



Policy tsars: here to stay but more transparency needed

Final report

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Corrections

Para 105 third bullet point should read: Professor John Hills commissioned work from several universities for the National Equality Panel.

Annex 1.1 page 74 Lord Wasserman's role should read: Policing adviser.

Annex 4: includes individuals consulted for advice or information.

Abbreviations

AG	Auditor General
BIS	Department for Business, Industry and Skills
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CO	Cabinet Office
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DECC	Department of Energy and Climate Change
DEFRA	Department for Food, Agriculture and Rural Affairs
DfE	Department for Education
DfID	Department for International Development
DH	Department of Health
DTP	Department for Transport
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
HMT	Her Majesty's Treasury
HO	Home Office
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
MP	Member of Parliament
MSP	Member of the Scottish Parliament
NDPB	Non departmental public body
NGO	Non governmental organisation
OCPA	Office of the Commissioner for Public Appointments
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
PASC	Public Administration Select Committee
PM	Prime Minister's office
PQ	Parliamentary question
TU	Trade union

Main findings

From our analysis of the 260 plus tsar appointments made since 1997, we have reached 11 principal conclusions:

1. Tsars have become a major source of external expertise that Whitehall ministers draw upon. Their influence has grown progressively more significant over the last 15 years. Our research reveals for the first time the scale and scope of their work. Tsars, along with ministers, officials and special advisers, are firmly part of the architecture of Whitehall policy making.
2. The role and achievements of tsars remain largely unrecognised. This is at odds with the Coalition government's stated commitment to 'open policy making.'
3. Tsars are only one source of external expertise available to ministers. Others include special advisers, expert committees, consultants and researchers, public inquiries, consultations and informal exchanges. Appointing tsars can provide advantages over some of these, which are attractive to ministers: handpicking the expert, trust, authoritative advice, speed of turnaround, low cost, a direct relationship.
4. Tsars are public appointments made by ministers. Yet their appointment is not presently overseen by either the Commissioner for Public Appointments or the Cabinet Office; both seem to regard tsars as too trivial for such regulation. Nor do departments have a central record of tsars or offer any guidance on making tsar appointments or working with tsars. This latter is not the case with most of the other sources of external expertise.
5. Ministers have sometimes used tsar appointments for more overtly political reasons: in inter-departmental battles, or when attempting to forge cross-party consensus, to enhance public relations, or as political patronage.
6. Ministers know of or about individual tsars before appointment. Tsars are drawn from a relatively narrow circle, mostly from business and public service. They are not at all diverse.
7. Tsars' expertise varies: some are specialists in the field in which they advise, others are generalists relying on their managerial experience and knowledge to bring an 'open mind' to the topic; others are already known advocates for a particular course of action.
8. Ministers grant tsars much independence in how they undertake their remit: they trust them.
9. Tsar practices vary, even within one department. This includes recruitment, terms of reference, publicity, remuneration, staff support, oversight, working methods, reporting and any ministerial responses to their advice. There is no evidence of the full application of the Nolan Principles of Standards in Public Life to tsars. Transparency about the work of tsars is patchy.

10. The majority of the 260 plus tsars have made useful contributions, producing well-informed advice that has often led to changes in policy, practices or organisations. A minority of tsar appointments has resulted in work that was superficial and lacking objectivity or has produced no public output.
11. There is no accumulation of experience in Whitehall in the use of tsars. Most tsars serve only once, there is no cadre of officials developing expertise in supporting them. Tsars' work is not evaluated post hoc. Nothing systematic about good practice with tsar appointments has been learned from 15 years' experience.

Recommendations

Tsars are clearly here to stay. Their usefulness and effectiveness as advisors to government could and should be enhanced. It would be disproportionate to adopt a full regulatory regime to govern the appointment and management of tsars comparable to those used for other types of public appointment. A code of practice, such as those already adopted for other sources of external expertise, is more appropriate and practical. A code of practice together with greater transparency by ministers and departments about the appointment, management, activities and reporting of tsars, should be the stimulus to improvement. To this end we offer four maxims.

Maxim 1: Ensure that a tsar appointment is the most appropriate source of expert advice.

- Appointing a tsar is one of several options a minister has for obtaining expert advice on a policy matter. Officials should consider and advise when a tsar appointment will be more useful than other sources of expert advice.
- The personal attributes required of a tsar for a particular appointment should be identified, in particular, career background, expertise and reputation.
- The shortlist of candidates should be diverse in terms of age, gender, and ethnicity, and not just consist of known contacts.
- Potential tsars should be vetted for possible conflicts of interest or doubts about their objectivity.

Maxim 2: Make a 'contract' between the client and the tsar.

- The terms of a tsar's appointment should be subject to negotiation between the minister and the prospective tsar, in full accordance with the Nolan Principles of Standards in Public Life.
- Before deciding whether to accept the invitation, prospective tsars should be encouraged to talk to previous tsars who worked for that minister or department or on relevant remits elsewhere.
- The form of analytical, advisory and administrative support most appropriate for the tsar's specific task and remit should be considered.
- The appointment should be formalised in a written exchange between the minister and the tsar which specifies the terms of reference, timescale,

remuneration, budget, staff support, approach and methods, publicity and reporting.

Maxim 3: Ensure transparency regarding the appointment of the tsar, the outputs of the tsar's work and the minister's responses to the outputs.

- Departments should always issue a press notice when tsars are appointed stating the terms of reference, timetable and reporting arrangements. The same information should also be communicated to the Chair of the relevant select committee.
- Unless there are constraints of confidentiality or security, the tsar's work programme and reports should be published. A dedicated website or web pages on the departmental website is often suitable .
- Departments' Annual Reports should always provide details of the appointment, activities, progress and reporting of the work of all their tsars in that year.
- All tsar appointments should conclude with a published report, to which the minister should make a prompt, public and full response.
- Select committees should consider, in relation to each tsar appointment, whether they wish to initiate an inquiry.

Maxim 4: Identify and promulgate good practice in the recruitment, conduct and management of tsars.

- A senior civil servant in each department should have overall responsibility for issuing internal guidelines for tsar appointments and for providing practical guidance to ministers and colleagues.
- Departments should assess the procedures, activities, outcomes and impacts of each tsar appointment close to completion, and document lessons learned.
- Periodically (perhaps every three years) departments should evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of their previous tsar appointments in that period; their conclusions on best practice should be shared across departments.
- The Cabinet Office should draw upon these departmental assessments in drafting a Code of Practice for tsar appointments.
- The Public Accounts Committee should consider the value for money of tsar appointments as a source of expert advice.

* * * * *

1. Introduction

1. Ministers have long sought advice from people outside the civil service. The names Beveridge, Beeching and Rayner are familiar examples. In his 1989 book on Whitehall, Peter Hennessy observed:

Whitehall's regulars [meaning ministers and civil servants] have long realised that they cannot make policy entirely on their own. For nine hundred years, beginning long before the first English Parliament was summoned, the permanent government has mustered and kept in reserve a territorial army ready to answer its country's call. They have a generic term – the Great and the Good – from the unofficial title of the Whitehall list (now a set of computer discs) on which their names are kept.¹

Although the term 'the Great and the Good', and probably the list itself, have long passed away, the custom of ministers seeking expert advice from outside Whitehall continues in many forms, including expert committees, research and consultancy, professional advice, public consultations, conferences and seminars. Ministers and senior civil servants also continue to seek private advice from trusted acquaintances.

2. Our research concerns a particular type of external advisor: policy tsars. They have grown in importance over the last 15 years but without much recognition of their new scale and scope either within Whitehall or among Whitehall watchers outside. Their rise in importance has occurred in parallel with that of ministers' special advisers, yet the latter have commanded almost all the attention.

3. We define a tsar as:

an individual from outside government (though not necessarily from outside politics) who is publicly appointed by a government minister to advise on policy development or delivery on the basis of their expertise.

For clarity of meaning we unpack this definition as follows:

- '*an individual*' – tsars are personally appointed and it is clear to them that their advice will be personal too; in our view this applies equally when tsars have advisors appointed to work them, who may or may not endorse their conclusions.
- '*from outside government*' – they are 'external experts' in the words of the Coalition government's pursuit of 'open policy making.' (see para 10ff below).
- '*(though not necessarily from outside politics)*' – quite a few serving or ex MPs or ex ministers have been appointed tsars.
- '*publicly appointed by a government minister*' – that is, these are public appointments.
- '*to advise on policy development or delivery*' – tsars (unlike their Russian predecessors) have no executive authority and most of them dislike this media term for that reason; nevertheless we use the term as a pragmatic shorthand for our definition.

¹ Peter Hennessy, Whitehall, London, Secker and Warburg, 1989, p 540.

- 'on the basis of their expertise.' – the nature of that expertise varies greatly but it is essential to the tsar's authority.
4. Between May 1997 (the start of the first of three recent consecutive Labour administrations to 2010) and the end of July 2012 we estimate that over 260 such appointments were made by Whitehall ministers.² In October 1997 the Prime Minister appointed Keith Hellawell, the Chief Constable of Yorkshire, as the government's Anti-Drugs Co-ordinator and he became known in the media as the 'drugs tsar.' This launched the concept of the policy tsar in the UK and similar appointments followed.³ In the Box below we provide three vignettes illustrating the work of tsars.

BOX 1 Three vignettes of tsars' work

1. Richard Caborn MP: Ambassador for the 2018 World Cup bid

Richard Caborn (b 1943, Sheffield) trained as an engineer and worked in a large local steel firm. He became Labour MEP for Sheffield (1979-84) before being elected Labour MP for Sheffield Central (1983-2010). He was appointed Minister of State in the Department of the Environment (1997-1990), then in the Department of Trade and Industry (1999-2001). He was appointed Minister for Sport in the Department for Culture, Media and Sport in 2001 where, from 2003 to 2005, he was involved in London's successful bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games.

Caborn was in post in DCMS when the government announced in February 2007 its support for a Football Association bid to host the 2018 World Cup. When Gordon Brown succeeded Tony Blair as Prime Minister in June 2007, he replaced Caborn with Gerry Sutcliffe, and asked Caborn to be 'Ambassador for the 2018 World Cup bid'. In September that year Caborn announced that he would stand down as an MP at the next election. His job as Ambassador was to oversee the appointment of the bid team, to liaise between ministers and the Football Association and to lobby the world football governing body FIFA who would award the 2018 World Cup. There is no evidence in the public domain about his work as the Ambassador; nor is it known whether he was paid. He alone was listed as an 'Observer' on the World Cup bid Board.

Preparation of the UK bid generated a great deal of controversy and criticism involving several interested individuals and organisations. The UK bid was submitted in March 2009. Allegations of bribery were made about some members of FIFA's executive committee. In December 2010 FIFA awarded the 2018 World Cup to Russia; the UK bid had attracted two of the 22 votes and was eliminated from the second voting round.

² We aware that similar appointments have been made in the devolved administrations, in local and public authorities, in quangos, in the European Union and by foreign governments. But we have not researched these.

³ The title 'tsar' derives from Caesar, which was given to all Roman emperors from Augustus to Hadrian. It is 'the root of both the German Kaiser and the Russian Tsar, used in the USA for a boss since the mid 19th century, and an officially appointed person in charge of something since the mid 20th c.' Julia Cresswell, 'Caesar', Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, 2009. Keith Hellawell's appointment followed appointments of advisors on drugs policy by US presidents (the preferred US spelling is 'czar') and the term adopted there was picked up in the UK.

2. Gerry Grimstone: Reviewer of the use of civilians in defence

Gerry Grimstone was 60 in December 2009, when he was appointed by Bob Ainsworth, the Labour Secretary of State for Defence, as the reviewer of the use of civilians in defence. He had been a civil servant in the Department of Health and Social Security from 1972 to 1982 and HM Treasury from 1982 to 1986. He then moved to the financial services sector, from 1986 to 1999 at Schroeders, followed by Candover Investments (1999-2011) and is now Chairman of Standard Life. He has held several non-executive directorships in business and public bodies, including the Tote and MOD's Strike Command Board. His review was timed to be an input to the Labour government's forthcoming Strategic Defence Review.

Grimstone's remit was to focus on the distribution of tasks between military and civilian personnel and the scope for further reductions in the number of civilians. He was specifically not to explore some related topics which were being examined separately but to coordinate his work closely with them. He was given a team of MOD officials to work with him and a senior MOD official was his departmental liaison. He was unpaid. He produced an Interim Report after three months in March 2010 and a Final Report in June 2010. In the event the May general election intervened and his report was submitted to Liam Fox, the new Secretary of State for Defence. Both reports were published by MoD.

Grimstone's recommendations for civilian manpower reductions and the creation of a new Defence Business Services Organisation to provide corporate services to the department were adopted, with acknowledgement to the Grimstone review, in the Coalition government's October 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review. By then Grimstone himself had been appointed a member of the new Defence Reform Unit, launched in September 2010, to 'develop a "leaner and less centralised" department and make "significant savings" in running costs.' He is also lead Non-executive Director on MOD's Board of Management.

3. Baroness Helen Newlove, Champion for active, safer communities

Helen Newlove's husband was murdered in Warrington in August 2007 after confronting a gang of drunken youths who were vandalising her car. After his death she started campaigning against binge drinking. In 2008 she set up the Newlove Warrington Foundation aiming to make the town a safer and better place to live. Her work attracted national publicity and in the 2010 Dissolution Honours she was given a peerage, and took her seat in the House of Lords in July 2010 as a Conservative.

In October that year Home Secretary Theresa May appointed her as the government's 'Champion for active, safer communities' to encourage (in the words of the Home Office press release) the 'active part people can play, alongside the frontline, in tackling the problems that matter most in their neighbourhoods'; clearly part of David Cameron's Big Society agenda. In this role she embarked on visits and discussions around England and Wales, with a particular focus on seven neighbourhoods, recording her experiences on a personal blog. She presumably had a team of assistants, though there is no record of this. The Home Office paid her a fee of £20,000 for three days a week for six months, plus almost £12,000 for travel and accommodation expenses.

The outcome was a 60 page report *Our vision for safe and active communities* published by the Home Office in March 2011. She described it as 'not a typical Government report. It is written for activists by an activist.' She reported her findings, including case studies of community initiatives in the seven neighbourhoods, and made recommendations for action by communities, local agencies and central government. Thereafter, Newlove's departmental client became the Department for Communities and Local Government. In July 2011 DCLG published her *Government Progress Update* (with a Foreword by the Prime Minister) which also set out her next priorities. Her third report *Building Safe, Active Communities: Strong foundations by local people* was published in February 2012. Her appointment ended in March 2012. Newlove has continued to campaign; she is Chair

of the All Party Parliamentary Group for victims and witnesses of crime and Chair of the Advisory Board of Community Alcohol Partnerships.

5. Tsars always report to and are appointed by ministers. Technically, tsars hold public office and are not employees of the government. This makes them public appointments according to the definition in the Cabinet Manual:

A public appointment is an appointment to the board of a public body or to an office...Public appointees of this kind are not employees but office-holders. Most public appointments are made by ministers.⁴ ...Ministers re ultimately responsible for the appointments they make and will have involvement in some way in the process...and will make the final decision on which candidate to appoint.⁵

Research question

6. Our research question was: **How do the development of policy and practice by governments benefit from Whitehall's use of Tsars?**

To answer this we sought to find out what appointments have been made, how tsars are recruited, from which backgrounds they come, how they work and what support they have, what outputs they produce and what outcomes and impacts follow.

7. Several other sources of **external** expertise are available to ministers in Whitehall departments. The most important, aside from tsars, are:
- expert committees or panels, appointed by government or created independently
 - public inquiries
 - professional advice commissioned, for example, from a lawyer or economist
 - reports and briefings from think tanks and research centres
 - government agencies and NDPBs with specialist expertise on their field
 - researchers or consultants commissioned by departments
 - lobbying by NGOs, professional, business and trade organisations
 - conferences and seminars, convened by government (sometimes called summits) or independently
 - audits, inspections and scrutinies, such as the work of the National Audit Office, Ofsted or HM Inspector of Prisons
 - responses to government consultations
 - informal conversations with experts, by ministers or officials.
8. In addition, ministers have access to **internal** sources of expertise: from civil servants who include economists, statisticians, social researchers, lawyers, armed service officers, clinicians, scientists, policy units, delivery units and special advisers.

⁴ Cabinet Office, The Cabinet Manual, 2011, para 7.18.

⁵ *ibid.*, para 7.20.

9. Throughout our research we have sought to identify what tsars, as expert advisors, offer to ministers that differs from these other sources of external and internal advice. In previous research we explored the experience of experts, people who had come to work in Whitehall departments from outside of government.⁶ We identified twelve routes by which outsiders could contribute to the work of Whitehall, of which tsar appointments were one. Tsar appointments have grown in scale and scope since this initial research was completed. This study focuses specifically on tsars and looks in greater depth at the nature of the expertise they bring and the benefits of their work.

The context of 'open policy making'

10. The use of these various kinds of internal and external expertise was given a new impetus by the Coalition government's Civil Service Reform Plan (June 2012). It favours what it terms 'open policymaking' and promotes greater outsourcing of policy advice as a step towards that:

Whitehall has a virtual monopoly on policy development, which means that policy is often drawn up on the basis of too narrow a range of inputs and is not subject to external challenge prior to announcement....the need to maintain a safe space for policy advice should not be used to prevent the maximum possible openness to new thinking or in the gathering of evidence and insight from external experts.⁷

11. David Cameron, appearing before the House of Commons Liaison Committee on 3 July 2012, expressed this from a ministerial perspective:

We should also recognise that the civil service does not have a monopoly on policy wisdom, so we have what we call policy contestability. On some occasions, we should go outside the civil service and say, 'Here's a particular challenge' – for example setting up the green investment bank – 'Can you help us O think-tank or O academic body, in developing this policy?'⁸

12. Strangely, these statements, and the text of the Civil Service Reform Plan itself, do not acknowledge the now longstanding role of tsars in the desired 'outsourcing' of policy advice. Cameron himself has appointed many tsars since 2010, including Sir Ronald Cohen and Nick O' Donohoe in 2011 to develop a proposal for a Big Society Bank to invest in social enterprises, an initiative not that dissimilar to the imaginary 'green investment bank' in the Prime Minister's statement. Francis Maude MP, the Cabinet Office minister responsible for civil service reform, issued a press notice on 1 August 2012 announcing that he was commissioning a project to supply advice on the structure and operation of government in other countries as part of the Reform Plan. He said:

⁶ Ruth Levitt and William Solesbury, 'Outsiders in Whitehall', *Public Money and Management*, 2006, 26/1, pp 10-12. See also Ruth Levitt and William Solesbury, *Evidence-informed policy: what difference do outsiders in Whitehall make?*, ESRC UK Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice, 2005, Working Paper 23; www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/departments/politiceconomy/research/cep/pubs/papers/assets/wp23.pdf.

⁷ HM Government, *The Civil Service Reform Plan*, June 2012, p 14.

⁸ House of Commons Liaison Committee, *Oral evidence from the Prime Minister*, 3 July 2012, Q60, Session 2012-13, to be published as HC 484-i.

For the first time ever [our emphasis] ministers are directly commissioning policy advice from outside Whitehall moving towards our goal of opening up policy making.⁹

The claim in August 2012 that outside experts are being used 'for the first time ever' indicates that the 260 plus ministerial appointments of tsars as outside experts over the last 15 years remain invisible.

Sources and research methods

13. There is no readily available single source listing all tsar appointments. Each department has discretion over what information they publish about their tsars; the Cabinet Office and No 10 do not hold or maintain information about tsars across departments. There has been almost no previous research or consultancy specifically on tsars. Research on the broader issue of the relationship between expertise and policy is also relatively sparse, most of it focused on (natural) scientific knowledge and policy. Some references to relevant research are included in footnotes.
14. The main steps in our research were as follows:
 - **List:** Create a list all tsar appointments as defined in para 5 above made between 1 May 1997 (the start of the first Labour administration) and 31 July 2012 (our cut-off point for our empirical research). We used departmental, parliamentary and other bodies' documents and websites, print and broadcast media and other sources to find details. The list in Annex 1.1 is not definitive although we are confident that it includes almost all the tsar appointments made in the period.
 - **Profile:** For each tsar we constructed a summary profile (see Annex 2.1) using public domain information, where available, to record their official title, start and end dates, client department, appointing minister, professional background and expertise, payment, reporting and outcomes, gender, age and ethnicity. For about half of the whole list we also recorded fuller information (see Annex 2.2) on each of those elements, adding details of the type of remit, scope of work, the tsar's working methods, assistance and subsequent roles.¹⁰ We developed working definitions for each of these characteristics in the interest of clarity and consistency.
 - **FOI:** For some tsars there was little or nothing in the public domain about some characteristics. This was frequently the case for remuneration and quite often true for reporting and outcomes of certain types of remit. We initiated Freedom of Information requests to seek such information on these two matters for a small sample of tsars, only some of which yielded results (see Annexes 3.1 and 3.2).
 - **Donors:** We searched the Electoral Commission's register of political donations for the tsars, particularly for those with business backgrounds.

⁹ Cabinet Office, Looking abroad for next steps in Civil Service Reform Programme, Press Notice CAB 073-12, 11 August 2012.

