

Society

No 7 AUTUMN – WINTER 2004 THE NEWSPAPER FOR ALL SOCIAL SCIENCES STAFF AND STUDENTS AT THE OPEN UNIVERSITY



WWW MATTERS

What's happening? Why, there is a lot happening at level 1 if you want to understand social change better. Significant transformations have been made to Faculty level 1 study in fact.

February 2004 saw the start of the first presentation of the rewritten DD100 *An Introduction to the Social Sciences*, with the 'new' DD121 starting in October 2004. There are new DD100 covers, new diagrams, new audios (and, for October 2004, new CDs too) and four new chapters, all of which constitutes re-packaging, if not complete re-branding! It's early days, but so far the feedback is very positive, although, of course, we will have to wait until the first group of students have studied the whole course for the evidence of more formal surveys. The process of rewriting and the course team discussion about presentation patterns for DD100 and the two 30 point versions, DD121 and DD122, have been enormously instructive. The course team has maintained a lively and very useful exchange of views with the excellent level 1 tutors through First Class conferencing. This is also a good vehicle for receiving up-to-date feedback.

What key issues have emerged? What have we learned from the process? The course team focused on matters of retention, inclusion and diversity and found that these interconnect. We rewrote the difficult bits of identifiable chapters and attempted to give more space to 'race' issues, integrating material into the discussion of all the big issues that are addressed in DD100. There has been some

Kath Woodward, course team chair, updates you on important changes to DD100, DD121 and DD122

updating, for example using evidence drawn from the 2001 Census and some critical reflection on the contributions of 'New Labour', since the first Blair government was in its infancy when DD100 was first written. We have kept the UK focus, which was the original DD100 remit amidst, quite justifiably in many ways, slings and arrows (electronically delivered) from mainland Europe, but have tried to focus on illustrative material, such as empirical evidence from the UK, that is then used to illustrate and teach critical skills and analysis. The UK focus is largely empirical, but if anyone is thinking about the replacement to DD100, I would suggest a wider global focus would be useful.

Diversity questioned and enhanced

Diversity issues were central to updating and rewriting. For example, the course team thought that updated statistical data should where possible include 'race', 'ethnicity' and gender, rather than saying 'it's too much to include everything, we

can only focus on one aspect', such as gender or class or 'ethnicity'. We grappled with the need to challenge notions that whiteness is homogeneous as well as what it means to write about an 'us' or a 'we'. Who is included in this and who isn't? What sorts of assumptions are being made? In writing for the wider audience academics often use an inclusive 'we' to appear more accessible and friendly, but it is necessary to think about who is included in this all-embracing 'we' and to try only to use this specifically, such as 'we' the course team or 'we' the students studying DD100. These are not minor details and it is important to include the differences and heterogeneity of whiteness and question assumptions that gender might be about women and 'race' about black people.

There is still uncertainty about what the Faculty will do about presentation patterns, especially the difficult question of the October start for DD100. This will not have been resolved until after the summer deadline for this issue of *Society Matters*, but the experience of writing and presenting level 1 courses is relevant to the ongoing discussion. The OU needs a varied programme that can respond to student demand.

Popular demand

In May 2004, there was an extra presentation of DD121, put on by popular demand, which was very successful in its recruitment.

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THE DEAN'S COLUMN



Peggotty Graham, Dean of Social Sciences, reflects on her busy first year in office

It is hard to believe that almost a year has passed since I took over as Dean from Phil Sarre. He handed over a Faculty in good shape with buoyant undergraduate and graduate numbers, rapidly increasing success in research and a multi-talented team of full and part-time OU academics, Associate Lecturers and support staff. The Faculty has a great deal to thank Phil for, and I'd like to take the opportunity of this column to do so publicly at this time.

As predicted by Phil in his final column for *Society Matters*, there has been plenty to do in the past 12 months. It feels like a kaleidoscopic blur of meetings, budgets, deadlines, more meetings, more deadlines, with the occasional crisis and snatched lunch in the OU refectory thrown in! I've tried to make it a rule always to be in the car in time for *The Archers* – but failed miserably – a serious case of losing the plot. 'Hanging on by the fingertips' and running what is probably the largest Faculty in the UK has certainly been a challenge!

It has also been a year of important developments. We continue to keep the undergraduate programme under review, aiming, for example, to expand in areas such as criminology and media studies. A Foundation degree for the 'public sector' is under consideration and we are collaborating with the Financial Services Authority (FSA) on their financial literacy programme. Of course we are also maintaining the areas of high demand such as psychology and the interdisciplinary courses which have proved so popular.

At postgraduate level, we have expanded the Masters programme and turned it into a broader programme of Postgraduate Studies in Social Sciences with a variety of new awards – certificates and diplomas as well as the full MA and MSc. There is plenty to choose from – just take a look at the new Social Sciences postgraduate studies brochure.

In research, the Faculty has had extraordinary success in gaining approval for two of the University's six new Research Centres. In addition to Geography that gained the top rating of 5* in the last RAE and that continue to produce research of the very highest quality, we now have the Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance and the International Centre for Comparative Criminological Research. These will act as research hubs drawing together researchers from across the Social Sciences (and in the case of ICCCR from Arts also), with the aim of increasing the research pay-off that we hope for at the next RAE (the government-sponsored Research Assessment Exercise which looks at the research output of all UK universities). Another potential University Centre is Innovation, Knowledge and Development. Spearheaded by our economists it brings their research interests together with those of academics in the Business School and the Technology Faculty. The creation of the Centre for Research on Socio-cultural Change, a collaboration between our Sociology Discipline and the University of Manchester, is another huge success that will advance our understanding of social and cultural change (see our centre spread). And still another ESRC success is the location of the directorate of their major research programme on Identities in OU Social Sciences.

On top of all of this we are extraordinarily fortunate to have you, our students. I am particularly pleased that this issue of *Society Matters* has so many contributions from people who are studying Social Sciences courses as well as from those who are producing them. This is the kind of dialogue and engagement with ideas measured against lived experience that is the meat and drink of the Social Sciences. It helps us to learn from you just as much as you may be learning from us.

So what of the future: this year, under the leadership of the Vice Chancellor, the OU has been doing some rethinking itself and I would like to end with a brief quote from a new initiative – *OU Futures*.

The Open University is not just any university. We are special in many ways ... we are a world leader in open learning. We want to be a university that leads the way, that understands people, that innovates, that brings learning to people's lives and that harnesses our energies.

My first experience of the OU was as a student on D100 – the first Social Sciences course. I am immensely proud to have been a student and now Dean in a Faculty as successful as Social Sciences and in a University which sets itself such high aspirations. With your help we can all reach those heights. I wish you all the best with your studies.

Dealing with diversity and uncertainty

Matt Staples lives a double life. He is both the DD100 Course Manager and an experienced DD100 Associate Lecturer in London. Here he reflects on challenges in the front line

I'm not sure whether 'poacher and gamekeeper' is the appropriate terminology, but the roles I have in the management of DD100 at Walton Hall and teaching it as an Associate Lecturer in London have placed me in an interesting and challenging position.

I've taught DD100 for five years, and for all of this time have been based in either the old regional centre at Parsifal College or, for the last two presentations, in the newly renovated Hampstead Town Hall, both in North London. Teaching DD100 in London is both hugely rewarding and hugely challenging. Rewards come in many forms. In essence, DD100 is an introductory course in the social sciences set in a British context, but because of the way that issues such as crime, identity, work, 'race' and ethnicity, the market, risk society and the environment are addressed on the course, there are intrinsic links with the wider world and the course has a global appeal.

I have a diverse tutor group that includes people from the UK, South Africa, Australia, Nigeria, Poland, Hong Kong, Hungary, Jamaica and Slovakia which makes for a lively discussion. All have a home as well as a UK context from which to draw on, which has highlighted similarities and differences to the British experience.

Some students have started DD100 but felt that the slower pace of DD121 and DD122 might be best suited for their work-life balance. Others in the group do not have English as a first language, and this presents challenges for them if they are encountering Open University distance teaching for the first time. What students expect of teaching and the views that they have can be culturally specific, but five months into the course, the group have gelled extremely well, and opposing views are given and received in a very supportive environment.

So how does my work as Course Manager for DD100 impact on my role as an Associate Lecturer and vice versa? I work with a Course Chair in maintaining the course on a day to day basis as well as taking a more strategic approach to the development of the course in the longer term. I'm

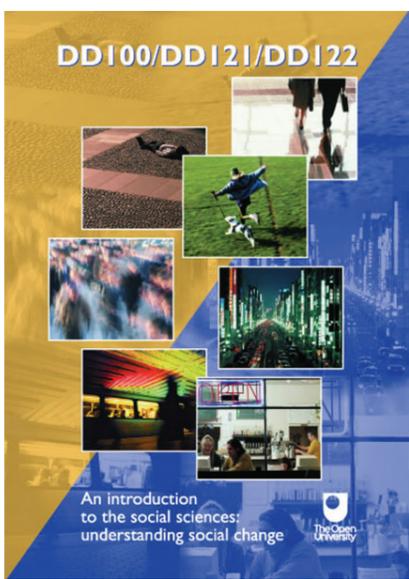
acutely aware that this is the biggest course in the University's and Faculty's history. The size of the DD100 intake has enormous implications, especially for student retention, and for Faculty and University funding. I try also to be conscious of the needs of individual students and Associate Lecturers on an individual basis.

Undoubtedly there are perks – my position means I'm fortunate to be able to see and help shape the TMA questions months before they are seen by other Associate Lecturers! More seriously, as the course team prepares the TMAs and accompanying notes for the forthcoming presentation, my dual position makes me acutely aware of the student and AL audience. Questions are constantly going through my mind – will the TMA question be too difficult? Are the accompanying notes clear and well structured? How will Associate Lecturers be able to link the teaching materials available to the area the question focuses on?

On a wider level, the course revamp was informed by some of my teaching experiences. All the elements that go to make up the course were being produced in 2003 and early 2004, and the views of students I have worked with and Associate Lecturer colleagues I have met were very much in my mind when identifying those parts of the course which were not working for students.

Teaching the first presentation of the revised course seems to indicate that the course team, has, in the main, got the nature and level of the changes right and that students and Associate Lecturers are enjoying the course, but there are always things that need to improve. Seeing my students at tutorials or talking to them by phone and e-mail, and talking with Associate Lecturer colleagues at the regional centre in Camden Town and on the First Class conference is a good reality check and informs me as to what we are doing right and what we are doing wrong!

The course team and I are very open to feedback from students and Associate Lecturers and I'd be delighted to hear from anybody with a view on the course. My e-mail is m.g.b.staples@open.ac.uk



EDITORIAL

Richard Skellington
The Editor, July 2004

Welcome to the seventh issue of *Society Matters*, the newspaper for all students and staff of the Faculty of Social Sciences. When *Society Matters* was launched in the winter of 1998, it had modest goals. It sought to provide a link between Faculty, students and staff. It sought to establish through a wide range of informative and stimulating content just how the Faculty is responding to the changing world in which we live. It emphasized how important and relevant social science is for all our futures. Of all the faculties in the University, it remains the only one with a newspaper that tries to reflect your needs and concerns.

The last issue – the first in our all-colour format – created quite an impact with its critical focus on a range of local and global concerns. The great debates of our time – inequality, human rights, the impact of globalization, the environment, and war – have formed the backdrop to some of our key content in the past. In this issue, while we continue to address these concerns, our focus has shifted, and you will find much more here about the experiences of being a social science student, and some of our new research innovations. I am delighted we have succeeded in getting good articles from students experiencing Open University courses for the first time, and reflecting on the happy experiences of graduation. I was pleased too that so many of our staff tutors – who play such a vital role in ensuring our success both academically and in terms of effective teaching – found space in their hectic schedules to write about either their research or the regions in which they worked. Linda Janes' article on their key responsibilities in Faculty provision, and the features by David Middleton, Gerry Mooney and Hugh Mackay, demonstrate the enormous contributions this group of staff make to the synergy between research and teaching.

Last time I emphasized the difficulty of sustaining the contemporary relevance of argument, evidence and analysis. *Society Matters* is designed to be dipped into during your year of study, and if you want back copies please contact me. The mosaic of fact-based articles, analysis, opinion, evidence, and humorous reflections – especially through the embellishments provided by Kate and Gary, our two talented cartoonists – is meant to stimulate the imagination and reinforce your motivations and commitment. We live in a constantly changing and fascinating world and as social scientists we all need to understand it better, and our place within it.

If the last issue was outward looking and influenced by external contributions – the HIV/Aids crisis, the war in Iraq – this issue demonstrates the strengths of our own staff in providing such an understanding. It was time to share more of our research successes and initiatives. The Faculty research endeavour is strongly represented. We now have a much stronger research profile with the creation of the Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance and the International Centre for Comparative Criminological Research. Our centre spread celebrates the creation of the Centre for Research into Social and Cultural Change, a collaborative Economic and Social Research Council funded research endeavour with the University of Manchester. I am pleased too to include articles on the Forensic Psychology Research Group, and Janet Newman's important summary of innovative research into governance.

I do hope you enjoy this issue. Student retention remains a Faculty priority and if this dip into the real world helps you to sustain your motivation and commitment to Open University study it will be worth the effort.

Copy deadline for next issue: 1 June 2005

Only one in five trust the British press

A study into attitudes to the press in Europe proved extremely embarrassing for the editors of Wapping. Only one in five Britons trusts their newspapers, the lowest figure in the 15 European states. In France, the study reported six out of ten readers trusting their national press, while in Germany the figure was one in four. Is this because the British press is so Eurosceptic, sensationalist and partisan? The survey found that television and broadcasting were rated higher in the UK, because they took a more dispassionate approach to issues.



Society Matters: a student writes

Dear Editor

I have been guilty of hesitancy as to the ostentatious declaration of my status as an OU student. I should have been proclaiming the fact that the OU is nurturing my tertiary education as opposed to a traditional red brick institution whenever someone has enquired about my studies. However, fears of being humiliated or of my work being parochially lauded as a 'Mickey Mouse degree' have prevented me from doing so.

Not any more! After reading *Society Matters* I am euphorically proud and relieved to associate myself with such a 'with it', fair, open, honest, democratic, humanitarian and perceptively critical institution as the OU. Judging from the kind of articles published, my institution is inherently concerned with a deep-seated moral, political and social conscience.

This isn't mere sycophantic babble. I am deeply moved that there are others who genuinely despair at the reprobate atrocities of our leaders, such as the war in Iraq, the frustrating incompetency of the UN to curtail impetuous and corporate obsessed American foreign policy, and the disturbing hostility towards asylum seekers and refugees that daily

infects the UK media (entirely indicative of – dare I say it? – racism in our country). The Stephen Lawrence scandal has revealed the despotic bigotry that many white Britons and far right politicians alike still harbour.



Thanks to the newspaper I feel better about living in a world that still has people who have not lost their humanism or compassion. One tends to forget this when the local community or workplace is more concerned with shutting itself off and watching *Eastenders* than the iniquities of war, growing rich-poor disparities and malnourished children.

From now on I will eulogize the lessons that the OU has taught me (of which the most fundamentally important is to question everything) and proudly disseminate this newspaper to my colleagues and friends – but only those who are genuinely interested. I don't want to resemble the evangelical, myopic, ignorant, and recalcitrant group of corporate subjugates that govern America!

Emily Hawes, Brigg, North Lincolnshire

There are more letters on the back page

Continued from Page 1

What's happening at level 1?



This would seem to demonstrate the attractiveness of this 30 point course and by implication the need to be flexible in what the Faculty offers its students. A starting time that coincides with other mainstream HE providers seems to be attractive to our level 1 students too and, very importantly, would give students who want it a proper break in the summer, rather than just a break from tutorials. Whatever the Faculty decides about October starts, and clearly our provision at second and third level in a fully supported programme is crucial to this debate, DD100 and the two 30 point versions remain very popular because they deal with the big issues in the social sciences and in the contemporary world in an accessible and exciting way. Social Science level 1 is a very good place to start studying with the OU.

I went for broke in May 2003. The OU did provide the best format for my further education. It offered independent study and avoided the strictures of mainstream University life where deaf students might be at a disadvantage. I applied for the Openings course Y001 *Living in a Changing Society*. Doing an Openings course would prepare me for DD100 *An Introduction to Social Science*. That was the plan.

The acceptance letter arrived on my 42nd birthday. I was classified as a 'disabled student', and initially I was unsure that I had done the right thing. I was slightly intimidated by the idea of tutorials, whether by phone, online or at set venues. These are daunting challenges to anyone with 'special needs' and might put obstacles in the way of what probably seems a normal challenge to most. I need not have worried. I received transcripts of all audio and video tapes and TV programmes. I also received a home visit to access my Disabled Students Allowance (DSA) in order to fund the supplementary support I needed, such as a radio-mike for use in tutorials.

Surprisingly, the Openings course appeared extremely undemanding. I had a great first tutor who gave phone-tutorials, which took a bit of getting used to. The only drawback was the long wait for results. I spent this 'spare' time taking a science level 1 short course – S191 *Food and Health – a chemical story*.

October saw a new OU mailing – 'Preparing to study DD100.' This made good light reading though not enough material to really whet the appetite. In November, the OU First Class conferences were buzzing. 'Have you received your materials?' 'Have you heard who your tutor is?' This was a confusing time: some students had received all their information while others were still waiting.

Christmas bonanza

A fortnight before Christmas, my first materials parcel arrived. A totally overwhelming experience, with books, tapes and notes in abundance, single sheets of information, check lists and an invitation to apply for a certificate in Social Science on completion

From Openings to level 1

Half way through DD100, Catriona Nedin, a partially deaf student, charts her progress

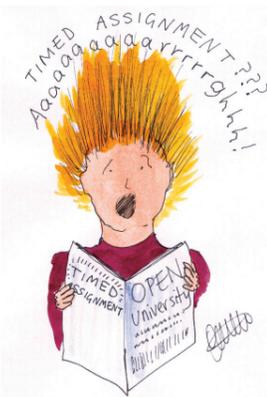
of the course. My tutorial venue was the local University, only a ten minute drive away. Like many students I had expected one or two optional tutorials, but not twenty more dates to fit in with other family commitments!

Plus, where did this timed assignment spring from? As a total air-head in exams, I'd hoped to avoid such situations! *

I picked up the 'Introductory Workbook', and read 14 pages, sticking little 'Post-It note' index markers onto pages. In the same week, another OU mailing, a change in tutor, but happily still the same venue. I sent my new tutor an e-mail introducing myself and to put her in the picture with regard to my hearing problems.

Tutorial-shy

I hadn't figured on actually attending tutorials, but decided to go to the first one to see what it was like. My tutor seemed nice and there were just two other students present which made my lack of hearing irrelevant. We introduced ourselves and gave a short résumé of why we were on the course, and discovered that fifteen others had not turned up! A week later my second tutorial taught me about gender in relation to identity – homosexual adoption and gender re-alignment! Strong stuff for openers.



I did not enjoy the crime introduction 'Introductory Chapter' despite the subject being crime, which is one of my interests. March saw YY101 and science short course results arrive on the same day: two passes to bolster me in the same month that my first TMA (TMA07) was due. This TMA became a chore with a rapidly looming deadline and my grade, although a pass, wasn't as high as I'd hoped. I was nervous and apprehensive. But my PT3 form and my tutor comments were extremely informative. I jotted down an A4 page of questions for my next tutorial. There, my tutor stayed behind to help me, and explained my grade a little more.

Four tutorials in and I'd seen faces come and go: I was the only student to attend all of them. Me! The one person who said I'd never go to any. There are a base group of four of us but it must be trying for our tutor to skim the syllabus, knowing most students are missing vital information and explanations. My radio-mike is excellent, so much so, that a fellow student asked why I had transcripts of TV programmes and couldn't believe I was deaf as she had not noticed the microphone receiver loop.

We discussed the forthcoming TMA and the power structures of Marx, Weber, and Foucault as we all were confused about the distinctions between them. My tutor drew little triangles on paper to demonstrate the differences between Marx and Weber, and after a mental struggle, Foucault became much clearer.

I learned a valuable lesson about TMAs. You really must read the question properly! I nearly answered a question that wasn't there. A friend sent me an OU book *Good Essay Writing* and this was a great help. I refused to make the same mistakes and followed the advice to the Nth degree! My second TMA was returned with a vastly improved mark, and a much better one than I expected.

The student e-desktop allows access onto conferences, but only to discuss problems with students at the same level of study. Sometimes, as we all know, work and family pressures can make studying very difficult, especially when you are new to the OU. A counsellor-type role would be of great benefit to some students and may ultimately improve retention rates. A counsellor could provide guidance with work, finances and all aspects of life, and intervene where appropriate to help all those students who do not go to tutorials, or who have social difficulties and simply drop out.

Another parcel arrived with details of the timed TMA due in late June. There was still no sign of the transcripts of the remaining audio-tapes or the remaining TV programmes. I phoned Walton Hall direct and the missing transcripts arrived within 24 hours! If you don't ask for help when a problem arises, it will never be solved.

April brought the new prospectuses for next year. I am barely half way through DD100 and now, having liked the OU experience, I'm planning my future. May sunshine meant study in the garden and registration forms completed for D218 *Social Policy: Welfare, Power and Diversity* and another Science short course, this time level 2 - S293 *The Fats of Life*. My tele-mole arrived via the DSA scheme. This records the subtitles from the TV so I'm not left with a confusing video recording.

Phew! My third TMA made the cut-off date: another respectable mark. Only a timed assignment and three more to go! If I can get this far and hopefully to the end, what can you do.

* Catriona passed her timed TMA with 70 per cent



On becoming an OU graduate

Catherine Pain, *Society Matters'* cartoonist, reflects on crossing the finishing line

Six years ago I began my OU degree. Today I am entitled to write 'BSc (Hons) Psych (Open)' after my name.

I remember lying in the bath reading my course book what seems like eons ago. The words read something like: 'Where are you studying right now, in the living room, on the train, in the bath?' I mean, how did they know?

When I escaped school I knew I would one day do a degree. I just wasn't ready at eighteen. Two children arrived quite promptly and I got married. But I got over that (the marriage, I mean; I'm still trying to get over the children). It was when my youngest started secondary school, and my closest friend did a 'returning to learning' course, that I knew it was time to get serious about my life.

So I embarked upon the first module, beginning at the beginning with a level 1 Social Sciences foundation course, and never looked back. The support was tremendous and my first tutor still writes to me now; this type of dedication in members of staff at the OU is one important aspect of why and how I made it through to this degree's end, and why I firmly recommend the OU pathway to anyone unfortunate enough to 'start me off' on one of my 'OU is great' monologues.

Every year since beginning this degree I have felt like giving up at some point or other in the year, but tutors, fellow students and my own stubborn nature (together with the attitude 'what else am I gonna do?') have combined to pull me through (sometimes kicking and screaming, or at the very least complaining bitterly to the cat).

The OU style is very much one of engendering and upholding a critical approach. For instance, an analysis is presented (whereupon I invariably found myself agreeing with the interpretation of the outcome). Turn the page and the opposite angle is put forward (which point I could see too). Turn the page again and here is yet a further consideration; a discussion about interpretation, philosophy, the definition of words within differing disciplines. One is left confused. A check of the study calendar causes a rush of adrenalin. There are only 11 days remaining before TMA 01 is due. It hurts, it really does, but its ultimately immensely satisfying, I have learnt so much, too much to write down here, ideas like sometimes we can't reach conclusions, we can only become more aware of issues and try to forge our own path through the various opinions and 'facts' (backed up, of course, with Harvard references)!

This degree has given me far more than a great deal of fascinating information. I feel 'enabled'. I can offer an opinion, and accept challenge. I feel capable of achieving. I finished last year (graduating in 2004 at Ely Cathedral) and at once felt a sense of loss that I'm not signed up for more. So what am I doing about it? I'm working with my mum (who also recently graduated, but as a PhD) on Conversation Analysis. My training with the OU has given me the confidence to say 'I can do this'. But I'm already preaching to the converted, but some of you might be wavering. Keep at it. Stick it through to the end. Finish the course you are studying. Then, if you can, complete your degree. Why? Because you are worth it!!!

DD100 student's protest song on Iraq sent to Blair and Bush

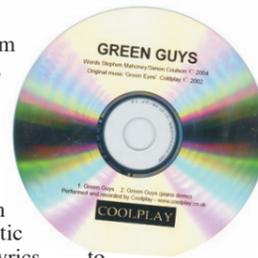
Inspired by DD100's emphasis on the importance of agency in challenging rigid structures, student Stephen Mahoney – a courier based in Liverpool – and the tribute group Coolplay, have produced a CD, *Green Guys*, to protest against the war in Iraq. The lyrics reflect the complex situation in Iraq, and explore the experiences and perceptions of coalition soldiers. The opening verse sings:

*Here I am in Iraq
A poor, war-torn land
I was sent here to talk
Or so you planned*

*Green guys
Now the West's plight
Weighs upon you*

*Why would
Anyone try
To harm you*

The CD is adapted from Coldplay's *Green Eyes*, and has been produced with their permission. Stephen contacted Coldplay's number one tribute band, Coolplay, and lead singer Simon Coulson was enthusiastic to translate Stephen's lyrics to music.



The CD has been sent to Prime Minister Tony Blair at Downing Street. Liberal democrat leader and opponent to the war, Charles Kennedy, President George Walker Bush, US Democratic candidate, John Kerry, the Stop the War Coalition, Greenpeace, BBC's Radio One, BBC Radio Five Live, and the American music magazine *Rolling Stone*. At the time of going to press Stephen had received a letter from Downing Street which thanked Stephen for the CD, though it was not clear if Mr Blair had listened to the lyrics.

The project is non profit making, and copies of the CD can be obtained by contacting Stephen (e-mail: stephenmahonmey78@yahoo.co.uk), or by downloading the song from www.coolplay.co.uk

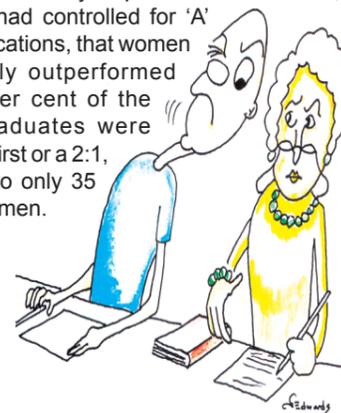
Lost and profound? From a recently marked TMA

'Of late in Scotland there has been a big increase in the number of sectarian babies. More and more women are giving birth by sectarian section...'



