



Political Studies Association

AWARDS • 2005

POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION AWARDS 2005

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Political Studies Association
Department of Politics
University of Newcastle
Newcastle upon Tyne
NE1 7RU

Tel: 0191 222 8021
Fax: 0191 222 3499
e-mail: psa@ncl.ac.uk

www.psa.ac.uk

Edited by

Professor Jonathan Tonge
Dr Catherine McGlynn
Professor John Benyon
Jack Arthurs

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Political Studies Association

AWARDS • 2005



Welcome

I am delighted to welcome you to the Political Studies Association 2005 Awards. This event offers a rare opportunity to celebrate the work of academics, politicians and journalists. The health of our democracy requires that persons of high calibre enter public life. Today we celebrate the contributions made by several elected parliamentarians of distinction. Equally, governments rely upon objective and analytical research offered by academics. Today's event recognizes the substantial contributions made by several intellectuals who have devoted their careers to the conduct of independent and impartial study. The public is reliant for information, scrutiny and input to debate from journalists and the Political Studies Association is delighted to acknowledge their contributions today.

When these different categories of people pool their efforts, the results can be particularly rewarding. Last year's Politician of the Year, the Chancellor Gordon Brown, used the event to laud British values whilst calling for a major debate on what constitutes 'Britishness'. The Chancellor's speech was followed by an important event examining concepts of Britishness, British ideas and their influence in Europe, staged yesterday by the Political Studies Association at the Treasury Conference Centre and attended by hundreds of academics, policy-makers, journalists and civil servants. The impact of the conference should extend way beyond the purely academic. I am indebted to Professor Charlie Jeffery of the University of Edinburgh for his work in organizing the conference.

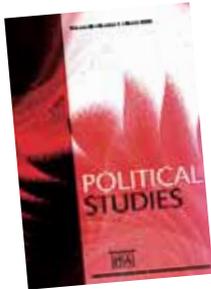
An event like today's awards ceremony will hopefully continue to bridge the gap between academics and practitioners, which was perhaps particularly evident in the United Kingdom, compared to several other European countries, until recent years. It is staged at a time when interest in Politics at university level has never been more buoyant. Three successive yearly increases in recruitment to Politics degrees mean that record numbers are now studying the subject in British universities. Even allowing that growth has been somewhat uneven (unsurprisingly in the current climate, the increase has been greatest in the sphere of international relations), the increase in Politics students belies the oft-heard glib and simplistic assertions that young people do not care about politics.

I very much hope that you enjoy today's occasion. In closing, I warmly thank Neil Stewart Associates, the event organisers, and express the Association's gratitude to the event's sponsors – the Economic and Social Research Council, Blackwell Publishing, and The Policy Partnership – whose very generous support has made this event possible.

Professor Jonathan Tonge

Chair, Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom

The Political Studies Association exists to develop and promote the study of politics. We are the leading organisation in the UK linking academics in political science and current affairs, theorists and practitioners, policy-makers, journalists, researchers and students in higher education.



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Politics publishes cutting edge political science research in all the sub-fields of the discipline, without restriction on themes, approach or country focus. The short article format means that articles are provocative, punchy and readable.



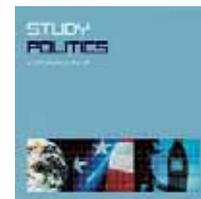
The British Journal of Politics and International Relations aims to influence international debates in political science. It encourages contributions from scholars in all parts of the discipline and from all parts of the globe, and is fast attaining a reputation for innovative interdisciplinary research.

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WE ALSO PROVIDE INFORMATION ABOUT POLITICS AND EXPERTISE THROUGH A RANGE OF PUBLICATIONS

Quarterly newsletter, featuring articles, news from departments, information about research grants and projects, plus details of conferences, specialist groups and other activities.

Annual Directory, listing all political scientists in the UK and Ireland by university and department. Published online at www.psa.ac.uk



Study Politics, our accessible guide to studying politics at university, distributed to all UK sixth-forms and colleges.

Media Register of Experts, promoting our members' areas of political expertise to the media. Published online at www.psa.ac.uk/experts



Political Studies UK, the definitive guide to studying, teaching and researching politics in the UK.

EVENTS

WE OFFER A UNIQUE ARENA FOR THE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AND EXPERTISE THROUGH CONFERENCES AND EVENTS

Annual Conference, attracting leading politicians, civil servants and academics, and comprising more than 100 specialist discussion panels covering all aspects of the discipline.

Network of Specialist Groups, covering all major fields of political research. Each provides a forum in which individuals with specialised research and teaching interests can develop their own seminars and conferences to supplement the Annual Conference.

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Our award-winning website is an impressive research tool with over 5,000 links to political information sources. Online services include access to electronic versions of all the Association's journals, Annual Conference papers, Members' Directory and Register of Experts.

AWARDS

WE PROMOTE THE STUDY OF POLITICS THROUGH OUR ANNUAL AWARDS AND PRIZES



Our prestigious annual awards include:

- **The Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize**
for lifetime contribution to political studies
- **The W.J.M. Mackenzie Prize**
for best book published in political science
- **The Sir Bernard Crick Prize**
for outstanding teaching in political studies
- **Four dissertation prizes**
for best dissertation in any field of political studies

ABOVE

Andrew Marr accepting the Political Broadcaster of the Year award in 2004.

GRADUATE NETWORK

WE ARE COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING THE NEXT GENERATION OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS



The Graduate Network exists to promote links between postgraduate politics students throughout the UK. The Graduate Network holds its own annual conference, regional group events and short conferences for members. All postgraduates can join the Association at a reduced rate, including free Graduate Network membership.

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Membership is open to everyone interested in the study and practice of politics. There are separate categories of membership for people who are retired and for companies.

