data set. These patterns provided a more detailed picture of participants’ understanding of the effects of the creation of Tusla on their relationships. The first sub-theme explores relationships during the creation of Tusla, and the second sub-theme explores relationships after the creation of Tusla.

Figure 4.3: Relationships Diagram



4.7 Sub-Theme 1: Relationships during the Creation of Tusla

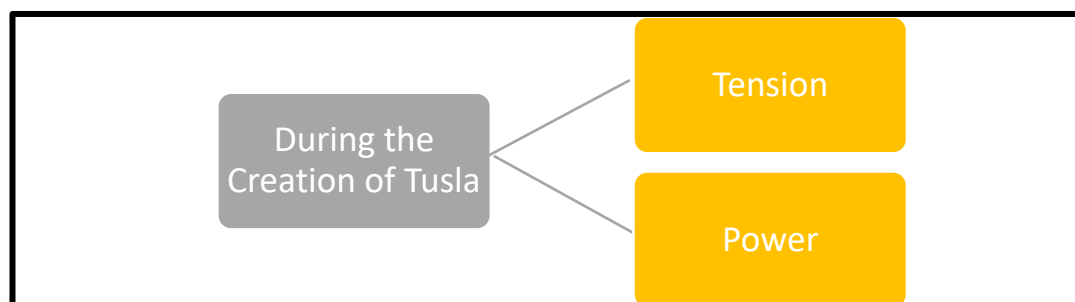
This theme specifically explores the relationships of the participants during the creation of Tusla, using the code below.

Table 4.4: Relationships During the Creation of Tusla Code

Label*	Relationships During the Creation of Tusla
Study Definition	The respondent identifies their relationships with others as significant in their experiences during the creation of Tusla.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This is coded when the respondent uses the words 'relationship' or 'colleagues' in relation to the way they are understanding their experience during the creation of Tusla.• This is coded when the respondent's verbal description describes their relationships during the creation of Tusla without explicitly using the word.
Definition of Label*	For the purpose of this study, relationship is defined as: 'The way in which two or more people or groups regard and behave towards each other.' https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/relationship

Two components emerged as significant. Participants spoke of the tension that was experienced during the creation of Tusla, particularly between the HSE and Tusla staff. Participants also spoke of the power dynamic within the relationships during this turbulent time. The experiences of participants during the creation of Tusla were important in that these experiences continue to influence the relationship between the HSE and Tusla staff at local level.

Figure 4.4: Relationships During the Creation of Tusla



4.7.1 Empirical Evidence of Theme

4.7.1.1 Tension

Respondent D emphasises the high level of strain experienced during the disaggregation:

You can imagine the tension there was before and during the separation. D/3/2

Respondent K echoes this tension, using the metaphor of ‘divorce’ to explain the difficulties surrounding the disaggregation:

They say the closer the marriage, the more bitter the divorce. I think there was a bit of that involved. K/1/12

Respondent D notes the fraught nature of the negotiation process:

I would have chaired very fraught meetings when we were doing the handover; there were times when I had to stop meetings. We had to stop, and people had to go outside the room for a few minutes and calm down because it would have been unbelievably difficult. D/9/24

Respondent D’s description of the meetings between Tusla and HSE identify a high level of emotional investment in the disaggregation process:

Then, we would have had these emails flying, and I remember at one stage saying at a meeting: “There are no more emails to be flying around please.” Emails accusing people of things – it was difficult. D/9/27

Respondent M discusses the same tension at a staff/personal level:

Then, we had a collective[Departmental] work meeting, and this went really badly. There was a lot of tension around the [x] people who had decided to transfer over [from the HSE to Tusla], and there was just something so negative about it. M/1/15

This tension shows the multiple levels on which the disaggregation affected the people working within Tusla. It, also, shows the level of embodied anger which was present during this process. This indicates that regardless of the fact that this was a ‘work’ issue, people were personally affected by the process.

4.7.1.2 Power

Respondent M comments on their observations of the disaggregation:

I found the dynamics between the HSE locally and Tusla shocking and very unprofessional on both sides. And it was being played out at petty-politics level. It was all: ‘Were Tusla getting money that the HSE should be holding

on to'' and just personality politics going on between people who either stayed or left. M/3/3

Here, Respondent M notes that the relationship between the two agencies was difficult because of the funding issues, already discussed in the 'Money' theme.

Respondent D also discusses this power dynamic:

So, there would have been a lot of deferring of responsibility, and I think that was a rude awakening when they came into their own organisation. I remember one of the first liaison meetings with the Tusla staff. They came with a pile of utility bills and we were saying: "No, that's not our responsibility." That's like a child going into their own house and coming home to Daddy every four weeks saying, "Pay this for me please." D/8/9

Respondent D uses the metaphor of severing of ties for a child and the realisation of growing up which illustrates the power dynamic. The uses of the family and divorce metaphors are interesting in a discussion of the creation of Tusla as they reveal the difficulties of disaggregation at a personal level.

4.8 Sub-Theme 2: Relationship After the Creation of Tusla

This theme specifically explores the relationships between boundary spanners subsequent to the creation of Tusla.

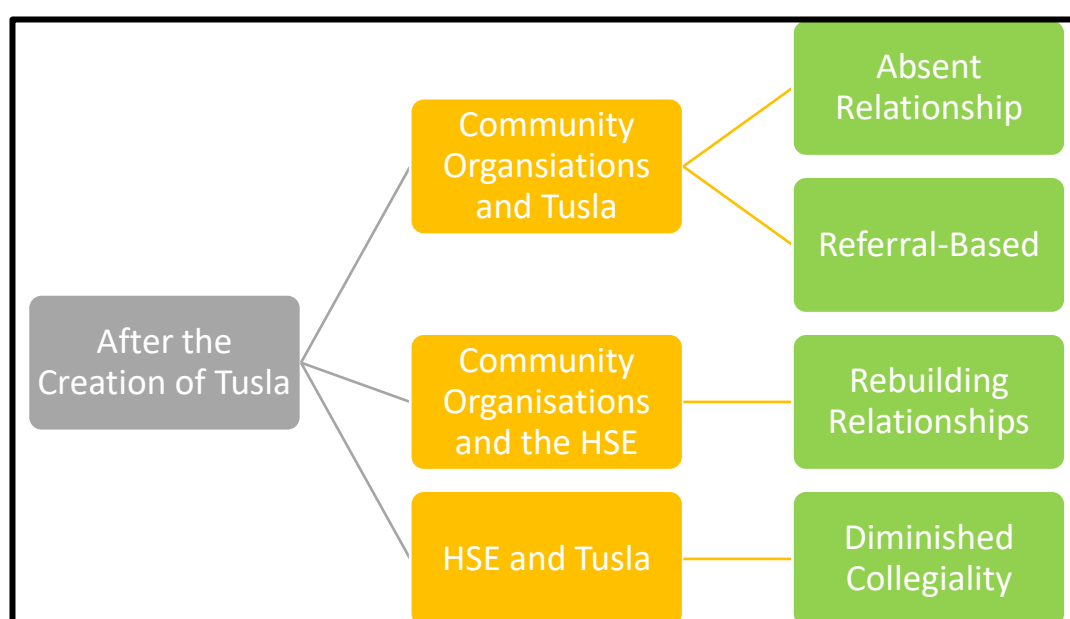
Table 4.5: Relationships After the Creation of Tusla Code

Label*	Relationship After the Creation of Tusla
Study Definition	The respondent identifies their relationships with others as significant in their experiences after the creation of Tusla.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This is coded when the respondent uses the words 'relationship' or 'colleagues' in relation to the way they are understanding their experience after the creation of Tusla. This is coded when the respondent's verbal description describes their relationships after the creation of Tusla without explicitly using the word.
Definition of Label*	For the purpose of this study, relationship is defined as: 'The way in which two or more people or groups regard and behave towards each other.' https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/relationship

This theme was one of the most complex and nuanced themes within the research and explicates the intricate nature of informal relationships and the effects that change can have on these bonds. The changes were permanent and irreversible, and these relationships were still being rebuilt based on the new boundaries three years

after the creation of Tusla. The participants particularly highlighted the absent relationship between Tusla and its arm's-length community organisations which had once been part of the FSA, and the change from personal relationships to referral-based processes. Participants, also, discussed the relationships between community organisations and the HSE and the disruption that the creation of Tusla created there. Finally, the participants discussed the diminished collegiality and diminished communication between staff in these two organisations.

Figure 4.5: Relationships After the Creation of Tusla



4.8.1 Empirical Evidence

4.8.1.1 Community Organisations and Tusla: Absent

Respondent A states that the relationship with Tusla is different from the relationship with the HSE:

Originally, when I started this job which was 'x' years ago, it never felt like a closed-door. The change? I haven't met the Tusla community worker since Tusla were up and running. I tried at the time to find out who would be our community worker. I never got the answer. A/3/28

Respondent G echoes Respondent A's comments that the working relationship with Tusla is not present:

The new working arrangement with Tusla? I am grappling with that because I would suggest that, at this point, we do not have a working relationship with Tusla. G/3/32

Respondent B, also, notes a dearth of relationship with Tusla:

We now have a bit of connection with Tusla through another medium and that is through [committees]. And through other networks, we are getting a bit of connection at a higher level but, at the ground level, the supports disappeared which is a shame. B/4/19

Respondent B notes that the relationship with Tusla is now indirect – through committees – rather than through direct and deliberate contact with their organisation.

4.8.1.2 Community Organisations and Tusla: Referral-Based

Respondent G adds to the understanding of the nature of this new relationship:

Oh, we do have a relationship with them alright; they are referring their cases onto us! They absolutely refer their cases onto us. That is fine. But this child [a child with needs discussed by the respondent] needs professional help beyond what we can give that child. The child is not old enough for CAMHS; psychological help is needed for the child. G/2/29

Respondent G suggests that the relationship is one way, i.e. based on referrals, again a change from the relationship with the HSE which was based on collective action and discussion. This echoes the observations in the ‘Paradigm Shift’ theme which identify a move away from community and towards a more service provision approach. The respondent expresses their frustration with the fact that they have no one to turn to.

4.8.1.3 Community Organisations and HSE: Rebuilding

Respondent G notes that, once Tusla had been created, there was a distancing of the HSE from people who were now deemed to be part of Tusla:

Then, from the higher level, the level above development workers in the HSE, we always would have had good connections. But, here, I did find that there was a bit of a pulling back. G/1/42

This pulling back was happening at a high level. This was, also, echoed in

Respondent C's comment that they can no longer be involved in activities which are now considered to be under the 'Tusla remit'.

Respondent G, also, states that this reaction has changed in recent times:

That lasted for about 18 months, and then things kind of eased and now we have HSE back. We have HSE programmes and the HSE development worker, and the whole thing is working once again very nicely. It is working a bit easier than the Tusla side of it. G/1/4

Respondent G does still comment that while the relationship with the HSE has improved, the corresponding relationship with Tusla has not. Respondent D notes that the relationships now are based on the character of the individual rather than on the role of a person within an organisational structure:

I think we've lost something as well around the community organisations. I look here at our local community organisations; now, it comes down to personality. But when somebody new comes in they may take a very different line. D/4/33

Respondent D expresses the fear that when new individuals come into the organisation the connection with community organisations may be lost. This is the same fear expressed in the Welsh case study, i.e. that the relationship was based on personality.

