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The Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose (IIPP) at University College

The Future Governance Forum (FGF) is a new, progressive, non-prot and non-partisan think tank. We are here to provide the intellectual and

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About Mi. io C itical

Mission Critical is one of FGF's agship workstreams, exploring how mission-driven government can meet the challenges of 21st century public service. It stands alongside four further FGF workstreams, looking at: meaningfully pushing power out to the UK's nations, sub-regions and local authorities; preparing to govern effectively; reforming complex delivery systems to solve dif cult public policy challenges; and securing the investment needed for progressive economic revival.

Mission Critical 01 is the rst paper in this series. It will be followed by further outputs in FGF's Mission Critical and Impactful Devolution workstreams, which will explore in greater depth the nature of government's relationship with business, trade unions, civil society and local government, as well as citizens themselves, under a mission-driven model of governance.

About the autho.

Ma, a, a Ma, ca,

Mariana Mazzucato (PhD) is Professor in the Economics of Innovation and Public Value at University College London (UCL), where she is Founding Director of the UCL Institute for Innovation & Public Purpose. She is winner of international prizes including the Grande Uf ciale Ordine al Merito della Repubblica Italiana in 2021, Italy's highest civilian honour, the 2020 John von Neumann Award, the 2019 All European Academies Madame de Staël Prize for Cultural Values, and 2018 Leontief Prize for Advancing the Frontiers of Economic Thought. Most recently, Pope Francis appointed her to the Ponti cal Academy for Life for bringing 'more humanity' to the world.

As well as The Entrepreneurial State: debunking public vs. private sector myths (2013), she is the author of (o)-6.3 (r)-9.3 (l)-7.5 (d)-11.5 (.62mo.3 (r)-9.9 (e d)-54p)-2 (li)-4..5

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Ab. a e

This year provides a rare moment for the UK: a potential change of national administration could trigger a radical shift in the way government is structured and delivered. The challenges facing the country have rarely been greater and more complex, and the prevailing model of government as it is currently constructed is not up to the task of tackling them.

This report explores mission-driven government as an alternative theory and practice of statecraft to meet the scale of today's challenges, applied specifically to the context of a possible progressive UK government. In doing this, the paper connects the strategic intent of a missions approach with the practical challenges of UK governance.

This research draws on expert interviews and builds out from the seminal work of author P. e... Ma, a. a Ma, a. at the UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose (IIPP). She has established clear criteria for missions (Mazzucato, 2019) and made the case for mission-oriented government (Mazzucato, 2021).

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- Good missions set a bold and audacious vision to inspire and rally support across society. Solutions for achieving them are not known from the outset, which focuses minds on outcomes (rather than inputs or outputs).
- They should set a direction, but do not determine how goals are reached, leaving room for experimentation and innovation, supported by a test-and-learn culture (explored further in principle 5).
- · Missions should be the rst priority for the whole of govern-

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•	Long-term missions provide policy makers and civil servants with a greater sense of purpose, while embracing the networked, messy and complex nature of change.
•	Accountability frameworks for missions should focus on learn-

- Emergent examples of mission-driven strategy or regional policy, from Camden Council to the European Commission, have been delivered against the grain. Delivering a missiondriven programme for the whole of government will be counter-cultural too.
- Missions are about long-term change and commitment across multiple political and nancial cycles. They therefore require

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applied in practice. There is an opportunity to develop an approach that takes a dynamic and market shaping view of public value.

 Public nancial institutions, such as development banks and national wealth funds, also have a critical role to play, given their capacity to provide long term, patient nance for mission aligned investments.

Ultimately, delivering a mission-driven programme for the whole of government is a way to build a strategic, strong centre with a clear vision of the future, working with empowered local, regional and devolved governments, businesses and civil society to realise the promise of national renewal: leading with purpose, governing in partnership.

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Each chapter of this report includes a set of speci-c recommendations and gives practical examples of how each of these priorities might be achieved. In summary, an incoming mission-driven UK government, seeking to lead with purpose and deliver in partnership, should:

- 1. Set out the purpose of government clearly by, for example, using the existing provision of the Levelling Up and Regeneration Act 2023 to establish and embed a set of missions.
- 2. Send clear signals of personal commitment to the missions from both the prime minister and the chancellor.
- 3. Create the teams and governance structures to deliver on the missions, including: ministerial Mission Leads (rather than new ministerial posts); a Mission Leadership Group to oversee all missions; which is informed by a Mission Council comprised of representatives of all tiers of government, the private sector and civil society; with implementation driven by a cross-departmental Mission Team within the civil service.
- 4. Embed missions in the day-to-day work of civil servants across Whitehall in collaboration with local, regional and devolved government leaders.
- 5. Build a network of advocates for mission-driven government across the civil service.

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- 6. Strive for a period of political stability, for instance increasing the average tenure of ministerial appointments, and maintaining alignment to missions when ministers do move.
- 7. Reform approaches to government funding to enable a longer term view, through the rhythm of spending review and scal event cycles, and a clearly de ned 'preventative' category of spending.
- 8. Establish evaluation and accountability frameworks that support a learning-by-doing approach and de-risk implementation at scale through a culture of iteration and experimentation.
- 9. Reform the Green Book to better re ect the need for transformative, non-marginal change.