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Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

PROFESSOR HUGH BERRINGTON



THE JUDGES SAY

Professor Hugh Berrington is a worthy winner of this award, both for his prodigious and consistently high calibre research in British politics, and for his collective commitment, demonstrated by service on a range of bodies and assistance in the career development of a number of colleagues.

Hugh Berrington was born in 1928 in Surbiton. He left school at fifteen and worked as a clerk at Barclays Bank. After completing National Service in the Royal Air Force in 1949 he began working at Surrey County Council. He then enrolled for an external BSc in Economics from London University, which he undertook through evening classes at Kingston Technical College ("hence when later asked where I took my degree I would answer 'Wimbledon Public Library', an answer only part jest").

After graduating with first class honours in 1954 he was awarded a two year research studentship at Nuffield College, Oxford and studied the growth of party cohesion in the late nineteenth century House of Commons. He then moved to the University College of North Staffordshire (later the University of Keele) and lectured there until 1965, when he moved to the University of Newcastle as Reader and Head of the Politics Department, becoming professor in 1970. He retired in 1994, but still teaches at the university part-time.

Professor Berrington has served the PSA as Treasurer, Chairman, Vice-President and President. He also undertook a shadow assessment of the 1989 Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) on behalf of the PSA, and has worked tirelessly to ensure that the RAE is as accurate and fair as possible. He has chaired election studies committees for the ESRC and worked as an election analyst and commentator for ITN, the BBC and the *Sunday Telegraph*.

Professor Berrington's area of expertise is political psychology and electoral behaviour. His early studies of

parliamentary opinion made use of innovative applications of statistical methods to British political institutions, which was both ground-breaking and controversial. His works include *Backbench Opinion in the House of Commons* (1973), 'The Fiery Chariot: British Prime Ministers and the Search for Love', *British Journal of Political Science* (1974), *Change in British Politics* (ed. 1984), and *Britain in the Nineties: The Politics of Paradox* (ed. 1998).

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2005

Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

PROFESSOR ELIZABETH MEEHAN



THE JUDGES SAY

Professor Elizabeth Meehan has made an outstanding contribution to the study of politics through her individual research output and her roles in collective bodies. A distinguished range of research and publications, particularly on Northern Ireland, devolution and territorial politics has been accompanied by unstinting service to a range of organisations, including the Political Studies Association, the Royal Irish Academy and the Institute of Governance, Public Policy and Social Research.

Elizabeth Meehan was born in Edinburgh in 1947 and brought up in the Scottish Borders. After attending Edinburgh College of Art for a year ("I didn't pass the first year tests!"), she began working for the Diplomatic Service at the age of 18. She was granted unpaid leave in 1973 to read Political Science at the University of Sussex. Her leave was extended to allow her to complete her doctoral thesis, *Equality of Employment: Opportunities for Women in Britain and America* at Nuffield College Oxford in 1979.

It was at this point that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office told Professor Meehan that she would need to choose between an academic and diplomatic career. She decided on the former and began working at the University of Bath. It was while she was on a Hallsworth Fellowship at Manchester University in 1988/9 that colleagues advised her to apply for a chair. She was successful in her first application, to Queen's University Belfast, and became the first female professor of politics in the UK in 1991.

Professor Meehan is also a holder of a Jean Monnet Chair of European Social Policy. She is Director of the Institute of Governance, Public Policy and Social Research at Queen's University Belfast, which was established in 2001 with the remit of producing and promoting interdisciplinary work on public policy and social research. She is also a board member of the Centre for International Borders Research and the Centre for Cross-Border Studies, which aims to enhance co-operation across the Irish Border in areas such as education, health and business.

In 1999 Professor Meehan was invited to be a founding Academician of the Academy of Learned Societies in the Social Sciences, and in 2002 she was elected to membership of the Royal Irish Academy, which recognizes achievement in both science and the humanities. In addition to this honour, she is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, member of the New York Academy of Sciences, a council member of the Irish Research Council and the Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, and life Vice-President of the Political Studies Association of the UK. She has also been a visiting fellow at the Policy Institute, Trinity College Dublin and has been Honorary Research Associate there since 2004.

Her most recent publications include 'Women and Constitutional Change in Scotland and Northern Ireland', *Parliamentary Affairs* 55(1), (2002), 'Making a Difference or More of the Same?' in S. Henig (ed.) *Modernising Britain; Central, Devolved, Federal?* (2002) (with S. Hodgett), and 'Multilevel Governance in the European Union: the Case of Northern Ireland', in J. Magone (ed.) *Regional Institutions and Governance in the European Union* (2003).

Although Professor Meehan is retiring this year she intends to continue her work as an emeritus chair.

Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

PROFESSOR MIKE GOLDSMITH



THE JUDGES SAY

Throughout his distinguished career, Professor Mike Goldsmith has produced a range of important and widely cited publications on urban governance and local government. His books and articles remain of considerable value to students and scholars. Mike Goldsmith has also made an enormous contribution to the development of the profession, through his work for the Political Studies Association, epsNet and the ECPR.

Mike Goldsmith was born in 1939 in London ("within the sound of Bow Bells – a true cockney!"). He read Political Economy at Reading University and joined the University of Salford in 1963, immediately after completing his MA in Economics at the University of Manchester. He became a senior lecturer in 1973 and was made Professor of Government at Salford in 1984, working alongside departmental luminaries such as Professor David Marquand. He served as Pro-Vice Chancellor between 1986 and 2000. He is now emeritus professor and acted as Chair of the university's business club, CAMPUS, until his recent retirement. He has been visiting professor at University of Southern Denmark, University of Rennes, France and Kingston and Queen's Universities in Canada.

Professor Goldsmith is a life Vice-President of the PSA, having previously served as Chair and President. He is a member and former vice-chair member of the European Consortium for Political Research, which supports training and cross-national research and co-operation. He also plays an instrumental role in the European Political Science Network, an organization that seeks to promote the profile of political science as a discipline. Currently he chairs the Finance Committee and is a member of the Publications and Electronic Resources Committee. He has served on several committees of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and is currently on three commissioning or advisory panels.