4.8.1.4 HSE & Tusla Relationship: Diminished Collegiality

Respondent D explains the lack of communication between the HSE and Tusla:

I think it's that we always talked to certain people and we never talk to them now. I think it's very, very separate. They don't do that kind of joint working anymore. The services have become much more separate. Tusla were always around Child Protection, but they still would have discussed Child Welfare. That doesn't happen anymore. D/6/20

Respondent D suggests a number of consequences of this lack of communication – notably, the lack of joint working, the increased separation of the HSE and Tusla and the perceived narrowing of the focus of Tusla to purely Child Protection. The narrowing of this focus was discussed in the theme, 'Paradigm Shift'. Respondent K echoes this sentiment:

I wouldn't see ourselves in opposition, but I would see us as not being as collaborative as we ought to be. K/2/14

Respondent K also notes the diminishing of collegiality noted by Respondent D:

To me, if you break up those, it is very hard to get them back together again. Again, that is a legacy issue. Those structures were set up under theHealth Board – there was great camaraderie, there was great cohesion, everybody helped each other and you could ring people up and they would go out of their way to help. That does not apply now. We have lost something there, and I am not sure if we will be able to regain it ... to be honest. K/11/4

Respondent D notes that:

You wouldn't even see them [social work staff]. Before, they would pop their head around the door to somebody, but there is a different atmosphere now. D/6/33

Respondent C echoes this:

I suppose what I have seen is that there is a total disconnect. Locally, a lot of us, my [social work]colleagues and I, all went to college together. We all worked collaboratively with a very strong ethos of Community Development. C/3/16

Here, the respondent indicates the significance of the disconnection and polarisation experienced by those working through this change.

A consequence of disaggregation is noted by Respondent I:

When you put a name to a face, you can pick them up. You have your commonalities. Both of your services are working with children and, when that is lost, then something important for each child can be lost. I/4/22.

The loss of connection has a direct effect on the ability to meet the needs of vulnerable children. This aim was at the heart of the TFR, and it appears from Respondent I's comment that this aim is not being reached at ground level due, in part, to the breakdown of relationships caused by the creation of Tusla.

4.9 Section Conclusion

The experiences of the participants suggest that the process of the creation of Tusla has had an effect on those who were involved in this process. It, also, suggests that this effect has been brought forward into the present day and continues to negatively impact the ability of state services to meet the needs of vulnerable children and families.

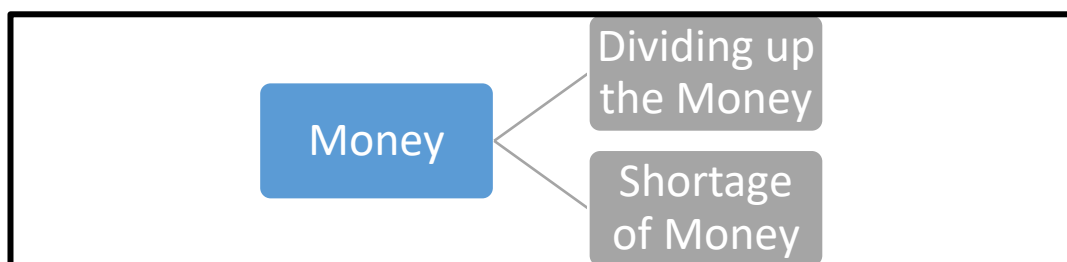
4.10 Money

Participants were concerned with financial considerations. This was coded as 'Money'. The theme was large and, through a close examination of the data, it was possible to discern two patterns within this data set. These patterns provided a more detailed picture of the meaning that participants made of the impact of financial concerns in the creation of Tusla. These patterns were coded as 'Dividing up the Money' and 'The Consequences of Ongoing Shortage of Money' and became the two sub-themes of the 'Money' theme.

Table 4.6: Money Code

Label*	Money
Study Definition	The respondent identifies money as a significant factor in their understanding of the creation of Tusla.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This is coded when the respondent uses the words 'money' or 'finances' or 'resources' in relation to the way they are understanding change.• This is coded when the respondent's verbal description describes resources as a significant factor without explicitly using the word.
Definition of Label*	Money: The assets, property and resources owned by someone or something (wealth) – https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/money

Figure 4.6: Money Diagram



The first sub-theme, 'Dividing up the Money', is concerned with the experiences of participants in relation to money during the change process itself. The second sub-theme, 'The Consequences of Ongoing Shortage of Money', is concerned with the far-reaching effects of resource anorexia (Radnor and Boaden, 2004) within the organisation.

4.11 Sub-Theme 1: Dividing up the Money

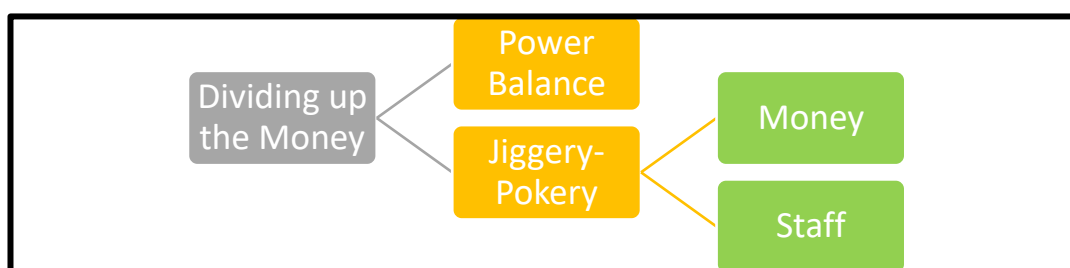
This theme specifically explores the issue of money during the creation of Tusla using the code below.

Table 4.7: Dividing up the Money Code

Label*	Dividing the Money
Study Definition	The respondent identifies the process of dividing money as a significant factor in their understanding of the creation of Tusla
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This is coded when the respondent uses the words ‘separating money’ or ‘reorganisation of finances’ or ‘redistribution resources’ in relation to the way they are understanding change.• This is coded when the respondent’s verbal description describes ‘Dividing up the Money’ as a significant factor without explicitly using the words.
Definition of Label*	Money: The assets, property, and resources owned by someone or something (wealth) – https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/money Divide: Separate (something) into portions and share out among a number of people. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/divide

Two patterns emerged within the theme. Participants spoke of the difficulties of dividing up the money and its effect on the power balance specifically between the HSE and Tusla. Participants, also, spoke of deceitful behaviour in relation to staffing and finances.

Figure 4.7: Dividing up the Money Diagram



4.11.1 Empirical Evidence of Theme

4.11.1.1 Power Balance

The amounts of money involved in the creation of Tusla were large, and Respondent D notes that, nationally, Tusla was allocated sixty million euro in addition to further funding from the HSE at regional level.

They [Child Services] would have nationally been given an extra 60 million. They got an extra [x]million to start with from the HSE in this area and that ended up being [doubled]. So that was over and above what the actual budget would have been. D/1/13

This respondent says that Tusla was given additional funds by the HSE. This suggests that the power to administer and allocate funds was in the hands of the HSE. This power dynamic is confirmed by Respondent K.

We were told well 'this is what we are giving you, you take it'. That was very difficult because we didn't have the paper work, we did not have the background work and it wasn't being given to us. So, it was very much negotiating in a vacuum. K/1/24

The lack of transparency and the apparent withholding of information by the HSE appears to have created a divide between the HSE and Tusla staff. Bearing in mind that moments before this process began, the personnel involved were close colleagues working on the same team. In addition to the lack of transparency, there was a degree of manoeuvring.

4.11.1.2 Jiggery-Pokery

This manoeuvring is what Respondent D termed 'Jiggery-Pokery', defined as 'deceitful or dishonest behaviour.'

(<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/jiggery-pokery>), and it is supposed that this is the meaning understood by the respondent. The perception of deceitful behaviour was held by many respondents in relation to money and staff resources.

4.11.1.2.1 Jiggery-Pokery: Money

Respondent D notes that as the creation of Tusla came closer and the separation of Child and Family Services from the HSE remit loomed, the issue of money became imperative.

For about two years before the separation, social work began to build a budget. They knew that we would be giving them the money to set up the new organisation. It wasn't as if there was new money coming. They were taking with them money from the HSE. D/1/3

While the HSE perception was that future Tusla staff were preparing financially for the changeover, Tusla staff perceived that the HSE held back monies. Respondent K notes:

[There were] monies that we knew should have come our way but which the HSE retained, for example, Lotto funding. So, no Lotto funding came across to us and that money was an opportunity to provide seed money for initiatives and to supplement something that was happening in a particular area and that was another obstacle which we had to overcome. K/3/9

Respondent K notes that a categorisation of particular sets of funding occurred:

We sought information from areas which we knew had been funded from Childcare monies over the years when we were part of the HSE; suddenly, we were told 'that is not Childcare anymore'. K/1/19

This perceived lack of transparency and withholding of funds extended past fiscal assets into the staffing of the new agency.

4.11.1.2.2 Jiggery-Pokery: Staff

Within an organisation such as the HSE, the largest asset and cost is staffing (Public Health Services Workforce Profile 2016). Respondent D discusses the process of the re-categorisation of staff to ensure they remained within the HSE:

We had two things going on. We had certain areas in the HSE who suddenly started doing a bit of jiggery-pokery ... saying things such as: "That person was never in social work, they were actually always in Home Help but yet, out of the goodness of my heart, I left them have a day a week in social work because they needed it – but they really are in Health." What you'd call in your budgets nominated people ... these staff would say: "They belong to my services so really they are actually mine so I'm not giving them to you."

The process of shoring up human resources was strategic on the part of HSE staff.

Respondent D continues:

Some staff members claimed that they had staff they, in fact, never had. What they did was they moved staff six months beforehand, back into something, when they had the right to do that. So Tusla did lose out. So, there would have been a bit of that. In some areas, they would have lost out in some of the support staff. D/3/33

The data suggests that this behaviour was, also, going on within Tusla. Respondent M notes that Tusla acquired some staff specifically to attain a funding stream:

I think they did it (took on Community Workers) to get the numbers and I think that there was a kind of presumption that they would then shift us over into doing the kind of work that was within Tusla. I think what they had in mind was that we would have played a role in facilitating the networking and possibly in relation to Meitheal. M/7/3

The difficulties experienced during the disaggregation process, i.e. the lack of transparency, manoeuvring and withholding, added to the fiscal difficulties experienced by Tusla as the organisation became established.

4.12 Sub-Theme 2: Consequences of Ongoing Shortage of Money

This theme specifically explores the consequences of ongoing shortage of money subsequent to the creation of Tusla using the code below.