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- 10. Invest in the institutional infrastructure needed to support local areas in delivering missions by, for example, completing the process of covering all areas of England with at least a Level 2 devolution deal in the rst half of the next parliament.
- 11. Create a new policy framework to enable different tiers of government and sectors to work together effectively to achieve the government's missions.
- 12. Enable strategies for new forms of local accountability and citizen engagement.
- 13. Mobilise across all layers of government, including devolved administrations, Mayors and Council leaders.
- 14. Collaborate proactively and intentionally with willing private sector partners and trade unions.

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- 15. Political management should be at the heart of the mission's approach, with a member of a core group of the Cabinet tasked with ensuring political coherence.
- 16. Build broad support for a vision for the future, and make it tangible, including by testing that the framing resonates with citizens.
- 17. Adopt a proactive approach to risk management and plan for how best to leverage and respond to inevitable crises to further the missions.

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- 18. Build teams and institutions with the capabilities to deliver on ambitious programmes at both the ational, regional and sub-regional levels.
- 19. Shorten the feedback loop between policy design and delivery.



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This year provides a rare moment for the UK: a potential change of national administration could trigger a radical shift in the way government is structured and delivered. The challenges the country faces have rarely been greater and more complex, and the prevailing model of government as it is currently constructed is not up to the task of tackling them.

Moving from opposition to power means moving from theory to practice. If the Labour Party wins the next general election, as polls widely predict, it will have the opportunity to adopt a new model of mission-driven government to achieve its stated aims.

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Living standards are falling and destitution is rising. Progress on transitioning to a net zero economy is too slow (Climate Change Committee, 2023), and adaptation to the changing climate is minimal. Although the UK is not the only country facing these pressures, it is performing particularly poorly (TUC, 2024). The next government will need to deliver broad-based economic growth across communities, geographies and industries, do so quickly, and be able to tell a story about growth that resonates with and addresses feelings of insecurity amongst ordinary people.

But today's challenges are not thrown up by the economy alone. The next government will inherit a crisis in public service outcomes, with people across the UK struggling to access health care while on waiting lists, to access justice given long court backlogs, and to access essential services in a context where local authorities are effectively signalling bankruptcy by issuing section 114 notices, and where 100 schools were forced to close ahead of the 2023-24 school year (Institute for Government, 2023).

It will inherit a civil service that has been undermined, hollowed out and provided with inconsistent political leadership. There is a dominant mindset anchored in New Public Management (NPM) that sees the state as having a limited role, merely—xing rather than shaping markets. It will inherit a politically driven working culture where civil servants are too often not given the space or permissions to design services alongside the public. Services are designed without assumptions being tested in the real world, storing up risk and leading to continual churn as successive policies fail to survive contact with reality. And it will inherit an approach to delivering services for the internet era, which is so far under-realised, despite early promise (Greenway and Loosemore, 2024).

The current political narrative suggests that investment to deliver urgent social outcomes and address the grand challenges of our time is possible only after growth has been achieved, because of a perceived lack of scal headroom. This logic fails to recognise either the necessity of investing in the long-range drivers of growth, such as education, skills and health, and the role of government in shaping new market opportunities that create pathways for investment and innovation.

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Missions can provide a framework for that alternative statecraft, ec., cs., ec., ca.d., ca., a.d., a.d., a.a., a.c., ac., ac., ec., a.d., ce., a.d., ce.,

M..... are concrete goals that, if achieved, will help to tackle. a. d c. a. e. e. – important, systemic and society-wide problems that do not have obvious solutions. Missions set a clear direction for the different actors and sectors whose investment, innovation and effort is required to develop solutions. To achieve missions requires a range of . ec. . to develop solutions, often in collaboration with one another. Missions can be broken down into a portfolio of . ec. – clearly articulated activities that address part of the challenge. Missions should be framed in such a way that they are (Mazzucato and Dibb, 2019):