Professor Goldsmith is recognized as an expert in the field of comparative local government and urban politics. In addition to his academic work in these areas, he

played a direct role in informing policy-makers when he was seconded to the Department of the Environment from 1974 until 1978. He also worked for the ESRC as a research co-ordinator for initiatives on central-local government relations between 1979 and 1986. His publications include *Politics, Planning and the City* with Hal Wolman, (1980); *Urban Politics and Policy* (ed. 1992); *New Research in Central-Local Government Relations* (ed. with Ed Page, 1986); *Central and Local Government Relations*, (1987); and *European Integration and Local Government* (ed. with K. Klaussen, 1997). His current research is a cross-national study examining the relationship between institutional size and democracy. This is funded inter alia by the British Council and European Science Foundation.

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2005

Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize for
Lifetime Contribution to Political Studies

PROFESSOR ANDREW GAMBLE



THE JUDGES SAY

In a distinguished career, Professor Andrew Gamble has produced a host of seminal publications, earning him an international reputation. His output includes groundbreaking books such as Between Europe and America; The Free Economy and the Strong State; Hayek: the Iron Cage of Liberty; Britain in Decline and The Conservative Nation. He has played a major role in developing the journals New Political Economy and Political Quarterly, whilst producing scores of important refereed journal articles. Amid this prolific and hugely-respected work, Professor Gamble has been a team-player, helpful to colleagues and playing a major part in developing the Politics Department at Sheffield University into one of the leading research outfits in the UK, with a reputation beyond these shores.

Andrew Gamble was born in London in 1947. He graduated with a degree in Economics from Queen's College Cambridge in 1968. He then studied for an MA in Political Theory at Durham University before returning to Cambridge to research his doctoral thesis, 'The Conservative Nation: Electoral Perspectives Within the British Conservative Party, 1945-70' at Gonville and Caius College, which was completed in 1975.

Professor Gamble joined the Politics Department at Sheffield University in 1973, becoming professor in 1986. During his time at Sheffield he has been Chair of the Department of Politics, Dean of the Faculty of Social Science, Pro-Vice Chancellor and Senior Pro-Vice Chancellor. He has also been a visiting professor at institutions such as the University of Kobe, the University of Hitotsubashi Chuo University and City University in Hong Kong.

He is a founder member of the Political Economy and Research Centre, which assesses the impact of the transformation of the world economy, and served as chair of the centre until 2004. He has also put his skills and knowledge at the disposal of such institutions as the Fabian Society, the Institute of Public Policy Research, and the Department of Trade and Industry.

Professor Gamble's involvement with the Political Studies Association has included a place on the executive between 1988 and 1991, which was then followed by two years in the office of Vice-Chancellor. He is a fellow of the British Academy, the Royal Society of Arts and the Academy of Social Sciences. He has been awarded

numerous grants by the Economic and Social Research Council, Anglo-German Foundation, Nuffield Foundation and the Leverhulme Trust. Currently he is using a Leverhulme Fellowship to produce research on Anglo-America as an imagined community.

Professor Gamble co-edits *New Political Economy* and *Political Quarterly* and is a member of five editorial advisory boards, including that of *Political Studies*. He is the author of twenty-five books and has contributed seventy-nine book chapters and over a hundred articles in the course of his career. His works include *The Conservative Nation* (1974), *Britain in Decline* (1981), *The Free Economy and the Strong State* (1988), *Hayek: The Iron Cage of Liberty* (1996), *Politics and Fate* (2000), and *Between Europe and America: The Future of British Politics* (2003).

Professor Gamble's past awards include the Issac Deutscher Memorial Prize in 1972, the Mitchell Prize in 1977, and the W.J.M. Mackenzie Prize for best book published in political science in 2003.

Political Broadcaster of the Year

ELINOR GOODMAN



THE JUDGES SAY

Throughout a distinguished broadcasting career, Elinor Goodman has offered incisive, cogent and accurate analysis of political developments. Her fair-minded and eminently watchable interpretation of events for Channel 4 News helped make that programme arguably the best news programme. She conveys ideas in a clear manner, without ever dumbing-down, skills particularly vital in this election year. Through her range of contacts and a lively and quizzical mind, Elinor Goodman has often broken parliamentary scoops, staying ahead of her rivals in a highly competitive field.

Elinor Goodman was born in 1946. After leaving secretarial college she began work on the advertising trade magazine, *Campaign*. She joined as a secretary but was appointed as a reporter soon after beginning work. She moved to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1970. She spent a year there reporting on all aspects of media and marketing before moving to the *Financial Times* as consumer correspondent, becoming political correspondent in 1978. Goodman joined Channel 4 from the *FT* at the channel's inception in 1982. After a spell as political correspondent, she was promoted to political editor in 1988.

Elinor developed a very strong reputation for the informed and thorough nature of her journalism, in a highly competitive environment. Whilst never one to trumpet her own scoops, she earned the respect of colleagues and rivals for her ability to cultivate excellent sources and call contemporary and future parliamentary developments with unerring accuracy. Elinor also developed a very strong reputation for the quality of her live broadcasts on Channel 4 News, always remaining calm and assured as she broke or relayed news, even amid the biggest political storms.

On the eve of covering her sixth general election she announced she would be leaving Channel 4. She said, "I've decided to go early because I want now to do other things both inside and outside of journalism. After so many years of being never more than a minute ahead of deadline, I think it's time to take up slightly less frenetic and pressured pursuits". After making this announcement, Goodman's boss, Jim Gray, editor of Channel 4 News paid tribute to her.