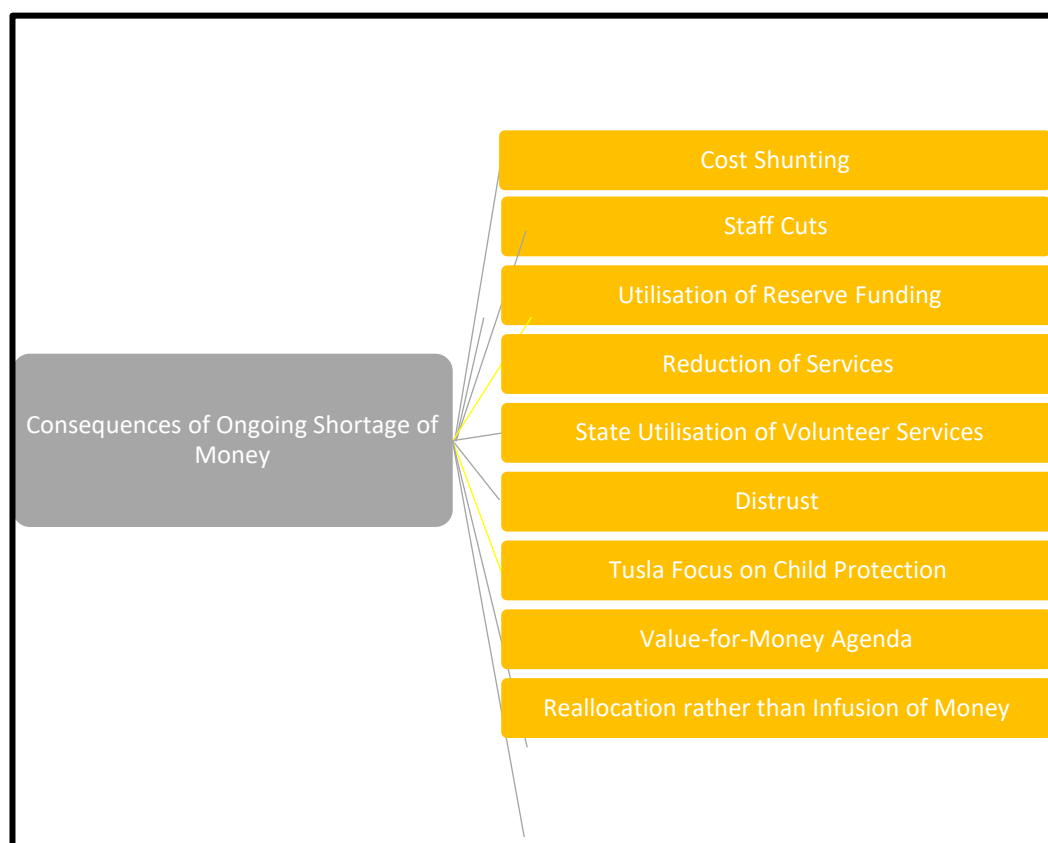
Table 4.8: Consequences of Ongoing Shortage of Money

Label*	Consequences of Ongoing Shortage of Money
Study Definition	The respondent identifies the consequences of ongoing shortage of money as a significant factor in their understanding of the creation of Tusla.
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is coded when the respondent uses the words ‘because there is no money’ or ‘not enough resources means’ in relation to the way they are understanding change. • This is coded when the respondent’s verbal description describes the consequences of an ongoing shortage of money as a significant factor without explicitly using the words.
Definition of Label*	<p>Money: The assets, property, and resources owned by someone or something (wealth) – https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/money</p> <p>Shortage: A state or situation in which something needed cannot be obtained in sufficient amounts. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/shortage</p> <p>Consequence: A result or effect, typically one that is unwelcome or unpleasant. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/consequence</p>

Nine patterns emerged in the data. Participants spoke of cost shunting between departments, the necessity to cut staff, the utilising of reserve funding in community organisations, reduction of services, the state’s utilisation of volunteer services to

deal with waiting lists for services, distrust between former colleagues, the increasing focus of Tusla on a narrow Child Protection remit and the stifling of innovation, the predominance of the value-for-money agenda and the reallocation of existing funds in place of the infusion of new monies.

Figure 4.8: Consequences of Ongoing Shortage of Money Diagram



4.12.1 Empirical Evidence of Theme

4.12.1.1 Cost Shunting

One of the consequences of the shortage of money was ‘cost shunting’ (Hudson, 2000, p.269). This is the process of pushing the cost onto another organisation or part of an organisation. We have seen in the ‘Dividing up the Money’ sub-theme that the creation of Tusla has caused a hardening of attitude towards the money issues. The ‘Relationship’ theme has also shown that the creation of Tusla has disrupted the relationship between people working within the organisations, and this combination may facilitate the acceptance of cost shunting practices. Respondent D notes:

You get what’s called cost shunting: the cost of care is not my responsibility, it is your responsibility, so you shunt the cost across to another organisation.

That is what will happen here [between the HSE and Tusla]. ‘It’s not really a Child Protection issue so we don’t really deal with this, it’s a Child Welfare issue and you deal with that (HSE) so it’s your responsibility, it can come out of your budget.’ D/5/23

The response to cost shunting has been an attempt to negotiate mechanisms at a local level to bring closer together what had been separated during the creation of Tusla.

Respondent K notes:

They [cost shunting practices] were causing a lot of friction and conflict at the front line. One service was saying ‘no, that is not ours’ and another service is saying ‘no, that is not ours’. Where as in actual fact we both have a role within that child and family’s life. So, rather than get involved in those demarcation disputes, we set up a structure that will address those and will take it up through various levels so that it does not get down and dirty, so to speak, in that front line fighting. That has made a level of progress, and it is a forum that allows these things to be aired and discussed and some senior decisions made and filtered down the line. K/2/20

Respondent B explains how the creation of Tusla has created cost shunting between two sections of the same organisation:

We find we could approach the Family Support Services Unit within Tusla about funding and they will refer us back to the HSE side of Tusla, and the HSE side of Tusla will say ‘no, you need to contact the Family Support Services Unit for that’. So, they’re using each other in moving things across when they are struggling to respond to need. B/2/35

The reorientation of the funding lines was extremely confusing, even for staff who worked at arm’s length from Tusla. The consequences of jiggery-pokery, and the difficulties of identifying those accountable, highlight the disorder. Cost shunting and the response in this situation is a playing out of the separation at both a fiscal and relationship level.

4.12.1.2 Staff Cuts

While cost shunting occurs in state bodies when staff reductions are not readily available, cost-cutting occurs in community organisations which are sub-contractors to Tusla where public sector staff contracts do not apply. Staffing has been one of the key areas to suffer within these community organisations due to its ‘shadow state’ position. As Respondent H states, the reduction in staffing is a direct result of reduction in funding:

The funding has gone down 12.5% per year over the last 5 years – so our funding went from a little over €500,000 to €230,000. Hence, the staff cuts.
H/2/28

The impact of this reduction in funding is personally difficult for managers. As Respondent A states:

To sit in front of someone and to tell someone that they are losing their job is one of the hardest things you're going to have to do. A/1/37

Staff cuts, ultimately, leave fewer workers at a ground level and impact the services which can be delivered to children and families. This is, also, indicative of state services cutting sub-contractors first when there is a need to save money.

4.12.1.3 Utilisation of Reserves of Funding

The organisations in the community sector utilised money reserves to compensate for cuts in funding. However, as Respondent A states, this was but a temporary solution:

We were probably lucky we had what I would term a 'slush fund' for emergencies. The knock-on effect is: we have used every spare penny. A/2/2

The utilisation of community organisations' reserve funds is tantamount to the community sector propping up the state sector. This places organisations at the edge of the state in a financially perilous position and weakens the whole structure of provision.

4.12.1.4 Reduction of Services

In addition to redundancies, community organisations have had to close services:

One [closure] would have been the Parent and Toddler Programme. I was heartbroken to leave that go because it's got to people in our community earlier. A/2/40

As organisational reserves run down, community services must begin to choose which provision must be closed. This leads to an overall reduction in services.

4.12.1.5 State Utilisation of Volunteer Services

Respondent G notes that Tusla has so little money that it has to use volunteer services in community organisations:

Our Play Therapy is contingent on someone giving it to us on a voluntary basis. And Tusla has no problem referring into that service. G/2/41

As staff redundancy is not an immediate consideration in the public sector, cost saving is often found through the reduction of programme funds. This lack of funding leads to statutory services searching outside the state sector for supports for children and families. This leads to further downward pressure on the community services to provide supports in place of the state. A new agency for children and families that is reliant on volunteer workers indicates that the aspiration to better meet the needs of children is not being fulfilled.

4.12.1.6 Distrust

Suspicion is a consequence of ongoing shortage of funding:

'We have no funding', is what they say. I am not sure I believe that there is no funding. Could it possibly be that the game is being played, 'unless you give me XXX, I am not doing this, this and this'. But we are down at the receiving end of it. G/3/2

In situations where resources are scarce, a level of distrust begins to build. In this situation, it affects the relationship between the funder and the funded and reveals the power dynamic which is often hidden when a stable situation is present.

4.12.1.7 Tusla Focus on Child Protection

Within the new agency, the ongoing shortage of money has led to what Respondent K described as a 'catch-22' situation between the need to balance social work and Family Support within the Tusla model. The lack of funding at either side of this pivot creates a dilemma for those attempting to manage it:

Now I believe in the PPFS ... it invites a recalibration of resources across the continuum from high-end Childcare [Child Protection] to a more balanced equilibrium with early intervention and prevention ... I would be very interested in developing that, but we are not getting any extra resources to do that. So, how do you achieve a recalibration unless you stop filling social work posts? So, you are in a 'catch-22'. K/3/39

The pressure to deal with 'high-end' social work, along with the lack of resources to do this, orientates Tusla towards the task of keeping up in an ongoing crisis situation and maintaining the focus on Child Protection.

4.12.1.8 Value-for-Money Agenda

One of the consequences of the shortage of money is the focus on conserving money.

Respondent I sees this as the driving focus of the organisation:

There is a focus on value for money, value for money and it is chronic through the system. That is the driving agenda there. Do something on the cheap, do something on the cheap. I/7/36

This impression is echoed by the HSE Respondent C:

The state wants services on the cheap. It does not want to own these services themselves directly and employ directly, but it wants to utilise vehicles in the community. C/3/8

This comment links closely to the ‘least means’ efficiency agenda of the NPM model. It, also, highlights the NPM ‘‘arm’s-length’’ approach advocated for service provision.

4.12.1.9 Reallocation rather than Infusion of Money

Respondent E uses the metaphor ‘taking from Peter to pay Paul’ to express the shortage of resources:

[It’s] Peter to pay Paul, that mentality: I come along to you and say: ‘‘You are doing a great job, but I can’t give you any more money now but carry on doing it and even I might take a resource from you there, because we need it over here.’’ That won’t work. That is not sustainable to me. You run out of Peters and Pauls. You run out of deckchairs on the Titanic. E/9/15

Respondent E highlights the reallocation of money rather than an infusion of money. They note that this strategy will not suffice in the long term.