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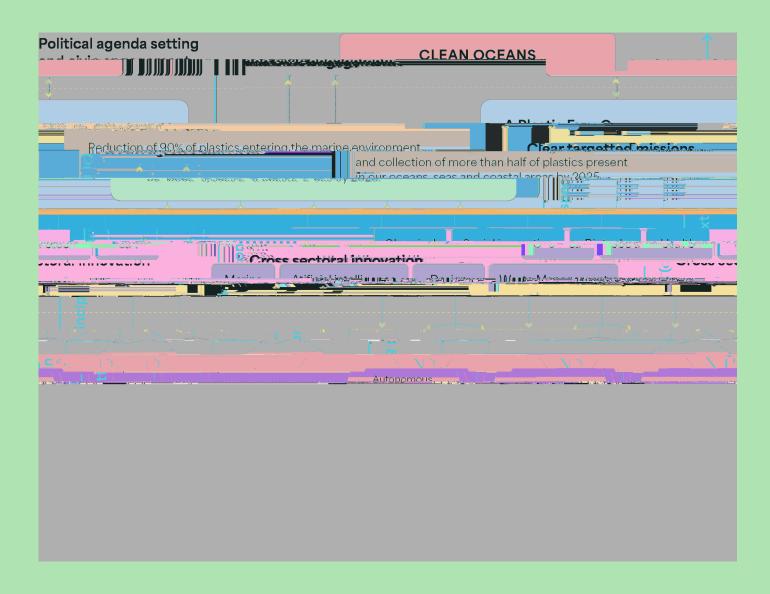
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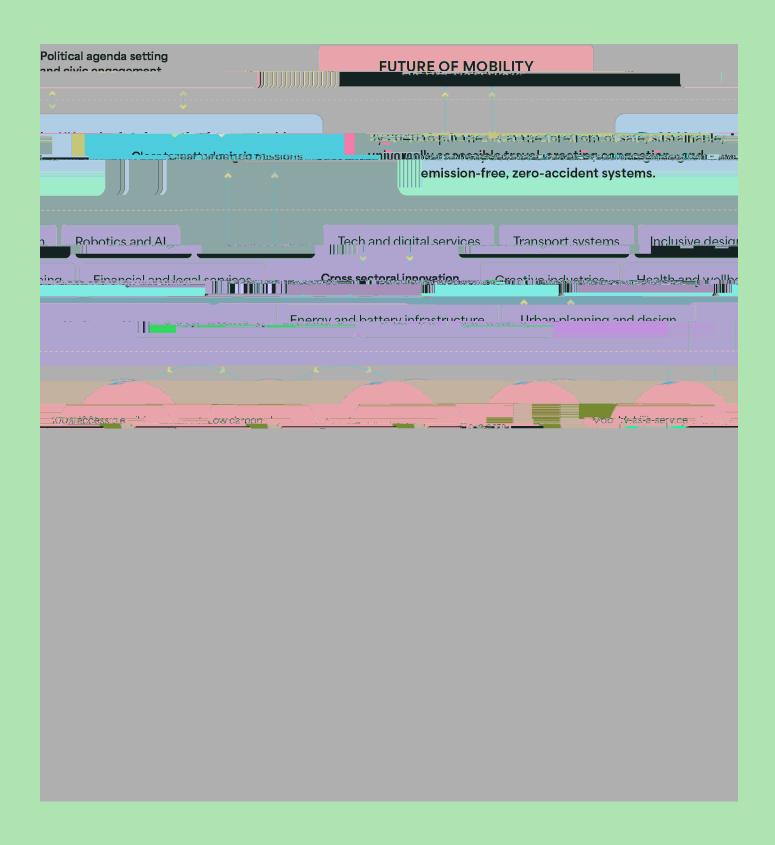
The UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose (IIPP), and Camden Council - have been at the forefront of developing both the theory and practice of mission-driven government. In September 2020, IIPP and Camden Council established and co-chaired the Camden Renewal commission, working with a diverse group of experts and community leaders from across the borough - with the overarching aim to reduce inequality and create a fairer, healthy and sustainable local economy following Covid-19. Inspired by community stories and informed by evidence, both of which re ected local people's lived experience of the pandemic, the Commission developed four renewal missions for Camden:

- Canden have invested in Community Champions (local people employed to support social action), and are looking at ways to use shared community spaces on their Estates whether by bringing health services into communities, opening up vacant spaces for artist studios or working with residents on community action projects such as local food growing and bike xing projects. They are developing funding and delivery programmes for retro t across their estates as part of responding to their community call for climate action;

Camden have been working with Council services, colleagues, anchor institutions, businesses, voluntary sector organisations and citizens to achieve their Missions, and are focusing on:

- Investing resource in delivering "test and learn" projects with communities so
 that they can understand what gets them closer to achieving
 their Missions such as the We Ma e Ca_de.
- Developing the tools and methods needed to measure impact on the missions - such as the G. . d L. e Ca_de. a_e_N. .
- Developing the wider levers and approaches needed to make a systemic
 impact on the issues connected to their Misnhe missions suce wth ct
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Page 22 The case for missions

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This approach can generate productivity gains, jobs and spillovers, and can have a multiplier effect, with each pound invested triggering a much larger

Page 24 Missions in practice

Missions should...

Today, the reality is that...

So a new government should...

Missions are a vehicle for achieving societal transformation, not tweaks to the system, and so should be ambitious by design. Good missions begin by setting a bold and audacious vision that can inspire the public and rally support across society (Mazzucato and Dibb, 2019). For example, Greater Manchester has set a target to be a carbon neutral city-region by 2038 (Greater Manchester, 2021). This can help draw in and mobilise new resources, whereas aiming for incremental improvement alone might struggle to inspire the same level of action and commitment. A prime minister has a huge impact in the rst few days of government, so should set an early, radical signal of intent when support is at its highest. sge whep(n)-9.6 (dp (n al)0.74 (t)-18ei.5 (e) sil)0.7 762 (e)4-9.6 (di

Page 26 Principle 1

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The next government will need to tackle the critical and immediate challenge of reducing NHS waiting times and ensuring patients with health conditions are diagnosed earlier. But an overarching mission to, for instance, eliminate the gap in healthy life expectancy between babies born in the wealthiest part of the country and babies born in the poorest part of the country by 2050 creates the room to address the immediate crisis (such as waiting lists and speed of diagnosis) while inspiring innovations towards the longer term horizon of tackling the social determinants of health. Furthermore, it inspires action across sectors, beyond the levers at the immediate reach of Whitehall and the NHS, so that different levels of government, business from different sectors, healthcare professionals, teachers and parents feel they are a part of a national effort. It might be a more daunting prospect, but it is precisely in responding to this level of challenge that policies and innovations capable of catalysing a step-change in outcomes could emerge.