Women outperform men at university

Prompted by male under-performance in geography and earth sciences, Brunel University researchers have found that women work harder than men at university and achieve higher degrees than men. They tracked 200 students over a four-year period and discovered, once they had controlled for 'A' level qualifications, that women consistently outperformed men. 65 per cent of the female graduates were awarded a first or a 2:1, compared to only 35 per cent of men.



PVC Alan Bassindale tells Catherine he likes her cartoons as he presents her with her degree at Ely Cathedral in June 2004

Since 1978, cognitive psychology has undergone something of a quiet revolution. This revolution has been covered by two successful Faculty courses, and next year, a third, ground breaking course, is being presented for the first time.

DD303 is the Faculty's new 60 point course in cognitive psychology. Its code recalls the original D303 which ran from 1978 to 1985, and by D309 which ran from 1986 to 2004. Both courses were integral to the Psychology programme and the named degree in Psychology which carry the official kite-mark of the British Psychological Society – enabling students that exit the accredited programme to pursue psychology at postgraduate level and aim for professions such as occupational, clinical and counselling psychology.

Since 1978 research has continued apace in such core areas as perception, attention, categorization, language, memory, problem solving and reasoning. But our understanding has been enriched by the exploration of new phenomena – such as the Capgras delusion, where a person (erroneously) believes that an impostor or double has replaced someone they know – or category-specificity, where some people with brain damage have more difficulties in recognizing and naming artefacts than they do with living things. The reach of cognitive psychology has also extended to include the study of subjects previously thought to present a challenge to the cognitive approach, such as the emotions, consciousness and the self.

These changes have been accompanied by the ever more prominent use of new technologies, such as techniques for imaging the brain and for building computer models. Experimentation with human participants, a central pillar of cognitive psychology, has also been revolutionized by the use of the web and software programmes for designing and administering experiments. Meanwhile, of course, accreditation criteria and the quality assurance benchmarks have developed, stringently reflecting these and other changes.

Cognitive psychology futures

Against this background of external change, the design of DD303 began in earnest in February 2001 when the course team organized a conference on *Future Directions in Cognitive Psychology*. In the beautiful Leicestershire countryside leading international authorities shared their visions of cognitive psychology's future, and of its key successes and challenges. This proved the perfect means for widening creative input to the course at the very beginning of the production cycle. Many

DD303 A Cognitive Revolution

Course chair Nick Braisby, Lecturer in Psychology, outlines our new third level 60 point course in cognitive psychology



of our presenters continued as consultants for the course, either as author, reader or external assessor, and the course has benefited considerably from their contributions.

Reflecting the ongoing cognitive revolution, DD303 incorporates many technical innovations. An arrangement with the US-based company *Psychology Software Tools Inc* has secured a customized version of the 'industry standard'

E-prime, and has enabled the course team to pioneer the use of experiment generator software in distance education. Under supervision, students will run their own computer-based experiments at home and remotely collect data from participants for analysis.

Project supervision will be one of the critical functions performed by our tutors, and we have planned for a considerable amount of individual

student support. We will use an embedded residential school to maximize the effectiveness of project supervision and technical support for the most demanding and independent aspects of students' project work. Students unable to attend the residential school will 'attend' an on-line alternative learning experience (ALE), itself a development of the course's extensive use of First Class for electronic tuition and conferencing.

Alongside E-prime, the course also uses software for statistical analysis (SPSS), and for neural network and symbolic computer modelling. And the course's use of technology extends to the eDesktop, First Class and the eTMA system.

From the very beginning of production, anticipating the extensive use of software and technology, and the importance of project supervision, the course team prioritized the issue of workload. We opted for conservative estimates of reading speed related to the conceptual difficulty of the materials. The workload model persuaded us to take an early decision not to use video materials, and to limit our use of audio. It also enabled the team to incorporate many recommendations from the student retention project (for example, on the inclusion of review weeks).

There have been other successes too. The course team's commitment to producing high quality texts was rewarded by a healthy number of bids for co-publication, and our two principal course texts will be co-published with Oxford University Press.

Of course there have been difficulties. Since our conference in early 2001 the course team has spent many hours, weeks, months and sometimes years wrestling with constraints – pedagogic, programme, financial, temporal and external – that have often seemed mutually incompatible. We have had to be frustratingly selective in the topics we have chosen to teach, and the breadth with which we have developed them.

Such problems have been more than outweighed by the pleasures and successes we have enjoyed in producing the course. Of these, perhaps the greatest has been the harmonious and supportive atmosphere within the course team, and the excellent working relationships and friendships we have struck up with so many people throughout the Faculty and the University more widely. I would like to thank the team and all who have helped us since 2001 for their patience, kindness and support. The result is a course of which I think the whole Faculty can be proud, and one that upholds the best traditions of the University.

A new look DD201 Sociology and Society

Peter Redman, DD201 course chair, explains how student feedback has led to the production of a new, enhanced version of the Faculty's 60 point level 2 Sociology course, due to be presented for the first time in 2005



The course, DD201, has been in presentation since 2002 and, in this time, has attracted much positive attention. Indeed, reviewing DD201's main teaching texts in the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, (the key weekly journal for higher education), Richard Jenkins, Professor of Sociology at the University of Sheffield, described them as, 'marvellous books: full of life, often superbly illustrated and good to look at...bursting with the vigour and virtues of education...[They] represent much that is vital and excellent about British sociology – a broad intellectual base, an openness to [other] disciplines and a tradition of commitment to innovation' (*THES*, 6 June 2003).

With endorsements like this it might be wondered why the course team decided a new, enhanced version of DD201 was needed. The answer is simple. Despite its numerous strengths, students and tutors told us that the workload was, at points, overly demanding and that the academic level of the course material was sometimes too high. Needless to say, the course team wanted to address these issues as swiftly as possible and, in consequence, sought and received approval for DD201 to be revised in line with students' and tutors' concerns.

Reduced workload: six TMAs and a fallow week

So what can future DD201 students look forward to? Perhaps the most important change concerns a reduction in the workload. From 2005, DD201 will have six rather than seven TMAs, each accompanied by a 'fallow' week in the Study Calendar to allow for

detailed preparation and writing. In addition, the last of the four DD201 course texts has been extensively revised to incorporate teaching on research methods that was previously located in separate methods booklets. As well as reducing the overall workload, this will also better integrate methods teaching into the mainstream of DD201, improving the course's coherence and making it more streamlined.

What of concerns about the academic level of the course? These have been addressed by abandoning the more complex readings and providing enhanced teaching in a new, integrated Study Guide. Moreover, in order to help students organize their thinking about the course, this Study Guide will also include new 'introduction' and 'review' sections which help showcase the major themes and issues running through the course texts. This process will culminate in a 'Review and Revision' booklet, specifically designed to help students prepare for the exam.

Finally, DD201's TMA strategy has also been rethought. In line with student and tutor feedback, it will now place a greater emphasis on helping students develop the essay writing skills appropriate for second level study.

If, in Richard Jenkins' words, DD201 already conveyed what is 'vital and excellent about British sociology', its new incarnation will be more sharply focused, more accessible and, above all, more student-friendly. For anyone interested in the social world and its consequences, DD201 will be an invaluable and intellectually stimulating element of their degree.

DD203 Power, Dissent, Equality: Understanding Contemporary Politics

Politics matters to all of us. Paul Lewis, Reader in Central and East European Politics, outlines our exciting new second level course for 2005

The contemporary world is politicized to an extent and degree not seen before. Political events like the collapse of the Soviet empire, the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers and the US-led invasion of Iraq affect the way people live across the globe. But responses to such events and the world of politics are highly diverse. Many people in the UK feel that the 'official' politics of parliaments and elections is distant from their lives and irrelevant to their interests. Other kinds of politics also come to the fore as people engage in new forms of direct action and street politics.

DD203 *Power, Dissent, Equality* confronts this diversity in contemporary political life, and provides students with the tools to comprehend and understand it better. Much of this programme is delivered by the five core books of the course.

The first book, *What is Politics?* has a straightforward message – politics matters to all of us. Avoiding jargon, it reveals that politics is both broad in scope and critical to our lives. Places and events that are not normally thought of as being 'political' – well beyond parliament and even government – are explored through provocative case materials. The importance of politics is drawn out through stories, dialogues and press cuttings about the specific case of refugees and asylum seeking in the UK and beyond.

The second book, *Exploring Political Worlds*, confronts the changing nature of contemporary political activity from a comparative perspective. In an age of globalization the nature and location of power seems increasingly difficult to define, and the role of the state has become problematic. People participate less in traditional politics but are often eager to assert their views in more novel ways, while ideas of citizenship change under the impact of greater mobility and rapid cultural transformation. Even the basic tools we use to compare and understand political systems are under question. In this book a number of prominent political scientists explore such pressing concerns. The resulting text is a concise introduction to comparative politics and an accessible survey of the key dimensions of contemporary political systems.

The third book directs attention to British politics. In *Politics and Power in the UK* you'll examine

critically a range of key practices of politics and power in the UK today. The focus is on issues of continuity and change in the dynamics of power, participation and accountability. Chapters explore government at the centre and the analytical tools that help us to understand it, the historical roots and contemporary politics of devolution, shifting patterns of political participation and dissent, the importance of networks, and the character of constitutional change.

All too often introductions to political theory and ideology are dry and seem to assume that ideas are detached from political practice. The fourth book, *Living Political Ideas*, aims to show that political ideas, theories, ideologies 'live', in two senses – ordinary people live their consequences, and they change and adapt with the rhythms of political life. It explores in depth selected key political ideas, interrogating them through historical and conceptual analysis, and a range of issues such as political legitimacy, nationalism and social justice.

The fifth book is *Making Policy, Shaping Lives*. Here you'll explore a variety of perspectives on the making of public policy. The book deals with policy dynamics at national and other levels of governance. Links between policy and battles over political values, responses to electoral preferences, challenging social and cultural issues, the assumptions of the powerful, and national and international economic and political pressures are explored. The five books, together with a range of videos and innovative CDs, provide an accessible and well-rounded introduction to the different facets of contemporary politics.



DD205 *Living in a Globalized World*

Gillian Rose, chair of the new second level Geography course starting in 2006, asks you to explore with the course team the exciting challenges we now face living in a globalized world

It is commonplace today to be told the world is increasingly connected, and people and things travel further and further, more and more often. If you've studied DD100 you'll know that's the case. But there's lots of everyday proof too that the world – or at least large parts of it – is now global.

We buy food from distant places in the supermarket as a matter of course. We take our holidays far away. We send e-mails around the world. Immigrants arrive from foreign countries while emigrants leave to settle in other parts of the world. Our televisions bring the remote far corners of our world into our living room. We know too that many other things travel the globe freely: money, disease, pollution. But what does all this global interconnection mean? How is it being lived with? These are the questions driving a new second level course to be presented from 2006.

DD205 *Life in a Globalized World* begins by asking what living in such a world feels like. The course team – mostly geographers – suggest that one effect of globalization on many of us is that the world now feels very demanding. The world impinges on us insistently. There are huge humanitarian issues to consider and react to. We're constantly being asked to think of other people, and often to think of others very different from us, or very far away from us. These people, sometimes, live in great poverty. They face disease, and they live in zones.

We are also asked to think of the world, the planet itself, and its needs and those of its other non-human inhabitants. How much pollution can the planet take? How many species can it lose? All sorts of organizations ask us to do this, to think of others, whether other humans or the environment, or animals, or plants. And often we don't have to be asked.

How many times have you put on a T-shirt made in Turkey or India and wondered who made it and in what conditions? How many times has the planet made its own demands, asserting its own agency, with hot summers and earthquakes and mutations? And also, of course, how many times have we all ignored these demands and just got on with our own, already demanding lives.

DD205 will try to offer a way of making sense of this challenging, globalized world, so that decisions about what we do, or don't do in relation to it, are better informed. It will explore what the course team thinks are some of the most telling examples of what living globally today means. The course explores, for example, what kinds of relations those of us who live in the developed world might have to those working in sweatshops elsewhere who so often make our clothes and our shoes. Are we responsible for their poverty in some way, when we continue to buy those things, or are we actually their benefactors, because our purchases create their jobs?

How have plants travelled in the past, and what are the implications of that history for understanding the spread of GM crops today? Should wealthy nations make reparation to those devastated by slavery? When is it just for one country to intervene in another's affairs?

The course will explore answers to such questions in terms of the different ways global connections can be made and sustained. Does a commitment to a particular place or community or protest group resist or reaffirm globalization? You will get to see some of these examples on a specially commissioned course DVD-video.

Building on DD100 globalization debates

DD100 is not a pre-requisite for DD205. But if you have taken the Social Sciences foundation course, DD205 will enable you to take the discussion of globalization you may have encountered there *much* further. This is because the course focuses on the diversity of different kinds of connections that make our world global, and on the different effects, in different places, that different kinds of connections have.

It's easy to say that the world is connected more fully now than ever before but the nature of those connections needs careful scrutiny. And that's what this course will offer: a careful analysis of some of the many different ways it is possible to be involved in the world now.

Global income inequality

The richest 1 per cent of the world's population received as much income as the poorest 57 per cent according to the United Nations Human Development Report, 2003. The Gini index, which measures income and consumption in society and produces a coefficient where the lower the number the greater the equality, ranks Britain and the United States relatively similar at 39. Remarkably Hungary is the most equal society, closely followed by Japan, Brazil, Nicaragua, and South Africa are among the poorest. Women remain the poorest of the poor, representing 70 per cent of those in absolute poverty. In every part of the world women, on average, earn less than 25 per cent than men.

West accused of 'scarcely trying' in Third World

The World Economic Forum (WEF) has criticized Western leaders for failing to deliver United Nation Millennium targets for the Third World. In 2000, the West announced a 15-year programme to tackle poverty, hunger, education, disease, war and terrorism, and the environment. WEF reported a shortfall in the financial donations required to hit these targets.

Reviewing progress in 2004, WEF discovered that by 2015, the proportion of hungry people would increase in the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, and south Asia, while more than half the world's countries would fail to provide universal primary education. HIV/Aids was devastating some countries and paralysing parts of the Third World. WEF criticized the West for not making a 'serious effort' to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

There were some encouraging trends. Poverty in China had been reduced, and there was increased investment in tackling malaria. The number of continuing conflicts between and within states had declined, and despite 9/11 and its aftermath, WEF reported the number of terrorist incidents had fallen (though because of 9/11 the casualties from terrorism had increased).

WEF marks for world progress were: peace and security 3/10; poverty 4/10; hunger 3/10; education 3/10; health 4/10; environment 3/10; and human rights 3/10.

UK green record below Papua New Guinea

The global index of environmental sustainability which measures greenhouse gas emissions, water quality, air pollution and nuclear safety, published by the WEF in February 2004, ranked the UK in 91st place out of 142 countries and below many developing countries, and worse than any other European country except Belgium. WEF found the UK deficient in reducing greenhouse gas emissions, cutting waste and protecting water supplies. The UK record of building roads on wildlife sites and its stockpiles of nuclear waste did not help its rating. The UK came 140th on 'reducing environmental stresses', 115th on 'environment systems', and 110th on 'global stewardship'. The top ten countries were Finland, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Switzerland, Uruguay, Austria, Iceland, Costa Rica and Latvia; and the bottom ten were Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Korea, Ukraine, Haiti, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, North Korea, United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait.

Violence against women

Violence against women is increasing in the world, and knows no boundaries of geography, culture or wealth. One of every three women in over 50 countries worldwide has been beaten, coerced into sex, or abused during her lifetime, according to the United Nations and Amnesty International. In Europe domestic violence is the major cause of death and disability for women aged 16 to 44, and accounts for more deaths than cancer or traffic accidents. Russia, where in 1999, 14,000 women were killed by their partners or relatives, has no law specifically addressing domestic violence. In the US, a woman is raped every 60 seconds and four women die each day as a result of family violence. In UK, two women are killed each week in family violence incidents.

Pornographic Fact

The US public spends \$10bn a year on pornography – more than it spends on foreign aid, and more than it spends on watching Hollywood movies. In a typical week in 2004, 200 new adult films are made, and there are now over 300,000 porn internet sites in the USA alone.

Source: *Fifty Facts That Should Change the World*, Jessica Williams, Icon Books, London



Photo: © Chris Stowers/Panos pictures

Executions decline

China, Iran, Vietnam and the United States are responsible for 84 per cent of executions around the world. In 2003, the last year for which data is available, 1,146 people were executed, a significant decrease on the 3,048 people executed in 2001. China headed the 2003 list with 752 confirmed executions, Iran conducted 108, the US came third with 65 executions including two men with lifelong mental health illnesses, and Vietnam fourth with 64. Saudi Arabia came fifth with 50. Amnesty International, who undertook the research into executions, have been unable to record the number of executions in Iraq, Libya and Syria. They did reveal that since 1973, in the United States, 113 prisoners had been released from, death row because evidence subsequently emerged that they were innocent of the crimes for which they had been convicted.

Landmine treaty has 134 signatures

In 60 countries round the world, more than 100 million landmines are estimated to be buried in the ground waiting to explode. In Cambodia, one person is killed or maimed every hour, and one in every 236 inhabitants is an amputee. By August 2003, 134 countries had become parties to a landmine ban treaty, 18 had destroyed their stockpiles, but 47 countries, including the US, China and Russia, with stockpiles of 200 million landmines, have still to sign the treaty. In the war in Iraq, the coalition forces deployed 90,000 anti-personnel landmines, but these have not been used (www.unicef.org; www.hrw.org).

If it's Tuesday it must be Milton Keynes: the peripatetic life of a staff tutor in Social Science

There are 33 staff tutors working across the Faculty's regions. What do staff tutors do? Linda Janes, Head of Staff Tutors, gives an insight into the many aspects of this key role

I never look forward to the standard social gathering question of 'and what do you do?' Volunteering, 'I'm a staff tutor in Social Sciences at the Open University' understandably gains not one glimmer of recognition in the eyes of anyone outside the OU itself. I could say, 'well, I'm a University Lecturer'. Well, so far, so good, you say, 'lecturer' is a generally recognizable job. But this is where things get complicated, and confusing.

I usually follow the 'lecturer' label with, 'at the Open University, which is a distance teaching institution, where lecturing is of course very different' and add, 'anyway, I'm actually a regional academic based in the East Midlands where half of my job is to work with Associate Lecturers who teach the courses locally and the other half is as a Social Sciences Faculty member in Milton Keynes, where I am linked primarily to the Sociology discipline for whom I write course materials and have a responsibility nationally for some of the teaching provision on the postgraduate programme in Media and Cultural Studies'; well, yes, listeners' eyes do tend to glaze over. Unwisely, I once attempted such an explanation with a colleague of my partner who, after looking very puzzled and mystified, responded, 'but that's surely a job of at least five halves'. And I had only been trying to describe it, not make a case for being overworked!

'Staff tutor' is an oddly anachronistic job title, dating back to the mists of OU time: interesting word, staff. It reminds me of those traditional institutional contexts such as the teachers' staff room. It reminds me of those hierarchies in which staff nurses and staff sergeants had particular twentieth century roles. None of these meanings seem to relate clearly to the OU job today. But the University is used to it and, although the question of a changed, more accurately descriptive title is occasionally raised, I think there is now a fondness for its rather quaint archaic uniqueness, plus no-one has come up with a crisp and accurate alternative acceptable to all. Also, we feel the role is a crucial one and maintaining its name helps to defend its important particularity in times of managerial change and centralization.

A bridge between centre and periphery

So who are staff tutors and what do we do? Staff tutors are regional academics who represent the interests of regions to Faculties and the University, and the interests of Faculties to the regions. It is this bridging link that is the most important and defining aspect of the role. This helps to ensure communication and feedback across the distributed locations of University activity, especially between students and ALs on one side and central colleagues responsible for course and teaching policy development on the other.



Social Sciences staff tutors getting a breath of fresh air above New Lanark

At regional level staff tutors in Social Sciences are responsible for the appointment, staff development and support of ALs and for the local organization of both undergraduate teaching provision and the OU-wide postgraduate programme. We liaise with ALs and students on a daily basis and visit tutorials around our regions to support AL work with students. We see how courses and teaching are being received and collect and evaluate feedback.

On the Faculty side, our role is much the same as our central academic colleagues based at Walton Hall, albeit for a reduced amount of our time. Each of us is a member of one of the Social Sciences six discipline groups. We are also members of course teams, both teams presenting current courses, and teams in production developing new ones. Staff tutors also undertake academic research.

It is in this context that the linking quality assurance role of staff tutors is paramount. We develop local knowledge in relation to students, ALs and course presentation in terms of strengths and weaknesses of OU provision and support systems. We promote the Faculty's commitment to widening participation and lead on increasing student retention. We play a vital role in enhancing the success of the University

as it seeks to sustain its pre-eminence in far more competitive local and national environments.

So staff tutors typically spend their time between regional offices, study centres and Walton Hall; not a job for anyone who dislikes being on the move. I tend to think of the M1 as an additional work location, actually a useful one (now the law relating to use of mobile phones has changed), since it offers invaluable time and space for thinking.

Recently, Social Science staff tutors (of whom there are 33, spread across the 13 OU regions according to student population numbers), congregated in the really beautiful location of the Robert Owen Heritage Centre at New Lanark for our conference. This annual event is always useful for generally sharing concerns and ideas from our different academic discipline and regional perspectives. The formal agenda this year prioritized the issue of effective AL support under the terms of their renegotiated employment contract. It also examined managing overall workload in order to protect our commitment to our own academic development work and research. We also focused on our priority to protect the localness of OU teaching provision whilst at the same time supporting developments in e-learning where appropriate.

Local distinctiveness in a centralized University

We believe that localness is an important distinctive aspect of OU provision. Increasingly there are policy moves towards centralization which undermine regional autonomy, based on the argument that it is uneconomic to repeat processes across 13 regions. However, this idea assumes that regional activities are simply replicated across all regions whereas we would argue that they are in fact often particular and diverse, depending on different geography and different student and AL populations, and therefore they require different tailored regional management and support.

Conference was not all serious talk though. We also walked beside the stunning Falls of Clyde and saw nesting peregrine falcons on the cliffs. And we had a riotous quiz where the winning team was the one with the member who could remember that the acronym for the new university voice-mail system 'VOICE' stands for Valuing Our Integrated Customer Experience. Can't help feeling she should be volunteering for *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire*.

So staff tutors live interesting, varied and very busy lives. We are key players connecting different elements of the University together. This year I attended a Degree Ceremony at the Symphony Hall in Birmingham where the OU Chancellor, Betty Boothroyd, presided. She was absolutely brilliant, playing the audience to perfection and creating a tremendous sense of warmth and shared celebration. She spoke to virtually every graduate as they shook hands (often including a hug) and reported snippets of interest to the crowd.

'This young woman's mother is graduating today, where is she?'

'What an achievement, this woman has a full-time job, twin girls and she's got her degree.'

'This man is older than me and he's going to start another degree, how about that?'

And my favourite, when my own ex-student Joy told her that she came originally from Wednesbury:

'This young woman was my constituent for 25 years. I must have done something right because she never booted me out!'

On a cold Monday night in February, stranded at Grimsby study centre with a broken down car, it's possible to feel a tad ambivalent about the benefits of staff tutoring, but at degree ceremonies there are no doubts, absolutely no doubts at all.

How to get published

In our last issue *Society Matters* introduced its 'How to...' series with a look at how to get research grants. Once you have that grant, done the research and written up, how do you get your findings published? Paul Anand, Reader in Decision Science and Public Policy, takes you through some helpful publication strategies. If you are thinking of writing articles in the future these tips are for you

The rise of the journal article as a means to academic progress and the measure of success is not an unalloyed blessing but it is something none of us can ignore. I want to focus on three issues that are especially significant today: which journal to submit to and the process of submission, how you can maximize the potential of the article you are writing, and what to do when more than one author has contributed to the article. For the most part, I have assumed that the authors have followed the appropriate research methodology conventions for their area. The strategies below are merely advisory and not all are essential, but authors should be aware of the importance of taking some of them on board, well before submission.

Submitting an article

It is sometimes said that about two thirds of all submitted academic articles are rejected. In fact the publication rejection rates for the top journals are often much higher. So how might you tip the odds in your favour? First and foremost, you need to ask yourself, frankly, does my manuscript look like the kind of paper this journal normally publishes? There are a variety of issues one should consider. For instance, does it fit the page length requirements? Have I used the right number and method of referencing? But there are some more subtle issues too. Is this the kind of topic and approach the journal normally covers and, even if it is, has it published too much of this work recently. More directly, what are potential referees likely to say about the article? Finally, for submissions in the most competitive areas, you must consider whether it would be useful to submit to a journal (not necessarily your first choice) as a way of getting referee comments.

All this means thinking about contributions that other authors have made, as well as one's own, and also about the importance of issues such as departmental reputation, the 'nationality' of the journal and so on. In some fields, the list of who you've had comments from, and the places where the paper has been presented, clearly matter to referees and editors of the best journals. In other areas, the status of the body that funded the research might be significant. Not all of these things should influence referees and editors but in reality they sometimes have a persuasive power.

Making the most of your publications

There are no hard and fast rules about how to get the most out of an article. It rather depends on what you want from it, the kind of article it is and even the stage you are at in your career. However, in many cases, authors want to make a substantial contribution to a field, something that requires a series of publications which suggests most of your papers should be part of a longer term project. Though this can constrain those with a variety of interests, such limits often help authors be more creative and allow for the possibility of putting together a book proposal based on a collection of work.

Citations are not yet used extensively to judge the value of work, perhaps because in many fields the average number of citations per article is in single figures. Review articles in good journals do attract attention, citations and even some prestige, so an occasional review (even if barely RAE-able) is probably not a bad idea. For more established researchers, reviews are often overviews of areas to which they have made a substantial contributions, but they are also an essential part of any PhD – and

if one can turn a literature review into a publication then why not? Another approach is to find an emergent area and write an article in such an original and stimulating thought-provoking way that others in your area will find it essential to cite (whether they agree with it or not). Sometimes, of course, the best thing to do is to buck the trend though this depends a bit on the status of the author and their department.

Should I do collaborative research?