4.13 Section Conclusion

All of the study participants note that that money and its companions’ resources and staff as significant to their experience of the creation of Tusla. They state that the division of resources has reduced the co-operation between people and organisations at the ground level. They further note that financial difficulties have increased their suspicion, deceitfulness and distrust of people and organisations. They have experienced a polarisation of positions between the HSE and Tusla.

Further, these embodied experiences may move forward with the participants and may have broad-ranging consequences. Firstly, they may be re-enacted at the boundaries of these new organisations between those in ‘boundary spanning’ roles; and secondly, these attitudes may be integrated into the interior of the organisation by these boundary spanners and may become a normalised part of the narrative of the organisations and may perpetuate distrust and division.

4.14 Conclusion

This chapter has set out the findings of the research, both broadly and at increasing levels of granularity. In the experience of the eleven participants the creation of the Child and Family Agency has altered established structures and relationships. The world of meaning in which participants worked for many years changed considerably. Participants experienced their system of intelligibility (Fish, 1980), with all its significant symbols and signposts, as transformed, not one step at a time but in a confusing perfusion of intersecting and overlapping modifications. For those participants moved from the HSE, the intra-organisational landscape has become an inter-organisational landscape. For those participants from other agencies, the opposite process occurred, i.e. the inter-organisational landscape became an intra-organisational landscape. For participants from community organisations at arm’s-length from their funders, the changes in state structures are experienced as reinforcing their sub-contracted position and increased their isolation from former supporters within the HSE. All of these changes have taken place against a background of chronic fiscal shortages, outside the control of Tusla, which have exacerbated and compounded the other difficulties experienced by the study participants.

5.0 Discussion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the significance of the findings of this research. The chapter is divided into four sections. **Section One** will discuss each of the findings, suggest reasons why these findings are valuable, identify how the finding adds to the body of knowledge and recommend additional research or action related to the findings. This will provide the reader with a clear overview of the key findings, their value and contribution. **Section Two** will examine the findings of the study using another case study, i.e. Weick's 'Collapse of Sensemaking in Organisations: The Mann Gulch Fire', as a lens. This process will benefit the reader as it will create an opportunity to experience the findings of the research from a different perspective and provide an additional framework in which to understand how the creation of Tusla might have led to the situation in which the study participants currently find themselves. **Section Three** will examine the findings in relation to the two case studies presented in the Literature Review. This will benefit the readers as it will explicate clearly the similarities of the findings of this study to findings in other jurisdictions and, thus, strengthen the cogency of the study findings. **Section Four** will set out the limitations of the study. This will allow the reader to reconnect with the parameters of the study and engage with both the limitations and possibilities which the study creates. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the key considerations addressed through the discussion process.

5.2 Section One: Empirical Findings and Observations

This section treats the findings in two ways; the first segment discusses the key findings from the empirical data, and the second segment discusses the key observations made during the research process.

5.2.1 Conceptual Aspiration and Micro Reality

The literature on the creation of public sector reform tells us that aspirations do not often match reality when public sector reform is undertaken (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2011; Pollitt and Hupe, 2011; Davis, 2008; Bogdanor, 2005; Hood, 2005) and a pragmatic view of the outcome is often taken (O' Riordan and Boyle, 2017). The

findings of this study appear to support this position within the parameters of the study.

5.2.2 Elimination of silos and the reduction of fragmentation

Silos and fragmentation are barriers to meeting the needs of children. Silos function to keep organisations and departments separate from each other and fragmentation makes service delivery more difficult. The findings of this research suggest that silos and fragmentation are present for participants making it more difficult for departments and organisations to communicate with each other and to deliver services to children and families. This finding highlights, to policy makers, that sustained focus is needed subsequent to the creation of a new state agency. This sustained focus may mitigate against unanticipated consequences which threaten the success of an organisation. It is a recommendation that academic research be undertaken into the contours of the silos and fragmentation experienced by those working within this state agency to understand further how the experiences of fragmentation and silos at a ground level can inhibit successful implementation of PSR.

5.2.3 Securing Critical Components

The TFR stated that the presence of certain components was ‘critical’ to the success of the agency. Yet, not all these critical components were transferred to Tusla. The research suggests that the absence of these ‘critical components’ – specifically, the absence of CAMHS and Public Health Nursing – has had an impact on the ability of Tusla to meet the needs of vulnerable children and families within the parameters of this study. The research, also, suggests that the solution to this barrier may not be an enhanced relationship with CAMHS but, instead, would be the setting up of Tusla services similar to CAMHS, enhancing the silo effect. This finding is significant because it foregrounds the relationship between the incomplete implementation of recommendations on the one hand and the difficulties of meeting a goal created without the anticipation of the incomplete implementation on the other. This finding adds to our knowledge of the nature of the difficulties of meeting the needs of vulnerable children and families.

5.2.4 Enhancing Integrated Working

The findings show that on the ground there is a strong leaning towards single-agency working and little cross-governmental working between the HSE, Tusla and community organisations. The findings, also, suggest that where this cross-governmental working does take place, it is reactive in order to rebalance the silo effect – and not proactive to create cross-departmental programmes or initiatives. This finding is significant as it reinforces the finding in relation to silos and suggests an understanding of when and why current cross-departmental working happens at a ground level. This finding adds to the knowledge of the nuance of cross-departmental working at ground level. It is a recommendation of this study that research on a national level would confirm or disconfirm the validity of this finding and further the understanding of the phenomenon.

5.2.5 Enhanced Accountability

The findings of this study suggest that at a ground level there has not been an enhancement of accountability as evidenced by the ongoing practice of ‘cost shunting’, both during the creation of Tusla in relation to funding and after the creation of Tusla with the unwillingness of departments to take responsibility for the cost of children’s care where the responsibility is ambiguous. Accountability is mentioned fifty-nine times in the aspirational document but only three times in the data set. This finding indicates that the ‘magical concept’ did not have relevance to those at a ground level and may suggest a disconnect between policy and practice. This finding is significant as it evidences the centrality of accountability at national level, but the ease with which it is theoretically applied to practice does not reflect the reality of accountability at a ground level. The finding is, also, significant as it supports the idea of accountability as a magical concept – a concept that as Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011) state smooths over the fractious nature of negotiating accountability at a ground level. This knowledge assists in understanding the reality of magical concepts and may support practitioners and policymakers to engage in more in-depth discussion and clarification, and promote an acceptance that certain issues, such as money and responsibility, are not easily solved. This

acknowledgment may lower expectations of an uncontentious process. It is a recommendation of this study that additional research be undertaken in the area of magical concepts and their usage in the Tusla lexicon. This may promote clarity and the understanding of the impact of the nebulousness of these terms at ground level.

5.2.6 Paradigm Shift

The findings suggest that within the parameters of the study, the discussion of, the commitment to, and the utilisation of, the Community Development approach within Family Resource Centres has been weakened by the creation of Tusla. It suggests that community organisations are reorienting themselves towards a closer alignment with Tusla. The findings, also, suggest that FRCs are more fully realising their role as ‘welfare service providers’ and arm’s-length implementation vehicles of Tusla. This finding is significant as it may indicate the movement away from Community Development with its ideology of empowerment and collectivity, and towards an implementation approach with its ideology of individualism and expert knowledge. This finding may add to the knowledge of the changes wrought by the creation of Tusla. A more thorough investigation of Family Resource Centres is recommended to identify the changes that have taken place with the creation of Tusla and to evaluate if these changes will have a positive or negative effect on vulnerable children and families in Ireland.

5.2.7 Relationships

The findings suggest that the process of the creation of Tusla has had an effect on those who were involved in this process and that informal relationships, upon which much of the on-the-ground work is based, have been damaged. The findings further suggest that while the relationships between the community organisations and the HSE may, in some way, be repaired, those between former colleagues within HSE/Tusla have suffered more severely. Additionally, the relationship between community organisations and their parent agency, Tusla, are, also, considerably different. These findings indicate a change in relationships, the consequences of which were not anticipated at the creation of Tusla. This adds to the knowledge of the dynamics within the organisation and indicates the significance of these dynamics to meeting the needs of vulnerable children and families. It is important to

acknowledge group dynamics as a consideration in public sector change management and to understand that these changes can have unforeseen repercussions at ground level. A monitoring of these emergent consequences in future projects may allow for interventions which would avoid the schism seen at ground level in this change process.

5.2.8 Evolution of Tusla: Uni-Disciplinary Organisations

The findings of this study tentatively suggest that Tusla may become a uni-disciplinary organisation, populated almost exclusively by social workers. This finding is valuable as it is a weak signal which may give an indication of the changes which will take place within Tusla in the future. The original bricolage that was Tusla was drawn from many different professional backgrounds, including Education, Social Work, Community Development, Health and allied professions. As the recruitment of staff moves ahead, this multidisciplinary configuration may change as indicated in this study through the recruitment of social workers as new Educational Welfare Officers. This uni-disciplinary configuration may have organisational consequences, including an increase in ‘group think’ (Riordan and Riordan, 2013; Rose, 2011, p.37) and a decrease in innovation and cross-fertilisation of practice and ideas. The knowledge is valuable as it was gleaned within the construct of an empirical study and is not anecdotal. It is, also, valuable as it highlights – in this process – the ramifications which may not be obvious at national level. It is a recommendation of this research that policymakers and managers at national level take cognisance of the shortcomings of a uni-disciplinary construct and the impact this may have on provision of services to vulnerable children and families.

5.2.9 HSE and Tusla: Subterranean Connections

The findings of this study draw attention to the unacknowledged ‘subterranean connection’ (Head and Alford, 2015, p.420) between the HSE and Tusla and explicate the consequences of this tension and competition (Head and Alford, 2015, p.420). This is valuable as it brings to the surface taboo subjects which, while unspoken, work continuously to shape the reality of ground level staff. This

knowledge adds to our understanding of these subterranean processes and suggests some reasons why systems do not function as well as originally anticipated. It is a recommendation that more in-depth ethnographic research be undertaken to explicate the nature and nuance of these subterranean connections.

5.2.10 Influence of Non-State Actors

The participants did not make any direct connection between Atlantic Philanthropies and their work and, accordingly, no empirical findings were made in relation to Atlantic Philanthropies. The difficulties of identifying critical literature on Atlantic Philanthropies can be offered as an observation of the research process, if not a direct finding. Gara La Marche may illuminate a cause for this lack of literature in his comment:

“‘I think criticism of foundations is rare enough, and raising questions about the role of foundations in a democracy rarer still, that the very fact of asking the questions, of stimulating more reflection, is enough for the moment. Upton Sinclair famously said, ‘It is difficult to get a man to understand something when his salary depends on his not understanding it’” (La Marche, 2014).

La Marche’s statement may indicate a rationale for the lack of academic literature. It is a recommendation of this research that additional investigation into the influence of Atlantic Philanthropies could be undertaken which may provide insight into the external factors at work in the creation of Tusla.

5.2.11 Influence of Expert Organisations

The participants did not make any direct connection between the Centre for Effective Services and their work and, therefore, no empirical findings were made in relation to the Centre. However, the overall investigation process for this study explicated the role of this organisation in the creation of Tusla. It was observed during the research process that critical academic consideration of expert organisations and their impact on public policy creation in Ireland was scarce. This knowledge highlights the presence of non-state actors and who these non-state actors are and, also, indicates the necessity for additional attention to these entities. It is a recommendation of this study that additional academic attention is given to the influence of non-state actors in Irish public policy creation.