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Governments from 2016 to the present day have failed to articulate a vision for the future or a reasoning for why they should be in government. David Cameron's party failed to settle on whether its overriding purpose was the Big Society or de cit reduction, which Cameron himself has since conceded hampered their ability to deliver in government (Tinline, 2024). While Boris Johnson government's commitment to levelling up provided this in terms of rhetoric, this wasn't met with a whole-government focus that would have led to real transformation, it barely survived contact with the COVID-19 pandemic and it has not been sustained by subsequent prime ministers.

disposal, rather than broad applications that may help to meet objectives that span beyond their boundaries. In particular, HMT is reluctant to use the wide set of non-spending levers it has to drive the policy agendas of other departments. An exception to this is the sugar tax: its introduction in 2018 led to a 35% reduction in the sugar content of soft drinks (Bowes, 2023), but as the rst tax policy introduced speci cally to change behaviour (Sassi, 2022), it cut against HMT's long held commitment to tax neutrality (HM Treasury, 2011).

A. e_V. . e . _ e d _ a e _ e e e

Missions should be a priority for the whole of government, driven across and beyond Whitehall, resisting the urge to centralise. This is not to say missions should become the entirety of government activity; there will always be (and should be) responsibilities and activities held by the government which need not be absorbed under missions, or what we might call 'mission-washing'. Indeed, trying to shoehorn everything into missions will only weaken them. There will be critical government business that sits outside missions, but the collaborative ways of working that missions inspire will bene t delivery across a range of areas.

There is a critical role to play for the centre: strong political leadership through No.10, the Cabinet Of ce and HM Treasury is essential (Pickles and Sweetland, 2023). As one interviewee said, the "critical factor [for missions] will be the prime minister and chancellor being committed to the missions and being around long enough to engender some stability."

A cross-cutting missions unit with strong backing from the prime minister and chancellor is needed, but its role should be to enable others to overcome barriers to progress. It must combine 'forcing' capacity (focus and a line of sight to No.10 and No.11) with a 'holding' capacity, which creates and cultivates the conditions for missions working. Mission teams should then bring in civil servants across departments as well as outsiders, paying special attention to how to synthesise new voices in government (as opposed to integrating into the existing culture). A suggested mission governance structure is shown in Appendix A. Departments should be expected to incorporate missions into their business planning processes.

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Missions should sit above central government departments to foster alignment around a set of shared goals, rather than allowing these goals to be reinvented within each department in a siloed way (Mazzucato, 2023a). A mission aimed at achieving a health outcome, for example, would need action not just from the Department of Health, but from departments responsible for housing, green space, transport, industry, innovation and climate. No. 10 and HMT need to give ministers an incentive to cooperate by providing "clear and practical signals towards collaboration", because (as one interviewee said) to make "anything cross-cutting happen you need the prime minister to drive it," and "there needs to be an effective central team to channel the prime minister's political authority and to hold the system to account" (Thomas, 2020).

Page 28 Principle 1

On the administrative side, there is a clear belief expressed by our interviewees that "Whitehall can do cross departmental – they just need to know that it's serious and it needs a secretariat." Mission-driven leadership will have to expend political capital to make cross-departmental missions 'stick.'

There are a range of approaches to cross-departmental work, but in general governments overemphasise the importance of structures (agencies, departments, roles) and underestimate the importance of processes, relationships and cultures (Mulgan, 2024). Secretaries of state should take responsibility for developing a collaborative culture in their departments – harnessing the camaraderie of working in opposition – that puts the whole of government vision rst and breaks the incentive model in which civil servants will refer to 'my secretary of state.'

For a government's missions to be transformative, they need to engage as many of the civil servants, local government of cers and public sector workers beyond those working in Whitehall policy roles as possible. There are only ~20 thousand Whitehall civil servants, but 500 thousand in operational roles such as call centres, prisons, Border Force, HMRC and job centres, and a further ~5 million public sector employees, including in the NHS, police and army. A mission will be effective if it is seen as relevant to a signicant share of the whole public sector.

A 'beyond government' approach to achieving missions in partnership with wider civil society and the private sector is explored in part 3.

Encourage all departments to use the full range of levers at their disposal. For example, HM Treasury should consider how it can use macroeconomic policy, nancial regulation and tax policy in pursuit of the missions.