¹⁰ We are grateful for valuable assistance from six postgraduate students in the Department of Political Economy at King's College London in 2011-12, who chose our project for a work placement as part of their MA in Public Policy; see Acknowledgements.

- **Biographies:** We searched biographies and autobiographies of several leading politicians and books by journalists published during the last ten years for references to individual prominent tsars.
- **Print and online news items:** We found media reports for about 20 of the Labour appointments and about 50 of the Coalition appointments.
- **Parliament:** With the help of the House of Commons Library's database we were also able to check parliamentary references (in ministerial statements, parliamentary questions and select committee inquiries) for a 25% sample of tsars.
- **Quantitative analysis:** Data in the profiles was used to measure the frequency of key characteristics among our population of tsars and identify key associations between characteristics: we looked particularly at whether the appointments of tsars with similar career backgrounds and/or expertises correlated to other factors.
- **Previous research:** We reviewed existing research on public policy that could help us understand and interpret the data. In particular we explored two issues. First, what existing theoretical and empirical research reveals about Whitehall policy making processes. Second, we sought to understand the role of expert knowledge or evidence in such processes. We refer to relevant publications in the text and footnotes below.
- **Hypotheses:** Arising from the empirical data we devised some hypotheses that might help answer our research question. The hypotheses concerned the motives of ministers in appointing tsars, the motives of those who accept such appointments, how tsars come to be selected, and how their remits come to be defined. In addition, they sought to understand how their work is supported and overseen by departments, why certain working methods are chosen, when reports of their work do or do not get submitted, and why some tsar appointments have successful outcomes in changes to policy or practice while others do not.
- **Interviews:** We tested the hypotheses in interviews with tsars and others. The interview sample included tsars with different remits, different professional backgrounds, and those appointed by Labour and Coalition ministers. We interviewed 16 tsars, mostly face to face, and 24 of the colleagues, ministers and officials with whom they worked by phone. The interviews revealed more about what motivated the tsars to accept appointment, the nature of their relations with ministers and officials, their dis/satisfaction with the experience and its results. Interviews with colleagues, ministers and officials provided contrasting perspective on such issues. Annex 4 lists our interviewees.
- **Discussions:** We discussed work in progress with 'Whitehall watchers', academics, researchers, commentators, individuals and organisations interested in policy processes to get their views on the significance of what we were discovering about the role of tsars over the last 15 years. They are also listed in Annex 4. With the same objective we presented a paper on the research at the Policy and Politics conference 2012 in Bristol on 18 September 2012.
- **Writings and broadcasts:** From the outset of the research we aimed to communicate work in progress to a wide range of people and organisations.

We have written articles published in the professional and general media and contributed to features on radio and television and the press. We are presenting the work at several seminars and workshops in the coming months (see Annex 5).

2 The rise of tsar appointments 1997-2012

The number of tsars

15. Whitehall maintains no records of tsar appointments. From public sources have identified all tsar appointments made by Whitehall ministers between May 1997 and July 2012 (Table 1). In that period 225 people undertook 267 appointments; they are listed in Annex 1.1 Nearly three quarters of the appointees (197 or 74%) served as a tsar only once. The remaining one quarter (70 or 26%) of appointments, were what we termed 'serial tsars', each being appointed between two and five times (Table 2 and Table 3); they are listed in Annex 1.2. The current record holders, with five appointments each, are:
- Lord Carter of Coles, founder of Westminster Healthcare in 1985, subsequently director of public and private companies in the fields of insurance, healthcare and IT, a Labour peer since 1994, Chairman of Sport England 2001-06 undertook reviews of Offender management (2002),¹¹ the Criminal Records Bureau (2003), Public diplomacy (2004), legal aid procurement (2005) and NHS Pathology services (2005).
 - Professor Martin Cave, an academic specialist in regulatory economics and currently Deputy Chair of the Competition Commission, undertook reviews of radio spectrum management (2001), spectrum holdings (2004), social housing regulation (2006), competition in water markets (2008) and airport regulation (2008) as well as acting as an adviser to other tsars on their reviews.
16. Ten appointments (4%) were made to pairs of individuals (only the first name is counted for the purposes of this analysis); they are listed in Annex 1.3.

100%	267	total appointments
74%	197	appointee's only appointment
26%	70	appointee had 2-5 appointments

Table 1 Tsars: appointments

100%	225	total individuals
88%	197	1 appointment
12%	28	multiple appointments

Table 2 Tsars: individuals

100%	28	multiple appointments
71%	20	two appointments
14%	4	three appointments

¹¹ Here and throughout the date is the start date of the tsar's appointment.

7%	2	four appointments
7%	2	five appointments

Table 3 Tsars: multiple appointments

17. We excluded three categories of public appointments made by ministers between 1997 and 2012, which have some similarities to tsar appointments as we define them (para 3) and are sometimes called tsars. We excluded them because these appointees served for longer terms and were appointed to more established positions than most tsar appointments. Together they comprise another approximately 110 individuals in the following three categories:
- National Clinical Directors in the Department of Health, popularly called 'cancer tsar' (Professor Sir Mike Richards), 'mental health tsar' (Dr Hugh Griffith) and so on. They are leading health and social care practitioners employed as civil servants to 'oversee the implementation of a National Service Framework', in other words to advise and promote policy and practice in their specialism. Most of them are appointed to serve for a number of years, unlike the temporary one-off nature of tsars' assignments. At least 27 such appointments have been made, some are part-time, some are seconded to the Department.¹²
 - Business Ambassadors, appointed by UKTI (UK Trade and Investment) which is a joint non-ministerial Government Department of the Departments for Business, Innovation and Skills and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office. Business Ambassadors are individuals in the business and academic worlds engaged to promote the UK's '...excellence, economy, business environment and its reputation as the international trade and inward investment partner of choice' on trade and diplomatic missions, at conferences and other events. Most of them combine this with their own personal or business travel. There are about 30 of them.¹³
 - Non-executive directors, appointed by ministers to boards of government departments and other public bodies, have standing appointments and serve a term as board members, though they may sometimes be asked by a minister or permanent secretary to undertake specific tasks; a recent example is Sam Laidlaw, Centrica CEO and member of the DTP Board, undertaking a review of the withdrawn decision on the West Coast rail franchise. There are currently 55 such appointments.¹⁴

The rising trend in appointing tsars

18. Tsar appointments have risen steadily with each of the four governments considered. The first Labour administration (1997-2001) made 14 appointments. The second Labour administration (2001-05) tripled that

¹² Professor Martin Smith has written about these appointments in Martin J Smith, 'Tsars, leadership and innovation in the public sector', *Policy and Politics*, 39/3, 2011, 343-359.

¹³ UKTI Annual Report and Accounts, 2011-12, June 2012, HC 47.

¹⁴ Out of sixteen departments, one has two NEDs (DfID), five have three (BIS DCMS DECC FCO MOD), eight have four (CO DES DCLG, MOJ DTp HO DEFRA HMT), two have five (DH DWP) <https://update.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/sites/default/files/resources/non-executive-directors-NEDs-march2012.pdf>.

number, appointing 45, and the third (2005-10) tripled it again to 130. By July 2012 the Coalition administration had made 93 appointments. Recognising the different durations of these governments, we have calculated annual rates. Table 4 and Figure 1 below show this reveals a strong rising trend.

Government	Duration of govt	No of appointments	Rate pa
Total	182 months	282*	19
Labour 1997-2001	49 months	14	3
Labour 2001-2005	47 months	45	11
Labour 2005-2010	60 months	130	26
Coalition 2010-2012	26 months	93	43

Table 4 Rate of tsar appointments 1997-2012

**(total exceeds 267 because Coalition renewed some Labour appointments)*

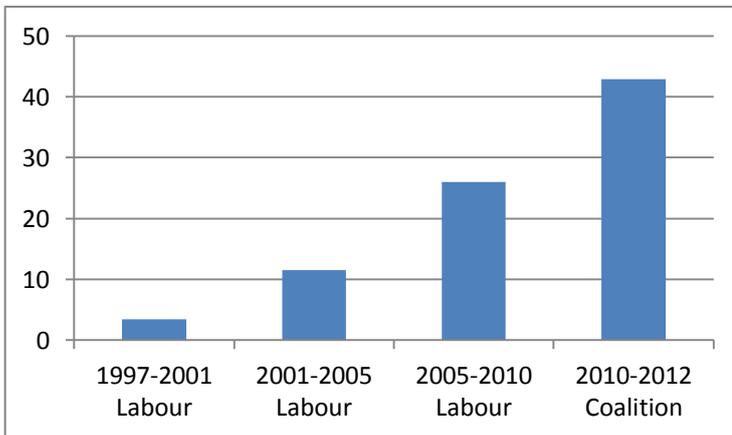


Figure 1 Annual rate of tsar appointments 1997-2012

19. This rising trend of appointments has held true in favourable and in difficult economic conditions, during periods of acute political tension at home and abroad (e.g. the Iraq war, MPs' expenses scandal) and notwithstanding ministerial reshuffles, the prime ministerial change from Blair to Brown in 2007 and three general elections. Ministers of different political complexions find tsar appointments an increasingly attractive method for obtaining expert advice, perhaps preferring it to internal expertise of officials or the other more traditional forms of external expertise (e.g. from advisory committees or consultancy or commissioned research). Outsourcing policy advice is certainly not as novel as the Civil Service Reform Plan of 2012 implies.

3 Which ministers appointed the tsars?

Frequency of tsar appointments

20. Since 1997 seventy seven ministers have appointed tsars, although some used tsars far more than others. About half have just appointed one, the other half have made multiple appointments (Table 5).

100%	77	ministers appointed tsars
53%	41	ministers made multiple appointments
47%	36	ministers made single appointments (counting lead minister only)
10%	27	appointments were made by two or more ministers

Table 5 Number of ministers appointing tsars

21. Table 6 lists the numbers of tsar appointments made by individual ministers who held office at some time between 1997 and 2012. The largest number of tsar appointments was made by Gordon Brown, as Chancellor of the Exchequer for 10 years (23 appointments) and Prime Minister for three years (another 23 appointments); followed by David Cameron as Prime Minister in the two years to mid 2012 (21 appointments). Other ministers made 11 or fewer appointments each during their tenure, in one or more departments.

100%	267	Total appointments
17%	46	Brown (23 as Chancellor, 23 as Prime Minister)
8%	21	Cameron
25%	67	Brown + Cameron
4%	11	Balls, Darling, Gove
4%	10	Kelly
	7	Adonis, Straw
	6	Johnson
	5	Blair, Burnham, Cable, Hutton, Mandelson, May, Smith
	4	Blunkett, Clarke, Hewitt, Maude
	3	Beckett, Benn, Denham, Hague, Osborne, Teather
	2	14 other ministers

Table 6 Ministers who appointed tsars

22. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown mostly appointed tsars to undertake 'independent reviews' timed to feed in to decisions reflected in the budget and Spending Reviews. These appointments also illustrate the role he adopted in relation to domestic policy, asserting his authority to shape decisions in areas where lead responsibility belonged to other ministers (though ministers from those departments were often billed as

co-appointers). This was reportedly based on the 'Granita deal'.¹⁵ Examples include the appointments of:

- Derek Wanless to report on population health (2003)
- Kate Barker to review housing supply (2003) and the land use planning system (2005)
- Sir Michael Lyons to review local government finance (2004)
- Lord Leitch to review the UK's long term skill needs (2004).

23. Peter Riddell commented in 2005:

Brown has been very fond of commissioning reviews by businessmen to look at problems. Every Budget and pre-Budget report has either launched some new reviews or reported the results of two or three existing ones. We have had, amongst many others, Atkinson (measuring public sector productivity), Barker (housing supply), Clementi (regulation of legal services), Cruickshank (competition in banking), Gershon (efficiency savings in government), Hampton (the burden on business of regulatory inspection and enforcement), Higgs (the role of non-executive directors), Lambert (university organisation and business links), Lyons (local government finance), Miles (the factors limiting the development of a fixed-rate mortgage market in Britain), Pickering (simplification of pensions legislation and regulation), Sandler (long-term retail savings), Taylor (interaction of the tax and benefit system), Turner (adequacy of future pension provision), and Wanless (funding of the NHS). The list would make a wonderful Gilbert and Sullivan patter song. Brown cites these reports to justify changes he is introducing. However, impressive though most of these reports have been in their analyses, the record of implementation has been patchy.¹⁶

This practice continued with Chancellors Alastair Darling and George Osborne.

24. As Prime Ministers Brown and Cameron have both been strong commissioners of tsars, even though Prime Ministers are not responsible for designing policies in many specific areas. Blair, Brown and Cameron together appointed 49 tsars (nearly 20% of all the tsar appointments), often in association with other ministers, whose departments managed the detailed arrangements. A Prime Minister's imprimatur on an appointment elevates the attention given to and the significance of the appointment in three ways: it provides an added impetus to a particular policy issue, perhaps when a Prime Minister wants to urge a minister to do more; it gives the tsar higher level political support; and it generates greater publicity. Examples include:

- Tony Blair's appointment of Louise Casey as Homelessness Tsar (1999)
- Gordon Brown's appointment (2009) and David Cameron's confirmation (2010) of Martha Lane Fox as Digital Champion

¹⁵ The 'Granita deal' (named after the Islington restaurant where it was struck) refers to an agreement between Blair and Brown, after the death of John Smith as Labour Party leader, whereby Brown stepped back from seeking election as leader in return for an assurance that, should Labour come to power, he would as Chancellor of the Exchequer have a degree of overlordship of domestic policy.

¹⁶ Peter Riddell, *The Unfulfilled Prime Minister: Tony Blair's quest for a legacy*, London, Politico's, 2005, p 80.

- Gordon Brown's appointment of Dame Stephanie Shirley as Giving and Philanthropy Ambassador (2009)
- David Cameron's and Nick Clegg's appointment of Mary Portas to review the future for high street shopping (2011).

Some of these Prime Ministerial appointments prompted tensions with ministerial colleagues. Two well-documented cases were Blair's choice of Adair Turner to review pensions and David Freud to review welfare. In his memoir Blair himself observed:

At the end of 2002 I had appointed Adair Turner to do a review of pensions policy. This had provoked strong opposition from Gordon[Brown], as had the appointment of David Freud, an independent consultant, to do a similar review on welfare. I knew Adair and David would give me radical proposals. Both issues had to be confronted.¹⁷

Both the Turner proposals and those of Freud gave us a huge opportunity to characterise, define and implement reforms of a vital nature not just for the country [but] for the survival of the government.¹⁸

25. Several Education ministers have been keen to appoint tsars: Ruth Kelly, Ed Balls, Michael Gove. Lord Adonis appointed seven tsars: two in his three years as an education minister: Tony Hall on Youth Dance (2007) and John Stannard on Gifted and Talented Children (2007); and five in his two years as Secretary of State for Transport: Sir Peter Hall and Chris Green on rail station standards (2009), Sir Peter North on drink and drug driving law (2009), Sir Andrew Foster on the InterCity Express programme (2010), David Quarmby on winter resilience of the transport system (2010) and Sir Roy McNulty on rail value for money (2010).
26. One minister we interviewed offered three overlapping explanations for making these appointments: (1) they provide eminent and relevant expertise otherwise not available from internal sources; (2) they can provide more concentrated analysis of an issue, especially where 'new directions' are needed; and (3) they offer the hope or expectation that their report will generate consensus on a difficult or contentious issue.
27. Ministers from six departments¹⁹ made two thirds of all the tsar the appointments: HMT, DfE, BIS, CO, DH and the Prime Minister (Table 7). Treasury ministers, as noted above, often commissioned reviews in order to put departmental policies and spending under the spotlight as part of the spending and budgeting reviews. The Treasury's commitment to reviews was evidenced by the continuing custom of providing pages on its website that present information and links to present and some past work by their tsars. In the Cabinet Office (CO), the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) and the Department for Education (DfE) aspects of departmental culture may explain the prevalence of tsar appointments. The CO has a very small staff and little in-house analytical capacity. BIS may particularly seek to tap the expertise of the business community, and finds

¹⁷ Tony Blair, *A Journey*, London, Hutchinson, 2010, p 584.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p 588.

¹⁹ Throughout we use the current departmental titles and in our analysis have ascribed tsars appointed to earlier, otherwise titled departments to their present successors.

most of its tsars from there. DfE has always had contentious relations with its main stakeholders: the teaching professions, the local education authorities and the academic education research community. This tension may encourage DfE to seek advice from independent sources to strengthen its position.

100%	267	Total appointments
19%	51	HMT (+3)*
12%	33	DfE (+6)
10%	28	BIS (+6)
8%	22	CO (+1)
7%	20	DH (+1)
7%	18	PM
65%	173	sub total

Table 7 Departments: no. of tsar appointments (six highest)

**(appointments in brackets when dept not lead appointer; not in totals)*

28. Some ministers are clearly less inclined to appoint tsars than others (Table 8). One reason for this may be that they have adequate internal sources of expertise to draw on or other satisfactory ways of tapping external expertise. DfID is a distinctive case: since 1997 it has appointed only one tsar, Lord Paddy Ashdown, to review humanitarian relief (2010). This may be because DfID staff are already highly professionalised at home and overseas, it generally has good relations with its stakeholders, especially the NGOs, and it is committed to openness and consultation in its policy development.

9	FCO
7	DCLG (+3); MOD (+1)
6	DEFRA (+2)
5	DCMS (+2); DECC
1	DfID (+1)
0	Attorney General (+1)

Table 8 Departments: no. of tsar appointments (six lowest)

Appointment processes

29. Tsars are appointed directly by ministers. A few tsars are statutory appointments that ministers must make, and they are covered by the Commissioner for Public Appointments and the Code of Practice for Ministerial Appointments that he issues (see para 30 below). These are the Children's Commissioner for England (under the Children Act 2004), the Schools Commissioner for England (under the Education Inspections Act 2006) and the Victims Commissioner (under the Coroners and Justice Act 2009).²⁰ With these statutory appointments, the minister nominates a

²⁰ This post became vacant in 2011, when Louise Casey, a permanent civil servant and therefore no longer a tsar by our definition, who had held it since 2010, moved to a new post in the Department of Communities and Local Government, and the Ministry of

preferred candidate, who is then subject to a pre-appointment hearing and opinion from the appropriate parliamentary select committee; an opinion that the minister is free to reject. Ed Balls, as Secretary of State for Education, overruled the Education Committee's views when he appointed Maggie Atkinson as Children's Commissioner in 2010. Her appointment was confirmed and renewed after the change of government although the Coalition minister, Michael Gove, had criticised her appointment when he was in Opposition.

30. For the majority of tsar appointments the minister's decisions to make an appointment and who to appoint is unfettered: it is an informal process unregulated by either the Commissioner for Public Appointments or the Cabinet Office. The remit of the Commissioner covers ministerial appointments to the boards of public bodies and to statutory offices and his procedures, enshrined in a Code of Practice,²¹ are based on principles of merit, fairness and openness. Tsar appointments do not come within his remit. The Cabinet Office, which leads within Whitehall on public appointments of all kinds,²² has not published a code of practice for tsar appointments, though it has done so for special advisers²³ and for consultation²⁴ and research procurement.²⁵ However, the Cabinet Office has said that it will be publishing revised guidance soon on making and managing public appointments, which will become a responsibility of a new Centre for Public Appointments in the Cabinet Office.
31. Tsar posts are rarely advertised or handled through formal appointment procedures.²⁶ Our interviews with tsars revealed a typical sequence of steps. First discreet overtures are made, usually by phone by a senior official or a special adviser: 'The minister just wonders if you might be

Justice took the opportunity to reconsider the future of the role with its national remit, in the light of elections in 2012 of local Police and Crime Commissioners with powers to establish local victim services.

²¹ Commissioner for Public Appointments, Code of Practice for Ministerial Appointments to Public Bodies, April 2012.

²² The Cabinet Office's categorisation of public bodies includes 'reviews' along with 'ad hoc advisory bodies' and 'task forces' as kinds of a class of 'Advisory Bodies' which it characterises as sources of expert advice to Government, with membership drawn from outside Whitehall, a lifespan of less than two years, a single issue focus and no employed staff but they may be supported by civil servants, Cabinet Office, Categories of Public Bodies: A Guide for Departments, April 2011.

²³ Cabinet Office, Code of conduct for special advisers, November 2007 (amended April 2009). <http://www.civilservant.org.uk/spadscode2009.pdf>.

²⁴ See:

http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Governmentcitizensandrights/UKgovernment/PublicConsultations/DG_4003113.

²⁵ See the Government Procurement Service: <http://gps.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/>.

²⁶ Martin Smith reports in relation to the appointment of National Clinical Directors in DH that 'although later appointments have been advertised, with formal interviews and proper contracts of employment, the early ones were appointed with almost no reference to rules on appointments and a number of tsars wrote their own job descriptions.' *op.cit.*, p 349.

interested in helping us...'; the minister or officials may have identified that person. A shortlist of alternative candidates is not always drawn up, although if the first person declines the invitation a new name must be identified and approached. Interviews revealed that the candidate is almost always 'known' to the minister, either 'known of' or 'personally known.' One tsar said that when he was approached by Gordon Brown about his appointment the Chancellor said:

This one has your name on it...let's talk.