5.2.12 Functional Order and Visual Order

The participants did not make any direct connection between legibility and understanding and, thus, no empirical findings were made in relation to this. However, the overall investigative process for this study elucidated the distinction between the ‘street view’ and the ‘helicopter view’ as a metaphorical device. This device illustrates that coherence from afar (legibility) and coherence at a ground level (functionality) are/can be different experiences. The attempt to resolve Child Protection issues in the form of public sector reform through the creation of Tusla infers the belief that functional order proceeds from visual order. However, the findings of this research suggest that a situation may be functional even though it is illegible and, furthermore, that the destruction of this functionality in favour of increased legibility decreases the ability of staff on the ground level to meet the needs of children and families. This is a valuable observation as it highlights an error in logic in the creation of Tusla. The observation adds to the knowledge of this counter-intuitive phenomenon and draws attention to the necessity for understanding of context and consequences before creating change in public policy. More academic investigation into the cause-and-effect relationship in these counter-intuitive situations, in addition to more cognisance at policy level of these unforeseen events, is a recommendation of this research.

5.3 Section Two: The Collapse of Sensemaking in Organisations

This section will consider the findings of the study utilising Weick’s analysis of the Mann Gulch Fire of 1949. This process is valuable as it allows the reader to consider the findings of the research using a different lens and, in doing so, deepens the understanding of the findings and their relevance in a broader context.

5.3.1 The Mann Gulch Disaster and the Creation of Tusla

In 1992, Norman McLean authored a book entitled ‘Young Men and Fire’, which described the events in a forest fire in Mann Gulch, Montana in 1949. In 1993, Karl Weick wrote an article based on McLean’s account utilising this event to explain the

process of sensemaking. This section will apply Weick's treatment of sensemaking in Mann Gulch to the experiences of the participants in this research. The discussion will then consider the wider implications of this experience to Tusla. A forest fire in Montana in 1949 may seem far removed temporally, spatially and contextually from the creation of an arm's-length agency in Ireland. However, many of the characteristics of sensemaking identified by Weick from the Mann Gulch Fire are relevant and applicable to the experiences of participants in the study. Additionally, it is often helpful to view experiences and their implications through the use of an allegorical tool such as the Mann Gulch Fire.

The Mann Gulch disaster saw a group of eighteen trained firefighters jump from an aeroplane to begin to fight a fire which was not dissimilar to other fires they had previously fought. As they moved closer to the fire, things began to go wrong. The fire itself was larger and more unpredictable than first believed; they did not have a means of communication to call for help; and the leadership was not clear to everyone. As the crisis came closer, the structure of the group disintegrated. Even though at a certain point a solution was proposed by the leader that might have saved their lives (an escape fire: it did save the life of the leader), by this stage the firefighters did not have faith in the leadership and attempted to find their own solutions. Ultimately, all but three of the firefighters died. This is an occurrence, which Lanir (1989) calls 'a low probability event' because there is only a minute chance of this combination of factors occurring together. From a sensemaking perspective, Weick focuses on 'the astonishment of the perceiver' and, also, on the "perceiver's inability to rebuild some sense of what is happening" (1993, p.634). Weick calls these inconceivable events 'cosmology episodes', stating:

'A cosmology episode occurs when people suddenly and deeply feel that the universe is no longer a rational, orderly system. What makes such an episode so shattering is that both the sense of what is occurring and the meaning to rebuild that sense collapse together' (1993, p.632).

Weick states that the disaster at Mann Gulch was created by the 'interrelated collapse of sensemaking and structure'. He contends that, through understanding this collapse, it may be possible to avoid these 'disasters' in the future (1993, p.634):

“As they [firefighters] lost structure, they became more anxious and found it harder to make sense of what was happening, until they finally were unable to make any sense whatsoever of the one thing that would have saved their lives, an ‘escape fire’” (1993, p.634).

Weick juxtaposes the ideas of ‘strategic rationality’ used when making decisions about next steps (rationality which will have clear answers) with ‘contextual rationality’ used when the next steps are very equivocal and there are not clear answers. Contextual rationality is often used when strategic rationality no longer works. Weick states that one of the contributing factors to the Mann Gulch disaster was the disintegration of the role structure. The structure of the organisation and the way the firefighters were distributed broke down, and the firefighters spread out. Leadership became confused, with other firefighters giving orders in addition to the appointed leader. At this stage, the leader told the group to abandon their tools and follow him into ‘an escape fire’, a pre-burnt space of ground which the main fire would burn around. Weick notes that when panic begins, the empathy which group members had for each other disappeared. The group disbanded and, in this situation of crisis, it became every man for himself. In applying this allegory to other organisational situations, Weick notes that what holds an organisation together ‘may be more tenuous than we realise’ (1993, p.638) The recipe for disorganisation in Mann Gulch, Weick believes, is not all that rare in everyday organisational life. The recipe reads:

1. Thrust people into unfamiliar roles
2. Leave some key roles unfilled
3. Make the task more ambiguous
4. Discredit the role system
5. Make all these changes in a context in which small events can combine into something monstrous.

The presence of these factors led to what Weick calls a ‘vu jade’, the opposite of a déjà vu, i.e. the feeling that ‘I have never been here before and I don’t know what can help me’ (1993, p.689). If we examine the findings of this research using Weick’s lens, there are many similarities.

The creation of Tusla saw a group of trained professionals enter into a new situation that seemed similar to situations they had been in before. These professionals had been through many changes as part of the health system, moving from the Health

Boards to the HSE and implementing many change strategies and intra-organisational restructuring in the past. Thus, this new change did not appear dissimilar to others they had experienced. However, as they moved closer to the change, things began to go wrong. The change itself was larger and more unpredictable than they had first believed and, because the change involved the breaking up of an organisation and a creation of new silos, those involved did not have a means of communicating for help from their support system, as those in that support system were now cut off from them. The leadership in this situation was not clear to everyone; there was little understanding of who was in charge; previously independent agencies, such as the National Educational Welfare Board and the Family Support Agency, were now subsumed under a new Tusla corporate leadership framework; and the leaders in the HSE, whom many of the smaller community organisations counted on for support, had distanced themselves from the whole process. When clarification was sought as to who the leaders were, firm answers were given at national level, but these did not translate to power at a local level and the structure was ambiguous.

As the crisis came closer, the structure of the group disintegrated and those who were previously colleagues began to ignore each other and move in different directions. Even though, at certain points, solutions in the form of collaborative opportunities were proffered – solutions which could have brought the organisations closer together for the benefit of all – they were overturned by other leaders at a distance from the centre of events. By this stage, the professionals did not have faith in each other or in the leadership, either at local or national level. They began to cut themselves off from each other and attempted to find their own solutions. The creation of Tusla can be considered both a low-probability event – in that Child Protective services had resided with the HSE for more than thirty years – and a cosmology event. In this situation, the perceivers were, indeed, astonished by the situation they found themselves in, the speed with which the situation fell apart and, as attested to by the findings of this research, their ‘inability to rebuild some sense of what is happening’ (1993, p.634). The participants felt deeply that the system did not work any longer; they found it difficult to understand (make sense of) what was going on; and the event itself (the disaggregation of services and the creation of Tusla) prohibited the participants from access to those colleagues who could help

them make sense of the situation. Thus, as Weick states, the creation of Tusla was ‘an episode so shattering [that] both the sense of what is occurring and the means to rebuild that sense collapse together’ (1993, p.632). The application of ‘strategic rationality’ in this situation was unhelpful as the situation did not have any clear answers and the application of ‘contextual rationality’ was hindered by fragmentation of the structure coupled with the strong ‘strategic rationality’ being imposed at a national level, as if this rationality was applicable to the ground level. As identified by Jacobs (1961), functionality did not follow legibility. The creation of Tusla brought new roles and new leaders – but little power. The leaders told the professionals to ‘abandon their tools’, their paradigms and their ways of working, all of which gave structure and meaning to the work. The leader asked staff to utilise new and untested approaches. This increased the confusion and undermined the leadership authority. The opportunity to build bridges to enter ‘the escape fire’ together, to bring the HSE staff, Tusla staff, FSA staff and community staff together (to use the pre-Tusla configuration) and let the crisis burn over them was lost due to the fierce animosity the breakdown of the structure had created. Panic had set in and empathy was lost. In the ‘every man for themselves’ scenario, silos were reinforced and distance was created between people at the ground.

An application of Weick’s recipe reads:

6. Thrust people into unfamiliar roles
 - a. The creation of Tusla created role change as it broke and remoulded organisations.
7. Leave some key roles unfilled
 - a. The lack of money and staff ensured that key leadership and support roles were left unfilled.
8. Make the task more ambiguous
 - a. The newness of the organisation combined with the bricolage of old organisations – as well as the lack of funding – resulted in it being influenced by an external agenda. Also, the paradoxical nature of the organisational structure certainly made the task of meeting the needs of children more difficult and unclear.
9. Discredit the role system
 - a. Old leaders were undermined, and new leaders were unknown. A new way of working with new strategies, brought in from outside the official public sector, made the situation difficult.

10. Make all these changes in a context in which small events can combine into something monstrous

- a. Tusla is the agency which meets the needs of the most vulnerable children and families in our society. Any situation which hinders the provision of these needs can, indeed, have monstrous results.

The creation of Tusla, can be seen from the findings of this study as a ‘vu jade’ (Weick, 1993, p.689). The findings may, also, suggest that this vu jade is still present. Weick goes on to discuss what improves an organisation’s chances of surviving these cosmology events. He lists these as:

1. Improvisation and bricolage
2. Virtual role systems
3. The attitude of wisdom
4. Respectful interactions.

In the Mann Gulch case study, Weick cites the inventor of the ‘escape fire’ as a bricoleur, i.e. a person used to working in situations of low structure and creating different solutions through their understanding of the materials to hand. Their close knowledge of the context allows them to improvise solutions in difficult situations. Weick contends that the adoption of ‘virtual roles’ – where people have autonomy to improvise in ambiguous situations and can activate others through this improvisation – is a key component in overcoming cosmology events. Weick states that ‘an attitude of wisdom’ is, in essence, an openness to working through a situation which is unfamiliar. Too much caution or too much confidence closes down opportunities to make good judgements in difficult situations. Finally, Weick turns to ‘respectful interaction’. Here, he focuses on the level of intersubjectivity between those involved in the interchange of meaning (the firefighters) and the transformation and creation of a joint meaning out of this intersubjective exchange (Mead, 1934). He notes that, at Mann Gulch, this intersubjectivity was lost in all but two of the firefighters (both of whom survived). The trust between the others had been broken, and the honesty of their suggestions brought into question. Weick considers these four components to be critical in the avoidance of total collapse in cosmology events.