Includes businesses, charities, trade unions, faith groups

Schools, social care, other services

Includes job centres, call centres, prisons,

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- a. Using the existing provision of the Levelling Up and Regeneration Act 2023 to establish and embed a set of missions.
- b. Introducing a 'programme for government' (Institute for Government,



By providing a clear, stable, long-term direction, missions set by central government create an environment in which policy makers at all levels of government can see their role in achieving a 'north star', where the civil service is a more attractive place to work and where the private sector can invest with con-dence. Setting long-term goals is important, but intent alone is not enough. Long-term thinking also needs to be baked into the mechanics of the policy cycle: appraisal, funding, evaluation and accountability.

Page 32 Principle 2

Ministerial and policy churn has become normalised. The UK has seen 16 housing ministers since 2010 and seven secretaries of state for health and social care since 2018. There have been 12 growth plans since 2010 (Reeves, 2024). The UK's scal rules last an average of 3.8 years, compared to 13.5 years in New Zealand (Partington, 2024). Missions should outlast individual ministers, but effective collaboration relies on shared purpose and strong relationships built up over time.

Mission-driven government will need to provide a consistent direction and exercise power strategically to mobilise resources, spur innovation and crowd in investment towards that 'north star'.

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The Green Book includes an appendix on 'transformational change' and recognises that some of its methods may not apply in those cases, but deeper work needs to be done to distinguish between appraisal approaches suitable at the mission, programme and project level. The Green Book could reference more innovative and dynamic appraisal and evaluation methodologies, such as asset mapping or public value mapping, and approaches that take into account dynamic spillovers as well as ecosystem-wide transformation and public value creation (BEIS and IIPP, 2020).

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A new government could ringfence preventative investment on an equal basis to capital and revenue budgets by creating Preventative Departmental Expenditure Limits (PDELs) (O'Brien, Curtis, and Charlesworth, 2023). Integrating PDELs into departmental budgets, the comprehensive spending review and local government nance settlements would create scal space for preventative investment and establish a basis for long-term improvement in outcomes.

Re, ..., e a a, ... a d'acc. ..ab,.. Accountability is closely connected to approaches to evaluation – how the system understands what is working and why. There is no off-the-shelf mission evaluation and accountability framework or strong body of 'best practice' to follow for a high-integrity systems approach. However, lessons can be learnt from other institutions working in a mission-driven way, as shown in the table below. Design considerations for a mission-appropriate evaluation framework are set out in Appendix B, and further work is required to develop these models.

Reform efforts should be cumulative, rather than constantly reinventing the wheel. Currently there is "limited capacity for looking back and understanding what has worked before – including from governments of different parties" (Sasse and Thomas, 2022). The Evaluation Taskforce and Evaluation Accelerator Fund have been welcome developments, but have been limited by relatively small-scale investment. Central government should be bold in seeing itself as playing a key role in building the infrastructure needed for all arms of the state to learn effectively.

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Missions offer a platform for central government to collaborate more productively with local, regional and devolved governments, civil society, trade unions and businesses across sectors. The nature of missions helps to provide a sense of purpose, stability in the policy landscape and market incentives, all of which make an opportunity to partner with the government in social and technological innovation more attractive. Valencia's mission to be climate neutral by 2030 is grounded in the mission 'alliance' it has formed with companies, public actors, civil society, media organisations and academia (Adjuntament de Valencia, 2022).

Mission-driven government is humble about its ability to achieve missions alone and recognises that the government is a small part of a much bigger, complex ecosystem, in which change cannot be brought about by diktat. Missions are vehicles for mobilising and engaging with partners across all layers of local, regional and devolved government, in the private sector and civil society. They spark activity across different industrial sectors – for example, a health-related mission would need to engage sectors such as transport, education, housing, conservation, nutrition, health and wider services (Mazzucato and Dibb, 2019).

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A more strategic, capable and networked centre of government playing an orchestration role would enable central government to focus its energy on creating conditions for the whole system to move towards its mission goals, with a deeper understanding of the roles and powers of different actors, and with less heavy-handed micromanagement (Conway et al, 2018). For example, to operationalise its clean growth mission Greater Manchester has set up thematic 'challenge groups' that are made up of and led by external partners (Mazzucato et al, 2021).

For missions to succeed, they need to inspire action among actors across all sectors of the economy and society to use their assets and capabilities in pursuit of shared goals.

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This research project has highlighted that government needs to create the enabling environment in which partnerships outside central government can thrive, and the need to enable local and regional leaders to adopt a mission-driven approach themselves. Further outputs in the Mission Critical and Impactful Devolution workstreams from the Future Governance Forum will explore the nature of these relationships.

Central government struggles to partner effectively with other actors, which is especially problematic given the UK is one of the most centralised democracies in the world. The result is that "the deadening, controlling hand

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and planning. One interviewee described this as a "pattern of mutual disdain".

Accountability in UK policy tends to be inwards-looking, vertical and competitive: local authorities are accountable to central government; delivery teams to departments; secretaries of state to the prime minister and parliament, and regions and departments are incentivised to outperform one another. The power dynamics this creates makes it hard to work collaboratively, and be open about learning and improvement. At the local level, accountability is piecemeal, detail-oriented and overly focused on risk minimisation, driven by the fragmentation of local authority funding, and the disjointed nature of powers and duties held at the local level.²

The UK government's mode of partnering with business is often seen as weak, providing bailouts or incentives without setting clear conditions that ensure a public return on public investments. The prevailing view is that the state's role is to (at best) x market failures and enable private sector activity, with the assumption that when the private sector is given freer rein, it will always innovate, invest and generate jobs, growth and society-wide bene t (Mazzucato, 2018b).