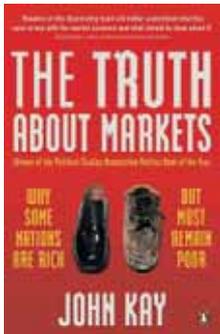
He said, "Elinor's combination of getting it right and telling it with verve has served us so well".

Elinor Goodman has served on the panel of judges for the prestigious *Guardian* student media awards. She was awarded an honorary degree by the University of Essex in 2000.

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2005

Politics Book of the Year

JOHN KAY: *THE TRUTH ABOUT MARKETS*



THE JUDGES SAY

John Kay's The Truth About Markets is a brilliant exposition of the merits and drawbacks of the market economy, written in an admirably clear and engaging style. This is a book which has already assumed the status of a seminal work.

John Kay was born in Edinburgh in 1948. He studied Mathematics at the University of Edinburgh. By the age of 21 he was a lecturer at Oxford University and a fellow of St John's College. In 1979 he became Director of the Institute of Fiscal Studies. The Institute was in its infancy and Kay's stewardship turned it into an internationally respected think tank. Kay left in 1986 after accepting a chair at the London Business School. The same year he established a consulting company, London Economics. He has also served as Vice-President of the Economics and Business Education Association and Chair of the Undervalued Assets Trust and of Halifax Plc.

Kay says: "What I write and think today is a product of a combination of practical knowledge of the business world and an academic training in industrial economics".

Indeed, Kay offers a rare combination of business acumen, high academic intelligence and writing verve.

Kay believes that *The Truth About Markets* is his most substantial book. It immediately found a receptive audience, being praised by Will Hutton as a "landmark work". Using an accessible witty style Kay offers a convincing explanation of why some countries are richer than others. The book contains trenchant criticisms of corporate greed, but Kay also chides the anti-globalization movement as naïve. Instead he seeks to provide a defence of markets, whilst recognizing their limits and inadequacies.

John Kay's other publications include *The Business of Economics* (1996), *Foundations of Corporate Success* (1993), and *Why Firms Succeed* (1995). Last year he

published a selection of his weekly *Financial Times* column, which he has written since 1995, entitled *Everlasting Lightbulbs*.

Political Turkey of the Year

VERITAS



THE JUDGES SAY

The jury noted the birth of Veritas amid the acrimonious departure of its leader from the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). Having helped UKIP make progress in capturing a sizeable number of seats in the European Parliament, Mr Kilroy-Silk, himself an electoral winner in 2004, decided he wished to be UKIP leader. As a vacancy did not occur, he launched Veritas (or Truth). Unfortunately, the electorate appeared to contain a large number of non-believers in the self-evident truths held by the party. Amid a mass of lost deposits, Veritas failed to achieve a vote share matching even the modest share achieved by UKIP. The jury awaits with interest the next electoral foray of Veritas, but in the interim believed an award was appropriate.

The political party Veritas, was the baby of the former MP and TV presenter, Robert Kilroy-Silk, who was born in Birmingham in 1942. He studied Economics at the LSE and lectured in Political Theory at the University of Liverpool before his election in 1974 as Labour MP for the constituency of Ormskirk. His first parliamentary post as MP was as Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Arts in 1975. He remained MP for the constituency until 1983, when he stood successfully in Knowsley North. He was made spokesman for Home Office affairs in 1984 filling the position for a year. He resigned as an MP in 1986 to host what became a famous, or infamous, morning chat show, *Kilroy* for the BBC.

Whilst working for the BBC, Kilroy-Silk also worked as a political columnist for publications as varied as *Time Out* and *the Police Review*. In January 2004 the BBC decided to dispense with his services after a barrage of complaints over comments made in his *Sunday Express* column. Although Kilroy-Silk had been less than complimentary about Muslims in previous articles (in 1991 he stated, "they are backward and evil and if it is racist to say so... then racist I must be – and proud and happy to be so"), it was perhaps the snappiness of the jibe that Arabs were "suicide bombers, limb amputators and women repressors" that raised the profile of his views.

Kilroy-Silk was unrepentant in the face of criticism and took his dismissal from the BBC as a cue to embrace political campaigning once more. He decided that the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) were the ideal bedfellows, with

their hostility to the European Union and immigration. Kilroy-Silk was one of 12 UKIP MEPs elected in the 2004 European elections, as the party showed itself capable of challenging the Conservatives for a sizeable chunk of their core support in this type of contest.

However, less than a year after Kilroy-Silk had been embraced by UKIP he quit, citing the party's inability to build on their electoral success to become a major political party, rather than their inexplicable refusal to install him as leader. For Kilroy-Silk the next step was to launch Veritas (Latin for 'Truth') in February this year. At the press launch, he announced that Veritas would be "quite startlingly different" from other British political parties given that its policies would be... hostility to the European Union and immigration. Sadly for Kilroy-Silk his straight-talking stance failed to attract enough votes to return a single MP, or indeed overtake UKIP, and he was beaten into fourth place in the Derbyshire constituency of Erewash. The lost leader soon quit as head of his party, leaving Veritas – and Kilroy-Silk – with uncertain futures.

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2005

Best Political Satire

STEVE BELL



THE JUDGES SAY

Steve Bell produces a consistently humorous and incisive series of political cartoons, some of which become defining images of politicians. The jury highlighted the following aspects of his recent work which have captured our attention and provided much amusement: the coverage of the Prime Minister's relationship with George Bush; the shrewdly observed defensiveness over the reasons for war with Iraq, and the perceptive sketches of the 2005 election campaign.

Steve Bell was born in Slough in 1951. He studied Fine Art at Teesside College of Art and Leeds University, graduating in 1974. He trained as a teacher at Exeter University and taught art at a school in Birmingham for a year before establishing himself as a full-time freelance cartoonist in 1977. He has illustrated the pages of publications such as the *New Statesman* and *Time Out*, but is best known for his work in the *Guardian*, where his strip *If* was first published in 1981. He has also made animated films for the BBC and Channel Four and published sixteen books of his cartoons.