The creation of Tusla was a public sector reform which was imposed from above with predefined structures, budgets, evaluation tools and processes. The opportunity for those involved at a ground level to become ‘bricoleurs’ was low. While the participants in the research had both the materials to hand to create solutions

(meetings, committees, informal past relationships), these materials could not be utilised within the structural confines of the organisation, ambiguous as they were. There was, also, little opportunity for public servants to adopt 'virtual roles' and exercise autonomy. Within the organisations often credited with this ability (the community organisations), the new paradigm as 'welfare state' service delivery agents closed this avenue to delegate 'virtual roles' to allies. In addition to the lack of manoeuvrability and scope to improvise, the 'attitude to wisdom' was stymied in a number of ways. Firstly, the breakdown of sensemaking and structure at the same time created an extreme caution in relation to proactivity. Secondly, the new structure with its contradictions and paradoxes (discussed in the literature) made the creation of good judgements extremely difficult. Thirdly, the participants' unfamiliarity with the effects of change on their collegial relationships made for an attitude of protection and retrenchment rather than an attitude of wisdom and openness.

The findings of this research have shown that destruction of respectful interaction during the creation of Tusla at a local level created a joint meaning where the 'shared interpretive schemes' were ones of mutual dishonesty, jiggery-pokery and tension. These previous intersubjective exchanges informed all present and future intersubjective exchanges and made 'respectful interaction' difficult. Weick considers these four components to be critical in the avoidance of total collapse in cosmology events. An application of Weick's resilience list to the experiences of participants reads:

1. Improvisation and bricolage
 - a. Difficult due to public service reform agenda and strong pre-determined structures
2. Virtual role systems
 - a. Difficult to create virtual roles in a hierarchical and regulated structure like the public service; innovators in community neutralised by change in paradigm
3. The attitude of wisdom
 - a. Lack of openness due to the collapse of structure and sense at the same time
4. Respectful interactions

- a. Not present as a consequence of disintegration of relationships due to distrust and dishonesty

Weick states that the Mann Gulch disaster is ‘a case in which people were unable to negotiate strangeness’, a place where ‘frameworks and meaning destroyed rather than constructed one another’ (1993, p.645). The findings of this research identify Tusla as ‘a case where people were unable to negotiate strangeness’ and a situation in which the new Tusla structure and the meaning this had for the participants undermined the aspirations for the organisation rather than reinforced them.

5.4 Section Three: Revisiting the Case Studies

This section will re-engage with the Australian and Welsh case studies discussed in the Literature Review and compare and contrast their findings with the findings of this research. This will benefit the reader in two ways. Firstly, an application of the findings of this research to international studies allows for the reader to engage with the research findings as part of a larger discussion of public sector reform projects. Secondly, this process shows how this research does not just add to the corpus of knowledge but contributes cumulatively as it interacts with other research to deepen, as well as broaden, knowledge on the subject of public sector reform.

5.4.1 Whole-of-Government: An Australian Case Study

In this first example, O’Flynn et al. (2011) in their study of a whole-of-government initiative to address ‘the governance challenges’ (Shergold, 2004) of indigenous disadvantage in Australia, illuminated an experience of whole-of-government and drew some conclusions in relation to the interplay between whole-of-government approaches, silos, magical concepts and implementation. Similarities between the Australian case study and the context of this research can be summarised as:

1. Both began with a reform of government structures.
2. Both reforms were aimed at dealing with ‘wicked’ problems.
3. Both stated that high-level collaboration was necessary.
4. Both were created to operationalise change at the front line.

There were a number of similarities in the study findings. Both studies found that the lack of supportive infrastructure for working across departments created difficulties in reaching the goals set out. Both studies identified that vertical and horizontal tensions hindered cross-departmental working and that when participants wanted to work horizontally across silos/departments, this practice was quashed vertically. In both studies, the vision and the practice did not align. The funding structures in both studies remained predominantly vertical and intra-departmental and did not support cross-departmental working. The findings of this study echo the study of O’Flynn et al. in relation to the ‘deeply entrenched’ (2011, p.249) nature of silos and the power of ‘bureaucratic pervasiveness’. The Australian study found that centralised decision making decreased cross-governmental working; however, this was not present in the findings of this study. O’Flynn et al. noted two factors which facilitated some success in the Australian case study. These were the ‘craftsmen-style leadership style’ and the ability of these leaders to build informal relationships between and across departments (2011, p.252). Within this research, no ‘craftsmen-style’ leaders were identified. It may be suggested that the emergence of this type of leader was hampered by the acrimonious breakdown of relationships during the creation of Tusla and by the inability of actors – who might have emerged as ‘craftsmen-style leaders’ – to overcome the difficulties they were experiencing and to build bridges across departments.

5.4.2 Whole-of-Government: A Welsh Case Study

In this second example, Williams and Sullivan (2009), in their study of a whole-of-government initiative at regional level to integrate services for children with disabilities, illuminated an experience of whole-of-government and drew some conclusions in relation to the effectiveness of this endeavour. Similarities between the Welsh case study and the context of this research can be summarised as:

1. Both initiatives were created to respond to fragmentation.
2. Both initiatives were recommended after a review process.
3. Both involved a reorganisation of services.
4. Both were initiated due to a lack of co-ordinated services.

5. Both aspired to streamline access to services.
6. Both aspired to create a holistic approach for children.

There are two dissimilarities between the studies. The creation of Tusla involved the separation of children's services from health services, while the Welsh example sought their amalgamation and the Welsh study had a joint working group at its head rather than a single department. Notwithstanding these differences, there were a number of areas where the findings from this research echoed the findings in the Welsh study. Both studies struggled due to issues of accountability and departmental ownership. Both studies cited lack of support for front line professionals as a difficulty. Both studies cited money and budget considerations as a difficulty. Both considered the lack of cross-departmental power-sharing to be a tension. Both studies identified that change had not been implemented as it had been conceived, and this lessened its effectiveness.

5.5 Section Four: Study's Limitations

The findings of this study are limited to the parameters of the study and are not statistically generalisable beyond the study population. The sample size was small; the study was not countrywide; and the data is self-reported. However, as noted in the Methodology (Section 3.4.3), while the study is not representative of the population, the researcher suggests that it may be characteristic of the phenomenon. This study is exploratory in nature and was undertaken to advance the understanding of the creation of Tusla and the relationship between the aspirations for the organisation at its inception and the reality of the organisation in practice at a ground level. The research was undertaken with rigour in the hope that a continuation of this project would be possible, using more quantitative analytical tools but based on the codes identified through this process. The findings of the study suggest a set of contours and features for the phenomenon which, together, enhance our understanding of the impact of the creation of Tusla at a ground level. A larger study could validate or reject these findings and would allow for the emergence of further findings which would add to the understanding of the topic. This study has advanced the understanding of the creation of Tusla, and this advancement is a realistic expectation of a study of this size.

5.6 Conclusion

The findings of this research provide ‘weak signal indicators’ that may be representative of the past, characteristic of the present and indicative of the future. The findings, also, strengthen our understanding that the ‘subjective bases of action have non-subjective results’ (Weick, p.66). These ‘non-subjective results’ are presented in the ‘Findings’ Chapter, in addition to an attempt to explicate the subjective process which created these results. This discussion has developed the understanding of both the results and the process of their creation and has deepened the reader’s appreciation of the significance of the results. The discussion has, also, expanded the results through the process of their application to other studies and comparing the findings with findings from other studies.

6.0 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was twofold – firstly, to increase the understanding of the creation of Tusla and secondly, to increase the understanding of the consequences of the creation of Tusla at the ground level. It was *‘to understand what was supposed to happen, what did happen and how this actuality impacted on people’*, i.e. to understand what was already known in a more meaningful and profound way. The success of the research lies in the creation of a greater understanding of the phenomenon. Policy documents highlight the expectation but cannot unveil the reality. Interview data captures the reality, but the significance of this is indistinct without the presence of the expectation. These two pieces, together, provide an integrated picture, a fusion of horizons of text and context (Knotts, 2014, p.243).

6.2 The Journey

This journey was exploratory, perhaps even expeditionary. It has ambled along many paths and encountered a wide range of eclectic topics. Each topic has provided a new horizon and contributed to our increased understanding of the phenomenon that is the creation of Tusla – topics such as wicked problems, public sector reform, high modernism, legibility and functionality, magical concepts and cosmology events. All these were placed in the swag bag and shaken furiously as the journey continued. The journey, also, encountered eleven fellow travellers, each on their own journey but willing to take time to contribute to our understanding. Again, their contributions were added to the bag. It was the work of this researcher to unpack and reconstitute the contents and attempt to create a tapestry which would make some sense of the threads of information, perceptions, perspectives and conclusions gifted to me by academics and participants alike. The research was exploratory and, as such, there was no framework into which the pieces might fit. To create some structure with which to begin, the ‘Report of the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency’ (2012) was used as the spinning wheel to weave the pieces together. The academic threads were overlain with those from the participants, revealing at the end an image of great complexity and nuance much richer and more dense than could have been imagined at the beginning of this journey. A fusion of horizons.

6.3 Paradox and the Creation of Tusla

This research reveals the paradoxes and contradictions present in the creation of Tusla. These are the consequences of ‘pragmatically, putting ideas together that may not be logically compatible but rather answer political and cultural logics’ (Carstensen, 2017a, p.147). These paradoxes are identified in the interrogation of the literature and manifest in the empirical finding. The government created a silo to deal with a problem explicitly attributed to the presence of silos; it reduced fragmentation by fragmenting one structure to create another; it created an expectation of success without the critical factors for success; and it utilised a single-purpose agency to ameliorate a cross-governmental problem. The creation of Tusla increased legibility but decreased functionality; and it ignored fundamental differences in departments and organisations through the use of ‘catch all’ magical phrases conflating the rhetoric of clarity with the practice of ambiguity. Non-state actors participated in the creation of a state agency. The creation of Tusla generated the conditions for a ‘cosmology event’ at ground level. This was an event where the structure in which people made sense and the colleagues with whom they made sense, all collapsed at the same time. Tusla fragmented relationships and deprived people of the support system which they relied on to take action. It created an environment of terrible tension and conflict which, inevitably, created distance between factions. People became polarised, retreating into their silos unable to communicate effectively with each other. At the very edges of this public sector reform, in the community sector, this cosmology event led to a change of paradigm, a fundamental shift in the underlying purpose of organisations, moving them more firmly into a service delivery paradigm and away from a collective action/social change paradigm. Four years after the creation of Tusla, the effects of this cosmology event still affect the work of all those on the ground, and this effect is slow to dissipate. These paradoxes and their consequences have led to the key findings of this research.

6.4 If-Then

If silos and fragmentation are the identified causes of the inability of the system to respond to children’s needs, and silos and fragmentation are still present – albeit in

different configurations – *then* the system is still failing to meet children's needs for the same reasons it could not meet children's needs before.

This paradox is the strongest finding of the research emerging from the fusion of horizons between literature (text) and fieldwork (context). It begs the question:

'What was the point of the creation of Tusla, except perhaps, to take some political action at a time of social crisis?' This research has allowed this question to emerge; it will be the task of future research to answer the question or, indeed, provide counter-evidence to invalidate the question (Chisholm, 1982).