Recent history in the UK belies this assumption. The UK has had the lowest rates of business investment in the G7 since 2019 and since then the gap has widened; across all 30 OECD countries for which data is available, it performs

The necessity to work collaboratively beyond the boundaries of sectors is particularly true in the face of a constrained scal environment, and the increasing complexity and interconnectedness of social, economic and environmental challenges. But focusing on networked coalitions should not be a last resort in the face of acute challenges; it should be . ac., e a. d., e., at by a mission-driven government.

This practice of orchestration must be signalled from the top by the prime minister and chancellor, setting both the direction and the funding strategy, coordinating and nurturing networks and relationships of trust and respect with actors outside government. It must involve solving problems and blockers on behalf of that network, and facilitating and incentivising their role in delivery.

Missions provide a stable policy agenda within which central, devolved, regional and local governments may be able to establish a constructive dialogue, and move beyond the parochialism and distrust that have marred joint working in the past. The ambitious nature of missions will require decentralising reforms to local, regional and devolved governments, regardless of their political stripes, so that "every community can play their full part

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collaboration across government. The Institutional Architecture Lab, established in 2023, highlights the need for new and better institutions to help collaborate, communicate and build collective intelligence, and offers a framework for building a eld of expertise and practice around purposeful public institution design. A mission-driven government should explore possibilities for forms of purpose-led institutions that would bring tiers of government together.

The last Labour Government devoted considerable time and energy to devolution, especially to establishing new devolution arrangements for Scotland and Wales, and for Northern Ireland following the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement. Twenty- ve years on, a new government needs to be con dent that the arrangements in place support UK-wide delivery of mission outcomes and take full advantage of the devolved administrations' potential role in securing inclusive and sustainable economic growth.

A new government should complete the partial geography of devolution in England, "both completing the process and ensuring that it can really deliver on driving growth and good jobs for everyone, everywhere" (Lucas and Hopkins, forthcoming). Devolution of powers and responsibilities to local and regional tiers of government should be based on what is necessary to achieve desired outcomes.

Mission delivery requires all local governments to build innovation capability and use digital technology to develop new ways of tackling complex challenges. The government should scale up sucuilie up snoliv (r)-4.6 (o.o)-6..5 (o)-8cu(a)-3 TJ()T_0

coherent, cross-sectoral, long-term direction for investment and innovation for the public and private sectors, which has been lacking for at least the last eight years.

Combined and local authorities should be required to formulate and deliver statutory Local Growth Plans, which connect devolved powers to mission delivery, and a vision of inclusive and sustainable growth (Lucas and Hopkins, forthcoming). A mission-driven government should consider scal devolution as an enabler of Local Growth Plans.

Mission-driven government will rely on honest feedback based on trusting relationships between different actors involved in delivery and broad public support. The system should provide central government with assurances before a performance of the performance



Governments provide signi cant nancial support and other incentives to businesses. To ensure that the public return on this public investment is maximised, governments must deliberately build reciprocity into partnerships

Page 44 Principle 3

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- c. Require place-based government agencies and institutions to collaborate with local and regional mission delivery.
- d. Recruiting people with local government experience, such as former local authority CEOs or executive directors, as departmental non-executive directors to advise on how policy will best enable local delivery.

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- a. Sending clear signals to businesses that the government is seeking willing private sector and union partners to help achieve its missions. This means moving beyond the language of being 'open for business' and instead making clear that the government is opening up market opportunities that align with its missions, setting a long-term direction for growth and structuring public support for businesses to re ect these missions, as well as wider sustainability and inclusion priorities. It also means ensuring that unions have a meaningful seat at the table in shaping industrial and innovation policy.
- b. De ning problems that need to be solved on the way to achieving the missions, without prescribing how to solve them, and engaging all sectors of the economy in collaborating, innovating and investing to develop solutions.
- c. Improving the structure and ongoing management of all contracts (including for grants, loans, equity investments and procurement deals) with the private sector with thoughtful conditions to share the rewards of innovation as well as the risks including with labour and to maximise public value and mission alignment.

Page 46 Principle 4

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Build u tu e a d 9 ow a coalitio of the willi 9

Missions are long-term, ambitious by design, and by de nition the path to achieve them is unknown at the outset. This uncertainty is counter-intuitive and runs against the grain of how most actors (including the media and opposition parties) expect a government to behave. Although there is scope to introduce new accountability frameworks, the political reality is that there will be intense pressure to lay out a clear and well-de ned plan, and demonstrate immediate progress.

Missions are about setting two different rhythms in motion at once. On the one hand they are about long arcs and sustained commitment over time. The most emblematic example of a government mission, the moon landing, was launched by Kennedy in 1962 and the speech was one of his most memorable. At the same time, missions require iteration and experimentation at pace. So they require a type of political leadership that can create the space to connect the big narrative to everyday stories of incremental change. Mission-driven governments should be clear about their legitimate leadership role in leaning into solving wicked problems, but to do so through a process of collective problem-solving with citizens, civil society and business.