32. Candidates usually come from a circle of people active in the relevant policy domain, whether in business, as academics, practitioners, retired public servants, politicians or people with other kinds of relevant expertise.²⁷ They sometimes have practical experience in the field in which they are invited to advise, or have highly developed analytical skills that they can apply. Most of our tsar interviewees could trace the history of connections to the minister that had brought them into the frame for the offer of appointment. Reputation and trustworthiness, as much as expertise, are clearly crucial criteria that ministers use to identify tsars.
33. Overt party political support is rarely a consideration. One recent example was Adrian Beecroft, a known Conservative party donor, who was appointed in the summer of 2011 to advise on reforms to employment law; this was not announced publicly and originally may not have been a tsar appointment according to our definition. His unpublished report, dated October 2011, was noticed by the media seven months later following sight of a leaked copy; BIS published the report in May 2012. Our investigation of the Electoral Commission's registers²⁸ show that party donors were relatively rare among tsars: only 13 (5%) of the 267 appointees had made donations, and all three main parties had benefited (Table 9).
34. Following the initial approach and the candidate's acceptance, department officials establish the arrangements. The next steps may be handled by the minister's private office or the permanent secretary's office or delegated to the relevant policy directorate. The tsar meets the special adviser or a civil servant, occasionally the minister, to explore the brief for the work. They may negotiate some details, timetables and support arrangements. Formal terms of reference are only agreed in some cases and put in writing between the minister and the tsar. For the majority of appointments remuneration was neither offered, requested or expected, based on the assumption that the work was pro bono (see para 68ff). Payment of fees only arises if the tsar is freelance or their employer requires compensation for lost time, as with most universities. Departments may sometimes check for candidates' potential conflicts of interest (and may seek advice from the Cabinet Office's Propriety and Ethics Team). The tsar's prior stance on the

²⁷ We use the term 'circle of people' rather than 'policy community' or 'policy network' for people with an interest in a policy domain and perhaps common ambitions to change policy there. In our view the terms 'community', 'network' or 'group' suggest a greater degree of cohesion than we perceive characterised the 'circles' from which most tsars came.

²⁸ Electoral Commission, Party and election finance registers, <http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/party-finance/PEF-online-registers>.

issues to be addressed – their objectivity – may or may not be assessed. The inadequacy of vetting was highlighted with David Cameron’s appointment of Emma Harrison as his ‘Troubled Families Tsar’ when her company A4e was already subject to fraud investigations in relation to government contracts.²⁹

Tsar	No of donations	Total	Party	Date
Young, Lord David	1	£1,700	Con	2008
Neuberger, Baroness Julia	1	£1,800	LD	2011
Leitch, Lord Sandy	1	£5,000	Lab	2007
Thoresen, Otto	1	£5,100	LD	2007
Haskins, Lord Chris	2	£10,000 / £2,500	Lab/LD	2001/2006
Myners, Sir Paul	2	£12,700	Lab	2007
Sharman, Lord Colin	9	£29,217	LD	2004-11
Carter, Lord Patrick	3	£35,000	Lab	2009-10
Ashcroft, Lord Michael	9	£114,926	Con	2001-6
Sugar, Lord Alan	7	£285,750	Lab	2001; 2011-12
Beecroft, Adrian	10	£643,076	Con	2006-11
Cohen, Sir Ronald	10	£2,300,000	Lab	2001-9
Sainsbury, Lord David	64	£11,107,637	Lab	2004-12

Table 9 Tsar donors to political parties

Source: Electoral Commission

35. The Cabinet Manual states that:

*All public appointees are expected to work to the highest personal and professional standards. To this end codes of conduct are in place for...all public appointees. Along with others in public life, they are expected to follow the Seven Principles of Public Life: selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership.*³⁰

However, there is no code of conduct for tsars whereas there are ‘codes’ for many of the other sources of external expert advice to ministers, namely

²⁹ On 29 February 2012 Nick Raynsford MP asked the Prime Minister ‘what independent checks he believes should be carried out before such appointments are made and whether any such checks were carried out in respect of Emma Harrison?’ The Prime Minister stated that he ‘was not aware of any allegations of irregularities when Emma Harrison became an adviser on troubled families to the Government...I have asked the Cabinet Secretary, Sir Jeremy Heywood, to review the guidelines across Government and in this particular case.’ Hansard, House of Commons, 29 February 2012, col 286. The results of that review have not been made public.

³⁰ Cabinet Office, Cabinet Manual, 2011, para 7.22. According to the Committee on Standards in Public Life, “*These principles apply to all aspects of public life. The Committee has set them out here for the benefit of all who serve the public in any way.*” www.public-standards.gov.uk/Library/Seven_principles.doc.

procedures to be followed in procuring research and consultancy; guidelines for securing scientific advice from expert committees; a code of conduct for special advisers; and a code on conducting and responding to government consultations. There is nothing relevant to tsars in the Civil Service code. The Ministerial Code has a section on Ministers and Appointments, which states:

Public appointments should be made in accordance with the requirements of the law and, where appropriate, the Code of Practice issued by the Commissioner for Public Appointments.

The phrase 'where appropriate' could be read as exempting tsar appointments from compliance with the Commissioner's code.³¹

36. A departmental press notice may announce the appointment of a tsar. The appointment of tsars and the progress of their work is only fitfully noted in departments' Annual Reports. Our examination of the House of Commons Library's database revealed announcements to parliament of a tsar appointment in only 18% of our sample. In its report on Goats and Tsars in 2009 the Public Administration Select Committee recommended that each department, in its Departmental Annual Report, should provide a brief account of the work of appointed tsars and that ministers should notify the Chair of the relevant select committee of tsar appointments. The government responded:

*...The Government does not support the Committee's recommendations at this time but does seek to ensure that such appointments are announced publicly, and Select Committees can be expected to examine their work.*³²

Changes of minister

37. Although each appointment is made by an individual minister, if he or she is replaced during the same government, the successor does not terminate the appointment. The tsar may feel that they have lost a patron and need to work hard to gain the support of the new minister. Sir Michael Lyons' review of local government funding, which lasted from July 2004 to March 2007 because of successive extensions, had two client departments, HMT and ODPM (today's DCLG) and in the latter four ministers (Raynsford, Miliband, Kelly, Woolas) who exhibited varying degrees of engagement with his work; there was little political commitment to his recommendations when he reported. Otto Thoresen also had four ministers in HMT (Balls, Eagle, Usher, Cooper) in the fifteen months of his review on money advice from January 2007 to March 2008.
38. When the Coalition succeeded Labour in 2010, tsars who were still at work or whose report was ready faced different fates. Some tsars' reports that were already on new ministers' desks were picked up and the new minister responded. This happened with Sir Peter North's review of drink and drug driving (2009-10) which was completed in March 2010 and submitted

³¹ Cabinet Office, Ministerial Code, May 2010, para 3.1.

³² House of Commons, Public Administration Select Committee, Government Responses to the Committee's Eighth and Ninth Reports of Session 2009-10: Goats and Tsars: Ministerial and other appointments from outside Parliament and Too Many Ministers?, Second Report of Session 2010-11, October 2010, HC 150, paras 17ff.

during the pre-election purdah to Lord Adonis, who had commissioned it. It was published in June 2010 and the government's response was made in March 2011.

39. Some tsars with ongoing work were formally confirmed in post:
- Martha Lane Fox as Digital Champion, first appointed in March 2010, was re-appointed in June 2010.
 - Jean Gross, first appointed in January 2010 as Children's Communication Champion, was reappointed, albeit on revised terms.
 - Sir Roy McNulty appointed in February 2010 to assess railway value for money, was confirmed by the new Secretary of State for Transport in May 2010 and reported in May 2011.
 - Lord Browne's review of higher education commissioned in November 2009, reported in October 2010 and was followed speedily by government proposals.
 - Gerry Grimstone's review of the role of civilians in defence was initiated in December 2009 as an input to a future Labour defence review and reported in June 2010 for the Coalition's defence review (see Box 1 above).
40. Other tsars' appointments were explicitly terminated by the new Coalition minister. This happened to: Jan Berry, appointed as the Reducing Bureaucracy in Policing Advocate in July 2008 and sacked by the new policing minister Nick Herbert in June 2010; by all accounts she had had a difficult relationship with Labour ministers.
41. In some cases the tsar was left uncertain whether they were still in post. For example, Dame Stephanie Shirley was appointed by Prime Minister Gordon Brown as the government's Giving and Philanthropy Ambassador in May 2009. After the 2010 election she received no communication from the new minister or the department.

Ministers' motives

42. Tsars as expert advisors have many attractions to ministers. A number of factors explain what can make a tsar the most attractive option:
- Tsars can work quickly, and want to do so if they have had to take significant time away from their main jobs. Six to twelve months is the most common time from appointment to report, which is usually faster than most advisory committees or contracted researchers or consultants. The fast turn-round also increases the likelihood that the minister will not have been reshuffled before the tsar reports.
 - Ministers believe that they will get good advice from a handpicked tsar who brings independent expertise (for example, from a lawyer, an economist, a business manager, an entrepreneur, a politician or a public servant) tempered by practical experience and political nous, a combination that would be much less likely among their officials. It may also be that tsar can offer advice on a new issue on which the minister, his officials and other advisors are poorly informed. This was clearly the case with Louise Casey's appointment to advise on rough sleeping (1999).
 - Ministers may also believe that the recommendations of an independent expert can provide a basis for resolving differences, either between

departments or between government and opposition, and help to build consensus around a course of action. Hence, for example, the recruitment of Sir Peter North to review drink and drug driving laws (2009) or Andrew Dilnot to review social care (2010) and, more overtly, the Coalition government's appointment of Labour MPs Frank Field to review poverty and life chances (2010), Graham Allen on early intervention (2010), Andrew Milburn (a former Labour MP and minister) on social mobility (2010) and Lord John Hutton (also an ex Labour MP and minister) on public service pensions. One tsar we interviewed, not one of the above, described being hired to being:

...the fox in the chicken coop.

- The tsar's own expert status and/or reputation can provide backing and cover for the minister's preferences. Steve Richards commented:
*Brown had a soft spot for bankers – one that was to prove disastrous as events turned out. But at the start of the century his counter intuitive close association with the most senior bankers in the land provided him with a layer of protective clothing as he started to become a little more politically daring.*³³
- The tsar offers advice direct to the minister, unmediated (at least formally) by officials and so creates an alternative source of policy advice, exactly the kind of outsourcing that ministers now want to promote, according to the Civil Service Reform Plan.

43. There are also more political reasons why ministers appoint tsars.

- Sometimes the appointment and the report will provide useful publicity if the choice of a tsar and their work expresses desired political values, captures public sympathy, diverts attention, and gives the impression that something is being done on a pressing issue. PASC concluded that:

*The allegation that some of these posts might have been created for the sake of a press notice may be unfair, but it is difficult to refute without greater transparency.*³⁴

- Ministers like to exercise patronage, conferring benefit and reward (though usually non-monetary) on those whose values they share, whose support they seek or have received. This motive is very evident in the appointment of politicians as tsars, in particular when these are recently displaced ministers. One tsar of this type said in interview:

Having been a minister for [several] years it's difficult to quietly slip into the back benches.

Such appointments can seem like a payoff for past services rendered. This could explain Lord Sainsbury's appointment (2006) to review science and innovation policy (which had been his ministerial responsibility in the preceding eight years), Richard Caborn's appointment as Ambassador for the 2018 World Cup bid (2007) after being sacked as Sports Minister when Brown succeeded Blair as Prime Minister (see Box 1 above), and Des

³³ Steve Richards, *Whatever it takes: The real story of Gordon Brown and New Labour*, London, Fourth Estate, 2010, p 150.

³⁴ House of Commons Public Administration Select Committee, *Goats and Tsars; Ministerial and other appointments from outside Parliament*, HC 33, 2010, para 101.

Browne MP's appointment as Special Envoy to Sri Lanka (2009) after being Secretary of State for Defence and for Scotland. Malcolm Wicks MP was invited to review the impact of international energy markets on UK energy security following his removal as energy minister in 2008.

4 Who are the tsars?

Demographics and diversity

44. Taken together, the 267 tsar appointees were not diverse. Table 10, Table 11 and Table 12 show that 85% were males, 83% were over 50 when appointed³⁵ and 98% were ethnically white (whereas nearly 17% of the UK population is non-white).³⁶

85%	226	male
15%	41	female

Table 10 Tsars: gender

83%	223	over 50
45%	121	over 60
38%	102	50-60
13%	34	40-50
4%	1	under 40

Table 11 Tsars: age on appointment

98%	262	white
2%	5	African or Asian

Table 12 Tsars: ethnicity

45. Another notable feature is the very high prevalence of honorific titles among tsars at the time of appointment: 35 lords, five baronesses, 55 knights and six dames, 101 in total, comprising 38% of all appointments.
46. Of the five tsars with African or Asian backgrounds, four (80%) were men (Shaun Bailey, Prof Sube Banerjee, Richard Taylor and Lord Nat Wei) and one was a woman (Sunita Mason). Their age profile was quite different to the white tsars: three (60%) of them were under 40 (Bailey, Mason, Wei), one (20%) was 41-50 (Taylor) and only one (20%) was 51-60 (Banerjee); none were over 60.
47. Female tsars were also younger (Table 13). Appointments of female tsars vary widely aiming ministers. Ministers from six departments chose no women at all (DCMS, DECC, DfID, DTP, FCO and MOD), whereas ministers in three departments appointed women for over a quarter of their tsars: (PM, CO, DfE). Ministers from the other eight departments appointed women as 10-20% of their tsars. The average was 15%.

³⁵ For comparison, Hennessy op cit p 557 quotes from the January 1986 list of 'the Great and the Good' (which contained over 5000 names) to reveal that 18% were women and 95% were over 40.

³⁶ Office of National Statistics, estimate for England and Wales, 2009.

	M	M	F	F
under 40	4	2%	5	12%
40-50	27	10%	7	17%
50-60	85	38%	16	39%
over 60	110	49%	13	32%
	226		41	

Table 13 Tsars: gender and age

48. Patterns in the gender of tsars can also be seen by looking at the departments by policy area. While this may only be a rough indicator, as the clusters inevitably contain overlapping areas, we have grouped departments as follows:

- economic (BIS, HMT)
- social (DCMS, DfE, DH, DWP)
- home (DCLG, HO, MOJ)
- infrastructure (DECC, DEFRA, DTP)
- foreign and security (DfID, FCO, MOD)
- government (CO, PM)

For women tsars Figure 2 shows clear differences between these policy area clusters, with a greater proportion of all women tsars appointed in the government, social and home policy areas.

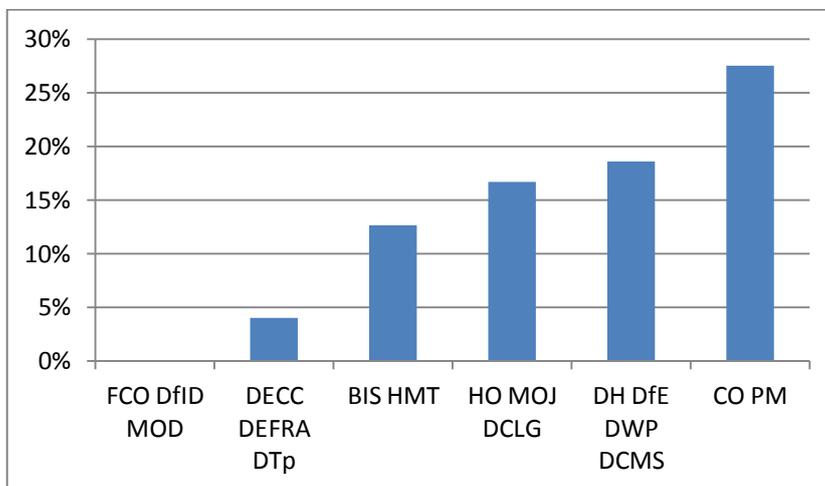


Figure 2 Women tsars by policy area

49. These demographic findings suggest several influences. One might be a presumption that men and women further on in their careers may be able to draw on and reflect upon greater depth and/or breadth of work experience than younger individuals because they have more working experience. On the other hand, younger individuals may be more innovative or more open to innovative options than older individuals. Another telling influence may be that the bias towards white males reflects the ethnic and gender profiles of the professions and organisational sectors from which tsars are habitually drawn (see para 51 below).

50. These pronounced biases of gender and ethnicity run counter to the Public Sector Equality Duty³⁷ and its predecessors, notwithstanding governments' rhetoric over many years about securing greater diversity in their own ranks, the civil service and the wider public sector. Furthermore, appointing tsars from a more diverse pool of candidates, including more who are younger, female and from more ethnically diverse backgrounds could introduce fresh stimulus, less affinity to custom and practice and more robust challenge into policy making and political culture. It could make more sensible use of the different perspectives, creativity and imagination that overlooked individuals may be able to contribute.

Career backgrounds

51. We distinguish between tsars' career backgrounds (which are a matter of record) and the particular expertise they bring to their assignments (a matter of judgement). Their backgrounds include their formal training and the work roles they have held during their careers prior to their appointment. We used ten categories to categorize the careers of most tsars (more than one may apply to a single individual):
- business (from any commercial and industrial sector)
 - public services (serving or former officials from local government, public agencies, the NHS, schools, police, prisons, the armed forces, security services, etc)
 - research, whether in academe, consultancy or think tanks
 - political (serving or former MPs, MSPs, MEPs, peers, elected councillors, affiliated to any political party or none)
 - tsar previously
 - civil service (serving or former officials from Whitehall departments)
 - law (active or former solicitors, barristers, judges, academic lawyers)
 - NGO (not for profit non-statutory organisations; third sector charities)
 - media (current and former journalists, editors, producers from television, radio, newspapers and periodicals)
 - political party staff.
52. Business and public sector backgrounds predominated (Table 14): business backgrounds were the commonest (40%), public services came next (28%) and together with civil service backgrounds (9%) were nearly as great as business (37%). Researchers, almost all from universities, very few from consultancies or think tanks,³⁸ were almost a quarter of tsars (23%). Politicians (18%) and people working for political parties or trade unions (2%) were a fifth (20%). The other career backgrounds of law, NGOs and the media each characterised fewer than 10% of tsars. Interestingly, 10% of appointments went to individuals who had already had a tsar appointment: 'serial tsars' (on which more below).

³⁷ Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011.

³⁸ We found no clear explanation for the absence of tsar appointments from consultancies or think tanks.

40%	107	business
28%	75	public services
23%	61	research
18%	48	politician (10 Con 10 Lab 5 LD 5 crossbench)
10%	28	tsar previously
9%	23	civil service
8%	21	law
8%	21	NGO
5%	13	media
2%	7	other
2%	6	political party staff
	1	not known

Table 14 Tsars: career backgrounds

(more than one may apply to an individual)

53. We explored whether tsars from particular backgrounds were more likely to work in particular areas of policy, again using the six clusters of departments (see para 48). Here too, more than one background can apply to an individual Tsar. Table 15 shows the three most frequent career backgrounds of tsars within each cluster, according to the percentage of total appointments made by the departments within the cluster.