6.5 Anticipating the Future

This research has created a nuanced understanding of the creation of Tusla from both a theoretical and practical perspective. This understanding identifies the weak signals which may indicate the intensification of certain trends within the organisation in the future. Three weak signals are noteworthy in this conclusion. Firstly, the increased siloing identified in this research may, if unaddressed, lead to an intensification of the silo effect. The consequences of this may be less cross-government co-operation, the development of a CAMHS-type service within the Tusla silo and further distance between the HSE and Tusla irrespective of the necessity for close working imperative to child wellbeing. Secondly, the sundering of informal relationships between people in agencies during the creation of Tusla has had an effect on contemporary relationships; this, if unaddressed, may facilitate and intensify the silo effect and decrease the ability of staff on the ground to meet the needs of vulnerable children and families. Thirdly, the change in the understanding of the purpose and ideology of Family Resource Centres may, if unaddressed, lead to the disappearance of empowerment practice at a ground level. The consequence of this may be the intensification of the citizen as 'consumer of state services' and the self-fulfilling prophecy of the creation of the uncritical consumer without the skills to create change for themselves, a person wholly reliant on the state for their needs (Scott, 1998, p.349). Here, the state through its co-opting of community organisations may hasten the creation of that which it is attempting to avoid. These three outcomes are by no means certain and, if they materialise, it is less certain still that their presence will be a result of the rationale created in this research. However, notwithstanding this caveat, weak signals from the periphery alert us to changes in the phenomenon.

A deeper investigation of these signals may yield findings which could support the work of Tusla in meeting the needs of vulnerable children and families.

6.6 Emergent Research Design

This research has generated new knowledge. It has added to the awareness and, more important, the understanding of how public sector reform impacts front line workers. No other research has been undertaken which focuses on the creation of Tusla and the consequences of this creation for those at ground level. The research, also, has value methodologically. There is no other research which has combined bricolage, phenomenology, hermeneutical phenomenology and sensemaking to engage with this subject matter. Additionally, the research was willing to take risks – to engage with the phenomenon on its own terms to create a research design which responded to the contours of the phenomenon in an emergent way rather than creating a framework in which to work and only engaging with the contours which would easily fit with this framework. The research is consistent. Rigour is applied in all aspects of the examination of this phenomenon from the identification of participants, through the creation of interview questions and onwards to the analysis of the findings. This rigour serves to bring a level of objectivity to the phenomenon and allows the reader to engage with its nebulousness, assured that the research itself is rooted in academic and methodological convention. This research creates synergy. It would not have been possible to examine this phenomenon within one academic silo. The research is interdisciplinary in its approach, drawing from social policy, public sector reform, sociology, critical theory, anthropology, geography, organisational psychology, complexity sciences and philosophy – and utilising these gazes to create dynamic and original work.

6.7 Further Research

This research has generated more questions than it has answered. Some of these questions have already been highlighted in the key findings but can suffer to be repeated here. There are three key research questions which would further the understanding of this phenomenon.

Question one relates to generalisability. *‘Are the findings of this exploratory study true for the wider population involved in this change?’* While this research could not

itself answer the broader question in regard to generalisability, it has set the groundwork upon which the question could be answered. To assist in answering this question, this research has been created as rigorously and systematically as possible, and the creation of a code book (Appendix F) lends itself to transformation of this study from a qualitative pilot to a quantitative survey. This process was undertaken in the hope that the study would be taken up as a larger piece of research. **Question two** relates to the key finding of the study: *‘Has the formation of Tusla perpetuated the problem it was created to solve?’* The creation of an answer to a question would prove difficult and, perhaps, would be politically unpopular (Broadhead and Rist, 1976); however, it lies at the heart of the phenomenon explored in this research, and can be reframed academically as: *‘Is the creation of a pragmatic but illogical solution, contingent on political and cultural logics, generated through a medium which rarely succeeds, the best effort of the Irish state to meet the needs of the most vulnerable in our society?’* A willingness to address this question would involve a level of self-reflectivity at national level which could reap huge benefits for vulnerable children and families on the ground. **Question three** relates to the use of particular types of public sector reform as a medium to address wicked problems: *‘What types and models of public sector reform respond most effectively to wicked problems?’* This question was based on the unanticipated finding of the study that public sector reform may perpetuate rather than alleviate wicked problems. The investigation of this topic in an Irish context and in relation to Tusla would increase our knowledge and understanding of how to meet the needs of vulnerable children and families.

6.8 Parting Words

Vulnerable children cannot protect themselves from the ‘devastating results’ of abuse (Report of the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency, 2012, p.iii). They require the most resilient system, the most coherent structures, the most connected professionals and a public sector adaptive, responsive and responsible enough to meet the ever-evolving needs of the most helpless in our society. This research is not, ultimately, about public sector reform, but about how we can better

protect children through a greater understanding of how and why the structures created to enhance Child Protection may, in fact, hinder it.

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Appendix A

Declaration on Plagiarism Assignment Submission Form: This form must be filled in and completed by the student(s) submitting an assignment – Name(s): Programme: Module Code: Assignment Title: Submission Date: Module Coordinator: I/We declare that this material, which I/we now submit for assessment, is entirely my/our own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my/our work. I/We understand that plagiarism, collusion, and copying are grave and serious offences in the university and accept the penalties that would be imposed should I/we engage in plagiarism, collusion or copying. I/We have read and understood the Assignment Regulations. I/We have identified and included the source of all facts, ideas, opinions, and viewpoints of others in the assignment references. Direct quotations from books, journal articles, internet sources, module text, or any other source whatsoever are acknowledged and the sources cited are identified in the assignment references. This assignment, or any part of it, has not been previously submitted by me/us or any other person for assessment on this or any other course of study. I/We have read and understood the referencing guidelines found at <http://www.dcu.ie/info/regulations/plagiarism.shtml>, <https://www4.dcu.ie/students/az/plagiarism> and/or recommended in the assignment guidelines.

Name(s): _____ Date: _____

Appendix B

Request for Interview Email Template

Hello _____,

I hope all is well with you.

I am conducting my doctoral research at the moment, looking at how people working in Tusla, community organisations and the HSE have been affected by the separation of children's services from the HSE remit and the creation of Tusla.

As a person working in the heart of this change, your insights would add significantly to my understanding of this issue. I would be delighted if you would be interested in granting me an interview.

The process would involve one face-to-face interview of an hour's duration and a small reflection piece.

All the information you give would be anonymised, and you would have full control of the transcript if you wished to remove yourself from the process at any stage.

If you would consider being involved, I would appreciate it.

I am contactable on this address or at X.

Thanks for taking the time to read this email, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind Regards,

Niamh Sheridan.

Appendix C

Draft Interview Questions Linked to Sensemaking and Bricolage

05/11/2016

No.	Question	Rationale	Thoughts
1.	<p>Difference between past and present</p> <p>How is the new working arrangement with Tusla different from the working arrangement with the HSE?</p>	<p>‘Kaleidoscope metaphor’ Levi Struss 1966, p.36</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are the differences between the past and the present? This allows the researcher to see which elements are important to the participant in the changed relationship and to see if elements of importance are similar from one participant to another (comparison) Will a pattern emerge?
2.	<p>Understanding actions which are NOT taken and why</p> <p><i>Question based on an example the participant uses to make sense</i></p> <p>What did you think about ...?</p> <p>What did you do about ...?</p> <p>What would you have liked to do about ...?</p>	<p>Quote</p> <p>The idea that action can be inhibited, abandoned, checked or redirected, as well as expressed, suggests that there are many ways in which action can affect meaning, other than by producing visible consequences in the world. (Weick 1995, p. 37)</p> <p>‘Abbreviated actions, constructed in imagination and indicated solely to oneself</p>	<p>Thought</p> <p>Here, Weick is talking about how actions that are never undertaken, and are only conceived or thought about, can, also, have an effect on how people make sense of the world and them in it.</p>

	<p>What stopped you (inhibited you) from doing what you would have liked to do?</p> <p>Interesting to see what meaning was made, what action was taken and what items were discarded through the use of this question</p>	<p>can be made meaningful.’ (Weick 1995, p. 37)</p> <p>Quote</p> <p>‘The act that never gets done, gets done too late, gets dropped too soon, or for which the time never seems right, is seldom a senseless act. More often, its meaning seems all too clear.’ P.37</p>	
3.	<p>Creating the organisational story</p> <p>Can you tell me about your experience of working with funding agencies over the years?</p> <p>Can you tell me about your relationship with HSE/Tusla over the years?</p>	<p>Martin, Feldman, Hatch and Sitkin (1983)</p> <p>‘Organisational stories summarise prior sensemaking and provide prototypes of what matter.’</p>	<p>Thought</p> <p>Interesting in that this quote may be a place to start and a justification to start there.</p>
4.	<p>Organisation as an Open Systems</p> <p>Interview Question</p> <p>What do you do (in this organisation)?</p> <p>How does what you do relate to what the government says you should do in policy documents, etc?</p>	<p>‘Organisations in open systems should be more concerned with sensemaking.’ (Weick 1995, p.70)</p> <p>‘This expectation derives from the fact that they have more diverse information to deal with and from the fact that their loose system structure means that the entity doing the sensemaking is something of a puzzle.’ (Weick 1995, p.70)</p>	<p>Thought</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This is a key question in community organisations. ▪ Need to get some criteria for open systems and see if community organisations can be characterised this way.