Like many other satirists in the 1980s he regarded Margaret Thatcher as a rich source of material. However, where others were stymied by the arrival of the comparatively lacklustre John Major, Bell capitalized on the new prime minister's lack of sparkle and presented him ironically as a grey superhero, complete with y-fronts over trousers. He picked up on the opportunities presented by the advent of Tony Blair rapidly and says, "Caricaturing him has been fairly straightforward, once I'd discovered the secret of his one mad (left) eye, furrowed brow and bland, twinkly (right) eye. He is blessed with prominent features which one can satisfyingly apply to any animal or object, be it dog, dalek, or electricity pylon. This gives one tremendous scope for extended visual metaphor".

Bell regarded all political leaders as fair game during the 2005 election campaign, although special mention must go to his hilarious lampooning of the increasingly hysterical Tory campaign, with the vampiric Michael Howard raising a glass of blood to salute the slogan, 'Are you drinking what we're drinking?'.

However, Bell's ire is not restricted to the domestic political scene and one of his real masterpieces is George W. Bush. In 2001 he was awarded political cartoon of the year (an award sponsored jointly by the *Spectator* and the Political Cartoon Society) with a cartoon that summed up his view of Dubya's first official visit to Europe. The President, who Bell has mutated into an ape since his election, was shown blundering off Air Force One asking, "Is this Yurp? Are those Yurpeans? Can I show them my light sabre?"

In addition to this award, Bell has been made political cartoonist of the year by the Cartoonist Club, British Press Awards and What the Papers Say Awards. He was also awarded the XXI Premio Satira Politica International award in 1993 and he won satirist of the year at the Channel Four Political Awards earlier this year.

Politician of the Year

RT HON TONY BLAIR MP, PRIME MINISTER



THE JUDGES SAY

In leading his party to an unprecedented third election victory, Tony Blair achieved a remarkable feat. His work in transforming the Labour Party, the natural party of opposition for much of the twentieth century, into the natural party of government is extraordinary. Tony Blair was elected leader of a party still demoralized by its fourth successive electoral defeat. Leading from the front, Mr Blair removed much of the ideological baggage associated with the party, most notably in revising Clause Four of its constitution, whilst retaining the party's commitment to values of social justice. His leadership and reforms were instrumental in delivering the landslide election victory of 1997, when scores of formerly unwinnable seats were captured by Labour. An equally convincing victory followed in 2001, whilst the 2005 election again delivered a majority, which on any historical comparison, is very sizeable. Tony Blair remains the party leader still perceived – according to all opinion poll evidence – as best suited to be Prime Minister and will leave office undefeated.

The awards jury noted the Prime Minister's commitment to reform and improvement of public services, which has seen notable progress in respect of, for example,

educational provision. The jury noted the willingness of the Prime Minister to use a range of policy advisers, including academics, in terms of policy input. The jury also acknowledged the Prime Minister's willingness to take difficult domestic and foreign policy decisions, always prepared to articulate his case with confidence, without being dismissive of criticism.

Tony Blair was born in Edinburgh in 1953, but spent most of his childhood in Durham. After reading Law at St John's College, Oxford University, he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1976. He practised as a barrister until his election to Parliament, specializing in employment and industrial law.

The future Prime Minister joined the Labour Party in 1975. After standing unsuccessfully in the safe Conservative seat of Beaconsfield at a by-election in 1982, when he received a strong endorsement from the then Labour leader, Michael Foot, Blair was elected to Parliament in 1983, for the constituency of Sedgefield.

The early 1980s represented the nadir of the Labour Party's fortunes, with members seemingly more intent on fighting each other than offering a challenge to the Conservative Government. It was against this unpromising background that Blair's career blossomed. From being made assistant treasury spokesman in 1984 he served as trade and industry spokesman before being elected to the Shadow Cabinet in 1988, taking the post of Shadow Secretary of State for Energy. Blair moved to employment one year later, where he developed a new industrial relations policy that accepted the end of the closed shop.

After the 1992 election, the fourth consecutive defeat for Labour, John Smith promoted Blair to Shadow Home Secretary. Thriving in the post, Blair made the famous pledge that Labour would be tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime. When John Smith died in 1994, Blair put himself forward as candidate for leader and won a large majority of the party's support.

Blair presented himself as a modernizer and built on the reforms of his predecessors, Neil Kinnock and John Smith. Putting an emphasis on community, fairness and equality of opportunity he made a decisive break with the past in 1995, persuading members to revise Clause Four of the party's constitution, which was indelibly linked to past commitments to nationalization and state economic control. Instead, Blair presented the party as New Labour: a party that was pragmatic, even enthusiastic about the market. He has laid out his ideas in works such as *New Britain: My Vision of a Young Country* (1996) and *The Third Way* (1998).

Labour's 1997 manifesto promised radical constitutional reform, economic competence and social inclusion. The resulting landslide was followed by a long honeymoon period for Blair and another victory in 2001, where the emphasis was on improving public services, notably health and education. Another victory followed this year, making Blair the first Labour leader to win three successive general elections.

In addition to Blair's historic election win this year, many also credit the Prime Minister with a key behind-the-scenes lobbying role in the successful British Olympic bid. Blair also used the G8

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2005

Political Publication of the Year THE INDEPENDENT

summit in Edinburgh as an opportunity to push for an international strategy to address the issue of African development. However, given the uncertain future of the European Constitution, this was undoubtedly a difficult year for the UK's presidency of the EU.

Domestically, the Prime Minister has had to defend some controversial policies during his time in office. His commitment to the expansion of opportunities in higher education has led to the introduction of tuition fees and he has faced criticism for this and for his enthusiasm for involving private finance and contractors in his plans to improve the delivery of public services. However, criticism has not deflected the Prime Minister in his reforming zeal.