Policy areas	Career backgrounds (top 3)
economic	business; research; public services
social	research; public services
home	business; research; political
infrastructure	business; research; public services/political
foreign	public service; political
government	political; business; tsar previously

Table 15 Tsars: career backgrounds in policy areas

Figure 3-Figure 8 show the whole set for each cluster, using the key:

1=Tsar (previously); 2=Business; 3=Public services; 4=Politician;

5=Civil service; 6=lawyer; 7=NGO; 8=Academic/think tank;

9=Political party; 10=Media; 11=Other

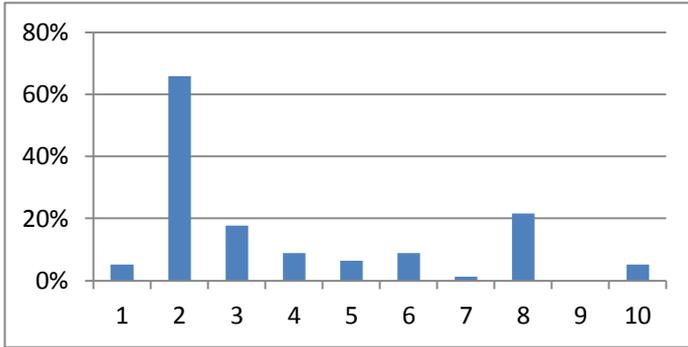


Figure 3 Career backgrounds: economic policy (BIS, HMT)

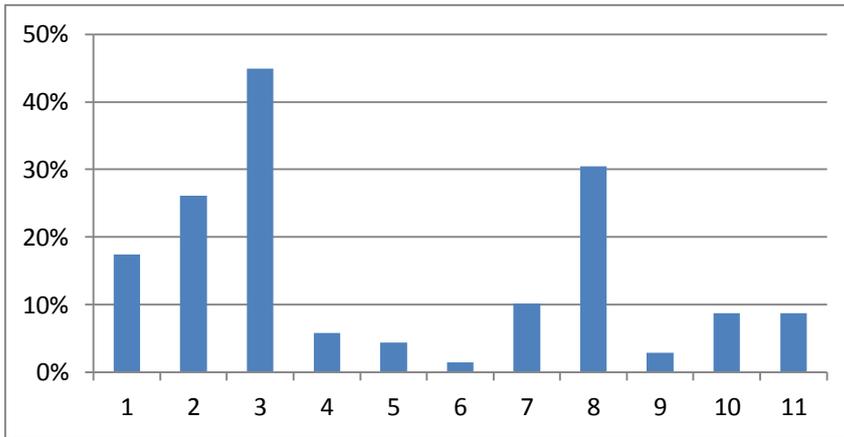


Figure 4 Career backgrounds: social policy (DCMS, DfE, DH, DWP)

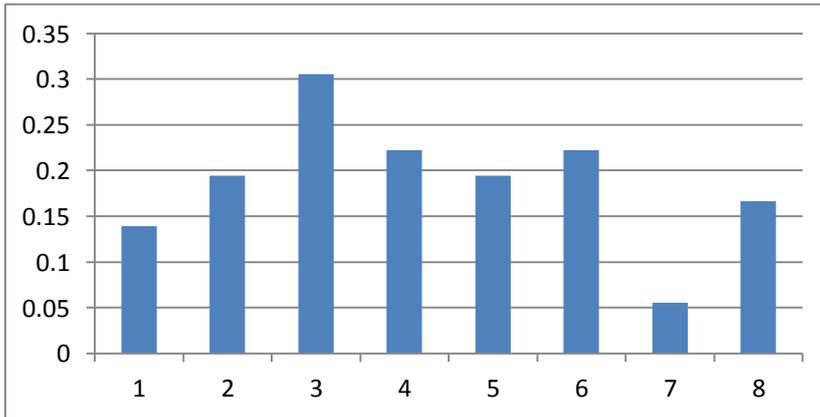


Figure 5 Career backgrounds: home policy (DCLG, HO, MOJ)

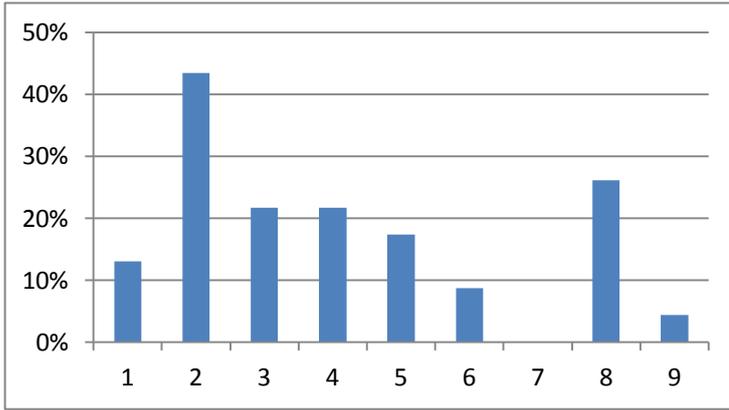


Figure 6 Career backgrounds: infrastructure policy (DECC, DEFRA, DTP)

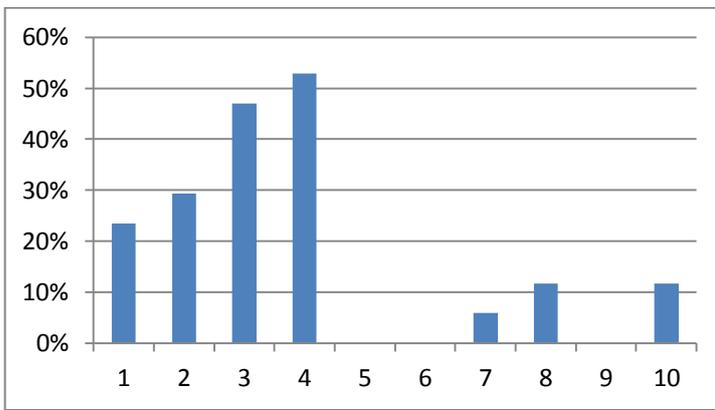


Figure 7 Career backgrounds: foreign and security policy (DfID, FCO, MOD)

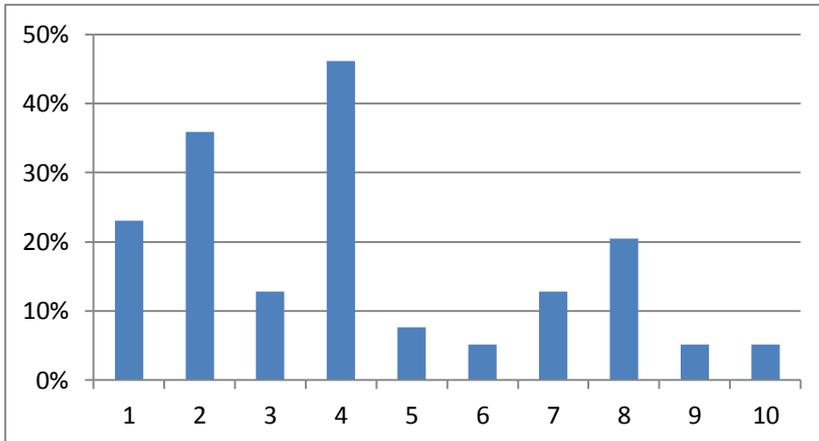


Figure 8 Career backgrounds: government policy (CO, PM)

Expertise

54. We view expertise as the capabilities that tsars bring to the role, which they have built and developed through their education, careers and life experience. Expertise is about understanding relationships and consequences, knowing how things work, as well as facts. One broad useful definition is:

*a high level of familiarity with a body of knowledge and/or experience that is neither widely shared nor simply acquired.*³⁹

55. We identified six kinds of expertise among tsars (Table 16; again, an individual tsar may bring more than one kind of expertise to bear on a task):

- professional (active in the field of the remit, for example regulation, pensions, dance)
- business management (managerial and decision making experience in a business organisation, for example, as CEO or chair of a company)
- public management (managerial and decision making expertise in a public sector organisation, for example, a former chief executive of an NDPB or a former permanent secretary)
- analytical (applying theory, research and analysis to policy issues, for example, as an economist, psychologist or lawyer)
- political (decision making expertise in a political context, for example, as an MP, minister or local authority member)
- experiential (direct personal experience of the issue, for example, as the parent or spouse of a victim of serious crime).

47%	125	professional
26%	70	business management
25%	68	analytical
21%	56	public management
18%	48	political
3%	9	experiential

Table 16 Tsars: expertise

(more than one may apply to an individual)

The term 'celebrity tsar' has been used pejoratively for some appointments. By 'celebrity' is meant that the person already has a high media profile. Where this was so, the person also had one of the expertises above. Their celebrity may raise awareness of the appointment, it does not by itself make them any less qualified for the task.

56. Almost half of all tsar appointments (47%) had professional expertise in the issue they investigated, where the tsar was able to draw on knowledge, skills and working experience specifically relevant to that issue. Another quarter to a fifth of appointments had business management expertise (26%), public management expertise (21%), analytical expertise (25%) or political expertise (18%). Experiential expertise occurred infrequently (3%).
57. The associations between expertise and policy fields are illuminating. Professional expertise, the dominant type, is strongly represented in most policy fields. Analytical, business and public management expertises are also widely found across policy fields. Political expertise is marked among

³⁹ Edward Page, 'Bureaucrats and expertise: Elucidating a problematic relationship in three tableaux and six jurisdictions', *Sociologie du Travail*, 52/2, 2010, p 258.

tsars appointed to advise on foreign and security policy (FCO, DfID, MOD) and among those appointed by the Prime Minister or the Cabinet Office (Table 17).

Policy areas	Expertise (top 3)
economic	professional; business management; analytical
social	professional; analytical; public management
home	professional; public management; analytical
infrastructure	business/public management; professional; analytical
foreign	professional; political; analytical/business management
government	political; professional; business management

Table 17 Tsars: expertise in policy areas

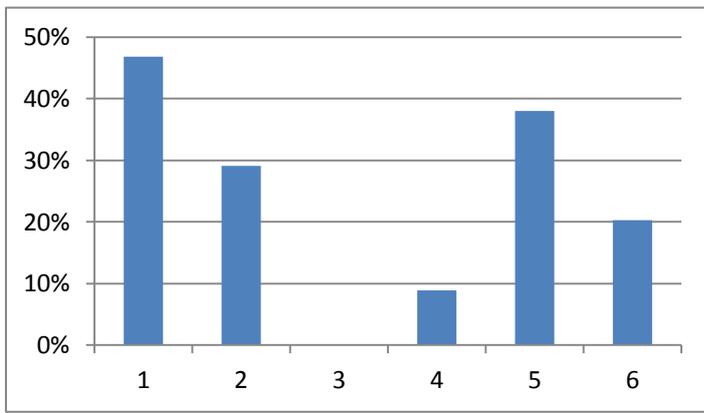


Figure 9-Figure 14 show the whole set for each cluster, using the key:

1=Professional; 2=Analytical; 3=Experiential; 4=Political; 5=Business management; 6=Public Management; 7=Other

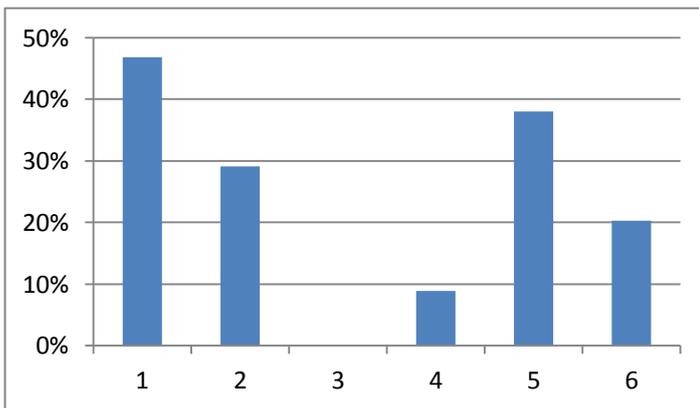


Figure 9 Expertise: economic policy (BIS, HMT)

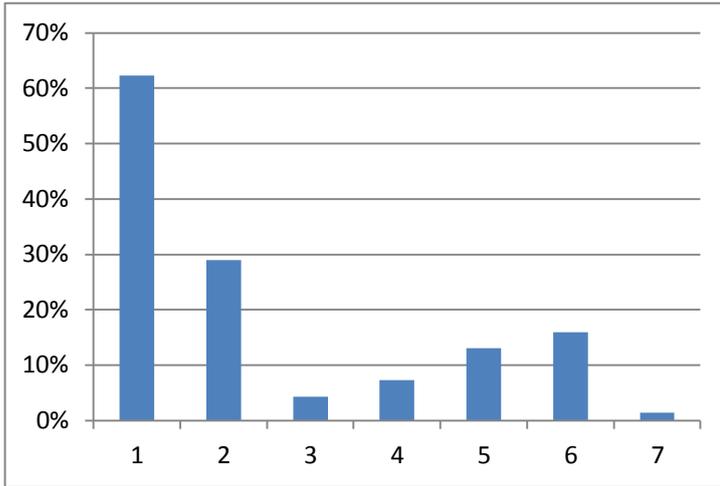


Figure 10 Expertise: social policy (DCMS, DfE, DH, DWP)

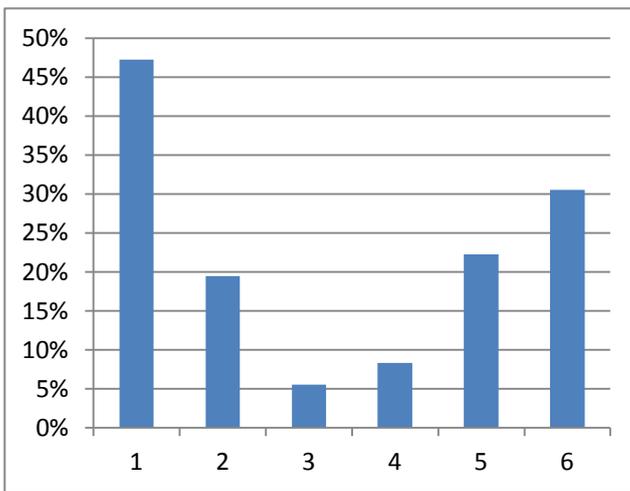


Figure 11 Expertise: home policy (DCLG, HO, MOJ)

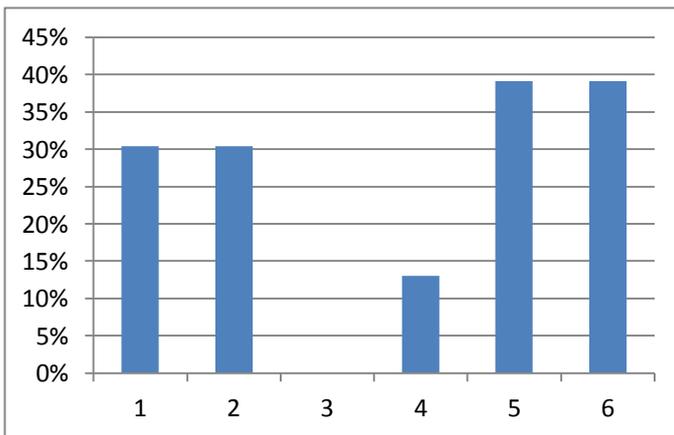


Figure 12 Expertise: infrastructure policy (DECC, DEFRA, DTP)

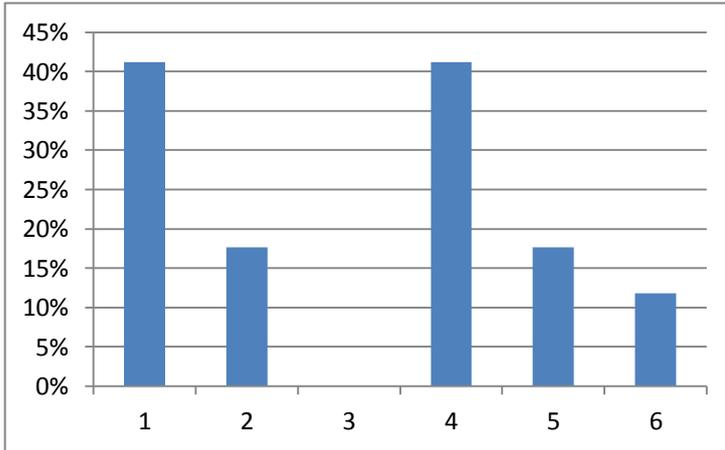


Figure 13 Expertise: foreign and security policy (DfID, FCO, MOD)

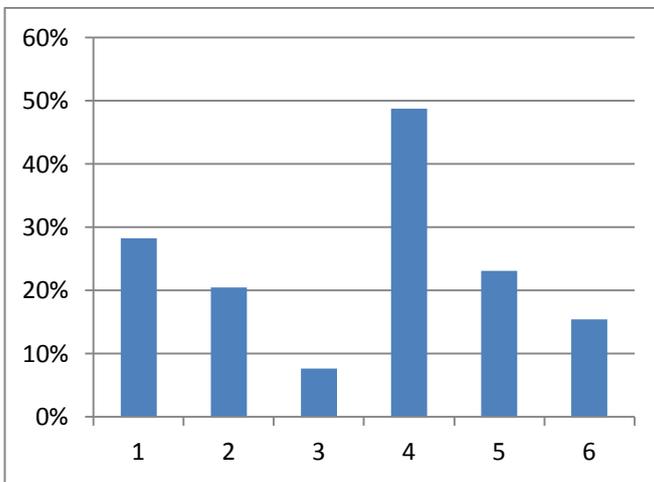


Figure 14 Expertise: government policy (CO, PM)

58. This evidence on the role of expertise in tsar appointments can be summarised in three models of tsar expertise in relation to their remit.

Model A: the 'specialist'

59. The tsar has professional expertise, is a recognised and well-regarded expert in the field in which they are invited to work or has analytical expertise appropriate to the task and is recognised and well-regarded in those terms. The minister appoints this kind of tsar in the expectation that their advice will be informed and objective. Examples include Sir Alan Steer who advised on pupil behaviour in schools (2007) on the basis of his professional experience as a teacher and head master; the composer Howard Goodall appointed National Ambassador for Singing (2007), and Professor of Social Policy Eileen Munro appointed to review child protection policy (2010). Tsars with experiential expertise also fit this model, though their expertise may be more personal and less objective.

Model B: the 'generalist'

60. The tsar, usually from a business or public services background, is appointed to work in a field beyond their career experience, and invited to apply their management expertise to the task. Ministers would expect these appointees to be objective although initially not so well informed about the

topic; they may need professional advisory support (see below). Such an 'open mind' could be judged advantageous. One tsar interviewee, who did not have detailed knowledge or experience of the subject of his remit, reported that the minister said that he would be a 'tabula rasa'.⁴⁰ Examples are Adair Turner on pensions (2002), David Freud on welfare (2006), both with City careers; Stephen Boys Smith, formerly a senior civil servant in the Home Office, on the coal health compensation scheme (2004) and Tom Winsor on police pay and conditions (2010).

Model C: the 'advocate'

61. The tsar may have known and relevant expertise, but also known views, having already committed themselves publicly to a particular perspective on the issues their remit deals with. This is likely with tsars with political expertise: for example, Frank Field MP had long expressed his own views on poverty before his appointment to review poverty and life chances (2010). Ex-ministers invited to be tsars in a field where they had held responsibility, such as Lord Sainsbury on science and technology policy (2007) and Lord Chris Smith on the film industry (2011), surely come to the task with their own well-established views. This model also includes tsars with all kinds of expertise who are already to some degree public figures. Among academic experts, for example, Professor Alison Wolf had been a public critic of past education policies before her appointment to review vocational education (2010), and Professor John Kay's views on financial regulation were well-known to the minister who appointed him to review the performance of UK equity markets (2011). Ministers will have a clear expectation of what they will get from Model C tsars, who will provide rigorous evidence and argument to push a preferred policy forward. This type of tsar might fit the concept of the 'policy entrepreneur'.⁴¹

Tsars' motivations

62. Most tsar interviewees expressed surprise and were flattered to be invited to undertake the task. Several tsars found they had underestimated how much time was required to complete the work especially under tight deadlines. One tsar reported that he was told the task would take one day a week, whereas it actually took 1-2 days a week in the first year of the project and 2-3 days in the second year. Even with the support provided by the department (see para 100ff), the tsar role was a more hands-on task than, say, using their expertise to help ministers by chairing an advisory committee, responding to a consultation or contributing to a conference or seminar.
63. Beyond the flattery, the three most common reasons tsars gave for accepting the appointment were a sense of public duty, the chance to influence policy, and to enhance their reputation. Public duty was seen as a

⁴⁰ The New Oxford Dictionary of English defines the Latin 'tabula rasa' as 'an absence of preconceived ideas or predetermined goals; a clean slate.'

⁴¹ John Kingdon defined policy entrepreneurs as 'people who are willing to invest resources of various kinds in hope of a future return in the form of policies they favour.' J W Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*, Boston, Little Brown, Massachusetts, 1984, p 151.

way to 'give back' to society and contribute their expertise to do something worthwhile. The opportunity to influence government policy on a topic of interest or to advocate a cause they supported was appealed to many tsars. Some felt that the experience also enhanced their CV or the reputation of their organisation.

64. Tsars saw their personal reputations benefiting from the role by increasing their public profile and status, enhancing their 'inside' knowledge of Whitehall and widening their networks and contacts there and beyond. Tsars gained further recognition from their professional peers and were delighted when their report became known to stakeholders and in the media by their own name (the Grimstone Report, the Thoresen Report, etc). Tsars who had been ministers and senior civil servants value the implied recognition of their past achievements as well as the chance to 'keep their hand in'. Undertaking the tsar role may have contributed to several tsars subsequently receiving honours, such as a CBE.
65. In some cases the tsar role has enabled the individual to take their career in a new direction. For example:
 - Louise Casey left Shelter, a campaigning NGO, to become the 'Homelessness tsar' (1999), which led to her becoming a permanent civil servant. Thereafter she has had a succession of high profile assignments on anti-social behaviour, victims and troubled families.
 - Peter Gershon, with an earlier career in the telecommunications and electronics businesses, reviewed civil procurement (1998) and recommended the creation of a new Office of Government Commerce; he was appointed its first CEO.
 - Banker David Freud, following his review of the benefits system for the Labour administration (2006), became an adviser to the Conservative Opposition, a Conservative peer and Coalition minister in DWP.
 - Tom Winsor, having reviewed police pay and conditions (2010), was appointed Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary, the first time someone other than a police officer had been given the role.
 - Sir Ronald Cohen and Nick O'Donohoe from the world of venture capital were commissioned to do a feasibility study for a Big Society Bank (2011), which would claim unused cash in bank accounts to invest in social enterprises; they were then appointed Chairman and Chief Executive of the bank, renamed Big Society Capital.
66. Many tsars, on completion of their work, moved on with their main career or other activities and regarded their connection with the topic as ended. In other cases tsars chose to continue as a spokesperson or advocate for their recommendations - becoming a 'policy entrepreneur', in effect, - after their tsar appointment was over. For example:
 - Derek Wanless, who reviewed NHS funding (2001) and public health policies (2003) went on to lead two reviews for the independent King's Fund on social care for older people and on NHS funding and performance.
 - Dame Stephanie Shirley, appointed Giving and Philanthropy Ambassador (2009), established a new, private, worldwide Ambassadors for Philanthropy organisation.