		<p>“What is ‘out there’, what is ‘in here’ and who must we be in order to deal with both questions?”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Also, can be used to look at the question of ▪ espoused theory V theory in use. Are they the same? I may be able to get some data on this from this question.
5.	<p>Making sense of and managing information</p> <p>How do you manage all the information you have to know how to do your job?</p>	<p>Taking Notice</p> <p>When do people take notice of what is happening in organisations? P.86</p> <p>When there is:</p> <p>High information load</p> <p>As load increases, people manage it by (According to Miller, 1978, Chapter 5):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Omission (ignoring a large portion of the information) 2. Greater tolerance for error 3. Queuing 4. Filtering 5. Abstracting 6. Multiple channels 7. Escape 8. Chunking <p>Quote</p> <p>‘Highlight portions of the residual (information that they do take on board) and heighten its impact on subsequent sensemaking’ (Weick 1995, p.87_</p>	<p>Thought</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What people say to answer this question will give me an indication of how they manage information load. ▪ Do people ignore it, just putting their head down? ▪ Does the size of the organisation matter? ▪ Smaller organisations have less time or people to do the work?
6.		Smith, 1988, p.1419	Thought

	<p>Making sense of challenges and opportunities</p> <p>What do you think are the problems in the organisation/sector at the moment?</p> <p>What do you think are the opportunities in the organisation/sector at the moment?</p> <p>Are you part of any activist groups outside/inside of work, on Twitter/Facebook or social media?</p>	<p>‘A problem is a relationship of disharmony between reality and the preferences and a relationship that has no physical existence. Rather, problems are conceptual entities that are constructed’</p> <p>‘Once something is labelled a problem, that is where the problem starts’ (Weick, 1984, p.48 in Weick, 1995, p. 90).</p>	<p>What are people framing as problems and opportunities?</p> <p>Do they see more problems than opportunities?</p>
7.	<p>Making sense of what is valued in current work</p> <p>What isn’t talked about any more that was talked about before?</p> <p>Why do you think that is?</p>	<p>Quote</p> <p>Weick talks about how, in sensemaking, the peripheral cues (what Snowden would call ‘weak signal indicators’) are important not just for the future as Snowden suggests but, also, to present action.</p> <p>‘As arousal increases and cues from the periphery (in these cases, community organisations) are neglected, people continue to pay attention to the central project (in this case, the core work of Tusla as laid down in BOBF). But if the cues in the periphery were crucial contextual cues for the centre, are there crucial cues in the comm. orgs? If so, then the loss of these peripheral cues may mean that the person doing the project gets better at performing something that now</p>	<p>Thought</p> <p>How peripheral cues may be valuable to understanding the value/no value of actions of the centre.</p>

		<p>makes no sense to continue performing.’ (Weick 1995, p.105)</p> <p>In discussions of sensemaking, scholars or organisations may not reach the issue of the mutual ties between language and character because they are so busy elsewhere trying to demonstrate the mutual ties between process and structure.</p> <p>Mutual ties between Language + Character not realised because discussions of Mutual ties between Process + Structure predominate.</p>	
8.	<p>Compliance or conviction: Making sense of action</p> <p>Do you implement the national policy because you agree with it or because you have to?</p> <p>Tell me more about this.</p> <p>How does that affect how you carry out your programmes?</p>	<p>Quote</p> <p>Moscovici (1980, in SIO 140)</p> <p>He argued that there are two kinds of social behaviour:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Compliance, which consists of public but not private acceptance of an influence attempt, and 2. Conversion, which consists of private acceptance that is not accompanied by public acceptance. <p>He further proposed that majorities exert influence through compliance and minorities exert influence through conversion</p> <p>Commitment</p>	<p>Thought</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This question can look at the meaning that people are making in relation to the implementation of policy directives. ▪ Why are they doing it? How do they rationalise this, are they compliant or converted? ▪ Helps build a picture of both the context and the meaning in the context ▪ Will participants try to justify the choices they make based on the commitment to those choices?

		<p>‘Expectations pave the way behaviourally to their own confirmation.’ P.156</p> <p>‘Actions pave the way cognitively to their own continuation.’ P.156</p> <p>Sensemaking as committing</p> <p>‘The basic idea is that people try hardest to build meaning around those actions to which their commitment is strongest.’ P.156</p> <p>Thought</p> <p>People take action</p> <p>The actions mean something to the people</p> <p>Build meaning around these actions</p> <p>Sensemaking is focused on the actions to which people are committed.</p> <p>Weick suggests that to make sense of the action people take, and the meaning people attribute to these actions, is to ask about other actions.</p> <p>This happens in the past.</p> <p>How the people justify the actions they HAVE TAKEN!</p> <p>Tell us about how they make sense of the actions they are taking.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Will that tell us about how they make sense?
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9.	<p>Responsiveness to the outside environment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. How has your organisation changed over the past five years? (What changed?) b. Why did you make these particular changes? (Why those changes?) c. Was it hard to make these changes? (Why?) d. What things didn't you change? e. Why didn't you change those things /or/ why did you keep those sections of the organisation and not the others? 	<p>Environmental determinism</p> <p>Environmental determinism is the study of how the physical environment predisposes societies toward particular developmental trajectories.</p> <p>Quote</p> <p>'Commitment slows adaptation if environmental determinism is high (Astley and Van Der Ven, 1983), but can hasten adaptation if determinism is low.' P.161</p> <p>'Adapt by weakening their commitment and changing their action.' P.161</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OR</p> <p>'Manipulate the change by reaffirming their commitment and strengthening their action.'</p> <p>'Weak commitment makes it easier for organisations to accommodate to their environment.' P.161</p> <p>'Strong commitment makes it easier for the environment to accommodate to the organisation.' P.161</p>	<p>Thought</p> <p>Do the responses to these questions reflect responsiveness to the external environment or something else?</p>
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a.	<p>Making sense of the intractability of the environment</p> <p>Were there other things you could have tried to keep that part of your service going/open?</p> <p>If so, why didn't you try them?</p>	<p>Quote</p> <p>Weick suggests that</p> <p>'commitment is a liability only if the environment is intractable (hard to control).'</p> <p>(Weick 1995, p.162)</p> <p>'Even that qualification (above quote) has its limits because the perception of intractability may itself create a self-fulfilling prophecy. Expectation of intractability reduces effort expenditure which confirms intractability and the necessity for reactive adaptation. People overlook the possibility that environments seem intractable only because they made no sustained effort to change them.' (Weick 1995, p.162)</p> <p>'Commitment becomes more or less of a liability depending on one's assumptions about environmental determinism.' P.162</p>	<p>May elicit information about the perception of the intractability of the environment and the response of the participant to that intractability.</p> <p>Thought</p> <p>What does that say about organisations which are in an environment which is determined to go in a particular direction?</p> <p>Does the organisation adapt to survive or stand with its principles and wither?</p>
10.	<p>Oppositional relationship</p> <p>Do you see yourself as in opposition to Tusla (even though you are working for them)?</p>	<p>Theory of 'discontinuous opposition' of (Levi-Strauss 1966, p.137)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Are the community sector and the state (Tusla) in opposition? ▪ Do they see themselves this way? ▪ If the community sector disappears, will it just be the government and the private sector remaining?

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distance between the government and the people Small Government/neo-liberalism
11.	Use Cynefin framework to see if organisations identify themselves as low discretion or at least lower discretion over time.	<p>Quote</p> <p>‘We need to know more about sensemaking under conditions of low discretion.’ P.176</p>	<p>Thought</p> <p>Low discretion</p> <p>Community organisations are now organisations of low discretion or at least funders and policymakers want to make them into such. This links with the Cynefin Framework which puts community multiservice delivery orgs in the low the ‘simple; box’. What is interesting is that the organisations’ actions do not put them here all the time, but funders only look at this part of the framework.</p>
12.	<p>Whom are participants making sense with?</p> <p>Who helps you make sense of what is going on?</p>		<p>Thought</p> <p>This could help me understand whom the person is making sense with.</p>

Final Interview Questions Compiled

Final Interview Questions

1.	What is your organisation and what does it do? What is your role?
2.	<p>How has your organisation changed over the past five years? (What Changed?)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Why did you make these particular changes? (Why those changes?)b. Was it hard to make these changes? (Why?)c. What things didn't you change?d. Why didn't you change those things /or/ why did you keep those sections of the organisation and not the others?e. Were there other things you could have tried to keep that part of your service going/open? <p>If so, why didn't you try them?</p>
3.	Can you tell me about your relationship with HSE over the years?
4.	How is the new working arrangement with Tusla different from the working arrangement with the HSE?
5.	How does what you do relate to what the government says you should do in policy documents, etc?
6.	<p>Do you implement the national policy because you agree with it or because you have to? Tell me more about this.</p> <p>How does that affect how you carry out your programmes?</p>
7.	There is a lot of information you need to know in your job: How do you manage all that?
8.	What do you think are the problems in the organisation/sector at the moment?
9.	What do you think are the opportunities in the organisation/sector at the moment?
10.	Are you part of any activist groups outside/inside of work, on Twitter/Facebook or social media?

11.	What isn't talked about any more that was talked about before? Why do you think that is?
12.	Do you see yourself as being in opposition to Tusla (even though you are working for them)?
13.	Who helps you make sense of what is going on?

14.	What do you know about commissioning?
15.	How do you think this will affect organisations like yours?

Appendix D

Hi _____,

Thank you very much for your help with this project. It is much appreciated.

Please find attached two documents:

1. Reflection Sheet
2. Transcript of the interview undertaken on Monday, 30th January, 2017.

Please note the following instructions in relation to these documents:

1. Please answer the first question on the reflection sheet **first**.
2. Then read the transcript.
3. Then answer the second question on the reflection sheet.

This should not take more than 10-15 minutes.

If there is any text that you wish to be redacted from the transcript, please highlight in red and I will remove it permanently from the record.

Looking forward to seeing your reflections on the interview.

Regards and thanks (a million),

Niamh.

Appendix E

Interview Transcripts

Appendix F

Code Development

Appendix F

1st February, 2017

Dear _____,

Re: Participation in research entitled, 'Flux: An exploration of worker and organisational experiences of the creation of The Child and Family Agency'

I would like to thank you for taking the time to engage with this piece of research. I am very grateful to you for sharing your knowledge and time with me as I explore this subject.

This research will explore your experiences as a person affected by the changes introduced following the creation of The Child and Family Agency. The research will focus on your experiences of these changes. It will ask you about the sense you are making of these changes.

Interview

The research will be a one-hour-long interview to explore your experiences. There will be a set of questions which will guide the interview but, as I am most interested in hearing your experiences, we may deviate depending on what is important to you.

This study will involve participants from The Child and Family Agency, The Health Service Executive and Community Organisations. The raw data collected in this study will not be shared with any other person or organisation without prior consent. The completed study will be submitted to the Department of Education in Dublin City University in part fulfilment of the Professional Doctorate in Education Leadership. The data collected in this process will be stored on an encrypted computer, and all data will held/destroyed in accordance with freedom of information and data protection guidelines. As a respondent, you are free to remove yourself from this research project at any stage in the process.

Member Checking

Prior to the interview, the transcript will be made available to you for consideration. The data within this interview will not be used until you have read the transcript and returned an email stating that you are willing to allow the interview data to be used. This additional step will allow time for you to consider what you have said and request redactions or removal of data.

Confidentiality

To ensure confidentiality, all your information will receive a unique identifying code. Once this has taken place, your name and the name of your organisation and geographical location will not be used. Any potentially identifying details will not be used as data in this research project and will be redacted from the interview scripts.

Please type your name below to indicate that you are happy to proceed. This document can be signed in person at the interview stage of the process.

Name: _____

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Yours Sincerely,

Niamh Sheridan, B.A., H. Dip. (Community Work), M.Sc. (Management), M.A. (Social Studies), Doctoral Candidate D.C.

Appendix H

Respondent x

Reflections on the interview of xxx

Before reading the transcript

After the interview, did you have any thoughts on what was asked or what you said?

After reading the transcript

Having read the interview transcript, do you have any thoughts on what you are read?

Appendix I

Hello xxx

Thank you very much for your help with this project. It is much appreciated.

Please find attached two documents:

1. Reflection Sheet
2. Transcript of the interview undertaken on the xxx

Please follow the following instructions in relation to these document;

1. Please answer the first question on the reflection sheet **first**
2. Then read the transcript
3. Then answer the second question on the reflection sheet.

This should not take more than **10-15 minutes**

If there is any information you wish redacted from the transcript highlight in red and I will remove them permanently from the record. If you wish to remove the interview from the study please let me know.

Looking forward to seeing your reflections on the interview.

Regards and thanks,
Niamh