It seems, though, that the area where Blair has faced most criticism is in his alliance with America's war on terror. Blair committed British troops to the invasion of Iraq and worked hard to win international support for the action. In 2003 he was awarded a Congressional Gold Medal for being 'a staunch and steadfast ally of America'. However, Blair's admission that weapons of mass destruction will not be found in Iraq has made it more difficult to him to persuade his detractors both of the rightness of his decision and his honest belief in his intelligence sources. He has stood firm in the face of a barrage of criticism, arguing that "The time to trust politicians most is actually when they are courting popularity least because... they are doing something they believe in".



THE JUDGES SAY

The Independent has been easily the most vibrant campaigning newspaper during the last year. The jury highlighted two examples in particular. The Independent's admirable campaign on the dangers of global warming – and how the issue might be addressed – has provided a salutary reminder to policy-makers of the most important issue of the day. The Independent's coverage has been sensational rather than sensationalist, always backed by good science, in-depth reporting and stark visual evidence. The Independent's campaign for a more proportional electoral system has placed supporters of first-past-the-post on the defensive. The paper's coverage and mobilisation of readers has re-energised a debate that had become moribund after two landslide election victories. The Independent has been effective in highlighting the representational inequities of first-past-the-post in an era of multi-party politics.

The *Independent* was launched on 7th October 1986 by the former *Telegraph* journalist, Andreas Whittam Smith. After *The Times* abandoned its impartial stance to back Margaret Thatcher, Whittam Smith felt that there was a need for a quality national newspaper that would be (in the words of the current Editor-in-Chief, Simon Kelner) "beholden to no one political party, economically and socially liberal". The paper was initially financed by a consortium of backers, the idea being that this would prevent the paper being bent to the will of an owner. It was, however, run on a shoestring, with the editorial team taking advantages of technological developments that allowed the paper to be produced using desk top publishing. However, the paper has maintained its distinctive style and the editorial commitment to impartiality despite being absorbed into the Mirror Group and then Irish Newspapers Group.

The *Independent* launched a smaller compact version of its daily paper in September 2003 and has been compact-only since 2004. It is not surprising that it was the first broadsheet paper to make this change given its reputation for distinctive and ground-breaking design. This reputation has earned the paper prizes such as a European Newspapers Award for Innovation in 2003 and Media Brand of the Year at the 2004 Media Week Awards. The launch of the compact format also produced an immediate boost to sales figures.

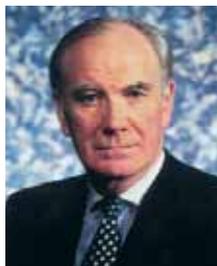
This commitment to innovation in design does not mean the paper is a triumph of style over substance. On the contrary, it has dedicated itself to campaigning rather than merely reporting. Electoral reform

Parliamentarian of the Year

RT HON SIR MENZIES CAMPBELL CBE, QC, MP

has long been one of the paper's concerns and the results of the 2005 General Election were the spur to turn this into a Campaign for Democracy. The paper's chief political correspondent, Marie Woolf, argued that the first-past-the-post system was responsible for disproportional results and outdated in a multi-party era. Moreover, the *Independent* argued that first-past-the-post was a key factor in voter apathy and part of a wider British political malaise that alienated the electorate from politicians and allowed for the increasing marginalization of Parliament as a legislature. Readers responded with enthusiasm to her call to push for electoral reform as a matter of urgency. Within weeks, the paper claimed almost 40,000 signatures to its online petition to Tony Blair, denouncing the results arising from first-past-the-post as a "subversion of our democracy".

With award winning journalists such as the foreign correspondent, Robert Fisk, on board, it is not surprising that the *Independent* also contains incisive international coverage. This is accompanied by a cogent critique of world leaders' derogation of duty as regards the environment. The paper's tireless reporting of the threat of global warming is based on investigative reports on deforestation, cheap air travel, endangered species and industrial pollution. The paper has been proved right in its predictions that this year's G8 summit would be another missed opportunity in terms of committing developed nations to tackle this crisis. Its editorial tone, however, is less that of despondency than dedication to long and difficult battles that can be won.



THE JUDGES SAY

Menzies Campbell has provided some of the most eloquent contributions to parliamentary debates. In particular, his forensic dissection of the government's reasons to go to war in Iraq, his attention to detail on the advice and timing in respect of that decision and his mastery of his brief, all allied to an enviable lucidity, make the parliamentary contributions of Menzies Campbell's items well worth following. He has discomfited government ministers on numerous occasions, whilst remaining courteous and civilised in debates. For these reasons, Menzies Campbell is a clear winner of the Floor of the House section of the Parliamentarian of the Year award.

Menzies Campbell was born in Glasgow in 1941. A keen athlete, he represented Great Britain in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. In breaking and re-breaking the 100 metres record, Campbell enjoyed the title of Britain's fastest man between 1967 and 1974. He studied Law at the universities of Glasgow and Stanford and was called to the Scottish Bar in 1968. He was made a QC in 1982.

Campbell first stood for election as a Liberal Party candidate in 1974, but he was unsuccessful in both General Elections held that year. He finally entered Parliament at his fifth attempt, when he was returned as member for Fife East in 1987. The same year he was awarded a CBE. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1999 and knighted in 2003.

Having changed his mind about entering the Liberal Democrat leadership contest in 1999, Campbell stuck to his role as the party's Spokesman on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Europe, a post he has held since 1994. Using this position and his membership of the Commons Select Committee on Defence, he has pursued the Labour Government over their policy on Iraq, asking many awkward questions about the activities of coalition aircraft in the no-fly zone and criticizing what he sees as Blair's unthinking acceptance of American strategy in the area.