The answer to this question is, at least for some of the time, probably yes. Academic publishing is increasingly competitive and that makes it harder for any single person to have all the substantive and technical skills that an article in a good journal requires. There was a time when joint publication (meaning two or more authors) was confined to the natural sciences but this is no longer the case, though it has to be said that more theoretical and discursive articles do still tend to be written by single authors.

People tend to collaborate where they have shared interests and overlapping skills. Where the points of contact are few and far between, one might look for commonalities in vain. Professional relationships (possibly more so than just friendships), and personalities, are obviously crucial but organizational contexts may be relevant too. Someone under too much pressure from their organization may also be in one that is insufficiently resourced. On the other hand, the Open University, perhaps helped by its historical links with the BBC, has a good reputation in many parts of Europe, which suggests that working with good European researchers is an option to pursue to your advantage.

Human resource specialists often say that past performance is the best indicator of what people are likely to do in future, so talking to researchers with track records of collaboration, productivity, good quality work and external research funding makes good sense. Generally, if the initiative is yours, you should expect to do most of the work and be responsible for the final outcome. Successful collaborations can be extremely rewarding but they also allow authors access to new networks and help, because publications appear on website homepages. And crucially, they disseminate research to prospective authors like you. While it is best to start small, think big and don't be afraid to work with the top researchers in your field. I hope these simple tips help you get your name established and your articles aired in the public arena.

SOME DO'S AND DON'TS

- Do cite appropriately and generously
- Do proofread any submissions thoroughly
- Do think what referees are likely to say
- Do address all referees' suggestions in some manner
- Don't submit to journals that have long review times unless you must
- Don't argue with referees or the editor
- Don't write an article unless you know roughly your submission strategy
- Don't write something that doesn't interest you or you don't believe in
- Respect your readers, referees especially

The morality of justice

Dave Middleton, Lecturer in Politics and staff tutor in Wales, explores the moral roots of a contested concept, and examines its political ramifications



Gangmasters overseeing seasonal workers picking onions on a farm in Warwickshire

In a newspaper interview last autumn, Prime Minister Tony Blair asserted, 'the central belief of the Labour Party is social justice.' (*The Guardian*, 28 November 2003). On the BBC's *Today* programme, Labour Party MEP and former *Eastenders* actor Michael Cashman, confirmed his leader's mission. The Labour Party, he revealed, was the party of 'equality, justice and fairness'. Is this the same Labour Party, which since coming to power in 1997, has removed the ability of disabled citizens to claim benefit, introduced the divisive top-up fees proposal into Parliament, consistently attacked the rights of asylum seekers to find refuge here, and, most strikingly, supported a US-led attack on Iraq which if not actually unlawful under international law was certainly predicated on evidence which has since proved to be almost entirely false. Moreover, lest we forget, the Labour Party which now presents itself as a friend of the Iraqi people, led a sanctions campaign against those same people which, according to the United Nations, was responsible for nearly one quarter of a million deaths of children under five since 1990.

The idea that the Labour Party is the natural party of social justice is certainly questionable. However, this is not a party political broadcast on behalf of the Conservatives or Liberals. The fact that Labour wants to be the party of social justice is worth celebrating, even if, and this is a major if, they are very poor at translating that 'want' into an 'ought'. To put that into more fashionable language (fashionable amongst academics that is, not in my local pub) the Labour Party espouse a discourse of social justice at times when it feels that it is appropriate to do so. However, that discourse is only one of many discourses that the Labour Party and other political parties engage in. Or, for the benefit of the regulars of Cardiff's *Cayo Arms*, politicians tend to say different things at different times to suit different audiences and different purposes. The question for me is not so much whether we can or should trust the Labour Party (we can't, nor most other parties for that matter), but more importantly, what is it about social justice that is so appealing?

Social justice is a contested concept

We could trace the history of social justice back to the roots of philosophical engagement itself. It was Plato, four centuries before Christ, who forms the starting point for an engagement with the philosophical idea of social justice. His book *The Republic* is, in large part, a meditation on what constitutes justice. It lays the foundation for many of the debates on social justice which have followed. As far as modern English is concerned, the idea of social justice probably did not appear in a title of a book until 1900 when the now long forgotten Westel Willoughby wrote *Social Justice*. But, since the late 1960s there have been numerous books on justice, none more influential than John Rawls seminal *A Theory of Justice*.

What this continued fascination with social justice alerts us to is the fact that whilst politicians use the phrase with casual abandon, it continues to be what philosophers refer to as a 'contested concept'. Or, as the regulars at *The White Hart* might put it, there is no agreement on what it means. What this does not mean, however, is that agreement is impossible to reach. Part of the problem with social justice is that it has this intuitive feel to it. It is a phrase which everybody can have an opinion on simply because we are all familiar with the language.

Whilst academics debate justice, many people find their lives blighted by its contradiction – injustice. The 20 cockle pickers who died on the mudflats of Morecambe Bay in February are perhaps an extreme example of the consequences of injustice. Nobody who has an acquaintance with that story can feel anything but outrage at a social system which allows the merciless exploitation of people who are simply trying to make a better life for themselves. The cockle pickers paid upwards of £2,000 for their journey in order to die in the most miserable of circumstances. They were not the first, nor sadly are they likely to be the last.

The *New Statesman* of February 12, 2004, gives some examples of where the rhetoric of social justice fails individuals: '... illegal migrant workers appear to us in their full vulnerability only when we learn of their frequently bizarre deaths. Zhang Guo Hua drops dead, after working a 24-hour shift in a Hartlepool factory putting the name Samsung on to microwave ovens. Three young men are killed in a van crushed by the 7.03 train from Hereford to London – variously reported as Kurds, Iraqis or Arabs they were off to pick onions in the West Midlands. Fifty people are suffocated among boxes of tomatoes in the back of a lorry. A 47-year-old Ukrainian working as a cleaner in London's Cafe Royal is found dead in a broom cupboard; he was living there to save money, because he sent all he earned to relatives'.

So, the reality of injustice is one factor motivating the study of justice. And, whilst this is itself an important starting point it also explains, to some extent, why we find difficulty in achieving social justice. The problem of concentrating on injustice as the starting point for social justice is that it leads to an over-emphasis on 'devices' to overcome injustice. Or, as they might say in *The Nag's Head*: here's a problem, how do we get round it? It is the definition of the problem which is the first step towards 'doing justice'.

But the problem can be defined in many different ways: from gender or racial oppression to economic exploitation to systematic violence. This gives us a variety of discourses of justice to choose from and no way of being able to choose the right one. Perhaps in these post-modern times there can be no 'right one', simply a plethora of what Rawls has called 'comprehensive doctrines' from which we take our pick. Rather like selecting from the buffet menu whether we prefer a hot or cold dinner. So when John Rawls, Tony Blair and Madge from *The Rovers Return* talk about social justice they are using the same words to describe what may be radically different ideas.

Dignity is important: social justice is a moral endeavour

The notion that all versions of social justice are essentially equal would not, I think, convince people in *The Queen Vic*. They would accept that there are many competing versions of justice, but would not accept that they were all equal. Some, to paraphrase George Orwell, are simply more equal than others. It is ordinary people who bear the brunt of injustice, whether that injustice is at the hands of individuals, states or organizations. If the dignified response of Spanish citizens following the Madrid bombings shows anything, it is that most people want neither war nor terror, nor I might add other forms of exploitation and oppression.

If there is a unifying theme within social justice discourse it is that human beings matter. This, at least, is my starting point. Social justice is first and foremost a moral endeavour. This morality is, by definition, political. Our decision-making is informed by the moral question. It is wrong to use people only as means to an end. Each person has an inherent dignity of their own. It is the recognition of each person's dignity that gives us a significant starting point for justice. It is at the centre of what I would call our 'moral infrastructure'.

The moral infrastructure represents the basis of our ethical decision-making; it may include concepts which are used to justify the various decisions we take, but, at its base, it must be concerned with upholding the dignity of every human being. It gives us a moral compass to navigate the world. In this sense, and this sense alone, the moral infrastructure is universal. The principles which flow from it may well be culturally specific, but as far as I am aware when Kant wrote that every person has an inherent dignity, he was not interested in whether they were British, German or Slovakian; nor, whether they were Muslim, Christian or Atheist. Only that they were human.

In constructing justice it is necessary to recognize that we are united by our common humanity. It is my contention that once we recognize and uphold people's human dignity we find the justification of exploitation, violence, oppression etc. impossible to sustain. Such a commitment shows up the empty rhetoric of war-mongering and self-serving politicians for exactly what they are. The moral infrastructure may not give us a blueprint of the future just society, but it gives us a different starting point on which to construct a discourse of justice that is sensitive to the effect of devices on each individual.

To become the party of social justice committed to equality, justice and fairness, the Labour Party needs to place morality at the top of its priorities. It is not that Tony Blair or Michael Cashman do not believe what they say about justice, but more that when justice clashes with other things which the Labour Party wants to be associated with – economic efficiency, tough on asylum seekers and tough on the causes of asylum etc. – other things are allowed to trump social justice. But, a party committed to social justice should be committed to creating an environment conducive to upholding the dignity inherent in all of us, and that might well mean allowing social justice to trump short-term electoral advantage. And, they would drink to that in Cardiff's *The Beverley Arms*, I can tell you.

David Middleton recently completed a PhD thesis at the University of London entitled: *'Respect: the moral infrastructure of justice'*.

A longer version of this article was given as a paper at the Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association held in Lincoln on 5-7 April 2004.



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OPINION

Bringing men back in

Daibhidh MacAdhamh, an OU student finishing a degree in Social Psychology, argues it is time to bring men back into a gender studies led by female agendas

Men are becoming increasingly marginalized in British society. Many studies of domestic violence and victims of violent crime regularly portray women as the sole victim in spite of contrary data. Similarly, men are also stereotyped as the sole perpetrators of child abuse. Even in the world of work, men are stereotyped and misrepresented. Complaints about females occupying the lowest paid jobs overlook males working the most hazardous. Gender study's obsession with 'glass ceiling' issues ignores the cellar containing these hazardous jobs, an obsession based on the illusion of 'patriarchy'.

'Patriarchy' is zealously presented in gender studies (a synonym for 'women's studies') as evidence of male supremacy in the Euro/American West. If this were true then men should be sitting back with their feet up obliging women to be the 'disposable' sex. In reality, 'matriarchy' is nearer the mark and the female is the privileged sex, followed by children and pets. Males are considered dispensable.

Female influence dominates male life from birth to at least his mid-teens. Besides his mother, his teacher and contact with social services is likely to be female. When he starts to sprout a moustache he is told to 'act' like a man. So begins his search for a socially acceptable (to female values) masculine identity. The following is a simpler, less intellectualized rebuttal of 'patriarchy' based on my parents' lives, a not atypical existence within a mining community:

Dad entered coal mining at age 14. Mother entered Art College at 16. In 1939, aged 19 and against his will, dad was removed from the colliery (a reserved occupation) and conscripted into the army. Mother volunteered to join the ATS. Mother delivered dispatches in Essex; father contracted Diphtheria en-route to Africa. In 1945, he was demobbed back into the colliery. Mother raised the family.

They pooled their resources together for the survival of their family. As each of their eight children arrived, father's work intensified; mother's relaxed as the older children shared the household chores. Mother was the main household influence; father's long working hours relegated him to weekend visitor rather than cherished parent. Mother enjoyed our devotion. Conceding the cream of the milk for his porridge was the most we offered dad. Mother controlled the unopened wage packet that dad dutifully handed over.

Mining took its toll on dad. He suffered pneumonia, a major back injury, a fractured thigh following a cave-in, impaired eyesight and shot blast marks to the face due to coal face explosions, and lung and heart congestion as a result of breathing in coal dust and toxic fumes. In retirement he awoke to coughing fits as soon as the cold morning air hit his lungs. At the age of 64, shattered and propped up with a walking stick, necessary heart surgery ultimately failed to keep him alive. Mother, like most miners' wives, has outlived him.

Risking physical wretchedness and premature death are hardly 'patriarchal' perks to be grasped. Consider the following:

- Male deaths outnumber female deaths in all common causes
- Females outlive males by approximately seven years
- Adolescent males are four times more likely to commit suicide than females: men commit 80 per cent of suicides following divorce
- Men over the age of 75 commit suicide over a thousand times more than similarly aged women
- A man is 20 times more likely to be imprisoned than a woman for committing the same crime
- Reported incidences of 'gang rape' in male prisons are routinely ignored
- Approximately 95 per cent of street homeless is male

Issues to do with male inequality and the rights of men have been pushed aside in the last twenty years. Instead, social science is disproportionately influenced by a feminist elitism that cultivates aversion to masculinity rather than mutual appreciation between the sexes. Moreover, the obsession with gender-denying reality amplifies this socially destructive tendency.

Recruitment and retention

Universities have to assess how their policies impact on disadvantaged groups. Faculty Equal Opportunities Convenor, Dick Skellington, examines the latest data on the recruitment and retention of minority ethnic group students and students with a disability

The Faculty of Social Sciences has a long record of achievement embedding equal opportunities into our working culture. Issues of diversity permeate our curriculum and frame student and staffing policies. The Faculty compares favourably with other academic units across the University in terms of black and Asian student recruitment, and our pass rates for their groups are above the University norms. We are also relatively good at recruiting and retaining students with at least one disability. But what does the latest data tell us? Do we recruit black and Asian students to fail? How do students with at least one disability fare on our courses?

Last year Social Sciences recruited over 20 per cent of the University's new Asian students, and 24 per cent of the University's new black student cohort. Since 2001, black students have doubled on DD100 *An Introduction to the Social Sciences*. In 2003, the Faculty pass rate for new black undergraduates was 40 per cent (the OU rate is 36 per cent), while for Asian undergraduates it was 46 per cent (the OU rate is 42 per cent). These rates are disappointingly below the pass rates for white students.

The 2003 data show some of our disciplines are proving more attractive to particular minority ethnic groups than others. Black and Asian students are attracted to courses in economics and social policy, while geography struggles to recruit significant numbers of black and Asian students.

Black and Asian pass rates lower than white students

If we look at the pass rates for our undergraduate students at all levels the percentage of students who pass is lower for black and Asian students than for white students. This trend has not changed since 2000. In 2002/3, for 26,890 white undergraduates in the Faculty, the pass rate was 63.4 per cent; for 814 Asian students this dropped to 48.7 per cent, while for 1,264 black students it fell further to 48.7 per cent. At postgraduate level, similar disparities are evident. Of our 2,265 white postgraduate students in 2002/3, 62.8 per cent passed; of 71 Asian postgraduates, 54.9 per cent passed, of 120 black postgraduates, 49.2 per cent passed.

Looking at our level 1 courses (DD100, DD121, DD122) Asian student pass rates hover around 52 per cent, but the pass rate of black students fell from 52.9 per cent in 2001/2 to 45.5 per cent in 2002/3; the drop is greater for DD100 alone, from 52.6 per cent to 41.6 per cent. The proportion of white students passing at level 1 did fall from 64.5 per cent to 54.9 per cent, but in both years the pass rate was higher than black and Asian students.

In 2002/3, on all our level 1 courses, a greater proportion of Asian students received financial assistance funding (FAF) than black and white students (31 per cent compared to 18 and 24 per cent). However, the pass rate for Asian students with FAF was 44 per cent, compared to 24 per cent for white students, and 18 per cent for black students.

Across our second level courses, black and Asian pass rates remain lower than white students. Last year, the overall second level pass rate for white



students was 65 per cent, but for Asian students the rate was 42 per cent, and for black students, also 42 per cent. Our biggest second level course, DSE212 *Exploring Psychology*, with over 4,300 students, recruited the most black and Asian students, but significant numbers of black and Asian students failed to pass the course. In 2002/3, DSE212 recruited 92 Asian students and 99 black students but the pass rate for black students was 38 per cent and for Asian students it was 42 per cent, much lower than the pass rate for white students at 54 per cent.

Similar disparities pertain across the second level curriculum. Black pass rates range from 60 per cent on D214 to 33 per cent on D218 (which is our second largest recruiter of black students at second level). Asian pass rates range from 46 per cent on D214 to 27 per cent on DD202. Though we have to be cautious about low numbers and missing data, the Faculty remains concerned about both the recruitment numbers on particular second level courses, and their pass rates. For students on FAF, pass rates across second level were also lower; the same courses with low pass rates for black and Asian students were also the same courses with low pass rates for FAF students.

Lower pass rates for students with at least one disability

Social Sciences recruited more students with at least one disability than any other central academic unit. In 2001/2, of new Open University undergraduates, one quarter of students with at least one disability (694 students) registered with a Social Science course. We recruit a fifth of all University new undergraduates and a quarter of University new undergraduates with a disability.

Monitoring Diversity in the Open University (Institute of Educational Technology, Open University, 2003) found more students with

disability register with Social Sciences, Arts, and Health and Social Work courses compared with other Faculties. The report focused on 2001/2 new undergraduate registrations. It revealed just how inter-connected disability is to other demographic variables which are related to diversity. Students with at least one disability were more likely to be older, to possess low and lowish educational qualifications, and far more likely to be poor. The report revealed that 56 per cent of students with at least one disability required FAF, over three times the proportion for students without a disability (17 per cent).

Pass rates across all Faculties at levels 1, 2 and 3, were slightly lower for students with a disability compared to those without disabilities. In 2003, the pass rate for students with at least one disability was 51.2 per cent, compared to 60.8 per cent for students without a disability. For our 13,980 new undergraduates in 2003, 729 had at least one disability (5.2 per cent). The pass rate for new undergraduates with at least one disability was 45.7 per cent compared to 51.3 per cent for students without a disability.

Pass rates for 2003 across all our level 1 courses were lower for disabled students than for students without a disability: 45.3 per cent compared to 53.5 per cent (slightly down on the figures for 2001/2 - 51.5 and 54.8 per cent). For DD121, however, there is little difference in the pass rates between students with at least one disability (57.6 per cent) and those without a disability (60.1 per cent). In 2004, DD100 recruited 630 students with at least one disability, 6 per cent of the intake (for DD121, we recruited 111 students with at least one disability, 7 per cent of the total). We shall be monitoring their progress with interest.

In Social Sciences, the pass rate in 2001/2 for new undergraduates by disability type was slightly above University norms (sight: Social Sciences 44 per cent, University 45 per cent; hearing: 41 per cent,

University 39 per cent; mobility: Social Sciences 49 per cent; University 45 per cent; mental health: Social Sciences 40 per cent, University 39 per cent; and fatigue/pain: Social Sciences 52 per cent, University 46 per cent).

For our second level courses, the pass rate of students with at least one disability has not varied much during the life of each course. Overall, in 2003, the pass rate for students with at least one disability on our second level courses was the same as students without a disability (at 62 per cent). There were some variations though between second level courses' provision. The comparative pass rates were:

Students with a disability	Students without a disability	
D214	54 per cent	63 per cent
D215	57 per cent	75 per cent
D218	45 per cent	54 per cent
DD200	47 per cent	66 per cent
DD201	61 per cent	63 per cent
DD202	52 per cent	50 per cent
DSE212	42 per cent	54 per cent
U216	73 per cent	71 per cent

DSE212 *Exploring Psychology* stands out on both ethnicity and disability. It recruits more black and Asian students, and students with a disability than any other second level course in the Faculty, but it has relatively disappointing pass rates for these categories. Six out of ten students with at least one disability failed DSE212 in 2003.

Of 2,780 postgraduate students studying with the Faculty in 2003, 153 - 5.5 per cent had at least one disability. Of these the pass rate was 55.6 per cent, compared to 61 per cent for students without a disability. Of new postgraduates recruited in 2003, 3.7 per cent had at least one disability; for these students the pass rate was 55.2 per cent.

The Faculty places student recruitment and retention, especially of black and Asian minorities, and students with at least one disability, amongst its most important priorities following RRAA and SENDA legislation. We are determined to improve pass rates and will be monitoring student performance more carefully. Our curriculum strategies must be more informed by these student trends, especially in retention and progression.

The use of 'black', 'Asian' and 'white' in this report conforms to the information provided on the University application form. There is a problem still with missing data, but this has reduced significantly in the last two years. *Society Matters* would like to thank the IET statistics team for their help in generating the data for this report.

In its 35 year history the Faculty of Social Sciences has employed no black or Asian staff tutor. In those 35 years there has been no black or Asian Regional Director, and only one Assistant Regional Director. An analysis in the summer of 2004 of the Faculty's 1,162 ALs revealed that 1.8 per cent were Asian, 1.7 per cent were black, and 3 per cent had a disability. These percentages were roughly similar to those in the University as a whole.

Forget history, believe Hollywood

A survey involving interviews with 2,069 British people aged 16 and over has revealed what many people have long suspected, that we are more likely to believe Hollywood than history. A significant proportion of the population display 'absurd and depressing' ignorance about past events, and reveal confusion between historical figures and their Hollywood representations. Among the many amusing findings were: 57 per cent believed King Arthur really lived; 50 per cent thought William Wallace was a fictional character; 33 per cent thought the Cold War was not real; 29 per cent thought Robin Hood really existed; 11 per cent believed Hitler was a fictional person; 9 per cent said that Winston Churchill was not a real person; and 5 per cent believed Conan the Barbarian was a bona fide figure of Nordic history. Confusion about historical facts was also wide-scale. More than half thought Nelson commanded the British troops at the Battle of Waterloo, while significant proportions thought the Battles of Hastings, Bulge, and Little Big Horn had no historical basis. One per cent believed Edward Blackadder was a real person, while one in



five believed Harold Wilson led the country during the Second World War, while over one half did not know in which century the First World War took place. Commenting on the findings, the historian Michael Wood said, 'if you do not give an audience a clear idea of how we know things then I believe this is a problem. Hollywood distorts history the whole time and once you get that far down the line it's not history.'

Riots at G8 summit linked to fall in birth rate

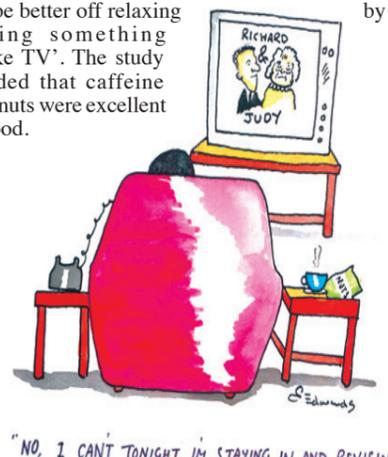
The riots at the G8 summit in 2001 appear to have had a negative impact on the sex drive of the city's residents, according to Italian researchers. The birth rate declined substantially. Nine months after the riots, births fell by 30 per cent, and even 11 months later, birth rates were found to be 20 per cent lower than average.



If you want to pass an exam watch Richard and Judy

Amazingly, researchers at Reading University have found that watching half an hour of television at tea time can be more beneficial for improving mental powers than reading a book. The tests, on 200 students at the University, measured their IQ after undertaking both activities and found that women, especially, performed better after watching Richard and Judy. The researchers conclude that the findings may help students preparing for high-pressure situations, such as an examination. Television was compared to other pursuits such as listening to classical music, doing a crossword, or working on constructing a toy.

Professor Kevin Warwick explained: 'people who swot with a book before an exam or interview would be better off relaxing watching something light like TV'. The study concluded that caffeine and peanuts were excellent brain food.



Mother - daughter arguments make for happier families

A four-year study observing the behaviour of 23 families claims that arguing with teenage girls promotes happier units. The research at Cambridge University found that arguments between adolescent daughters and their mothers could be beneficial to both parties. Teenage girls were found to argue with their mothers once every two and a half days lasting on average 15 minutes, whereas boys argued once every four days, lasting six minutes. Most teenage girl arguments were found to be over boyfriends, money, schoolwork and curfews.



'Toy-boy' weddings increase

Marriages in which the man is younger than his bride have almost doubled in the last 40 years according to the Office for National Statistics (ONS). One in three first-time bridegrooms are now younger than their brides, compared with 15 per cent in 1963. This is good news for the UK in the future since it will mean fewer widows, claim ONS analysts. ONS found that men under 25 were more likely to marry older women, while women over 50 were most likely to get together with 'a generation-gap group'. Most 'toy-boys' are just a few years younger than their brides, but one in 100 of all marriages now involve a woman ten years older than her groom.



Spinning Hutton

Marie Gillespie, Senior Lecturer in Sociology, reports on a highly topical conference on the relationship between government and media in the aftermath of the Hutton Report and the war in Iraq

Spinning Hutton: In Search of the Big Picture was the launch conference of a new ESRC project based at the Open University. Entitled *Shifting securities: news cultures before and after the Iraq War 2003*, it is one of 40 projects in the *New Challenges to Security Research Programme*, a £4 million investment examining different aspects of international security which brought academics, journalists and politicians to the European Research Institute at the University of Birmingham to address the ramifications of the Hutton Inquiry for public and political life. The conference offered an opportunity to reflect more deeply on the implications of Hutton. (Further details of the conference can be found at our project website www.mediatingsecurity.com).

The range of emotional responses in the wake of the report was striking. You may recall the widespread surprise that the Labour government, and arch spin doctor Alistair Campbell, apparently got off so lightly while Andrew Gilligan and the BBC received a severe dressing down over the 'sexing up' of the dossier allegations. This was partly to do with the way that the press had 'spun' the Hutton Inquiry.

Professor Stuart Croft, the Programme Director, opened the conference by highlighting the curious absence of any BBC journalists – a reflection of their reluctance publicly to address the issues raised by Hutton. Over a dozen BBC members were invited and the litany of excuses that we received eventually became predictable: 'everything has to be checked and double checked now'; 'we wouldn't want to ask for clearance'; 'if anything controversial happens ... well, we're trying to avoid that'. This self-censorship, an indication too of their sense of vulnerability, followed the chaotic and contradictory response of the BBC to Hutton.

Was Hutton a whitewash?

A key point of discussion revolved around the question of whether Hutton got it right or whether the report was a 'whitewash'. Had the government 'sexed up' the dossier, lied or made legitimate use of PR to strengthen their case for war? Was the statement about the imminent threat of weapons of mass destruction inserted in the knowledge that it was untrue? The conference was clearly divided – an indication of the passions aroused by the war and subsequent events.