- Dame Joan Bakewell, the Voice of Older People (2008), continued to write and speak on the concerns of older people as a journalist and broadcaster and in the House of Lords.
 - Baroness Helen Newlove, Champion for Active, Safer Communities (2010) became co-chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for the victims and witnesses of crime as well as having an advisory role in DCLG, which continued to publish progress reports on her tsar recommendations.
 - Mary Portas reviewed the future of the high street (2012) and went on to act as an adviser to DCLG when they launched a competition for demonstration projects called 'Portas pilots'. She visits and advises the towns on their proposals and is making a series of TV programmes on the subject.
67. A few tsars did not complete their work. Two per cent of appointments ended when the minister dismissed the tsar or the tsar resigned. It appears that the tsar's behaviour or expressed views embarrassed the government or the tsar found the government's behaviour or expressed views unreceptive to their efforts. For example:
- Keith Hellawell, the Anti-drugs Coordinator (1998), resigned after four years of often contentious relations with ministers.
 - Lord Anthony Lester, the independent adviser to the Justice Secretary on certain aspects of constitutional reform (2007), quit over a row with Jack Straw, expressing his discontent with 'the Government's current proposals for a Bill of Rights and Responsibilities, and with some aspects of its proposals for constitutional reform.'⁴²
 - Gordon Brown appointed Richard Taylor, whose son Damilola was murdered, Special Envoy on youth violence and knife crime (2009). He resigned after a year stating publicly:
*...it turned out that my appointment was just media propaganda and that they were more interested in the election than finding solutions.*⁴³
 - Dame Joan Bakewell, appointed as the Voice of Older People (2008), resigned arguing for the creation of a statutory, full time Old Person's Commissioner as in Wales and Northern Ireland.
 - Lord Wei, government adviser on the Big Society (2010), initially reduced his commitment to two days per week then resigned because of the pressure from his other work commitments.
 - Lord Young was appointed Enterprise Champion by David Cameron in November 2010 and resigned less than three weeks later after his remark in a Daily Telegraph interview that people had 'never had it so good' as a result of low interest rates caused offence.⁴⁴ He was re-appointed a year later.

⁴² Daily Telegraph, 5 November 2008.

⁴³ Daily Telegraph, 5 March 2010.

⁴⁴ Daily Telegraph, 18 November 2010.

- Emma Harrison resigned as Families Champion (2010-12) following allegations of corruption in her welfare to work business A4e.

Remuneration

68. Departments usually do not voluntarily disclose to the public domain whether tsars are paid in fees or expenses: that non-disclosure applied to over three quarters (77%) of tsar appointments. For some tsars who were unpaid, that fact was included in the announcement of the appointment. Very occasionally MPs have asked parliamentary questions to make ministers say what named tsars were paid. On 1 March 2007 Mark Francois MP asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how much each of 31 tsars were paid, whom the Treasury had appointed to undertake reviews since 1999. A junior minister gave a brief generic reply about reimbursement of reasonable expenses, adding:

...Occasionally, where a reviewer is asked to undertake especially extensive work, remuneration can be provided.⁴⁵

He limited his specific reply, on grounds of cost, to tsars appointed in the previous two years, naming four who had been paid fees although not stating the amounts.

69. Freedom of Information requests were submitted to several departments to discover more of the facts. The findings are presented in Annex 3.1. Aggregating that information with details obtained in interviews with tsars and information in the public domain, allows only for speculation on the overall picture because so many departments withhold this information. Our speculations may be inaccurate.
70. With that caution in mind, we estimate that it is likely that nearly half (47%) of tsars are paid, just over a third (35%) negotiate a fee (which may go to their main employer) and expenses, and almost a fifth (18%) receive expenses only (Table 18).

	Paid (%)	Not paid (%)
Fees	47	53
Expenses	53	47
Fees and expenses	35	-
Expenses only	18	-
No fees or expenses	47	-

Table 18 Tsars: remuneration (estimate)

71. Of those who were paid a fee, that fee reflected their current employment status. Broadly speaking, if they were employees, their employer was reimbursed for the equivalent of their salary plus overheads. If they were self-employed consultants also working for other clients their tsar rate was related to their usual consultancy rate. If they were retired former civil or public servants their fee could be related to the department's rate for board or panel members.

⁴⁵ Hansard, House of Commons, 1 March 2007, col 1480W.

72. In interviews tsars explained why they did not seek or not accept payment or why they did not regard it as strange not to be offered payment. Some said payment would be 'inappropriate'; others said it was irrelevant to their decision or their readiness to do their best for the minister. Some said the rate they had been offered was so much lower than they could earn from their other work that it seemed pointless to bother with it. One tsar who negotiated a comparatively high fee to match their consultancy rate justified the amount in terms of compensation for the perceived professional and financial risk consequent on becoming unavailable for other consultancy during their tenure as a tsar, while simultaneously needing to maintain private pension contributions.
73. The actual amounts paid to tsars or their employers also depends on the duration of the appointment and the proportion of time the tsar allocates to the appointment. The highest rate we found was £220,000 per annum for a full time appointment (Table 19). Part time appointments for relatively large assignments could generate total payments up to £100,000, including overheads.

77%	206	not known
11%	30	unpaid
7%	19	expenses only
5%	13	Fee paid to tsar or employers
	6	£500-1,000 per day
	3	£100,000 - £220,000 pa
	1	already paid £25,000 pa by the department for his other roles for it
	1	performance related pay
	2	tsars declined to disclose amount paid

Table 19 Tsars: remuneration amounts

5 What were the tsars' remits?

Titles

74. There were 13 different titles for tsars among the 267 appointments (Table 20). By far the most common was 'Reviewer' (187 or 70%), or 'Independent Reviewer.' All other titles were used in 5% or fewer cases. The choice of title was seemingly not always well-considered and cannot be regarded as indicative of the nature of the task.
75. Occasionally the title was misleading, as for example when Malcolm Wicks MP was appointed to undertake a review of international energy and was entitled Special Representative (2008) and when Sir Peter Hall and Chris Green were called Station Champions (2009) although their remit involved a review.

70%	187	reviewer
5%	14	adviser
5%	13	champion
5%	13	(special) representative
4%	12	chair (of commission, inquiry, panel, etc)
2%	6	ambassador
2%	5	(special) envoy
	4	commissioner
	2	advocate
	2	coordinator
	1	voice
	1	audit
	1	scrutiny

Table 20 Tsars: titles

76. Some titles seem intended to convey status rather than remit. For example, the titles Representative, Envoy, or Ambassador were often given to MPs or former ministers. The prefixes 'Government's...' or 'Prime Minister's...' or 'Special...' provided added kudos. Tsars themselves occasionally had a say in the choice of title. Sir Digby Jones, recruited to promote the response to the Leitch review on skills (2004), reported that:

Gordon Brown said, "I really don't mind what you're called: champion, envoy, ambassador." I chose envoy.

In an interview Dame Joan Bakewell told us that she had rejected the suggested titles of Ambassador (too authoritative) and Champion (too sporty) and suggested she be called the 'Voice of Older People' because she thought it best expressed her role to articulate the concerns of older people and her expertise as a broadcaster and writer.

Types of remit

77. Tsars’ terms of reference and modes of working can be clustered into three types, which we label ‘review’, ‘represent’ and ‘promote’ (Table 21):

- The majority, just over four fifths (83%) of the tsar appointments had a remit to **review** a policy question and make recommendations to the minister, for example, on housing supply (Kate Barker, 2003), airport security (Stephen Boys Smith, 2005), on civilians in defence (Gerry Grimstone, 2009; see Box 1 above).
- Just under a tenth (9%) had a remit to **represent** to government the interests and concerns of particular groups within the population, for example, children (Children’s Commissioners Al Aynsley Green, 2005-9 and Maggie Atkinson, 2010-), older people (Dame Joan Bakewell, 2008), active, safer communities (Baroness Newlove, 2010; see Box 1 above).
- Just under a tenth (8%) had a remit to **promote** the uptake and application of government policy, for example, on dignity in care (Sir Michael Parkinson, 2008), dance (Wayne MacGregor, 2008), England’s bid for the 2018 football World Cup (Richard Caborn MP, 2007; see Box 1 above), university access (Simon Hughes MP, 2011).

83%	221	review
9%	24	represent
8%	22	promote

Table 21 Tsars: remits

78. All three remits are about providing advice to ministers on aspects of policy, and are consistent with our definition of a tsar (see para 3 above). These are distinct remits with certain elements in common. An individual appointment may involve elements of more than one type. For example, a review often involves understanding the interests and concerns of those with a stake in that policy issue; remits to represent and promote sometimes involves some reviewing in order to understand, though not to challenge, current policy. The composite remits of some tsar appointments is well illustrated by MoD’s recent announcement of the appointment of Lord Ashcroft as Special Representative for Veteran’s Transition (our use of bold):

*The Prime Minister has appointed Lord Ashcroft KCMG as his Special **Representative** for Veterans' Transition, working with all government departments to ensure military personnel get the support they need when making the transition to civilian life. Lord Ashcroft will carry out a **review** and take a fresh look at the advice and support package currently in place for personnel leaving the Armed Forces... Lord Ashcroft's work will **champion** the cause of servicemen and women making the transition to civilian life, liaising with Armed Forces charities, industry and across departmental boundaries to support access to employment and the package available for those transitioning into civilian life.⁴⁶*

46

<http://www.mod.uk/DefenceInternet/DefenceNews/DefencePolicyAndBusiness/LordAshcroftToChampionMilitaryTransitionToCivilianLife.htm>

79. Tsars' advice can be related to the familiar concept of the policy cycle (Figure 15), which identifies a sequence in which a real world change becomes recognised as a problem, policy options for addressing it are developed, one option is chosen and then delivered to impact the real world. In practice this simple progression may not proceed tidily, it may be halted at any stage if change is not recognised politically, or is misdiagnosed, or if only limited policy options are considered or a bad policy choice is made, or where delivery falters, or if the impact is negligible.

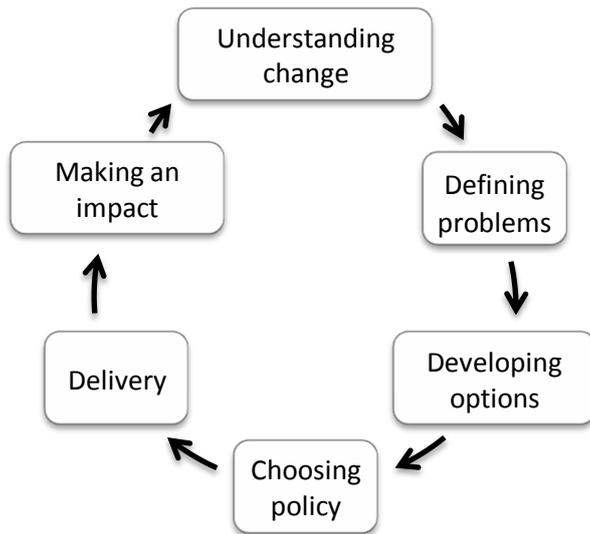


Figure 15 Policy cycle

80. Tsars' advice can be taken up at any stage in the cycle. Represent remits often contribute at the understanding change/problem definition stages of the cycle. Reviewers' advice tends to come in at the defining problem/developing option stage. Promote remits are sometimes most salient at the delivery stage.
81. The use of these three remits varied between policy areas. Reviews were the most common choice in all policy areas, while represent and promote remits were found more selectively. Tsars who had represent remits were mostly appointed in the areas we labelled government (Prime Minister and CO), social policy (DCMS, DfE, DH, DWP), home (DCLG, HO, MOJ) and infrastructure (DECC, DEFRA, DTP). Tsars with promote remits⁴⁷ were mainly appointed in foreign and security and infrastructure.

The variety of remits

82. The topics addressed by tsars have been extremely diverse. They include:
- broad strategy (for example, on health, social care, skills, philanthropy);
 - narrower, more operational issues (airport policing, money advice, support to museums);
 - persistent, even perennial, policy concerns (such as pensions, the decline of high streets, health and safety, university-business collaboration);

⁴⁷ This excludes the Business Ambassadors appointed by BIS from our analysis: see para 24 above.

- topical concerns, often prompted by particular external events or controversies (Christmas savings schemes, the use of restraint in juvenile detention, adoption, transport resilience in winter, rail franchising);
- topics clearly related to stated government priorities (public sector pensions, social mobility, the economics of climate change);
- issues that particularly interest an individual minister (such as railway station standards, gifted and talented children, early intervention);
- issues that require specialist professional advice (such as drink and drug driving law, work capability assessment, Post Office mutualisation, tax avoidance, crime statistics); and
- aspirational matters (such as more women on business boards, cultural education, access to the professions).

Some topics were revisited by a fresh tsar quite quickly, notably school behaviour, which has had two tsar reviews in five years, and dance, which has had three in four years, albeit with slightly different tasks.

Tsars versus other sources of external expert advice

83. Are there topics that ministers find particularly suitable for a tsar appointment, rather than drawing on the other sources of external advice (mentioned in para 7 above), such as referring the matter to an advisory committee, appointing researchers or consultants, holding a seminar or conference? It is hard to answer this question given the broad range of topics that tsars have been invited to address. Nevertheless, there are fields or topics that tsars seem to be kept away from. Tsars are relatively uncommon in the foreign policy, international development and security policy areas. They are also almost totally absent for topics that required expertise in the physical and life sciences, where of course external expertise is used extensively. Such matters are commonly addressed through expert scientific committees. The exceptions were where tsars were appointed to investigate the policy implications of incidents where major threats to animal and human health occurred, including the two most recent foot and mouth disease epidemics and the swine flu outbreak.
84. Tsars have also been appointed to address topics that might appear at first to be more suitable for expert advice from other sources. Some tsars seem to be asked to provide straightforward professional or consultancy advice, where they are the known expert in the field. In specialist aspects of the law, for example, lawyers were appointed to advise on the statutory regime for issuer liability (Professor Paul Davies QC, 2006) and a general anti (tax) avoidance rule (Graham Aaronson QC, 2010). Similarly in medical science, there are a few examples of tsar appointments to provide professional advice on such matters as the use of anti-psychotic drugs for dementia (Professor Sube Banerjee, 2009) and controls on infant formula and follow-on formula (Professor Anne Murcott, 2009).
85. Other examples relate to topics that might have been pursued through research or consultancy commissions rather than a tsar appointment, such as advice on criminality information management (Sunita Mason, 2009), on the risks to children from internet and video games (Dr Tanya Byron, 2007 and 2009), on work capability assessment (Professor Malcolm Harrington,

2010, 2011), and on high street rejuvenation (Mary Portas, 2011).⁴⁸ Where these tsars are the leading experts in their field, their appointment has the features of a single tender procurement of consultancy or research, which bypasses the procedures for competitive tendering that normally govern procurement. In these instances, choosing to appoint a tsar rather than using another source of external advice, can seem to be a way of securing expert advice 'on the cheap'. Nevertheless, tsar interviewees whose advice might have been secured by competitive procurement of consultancy or research were adamant that they would not have responded to an invitation to tender; it was the personal invitation, the relative privacy of the appointment process and the minister's imprimatur that were persuasive.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Mary Portas' website describes her as 'London's leading retail marketing consultant.'

⁴⁹ When, a few years ago, the appointment of members of public boards was reformed to introduce open competition, many commentators argued that the consequence would be the unwillingness of suitable potential appointees to submit to such a process and a consequent dilution of the standard of appointments. This is now generally accepted not to have been the outcome.

6 What working methods do tsars adopt?

Terms of reference

86. Terms of reference for tsar remits are important so that the tsar and the minister can be held to account for the 'contract' that they have agreed. The Cabinet Manual's section on Public Appointments states:

The specific responsibilities of individual public appointees should be set out in letters of appointment and in related documents.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, there was no standard practice on this for tsars. Press notices issued by departments when a tsar's appointment was announced and some tsars' published reports revealed a variety of approaches to terms of reference, and we obtained further details in interviews. Some tsars were offered explicit and detailed terms of reference proposed by the department, perhaps negotiated them in detail, and may then have received a letter of appointment. Much more often, however, it seems that the minister or department regarded an oral understanding with the tsar as sufficient and appropriate expression of their respective responsibilities. One tsar told us:

You have to realise that when you take this work on you are making a bargain as an independent advisor. You get to work on an interesting topic, you have access to analytical support, and you can say what you like. But your report can just go on the shelf. Ministers can ignore it. Or they can write a foreword.

87. Evidence of agreement on the working methods the tsar would adopt were rare. Most tsars interviewed said they were not asked in advance to say in much detail, if at all, how they envisaged undertaking their task. In addition, most tsars were offered very little (if any) guidance about how to carry out their task. One civil servant interviewee said:

I didn't give him [the tsar] a detailed steer. He didn't need it. He...knew how to do these things.

The presumption seemed to be that the tsar would know how to go about the task and did not need to declare the steps that they would undertake. Some tsars did devise and issue their proposed work plan while others just set about the work in an apparently less planned or structured way. Another interviewee, an external expert advising the tsar, speaking about how the methodology was chosen, said:

To be frank, I'm not really sure. It just sort of came together through our weekly meetings under the project manager and occasionally [the tsar].

However, one minister we interviewed claimed to always give his tsars some advice:

Remember it's your report and you must be happy with it; have an advisory panel as a sounding board; avoid expressing views in public too early; have an open call for evidence; produce an interim report for consultation; and talk through your advice with the minister and officials before finalising the report.

He admitted that not all his tsars took this advice.

⁵⁰ The Cabinet Manual, 2011, para 7.21.

88. There was a consistent imprecision in planning and agreeing a methodology despite the wide range of skills the tsars possessed. Professionals, including academics and lawyers, whose training and experience embraced methods of gathering and analysing evidence to reach judgements, did know how to design a methodology and go about the work. Others, from business or public service or politics, for example, may not have had a similar depth of experience or extent of formal training or even done that kind of analytical work before or worked in a government milieu. Nor did the civil servants supporting the tsars whom we interviewed seem to have given much thought to the choice of methodology. They said that they approached this assignment much as they would their other departmental work, or they just got stuck in.
89. This contrasts starkly with usual practice when procuring expert consultancy or research through open competition. There the client's requirement is specified in some detail in an Invitation to Tender and the bidder's proposed approach and work programme have to be set out in some detail and are decisive in the client's assessment of their tender. Tsar appointments frequently invite the candidate to undertake a task that is only described in rather broad terms.
90. Tsars with review remits often had the word 'independent' attached to their formal title. All the tsars we interviewed felt that this promise was honoured, and that they were relatively free to go about the work in their own way, talk to whoever they liked, float whatever ideas they fancied. The savvier tsars recognised the need to build and maintain good relations with their ministerial and departmental clients if their arguments and advice were to carry weight. They produced progress reports, briefed senior officials and ministers (and even shadow ministers when elections loomed) in order to test reactions to their emerging proposals. One tsar interviewee summed up these consultations thus:

I was challenged, but never directed.

Durations

91. Most tsars were given specific deadlines to meet, others although some had more open-ended assignments. Table 22 shows that the majority (70%) completed their work within a year, of which 20% took under six months and 50% took between six and twelve months. Just over a quarter (28%) took more than a year.

20%	55	under 6 months
50%	134	6-12 months
70%	189	<i>up to 12 months</i>
28%	76	over 12 months
6%	14	extended
2%	6	reduced
	2	not known

Table 22 Durations of tsars' work

92. However, the overall totals conceal an important trend that emerged when we analysed the durations of tsars' assignments for each of the governments since 1997. This demonstrates that the duration of tsars' work has been getting shorter. Under each of the three Labour and the Coalition governments the percentage of assignments taking less than 6 months has clearly been increasing (the left hand column of each group in Figure 16). Overall this is more than a fourfold rise, from 7% to 31%, while those taking between 6 and 12 months has fallen from 57% to 47%, as has those needing more than 12 months, from 36% to 22%.
93. Some large-scope remits were completed in remarkably short periods of time: Sir Philip Green's review of the efficiency of government spending (2011) may hold the record at two months. Fourteen tsars had their terms extended, usually to accommodate new questions or lines of enquiry: for example, Sir Michael Lyons' review of local government finance (2004) was extended several times by ministers to widen the brief, and took three years in all. Prince Charles' appointment as NHS Hospital Design Champion (2001) has never formally been ended (see Annex 3.2).