Campbell was forced to take time off from Parliament towards the end of 2002 as he underwent chemotherapy for non-Hodgkins lymphoma. However, he returned in April 2003 as Deputy Leader and led the Liberal Democrat attack on the decision to invade Iraq. Whilst he was prepared at the time to countenance the

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2005

Parliamentarian of the Year GWYNETH DUNWOODY MP

idea that Saddam Hussein could pose a threat beyond Iraq's borders through the use of biological weapons, he refused to accept that the planned invasion was compatible with international law. He consistently highlighted the unclear objectives of military action, scorned the suggestion that invading Iraq was part of a wider plan to democratise the Middle East, and rejected the contention that the invasion formed a coherent element of a 'war on terror'.

He has remained one of the most articulate and sharp critics of British foreign policy on Iraq. In May 2004 he told the Commons "it is hard not to be angry – angry for Britain and its reputation; angry for the brave young men and women who are serving in difficult and dangerous conditions in Iraq; angry, too, for a House of Commons that was persuaded to support military action on a flawed prospectus and, as we now know, with no clear strategy for the aftermath of conflict".



THE JUDGES SAY

Gwyneth Dunwoody has a long and distinguished record of parliamentary scrutiny in committees (select and standing) of the House of Commons. Her membership of the 'awkward squad' is renowned, but she is not obstructionist for reasons of ego or ill-temper. Instead, she does the tasks which an MP ought to do: holds the Executive to account, prevents obfuscation and represents her constituents to the very best of her capabilities. The electors of Crewe and Nantwich can rely upon her for sound representation; her parliamentary colleagues (on all sides) respect her willingness to confront below-par standards.

Gwyneth Dunwoody was born in Fulham in 1930. Both her grandmothers were suffragettes and her father, Morgan Philips served as General Secretary of the Labour Party in the post-war era.

Dunwoody joined the Labour Party in 1946 and her first elected post was as a councillor in Totnes, Devon. She was returned to Parliament in 1964 as MP for Exeter and served as Minister for the Board of Trade from 1967 until losing her seat in the 1970 election. Between this time and her election in 1974 for the constituency of Crewe and Nantwich she was the Director of the Film Production Association of Great Britain. She has served her local constituency with dedication and expressed frustration during the 2005 campaign that the Labour leadership and the media failed to focus on matters such as health, education and transport that actually mattered to the people she represents. She argued that, "Here in the North West of England, ordinary people have proper priorities, and if you listen to the radio and watch the television you just think 'where are these people coming from?'"

When Labour went into opposition in 1979, Dunwoody filled a number of shadow positions, including Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Health and Campaigning and Information. Her association with transport began as Opposition Spokeswoman on Transport between 1984 and 1985. She became chair of the Select sub-committee on Transport in 1997 and was elected chair again when it became a full committee in 2001.

Described by Quentin Letts of the *Observer* as "a one-woman advertisement

Political Studies Communication Award

PHILIP COWLEY

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for parliamentary bloodymindedness”, Dunwoody’s tenure on the Transport Select Committee has proved an uncomfortable one for many senior Labour figures. Stephen Byers, in particular, felt the full effect of her tireless pursuit of the facts over the collapse of Railtrack and her savage attack on the Ten Year Transport Plan. In fact, her dedication to the task of holding the executive to account proved so troubling that the Chief Whip, Hilary Armstrong, attempted to remove her from the post in July 2001. This provoked a backbench rebellion and Armstrong was forced to back down. Dunwoody’s determination in the face of this pressure earned her the Channel 4/Hansard Society award for Backbencher of the Year in 2002.

Soon after the 2005 election, Dunwoody found herself engaged in another battle to retain the helm of the Select Committee on Transport, with the Labour leadership attempting to use procedural technicalities to remove her. She has vowed to fight on and promises if she is removed she will spend more time in the chamber tackling ministers over their actions. She says, “I want the House of Commons to recover its voice, even if that voice is raucous and frequently says things with which I disagree”.



THE JUDGES SAY

Through his prolific media output, Philip Cowley enlightens television, radio and press audiences with unfailingly interesting and cogent analysis. Philip offers serious academic research on parliamentary loyalty and disloyalty, leadership elections and party fortunes to academic and public audiences with a style and panache rare in the profession. His accurate predictions, ranging from tuition fee rebellions to election outcomes, are based upon knowledge and insight. They are disseminated in watchable and readable styles, which appeal to all. Journalists are indebted to his research. Philip shone throughout the 2005 election, with regular pertinent columns in the Guardian and entertaining and informative broadcasts on television and, on election night, a splendid performance on Radio 4.

Philip Cowley was born in Bristol in 1969. After graduating with a BSc in History and Politics from Brunel University, he spent a year as President of Brunel’s student Union. In 1993 he studied for an MA in Legislative Studies at the University of Hull. He began working for the Politics Department in 1995, before joining the University of Nottingham as a Lecturer in 2002 and being promoted to Reader in 2004.

Cowley is currently working on an ESRC-funded project looking at the way MPs vote. Although the project focuses particularly on Labour rebellions, it provides a wider analysis of how parliament votes. This, the team argues, is important as “knowing about parliamentary behaviour informs our understanding of the political parties themselves, the practice of representation in the UK and the role of Parliament in the twenty-first century”. The project’s work is laid out in a smart and user-friendly website, which makes the data available and comprehensible to a lay audience. He describes www.revolt.co.uk as “the bit of communication I’m most proud of”. The website has certainly been a vital tool for political journalists in informing the public. The Whips’ Offices at Westminster take a particularly keen interest in his work.

Cowley is probably unique amongst this year’s winners in having served as a panellist on a Song for Europe. However, his better-known contribution to public life has been as a sharp and engaging commentator on voting and elections. A regular commentator for the BBC and the *Guardian*, Cowley’s General Election coverage this year showed him at his best, providing clear and witty exposition of the myriad of polls available.