Some argued that Hutton had got it right on the central issues and was correct in concluding that Gilligan's allegations were unfounded, but that Hutton had none the less been unfair to the BBC. Others argued that Hutton's experience in security and legal training were bound to predispose him to empathize with the dilemmas of government. His lack of understanding of journalistic practices was thought to be much in evidence. Despite this, many agreed with Hutton that Gilligan was sloppy in use of source material and failed to verify his evidence. Gilligan's story, said Professor James Gow, would have been great had he got it right – but as Hutton confirmed, on the crucial issue that the Government had used false information knowing it to be so, Gilligan was wrong.

Quite often the split in opinion between the



A page of the Hutton Report concerning Dr Kelly's meeting with BBC journalist Andrew Gilligan is consumed by flames as Anti War campaigners burn a copy of the report

journalists and media studies academics, and the academics working in politics and international relations reflected their intellectual and professional formations. The media academics understood what Gilligan was trying to do and how mistakes were made in an increasingly competitive, cut-throat, news environment. Those working in politics and International Relations explained the difficulties facing the government. It was argued that the BBC should have apologized earlier and moved on rather than turning the affair into a testosterone fuelled battle between powerful men – with tragic consequences. A former journalist, Professor Steve Barnett, was among those who highlighted the threats to investigative journalism posed by the cost-cutting measures of increasingly profit-seeking, ruthlessly competitive, populist news agencies. He showed how the vast rise in the budgets for PR of globalizing news corporations was at the expense of funding serious journalism.

Above all, conference participants passionately defended the crucial role of journalists in strengthening democracy. Journalists must do more than simply report news, as Hutton implies. They need to expose the weaknesses, lies and corruption of business and government. However, if the relationship between the government, intelligence services and news media reaches breaking point then very real security issues arise. Dr Ralph Negrine of the University of Leicester, pointed out that when the relationship does break down, governments always have the upper hand because broadcasters never develop legitimate power, so they have to rely on robust procedures to keep a check on government.

There did seem to be some points of consensus. Security agencies must be able to operate without fear of the political implications of their work. Government should be allowed to operate without the excessive, aggressive, hostile scrutiny of the media that was becoming habitual, and which could exacerbate security threats. Investigative journalism should be allowed to thrive and flourish. These are preconditions for a healthy democracy.

Many agreed that New Labour, despite being exonerated by Hutton on the very narrow and specific issues that the report addressed, had gone too far in their manipulation of the media. The excessive use of spin and PR over the last seven years, not to mention their apparent arrogance and gloating after the publication of the Hutton Report, did little to win them back favour or restore public trust.

The casualties of the 'spin war' are trust and truth

There was a far greater tendency to rally round beloved 'Aunty' with affectionate forgiveness. Certainly many could not or would not like to live without the BBC, nor compromised by commercial interests, or by a damaging new regulatory regime. The fear that the BBC was under very serious threat and should be defended was expressed forcefully. Georgina Born of Cambridge University offered valuable insights from her ethnographic study of the inner workings of the BBC and expressed concern over its independence. Margaret Scammel from the London School of Economics argued that trust and truth were the main casualties of the 'spin war'. We should, she said, be shocked by sloppy, careless journalism that peddled half truths and lies. Hutton's almost total failure to recognize the pressures on the BBC undermined the credibility of his report.

Where Hutton failed was in conflating issues of reporting with management. Professor Howard Tumber of City University argued that the fall-out from the Hutton Report would continue to reverberate but that the increased reflexivity of journalists and the unprecedented post hoc examination of the case for war could only be beneficial to democracy. Dr Dominic Wring of Loughborough University reflected on the shift from 'the Tory to the Tony press'. He argued that the personalization of politics and the cult of celebrity had weakened a sense of social solidarity and a belief in the virtues of collective political action.

Dr Andrew Hoskins, University of Wales, Swansea, explored the Hutton Report as an unfolding media event. He highlighted some of the glaring contradictions that emerged for example, between the 'self-flagellatory' discourse of the BBC on the one hand and the apparent inability of anyone from the BBC to be 'sorry' for anything specific. In particular, Mark Byford (BBC Acting Director General) suffered the ignominy of being subject to effective cross-examination by BBC reporters whilst attempting to defend their reputation for impartial and critical journalism.

The competing logics that operate in the world of politics and media were highlighted. Politics is about 'artful speech' and about changing the world through collective political action, not the quest to uncover truth that is the primary task of journalists. Democratic politics inevitably involves spin and the use of persuasive rhetoric. Politics concerns making difficult judgements about better and worse courses of action. It is not about truth and falsehood. Truth in any case has a totalitarian edge. These different logics lead to inevitable clashes between media and politicians.

The MP Gisela Stuart gave a lively and humorous account of her involvement in the Hutton Inquiry and her reasons for supporting the war. But her most striking contribution concerned the timing of military operations in Iraq. She said that the operations were necessary because the troops were there and ready – missing the point, it seemed, that the Government had sent them there in the first place. Tim Coates, an independent publisher who published the Hutton Report, pointed out that if ever there was a poor excuse for going to war it must be Gisela's 'because we're already out there'.

Coates reminded us that at the heart of the Hutton Report was a very personal tragedy – the life, honour and reputation of a man. Dr David Kelly was clearly traumatized by a manic media frenzy, the intense scrutiny of which he could not bear. He lied to his employers to protect himself and was caught out. He was then exposed by Gilligan's e-mail to a Foreign Affairs Committee member. He was betrayed by the Ministry of Defence's lack of care even though he was one of its most prized specialists and strongly supported the Government's policy on Iraq. He chose to take his own life. His death needs to be remembered alongside the countless other human casualties of the Iraq War. Their destinies were shaped not by artful speech but by poor political judgement.

This article was written before the publication of the Butler Report

The people of England have been led in Mesopotamia into a trap from which it will be hard to escape with dignity and honour. They have been tricked into it by a steady withholding of information ... Things have been far worse than we have been told, our administration more bloody and inefficient than the public knows ... We are today not far from a disaster.

T.E. Lawrence, *The Sunday Times*, 1920

Whitehall boozers live longer

A research study which monitored the drinking habits of 10,000 civil servants aged between 35 and 55 has concluded that moderate to heavy consumers of alcohol live longer and experience less heart disease. The researchers suggest that it is safer to drink a lot than to drink moderately, or even not to drink alcohol at all. The heaviest female drinkers, consuming over three and a half bottles of wine a week, experienced a 10 per cent lower risk of dying prematurely than moderate drinkers. Among men, the heaviest drinkers, those on more than 16 pints of beer a week, had a lower risk of developing heart disease. However, women who drank heavily had a 57 per cent higher risk of heart disease than those who drank moderately. Male heavy drinkers experienced the lowest heart disease.

Addiction, January 2004



The downside of artistic brilliance

Two studies have shown that artistic creativity may be bad for your health. Iconic jazz musicians tend to suffer more from mental health problems and psychotic disorders, while poets have been found to die younger than any other type of writer. A study of 40 jazz musicians for the *British Journal of Psychiatry*, including Miles Davis and Dizzy Gillespie, found high levels of drug and alcohol abuse and mental illness. Jazz musicians were found to be eight times more likely to suffer from drug dependency than the rest of the population, while 30 per cent of jazz musicians suffered from mental problems, including mood disorders. Research in America found that poets also suffer for their art. The image of poets as doomed and tragic figures, who are bound to die young, often through suicide or self-neglect, can be backed up by research. Data on 1,987 writers was analyzed. The poets lived an average of 62.2 years, while non-fiction writers lived for 67.9 years.



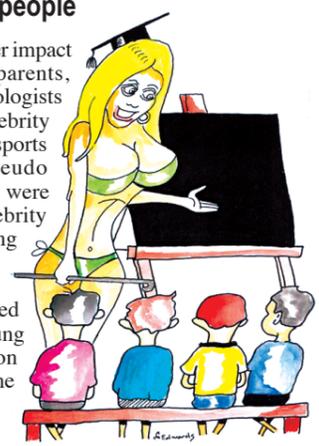
Scots are the most generous Britons

Research by the British Heart Foundation (BHF) has revealed that Scots defy their mean stereotype. They are the most generous Britons. The BHF found only 2 per cent of Scots admitted to never giving money to charity compared to 8 per cent of Londoners. The Scots were more likely to give because it made them feel as if they were helping, whereas Londoners said they gave out of sense of duty. The survey found 12 per cent of Londoners said they did not give to charity because they did not like being hassled, whereas the Scots said this was unimportant.



Celebrity worship among young people

Jordan and David Beckham have a greater impact on the lives of young people than parents, teachers or friends claims a study by psychologists at Leicester and Coventry universities. Celebrity role models such as pop stars, actors and sports people assume the importance of 'pseudo friends'. Two forms of celebrity-worship were identified, 'entertainment – social – celebrity worship' which includes reading and talking about celebrities, and the potentially more problematic 'intense-personal' which can border on the obsessive. This exaggerated hero worship appeals to more insecure young people and can lead to increased isolation and decreased social skills, according to the researchers.



Studying the new power elites

Karel Williams, Professor of Business and Accountancy at the University of Manchester, identifies new elites in our society and explores how they interact

The study of elites was an important part of 1960s radical sociology. A generation ago authors such as C. Wright Mills tried to understand Eisenhower and Kennedy's America, but by the 1970s, as the old establishment was displaced politically and economically, the study of elites was eclipsed. Intellectually, a new style of Marxism, led by the French theorist Louis Althusser, developed theories of the state which did not sit comfortably with the dominant concerns of the 1960s.

Today, we in Blair's Britain recognize the importance of social exclusion. Our research explores the lowest and most marginal groups in society, but we are now curiously reluctant to study upper social groups. If you doubt this try some web searches using terms like 'elite'.

Of course, after 40 or 50 years, the unfashionable concepts and designs of our predecessors are selectively re-appropriated as they come round again. The style magazines are now full of modernist furniture, including teak sideboards, as yesterday's discarded junk becomes today's retro statement. But, there's something more serious at stake here if we consider 'power elites'.

Over the whole period since Mrs Thatcher won in 1979, new elites have been created. The undermining of the old social settlement on employment and welfare, the attack on institutions such as trade unions,

and the promotion of a neo-liberal agenda through privatization and marketization, has created new positions of power and influence for both individuals and groups. These new power elites – who they are and how they interact, have rarely been studied.

It is important to pose the question about new elites from the viewpoint of the winners just as much as from that of the losers of the past two decades. Things have moved on since the 1980s and the defeat of the miners. These new elites are rooted in the service-led, knowledge-based economy which created them. This kind of economy depends on 'leadership'. It is a world in which change is necessary. Protagonists, through their rhetoric, see it as culturally dominant, and powerful. These new elites generate ever larger material inequalities of income and wealth. If CRESC is to have a balanced understanding of socio-cultural change we must

investigate how new elites are created and sustained in the new order.

If all this seems a bit abstract let's consider the good fortune of the chief executives in Britain's 100 largest companies (the FTSE 100) who have gained huge salary increases over the past couple of decades. In 1980, the FTSE chief executive earned an average £53,000 or just 10 times the wage of a manual worker. By 2002 the FTSE chief executive earned £1,369,000 or 76 times the wage of a manual worker. Interestingly, while senior City figures often earn more, the terms of the old social settlement has held for executives in smaller firms and senior managers in the public sector – where the 'fat cat' syndrome is not so pervasive.

Local authority or NHS trust chief executives such as cabinet ministers and senior legal officers typically earn around £150,000 – about eight times the wage of a manual worker – and (for that matter) most university VCs earn a bit less.

Who are these new entrepreneurs? We know the CEOs are almost all male and typically internally re-recruited but know very little else about them: there is, for example, no comprehensive published study of the (differences) in their social background and careers. Equally, there is no attempt to pull things together sociologically as C. Wright Mills did through exploring some of the values and practices that frame and influence key decision-making in institutions and the 'human types' or personalities they privilege and prioritize.

Nor is there any attempt to understand the significance of mega incomes for new bi-polar patterns of consumption and the explosion of super luxury consumption as the new rich spend on country houses, yachts and cars, and very conspicuous consumption.

In one way this is all impossibly remote for readers in a country where most earn relatively modest incomes. After all, the average income of households in the top income quintile is no more than £28,000. But if we wish to understand how our world has changed and is changing, modestly paid researchers must direct their attention to new elites.



Fat Cat businessmen at Blackpool. TUC conference 2002

Photo © John Harris, reportdigital.co.uk

In the autumn of 2004, a symposium, *The Long Revolution: Then and Now*, at the University of Manchester will mark the opening of the ESRC Centre for Research on Socio-cultural Change (or CRESC). This will represent the culmination of a two-year programme of planning between the Open University and the University of Manchester, and the beginning of a collaborative research programme which, all being well, will run for a decade.

And just as well, for the challenge we have set ourselves is a pretty daunting one: to consider how best to account for the ways in which the mechanisms of social and cultural change interact. In doing so we shall focus particularly on the post-1945 period, but will also place this in a longer perspective, looking at the relations between social and cultural change over the period from the late-eighteenth century through to the start of the twenty-first century.

This is why the theme of 'the long revolution' is such an appropriate one for launching the Centre's work. For it takes its cue from the title of one of the most influential explorations of the relations between social and cultural change written since the Second World War – Raymond Williams's *The Long Revolution* (Penguin, London, 1961).

In introducing this study, Williams indicated that the long revolution he was concerned with – and for him, too, it was one beginning in the late eighteenth century – had three main components: the democratic revolution; the industrial revolution; and the cultural revolution. His interpretation of these was, by and large, optimistic. The determination of people to govern themselves was, he

argued, everywhere apparent and seemed to go hand-in-hand with the development of new forms of industrial organization. He had in mind a cultural revolution where the aspiration to extend active learning and cultural participation to all the people rather than to limited groups, would be paramount. It's not surprising, then, that Williams later became one of the key supporters of the Open University!

Yet Williams also saw tensions between these three revolutions, and recognized that there were many forces ranged against them. He was also clear that each of these revolutions could be properly understood only if considered in its relations to the others. He argued:

'Yet at this point it is particularly evident that we cannot understand the process of change in which we are involved if we limit ourselves to thinking of the democratic, industrial, and cultural revolutions as separate processes. Our whole way of life, from the shape of our communities to the organization and content of education, and from the structure of the family to the status of art and entertainment, is being profoundly affected by the progress and interaction of democracy and industry, and by the extension of communications. This deeper cultural revolution is a large part of our most significant living experience, and is being interpreted and indeed fought out, in very complex ways, in the world of art and ideas.' (Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*, pp. 11–12)

How now, over forty years later should we view the relationships between economic, social, political and cultural changes?

How do these different aspects of change

Migration, media and diaspora audiences

Marie Gillespie, Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the Open University, explores the tensions between citizens, media and government in a transnational and multicultural world

The twin impacts of contemporary migration and media flows have far-reaching implications for the development of multicultural societies. They have important repercussions for the concepts and practices of citizenship, for feelings of identity and belonging, as well as for world peace and security.

The vastly increased movement of people in all global directions in recent decades has occurred alongside the even greater mobility of media narratives and images made possible by the extended and instantaneous reach and accelerated speed of media delivery systems. Previously dominant flows of media from the 'West' to the rest of the world are challenged by new patterns in the circulation of different media products. With the expanded choice, media use is now fragmenting national audiences into niche markets. At the same time, new patterns of use are bringing together, in a virtual sense, 'minority ethnic' audiences across global and transnational spaces. Ethnic media now means global media. Transnational communities with shared cultural, linguistic or ethnic backgrounds and interests can now collectively consume the same media at the same time regardless of where they live.

We can now talk of diaspora audiences that span the continents. The latest Bollywood blockbuster, soap opera or news item, can now be watched by South Asians living in the UK, South Africa, Israel, Nigeria, Russia, the USA, Canada, the Gulf states and elsewhere at roughly the same time. If the simultaneous consumption of media representations of national or ethnic cultures can bind communities together imaginatively, then perhaps diaspora audiences constitute new kinds of imagined trans-

national communities? What this might mean for the shifting political and cultural allegiances and solidarities, conflicts and animosities of particular social groups and categories is unclear but worthy of study.

Changing audience configurations shift publics as well as public perceptions of 'critical events' such as 9/11 or the Second Iraq War. The new media environment is engendering an almost instantaneous relationship between rulers and ruled. Governments can no longer manage or control what citizens watch or even who their citizens are. The kind of deep social and cultural divisions between different social groups that have emerged in a post 9/11 world threaten to fragment the social fabric and disrupt our sense of security. The media exacerbate a sense of threat and fear but may also foster multiculturalism.

However, if multicultural forms of governance and cosmopolitan citizenship are to develop in Europe, a fine balance between plurality and

diversity, cohesion and commonality will need to be achieved. In an increasingly mediated democracy and multicultural society, the media are clearly implicated in very important ways in both representing and in bringing about change of various kinds. If we are to understand contemporary processes of socio-cultural change the way the media

represent diversity and the ways media are used by diverse groups is a crucial field of study.

But changes are needed too in the ways that we approach our interdisciplinary studies of contemporary migration, multiculturalism and media. The study of 'ethnic minorities' has often involved the 'racializing' of social groups and sub-national categories.

Dominant paradigms of research in sociology, such as 'race' relations and the ethnicity schools of thought, are currently being marginalized in favour of research into the transnational networks and practices that arise from the enduring ties and bonds (actual and imaginative) that migrants forge across time and space. The transnational perspective bears the seeds of hope

for a fresh approach to researching migrants and migration and is based on the empirical observation that many migrants today can and do divide their lives effectively between different places. They sustain transnational economic, political, social and cultural connections across time and space that are of increasing significance in the global cultural and political economy.

Transnational cultural practices

Watching Bollywood movies on cable or satellite TV, receiving news in Kurdish or Chinese on the Internet, tuning in to comedy programmes in Farsi on satellite radio are transnational cultural practices that may seem trivial and inconsequential. However, research has shown that these everyday pleasures are politically and socially very consequential. They are also often accompanied by trips back home, sending remittances, or supporting local political campaigns in one's country of origin. Any study of media consumption has to be situated within these wider social and cultural contexts of use if it is to yield valuable empirical and theoretical insights.

But, you may ask, does the new emphasis on transnationalism really manage to avoid some of the pitfalls of sociology which has long reproduced 'racialized' categories and thinking? Does the increased significance of transnational communities in global economic, political and social terms result in fundamental shifts in power relations? Does the plurality of media suggest more or less freedom, greater security or less fear, or a strengthening or an erosion of democracy? These questions need to be answered empirically and theoretically if we are to understand the nature and pace of change for different social groups.



Asian woman walks past SkyTV advertisement in London

Photo © Philip Wolmuth, reportdigital.co.uk

Accounting for change

represents a new collaborative venture between the Open University and the Centre for the Study of Social Change. Professor of Sociology at the Open University, outlines the Centre's research agenda between social and cultural change in Britain

interact? In what directions are they heading? These are the questions that will be debated at the Centre's launch.

They are the questions that our research programme will focus on. We don't know yet, of course, what our findings will be. But we do have a good sense of the issues we shall grapple with and, in the accompanying articles, key Centre researchers outline some of these.

Karel Williams sets out his concerns with the study of new power elites and their place in the increasingly marked inequalities characterizing the distribution of income and wealth in contemporary Britain. Marie Gillespie's interests centre

on socio-cultural changes that are proving equally important: the development of new trans-national communities and the part played by transnational media in developing new forms of identity.

Mike Savage contrasts the richness of accounts of changes over the longer periods that Joyce examines compared with the relative weakness of accounts of socio-cultural change over the 1945–2000 period. Relating this to the late development of sociology in Britain, Savage goes on to

consider how such shortcomings might be overcome.

Patrick Joyce draws a longer historical bow, focusing on the cultural training of governing elites in the long-term formation of the British state. His interests, however, are motivated by the need to understand the significance of the different ways in which 'our governors' are now trained. An exciting set of issues? We think so. If you do too, then come to the Centre's launch – you can be sure of a warm welcome – and register your details with the Centre if you would like to keep in touch with its activities.

The mosaic, a detail of Piet Mondrian's *Composition 1913*, was used as the cover design for *The Long Revolution*, by Raymond Williams, published by Penguin, Harmondsworth, in 1961

The Long Revolution: then and now

A conference to launch CRESC will be held at the University of Manchester in the autumn of 2004

For further details please contact: Karen Ho, e-mail: k.d.ho@open.ac.uk

Understanding British social and cultural change

Mike Savage, Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester, calls for historians and social scientists to improve their understanding of the recent past and unpacks an enduring myth about post-war Britain

It is widely agreed that there have been profound changes in culture and society over the past 50 years, yet there is a strange absence of a developed research tradition exploring its dimensions. This is especially true in Britain. Compared to research in other countries we lack detailed studies of social and cultural change since 1945. This absence shapes our self-perceptions of change, since it leaves an empirical vacuum in which hyperbolic accounts of social change have more appeal than they have in many other parts of the world. We need to explore the reasons for this peculiar absence and consider its significance for our interpretation of socio-cultural change.

In part the issues are theoretical and methodological, involving the difficulty of knowing how to understand the 'recent' past, located on the interstices between the 'live' contemporary world and the 'dead' distant past. The recent past lies uncomfortably between the humanities and the social sciences, at least as they were traditionally conceived. We need to recognize the particularly entrenched nature of this stand-off in the British case. British historians still tend to stop their inquiries after the Second World War – just like they did in the 1970s and 1980s – even though this is now nearly 60 years ago.

There are only a handful of historical research monographs on any aspect of socio-cultural change in Britain since 1945. Those historians who do examine this period (for instance Peter Clarke, Arthur Marwick, and Kenneth Morgan) anchor their accounts around political change, rarely use the kinds of innovative methods that characterize much historical analysis of earlier periods, and largely ignore the potential of social science sources in informing their accounts. Sociologists champion grand narratives of social change, but the boldness of their interpretations is only possible in the absence of detailed empirical studies which might act as some kind of check on the grand claims that they advance.

I am interested in exploring how the depiction of the 1950s as a period of stable collective social group identities has helped to constitute an enduring myth which permits, and indeed grounds this stand-off. Many sociological accounts of change are implicitly founded on the idea that the kinds of collective

working class communities of the 1950s have broken down and fragmented. Yet the construction of these kinds of entities was itself the product of a particular moment. Until the early 1950s sociology was extremely weak in Britain, and in general sociologists were pre-occupied with how they could address 'social problems' of various kinds.

During the 1950s and 1960s sociologists sought to professionalize through insisting that their subject matter was not socially defined problems, but social relations themselves. The anthropologist Elizabeth

Bott's famous study *Family and Social Network* played a key role in the elaboration of sociology, with her focus not on the 'problem' families who got divorced but on the organization of 'ordinary families'. During her studies she emphasized the power of class, understood in terms of social networks, as a key way of explaining variations in the household organization of her sample. Later sociologists, such as David Lockwood and John Goldthorpe, took her stress on perceptions of class and combined it with historical and (early) quantitative studies (such as those of David Glass), to define sociological expertise based around the analysis of class and the relationship

that exists between objective class position and subjective class awareness.

The important point here is that the salience of class was never strongly grounded empirically, but was powerful because it was linked to the late development of professional sociology in Britain. However, once established, it then became possible to talk about change in terms of departures from the world of the collective working class, not always fully recognizing that the grounds on which this working class was itself defined were by no means very robust. And, if we look again at the nature of collective identities in the 1950s, and consider the extent to which they might be 'individualist' cultures of various kinds, then we might need to think again about the way in which we have understood the dynamics of socio-cultural change over the past 50 years. I plan to use the very field notes collected in some of these early sociological studies to interrogate these issues and, who knows, perhaps contribute some new ideas to our sense of who we are and where we have been heading over the past half century.



Workers assembling washing machines in the 1950s

Photo © Hulton Archive



Power and seduction: what cultures shape our leaders?

Patrick Joyce, Professor of History at the University of Manchester, shows how liberal elites are reproduced and reinvented in British society

Citizenship is partly about how the relations between office holders of various kinds and ordinary citizens are organized and enacted. A key aspect of such relations concerns the cultures which shape the qualities of those trained for leadership roles, and the expectations these generate regarding how such persons should behave.

These are questions that have been very much to the fore in a number of recent public inquiries. The questions expose what some see as an increasing uncertainty regarding the qualities called for from civil servants, say, or the governors of major public institutions like the BBC. It's probably fair to say that the repercussions of the Hutton Inquiry into these matters have yet to be fully worked through.

My interests are to place these concerns in a longer historical perspective, one that is especially concerned with the long-term nature of the British state. In particular I am concerned with the nurturance of governors, how they prepare for office and what they have to have done to them, in order to make them fit for governance. Therefore, I am concerned with an ethics of governance, but also with the material forms that embody and enact such ethics.

The liberal educational roots of the historic elite

In British history governance is inseparable from the much wider formation of 'leaders' in British society, so much so that systems of liberal pedagogy have been central to the formation of the British state. The transformation of what was traditionally, long before modern liberalism, known as a 'liberal education' needs to be considered in terms of its

adaptation to the new kind of liberal society that emerged in the nineteenth century, and which has developed ever since. Therefore, I am concerned with the successive, and successful, reinventions of the central institutions of a liberal education, namely



The register is taken during the annual Speech Day at Harrow School

Photo © Philip Wolmuth, reportdigital.co.uk

the public schools and Oxbridge, reinventions culminating in the present. Once we recognize that elite-liberal pedagogy was not an innocent bystander in the creation of the political and governmental – then it becomes important to analyse it in terms of its active role in the governance of forms of conduct. These are absolutely critical to the successful running of liberal society, and hence to the reproduction of the liberal state.

My research looks in detail at the daily regimes, teaching methods, systems of instruction, and material forms of our leading public schools and the institution of the Oxbridge college. I am particularly interested in the interconnections between public schools and Oxbridge. One aspect of this is an exploration of the spatial forms of these institutions. While the existing literature on public schools is interesting and varied, it could do with a dose of theoretical rigour, and historical imagination. In terms of the curriculum, there is no doubting the central place of classics until relatively recently, but it is apparent that classics was not just a training of the mind and of the character, as reflected in much of the literature, important as these were, but an active training of the body of the would-be governor. I attend to matters of content, but above all to the profoundly mechanical (and authoritarian), physical, and practical aspects of a training in the classics, in relation to the governance of the body, as key to the governance of the mind, and ultimately of conduct itself. With the fairly recent decline of classics, the discipline of history has a claim to have taken its role. I emphasize strongly the practical, material and embodied aspects of all public school knowledge. The 'high' intellectual was inseparable from the 'low' corporeal in a very real and present sense by

the institution of corporal punishment. 'Flogging' also needs its socio-cultural historian.