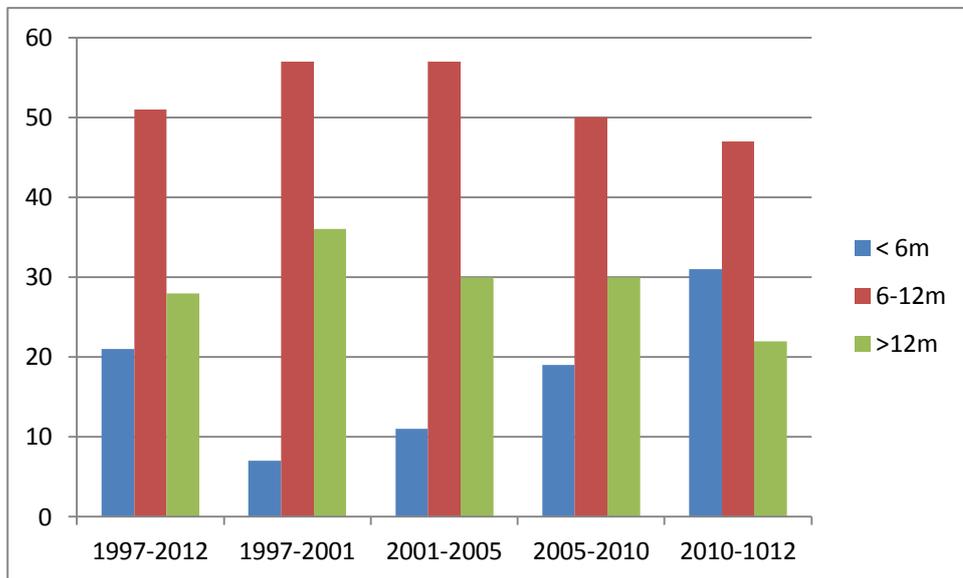


Figure 16 Duration of tsars' appointments

Methods

94. Each tsar adopted a mix of methods to gather evidence, including one or more of the following:
- Open calls for evidence, usually issued early on, which also publicised the project, helped to identify stakeholders and bought some time to get organised for the rest of the work
 - Research, undertaken by the project team or by analytical staff in the client department or commissioned externally
 - Surveys of stakeholders' views
 - Reviews of existing published evidence on the topic, though this was rarely done even when the topic was one of long standing which had been examined many times before.

- Relevant work by previous tsars, though they were not always made aware of their predecessors.
- Private discussions with key individuals or organisations
- Visits, to see practical work in situ or meet local experts, sometimes overseas.
- Consultative meetings with stakeholders and departments, most often private, occasionally in public.
- Consultation documents, sometimes an Interim Report would be used in this way too.
- Seminars and workshops with experts.
- Media interviews and speeches, to raise awareness, invite contributions, float ideas, this very dependent on the personal inclination of the tsar.

The ways tsars brought together their chosen sources of evidence, analysed the information and reached conclusions show two patterns: open versus closed approaches and broad versus narrow approaches. The adopted approach might be justified as appropriate to the remit, but in reality the choices depended mostly on the tsar's personal style. For example:

- Sir Michael Parkinson, in his role as National Dignity Ambassador (2008), acted as a figurehead for a government campaign to raise awareness of the quality of care in old people's homes; he often accompanied a minister on visits.
- Jean Gross as Children's Communication Champion (2009) made most of her discussions with local authorities and agencies away from the ministerial spotlight.

95. Tsars taking the **open** approach used one or more of the following methods: publicising their workplan; inviting outsiders to offer evidence or opinions; publishing reports of meetings and visits; writing newsletters and blogs; arranging media coverage; as well as publishing working papers, research studies and interim reports. Tsars with an open approach often used websites to publicise their work and invite participation; these were established either specially for the assignment or included as pages on the client department's website. For example:

- Alan Wood set up an independent website for his review of European public procurement (2003-4) from which consultation documents could be obtained.
- Martha Lane Fox created a blog for progress updates and discussion for her digital inclusion campaign (2010-).
- Baroness Newlove used the website of her charity Newlove Warrington to communicate her work as Champion for active, safer communities (2010-11; see Box 1 above).

96. Tsars adopting a **closed** approach did not declare their workplan, and little was known of their activities except by those directly involved until they revealed more in their published report, if there was one. Examples of the closed approach include:

- Reviews of airport security by Sir John Wheeler (2002) and of airport policing by Stephen Boys Smith (2005). Neither report was published though the ministers made statements of their decisions based upon them.
 - Brian Pomeroy's review of Christmas savings schemes (2006) based on private discussions with credit, retailing and consumer interests.
 - Richard Handover's review of school financial management (2008-9); his appointment was not announced officially and his report, of which only five copies were printed, was not published and FOI requests for it were rejected, though it was later leaked to the BBC.
 - Lord Michael Ashcroft's unpublished review of the future of military bases on Cyprus (2011) on which the minister announced a decision while only referring to an unnamed 'study'.
97. In some cases reasons of security or confidentiality may have justified restrictions on publishing information. But, those cases aside, it seems perverse to make a public appointment and then not give stakeholders an opportunity to know what the tsar is up to or to contribute in some way, even if only through the opportunity of responding to an interim report. Engaging stakeholders in analysing and designing policies is a well-established way to improve the chances of finding better outcomes.⁵¹ If ministers' ambition is to open up policy making and involve external expertise more, then an open approach by tsars should surely be the default practice.
98. The other distinction between a broad and a narrow approach concerns how widely the tsar casts the net in gathering evidence, initiating discussion and debate on the issue, commissioning original research and analysis, examining foreign practice, and engaging with diverse viewpoints and experiences. Choosing the **broad** approach may reflect the topic itself, when it addresses wide-ranging matters of public policy, although it was also chosen by tsars with narrower remits. The approach uses an inductive methodology, gathering diverse evidence and looking for generalisations that lead to conclusions. Examples of the broad approach are:
- The Leitch review on skills (2004), which included in its workplan a call for evidence, commissioned research, analysis of existing data, consultations, home and overseas visits and an interim report issued for comment; its final report ran to 154 pages.
 - Otto Thoresen, appointed to advise on developing a national approach to money advice (2007), estimated the need, interviewed potential clients, examined foreign practice, explored possible regulatory frameworks, and analysed the costs and benefits of his preferred approach
 - Dame Joan Bakewell, appointed the Voice of Older People (2008), initiated an active programme of discussions, public speaking, visits,

⁵¹ The Institute for Government has argued that 'responsive external engagement' is a fundamental of good policy making. Michael Hallsworth and Jill Rutter, *Making Policy Better: Improving Whitehall's core business*, London, Institute for Government, undated. p 8.

correspondence, journalism and radio and TV appearances, responding to the many overtures that she received.

99. In contrast, the **narrow** approach is typical of deductive reasoning, in which the tsar relied less on evidence gathering as the point of departure; rather they identified 'hypotheses' (or more prosaically 'hunches') about the topic and developed and tested them using a smaller, more focused selection of evidence sources. This tended to occur where tsars had professional expertise, such as lawyers, economists, educationalists or choreographers. In effect they had been commissioned to provide a professional opinion. Other tsars may have kept their approach narrow by drawing exclusively on their personal experience and contacts in, say, business, public service, the arts or the media. Examples of this narrow approach are :

- Sir Nicholas Goodison's review of support to museums and galleries for acquisitions (2003), which was largely informed by the views of an hoc group of lawyers, curators and other interested bodies, including a former director of Christie's auction house.
- The Stern Review of the economics of climate change (2005) undertaken with the assistance of a team of economists and academic consultants.
- Professor Paul Davies QC's review of the statutory regime for issuer liability for false or misleading statements in financial markets (2006) or Graham Aaronson QC's work on a general anti-avoidance rule in tax matters (2010).

When this narrow approach seems appropriate, then that should be the deliberate choice of the minister and expressed in the remit, rather than just the predilection of the tsar.

Assistance

100. Tsars are always appointed as individuals and ministers look to them for individual advice. Nevertheless they always need assistance. Almost all tsars worked part-time at their task and had to coordinate that role with their other work commitments. The public record is not very forthcoming about the detail of their assistance. The main source is reports, where tsars often acknowledge the help they have had from civil servants and sometimes from others. However, this does not consistently give information about the identities and roles or affiliations of the individuals providing the assistance or the explain the nature and content of that assistance.

101. Tsars' need for and use of assistance depended largely on the role they choose for themselves in the project. The tsars we interviewed used analogous terms such as 'team leader', 'research director', 'executive director'. They were indicating that they provided direction for the project while others in the team did the leg work; and that they would be personally responsible for its conclusions and recommendations even though others had been, in many cases, the hands-on analysts and drafted the report.

102. Tsar interviewees largely praised the officials seconded to assist them, finding them loyal and efficient, though 'still very much a civil servant' in the words of one tsar. None felt that the officials were there as the

department's minders. The officials interviewed also clearly enjoyed the change from their usual departmental roles, though some found subsequent re-entry into the mainstream problematic. One or two used the experience subsequently to shift to a career outside the civil service, sometimes in the field of the tsar's work.

103. We have identified three kinds of assistance to tsars: advisory, analytical and administrative. These are based on what was said in announcements, on tsars' and departments' websites or acknowledged in reports, together with our interviews. The public sources rarely made clear whether the tsar or the department decided whether or how much support the tsar needed, who would provide it or how it would be organised. Interviews revealed that departments often took the initiative in suggesting what type of support might be needed and often lined up the individuals to provide it. Usually the tsar gratefully accepted the offer, although some tsars negotiated the details, for example by declining to work with a formal advisory group, insisting on taking part in the selection of support staff, or bringing in assistants, or choosing their own external experts.

Advisory support

104. Although a number of tsars seemed to rely solely on their own expertise, far more took advice from others. Two forms of advisory support recur. Some tsars had a few, often two, of these advisors to provide them with complementary expertise. For example:

- Sir Nigel Shadbolt as Information Adviser (2009), concerned with increasing access to government data, was himself advised by Tim Berners-Lee.
- Dame Carol Black, from a career in healthcare, worked with David Frost, a former Director General of the British Chamber of Commerce, on a review of the cost of sickness absence (2011).
- Tom Winsor, lawyer and ex-rail regulator, was advised in his review of police pay and conditions (2010) by Professor Richard Disney (a labour market economist) and Sir Edward Crew (former Chief Constable of West Midlands Police).

In such cases the named tsar was *primus inter pares* and the author of the advice to the minister.

For many other tsars support was provided through a larger advisory group whose members were less closely engaged in the work and served more as a sounding board for emerging findings and recommendations. Again the tsar was the final source of advice to the minister that may or may not have been approved, possibly not even seen in advance, by advisory group members. Examples include:

- Sir Alan Wood was supported by a Steering Group of business and trade union representatives and senior civil servants in his review of European public procurement (2003);
- Sir John Pattison was supported by an Advisory Panel of scientists and medical experts in formulating a ten year vision for UK stem cell research (2005);

- Sir James Crosby reviewed identity management (2006) as Chair of a Public Private Forum;
- Lord Davies carried out a review of women on company boards (2010) supported by a steering group drawn from the business world and academia;
- Reg Bailey's review of the commercialisation and sexualisation of children (2010) drew on the assistance of a group of 'critical friends' who offered expertise and challenge.

Sometimes such advisory groups and their members were proposed by the minister or department, sometimes selected by the tsar. If a tsar did not want such support the department did not usually insist.

Analytical support

105. Some tsars needed new research to inform their work, for example through surveys or modelling. Some needed secondary analysis of existing data or reviews of evidence on the topic. They could create a team of analysts for this, either recruited themselves or seconded from departments, and/or they could commission work from analysts in the departments and/or externally. Any such departmental analytical support was not usually costed separately. External analytical support also might not be costed separately if the work could be accounted for as a part of the department's existing consultancy budget; or it might need to be a separate commission for which a budget line had to be allocated. When these arrangements were not available, the tsar had to have some special ad hoc arrangements or go without. Examples of analytical support included:

- Derek Wanless commissioned two studies (one by European Observatory on Healthcare Systems and the other by York Health Economics Consortium) which contributed to his findings on population health (2003).
- a team of professionals from HMT, DfES and the Sector Skills Development Agency was recruited to support Lord Leitch's review of the UK's long term skill needs (2004); some external research was commissioned, managed and funded by the latter agency.
- Professor John Hills hired academic colleagues at his own university research centre to assist him in his review of fuel poverty policy (2011).

Administrative support

106. Tsars need assistance with administrative tasks such as arranging meetings, handling correspondence and maybe drafting papers. In most cases an official from the client department, usually at Grade 6 or 7, was assigned to the tsar to provide this support, acting as project manager; occasionally the tsar brought someone from their own organisation into this role, and the organisation probably had to pay for that; in some cases a tsar was helped to recruit an outsider to this role.

Contact with ministers and senior officials

107. All tsars realised that they had been personally chosen by that minister and would in due course report to that minister (unless a ministerial reshuffle intervened). They therefore had a strong sense of the minister as their client. The degree of responsiveness of officials and of ministers varied.

Sometimes a senior official in the department acted for the minister, wanting to be kept informed about progress and how the tsar's thinking was developing, occasionally providing a steer. For other tsars the senior officials seemed disinterested, the tsar found them difficult to engage with the project, at least until a draft report was produced. Similarly with ministers. The more savvy among the tsars recognised the need to get the minister on side with their conclusions and advice. They adopted a number of tactics to achieve that. The following quotes are from three different tsars.

- *I thought that if I take this on, then I have to have a conversation with the Secretary of State, so I know that these are things he has the remotest chance of doing ... I very strongly asked for that contact and I got it ... I met him probably about three times.*
- *I kept [the minister] informed. Every couple of months I rang him up and went to his office in the evening and we shared a bottle of Burgundy, or he would call me and say 'I've got a bit of time now, can you come over?'*
- *I was worried at the first meeting with [a new minister after a reshuffle] in case she did not support the proposals, although by then I was not afraid of ministers and I knew we had a good story to tell ...The meeting did go well.*

Value for money

108. It is impossible to judge the value for money of tsars as a source of expert advice, as neither side of the equation, value or money, is recorded. Some aspects of a tsar's activities require direct payments, notably if the tsar is being paid a fee and expenses (see para 68ff) and the cost of commissioning external research or consultancy. All other costs, including civil servant staff time, travel and subsistence, office costs, venue hire and catering, printing and publishing and websites, are borne somewhere within the client department's budgets and probably not separately identified. It is clear that monetary cost was not a deciding factor for ministers or officials for the great majority of tsar appointments, and they could not say with any accuracy what the work had cost.⁵² To find that out they would have to get an accountant to unpick the department's accounts to trace every piece of expenditure attributable to the tsar's work.

109. To assess the value side of a value for money judgement there would need to be formal performance reviews of the work of tsars. Ministers and officials did have views about how useful a particular tsar had been. Obvious indicators that a tsar's activities or recommendations had proved unacceptable were when the tsar was sacked or was not reappointed after a change of government, or if a minister made no formal response to the tsar's work. On the other hand, 12% of individual tsars have been appointed more than once to different remits, the 'repeat business' endorsement.

110. The work of tsars, as one means of bringing outside expertise to bear on policy, is not subject to rigorous critique or evaluation.⁵³ There is no formal

⁵² As a rough indicator, the fee for a tsar working 2.5 days per week for eight months (35 weeks) for an equivalent of £750 per day would be £65,625.

⁵³ There has also been little external critique of the work of tsars. One exception is the Institute of Government's assessment that the Turner Pensions Commission was an

quality assurance process for individual tsars advice: the personal appointment by a minister and, probably more importantly, the direct relationship with and reporting to the minister, seem to preclude any advice from officials on the quality of the tsar's work. One critical commentator observed that:

...there appears to be no systematic checks on the quality of outsourced evidential reviews.⁵⁴

111. Nor has the collective experience of appointing tsars been evaluated in the way that, for example, a department's research programme is commonly subject to periodic evaluation to assess its quality, impact and value for money; or the way that the performance of an expert advisory body is assessed from time to time, most recently in the Coalition's 'quango cull'.
112. Moreover, again unlike the appointment of researchers or consultants or engagement with scientific advisory bodies, there is no procedural or practice advice in place to guide the work of tsars and their assistants. Nor are there cadres of officials who regularly do this kind of work. Nor a senior official with oversight of tsar appointments. Most tsars do the job once only, supported by officials who are usually without previous experience in this kind of work. Our tsar interviewees only occasionally told us of contact they had with previous tsars in order to 'pick their brains'. So, not only is there no formal evaluation of tsars' work individually or collectively to inform departmental guidance, there is also no accumulation and harvesting of good practice to install within a department's institutional memory. Without evaluation the civil service cannot learn how best to manage tsar appointments on behalf of ministers. One senior civil servant we interviewed declared:

I'm not a fan of evaluating tsars' contribution, as they are a small feature, there are not many of them, they don't cost much, they work well on the whole.'

How do they know?

exemplar of policy success; Jill Rutter, Edward Marshall and Sam Sims, The 'S' factors: Lessons from IfG's policy success reunions, Institute for Government, 2012. Another example is an assessment of the report of Graham Badman's review of home education which criticised its methodological and reporting qualities; Bruce Stafford, Bad evidence: the curious case of the government-commissioned review of elective home education in England and how parents exposed its weaknesses, Evidence and Policy, 8/3, 2012.

⁵⁴ Bruce Stafford, op.cit., p 375.

7 How effective are tsars?

113. The term 'tsar' may be disliked because it can give a false impression of executive authority. Yet tsars can be hugely powerful: they have the power to influence ministers and policies directly and personally. Potentially ministers see tsars' advice as authoritative, informed and trustworthy and it comes straight to them, unmediated by others. The actual influence tsars have can be charted in terms of their outputs (what they produce as advice), the outcomes (how the advice is regarded and treated by the minister and parliament) and consequent impacts (in terms of changes in policy, practice or the terms of debate). Our research has been able to track a sequence of outputs, outcomes and impacts for most of the more than 260 tsar appointments over the last 15 years.

Outputs

114. Information in the public domain about the results of tsars' work is plentiful in some cases, patchy in some and hidden or absent in others (Table 23). In four fifths of the 260 cases (80%) where the tsar's work was complete by mid 2012, the tsar had given the minister a final report with advice or recommendations for next steps. Most of these were for reviews, and most of them took the form of texts written by the tsar with more or less assistance from the civil servants working with them.

80%	208	Final report
15%	39	Interim report(s) or briefings only
5%	13	Not known
100%	260	Total (completed work)

Table 23 Tsars' reporting

115. How these final reports were published varied greatly:

- some were published as parliamentary papers, for example Sir Iain Glidewell's review of the Crown Prosecution Service (1998) was Cm.3960;
- some were published on the department's website, for example, the many reviews commissioned by Treasury ministers;
- others were published on a bespoke website created specifically for the review, for example, Professor Adrian Smith's review of post-14 maths education (2002);
- yet others were published on the website of the tsar's home or sponsoring institution, for example, the report of Professor John Hills' review on fuel poverty (2011) on LSE's website; and Jean Gross, the Children's Communications Champion's report (2010) on the Communications Trust's website.

116. Some final reports were not published at all. They were confidential reports with restricted circulation not released into the public domain, although

sometimes a minister might refer to its existence, as happened with Lord Ashcroft's report on air bases in Cyprus (2011).⁵⁵

117. In about a sixth of cases (15%) the tsar produced only an interim report or informal briefing(s), which may not have been written documents, and there was apparently no final written report. This arrangement may or may not have been agreed at the outset. Tsars with remits to represent and promote (see paras 77ff) were more likely to produce such interim reports or brief the minister in some other way. Tsars with remits to represent and promote were more likely to use such informal means to update ministers on their emerging findings and recommendations. Tsars who had promote remits were also likely to use public communications to put their messages out, including making speeches at events, such as Martha Lane Fox (2009) on digital media; writing online blogs, such as Baroness Newlove on safer communities (2010); and giving media interviews or writing opinion pieces for print and online newspapers, such as Dame Joan Bakewell as the Voice of Older People (2008).
118. For a small number of tsars (5%) we could find no evidence of their outputs in any of the above forms in the public domain. We submitted Freedom of Information requests to six departments to find out more about the reports provided by a sample of 12 tsars with represent or promote remits. We received full substantive replies concerning only three of these 12 tsars, only two of which help to answer the specific question: how did the tsar report to the minister (details are in Annex 3.2). The FOI requests regarding the other nine tsars were rejected on various grounds. In the two substantive answers, one tsar was reported to have had periodic face to face meetings with the minister, supplemented by written notes; the other wrote a summary report in the form of a letter to the relevant ministers.
119. In summary, almost all tsars produced reports, though they were not always published. For a minority of tsar appointments there is no public evidence of what they did.

Outcomes: ministerial responses

120. Ministers have responded to tsars' reports in various ways. Usually there is a press notice acknowledging the report. In some cases the minister has written a foreword to the published report. In some case the minister has made a statement in parliament. Just over 18% of tsar appointments were announced to parliament by ministers in statements to both houses; the remaining 82% were not announced there (Table 24), although they may have been publicised in press statements and on departments' websites. Ministers made statements on receiving a tsar's report to both houses in fewer than half (43%) of the cases (Table 24). Again, there was much variability in practice. Ministerial responses were sometimes timed to accompany the publication of the report; sometimes they were promised for a later stage. Whether the minister responded publicly or later on, the response to the tsar's advice in the report could range from total acceptance of all the recommendations with a commitment to a programme

⁵⁵ Phil Hammond, House of Commons Written Statement, Hansard, 15 December 2011, col 114WS.

of action to deliver on the advice, to total rejection, via partial acceptance or a deferred decision.

	Yes	No
Appointment announced	18%	82%
Report announced	43%	57%

Table 24 Ministerial statements in parliament

121. Tsars' advice in published reports was rarely overtly rejected; rather there would be no public response. This silence may indicate that the tsar had briefed ministers and officials informally or off the record, or that ministers were dissatisfied with the tsar's work and/or recommendations, or whose interest in the topic had faded, or where the policy issue had become less of a priority; or the minister receiving the report had not commissioned it, following reshuffles or a general election. It may not be clear which of these explanations apply. Some tsars, facing this non-response, have stated their dissatisfaction publicly:

- Jan Berry, appointed as the Reducing Bureaucracy in Policing Advocate by Labour (2008), a post that was not renewed by the Coalition administration, told a subsequent select committee inquiry that she had never received a formal response to any of her reports.⁵⁶
- Frank Field MP, who reviewed poverty and life chances (2010) for the Coalition administration, reportedly said that he did not believe the Prime Minister has read the paper, and despite 'some very pleasant meetings' with cabinet ministers about his recommendations 'nothing has been done about it.'⁵⁷

Outcomes: parliamentary responses

122. We traced in Hansard parliamentary references to a randomised sample of 67 (25%) of the 267 tsars for both the House of Commons and House of Lords, including ministerial statements, parliamentary questions, debates, early day motions and petitions, and in select committee publications.