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2005

Political Journalist of the Year

PHILIP STEPHENS

He began a recent article in the *New Statesman* by arguing that the most overused statistic in British politics is that the RSPB has more members than the three main parties combined: "If you join the RSPB you get a regular magazine full of pictures of beautiful birds, along with the chance to visit stunning nature reserves. Plus a free seed feeder. Join the Labour Party and you get a magazine full of pictures of John Prescott, along with the chance to deliver leaflets on council estates. Plus GC meetings."

Cowley's publications include *Conscience and Parliament* (1998) and *Revolts and Rebellions* (2002), the latter work earning him the Political Studies Association's W.J.M. Mackenzie Prize for the best political science book published that year. His most recent book, *The Rebels: How Blair Mislaid His Majority* was published in 2005 by Politico's.



THE JUDGES SAY

Philip Stephens offers informed, cogent and accurate analysis of political developments. His fair-minded and shrewd interpretation of events for the FT help make that newspaper one of the best in terms of political coverage. He conveys political analysis in a clear manner, even when covering the implications of complex budget changes. He has also produced books widely cited by academics, indebted by the ease by which he can interpret connections between politics and economics.

Philip Stephens was born in 1953 in London. After graduating from Worcester College, Oxford in 1974 with a degree in Modern History, he began a career in political journalism at the Reuters Press Agency, working in London and Brussels. He joined the *FT* in 1983 from Reuters. He is now associate editor and has a twice-weekly column.

Stephens uses his column to comment on the economic context of domestic and international politics, with a particular emphasis on the European Union. In the run-up to the General Election, when many other columnists seemed obsessed with Iraq to the exclusion of all other international issues, Stephens espied what he called a seismic political shift. "I am not referring, though, to the outcome of the General Election. If the polls are to be believed, the important vote will take place a few weeks later on the other side of the Channel. France's referendum on the European Union's constitutional treaty promises to transform not just French but British politics".

Last year Viking published Stephens' lauded biography of Tony Blair. He is also the author of *Politics and the Pound*, which was praised upon its publication in 1995 as a "brilliant piece of contemporary history" by Hugo Young. Using wit and clarity, Stephens charted the trauma suffered by successive British politicians in their attempts to maintain control of the exchange rate, and argued that this had become an explosive issue for the Conservatives since 1979, due to their divisions over Europe.

Stephens' talent in the field of journalism was recognized in the David Watt Prize for Outstanding Political Journalism in 2002.

Lifetime Achievement in Politics

SIR TAM DALYELL



THE JUDGES SAY

Throughout a distinguished parliamentary career, Tam Dalyell proved that backbench MPs can make a contribution equal to, or better than, many cabinet ministers. Two examples, among many, can be cited. His persistent questioning of the British sinking of the Argentinian cruiser, the Belgrano, during the 1982 Falklands War, embarrassed a Prime Minister and helped reveal the truth of what happened. Tam Dalyell's raising of the (still not fully answered) West Lothian question in respect of devolution has become one of the key debating points around the issue, for MPs, members of devolved institutions, academics and journalists. Always erudite, consistent and principled in his arguments, Tam Dalyell commanded the respect of all sides of the House for the articulation of important arguments which continue to be salient.

Sir Thomas Dalyell, 10th Laird of the Binns, was born in 1932 in Edinburgh. After national service he entered King's College, Cambridge to read Mathematics, switching to History after two years. During this period he ran the college's Conservative Association. However, he credits his final year at Cambridge, when he stayed on to study Economics, as the basis of a change of political direction, a switch confirmed after the Suez Crisis underlined for him the idiocy of Britain's attempts to hold onto imperial power.

After training as a teacher at Moray College in Edinburgh, he taught at Bo'ness Academy, a non-selective school in the heart of Scotland's mining land. He made contacts with trade union representatives that would help him gain the nomination for the seat of West Lothian (now Linlithgow), where he was elected at a by-election in 1962.

When Labour won the 1964 General Election, Dalyell was appointed as Richard Crossman's Parliamentary Private Secretary. Dalyell's respect and admiration for Crossman is evident in his 1989 biography of the Labour figure. Despite this promising start, ministerial responsibility was to elude Dalyell, as he proved unwilling to back down on any issue where he believed the Government was making the wrong decision. An early example came in 1965, when he asked 70 questions in parliament and lobbied influential Americans close to President Johnson in a successful quest to prevent the Ministry of Defence developing a tiny atoll in the Indian Ocean as a military airport, something that would have destroyed an unspoilt eco-system. After owning up to (mistakenly) leaking

information on the Porton Down Chemical Laboratory, he became the last MP to undergo the traditional humiliation of standing at the bar of the House in front of the Speaker, wearing a black cap.

Dalyell was also out of step with the Labour leadership on the issue of devolution, raising what soon became known as the West Lothian Question. As Dalyell put it, 'How could it be that the Member of Parliament for West Lothian could vote on matters affecting West Bromwich but not West Lothian?' He published *Devolution: The End of Britain* in 1977 and was a key figure in the Scottish no campaign before the 1979 referendum.

Dalyell came closest to ministerial rank whilst in opposition. He was promoted to opposition spokesman on science in 1980, but was sacked two years later for using his front bench profile to deliver a relentless attack on the Falklands War. He harried Mrs Thatcher about the sinking of the Argentine cruiser, the *General Belgrano*, to such an extent that he was removed from the chamber five times. However, his tried and tested strategy of asking question upon question until he got a result did play a part in publicly uncovering the breach in the rules of engagement behind the sinking of the ship. He then delivered a stinging critique of the conduct of the war in his book, *Thatcher's Torpedo* (1983).

Dalyell was made Father of the House in 2001, a courtesy title granted to the longest serving MP – one who more than made his mark on the House.

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