The reinvention of liberal education in our public schools and Oxbridge involves what I call 'power as seduction'. By this I mean the active appropriation of the history and aesthetic forms of those institutions, along with the rich physical experiences, and how they have acted upon successive generations of boys (until recently, and still quite largely, power is a male world), but also upon parents and teachers, and British society more widely.

The operation of authority in public schools in particular was very complex. It is therefore important to consider the pupils' experience of these institutions, looking, for example, at 'boy power' to use a contemporary term. The research will examine familiar institutions in new sorts of ways, using new theoretical tools. The research will ask new sorts of questions. This is exactly what research in an ESRC Centre concerned with the relations between culture and social change should be doing.

Society Matters is always seeking articles from students, associate lecturers, staff, and external contributors.

If you want to write please contact Dick Skellington, 01908 654412 or e-mail:

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Shaping the future of governance

Janet Newman, Professor of Social Policy, outlines the potential for the new Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance, and how it will provide answers to some key issues of our age

Governance is one of the strands of the new research centre in Social science: the Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance (CCIG). But what does governance mean? How is it different from government, and why should we be interested in it across the social sciences?

Governance is a term that has become a marker for a number of key political, social and cultural changes. It is a key concept in discussions about the re-imagining of state borders and political boundaries, about competitiveness and regulation, and about the remaking of citizenship rights and responsibilities.

There is much talk of global governance, a term used to signify the problems of regulation and control in a world in which the power of the nation state is being eroded in the context of globalization. There is a growing literature on network governance which traces growing collaboration across organizational and sector boundaries in the search for both competitive success and policy effectiveness. There is also a new language of collaborative governance associated with the idea that the role of the state is now not just about making laws and prescribing policy, but about enabling or empowering a plurality of actors – including citizens themselves – to solve social problems. Others talk of a shift towards cultural governance: the governance of personhood through attempts to shape cultural values and societal ethos rather than directive or coercive mechanisms of control. All of these interests are represented within CCIG, but the activities will focus particularly around issues of social governance: how the social is constituted in and through governmental practice.

So we are focusing on ways in which governance shifts – from hierarchy to networks, from control to collaboration, from coercion to culture – produce redefinitions of social and political citizenship. We are seeing the increasing importance of citizen ‘responsibilities’ as well as ‘rights’ in political rhetoric on health, social welfare and criminal justice; and shifts from ‘old’ ideas about the role of welfare states in redressing inequality to a new focus on ‘social inclusion’. This means that we are also interested in questions of identity. Governmental practices inscribe particular concepts of who ‘we’ are as a nation, society or group. And shifts in governance have important implications for ‘the people’ that are the focus of governmental strategy, and for the ‘public’ constituted in social and public policy. I want to look at each of these a little more.

Re-conceptualizing the people

Societal governance denotes and circumscribes a particular conception of the people who are the subjects of governance: as active rather than passive, as responsible rather than dependent on the state, as part of a social body constituted through policies on social inclusion and multi-culturalism on the one hand and the control of immigration on the other, and



Hospice manager with elderly patient

even as ‘reflexive’ individuals capable of managing their own learning and development. At stake in this re-conceptualization of ‘the people’ are other forces that undermine traditional notions of citizenship: the reshaping of national boundaries, the growing movement across borders of migrants and asylum seekers, and the greater prominence of institutions and ideas of European citizenship. Each of these, it might be argued, produces both an unsettling of traditional lines of attachment and identification as well as an amplification of political tensions about borders and boundaries, tensions at the heart of contemporary governance concerns.

Redefining the public realm

Governance studies can also help us to understand the changing field of public and social policy as nation states attempt to redefine their relationships with the ‘public’ around images of responsible citizens, self-reliant communities and discriminating consumers. We are interested in how notions of the public realm differentiate the role and responsibilities of the state from the role of markets, households, families, communities and individuals. What issues become the focus of policy, and how policy is made and delivered, are crucial issues in the analysis of societal governance. Policy is imbued with concepts of the public – the public sector, public safety, public health, public transport, public finance, and the public interest. These denote particular areas of collective responsibility, and recognize the role of the state in shaping public debate, enabling public action or providing collective public goods. The relationship between the activities denoted by these three verbs – shaping, enabling, providing – is of course subject to change. The governance shifts

of the late twentieth century saw intense debate about the proper role of the state, a reduction in direct forms of state provision and an expansion in the ‘shaping’ and ‘enabling’ activities. In turn these have changed the relationship between the public, commercial and not-for-profit sectors, with commercial firms and voluntary bodies increasingly drawn into providing services previously viewed as the responsibility of the state. It has also shifted the boundary between the public sphere of collective responsibility and the private sphere in which individuals, households, and communities are expected to provide for themselves.

Governance and policy

This raises important questions about the ways in which the public – in its various guises as citizens, communities, households, service users – is drawn into ‘collaborative’ governance practices. Network and collaborative forms of governance are particularly associated with the reform or modernisation of welfare states in which, rather than viewing the state solely as a welfare provider, governments attempt to engage a range of actors within and beyond the state in finding solutions to contemporary social problems. As such we are interested in how the boundaries of what is considered to be a proper focus for policy is circumscribed and how this boundary is being remade. Feminist perspectives highlight the problems resulting from the sharp separation between notions of ‘public’ and ‘private’, with many of the concerns or agendas of significance to women being excluded from or marginalized in the public realm. Women’s disproportionate contribution to informal community provision and social action may remain unrecognized. The governance literature

is typically silent on such issues. Yet they are of central importance to the development of a politics of governance.

We are also concerned with two other questions. One concerns the nature of democratic involvement. Network governance undermines the institutional links between bureaucracy (as an organizational form) and accountability (through representative democracy). At the same time the proliferation of new forms of engagement by citizens in public decision making (however constrained and circumscribed) opens up new forms of deliberative or associative democracy. Together these shifts raise important questions about the legitimacy of the institutions through which we are governed – questions that are becoming more significant in the public domain as issues of trust, probity, spin and so on become amplified in the popular (and respectable) media.

Each of the questions we have raised here opens up issues of culture and identity. Discourses associated with governance carry meanings that both enable and circumscribe forms of agency and subjectivity. Recent years have seen a proliferation of ‘new’ policy discourses on public services and social welfare, discourses pervaded with notions of modernization, flexibility, consumerism, choice, partnership, public participation and so on. We are interested in how these discourses constitute new constructions of public service and public purpose among policy makers and public service workers. Policy also discursively constructs ‘the public’ as a number of distinct target populations, each imagined through powerful stereotypes and beliefs. These attempt to confer identities on people, constituting them as the subjects of particular policies and governance strategies (as ‘lone parents’, ‘rough sleepers’, ‘nuisance neighbours’; as ‘responsible welfare users’; or perhaps as ‘discriminating consumers’ unwilling to pay, through their taxes, for poor quality public services). But it is one thing for policies to be built around notions of the active citizen, the responsible welfare subject, or the discriminating consumer. It is quite another for these to become part of individual subjectivities or a wider public common sense. Such identities may be resisted, appropriated or refused: but they may nevertheless have very material consequences.

This form of analysis is one that suggests ways in which concepts of the ‘people’, the ‘public’ and ‘policy’ may be analyzed. Governance can be a powerful point of synergy across different disciplinary interests, and can be a focus for very productive multi-disciplinary research. However this very elasticity of the concept is a source of potential difficulties: its capacity to be stretched to mean more or less anything means that it can come to mean very little. Our mission in CCIG is to explore the ways in which the concept ‘governance’ can be inflected with insights from work on both citizenship and identity in order to build a distinctive and significant profile of research.

Women in prison: facts about a neglected world

England and Wales had 4,671 women in its prisons this year. Women now comprise 6.2 per cent of the prison population; in 1992 the proportion was 3.5 per cent. The majority of women are imprisoned for petty crimes, and many suffer from mental problems and drug and/or alcohol dependency. Action groups, such as the Prison Reform Trust and Inquest claim the rapid increase is the result of over-zealous sentencing policy.

The number of women prisoners has trebled since 1994. In the ten years between 1992 and 2002, women remanded in prison, or imprisoned, increased by 252 per cent; the comparable figure for men was 91 per cent. In 2001–2, the latest year for which remand data is available, the number of women awaiting trial rose by 20 per cent to 4,950. The Home Office has revealed that 45 per cent of women on remand received help for a mental health problem in the year prior to imprisonment.

In 1990, one woman committed suicide in prisons in England and Wales. In 2003, fourteen women committed suicide, raising the number of women suicides since 1990 to 61. In the first four months of 2004, six women killed themselves in prison. Home Office 2003 data show that one third of women prisoners had considered suicide while a sixth reported incidents of self-harm.

A quarter of women prisoners are in prisons situated more than 100 miles from their homes, and since two thirds of women prisoners are mothers, this isolation renders family contact more problematic. A half of mothers in prison have a child under sixteen. Last year, 17,000 children were separated from their mothers by imprisonment.



Inmates of Holloway women's prison baby unit

The Chief Inspector of Prisons, Anne Owers, warned in the spring of 2004 that ‘very damaged individuals’ with ‘severe mental illnesses’ should not be incarcerated in prison. Prison was not the right environment. Her thoughts were amplified by Juliet Lyon, director of the *Prison Reform Trust*, following a number of suicides: ‘these tragic deaths shine a harsh light on the neglected world of women’s prisons and must prompt the Government to review its procedure of locking up some of the most vulnerable women in society in overcrowded, under resourced institutions which are bound to damage their mental health’ (*The Independent*, 24 April 2004). The very modern Women’s Unit at the high security Durham prison closed in May after its conditions were described as ‘oppressive and claustrophobic’.

Prison population doubles since 1979

In 2004 the prison population of England and Wales rose to a new high – over 75,000, an increase of 25 per cent since Labour came to power in 1997. The prison population of Scotland also registered a new peak of 6,700. In March there were only 231 spare places left in England and Wales. In the past decade the prison population has risen by 25,000; by 15,000 since New Labour came to power in 1997. There are twice as many people in our prisons in 2004 than there were in 1979.

The number of pensioners in prison has risen dramatically. In England and Wales, there were more than three times as many prisoners aged over 60 in 2000 as there were in 1990, and far more pensioners are receiving custodial sentences. Over 80 per cent of prisoners over 65 are chronically ill or

disabled, while over 50 per cent suffer from mental health problems. The death rate for prisoners aged 65 and over has trebled since 1998, and has increased by 163 per cent since Labour came to power.

The female prison population of England and Wales has risen from 1,800 to 5,500. The reasons are complex, from sentencing policy, tougher government rhetoric, media and populist agendas, and fewer prisoners being released on electronic tags than expected.

In England and Wales, over 80 of the 138 prisons are officially overcrowded and 11 exceed the maximum safety capacity. By 2006, some experts anticipate the prison population may rise to as high as 87,200 if current trends persist, 9,500 more than the beds expected to be available. Juliet Lyon, director of the Prison Reform Trust commented that the Government ‘must act now to divert petty offenders into effective community penalties, addicts into rehabilitation and the mentally ill into the health system as well as curbing excessive sentence lengths and any needless use of custodial remand’.

PRISON TRENDS

Incarceration rate is 141 per 100,000, compared with 93 in France

7,700 inmates tried to injure themselves in the first half of 2003, a 30 per cent rise

The number of adults serving sentences under 12 months is up 160 per cent since 1999

A first-time domestic burglar is twice as likely to go to jail as eight years ago

The prison systems costs £1.7 billion a year

The cost of imprisoning each inmate is £24,241 a year

Two new prisons are being built in 2005, but there are no plans for new prison places after 2006

The Home Office predicts that the prison population could rise to 110,000 by 2010

Sources: Prison Reform Trust and official figures

The chocolatier soldier

It's 100 years since philanthropist Joseph Rowntree set up trusts that launched innovative attempts to help people escape poverty. Malcolm Dean, Social Policy leader writer of *The Guardian*, explores their relevance for our still divided society and Rowntree's power to shock and disturb

The first of several events celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Joseph Rowntree trusts – one for social inquiries, a second for political work, a third for a pioneer village trust – took place in London in February and would have won the full-hearted approval of the founder.

Above all else, the bewhiskered Rowntree fervently believed that social problems – poverty, bad housing, disintegrating neighbourhoods – could only be resolved by tackling fundamental causes, rather than offering palliative help. This was why, 100 years ago, this normally benign man was so scornful of the charity of his day: 'The soup kitchen of York never has difficulty in obtaining financial help, but enquiry into the extent and causes of poverty would enlist little help.'

True to its founder's tradition, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) sought to resolve one of the fundamental barriers to reducing poverty in Britain – the division between the major political parties on the correct route – by the launch of a book, *Overcoming Disadvantage*, that has been produced by five thinktanks embracing the main political spectrum. The book contains proposals that could pave the way for a future consensus.

Long before New Labour adopted the catch-phrase, Joseph Rowntree was pursuing evidence-based policy making. The trusts, which he set up in 1904 when his chocolate factory in York generated far more wealth than he had foreseen, followed his firm Quaker belief that 'money is generally best spent by persons during their lifetime'. Andrew Carnegie, the American philanthropist, said it more pithily: 'The man who dies rich, dies disgracefully.'

But more important still for British social reform, Rowntree's philosophy was endorsed by his children. His eldest son, John Wilhelm, carried out a major report on Quakerism. And Seebohm, his second son, has become even more famous than his father. As labour director of the family factory, he introduced an eight-hour day, a pension scheme, a works doctor and social workers in the decade up to 1906. But he is best known for his three studies of poverty – 1901, 1936 and 1951 – which are still studied today.

Seebohm Rowntree's 1901 report was designed to see whether the devastating poverty that Charles Booth's research found in London was replicated in York. It was. But, unlike Booth, he was not selective in his survey, but instead interviewed the entire poor



Visions of change: Joseph Rowntree on the cliffs at Scarborough, 1918

population of York, spending most of two years away from the family's factory.

Poverty remained an essential Rowntree theme through the century. Thankfully, the burgeoning fortunes of the trusts – with the Nestlé takeover of Rowntree's business in the late 1980s – coincided with the tripling of children in poverty during the 18 years of Conservative rule. Then JRF was in a powerful position to document this regressive retreat, spending more than £5m a year in the 1990s, and at its peak producing 100 research reports annually. Like other foundations, it has subsequently had to trim its sails since 2000, with the stock market's decline.

Widening UK inequality

Its most important poverty report in the past decade was *Income and Wealth* in 1995, which documented widening inequality in the UK. A clever selection of the 12-member inquiry panel – embracing both the Confederation of British Industry and the TUC – won bipartisan support for its politically unpopular message: that the deepening and brutal divide was

putting the fabric of society at risk. Indirectly, it helped create a climate – and an evidence base – that made it easier for Labour to introduce its boldest social policy reform: the abolition of children in poverty within 20 years.

Housing has allowed the trusts to run pioneer projects as well as research. The first housing project, New Earswick, built 100 years ago on 150 acres of land adjoining the Rowntree factory, faithfully pioneered new ways of reducing housing overcrowding, unnecessary streets, as well as providing individual gardens. The planner (Raymond Unwin) and the architect (Barry Parker) went on to expand these ideas in the garden cities of Letchworth and Welwyn. A key element in New Earswick was its promotion of civic involvement.

A century later, the JRF has been pioneering other new forms of housing: city-centre apartments in Birmingham and Leeds for single people; a new community for older people, allowing them to move from independence, through care in the home, to a nursing home within the same community;

and another new community on the edge of York, which will explore whether 'urban extensions' can be developed that do not impact on neighbouring communities, but create a vitality of their own.

Even better known are the succession of JRF housing studies documenting the polarization of council estates – David Page in 1993, Anne Power in 1995, Ian Coles in 1997. The Duke of Edinburgh's national commission on housing – which called for a phasing out of the regressive mortgage interest relief – was guided by JRF's director, Richard (now Lord) Best, and so was its follow-up report just over a decade later, which showed housing completions had fallen to the lowest rate since 1924. Once again, the JRF caught a tide and shocked the political community, which had closed its eyes to a trend that had been continuing for two decades. It was this report that suggested contributing to the 4 million additional homes that officials believe necessary. Instead of a string of new towns on green land or the development of multiple, small, uneconomic brownfield sites, 'urban extensions' should be tried.

Six policy areas of the 21st century

A new century begins with the JRF eager to explore new frontiers. The programme includes a series of asylum studies looking at both the integration of refugees and media coverage; a project to bring together the latest research on alcohol and drug dependency; new approaches to family support; new ways of supporting older and disabled people in their own homes. Anti-poverty research will remain a key theme, following a 20-year agenda set out last year. It identified six policy areas: family poverty, educational inequalities, regional inequalities, long-term care, vulnerable groups, and the crisis of supply and affordability in housing.

Ironically, five of those policy issues would have been on Rowntree's agenda in 1904. The reason the sixth – long-term care – was not was because no one would have believed that 25 years would be added to life expectancy in the first century of the trusts. But though he did not anticipate this development – nor the advent of the car or dependency spreading to other drugs as well as alcohol – he understood that social change would happen, and made the remit of his trusts sufficiently flexible to meet them.

This article is reprinted with kind permission from *The Guardian*, 4 February 2004. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation is at: www.jrf.org.uk

More political madness?

The tensions between more or less compulsion continues over mental health provision. Dr Raymond Hickman, Lecturer in Mental Health at the School of Health and Social Welfare, shows how those who have suffered at the hands of mental health provision are at last gaining a voice

'We urge the Government to seize the chance to pass mental health legislation fit for the 21st century before it's too late.'

Paul Farmer

Chair of the Mental Health Alliance

New Labour politicians have come in for a lot of criticism over their apparent tendency to push through policy initiatives against the grain of popular misgivings, even in the face of outright opposition. From variable tuition fees, through foundation trust hospitals and onto the continuing military conflict in Iraq, it seems that the Prime Minister and his cabinet are sufficiently confident in their own abilities, to steadfastly gain say critical voices. But that isn't the whole story.

Sometimes a 'reverse gear' is found, and not just when confronted with political fault line issues such as the EU, its proposed new constitution and attendant referendum. The regularly denied ability to manoeuvre has been quietly, if somewhat half-heartedly, deployed with regard to its one time much heralded mental health legislation reforms. Remember, these were to be New Labour's response to the perceived failure of 'Care in the Community'; reform proposals that have seen Health Secretary Frank Dobson come and go and may well outlive the post's current incumbent John Reid.

One reason for this welcome, if limited, governmental change of heart, has been a rigorously well informed, consistent and sustained lobbying campaign undertaken by the Mental Health Alliance (MHA); a coalition of some sixty organizations drawn together by their shared common concerns about the Government's proposals to reform the Mental Health Act.

Among the MHA's many challenges to the reform proposals, two key lines of attack were readily discernible early on. One was a hard-hitting critique of recommendations which would enable the compulsory administration of medication outside of a hospital setting. These centred on the introduction of compulsory treatment orders (CTOs). They were opposed both by those elements in the Alliance that seek to reduce compulsion in mental health



Mental Health Alliance activists protest outside Parliament

services across the board, and by those, such as SANE (Schizophrenia A National Emergency), who push for an increase in hospital in-patient provision. While this line of attack has not been successful to date, the pressure to move towards less compulsion rather than more continues, as do the underlying tensions which exist between the two contrasting approaches.

Another fearful stereotype

The second and more successful front for the MHA was over the Government's proposal to create a new category of mad individual and a new set of institutions to deal with them. Neither prison nor hospital, the new institutions were going to house persons with dangerous severe personality disorders (DSPDs). They were named as people who weren't amenable to treatment (contrary to the demands of the 1983 Mental Health Act) and who needn't have committed any criminal offence (as required by natural justice and this country's historic practice). The dangerous persons, named and numbered (the Home Office estimated a national population of 2,000 such individuals, 98 per cent of them men), along with their new homes, would occupy a controlled and controlling space between the prison and the secure hospital. What they would also do, would be to add another fearful tale to the common

currency of madness narratives. New frighteningly, insanely, intractable bogey men and women would emerge to take their place in the fearful mad story telling of the popular imagination.

The previously mentioned tensions, between the 'anti-compulsion' and 'pro-hospital' elements of the Alliance, came to a head in a key moment and were played out in dramatic fashion. The moment was a mad public protest. A national demonstration was called in London for 14 September, 2002, pulling together service users, survivors, families, health care workers and professionals. Arrangements were made, placards written, mini buses booked. Then it was cancelled.

The reason for the cancellation was fear. Ian Huntley, later to be tried and found guilty of the murder of Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman, had just been remanded under section to Rampton secure hospital for psychiatric assessment. The MHA, and some suspected only certain elements of the MHA, were fearful about the public reaction to a very public display by mental health service users and their allies, when the big mental illness story of the day was of a child-killing lunatic. A lobby of parliament was rapidly organized and was substituted for the planned march and rally. At the same time computer keyboards and telephone lines clicked and buzzed,

by turns with disbelief, indignation and accusation; on e-mail message boards SANE were singled out as possible culprits for the perceived collective loss of MHA nerve.

But plans were also made. Not only did a mad demonstration in the capital go ahead, albeit on a smaller scale and under the banner of the No Force campaign, it was also filmed and participants' accounts were recorded and presented on the day of the parliamentary lobby. The Government's plans for the number of DSPD places were scaled back and the suggested provisions for detention prior to any offence were greatly curtailed.

From all of this confident action and undue circumspection, there are lessons to be learned: lessons about organization and lessons about politics, lessons for those of us who have suffered and continue to suffer from the damaging effects of mental distress, and lessons for those who's lives have so far escaped what can be a very harmful touch.

One of the political lessons is to try not to be intimidated. This relates directly to an organizational lesson; in the context of working in consensual groups, which with regard to the demonstration, is what the MHA effectively was, you need to be very aware and wary of the ability of the most timid members of the group to operate an effective veto over policy and activity.

Similarly, the political and organizational come together when things break down, and the pun is ever so intended. Here the injunction is not to take it as a signal to burn bridges, but rather to treat it more as a hiatus, perhaps even a time out to go and do your own thing and reflect on what next.

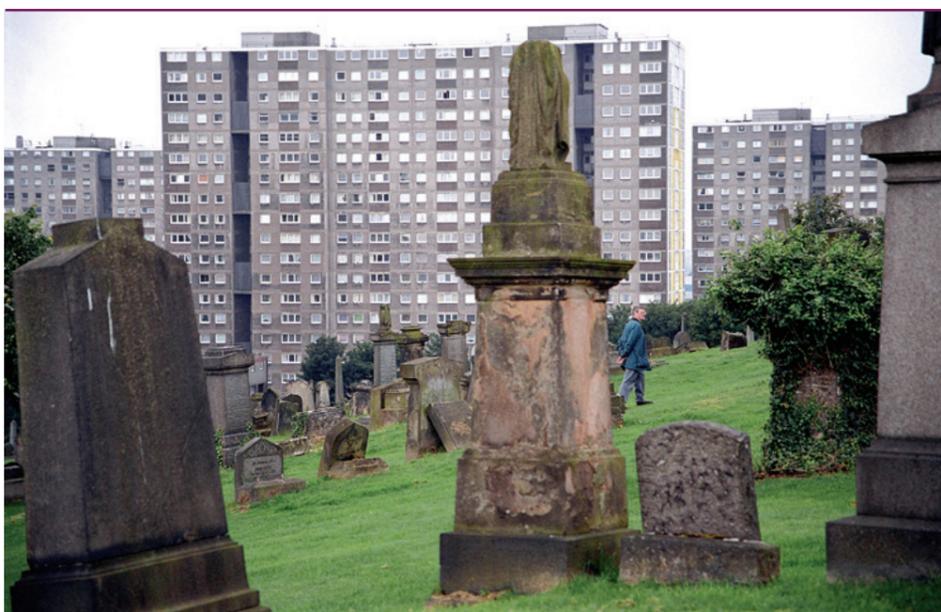
Finally there is a lesson for both mad and sane alike, albeit one which the mad might embrace rather more comfortably than their sane counterparts; that is that the strengths of the mad, including their political and organizational strengths, should not be underestimated. After all it's not everyone who has been able to help the Prime Minister to find that elusive 'reverse gear'. Let's hope it can be done again, only this time with regard to those compulsory treatment orders.

'Of course it's different in Scotland?'

I am always struck by the number of friends and colleagues from outside Scotland, and some within the Open University itself who in discussions of social policy, will often comment to me, 'of course it's different in Scotland'. Well, yes, things are different in Scotland, as they are in different areas of England and Wales and throughout Ireland. But difference here is taken to imply 'better'. In particular Scottish social policies and the funding of the public sector in Scotland are widely regarded as 'better', more progressive, more egalitarian, more radical than those elsewhere in the UK. In November 2003, for example, *The Guardian* devoted two days to a special feature on Scottish public services, announcing that 'it's boom time for public services in Scotland – cash is plentiful and pay levels are improving'.

What we have here is a myth in the making. This kind of glowing, uncritical reportage (and there were plenty more of a similar hue to choose from) is manna from heaven for Scottish Ministers. Unfortunately, the same kind of rosy commentary seems to have infected large swathes of Scottish academia in recent years as critical evaluation is suspended allowing for only the mildest of criticisms of Scottish Executive policies. This has helped to legitimate the myths of Scottish social policy as radically different – and more progressive – than those being developed by New Labour elsewhere in the UK. Scotland, it is claimed, is truer to an old labour agenda of maintaining state-provided public services, where there is a commitment to redistribution and where statutory services enjoy greater levels of funding. Compared to the rest of the UK, the story proceeds, Scotland is a 'land of milk and honey'.