123. Members of both houses (mostly MPs in the Commons) asked questions about 83% of the individual tsars. There were up to 10 questions on one third (34%) of the tsars and up to 30 questions about nearly two thirds (65%) of tsars. A few tsars (13%) attracted more questions and 16% had none. Members also sometimes referred to tsars in debates and in one or two Early Day Motions (EDMs), where 39% of tsars attracted up to 10 mentions and almost a fifth (19%) attracted between 51 and 100 mentions while more than a fifth (22%) were not mentioned (Table 25). This evidences quite a high level of interest among members of both Houses in the work of individual tsars.

	PQs	Debates, EDMs

⁵⁶ House of Commons, Home Affairs Committee, *New Landscape of Policing*, Session 2010-12, HC 939, 2011, para 251.

⁵⁷ Guardian, 24 September 2012.

none	16%	22%
1-10	34%	39%
11-30	31%	6%
31-50	4%	7%
51-100	12%	19%
101+	1%	1%

Table 25 Parliamentary questions, debates, EDMs

124. Tsars also had frequent mentions in the publications of select committees of the House of Commons (Table 26). Tsars have given oral and written evidence to committees either during or after their appointments, and tsars' work and reports have been mentioned in evidence given by others.

none	25%
1-10	49%
11-50	18%
51-100	6%
101+	1%

Table 26 Select committees' consideration of tsars' work

125. Most of the mentions in the sample concerned matters of substance while one was a report of a pre-appointment hearing for a statutory tsar appointment. In our sample there were no select committee inquiries purely on tsars' own reports, although in recent years there have been inquiries either focused explicitly on a tsar's report or on a topic on which a recent tsar's report had made a major contribution and formed an important part of the evidence before the committee. For example:

- The report of the Badman review of home education (2009) was examined by the Children, Schools and Families Select Committee following public opposition to its conclusions; the Committee issued a very critical report.⁵⁸ In June 2012 the Committee announced a further inquiry on home education.
- Professor Ian Hargreaves' review of intellectual property and growth (2010) and the government response has been exhaustively considered by the Business, Innovation and Skills Select Committee, which has published three reports on it.⁵⁹
- The Education Select Committee announced in July 2011 an inquiry into the child protection system after publication in May 2011 of Professor Eileen

⁵⁸ House of Commons, Children, Schools and Families Committee, The review of elective home education, Session 2009-10, HC 39, 2009.

⁵⁹ The latest with the government's response is House of Commons, Business Innovation and Skills Committee, The Hargreaves Review of Intellectual Property: Where next?, Session 2012-13, HC 579, 2012.

Munro's review of child protection (2010) to which the government had already responded.⁶⁰

- In March 2012 the Transport Select Committee announced an inquiry into Rail 2020 which would take account of, but not be limited to, the report by Sir Roy McNulty on improving efficiency in the rail industry (2010) and the government's consequent proposals for reform, fares and decentralisation published in March 2012.⁶¹

Individual select committees choose to focus an inquiry on a tsar's reports of their own volition; there is no common procedure that requires them to put tsars' work under their scrutiny.

Outcomes: actions

126. Beyond the tsar's reporting and the government, and possibly parliamentary, response to it, accepting the tsar's advice wholly or in part, there may be actual outcomes. Table 27 shows the several kinds of action that the 267 tsar appointments have produced. However, the labels should be interpreted with caution as they are inevitably imprecise; this is the because tsars' remits vary so much in terms of scope, breadth, depth, and because the amount of detail about outcomes in the public domain varies enormously. With that caution in mind, and as several actions often apply to each case, we can state some overall impressions.

42%	112	policy change
38%	103	practice change
19%	52	new organisational remit
11%	31	legislation
10%	28	further government-commissioned inquiry
7%	18	select committee inquiry
3%	9	progress report(s) on implementation
13%	36	other (of which 24 in progress)
15%	41	not known

Table 27 Actions arising from tsars' work

(total exceeds 100% as several outcomes may apply to each tsar appointment)

127. In over 40% of tsars' work a policy change was informed and may have been prompted by tsars' efforts. For example:

- Philip Hampton's review of regulation, inspection and enforcement (2004) resulted in the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Act 2006.
- new rates of tuition fees for students were introduced following Lord Browne's review of higher education (2010).

⁶⁰ <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/education-committee/inquiries/parliament-2010/child-protection/>

⁶¹ <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/transport-committee/inquiries/parliament-2010/rail-2020/>

- Professor Alison Wolf's review of vocational education (2010) resulted in curriculum changes, reform of performance tables and funding rules, and a commitment to simplify apprenticeships (this latter now the subject of a further review).
128. In just under 40% of cases there was a change in practice prompted directly by the tsar's recommendations. For example:
- Nigel Shadbolt's and Tim Berners-Lee's work as Information Advisors (2009) has led to the creation of the www.data.gov.uk website.
 - Sir Michael Pitt's review of lessons learned from the summer 2007 floods (2008) had proposals for the better prediction of, preparation for and response to flooding.
- Sir Jim Rose's report on dyslexia (2009) led to better identification of the condition and to new teaching methods.
129. In nearly a fifth of cases (19%) a tsar's recommendations have led to a new organisation being established or to changes to roles of existing bodies. For example:
- the Office of Government Commerce was created following Peter Gershon's review of procurement (1998);
 - the Money Advice Service was established following Otto Thoresen's review of financial advice (2008);
 - the UK Council for Child Internet Safety was created following Dr Tanya Byron's review of the risks that children face from the internet and video games(2007);
 - the regulator OfCom's responsibilities were altered following Professor Martin Cave's review of spectrum management (2001).
130. It is however not always the case that a positive government response leads to action. The vagaries of ministerial reshuffles, elections, changing agendas and shifting priorities, may stall action. Not all the promised actions have come to fruition. Our judgement though is that the advice of a majority of tsars has some impact.

Impacts

131. What difference have tsars made? The findings of our research show that a significant proportion of tsar appointments seem to make a difference to policy and/or practice and/or the terms of public debate. The degree of influence a tsar can have is often helped in one or more of four circumstances:
- if the tsar's appointment or reporting is timed to support already planned legislative or budgetary action or a stated government priority;
 - if the tsar's work is based on sound expertise, producing compelling advice based on rigorous analysis and argument;
 - if the tsar's recommendations are politically acceptable to the minister;
 - if the tsar has built a community of active support within and/or outside government that will keep the momentum for change going.

132. Where the expertise that tsars draw on is close to their main professional or analytical activities, the tsars have a stronger chance of seeing their recommendations accepted and acted on, provided the minister is committed to the issue and judges the political timing and context to be favourable. Delayed or lukewarm responses can be an indication of loss of salience of that issue, or loss of the attention of the tsar's ministerial patron.

133. We identify three types of impact of a tsar's work on policy development.

- First, it can offer a **solution** for a pressing problem that a minister wants to solve, for example, Professor Alison Wolf on vocational education or Sir Scott Baker QC on extradition laws. That is what most tsars are appointed to do, thus operating rather like consultants or professional advisors.
- Second, the work can be an exercise in **reframing** what may be a contested and long-running policy issue, such as Lord Sandy Leitch's work on skills, Adair Turner's on pensions or more recently Andrew Dilnot's on social care. Here the tsar can offer a refreshed and potentially more consensual basis for reform, which may take time to be realised. Such tsars may be seen as a substitute for the traditional committee of inquiry.
- Third, and perhaps not often intentionally, the work of a tsar may result in no specifically attributable actions, yet it will strongly inform the terms of subsequent **policy debate** over time, such as Sir Michael Lyons' work on local government finance or Sir Nicholas Stern's review of the economics of climate change. Such work is somewhat akin to commissioned research.

Tsars who do indeed take charge of their remit can be powerful influences on policy.

* * * * *

Annex 1.1 Tsars 1997-2012⁶²

LABOUR 1997-2001

Prof Sir Jack Beatson	Review of bailiff law	Lord Irvine	MOJ
Ted Cante	Chair, Review of community cohesion after race riots	David Blunkett	HO
David Carson	Chair, Review of GP after hours care	John Denham	DH
Louise Casey	Head of Rough Sleepers Unit	Tony Blair	CO
Don Cruikshank	Review of UK banking services	Gordon Brown	HMT
Sir John Egan	Chair, construction taskforce	John Prescott	DCLG
Peter Gershon	Review of civil procurement in central government	Geoffrey Robinson	HMT
Sir Iain Glidewell	Review of the Crown Prosecution Service	Jack Straw	MOJ
Keith Hellawell*	UK Anti-drugs coordinator	Ann Taylor	CO
DeAnne Julius	Chair, Review of banking service consumer codes	Gordon Brown	HMT
Jim Rose	Scrutiny of national assessment tests for primary schools	David Blunkett	DfE
Lord Sharman	Review of audit and accountability of central government	Alastair Darling	HMT
Prof Sir Leslie Turnberg	Chair, Review of London's health services	Frank Dobson	DH
Derek Wanless	Review of long term resource needs for health	Gordon Brown	HMT

LABOUR 2001-2005

Christopher Allsopp	Review of statistics for economic policy making	Gordon Brown	HMT
Iain Anderson	Chair, Review of government response to foot and mouth 2001	Margaret Beckett	DEFRA

⁶² * Appointment renewed by next government. The list uses most recent forms of departments' names.

Please note: we are sure that this list is incomplete and has omissions where we have not yet identified appointments.

Prof George Bain	Chair, Review of the fire service	John Prescott	DCLG
Kate Barker	Review of housing supply	Gordon Brown	HMT
Stephen Boys Smith	Review of Coal Health Compensation Scheme	Malcolm Wicks	BIS
Mr Justice Butterfield	Review of criminal investigations and prosecutions conducted by HM Customs and Excise	John Healy; Lord Goldsmith	HMT; AG
Lord Carter	Review of offender management	David Blunkett	HO
Lord Carter	Review of the Criminal Records Bureau	David Blunkett	HO
Lord Carter	Review of public diplomacy	Jack Straw	FCO; HMT
Prof Martin Cave	Audit of spectrum holdings	Gordon Brown	HMT
Prof Martin Cave	Independent review of radio spectrum management	Gordon Brown; Patricia Hewitt	HMT; BIS
Prince Charles	NHS hospital design champion	Alan Milburn	DH
Sir David Clementi	Review of the regulation of legal services	Lord Falconer	MOJ
Ann Clwyd MP	UK Special envoy on human rights in Iraq	Tony Blair	PM
Sir Brian Fall	Special representative for South Caucasus	Jack Straw	FCO
Sir Andrew Foster	Review of the future role of FE colleges	Charles Clarke	DfE
Peter Gershon*	Review of royal and ministerial air travel	David Miliband	CO
Sir Nicholas Goodison	Review of support to museums	Paul Boateng	HMT
Teresa Graham	Review of Small Firms Loan Guarantee	Patricia Hewitt	BIS
Philip Hampton	Review of regulatory inspection and enforcement	Gordon Brown	HMT
Lord Haskins	Review of rural delivery	Margaret Beckett	DEFRA
Lord Haskins	Rural recovery co-ordinator	Tony Blair	DEFRA
Derek Higgs	Chair, Review of role and effectiveness of NEDs	Patricia Hewitt; Gordon Brown	BIS; HMT
Richard Lambert	Review of business-university collaboration	Gordon Brown	HMT
Sandy Leitch	Review of UK's long term skill needs	Gordon Brown; Charles Clarke	HMT; DfE
Sir Michael Lyons	Review of public sector relocation	Gordon Brown; John Prescott	HMT; DCLG

Sir Michael Lyons*	Head of inquiry into local government	Gordon Brown; John Prescott; Ruth Kelly	HMT; DCLG
Prof David Miles	Review of the fixed rate mortgage market	Gordon Brown	HMT
Sir Derek Morris	Review into the actuarial profession	Ruth Kelly	HMT
Sir Paul Myners	Review of institutional investment	Gordon Brown	HMT
Sir Paul Myners	Review of corporate governance of mutual life offices	Ruth Kelly	HMT
Lord Penrose	Inquiry into Equitable Life Assurance Society	Ruth Kelly	HMT
Alan Pickering	Review of private sector pensions	Alastair Darling	DWP
Sir Gareth Roberts	Review of science and engineering skills in the UK	Gordon Brown	BIS
Ron Sandler	Review of long term retail savings	Gordon Brown	HMT
Prof Steven Schwartz	Chair, Review of HE admissions	Charles Clarke	DfE
Prof Adrian Smith	Chair of inquiry into post 14 maths education	Charles Clarke	DfE
Prof Adrian Smith	Chair, Review of crime statistics	Charles Clarke	HO
Mike Tomlinson	Inquiry into A level standards	Estelle Morris	DfE
Adair Turner	Chair, Pensions Commission	Tony Blair	DWP
Derek Wanless	Review of securing good health for the whole nation	Gordon Brown; John Reid	HMT; DH
Sir John Wheeler	Review on airport security	Alastair Darling; David Blunkett	DTP; HO
Brian Wilson MP	PM's Special representative on overseas trade and Iraq reconstruction	Tony Blair	PM
Alan Wood	Review of European public procurement	Gordon Brown	HMT; BIS

LABOUR 2005-2010

Rod Aldridge	Chair, Dance Champions Group	Andy Burnham	DH
Iain Anderson	Chair, Review of 2007 foot and mouth disease response	Hilary Benn	PM; DEFRA
John Ashton	Special representative for climate change	Margaret Beckett	FCO
Maggie Atkinson	Children's Commissioner	Ed Balls	DfE

Sir Al Aynsley-Green	Children's Commissioner	Ruth Kelly	DfE
Graham Badman	Review of elective home education	Ed Balls	DfE
Dame Joan Bakewell	Voice of older people	Harriet Harman	CO
Prof Sube Banerjee	Review of the use of anti-psychotic drugs for dementia	Phil Hope	DH
Christopher Banks	Review of fees and co-funding in further education in England	Peter Mandelson	BIS
Kate Barker	Review of the land use planning system in England	Gordon Brown; John Prescott	HMT; DCLG
John Bercow MP	Review of services for children and young people with speech, language and communication needs	Alan Johnson; Ed Balls	DH; DfE
Tim Berners-Lee	Government internet advisor	Gordon Brown	CO
Jan Berry	Reducing bureaucracy in policing advocate	Jacqui Smith	HO
Dame Carol Black	Review of the health of the working age population	Andy Burnham; James Purnell	DH; DWP
Steve Boorman	Chair, Review of NHS Health and Well-being	Andy Burnham	DH
Lord Boyce	Chair, Review of the armed forces compensation scheme	Bob Ainsworth	MOD
Stephen Boys Smith	Review of airport policing	Alastair Darling; Charles Clarke	DTP; HO
Stephen Boys Smith	Review of personnel security in transport	Ruth Kelly	DTP
Stephen Boys Smith	Review of Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre	Jacqui Smith	HO
Lord Bradley	Review of people with mental health problems in the criminal justice system	Jack Straw	MOJ
Des Browne MP	Special envoy to Sri Lanka	Gordon Brown	FCO
Lord Browne	Chair, Review of higher education funding and student finance	Peter Mandelson	BIS
Prof Tanya Byron	Review the risks that children face from the internet and video games	Ed Balls; Andy Burnham	DfE; DCMS
Richard Caborn MP	Ambassador for 2018 World Cup bid	Gordon Brown	DCMS
Francesco Caio	Chair, Review of barriers to investment in next generation access	Shriti Vadera	BIS
Lord Carter	Review of legal aid procurement	Lord Falconer	MOJ
Lord Carter	Review of NHS pathology services 2006-08	Lord Warner	DH
Prof Martin Cave	Review of competition in water markets	Alastair Darling; Hilary Benn	HMT; DEFRA

Prof Martin Cave	Review of social housing regulation	Ruth Kelly	DCLG
Prof Martin Cave	Chair, Review of airport regulation	Ruth Kelly	DTP
Sir John Chadwick	Advisor in relation to The Equitable Life ex-gratia compensation scheme	Stephen Timms	HMT
Michael Clapham*	Chair, Review of coalfields regeneration	John Healy	DCLG
Sir David Cooksey	Review of the public funding of health research	Patricia Hewitt; Alan Johnson	DH; BIS
Baroness Corston	Review of vulnerable women in the criminal justice system	Lady Scotland	MOJ
Sir George Cox	Review of creativity in UK business	Gordon Brown	HMT
Sir James Crosby	Chair, public-private forum on identity management	Gordon Brown	HMT
Lord Davidson QC	Review of UK implementation of EU regulations	Gordon Brown	HMT
Prof Paul Davies QC	Review of statutory regime for issuer liability	Ed Balls	HMT
Prof Sir Gordon Duff*	Review of the organ donor register	Andy Burnham	DH
Sir Rod Eddington	Review of long-term links between transport and the UK's economic productivity	Gordon Brown; Douglas Alexander	HMT; DTP
John Elbourne	Review of older people's engagement with government	Mike O'Brien	DWP
Sir Ronnie Flanagan	Review of policing	Jacqui Smith	HO
Michael Foot	Review of British offshore financial centres	Alastair Darling	HMT
Sir Andrew Foster*	Review of InterCity Express programme	Lord Adonis	DTP
Sir Andrew Foster	Review of the management of the further education capital programme	John Denham	BIS
Martha Lane Fox*	UK digital champion	Gordon Brown; David Cameron	BIS; CO
David Freud	Review of Welfare to Work system	James Purnell	DWP
Barry Gardiner MP	Special representative on forestry	Gordon Brown	PM
Michael Gibbons	Review of employment dispute resolution	Alastair Darling	BIS
Mark Gibson	Chair, Review of UK construction industry productivity	Peter Mandelson	BIS
Prof Ian Gilmore	Chair, Review of prescription charge exemptions for people with long term conditions	Alan Johnson	DH
Howard Goodall	National ambassador for singing	Alan Johnson	DfE

Andrew Gowers	Review into intellectual property rights	Gordon Brown	HMT
Prof Paul Gregg	Review of the benefit rules	James Purnell	DWP
Gerry Grimstone	Review of the use of civilians in defence	Ainsworth, Bob	MOD
Jean Gross	Communications champion for children and young people with speech, language and communication needs	Ed Balls	DfE
Sir Peter Hall and Chris Green	Station champions	Lord Adonis	DTP
Tony Hall	Review of youth dance and dance education	Lord Adonis	DfE
Richard Handover	Review of school financial management	Ed Balls	DfE
Hermann Hauser	Review of Technology and Innovation Centres in the UK	Peter Mandelson	BIS
Prof John Hills	Chair, National Equality Panel	Harriet Harman	CO
Prof John Hills	Review of social housing	Ruth Kelly	DCLG
Dame Deirdre Hine*	Review of UK swine flu pandemic 2009	Andy Burnham	CO
Richard Hooper	Review of UK postal services sector	John Hutton	BIS
Digby Jones	Skills envoy	Gordon Brown	HMT
Prof Julia King	Review of low carbon vehicle technologies	Gordon Brown	HMT
Prof John Lawton	Chair, Review of England's wildlife sites	Hilary Benn	DEFRA
Mark Lazarowicz MP	PM's Special representative on carbon trading	Ed Miliband	DECC
Lord Lester	Adviser on aspects of constitutional reform	Jack Straw	MoJ
Chris Lewin and Ed Sweeney	Review of deregulation of private pensions	John Hutton	DWP
Prof Richard Macrory	Review of regulatory sanctions and penalties	John Hutton	CO
Sir Ian Magee*	Review of legal aid delivery and governance	Lord Bach	MOJ
Sir Ian Magee	Chair, Review of criminality information	Jacqui Smith	HO
Sunita Mason*	Advisor on criminality information management	Jacqui Smith; Theresa May	HO
Jack McConnell MSP	PM's Special representative for conflict resolution mechanisms	Gordon Brown	FCO
Anne McGuire MP	Adviser on third sector innovation	Gordon Brown	CO

