List of Tables and Figures	p. ix
General Editor's Foreword	p. x
Preface and Acknowledgements	p. xiv
The Treasury: Images and Realities	p. 1
The Pursuit of power	p. 1
Treasury people	p. 3
Treasury politicians	p. 4
Academic perspectives on the Treasury	p. 6
The approach of this project	p. 9
The Treasury in the Whitehall research programme	p. 11
Context, 'curse' and content	p. 13
The Evolution of the Treasury's Intervention in Social Policy	p. 16
Three images of the Treasury	p. 17
The control of public expenditure	p. 17
Reactions to the 'overmighty Treasury'	p. 20
The Treasury and specific social policy issues	p. 21
The Treasury's approach to spending cuts: the archival record	p. 23
The Treasury's attitude to social spending departments	p. 25
Treasury attitudes to the Plowden report	p. 30
Social policy in the early PESC reports	p. 34
The high noon and decline of PESC	p. 37
The Treasury under the Tories again	p. 40
The end of PESC	p. 41
Treasury Politics in the Post-PESC Era	p. 43
The context of the political economy	p. 44
Nigel Lawson's social policy	p. 45
The evolution of the EDX system	p. 49
The Fundamental Expenditure Reviews (FERs)	p. 51
Better engineering of the 'nuts and bolts'	p. 52
Running costs control	p. 52
Market-testing	p. 55
The Private Finance Initiative	p. 56
Resource accounting and budgeting	p. 59
Conclusion	p. 60
The Treasury Reinvents Itself	p. 62
The theoretical background	p. 62
Contingent Treasury events: the role of Terry Burns	p. 64
The approach to the Heywood review	p. 68
The conduct and implementation of the review	p. 70
The main features of the new structure	n 73

Delayering and more power to team leaders	p. 73
The separation of spending and budget functions	p. 75
The proactive role of spending divisions	p. 77
The production of strategy papers	p. 78
The role of contracts	p. 78
The directing role and cross-cutting issues	p. 79
Interpreting the FER	p. 81
Taking forward the FER approach	p. 83
The Treasury Forms New Relationships	p. 86
The team leader focus	p. 86
The background and styles of team leaders	p. 89
The team leaders' job	p. 92
Inside the spending teams	p. 95
The view from outside: Departmental Principal Finance Officers	p. 98
The role of personalities	p. 101
Developing the new style	p. 105
The Calibration of Cash: Social Security	p. 108
The long-term position of social security	p. 109
The 1990s: an evolving relationship	p. 115
Towards staged change	p. 119
Child Support Agency	p. 120
Disability benefits	p. 121
Housing benefit	p. 122
Jobseekers' allowance	p. 123
Fraud	p. 124
Pensions	p. 125
Developing relationships after the FER	p. 126
Problems in forecasting	p. 129
The social security spending team	p. 130
The emerging links in social security	p. 132
More than Moving Money: The Treasury and Public Provision of Services	p. 134
The cash-services division	p. 135
Complex service delivery mechanisms	p. 138
The health case	p. 139
The education case	p. 145
The housing case	p. 150
Branch plants or political heavyweights?	p. 154
The Territorial Departments and the Detachment of the Treasury	p. 157
Centralization and deveolution in the Treasury	p. 157
Processes of territorial spending determination	p. 159

The block/formula system	p. 162
The 'internal survey' in the territorial departments	p. 167
The evidence on relative need	p. 169
The impact of devolution	p. 173
Wider implications of devolved budgeting	p. 175
The Treasury in Labour's First Year	p. 179
Labour's Treasury past	p. 181
Gordon Brown's progress	p. 182
The provenance of the 'tax and spend' pledge	p. 184
The inheritance: the context of public finances	p. 186
Labour's initial impact and the July 1997 Budget	p. 188
The Pre-Budget statement of November 1997	p. 192
The March 1998 Budget and the use of fiscal instruments	p. 193
Brown's injections of social policy funds	p. 195
Spending Reviews, Fiscal Strategies and the Treasury in Labour's Core Executive	p. 198
The Comprehensive Spending Reviews	p. 198
The push for welfare reform	p. 200
The political end-game on the Comprehensive Spending Reviews	p. 202
The outcome of the Comprehensive Spending Reviews	p. 204
Emerging from the welfare reform exercise	p. 207
The Public Service Agreements: contracts reappear	p. 208
Central mechanisms for developing social policy	p. 209
The Brown Chancellorship: an interim assessment	p. 211
The central choice: 'beefing up' or 'choking off' the Treasury	p. 215
The Treasury's role in social policy	p. 218
Conclusion	p. 222
Bibliography	p. 224
Index	p. 229

Table of Contents provided by Blackwell's Book Services and R.R. Bowker. Used with permission.