Yet one does not have to go far to find criticisms in Scotland of the Holyrood Parliament and there is a general view that Devolution has yet to deliver any meaningful benefits for the vast majority of people in Scotland. Lengthy NHS waiting lists, the underfunding of key 'heartland' areas of welfare services and the growing concerns about the lack of resources being devoted to Scottish higher education are but a few of the major problems facing the Scottish Parliament. While there is some validity in the argument that too much was expected of Devolution itself, which after all was a constitutional process that left unchallenged the major structures and relations of power in the UK,



Sighthill rundown housing estate used to accommodate asylum seekers, Glasgow

Devolution has been widely regarded as something of a disappointment. Since New Labour came to power in 1997 and since Devolution two years later, poverty and inequality have continued to rise in Scotland, the marked social divisions making a mockery of those other long-winded myths about Scottish society, that it is somehow more egalitarian, more collectivized and more social democratic than other parts of the UK. Scotland's unenviable record of high levels of sickness and ill health has as yet to be seriously threatened and levels of worklessness in parts of urban West Central Scotland are the highest in the UK.

Since the Second Parliament elections in May 2003, the New Labour–Liberal Democrat coalition government that form the Scottish Executive, have again given notice of their willingness to play to the UK-wide New Labour tune. And this is a tune that is driven by a market-led, neo-liberal agenda. As in England and Wales, in Scotland we have PFI and PPP, we have housing stock transfer, aka the privatization of council housing; we also have the

pervasive spread of new managerialism throughout the public sector, and an erosion of the conditions of employment of welfare workers. But we have something that is different: a Parliament with tax-raising powers and with the scope and potential to develop and introduce really radical measures, yet that has shied away from these at every opportunity. Yes, there have been policy departures – the 'McCrone deal for teachers' pay and conditions; the abolition of *up-front* student fees and long-term care for the elderly among the most notable. But with each there are continuing problems and controversies.

Since Devolution different groups of welfare workers have been involved in protracted disputes, alternatively about wages and conditions, privatization and contracting out or over redundancies. At the time of writing (February 2004) nursery nurses throughout Scotland have voted overwhelmingly for all-out strike action following months of one and two day action over low wages. There have been well publicized disputes involving some of

the lowest paid workers in the NHS in recent times, and Glasgow librarians, social workers and home helps have also been involved in industrial action. Across Scotland community groups have organized to save public services threatened with closure. This is the real story of social policy in Scotland since Devolution.

Scottish Devolution and the re-establishment of a Scottish Parliament in 1999 heralded an opportunity for a truly radical approach to policy making: for really progressive social and welfare policies, for an attack on the structural inequalities that pervade Scottish society. A motley crew of New Labour, Liberal Democrat and Tory MSPs voted down a proposal that promised to make a real difference for many Scottish households: the universal provision of free school meals. Thus far the Scottish Executive has remained true to New Labour's neo-liberal agenda – albeit at times dressed up in different ways. Housing stock transfer, PPP/PFI have developed at a pace in Scotland unmatched elsewhere in the UK. So Scotland is not the place to look for a radical departure to Blairite policies.

The political context in Scotland is different from that elsewhere in the UK, with a rapidly growing left alternative to the pro-business agenda of Scottish New Labour (and the SNP) in the Scottish Socialist Party. It is committed to well-funded public services and to the reversal of Conservative and New Labour privatization policies. With the Scottish Socialist Party now a growing and credible force in the Scottish Parliament and promising to outflank Labour in its West of Scotland heartland, the tensions mount for New Labour in Scotland: do they keep in line with the Blair–Brown agenda in Westminster or do they try and compete with the SSP by departing from the pro-business agenda that has been a feature of New Labour's agenda to date.

So things are different in Scotland but not better – yet!

Gerry Mooney is staff tutor in Social Policy in Scotland. He has recently worked on DD305 Personal Lives and Social Policy and is co-editor of Exploring Social Policy in the 'New' Scotland (forthcoming, Policy Press, Bristol, 2005).

Sociology and Scotland: an introduction



Edited by
Tony Sweeney,
John Lewis and Neil Etherington

There is a relative dearth of user friendly books that analyse contemporary Scottish society with a perceptive sociological imagination. Social Sciences Associate Lecturer Tony Sweeney's co-edited introduction is a challenging journey through some of the key issues and debates affecting the country today. Its topics, each explored through a clear sociological lens, offer a compelling portrait of Scotland, and situate the country in a devolved and international context. Poverty and exclusiveness, educational policy and its impact, work and its organization in a post modern world, crime and deviance, and health inequalities are each examined. The book is ideal for students undertaking courses in social policy, social work, social care and health, criminology and the social sciences.

It is not just another introduction to sociology: nor is it a 'sociology of Scotland'. It roots sociology in its Scottish context, and this is its strength. It considers and applies sociological ideas and concepts to Scottish 'examples and case studies'. This brave and original attempt to fix the analysis in relation to recent societal change gives the book its distinctiveness, especially in relation to the politics of culture. The chapters on health inequalities and culture are both excellent and there is a fascinating unpacking of the place of the fictional Rab C. Nesbitt in Scottish society, and a revealing typography of the main British sub-cultures since 1950.

The book guides the reader through sociological theories and concepts. It uses trigger questions in each chapter to good effect so that the reader is taken carefully through the material, and each chapter ends with a concise summary so useful for students taking examinations. Its comprehensive coverage and the range and diversity of its student activities makes it ideal for the student taking sociology for the first time, or the student seeking to better understand contemporary Scottish society. Not only will this book appeal to students interested in finding a genuinely accessible introduction to sociology, but its focus on Scottish society will make it an indispensable textbook for many students encountering sociology or Scotland for the first

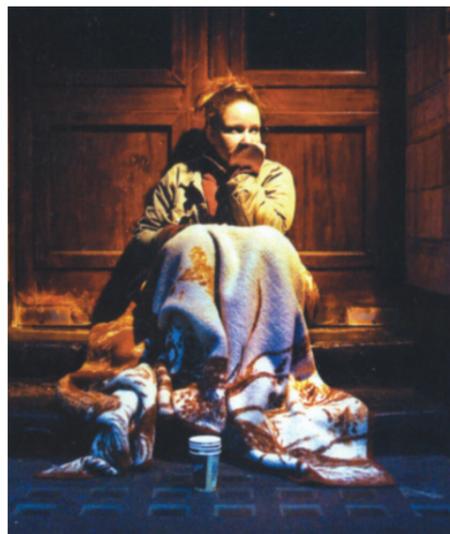
Sociology and Scotland: An introduction, edited by Tony Sweeney, John Lewis and Neil Etherington, Unity Publications, Paisley, 2003

SOCIETY 2004

The number of official homeless has risen since Labour came to power. Over 12,000 households were living in Bed and Breakfast accommodation at the end of 2003, compared to 4,100 in 1997. A further 10,000 people lived in hostels and refuges, a rise of 12 per cent on 2002. In 2003, a total of 93,480 households in England were living in homeless legislation accommodation, an increase of 14 per cent on 2002. Crisis, the homeless charity, report increases in 'hidden homelessness': 400,000 people across Britain in 2004 are homeless 'sofa surfers' without a permanent roof over their heads. Up to 15,000 children a year are thrown out of home by abusive parents, according to research by The Children's Society, and end up sleeping rough because of fear of further abuse, and lack of access to benefits. The society estimates there are about 129,000 'running away from home' incidents involving young people each year.

The last ten years have seen a slow decline in people living in poverty from a peak of 13.4 million in the mid 1990s to 12.5 million, or 22 per cent of the UK population. Research for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation published in the spring of 2004 showed 3.8 children, 2.2 million pensioners, and 6.6 million working-age adults in poverty. About 3.5 million people experienced 'in-work poverty' between 1999 and 2002. Poverty was particularly acute in Wales and the North east, where one in four households lived in poverty. Shelter estimates that over 1 million children in Britain live in unfit homes which damage their health and education prospects.

Three million people still live in 'fuel poverty' and can not afford their fuel bills according to the National Consumers Council (NCC). The Government estimates that 20,000 – 50,000 people die each winter because of fuel poverty. Since 1996 the number of fuel-poor households has fallen from 5.5 million, but the levels are still among the highest in Europe. Early this year, the House of Commons Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Select Committee warned that steep rises in water bills may place 4 million people in jeopardy. The NCC recommends social security payments should cover the true costs of



Homeless person outside *Les Misérables*, London

utility bills. Water companies are prohibited from cutting supplies, but electricity and gas companies are not.

According to research by UK Wealth Watch a quarter of couples expect to financially support their children into their 30s and 40s. The research identified a significant rise in 'kippers' (kids in parents' pockets eroding retirement savings) with over £21 billion a year being given to grown-up children for car and house purchase.

Over a quarter of custody cases involve allegations of violence by one of the parents, according to government research. Residence and Contact Disputes in Court revealed differences between the concerns of parents and court priorities. Not all allegations of violence made by parents were investigated by the authorities, especially in those cases where children had not been witness to the abuse.

More than 40 per cent of babies are born out of wedlock according to the Office of National Statistics, compared to 4 per cent in 1904, and 8.6 per cent in 1973. The latest figures show that of the 200,000 plus babies born out of marriage, 64 per cent were born to co-habiting couples. Surprisingly, London reported the lowest rate (34.3 per cent), and the North-east the highest (52.6 per cent). The North-east has the highest teenage birth rate outside marriage (90 per cent). But there were pockets of high

concentrations of teenage pregnancies. Lambeth has the highest teenage pregnancy rate in Britain: one in ten are pregnant before their 18th birthday. Lambeth also has the lowest teenage abortion rate in the capital.

Over one half of working mothers would rather stay at home and look after their children according to research for the Department of Trade and Industry, while three out of five working mothers worked only for financial reasons; only 1 in 10 said they wanted to follow a career, 7 in 10 preferred flexible working arrangements.

One in four teenagers – 1.25 million young people – has committed a criminal offence, according to research by the Audit Commission. Juvenile crime now costs the economy more than £10 billion each year, and accounts for over 20 per cent of the cost of all recorded crime. In England and Wales 268,500 young people aged 10 to 17 were arrested in 2002/3, about 5 per cent of their age group (the adult arrest rate is 2.4 per cent).

Personal debt has doubled since 1998 while unsecured borrowing soared by nearly one third in 2003, according to financial market analysts Datamonitor. The average personal debt in the UK is now averaging at over £4,426. Credit cards account for 80 per cent of the debt. UK residents now owe an estimated £175 billion.

Obesity in Britain has trebled in the last 14 years. A quarter of men and a fifth of women are now obese, according to research by the Foods Standards Agency. Obesity – measured by calculating a person's body mass index (BMI) – is rising fastest among younger age groups, especially children and the 19–24 year age group. More than 30,000 people each year die of weight-related diseases.



Playboys, poets and puritans

The writer Ziauddin Sardar reviews *The Infidel Within*, an important new book on the history of Muslims in Britain, and explores some of the tensions between belonging and acceptance that have characterized their settlement since the 12th century

Muslims are a bewildering lot. Even someone like me, used to dealing with different kinds of Muslims, finds the sheer diversity of the British Muslim community quite baffling. To begin with, there is an extensive range of countries of origin – Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, Egypt, Yemen and Iraq, Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, Malaysia, Somalia and Turkey, to mention the most obvious. Each nationality also hides a wide range of ethnic backgrounds. So a British Pakistani Muslim may be a Panjabi or Sindhi, a Pathan or a Kashmiri, may speak any one of the scores of languages and dialects of the Subcontinent, and be quite distinct in his or her cultural practices from all other Pakistanis.

And, of course, there are a host of religious denominations to which any particular individual may belong. One could be Sunni or Shia, a practising Sufi mystic, a follower of one of the (mostly legalistic) Six Schools of Thought, of a traditional movement such as the Bravelis, of a modernist revivalist movement such as the Muslim Brotherhood, or a totally apolitical group like Tablighi Jamaat. On top of all this, there is the entire spectrum of political persuasions, from the revolutionary left to lunatic right.

This striking diversity is the most distinctive feature of the Muslim community in Britain. Yet, as Humayun Ansari argues in this mammoth history of Islam in Britain, British Muslims have consistently been portrayed as denizens of a monolithic and undifferentiated world, ill at ease with modernity, secularism and democracy. Through painstaking research, and an inspired exploration of the issues of identity, Ansari sets out to dispel this absurd, but widely held, myth.

Islam has been around in Britain for much longer than most people realize. The world map of the 12th-century Muslim geographer al-Idrisi provides evidence of the presence of Muslim traders on the south coast and in Cornwall. The earliest record of conversion of an Englishman, John Nelson, dates from the 16th century. By the early 18th century, Muslims had a sizeable presence.

Sailors, servants and students

The first relatively permanent, migrant Muslim populations were established in Manchester, Cardiff, Liverpool, South Shields and the East End of London. The vast majority of these people, consisting of sailors, servants and students, and a sprinkling of professional classes and itinerant

entertainers, were connected with the Empire and came from the colonies or protected territories, such as Aden, British Somaliland, Malaya and the Yemen.

Many Muslims also came in search of adventure. Indeed, towards the end of the 19th century, there was a constant stream of young men of wealthy patronage, learned scholars and mullahs, street hawkers and musicians and itinerant surgeons, who came looking for a good time. Many settled here, like Nawab Nazim of Bengal, who arrived in 1870 and soon found himself accused of living 'a life of debauchery'.

The 'Muhammadan Queen' of Oudh commuted between London and India, always accompanied by her large entourage. Munshi Abdul Karim, who arrived soon after Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, became her favourite servant, taught the Queen Urdu, and rose to become her 'Indian Secretary'. Not surprisingly, these 'native' Muslims, with their exotic lifestyles and fancy dresses, became a regular staple of the gossip columns.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Britain was home to a series of influential Muslims who played a key role in shaping Islamic thought and developments in the Muslim world. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, came as a student in 1892, was called to the Bar, and returned in 1930 to practice law in Britain for four years. Muhammad Iqbal, revered as 'poet-philosopher of the East', arrived in 1905, studied at Cambridge and qualified as a barrister before returning.

Syed Ameer Ali, a well-known Shia scholar, came

to study in 1873, married an Englishwoman and eventually settled in Britain. Later appointed a Privy Councillor, he went on to write *The Spirit of Islam*, which had a profound influence on British Muslims as well as the Muslims of the Subcontinent. Abduallah Yusuf Ali arrived at the same time and settled in Britain to produce one of the most widely used English translations of the Qur'an.

Open minded and liberal

These Muslims faced a number of dilemmas concerning personal morality, codes of behaviour, types of education, forms of religious practice and cultural identity. But, as Ansari shows so brilliantly, secularism, modernity or democracy were not a problem for them. On the whole, they were open-minded liberals, with a traditional bent.

The group that evolved round the Woking Mosque, for example, presented Islam as compatible with being British and Western. Built in 1889, the Woking Mosque published the highly influential *Islamic Review*, which I read devoutly during my adolescence. The monthly magazine saw democracy as integral to Islam and projected Muslims as highly modern people.

Things began to change during the 1970s. The diversity of the community created problems about how to define Muslims officially. Issues of racism led many Muslims to reject the idea that ethnicity and culture could form the basis of their identity. Different groups – migrants, youth, women, converts – strove to set the 'Muslim agenda', making it difficult to establish a unified position. The arrival of a new

wave of ultra-conservatives and extremists in the 1980s and 1990s aggravated the situation. At the same time, British Muslims began to identify with the political causes of the ummah – the international Muslim community – such as Palestine and Kashmir.

The problems of British Muslims have been compounded, argues Ansari, because they are regarded essentially as 'outsiders' rather than 'authentically' British. Because they were ex-colonial subjects, both Muslims and their religion have frequently been perceived as 'inferior'.

There is still a dominant view that Britishness depends on a shared sense of (post)-Christian cultural and racial unity, and imperial history. British Muslims, therefore, have had to think about themselves in reaction to being rejected and constructed as the 'infidel within'. It is this attitude that has given the ultra-conservatives and neo-traditionalists an upper hand at the expense of the 'reformists' and 'secularists'.

Under these circumstances, Muslims in Britain have constantly faced the challenge of proving that they do indeed belong to British society. After 9/11, they have been repeatedly pressed to condemn the attacks louder than other citizens, as anything less is regarded as hidden support for the murder of innocent civilians. Thanks to such events, suspicions linger in the minds of the majority population that Muslims do not, and perhaps cannot, fully understand, and become part of, British society and its institutions.

The Infidel Within demonstrates that Muslims are as loyal to the Crown as any other community. The majority population, suggests Ansari, must appreciate that Islam is an integral part of British history and a living reality in Britain. Instead of focusing on a group of 'hegemonic' extremists, we should provide support and space for alternative interpretations to blossom.

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The Infidel Within: Muslims in Britain since 1800, by Humayun Ansari, was published by Hursts in May 2004

Ziauddin Sardar's *Desperately Seeking Paradise: Journeys of a Sceptical Muslim*, was published by Granta in June 2004



Brick Lane, *The Independent*, April 2004

Photo: Timothy Allen

Sisters and brothers: children's views

The experiences of children help us understand the impact of social policy. Lecturer in Social Policy, Melanie Mauthner's pioneering research on sibling relationships and family life shows how children's views challenge adult assumptions about care and caring

Family relationships are high on the policy agenda. In defining policy education, social and health service professionals work with assumptions about sibling relationships. There has been little attention, however, to children's own views of being a sister or a brother. This is especially true for children in middle childhood. A qualitative study considers children's sibling relationships as part of everyday life.

Sibling Relationships in Middle Childhood: Children's Views concentrates on 8 to 12 year-olds' perceptions of strengths, weaknesses and strategies in their sibling ties. Funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, the team (Melanie Mauthner, Rosalind Edwards and Lucy Hadfield) are disseminating their findings in a report and a book. This project builds on Melanie Mauthner's earlier study *Sistering: Power and Change in Female Relationships* (see *Society Matters* No. 6) and firmly establishes the presence of sibling ties on the sociological map.

Our study takes a child-focused approach to children's understandings and experiences of being a sibling. It treats children as socially competent informants of their own lives. It highlights what they themselves consider to be strengths and problems, and the strategies that they adopt for managing them. We interviewed 58 children aged 7–13, drawn from a nationally representative sampling base from a National Opinion Poll *Parentibus* survey. We approached children through parents and sought their own consent to participation in the research.

We selected families with more than one child in their household, living in a range of metropolitan, urban and rural areas across mainland Britain. The children came from 46 households and were evenly divided between boys and girls, with more children towards the younger end of middle childhood taking part. Half the children came from working-class families, and half were middle-class (based on parental occupation). The majority of the children were white, but a few were from minority ethnic groups: three black, two Asian and two were of mixed parentage. Just over half the children lived in nuclear families with both their biological



Jasmine's (age 7) drawing of the fantasy fairytale games she plays with her older sister, Laura (age 10)

parents, and a quarter lived in step-families, with the remaining living in lone parent families with their biological mother. Three children lived in an extended family: they were all from one household of mixed ethnicity that contained cousins who were considered siblings.

We asked children about the nature of their relationships with their siblings, comparisons with other relationships like friendship, family history, daily routines and activities, household rules and responsibilities, schooling and socializing. In the interviews we used a variety of activities in addition to a question-and-answer format, such as vignettes, and drawing and writing techniques (see www.lsbu.ac.uk/families/jrfsibresources). We analysed common themes in children's accounts and identified contextual features that shape differences.

Four themes emerge from the children's accounts. The first is the importance of connection and separation with siblings. Children have strong feelings about being close to and caring for their siblings or being apart and autonomous from them.

Connection and separation occur on many levels – affective, material and physical – and are played out around particular aspects of the children's lives, notably emotions, talk and activity, possessions, and space and place.

A second theme is the role of status based on age for siblings. Children are very aware of the status of being the oldest, middle or youngest sibling. We found that sibling status position is more a subjective practice than it is a technical or objective fact. We document the meanings underlying each of the status discourses, and explore how children disrupt and create alternatives to these.

A third theme is the significance of past, present and future in children's understandings of the nature of their sibling relationships. We reveal how children view change over time, around age and ability, emotions, and events in their lives. Continuity can also be a feature of children's perspectives on their relationships.

Fourthly, children display detailed insights of the strengths and drawbacks in their relationships, and

coping practices in the face of any problems. They often use the term 'annoying' to describe siblings, and illustrate the variable and context-bound ways that they deal with such annoyance and more deep-rooted difficulties.

Listening to children's own accounts of everyday life with their brothers and sisters challenges predominant notions about how sibling relationships work. A key message from this study is that: children's sibling relationships are complex and vary according to context, with gender and social class as important features. They are both patterned and diverse; actively constructed by children rather than given. These findings will inform policy debates about family life, and professional strategies for support and guidance. They feed into initiatives around parent and child information services, family centres and parenting skills/support programmes, divorce and separation, and statutory care.

Decline of sole male breadwinner transforms family life

Over a half of adults of working age are in relationships where both work. The findings, by market researchers Mintel, published in 2004, shows that the traditional household in which the male is the sole breadwinner is in massive decline. Only 10 per cent of the population are now in relationships where only the man works full time, and the woman does not work at all. Five per cent of adults belong to relationships in which the woman is the sole breadwinner. The sole male breadwinner model is increasingly applying only to older couples. While the role of women has changed – starting a career before embarking on a family and needing to work to resolve financial pressures – there is a downside. Mintel found that women are sometimes trapped in a double constraint where men fail to help out with domestic tasks and leave these to the working woman, placing their work-life balance under severe strain, especially in relationships where the children are at home.

Citizenship, you and the new Britain

Author, journalist and Open University honorary graduate, Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, sees the proposals for a Commission of Equality and Human Rights as a vital component in the creation of a vibrant citizenship culture in Britain

The citizenship culture is upon us. Seeds have now been planted which will lead all Britons to grow into a new sense of themselves as active participants in a collective enterprise. The Human Rights Act is in place; the idea of dynamic, self-conscious individual responsibility and involvement is becoming ever more important: the Lord reforms have implications far beyond constitutional rearrangements; we have started debating the monarchy seriously and class deference is in decline. With the national landscape reshaping itself so dramatically, old multiculturalism has come to the end of its useful life.

All societies and communities need to take stock to assess whether existing cultural and political edifices are keeping up with the people. Nothing is forever. The most progressive ideas which are right and appropriate at one historical moment can, in time, decay or become defensively self-protective.

Old multiculturalism may have reached that point in 21st century Britain. It does not inspire the young and cannot embrace the most important social developments which are taking place for fear of losing out. It is disabling Britons of colour from seeing themselves as key shapers of the emerging citizenship culture.

After 9/11, the 'war on terror', and the invasion of Iraq, the whole world today is unimaginably transformed. These events have set in motion a process of fragmentation and re-invented nationalisms which will imperil the ideal of an open state with diversity at the heart of it. Too many groups have only a competitive agenda where they struggle against other communities for resources, power and cultural superiority. They do not really see the world view of others. Where once people of colour were happy to call themselves black, we are now Asian, Hindu, Caribbean, African, Muslim, Shia Muslims, Kashmiris, and Khalistanis. This gives us a platform for making demands against other groups which are not only positive but negative. Our national identity is in a state of flux and is causing endless anxieties, even more so in a devolved Britain.

The concept of citizenship has the capacity to start putting into place binding values that we can all agree to live by even if these lead to some 'multicultural losses'. It may help to push out the boundaries of old multiculturalisms and even older small island nationalisms because citizenship values have an expansiveness which is indispensable in the modern world.

We have made remarkable progress since Mr Powell made speeches about foaming rivers of blood, and this is most evident in assertive, multifarious cities like London and Manchester. But we do not yet have the optimistic and integrated society we all hoped for in spite of thirty years of multicultural theory and practice. Multiculturalism and anti-racism were essential during the Thatcher era to fight for cultural entitlements and racial justice, but both had unforeseen consequences which must now be addressed.

Multicultural turf wars are everywhere

For many British citizens it is self-evident that Britain is now incontrovertibly a multicultural country. For others this statement feels patently absurd. They argue that the majority of indigenous people have yet to personally meet a black or Asian Briton. They live in their safe white enclaves, their lives continuing along settled conventions. To these people multiculturalism is something that black folk do. Multiculturalism probably means even less to Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, officially among the poorest people in Britain.

Young white people born into multiculturalism are not what many idealists imagined they would be by this time in our history. The European Youth Survey has consistently found that young white Britons are among the most racist in Europe. While there is



Bilingual street sign in Brick Lane, Bethnal Green, London

more mature awareness of what it means to live in a multi-ethnic society, this has made extreme racism worse in certain neighbourhoods.

Multicultural turf wars are everywhere. Stephen Lawrence was killed by young white racists who thought Eltham belonged to them. Damilola Taylor was bullied by black children who thought he was an unwanted outsider. How can people with such attitudes absorb the meaning of citizenship? And how would they describe their citizenship allegiances? Do they feel a bond and obligations only with other members of their own tribe?

Ties that bind

This island belongs to everyone. We have got to find a way which allows for the tribal needs of all Britons and yet rejuvenates the national spirit; for a deeper attachment to the European Union and also a sense of global connectedness. All this must be underpinned by ideals of human rights and justice. We must be confident enough to progress devolution and feel empowered by the ever-changing demographic profiles and cultural inflows to Britain. There must be binding values based on human rights and social responsibilities which apply to everyone. Those from societies which have unacceptably unequal gender roles will have to surrender these for the greater good. Those with an inflated view of their own greatness will have to do the same. No group has more rights than any other.

All this is best achieved if we become a nation of 'live' citizens. Britain could create the first ever multi-tiered citizenship charter. We would need first to map out the values of citizenship for active participation in local and domestic political and civic life. The next layer would be the role and responsibilities of active European citizenship and the third would be based on the rights and responsibilities of global citizenship. Finally there needs to be a stated set of principles of values, aims and objectives for British citizens living in a globalized world.

Stories to connect and liberate

But this is difficult in a Britain where the Internet, migration, e-commerce and multinational co-operations destabilize customary boundaries. Britain is particularly susceptible because of the ubiquity of the English language and because all those institutions and ideas which anchored this nation for so long – the monarchy, and the class structure for example – are losing their grip. The old British identity is indeed passing away. So what is to take its place?

We must create a vibrant new Britishness where diversity is at the heart of the body politic. In some ways this has already begun. Increasingly we have started speaking about the nation and its multicultural character rather than 'multicultural communities'. What a pity therefore that these modern ways of describing this cosmopolitan nation are constantly undermined by politicians nervous not to offend middle England, and those twin bastions the *Mail* and the *Express* who carelessly talk about the threat of 'bogus' asylum seekers and immigration swamping Britain.