Wayne MacGregor	Youth dance champion	Margaret Hodge	DCMS
David McLeod and Nita Clarke	Review of employee engagement	Peter Mandelson	BIS
Sir Roy McNulty	Chair, rail value for money study	Lord Adonis	DTP
Alan Milburn MP*	Chair, Review panel on access into the professions	Gordon Brown	CO
Elliot Morley MP	Special representative for Gleneagles climate change dialogue	David Miliband	DECC
Baroness Estelle Morris	Review of ICT user skills	John Denham	BIS
Prof Anne Murcott	Chair, Review of controls on infant formula and follow-on formula	Dawn Primarolo	DH
Rabbi Julia Neuberger	Prime Minister's Volunteering champion	Gordon Brown	CO
Mike Nichols	Review of the Highway Agency's major roads programme	Douglas Alexander	DTP
David Norgrove	Chair, family justice system review panel	Jack Straw; Ed Balls	MoJ; DfE
Sir Peter North	Review of drink and drug driving law	Lord Adonis	DTP
Sir David Omand*	Review of the ACMD	Alan Johnson	HO
Sir Michael Parkinson	Ambassador for dignity in care	Ivan Lewis	DH
Sara Payne	Victims' champion	Jack Straw	MoJ
Adrian Penfold	Review of non-planning consents	Ian Lucas	BIS
Sir Joseph Pilling*	Identity Commissioner	Alan Johnson	HO
Sir Joseph Pilling	Review of strategic regulation of the civil aviation authority	Ruth Kelly	DTP
Sir Michael Pitt	Review of lessons learned from the summer 2007 floods	Hilary Benn	DEFRA
Brian Pomeroy	Review of Christmas savings schemes	Ed Balls	HMT
Kieran Poynter	Review of loss of child benefit data	Alastair Darling	HMT
David Quarmby*	Review of the resilience of England's transport systems in winter 2009-10	Lord Adonis	DTP
Sir Steve Redgrave	2012 Sports legacy champion	Tessa Jowell	DCMS
Sir Jim Rose	Review of the national primary curriculum	Ed Balls	DfE
Sir Jim Rose	Review of identifying and teaching children and young people with	Ed Balls	DfE

	dyslexia		
Sir Jim Rose	Review of the teaching of early reading	Ruth Kelly	DfE
Julie Rugg and David Rhodes	Review of the private rented sector	Ian Wright	DCLG
Lord Sainsbury	Review of science and innovation policies	Gordon Brown	HMT
Finlay Scott*	Chair, Review of healthcare professionals registration	Alan Johnson	DH
Nigel Shadbolt	Information Adviser	Gordon Brown	CO
Dame Stephanie Shirley	Government's Giving and philanthropy ambassador	Gordon Brown	CO
Peter Smallridge and Andrew Williamson	Review of the use of restraint in juvenile secure settings	David Hanson; Beverley Hughes	MOJ; DfE
Peter Smallridge and Andrew Williamson	Monitor implementation of changes arising from the review of restraint	David Hanson; Beverley Hughes	MOJ; DfE
Ian R Smith	Review the scope for further government relocations	Alastair Darling	HMT
John Stannard	National Champion for the Young, Gifted and Talented Programme	Lord Adonis	DfE
Prof Jimmy Steele	Review of NHS dental services	Alan Johnson	DH
Sir Alan Steer	Review of pupil behaviour in schools	Ed Balls	DfE
Sir Nicholas Stern	Adviser on the economics of climate change and development	Gordon Brown	HMT
Lord Stevens	PM's international security adviser	Gordon Brown	CO
Lord Alan Sugar	Government Enterprise champion	Gordon Brown	BIS
Richard Taylor	Special envoy on tackling youth violence and knife crime	Gordon Brown	PM
Richard Thomas and Mark Walport	Review of data sharing	Gordon Brown	MOJ
Otto Thoresen	Review of generic financial advice	Ed Balls	HMT
Paul Thornton	Review of pensions institutions	John Hutton	DWP
Prof Sir John Tooke	Chair, Review of postgraduate medical training	Patricia Hewitt	DH
Sir David Varney	Adviser on public service transformation	Gordon Brown	HMT

Sir David Varney	Review of tax policy in Northern Ireland	Gordon Brown	HMT
Sir David Varney	Review of competitiveness of Northern Ireland	Alastair Darling	HMT
Anna Walker	Chair, Review of charging and metering for water and sewerage services	Hilary Benn	DEFRA
Sir David Walker	Review of corporate governance in in the UK banking industry	Alastair Darling	HMT
Imelda Walsh	Review of the right to request flexible working	John Hutton	BIS
Malcolm Wicks MP	PM's Special representative on international energy	Ed Miliband	DECC
Baroness Williams	PM's Advisor on nuclear proliferation	Gordon Brown	PM

COALITION 2010-July 2012

Graham Aaronson QC	Review of a General Anti-Avoidance Rule	David Gauke	HMT
Graham Allen MP	Review of early intervention	David Cameron	PM
Lord Ashcroft	Review of military bases on Cyprus	David Cameron	MOD
Lord Ashdown	Chair, Review of humanitarian response	Andrew Mitchell	DfID
Reg Bailey	Review of the commercialisation and sexualisation of childhood	Sarah Teather	DfE
Shaun Bailey	Big Society Ambassador	David Cameron	CO
Sir Scott Baker	Review of UK's extradition laws	Theresa May	HO
Adrian Beecroft	Review of employment law	David Cameron	PM
Lord Bew	Review of Key Stage 2 testing and accountability	Michael Gove	DfE
Dame Carol Black and David Frost	Review of the sickness absence system	Lord Freud; Ed Davey	DWP; BIS
Tim Breedon	Chair, non-bank lending taskforce	Vince Cable	BIS
Lord Browne	Government's Lead non-executive director	Francis Maude	CO
Sir Andrew Burns	UK Envoy for post-Holocaust issues	William Hague	FCO
Sally Coates	Chair, Review of teachers' standards	Michael Gove	DfE
Sir Ronald Cohen and	Advisors on a Big Society Bank	Francis Maude	CO

Nick O'Donohoe

Alan Cook	Review of the strategic road network	Phil Hammond	DTP
Lord Currie	Review of single source pricing regulations	Peter Luff	MOD
Lord Davies	Chair, Review of women on boards	Vince Cable; Theresa May	BIS
Andrew Dilnot	Chair, Commission on the funding of care and support	Andrew Lansley	DH
Henry Dimbleby and John Vincent	Review of food in schools	Michael Gove	DfE
John Dunford	Review of the Office of the Children's Commissioner (England)	Michael Gove	DfE
Frank Field MP	Review of poverty and life chances	David Cameron	CO
Sir Philip Green	Review of efficiency of government spending	Francis Maude; Danny Alexander	CO; HMT
Robin Gwynn	Special representative for Sudan and South Sudan	William Hague	FCO; DfID
Prof Ian Hargreaves	Review of intellectual property and growth	David Cameron	BIS
Prof Malcolm Harrington	Review of Work Capability Assessment	Iain Duncan Smith	DWP
Emma Harrison	Troubled families champion	David Cameron	PM
Darren Henley	Review of music education	Michael Gove	DfE; DCMS
Darren Henley	Review of cultural education	Ed Vaizey	DCMS; DfE
Lord Heseltine and Sir Terry Leahy	Review of Liverpool City region	David Cameron	PM; BIS
Lord Heseltine	Review of private-public sector collaboration	George Osborne; Vince Cable	HMT; BIS
Prof John Hills	Review of fuel poverty policy target and definition	Chris Huhne	DECC
Lord Hodgson	Review of the Charities Act 2006	Francis Maude	CO
Sir John Holmes	Review of the awarding of military medals	David Cameron	PM; MOD
Richard Hooper	Feasibility study into the Digital Copyright Exchange	Vince Cable	BIS
Simon Hughes MP	Advocate for access to post-16 education	David Cameron	PM
Tom Hughes-Hallett	Chair, Review of palliative care	Andrew Lansley	DH
Lord Hutton	Chair of public service pensions commission	George Osborne	HMT

Will Hutton	Review of fair pay in the public sector	David Cameron	PM
Sebastian James	Chair, Review of school capital system	Michael Gove	DfE
Paul Johnson	Chair, Review of automatic enrolment in pension schemes	Steve Webb	DWP
Prof John Kay	Review of UK equity markets	Vince Cable	BIS
Charlotte Leslie MP	Big Society Ambassador	David Cameron	PM
Lord Levene	Chair, Review of the structure and management of the MOD	Liam Fox	MOD
Lord Lingfield	Chair, Review of professionalism in further education	John Hayes	BIS
Prof Ragnar Lofstedt	Review of health and safety legislation	Chris Grayling	DWP
Prof Geoffrey Maitland	Chair, Review of oil and gas exploration safety	Chris Huhne	DECC
Frank McLoughlin	Chair, Commission on adult vocational learning	John Hayes	BIS
Alan Milburn	Review on social mobility	Nick Clegg	CO
Sir Adrian Montague	Chair, Review of the potential for institutional investment in the private rented sector	Grant Shapps	DCLG
Prof Eileen Munro	Review of child protection	Michael Gove	DfE
Andrew Murrison MP	Review of services for military amputees	Simon Burns	DH
Andrew Murrison MP	Review of mental health care provision for former service personnel	David Cameron	MOD
Andrew Murrison MP	PM's Special representative for the Centenary Commemoration of WWI	David Cameron	PM
Martin Narey	Ministerial adviser on adoption	Tim Loughton	DfE
Baroness Pauline Neville Jones	Special representative to business on cybersecurity	David Cameron	PM
Baroness Newlove	Champion for active, safer communities	Theresa May	HO
Peter Neyroud	Review of police leadership and training	Theresa May	HO
Prof Cathy Nutbrown	Review of early education and childcare qualifications	Sarah Teather	DfE
Graeme Nuttall	Review of employee ownership	Norman Lamb	BIS
Tim Oates	Chair, National Curriculum review panel	Michael Gove	DfE
Lord Patten	PM's Special representative for the Papal visit to Britain	David Cameron	FCO

Policy tsars: here to stay but more transparency needed

Mary Portas	Review into the future of the high street	David Cameron; Nick Clegg	BIS
Mike Potter	Chair, Review panel for government support for maritime training	Mike Penning	DTP
David Quarmby	Audit of the resilience of England's transport systems in winter 2010	Phil Hammond	DTP
Liz Sayce	Review of disability employment support	Iain Duncan Smith	DWP
Mark Sedwill	Special representative on Afghanistan and Pakistan	William Hague	FCO
Carol Serjeant	Chair, Simple financial products steering group	Mark Hoban	HMT
Elizabeth Sidwell	Schools Commissioner for England	Michael Gove	DfE
Lord Chris Smith	Review of the British film industry	Ed Vaizey	DCMS
Prof Hew Strachan	Review of military covenant	David Cameron	MOD
Charlie Taylor	Expert advisor on school behaviour	Michael Gove	DfE
Dame Clare Tickell	Chair, Review of early years foundation stage	Sarah Teather	DfE
Sir John Vickers	Chair of independent commission on banking	George Osborne	HMT
Lord Wasserman	Policing IT adviser	Theresa May	HO
Lord Wei	Big Society Ambassador	David Cameron	CO
Sir Tim Wilson	Chair, Review of business-university collaborations	Vince Cable; David Willetts	BIS
Tom Winsor	Review of police pay and conditions	Theresa May	HO
Prof Alison Wolf	Review of vocational education	Michael Gove	DfE
Lord Young	Advisor on health and safety law and practice	David Cameron	PM
Lord Young	PM's enterprise advisor	David Cameron	PM

Annex 1.2 Tsars undertaking multiple appointments

Two appointments

Iain Anderson

Kate Barker

Dame Carol Black

Lord Browne

Peter Gershon

Lord Haskins

Darren Henley

Lord Heseltine

Richard Hooper

Sir Michael Lyons

Sir Ian Magee

Alan Milburn

Sir Paul Myners

Sir Joseph Pilling

David Quarmby

Peter Smallridge and Andrew Williamson

Professor Adrian Smith

Lord Young

Derek Wanless

Three appointments

Sir Andrew Foster

Professor John Hills

Andrew Murrison MP

Sir David Varney

Four appointments

Stephen Boys Smith

Sir Jim Rose

Five appointments

Lord Carter of Coles

Professor Martin Cave

Annex 1.3 Tsar pairs

Dame Carol Black / David Frost

Sir Ronald Cohen / Nick O'Donohoe

Henry Dimbleby / John Vincent

Sir Peter Hall / Chris Green

Lord Heseltine / Sir Terry Leahy

Chris Lewin / Ed Sweeney (x2)

David Mcleod /Nita Clarke

Julie Rugg / David Rhodes

Richard Thomas / Mark Walport

Annex 2.1 Summary profile

Name
Role title
Government
Duration
Client department
Minister
Professional Background
Expertise
Payment
Reporting
Outcomes
Gender
Age
Ethnic background

Annex 2.2 Full profile

TSAR PROFILE	Researcher initials:	Date:	Hours:
Name of Tsar			
Official title of role			
Official remit			
Type of remit			
Scope			
Start and end dates			
Client department			
How selected			
Solo or team			
Professional background			
Subsequent roles			
Expertise			
Payment			
Assistance			
Working methods			
Reporting			
Outcomes			
Links			
Documents			
Amendments			
Gender			
Age			
Ethnic background			

Annex 3.1 Freedom of Information requests: payment

We submitted Freedom of Information requests to 12 departments to find out more details about payments for 32 tsar appointments. The requests explored the evidence concerning a range of ministers, remits and tsar expertise.

We received substantive replies for 30 (94%) of the requests and await the remaining two (6%), from the Home Office, concerning Jan Berry and Baroness Newlove, even though the officially allowed extended time limit of 40 working days has long passed.

Omitting those missing replies from the analysis, 10 (33%) of the 30 replies were refusals to disclose any of the requested information, citing various reasons; these came from the Cabinet Office (three of its own ministers' appointments and three appointed by the Prime Minister), HMT (2) and DfE (1). We interviewed one of the tsars appointed by the Cabinet Office, who disclosed the payments and other budget information, which we have included for Table 28.

Some departments sent part replies, which concern seven (23%) appointments; these were DfE (3), DTP (1), DWP (1) and MOD (1). Full replies were provided for 13 (43%) appointments, by BIS (3), DCMS (1), DECC (1), DH (2), FCO (1) and HMT (5).

	No.	%
No disclosure	10	33
Partial disclosure	7	23
Full disclosure	13	43

Table 28 FOI replies: payments to tsars

The replies that did disclose part or full information show that eight of the 17 (47%) of tsars received payment of fees and nine (53%) received expenses; three (18%) of the 17 received expenses only (Table 29).

	Paid (%)	Not paid (%)
Fees	8 (47)	9 (53)
Expenses	9 (53)	8 (47)
Fees and expenses	6 (35)	-
Expenses only	3 (18)	-
No fees or expenses	8 (47)	

Table 29 Fees and expenses payments to tsars

We asked departments to explain how they set fee rates for these tsars. The majority did not answer this question. Three possibilities were revealed: either the tsar's usual salary plus overheads for their main employment, or the level of fees the department typically paid to members of its own boards or panels, or a consultancy fee.

Annex 3.2 Freedom of Information requests: reporting

We submitted Freedom of Information requests to six departments to find out more about the reporting provided by twelve tsars with represent or promote remits. They all had titles as champions or advisors or envoys or representatives and we had found no reports from them in the public domain.

Half of the requests, concerning six tsars, were rejected by the Cabinet Office; these included three appointments (Tim Berners-Lee, Lord Stevens and Ann McGuire MP) made by its own ministers' and three made by the Prime Minister (Emma Harrison, Richard Taylor and Baroness Williams). We had submitted each request separately; the Cabinet Office chose to aggregate them, and then said that it would cost too much to provide a single answer.

Two further requests, both to DCMS, had not been answered after more than three months had elapsed. DCMS notified us of delay after each month had passed, saying that the department was still considering each request. Responses to requests are meant to be made within 20 working days, although an extended time limit, to 40 working days, can sometimes be allowed. That has long passed too. Our four other requests went to four departments: BIS, DfE, DH and FCO. BIS and DH gave full replies, DfE and FCO gave limited replies (Table 30).

6	50%	reply refused
2	17%	full reply
2	17%	part reply
2	17%	delay

Table 30 FOI replies: reporting by tsars

The BIS tsar was Lord Alan Sugar, active as Enterprise Champion for about nine months in 2009-10. He held many meetings with businesses and within BIS, gave talks, attended events, gave press interviews and recorded a set of short videos. He was supported by civil servants in the Enterprise Division of BIS. He reported on his activities and made suggestions for change through occasional face to face meetings with and some brief written notes to the Minister for Small Business, who was Baroness Vadera and then Lord Mervyn Davies.

Prince Charles was the DH tsar, appointed NHS Design Champion in 2001, to:

...mobilis[e] the resources of [...] The Prince's Foundation, in partnership with NHS Estates [...] to raise awareness of the importance of good design for healthcare facilities and to assist in the development of design visions for a number of pilot projects.

The DH reply gave no information on Prince Charles' own reporting to the Secretary of State for Health, so it is not possible to say whether he did report at all and if so in what ways. The Prince's Foundation ("...an educational charity which exists to improve the quality of people's lives by teaching and practising timeless and ecological ways of planning, designing and building") had been developing a design methodology (Enquiry by Design) since 1999 in new housing and regeneration projects. The arrangement with the DH involved piloting the application of this methodology to new NHS hospital building. The Foundation and DH collaborated on three pilots between 2003 and 2006, and DH

subsequently published a design briefing for hospitals in 2008, authored by the Foundation, arising from the pilots.

The DfE tsar was John Stannard, National Champion for the Young, Gifted and Talented programme between 2007 and 2010. The DfE said it had to limit its reply on grounds of cost. It provided a terse one page list of bullet points (presumably prepared by DfE) dated 2010 on John Stannard's activities, containing numerous untranslated abbreviations of the organisations he dealt with. It said nothing about whether, and if so how, he reported to ministers.

The FCO tsar was Jack McConnell MSP, the Prime Minister's Special Representative for conflict resolution mechanisms between 2008 and 2010. He reported to three secretaries of state: at FCO, MOD and DfID, but the reply does not say how or how often. The reply does include letter one letter from Jack McConnell to the Prime Minister in 2009 describing and commenting on his activities to date, which he also sent to the three secretaries of state.

Annex 4 Interviewees

Lord Andrew Adonis	ex-minister
Graham Allen MP	Tsar
Dame Joan Bakewell	Tsar
Ed Balls MP	ex-minister
Dr Andrew Blick	King's College London
Faith Boardman	Public Management and Policy Association
Stephen Boys Smith	Tsar
Sally Burlington	ex-ODPM
Prof Mike Campbell	Sector Skills Development Agency
Prof Martin Cave	Tsar
Emily Commander	House of Commons, Public Administration Select Committee
Roberta d'Eustachio	Foundation for Philanthropy
Prof Richard Disney	University of Nottingham
Martin Donnelly	Department for Business, Industry and Skills
Dr Ruth Fox	Hansard Society
Sue Gray	Cabinet Office
Gerry Grimstone	Tsar
Jean Gross	Tsar
Richard Handover	Tsar
David Hare	Whitehouse Consulting
Prof John Hills	Tsar
Ruth Kelly	ex-minister
Sue Lewis	ex-Treasury
Sir Michael Lyons	Tsar
Sir David Normington	Commissioner for Public Appointments
Sir Peter North	Tsar
Dr Ed Page	London School of Economics
Sally Pugh	Cabinet Office
Nick Raynsford MP	House of Commons
Peter Riddell	Institute for Government
Jill Rutter	Institute for Government
Dame Stephanie Shirley	Tsar
Prof Sir Adrian Smith	Tsar

Emma Soames	Age UK
Dr Jack Stilgoe	University of Exeter
Otto Thoresen	Tsar
Simon Webb	ex-Department for Transport
Malcolm Wicks MP	ex-minister and Tsar
Tom Winsor	Tsar
Prof Alison Wolf	Tsar

Annex 5 Writings and communications

Ruth Levitt, 'Expertise and policy: the rise of the 'tsar'', seminar, University of Sheffield Politics Dept, 30 January 2013.

Ruth Levitt and William Solesbury, 'Policy tsars: Whitehall's expert advisors revealed', Public Money and Management, 33/1, January 2013, 77-80.

Ruth Levitt and William Solesbury, 'Analysis for policy: the rise of the tsar', SRA News [Social Research Association], December 2012.

Ruth Levitt, 'Expertise and policy: the rise of the 'tsar'', seminar, House of Commons Library, 27 November 2012.

BBC1, The One Show, 7 November 2012, item on tsars including an interview with William Solesbury.

Ruth Levitt and William Solesbury, 'The role of 'tsars' in advising governments', seminar, Institute for Government, 25 October 2012.

Ruth Levitt and William Solesbury, 'Tsar qualities', The House, 36/1430, 18 October 2012, 40-43.

Oliver Wright, 'Tsars in their eyes: how the Coalition is appointing advisors faster than Tony Blair', The Independent, 18 September 2012, available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/tsars-in-their-eyes-how-the-coalition-is-appointing-advisors-faster-than-tony-blair-8145192.html>

Editorial, 'Our governance has yet to enter the 21st century', The Independent, 18 September 2012, available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/editorials/editorial-our-governance-has-yet-to-enter-the-21st-century-8145118.html>.

BBC Radio 4, The Westminster Hour, 16 September 2012, item on tsars including an interview with Ruth Levitt.

Ruth Levitt and William Solesbury, 'Tsar gazing', Civil Service World, 5 September 2012, 11.

'Expertise and Policy: the rise of the 'tsar'', paper presented by William Solesbury at Policy and Politics conference, Bristol, 18-19 September 2012, available at <http://www.bris.ac.uk/sps/policyandpolitics2012/fullconferencepapers/>

Ruth Levitt and William Solesbury, 'Debate: Tsars – are they the 'experts' now?' Public Money and Management, 32/1, January 2012, 47-8.