The way missions are set and re ned, and the way they are framed (so they resonate and activate those who need to help deliver them) are essential for achieving legitimacy and mobilising a diverse coalition. Particularly when thinking about a programme for government, sustaining support over the long term will require the ability to operate within different time horizons. In the short term, governments need to be able to deliver on voter-facing concerns and address the pressing issues of the day, projecting competence and managing an increasingly volatile media environment. At the same time, they need to be able to build on existing innovative practice, nd routes to broaden and deepen this, and think about the completely different practices, policy and operating models needed to achieve their stated mission objectives. Doing only one or the other is likely to fall short.

Programmes for transformative change might command broad support for their overall goals. But in planning and delivering concrete steps, divergent views become apparent and it can be dif cult to agree on a way forward. Although few people objected to the idea that the UK needs a high-speed rail network, many objected to the particularities of where and how HS2 would be built. Simply overriding opposition is often not an option, as they might be

.P. s., ca _a a e_e, ... dbea _ee ea ... e_a.... a _ac with a member of a core group of the cabinet tasked with ensuring political coherence. Vitally, however, this cannot compromise on the integrity of the approach.

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- a. Test the framing of missions to ensure their framing resonates with citizens, using language that connects with individual and collective values, but avoids government by focus group.

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A humble, mission-driven government accepts that the process of innovation is unpredictable and that cycles of iteration, learning and improvement are necessary, rather than assuming that the outputs of innovation will be nal and de nitive after a rst iteration. A mission-driven government should therefore adopt experimentation as a mainstream form of policy making.

Experimentation of this type rests on a different mindset - a belief that government should be humble about its ability to know how policy will work in practice when working in complex systems. The world "is a complex, interconnected nite, ecological- social- psychological- economic system. tys3 (n)4f tkkcto kg37 (r)-1.1 (e)-6.8 (c)-15.1 (2)-6.8 lg anolro8.3.1 (e14-941 (b)l t)-2.7 (is)-.1 (b)

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in a number of areas within the UK's welfare policy and was a feature of aspects of the government's response to the COVID-19 pandemic in which rules varied from place to place and changed frequently. The lack of public engagement and design process, combined with centralised policy making processes and a top-down view of policy implementation (Brown, 2022), contributes to limiting the impact of policy in the UK (Hunter, Hudson and Peckham, 2018).

The UK government also has a history of over-reliance on the big consulting rms, which undermines the ability of the civil service to learn by doing. For example, Deloitte was hired by the UK government to help design its Test and Trace system, earning £1 million per day from the contracts (Waugh, 2021). This negatively impacts the ability of the civil service to hone its skills in solving challenging problems, and speci-cally in designing and delivering test and trace programmes, which will very likely be needed again in the future. Instead of outsourcing, governments must invest in their own capacity to manage towards bold goals (Mazzucato and Collington, 2023).

While bureaucratic attention is the lifeblood of missions, and this attention can be incentivised and channelled in particular directions through organisation, leadership and management of the workforce, it also needs to be appropriately skilled. Delivering any programme of transformative change requires the public sector to have dynamic capabilities – the abilities required to "assess and adjust policy and implementation practices" on an ongoing basis (Kattel, 2022). Those

Page 52 Principle 5

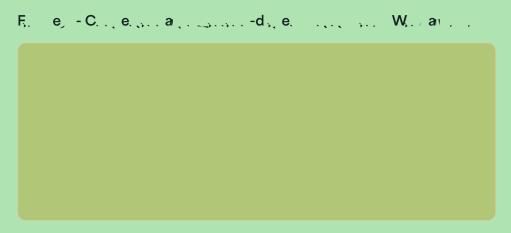
and the extent to which departments are siloed in order to create conditions where design practice can ourish.

Changes will need to be mindful of the norms, values and career incentives of civil servants. Civil servants often care about clarity, stability and purpose, so that they know where they stand, that they can get on with their work without frequent changes in direction and that they are making a difference for the public. While civil servants want to make a difference, the prevailing culture, which is especially dominant in the policy profession, makes it clear that career progression is often contingent on handling the politics of ministerial and departmental interests (Slater, 2022). For missions to succeed, the senior civil service and ministers need to demonstrate and communicate that they value greater collaboration across departments and beyond Whitehall, a focus on real-world impact and innovation in policy making. This must include consciously reforming accountability systems so that risk taking and innovation is encouraged.

Pa,, c, a,.. a, d e., a e_e. Government needs to be bolder in centring the lived experiences of the public in the design of public policy and public services. This is essential to create policy and services that holistically respond to people's needs, build their strengths and prevent negative outcomes in the long-term. Civil servants therefore need to be equipped to bring those experiences and a diversity of voices into the policy making process. This will require sets of skills and practices that are currently mainstream in many local authorities, but undervalued among the current political leadership in Whitehall. The civil service may draw inspiration from across local and regional governments where new models of citizen

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De., a ne a ac e. a d mentation is therefore an important discipline and culture to nurture to support mission teams to work iteratively and continually test assumptions.