We need ties that bind. The challenge is to enthuse by fundamentally rethinking notions of heritage, belonging and greatness. Instead of saying that Britain has become a multicultural country and that we should learn to 'tolerate' difference, people need to take pride in the fact that Britain has *always* been a country ready to embrace difference throughout history, albeit sometimes through control and acquisition. Ugandan Asians reluctantly accepted in 1972 have created 30,000 jobs in the Midlands. We need a proper national audit mapping out the input of immigrants into the key sectors of our national life. If we had a one day strike of working migrants in this country the economy would grind to a halt.

In schools, colleges and universities, black and white children must be taught their connected yet diverse heritage. Equality and only equality can ensure such an exchange. Both will need to go beyond these historical identities while remaining connected to them. They will also need to develop a deeper affinity to Europe and to their diasporic communities while learning ways of critically interrogating both. No black or Asian child should be left to detach themselves from Shakespeare and Tolstoy. No white child should be ignorant about C.L.R. James or Salman Rushdie even if they never get round to reading their words. The complex histories of Empire and slavery (including the culpability of non-white people) should be a *central part* of the history syllabus. This kind of curriculum would foster integration and real dialogue.

Citizenship education is another tool which could prove to be ground breaking. It should be about *all* children. Concerns that 'race' is not given enough space and is submerged by other more broad-based ideas are misguided. This future curriculum should incorporate cosmopolitanism, 'Europeanism', local, ethnic, religious and regional identities. It should teach Muslim children to see themselves as European Muslims and English children to see themselves as European Englanders.

Culture, arts, media and sports

Cultural media and sporting sectors need to open up to the worlds within the nation as well as the world outside. The new Tate Gallery and the ICA have brought in people outside the white world as a matter of course and not as a charitable gesture towards multiculturalism. When the ICA exhibited the work of Steve McQueen, it was the first time ever that a black artist had been given this kind of prominence. And it was not a gift to the gods of multiculturalism or to placate grant givers who like diversity audits these days. Chinese art, Bollywood and African films are as much part of the core activities of the institute which is ambitiously open, critical and cosmopolitan.

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport too often ghettoises or excludes non-white people and barely nods in the direction of cosmopolitanism. Public funding needs to ensure that cultural white heartlands modernize and emulate those who have already begun the process. The British Council has rapidly moved away from its image as an old Imperial institution to one that is dynamic, modern, diverse and internationally valued.

The need for a Human Rights Commission

A new strategy, using the vocabulary of citizenship, should be developed. It would include diversity within the British Isles, attitudes to Europe, and globalization. 'Joined up government' means that the Foreign Office, Home Office, the Department of Trade and Industry, the Department of Overseas Development, Cabinet Office, the Department of Education and Employment, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport should now work together and begin a process of change.

A Human Rights Commission should be established to facilitate these changes. All citizens must be enabled to get redress if they are discriminated against. They include the young, the old, white, Asian, black and other Britons, gay people, women, lone parents, those locked in poverty, and people who follow the various religions. To have only some of these people protected while others suffer injustices is not only unfair, but extremely unwise because it makes the unprotected victims resent the laws and institutions which exist to help particular groups.

The new Commission of Equality and Human Rights

I have come to believe that the existing structures which we have to deal with inequalities are outmoded and divisive. Britain deserves better protection and a greater sense of shared ideals. We should retire the Commission for Racial Equality, the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Disability Rights Commission. In their stead, we need a national institution with a fiercely independent leader and the power and resources to safeguard the human rights of all our citizens.

The Government's White Paper last May proposing a new Commission of Equality and Human Rights (CEHR) may be the radical re-shaping our institutions need. It may help us get people to empathize across their borders: human rights are not only for racial minorities. Even more importantly, the Commission has a vital role to change our cultures so we deepen our commitment to human rights and to moral principles at a time when they are increasingly threatened in society. We must ensure that CEHR comes into this world and does not drown in the cesspit of degraded public ethics.

A vibrant common citizenship culture which can foster genuine respect, equality and consideration across various groups, including those who have arrived in recent years, together with tough anti-discrimination measures may just give us the kind of country that so many of us yearn for.

Britain is not working: unemployment rises to 2.5 million

In the run-up to the European elections in June, Prime Minister Tony Blair's party slogan was 'Britain is working'. The Prime Minister said he was pleased with his Government's track record on unemployment and remarked that it was encouraging few people raised the issue of unemployment during candidate canvassing. Unemployment was down to 5 per cent, the lowest since 1974. However, new research by Sheffield Hallam University's Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research revealed that the 'real' unemployment figure was more than double the Government's estimate.

UK unemployment levels remain among the highest in Europe. One in four men of working age in South Wales are out of work, a proportion matched in declining industrial heartlands around the UK, in central Scotland, the North East, Merseyside, the West Midlands, Yorkshire and Kent. According to the researchers 2.5 million were out of work. The Centre found that of the 2.1 million people in the UK living on long-term benefits (including sickness benefit), 1.2 million would have found work if the industrial economy had been stronger than it is. Over four million adults and 2.6 million children live in poor households (four times the number than in the 1960s).

The poor pay more of their income in tax than the rich

The House of Commons library, that last refuge for disturbing revelations, has confirmed that the poor pay a greater proportion of their income in tax than the rich. Taxes, including VAT, excise duties and council tax, remove £41 from every £100 earned by the poorest fifth of households, but only £35 out of every £100 earned by the richest fifth.

Nappy brigade, knitting club and sexy chicks

Male-dominated cultures remain embedded in the UK workplace and determine the hierarchy of power between the sexes. Newcastle Business School found that women still feel categorized by men by appearance, age and whether or not they fell into the 'nappy brigade', 'knitting club' or 'sexy chicks' stereotypes. Last year, the TUC identified that nearly a third of FTSE100 companies had no women directors, while only one in 12 of all directors were women.

Women still under-represented in senior University jobs

Brenda Gourley, Open University Vice Chancellor, is one of only ten women vice chancellors in the UK: 92 per cent of University vice chancellors are men. Though the Open University is proud of its efforts to raise the profile of women in senior management, under-representation remains characteristic of the higher education sector as a whole, where women are significantly under-represented in senior positions. Where they have experienced greater success, such as in Arts and Social Science, this success hardly reflects the huge proportion of women studying these areas.

Women graduates are still going cheap

Thirty-two years after the Equal Pay Act, research by the Equal Opportunities Commission confirms that gender pay discrimination among graduates is still widespread in the economy. Women graduates are paid 15 per cent less than men at the start of their working lives, and more than 30 per cent less than men by the time they reach their fifties. Male graduates earned £16,778 at 24, compared to women who earned only £14,592. By the age of 37 male graduates earned £10,000 more than their women counterparts, rising to £12,000 in their fifties.

Yes, but is it legal?

The pervasion of law as a golden measuring rod

Gary Slapper, Professor of Law at the Open University, says we need to improve the way we make and unmake law if we are to implement to public will to serve the public good

A very telling change in recent history is the way in which the law has permeated all pores of social life, and that the universal criterion of whether something is socially acceptable is whether it is legal. Such a state of affairs is both good for the sort of democracy that we currently enjoy and something that could in future engender an even healthier form of participative democracy.

Like the pen or the knife, law is a value-neutral instrument that can be used equally well for the improvement or the degradation of humanity. In the context of an upgraded and robustly participative social democracy, law can, and I hope will, be used more successfully than in previous ages to serve the general public interest.

Today, the attitude which prevails in many countries entails that governmental delinquency is more likely than it was in the past to be followed by a legal consequence. Government is being increasingly seen in many jurisdictions as a service provided for the public and at its expense. It is not simply a form of control by superiors for which the majority are fortunate to benefit.



In recent times, there have been several instances of major public figures and national leaders being taken through the courts. The court appearances of General Augusto Pinochet of Chile, and the Serbian leader Slobodan

Milosevic are cases in point. The court appearance of Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to answer an indictment in Belgium on charges of terrorist conduct (relating to a massacre some years ago in the Middle East), however, looks less likely since the sudden violent death of the man who was to have been the chief prosecution witness against him. That the case was launched, though, is significant. At the end of last year four former government ministers of Rwanda were put on trial at a United Nations tribunal, indicted for their part in the 1994 genocide.

The rule of law is not a panacea for social ills. Some tyrannical regimes or totalitarian states can, in fact, show a fairly close adherence to several aspects of the rule of law. The rule of law might also exist alongside endemic poverty and social insecurity for the majority of people. In some ways, the regimes of Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, and apartheid South

Africa were very legalistic. Nonetheless, the 'rule of law' is not a doctrine to be easily dismissed as inconsequential. Noting that it is desirable to expose the 'shams and iniquities' which may be concealed behind law, the writer E.P. Thompson went on to say:

'...but the rule of law itself, the imposing of effective inhibitions upon power and the defence of the citizen from power's all intrusive claims, seems to me to be an unqualified human good. To deny or to belittle this good is, in this dangerous century when the resources and pretensions of power continue to enlarge, a desperate error of intellectual abstraction.' (*Whigs and Hunters: the origin of the Black Act*, 1975, p.266, Harmondsworth: Penguin)

The resources and pretensions of power have since multiplied, and this century has already fallen into distinctly dangerous times. If used effectively, though, the democratic process is an antidote to even the worst excesses of arbitrary power.

King versus country

Let me tell you about the golden measuring rod or 'metwand' to use the middle English word. During the early seventeenth century, there had been a growing unease between the King and the courts on the issue of who was the final determiner of the law. Things came to a head in a case in 1607 involving King James VI of Scotland and the 1st of England, known as *The Case of Prohibitions* (1607) 12 Co. Rep. 63.

A legal dispute had been judged personally by the King acting, he thought, as the realm's fountain of justice. That decision was overruled by the ordinary courts. In his judgment, which was delivered in front of and with the support of all the common law judges, Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas ruled thus:

'... the King said that he thought the law was founded upon reason, and that he and others had reason, as well as the judges: to which it was answered by me, that true it was, that God had endowed His Majesty with excellent science, and great endowments of nature;

but His Majesty was not learned in the laws of his realm of England; and causes which concern the life, or inheritance, or goods, or fortunes of his subjects, are not to be decided by natural reason but by the artificial reason and judgment of law, which law is an art which requires long study and experience, before that a man can attain to the cognisance of it: that the law was the golden metwand and measure to try the causes of the subjects; and which protected His Majesty in safety and peace ...'

In other words, you cannot simply decide what you think, idiosyncratically, is 'fair'. You must instead apply the rules, or, as we call them, the law.

When Coke said that in 1607, the reason why the legal measuring rod glowed golden was that law came from a legislative and judicial aristocracy. Today, and perhaps more so tomorrow, the measuring rod against which all conduct is judged is golden for a different reason – because it reflects democratic will.

Finally, let me now turn to say something of law and democracy. For the greater part of English legal history, justice was something parcelled out to the majority of the population by its social, economic and educational superiors. The only experience 95 per cent of the population had of law was feeling the threat of being taken before the criminal courts, or, occasionally standing, cowed, and head bowed in the witness box as they were addressed by a judge.

Interactive democracy and accountability

We have, however, in recent times witnessed a growing inclination of citizens to gain and then to vindicate their legal rights in all walks of life. Furthermore, although the percentage of those voting in general and local elections has not risen – in fact it has fallen – there has been a growth in other forms of public democracy. People in great numbers vote in radio polls, internet surveys and television shows. They vote on serious programmes like *Question Time*, *Restoration*, and *The Big Read*, and on what I'll call lighter programmes like *Big Brother*, and *Fame Academy*. They vote by phone call, by text messaging, by e-mail, and on internet websites. It is worthy of note that while the UK population is 59

million, there are an arresting 50.7 million mobile phone subscribers in the UK (*The Independent*, 15 January 2004).

So, the equipment for the electorate voting easily and more frequently than once every five years is with us now. Votes cast in such contexts of entertainment are doubtless expressions of public opinion that will not precipitate any fundamental social change, but they do betoken an undercurrent of a public will to participate in deciding things as a collective body.

Ever since Jurgen Habermas wrote a book called *Legitimation Crisis* in 1976, in which he argued that the legitimacy of modern governments was in a critical decline, academic researchers have been adding to the list of indices of falling public confidence and interest in the democratic process – indices that include the low percentage of the electorate that votes, mistrust of politicians, and cynicism about political processes. If the pervasion of law as a golden measuring rod is to become part of a healthier citizenship in the 21st century, we shall have to improve the way we make and unmake laws, we shall have, in the words of Anthony Giddens, to 'democratize democracy'.

In a very stimulating recent paper, Stephen Coleman, Professor of e-Democracy at Oxford University, examined the way modern British parliamentary politics is dominated by people who are male, middle-aged, and from professional backgrounds. He concluded that Parliament needs to broaden its accountability, and allow the electorate more interactivity. 'Democracy' Professor Coleman argues, 'is an ongoing, unfinished project which is too often over-sold as being historically complete.' (*A Tale of Two Houses: the House of Commons, the Big Brother House, and the People at Home*, 2003, Hansard Society, ISBN 0 90043207 1)

If there are solutions to the endemic problems of crime, disorder, war, and poverty they will have to come from democratic changes. There are no silver bullets in the considerable armoury possessed by modern governments. The animation of democracy, however, through robust and widespread participation will allow the use of the pervasive golden measuring rod of law to be used much more successfully than it has hitherto in the implementation of the public will to serve the public interest.

This an edited extract from an Inaugural Lecture given at the Open University by Professor Slapper on 10 February 2004

'Clear red water'? Devolution and culture in Wales

Hugh Mackay, Sociology staff tutor in Wales, examines the relationship between a devolved Wales and Westminster. As well as new social democratic policies he identifies the transformation of cultural identities in contemporary Wales

Social change has always been a core concern for sociologists, which makes Wales an interesting place for us these days. Wales has always stood as a nation apart from England and devolution has changed how Wales and its people relate to Westminster. Policies in Wales resemble closely those of Westminster [unsurprisingly, given that the National Assembly for Wales (NAW) has neither tax-raising nor primary legislative powers] – but the differences, though small, are important. Together they constitute a distinctly social democratic agenda, which Rhodri Morgan, the First Minister, has referred to as the 'clear red water' that separates Welsh politics from English politics, or Welsh Labour from English Labour.

But the changes in Wales aren't just political. As important as the colour of the politics is the cultural change that is occurring, as people in Wales are developing an increased identification with a transforming 'Wales' and a new and stronger sense of national identification.

The NAW's policies are a little more distributive, inclusive or progressive than those of Westminster. They include the abolition of compulsory school tests for seven-year-olds, ceasing to publish school league tables, free prescriptions for the under 25s and free local bus travel for those aged 60 and over. For its second term the Labour administration has promised much more: it is committed to cutting NHS waiting times, free prescriptions for all, free breakfast in primary schools, scrapping swimming charges for elderly people, reducing child road deaths, reviewing the need for school tests at Key Stages 1 and 2, and recycling 25 per cent of municipal waste. Top-up tuition fees of up to £3,000 per annum are not to be introduced at universities in Wales, nor will there be foundation hospitals in Wales – on the grounds that Wales does not want a two-tier system, and is instead to organise on the basis of co-operation not competition, a major departure from the UK agenda. There's a policy

aspiration to raise Welsh GDP from the current 80 per cent of the UK average to 90 per cent, by 2010 – to halve the gap of wages in Wales compared with those of the UK as a whole.

Such a policy emphasis is exactly what one would expect in Wales – given its history, culture and voting behaviour. People in Wales expect a higher level of state involvement compared with England. There's a more collectivist or inclusive ethos and greater wariness of 'Third Way' rhetoric and Blair's neo liberal economic policies. Not deep red, what's emerging is far from the socialism of Tommy Sheridan and the Scottish Socialist Party. Whilst Wales shares with Scotland a history of being a Celtic nation on the geographical fringe of the UK, coal mining and a powerful labour movement, the socialist elements of Scotland's contemporary political culture are less evident in Wales. But there is little doubt that, in small but important ways, Cardiff policies differ from those of Westminster.

Government closer to the people

One reason for popular support for devolution is that it is seen as having made Wales more democratic, in that we now run more things ourselves. The Welsh Office was not a policy-making machine but an outpost of Whitehall, a situation that would have been untenable in countries like Germany. Our Assembly Members live in their home communities – much more than do our Westminster MPs. Government

is literally much closer to the people. Assembly Members use the same roads, schools and hospitals, and are embedded more in local everyday life. The Assembly has given an extraordinary emphasis to consultation, with numerous partnerships, secondments and seminars – opening up the policy-making process as never before. And it's important not to forget the profoundly democratic feminization of politics in Wales – in terms of the composition of the NAW and the Wales Assembly Government – which counters so strongly prevailing stereotypes of gender in Wales. In the first term 42 per cent of assembly members were women, and now the figure is 50 per cent; throughout, a majority of the

since the referendum, and that a sizeable majority now favours a NAW with more powers. The NAW seems to be supported because of its distinct policies, and the form of democracy that it represents, but there seems another ingredient, the development in recent years of stronger identification by people in Wales with the Welsh nation – a matter of culture.

What I'm talking about is something that is subtle but pervasive – and I'll mention very briefly the language and the regeneration of Cardiff. Language policies nowadays are less focused on the Welsh-speaking heartland and the defence of rural communities. Instead, with the growth of national institutions and bodies, and of jobs for which speaking Welsh is a requirement, the language movement has become much more forward-looking. And very prominent in Cardiff today is a set of cultural, institutional and architectural projects that have changed the face of the city: the Millennium Stadium occupies a central site in the city; and in Cardiff Bay the Wales Millennium Centre for the Performing Arts is nearly complete, an ambitious and prestigious project that is distinctly Welsh not just in its building materials but also in the inclusiveness of its approach to the performing arts.

It's very clear that the policies of the NAW have not done a great deal to eliminate social problems in Wales. Especially in the west and the Valleys, there remains considerable poverty, with a wide range of local authority services continuing to be cut whilst Cardiff's flagship projects continue. So I'm not suggesting that prestigious cultural projects in Cardiff have eliminated social problems in Wales. Indeed, they've highlighted and exacerbated divisions within Wales. But they do provide a focus for what is a widespread phenomenon, new forms of identification with the nations. So we can see the interconnections between the political project of devolution and cultural identity. The focus of Social Sciences at the OU on culture, especially in Sociology, Social Policy, and Geography, seems of considerable relevance for making sense of the



cabinet has been women.

Despite the lukewarm 'yes' vote for devolution, and a widespread public perception that the NAW has not delivered much, there is little desire in Wales to see the Assembly abolished. Broadly, there is acceptance that we have it, so we need to make it work, with only the UK Independence Party wanting it abolished. For many, its failure to deliver is seen as because of its lack of power. Polls suggest that support for devolution has increased in the period

Should psychology be renamed mindology – the logos of the mind?

The British Armenian polymath, Professor Hovhanness I. Pilikian – film producer, theatre director, Open University student and academic – explores the origins of psychology and the tensions between body, soul and science

**There are more things in heaven
and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy
Hamlet**

Of all the Social Sciences, psychology seems to be the one discipline galloping into the practical details of post-modern life. Gone are the days when psychology departments were exclusive male clubs, founded by German-sounding patriarchal chauvinists in white overalls, playing at being natural scientists, experimenting with docile monkeys or white rats in laboratory boxes.

Psychology is rising in popularity among students seeking Social Science courses. Pop-psychology is the staple diet Jerry Springer and Oprah Winfrey addicts are fed upon, while glossy magazines – *Cosmopolitan*, *Playboy*, *Q*, and *Loaded* – raise and reinforce the status of psychology as problem solving. But what is psychology? What are its roots? Can psychological ‘scientists’ still persist in calling themselves students of the psyche?

Psychology proper is as old as philosophy, and an offshoot of it, stretching back to the ancient Greeks. The magnificent duo, Plato and Aristotle, laid the foundations of Western thought with such mind-power that no subsequent intellectual earthquakes (from Locke, Hume, Kant, Newton to Einstein) seem able to dislodge them from their pedestal.

The study of the soul

Greek philosophy became the mother of all knowledge in the Western world and informed both the natural and social sciences. Aristotle’s *On the Soul* is perhaps the first book on psychology. In it he formalized psychology as the study (the logos) of the soul (psyche). For Pythagoreans before him, the soul was a spiritual entity ‘imprisoned’ within and by the body, which needed to be ‘disciplined’ (almost as a ‘spiritual’ punishment) by external means. Specific actions like fastidious cleanliness, holding silence against thoughtless babble, sexual self-restraint, and vegetarianism fuelled a frugal monastic way of life designed by the saintly Pythagoras for his disciples.

Plato split the body and soul apart. He adopted the Egyptian concept of the soul as a *separate* non-physical entity, able to exist without the body. Plato makes the soul universally and uniquely immortal. This was too unreal for the ‘scientific’ Aristotle. He provided a practical common-sense view of the soul-defining it (for the first time ever) as the Life-force – the overall ‘supervisor’ of a body that empowers it to ‘support vital functions’. The soul thus became the vital force that kept the body alive. A person’s character is defined by and evolves through the actions they take. But the notion of a soul was problematic. The scientific imagination refutes and rejects the very notion of the soul, be it purely spiritual as in Plato or mildly scientific as in Aristotle. Science simply could not define what could not be observed, and the denial of the soul signposts the beginning of all science. Observation thus became the crux of scientific psychology.

It was not until the 19th century that psychology emerged as an independent discipline. Wundt founded ‘scientific’ psychology by cutting the umbilical cord between psychology and philosophy. In 1862, he initiated the first academic course in psychology at the University of Leipzig, and, in

1879, he established the world’s first laboratory for experimental psychology. He published the first journal of academic psychology in 1881, labelling it strangely *Philosophical Studies*. But Wundt did not abandon philosophy – among his massive published works are volumes on logic, ethics, and the philosophical system.

A plethora of psychologists since Wundt have been desperately trying to make the discipline more scientific while still calling it psychology. John Watson, who founded Behaviourism in psychology on similar lines, was convinced that by changing behaviour he could reshape character. For him, thinking as a process is a means for planning practical action. Truth was not a Platonic abstract ideal, but a practical idea that had worked in the past, and which emerged out of past practical experience.

Social psychologists are the most condemned lot among the experimental pseudo-psycho-scientists for pursuing non-scientific methods producing data that cannot be tested, replicated, or publicly checked (as in the case of confidential psychoanalytic case studies). Yet even the social psychologists that are happy to battle against laboratory dehumanization of subjects they insist on calling ‘participants’, take pride in being open and humane and democratic. They do their damndest to ‘prove’ that their methods of cultural and social studies are entirely and unambiguously scientific and they join forces with their ‘dehumanized’ experimental colleagues to snigger and scapegoat poor old Freud for huffing and puffing and producing hot air and no recognizable testable science! The irony is that Freud considered himself as none other than a neuroscientist, albeit accepting of the soul=psyche in psychology, in the classical Greek sense of it.

What is science?

But what is this ‘science’, so beloved of social scientists? Can anything other than the natural sciences (chemistry, biology, physics, etc.) be regarded as scientific? The verbal root of science derives from the Latin *scire* = to know (incredibly misprinted as *scire* in no less than *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1984, p. 939, col. 1). Science denotes all the fields of human knowledge. It took very many centuries of human thought to finally arrive at the refinements of constructed meaning to invent a web of cognate meanings and definitions, to render it a special kind of knowledge with its own (scientific) methodology. The word ‘scientist’ was only invented by William Whewell as late as 1840. Scientists embrace the complex idea that physical objective reality has an existence *independent* of the perceiving mind.

At the root of psychology on the other hand lies the classical Greek noun *psukhe*, forming a cluster of complex cognate meanings beginning with the oldest one wind, evolving into breath, then life, life-force, and finally soul. It was also personified in Greek mythology as the passionately monogamous lover of Eros (she died for him! Something no modern feminist could do). Eros was the illegitimate son of Aphrodite (the most beautiful of the goddesses). Aphrodite was the whore of Aries, the god of Warmongering, and the father of Eros (the lover of Psyche), all of which Freud knew well and absorbed into his analytical concept of the Unconscious being the product of the sexual instinct warring its way through the Ego. Freud was a *true* psychologist, being keen on the etymological meaning of the word *psycho-logy* as the logos of the soul.

It was the first British translators who got Freud wrong by translating his use of the soul as mind. Soul is the same word in German as in Greek and pronounced exactly the same. This was an insidious attempt to give Freud’s concepts a ‘scientific’ gloss. Incomprehensibly, Freud did not bother to correct them, perhaps because he himself was keen on being acknowledged as a serious scientist.

So what is psychology? Is it the science of mental life? Is it rooted in the synonymous coupling of soul and mind? This is the impression still current in dictionaries and non-scientific literature, and it requires desperate updating.

Mindology?

Perhaps the time is ripe for psychology to be renamed mindology. This change would give it the scientific accolade its practitioners have been so desperately striving to achieve. Let’s have social mindology (instead of social psychology) if biological and cognitive experimentalists must have their tribute. Social constructionists (and possibly experientialists) won’t mind one way or the other as long as meanings are clarified and socially embedded.

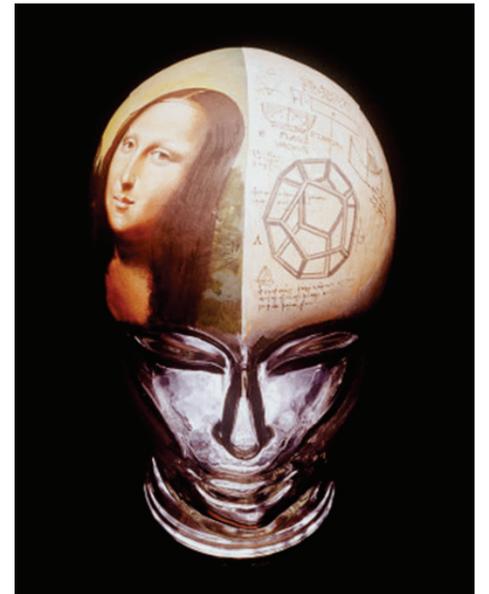
But why should science be respectable let alone desirable? Is it because of its quest to discover the truth irrespective of all the hindrances obfuscating its revelation? In theology, truth is a definition of the godhead. It is therefore the more surprising that Christian dogma opposed science – an error Islam did not commit. Muslims consider science to be the revelation of the divine mind. But once Western science had replaced the Christian religion, it simply usurped its place. The notion that much of science is ‘uncommon’ sense and ‘counter-intuitive’ is nonsense: some of science, yes, perhaps, but very little of it. Most of science in fact is common sense. Its attempts to discover general laws and define norms ought not to be construed as contradictory to a critical and sceptical science that challenges norms to transform society and empower the individual: one must have norms to challenge them, rebel against and change them!

The power of the human mind is such that, wherever it be located, whether in the individual’s head (biological/cognitive/experimental, frequently experiential, and occasionally psychodynamic perspectives) or in society and culture at large (the social constructionist view), *all* can be eventually perfectly negotiated and beautifully integrated (as in mathematical theories), if wished and determined to do so.

It is only the hierarchical power-obsession in people that excludes, and ultimately self-destructs, as in the case of male tyrants (Napoleon Bonaparte, Adolf Hitler, etc.). There may be a gender difference in this – grounds for a biological/cognitive experimental research – as feminist tyrants (Boudicca and Catherine the Great) survive intact.

Realism – belief in an external objective reality existing independent of a perceiving mind, which is universally regarded as a defining non-negotiable of the scientific method – would instantly melt away if understood as yet another relativist conception in the scientific mindset.

Quantitative methodology usually ‘violently’ contradicted the qualitative method of data gathering as merely complementary, especially if one subscribes to Pythagoras’ 2,500-year-old notion



that the whole universe (and not only our world) and *all* the objects in it could be represented as numbers, literally!

Of course the experimental method is reductionist (as perfectly defined in Descartes’s classic 17th century treatise *On Method*), controlled, unnatural and in-the-laboratory. But it better be, to produce valid, replicable, testable scientific data. It is *not* in opposition to the immeasurably rich and ecologically valid, naturally observed though interpretative data of the psychodynamic researchers, and the hidden meanings revealed via content analyses by discursive mindologists.

The multiplicity of things

Mindology has established the multiplicity of most things. There are now many selves in a self, and many genders, resulting in a whole gamut of many sciences – Newtonian and Quantum Physics – many social sciences, and many sociologies and feminisms, and several social psychologies.

A bone of contention could be detected in the labelling of the moral science. Moral is one of the few English words with enormous narratives and historical baggage loaded onto it, rendering it misleading for the simpler connotation of empowering the individual to reflect on their actions.

Nothing in the definitional concepts propagated by the Open University paradigm of social psychology would contradict labelling it ethical. There is an exciting world of difference between the science of ethics, and an ethical science! A claim of ethical (instead of the moral) science would flow in a seamless way into the claims for the critical/political science of the paradigm – to transform society for the better by revealing the hidden, iniquitous, ideologically perverted power relations of a capitalist society needing lies and a continuum of deception to thrive. In this very important sense at the least, mindology becomes science in the traditional belief of the notion – the revelation of the truth of things.

Professor Pilikian is completing his honours degree in psychology with the Faculty

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Our national mental health

The NHS spends more than £380 million a year on antidepressants. The Office of National Statistics (ONS) report a quarter of the population displays psychological symptoms. Depression Alliance estimates that 30 to 40 per cent of the work in primary care deals with depression alone. General practices find that about half of patients visiting surgeries present psychological symptoms – phobias, obsessive thoughts, stress, depression, anxiety, fatigue, insomnia. Only 2 per cent of the population are seen by psychiatrists. Between 1975 and 2000 prescriptions for antidepressants more than doubled to 25 million. In 2003, the *International Review of Psychiatry* found that one in four people with psychiatric disorders did not see their GP.

Cost of mental ill health greater than crime

The Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health has calculated the economic and social cost of mental ill health is greater than the cost of crime. The annual bill for mental ill health, whose consequences affect a quarter of the UK population, is over £77 billion, £16 billion more than the cost of crime, and double the previous estimate. Currently the Government spends £8 billion a year on tackling mental ill health, 12 per cent of public spending on health and social services. This is a far smaller proportion than the investment in reducing waiting list rates. The economy lost over £25 billion in 2003 due to loss of working days through mental illness. Sainsbury researchers estimate that four out of ten people suffering from mental ill health do not have jobs, many because of employer discrimination.

Democracy and dissent: lessons from the Big Brother house

Michael Saward, Professor of Politics, explores how Big Brother challenges us to think more about what it is that underpins our democracy

Does the fact that more people vote for evictions for Channel 4's 'reality TV' programme *Big Brother* than in some UK elections symbolize the decline of democracy? Do such programmes 'dumb down' our democratic culture? Is there anything we can learn about our democracy from *Big Brother*? Let me try and answer these questions with two questions of my own. Why do we vote the way we do? And, can breaking society's rules, even rebelling, be democratic?

In *Big Brother*, the twelve contestants are confined to the BB house for two months. Each week they nominate two among their number for eviction from the house. The housemates who get the most votes go before a public vote and the one who 'wins' the most votes is evicted from the house. When there are only three housemates left there is a public vote to decide who will win the series – and the cash prize.

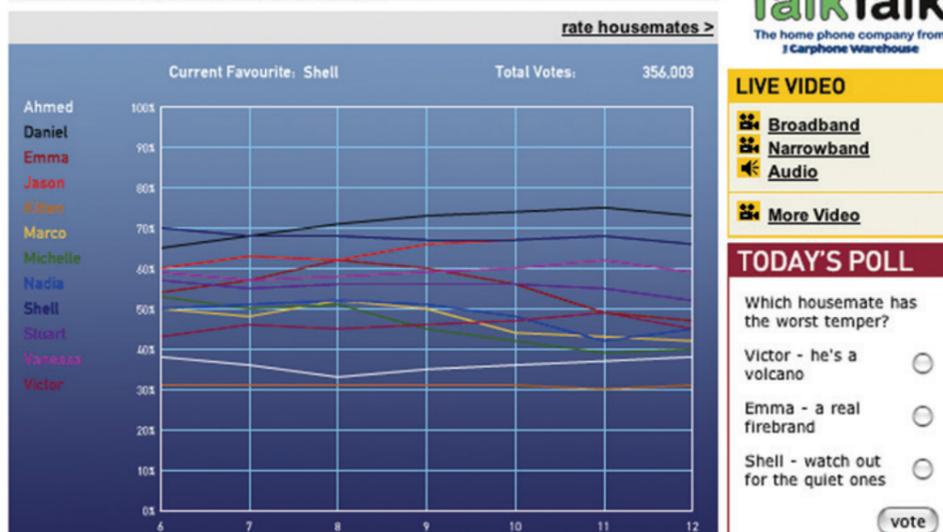
In politics, we puzzle over why people vote the way they do? By analogy, think about the motives behind some *Big Brother* nominations for eviction in the fourth series, televised on Channel 4 in 2003.

It is day 12, the first rounds of nominations for eviction. The housemates are called to the Diary Room to explain their nominations. Cameron nominates Jon because 'he's starting to annoy me', and Tania because 'if she got bored she might get moody, catty and unpleasant to be around'. Federico nominates Justine for being 'judgmental' and because he 'can't relate to her'. Gos nominates Jon for 'slagging off *Big Brother*'. And Nush nominates Ray because 'he's not a culinary wizard and must be destroyed'. One housemate was nominated for being 'a vegetarian'.

And so the eviction candidates are chosen. At that point two names emerge. As in democratic elections, we tend to ignore the reasons behind our having these candidates to choose from. It all looks rational and procedurally fine. But what if the motives behind the original nominations are simply irrational, shallow, foolish, eccentric, or ignorant? And then there are the public votes in *Big Brother*. Why would members of the public vote for one rather than another? Because they 'fancy' them, dislike the others, or think they are beautiful or ugly? The same tough question can be asked about the motives behind their votes. Is the formal, systematic counting of votes, in the *Big Brother* house and in our real elections, a cover for heated, irrational, ill-considered choices? Is this at the core of democracy?



Who's your favourite? Give each housemate a rating out of 10 and we'll tot up the scores to see who's the most popular member of the house.



Big Brother voting trends, Channel 4 website

If this is a real issue, it applies to real elections too. In a local council election, I might vote for candidate A because I like her (or her party's) strong stance on the environment and I have a grudge against her opponent's cousin. You might vote for her because you think she is a genuine person, despite your reservations about some of her policies. A third voter might vote for her opponent, B, because he comes from the voter's home town and the voter feels a loyalty to him. Further, you might feel intense about your preference, whereas I feel ambivalent about mine. In the end we count the votes and it looks reasonable and rational, but is it? Normally the privacy of the polling booth hides the motives, or smoothes them out. *Big Brother* exposes us to voter motives.

We can't legislate for voter motives

This 'underbelly' does not necessarily damn voting, but it does remind us that we can count peoples' votes but we can't legislate for their motives or preferences. We just have to ignore them; majorities

can be wrong. Many democrats do argue that while elections and voting are important, they are not all that matters to democracy. Open debate and deliberation, and getting facts and opinions out in public and transparent are important too.

When some people perceive that things are going fundamentally wrong, or the parties or candidates up for vote are just too much alike and are closing down further options, then dissent can be a core part of democracy. Think of the *Big Brother* analogy. Some observers of politics argue that dissenters and radicals are vital to democracy – they disrupt conventions, raise difficult questions, and bring sharply-expressed principles into otherwise largely procedural debates.

Tim Gardam, the Channel 4 producer of *Big Brother* 4 in the UK, has said: 'If all the housemates rebelled on *Big Brother*, there's not much that we could do. It would be quite interesting. It would become a struggle between unseen producers and the people

in the house, and that could be quite funny'. This would certainly go beyond what Channel 4 website commentary referred to as '*Big Brother* anarchy' ('anarchy is rife in the House') halfway through *Big Brother* 4 in 2003.

Orwellian control

During the fifth series of *Big Brother* in 2004, housemate Kitten provoked more significant rebellion against the rules (or the 'constitution'), systematically challenging the eviction process – and only left the house when the unseen producers reduced the prize money by £1,000 every five seconds she stayed in the house. There are real-world analogies here. We have examples of minor rule-breaking and larger-scale rebellion. The former is probably useful to the powers that be – a little rule-breaking allows the authority (*Big Brother*, our governments) to reinforce the rules, show what lines must not be crossed, and to demonstrate that he/it means business. In George Orwell's 1984, O'Brien encouraged Winston's rebellion to quell it, in order to lead him painfully to a love of *Big Brother*. But major rebellion shakes up, and even overturns, the whole rule-book, and needs to be crushed by authorities or their authority will be lost. Politically, we would call this a 'revolution' if it involved massive popular support, like the overthrow of the Shah's regime in Iran in 1979, or the ousting of the Ceausescu regime in Romania in 1990. Such occasions did indeed turn into life-and-death struggles between 'unseen producers' (governments) and 'the people in the house' (citizens).

What has dissent and rebellion to do with democracy? A great deal, even if we are used to thinking of it just in terms of voting. Citizen freedoms and the right to vote came through rebellion and struggle. And new issues and concerns for parties and politicians to take up would be thin on the ground if it were not for dissenting voices, prepared to challenge the status quo, even to break the law on matters of principle (such as conscientious objection to participation in war). Democracy is about struggle and raised voices and indeterminate clashes between principles, as much as it is pragmatic activity around elections. And microcosm communities, even events in manipulatively constructed ones like the *Big Brother* house, can remind us of some of democracy's oddities and essentials.

On Friday 7 May 2004, the Forensic Psychology Research Group (FPRG) hosted a one-day conference at Walton Hall on *Eliciting information from eyewitnesses and victims of crime: Interviewing and identification*. The conference was funded by the British Psychological Society, and was aimed at informing practitioners and policy makers of relevant forensic psychological research on this topic, conducted both by members of the FPRG, and also by other academics in the UK. Over 50 delegates attended from police forces, social services, the NSPCC, and the Home Office. The day was chaired by Professor Graham Davies from the University of Leicester, a leading academic in forensic psychology, who is also a magistrate.

Work undertaken by the FPRG falls into three main areas: eyewitness identification, composite construction and children's testimony. The conference included a keynote address on these topics, presented by Graham Pike, Nicola Brace and Helen Westcott, as well as a series of workshops led by them and other members of the FPRG (Carina Paine, Sally Kynan, Clifford Clark and Jim Turner). A lively poster session included presentations from colleagues in a number of other universities working on interviewing and identification issues.

Story-telling approach

Research on children's testimony in the FPRG has been carried out by Helen Westcott and Sally Kynan, in partnership with various police forces in England and Wales, and especially with Detective Inspector Chris Few from Northamptonshire police. In her workshop, Helen discussed a novel 'story-telling' approach to analysing investigative interviews for suspected child sexual abuse. This approach was developed because of concerns that recent legislative reforms, designed to improve prosecution and conviction rates in cases of child abuse, have not had the hoped-for impact. The research analyses the presence of story components (the 'who, what, when, where, why') as well as other features of investigative interviews. Findings indicated that although, superficially, children's allegations of sexual abuse adhered to a story structure, they were often incomplete, ambiguous and disordered to a degree which would impact on understanding. In essence, a coherent 'story line' could not be identified, which may suggest why jurors and others watching videotaped interviews in court have difficulties in weighing up the child's evidence.

Victims' testimony and eyewitnesses of crime

Helen Westcott, Lecturer in Psychology, reports on an exciting Forensic Psychology Research Group conference on recent research findings

Improving interviews for child abuse

Sally Kynan presented a workshop with DI Chris Few on a recent project aimed at improving investigative interviews for suspected child abuse. In collaboration with social services and crown prosecution service staff, a number of interventions were implemented aimed at enabling staff to maintain skills and knowledge in interviewing children which they had developed in initial training. These interventions included an awareness day, review sessions, and debriefs recorded by interviewers immediately after an investigative interview had been conducted. Results from the project were mixed; although there were some notable improvements, e.g. in the rapport and closure stages of interviews, other areas of practice were not changed as hoped (e.g. types of questions asked by interviewers).

For further information on this topic, or about the 'story-telling' research, please contact Helen on 01908 654519 (H.L.Westcott@open.ac.uk).

Improving facial composite construction

When the identity of an offender is unknown in a criminal investigation, witnesses are often asked to produce a facial description and/or a composite image of the offender with a police operator. Carina Paine is a PhD student in the FPRG whose research concentrates on identifying ways of improving the quality of facial descriptions and composites produced by children through the use of alternative

interviewing and construction techniques. Carina's workshop focused on the findings from a series of recent field-experiments with children aged from 5 to 10 years old. The development of a set of visual prompts which attempt to reduce the reliance on verbal descriptions from children was described. Findings from the studies indicate the potential benefit of the use of these prompts with child witnesses.

For further information on this topic, please e-mail Carina (c.b.paine@open.ac.uk).

Eyewitness composites

Clifford Clark and Jim Turner hosted a workshop on constructing composites with eyewitnesses. This workshop presented data from Clifford and Jim's research which has had an impact on both the software used for compositing, and on the methods of using composite systems with eyewitnesses. These included the use of minimal faces and feature description options within the software, and the use of mental imaging and feature saliency information during the construction process. The workshop also focused on current research being conducted by the FPRG, looking at the potential next-generation of compositing software. As this research is very much in-progress, the workshop provided a valuable opportunity for police officers and staff to raise issues from their experiences with real witnesses, which our research can now address experimentally.

For further information on this topic, please contact Jim on 01908 658201 (J.A.J.Turner@open.ac.uk)

Identity parades

Nicola Brace and Graham Pike hosted a workshop on eyewitness identification evidence that explored recent recommendations made by UK and US researchers concerning identification procedures. Research was presented from a Home Office funded project conducted by Graham and Nicola that involved collecting data from over 20,000 identification parades and from interviews with over 50 police officers. The results suggest that video identification parades might solve many of the problems associated with traditional 'live' parades, including the fact that over 50 per cent of parades are cancelled before any evidence is collected. In addition, alternative methods of presenting identification parades were examined, as was the possibility of collecting more information from eyewitnesses about their decision at the parade.

For further information on this topic, please contact Graham on 01908 654523 (G.E.Pike@open.ac.uk).

Feedback collected from conference delegates was very positive, and highlighted the benefits of academics working in partnership with practitioners and policy makers. Members of the FPRG would like to thank all those individuals who have participated in their differing research projects to date, and also those people who have volunteered to be participants in their research on the next-generation compositing software

FACULTY STAFF IN TOP 100 LISTS

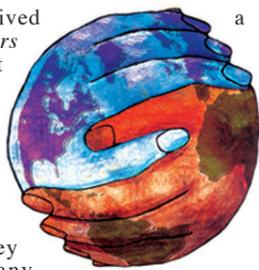
Ann Phoenix, the Faculty's Professor of Social and Developmental Psychology, was included in a list of the top 101 women intellectuals in the UK, published in *The Guardian* on Friday 2 July 2004. Earlier in the year, the Faculty's former Professor of Sociology, Stuart Hall, appeared in a list of the top 50 black Britons of all time.

Letters to the Editor

Society Matters welcomes letters from its readers

Dear Editor

I have recently received copy of *Society Matters* that deals, to a great degree, with the theme of the decline of the West in general and America in particular. Of course the issues raised are worthy of consideration but the manner in which they are raised denies any objectivity in their treatment.



I am both angry and disturbed that the OU has allowed itself to be used as a political platform of one persuasion. Of course people have the right to express a point of view and I understand that anti-Americanism and the denigration of the West is very popular with the 'chattering classes'. However, an OU newspaper is not *The Guardian* and should attempt to present a balanced view of social and political matters.

The whole tract is a hymn to anti-Americanism from the front page paragraph to almost every other page. On the front page you note 'a disturbing extension on the divisions between rich and poor in the United States'. On page two you point out an increase in the numbers of Americans living in poverty. What you do not inform your readers is that living in poverty in America is a great deal different from those in Africa or other parts of the world.

I had written the above paragraph when my attention was drawn to a story in *The Times*. Apparently 1,200 people in families from Somalia have been brought to the USA and provided with homes and jobs. They had been destitute and now, according to the report, believe they are living in paradise. Not the sort of story, I believe, that would go with the tendency of your newspaper. On page after page there is denigration and attacks on the United States, George Bush and his administration, the Labour government and Tony Blair.

Let me list the whole tendency of your newspaper. There is no word of praise to note, for example, that the United States contribution to famine and natural disaster far outweighs that contributed by any other group of nations; that it was primarily responsible for ending the massacres in Bosnia and bringing that war to an end while the Europeans wrung their hands and failed to act. You attack Israel and its wall yet the statistics show that the amount of attacks on Israeli citizens has fallen considerably where the wall is in operation.

Almost every page has an attack, a sly jibe, and an outrageous statement or a cartoon demonstrating the wickedness, stupidity and nastiness of the American 'superpower'. What a travesty of objective analysis and careful consideration which should be the hallmark of a newspaper associated with the OU.

I do not argue that everything the Americans or British governments do is correct or even fair. Of course they make mistakes, fail to act correctly, support the wrong people, etc. But one can also point to success stories. All I ask is your newspaper should be even handed, accept the pluses of the United States and Britain, even accept that the West is a far better system to live than anywhere else. That is why so many of your contributors have chosen to live here and enjoy the freedom to criticize the society that sustains them.

Jack Britz, Pulborough, West Sussex

The editor writes: I do not believe that the headline series of short articles on Rich and Poor distorted the reality in either the rich or poor world. The articles on Africa illustrate the extent to which 'poverty' is relative. I dispute that Richard Stevens' piece on the UN, Gary Slapper's article on the Commonwealth poor, or Brenda Gourley's moving account of the impact of HIV/Aids - which was subsequently published unabridged in the *Church Times* - are biased, unbalanced and anti the West. Robert Fisk's article, written before the Iraq War, is still salient over a year later. There is a difference between critiques of the Bush hegemony and anti Americanism. Of course, America has historically made enormous contributions to the welfare of the world. The theme of the issue was rich and poor, and not a hymn to anti Americanism. Fourteen of its twenty pages were devoted to other issues.

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LAYOUT & DESIGN John Hunt
CARTOONISTS Gary Edwards
 Catherine Pain
Special thanks to Julie Laws and John Hargreaves
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Dear Editor

I was struck by Richard Stevens' interesting article 'Why and how the United Nations must change!' in the last edition of *Society Matters*. Mr Stevens made some very good points, especially noting that the UN cannot intervene in the domestic affairs of members of state.

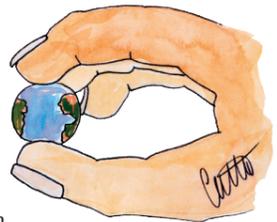


However, I found his answer to this disturbing. He suggests that countries should have to match up to the standards set by the UN member states to be able to join. I think this could have an adverse effect, leaving out the poorer countries - the countries in great need of the UN's help. What I think would work better is to allow countries to join, providing they agree to reach a set standard of human rights etc. within a certain time limit. Allowing countries to join on these terms would ensure that those in need of the UN's help are not ignored until they are deemed fit to be a part of the world's biggest protection organization, but helped by the UN to reach these standards. Surely this would be the UN working as it is intended.

Louise Johnson, Bolton

Dear Editor

Thank you for your centre spread on the importance of Associate Lecturer research. I would like to raise a few points in relation to the whole issue of ALs in the research field, and their current relationship with the OU.



The OU should make much more use of their student population for research purposes, particularly in the social science arena, and encourage ALs to research them. The huge numbers of students, coming from such a wide array of social, economic, and vocational backgrounds allows specific sample groups to be identified easily, with probably a fair to high degree of statistical power.

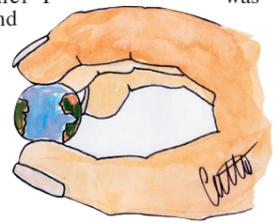
ALs conducting research outside mainstream universities frequently lack access to such potentially large and bountiful groups, and so then a meeting of needs could equally allow more practitioner-based research to be published, and allow students to experience or, possibly even become involved in the actual research process.

The academic boards could perhaps consider active supports to ALs in the research field. Frequently, this study is part time, and ALs often have to look far and wide for solutions if they encounter methodological and statistical issues. A help desk of sorts could be highly beneficial in this regard. In addition, social scientists may be assisted in having their papers published if they could use their AL status to cite the OU as their affiliate university (on approval of the subject matter of course). This will help prevent the degree of 'traditional university' bias that possibly exists (in some journals) against practitioners in the field, and could see the OU appearing in a greater number of academic journals.

Jerry Dixon, DSE212 AL, Region 12

Dear Editor

I was not surprised at the number of social science Associate Lecturers who carry out their own research. ALs have a natural curiosity which has to be fulfilled from time to time! Indeed, as a former teacher I was always trying to find new practices which would enhance children's learning and this was often done by piloting small research projects. Indeed it is my intention, after I complete the second year of my probationary period with the OU to find time to begin a doctorate which I hope will set me on the road to some kind of researching employment. The newspaper is very relevant to the themes which run through the module and therefore would enhance the students' knowledge ... and mine!

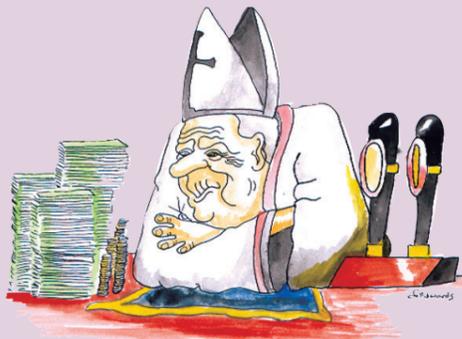


Alison Richards, Royston

They said what?

The Pope sells 23 pubs to ease huge debts.

Bournemouth Daily Echo



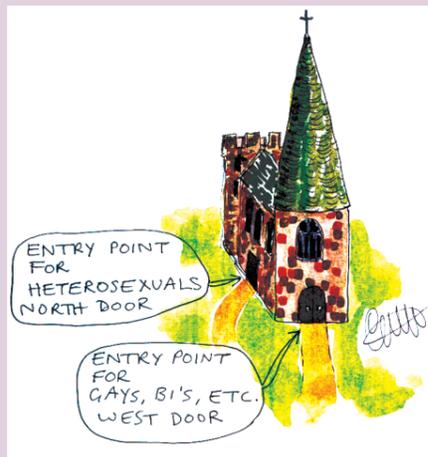
Neil Baker is standing on the touchline with his hands in his tracksuit, scratching his head.

Graham McGarry, BBC Radio Stoke



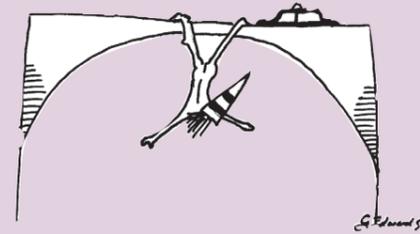
Different churches have different entry points on the issue of human sexuality.

Church Times



A naked woman seen dangling from a bridge across the motorway could need help, police said.

Darlington and Stockton Times



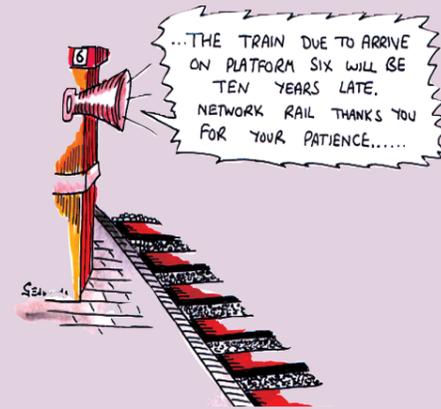
Knitting is the new cocaine.

The Guardian



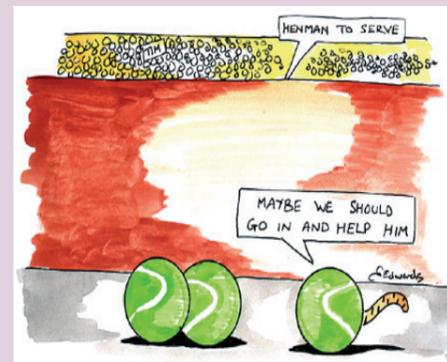
Train delays could last a decade, says Network Rail.

Daily Mail



Henman sees balls as the key to his success.

London Evening Standard



Before a short service at Darlington crematorium, his coffin was placed by the fireplace in the Town Hall, and he was toasted by friends, family and former customers.

Darlington and Stockton Times

Q: In the 1940s which politician was responsible for the welfare state: William...?

A: The Conqueror

The Weakest Link

John Hunt's mosaic of the Faculty of Social Sciences 1970-2004