Policy design is an emerging eld of practice that is being built across White-hall departments, local government and academia. A new government has an opportunity to demonstrate an understanding of design as integral to policy development and set expectations for policy design practice to be integrated into any new policy proposals.

Too often, civil servants are not incentivised by the structure, culture or leadership of the civil service to engage in ways of working that sit outside a norm that is anchored in NPM or that transcend siloed departmental interests.

Performance-linked progression within a mission-driven civil service should depend on demonstrating delivery of outcomes, collaboration (across teams, Whitehall departments or tiers of government), relationship-building, network-convening, sensitivity to complexity and innovation.

A culture change is needed among the political leadership of the civil service in order to communie iopontalrg the po

Page 54 Principle 5

- a. Investing in recruiting and training people with the dynamic capabilities required to deliver on an ambitious, mission-oriented agenda, building on the success of, for example, the Government Digital Service, as well as learnings from the National School of Government.
- Establish a high-status training and leadership programme for
 mission-driven government, for which civil servants and of cers from
 local and regional government are eligible. This programme could either
 complement or replace programmes hosted within the Leadership
 College for Government, with a distinctive pathway for developgor dt, wColf gramn

Missions need to be well funded, but to usher in a decade of national renewal, both the quantity and quality of nance matters. Not all nance is equal; missions require patient public nance (Mazzucato and MacFarlane, 2019; Mazzucato, 2023b). One of the rst things the Scottish Government did as part of the Clyde Mission was to establish a Mission Fund, providing £10 million to support capital projects that deliver economic stimulus and contribute to mission outcomes (Scottish Government (Business, Industry and Innovation), 2021).

Public investment increased signicantly in New Labour's time in of ce, but has atlined since 2010 (Dibb and Murphy, 2023) – the UK is below the average of G7 and OECD countries. Private investment is worse still, where the UK is bottom of the G7. Policy instability and a lack of investment have led to poor UK growth and returns, with the private sector and pension funds looking overseas for higher returns. To rectify this trend and provide a clear strategy for higher returns from UK assets, it is essential to provide economic, scal and policy stability, combined with stronger institutional arrangements (Dyson and Spencer, 2023).

Public investment guided by clear, long-term missions is the best way to generate broad-based growth and raise living standards. Public investment can shape and create markets by channelling loans, grants, guarantees, procurement contracts, and debt- and equity-based instruments towards companies that are willing to invest in solving species problems. Keeping investment at current levels will limit the UK's prospects for economic growth and limit how much the next government could fund public services.

Nearly a third of government spending in the UK is through public procurement

Page 56 Principle 6

growth (HM Treasury and UK Infrastructure Bank, 2024). As a Treasury-owned company with operational independence, UKIB is an example of institutional innovation aimed at providing long-term funding and working in a new way with the private sector. Wealth funds can also help redistribute wealth by creating collective ownership of capital and assets (Mazzucato et al, 2022). Labour's plan to introduce a National Wealth Fund as a means of driving the energy transition is a step in the right direction, although how the returns to that investment are managed will be critically important in determining whether it is effective in creating broad-based prosperity or private gain.

Private investment alone will not meet the scale of challenges the country faces, but government has a crucial role to play in crowding in and directing investment in line with missions. Mission-oriented investment may also be encouraged through well targeted tax incentives (Dibb, 2022).6

is often approached in an ad-hoc way; is seen as an add-on, rather than as core to the contract, with price still being the dominant consideration; and is overly

Page 58 Principle 6

Page 60 Appendices

As set out in the diagram on the next page, the mission director will have responsibility for leading the Mission Unit and line-managing the ve mission teams. They will therefore be a very signicant gure in government, and their performance in the role will be critical to the successful delivery of the government's missions. A new mission-driven government will have to make a decision on who the mission director should be.

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• The mission director should be an individual with a public profile that signals government commitment to the missions and attracts involvement from businesses, civil-7.9 (t)-32sision on w2 tharain oument comm

Page 62 Appendices

The Greater London Authority (GLA) has been running

The Greater London Authority (GLA) has been running a Violence Reduction Unit (VRU) since 2019. The way it works in practice is a good example of a mission-driven institution: aiming for transformative change, with a mandate to innovate and tackle problems differently, and working in deep partnership with communities. VRUs have since been set up across the country; researchers involved in evaluating their work provided important re ections on their approach (Caul eld et al, 2023). The key takeaways, which should inform the development of a missions accountability framework, are:

- Don't just ask 'Is it working?' but ask 'Who is it working for? Where? Why?'
- Focus on identifying plausible connections between interventions

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• Use the rst year of mission work to develop coherent theories of change, build system coalitions and design an evaluation approach, rather than trying to deliver interventions.

While these points reject the experience of the VRU, they centre on post-hoc evaluation rather than ongoing accountability and assurance. A live theory of change, as noted, is essential to give evaluations context and can be used to underpin an accountability framework by highlighting the changes that might be expected as a mission-driven government works towards its goal. Integrating a rapid feedback loop into an accountability framework via indicators of change will enable a government to learn, adapt and iterate its approach.

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