

# Political Studies Association

A W A R D S • 2 0 0 3

POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION AWARDS 2003 25 NOVEMBER 2003 Institute of Directors, 116 Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5ED



# Welcome



I am delighted to welcome you to the Political Studies Association Awards 2003. The activity of politics is subject to as much criticism today as it has ever been. However, the health of our democracy requires that persons of high calibre continue to enter political life. Democracy needs the contribution to political debate that is made by politicians, the media, pressure groups, academics and satirists. These awards celebrate the achievements of some of the individuals,

These awards celebrate the achievements of some of the individuals, organisations, journals and television programmes that enhance the quality of our political life. Those receiving awards include politicians of vision, whose reputation has grown despite being the target of often harsh criticism; two magazines that enliven the political landscape; and two television programmes that cause us to pause and think, through hard-hitting journalism on the one hand and entertaining satire on the other. We also recognise the achievements of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, an organisation which today enjoys a bigger membership than all the political parties combined.

We are also pleased to honour a number of academics for their outstanding contributions to the study of politics and the work of the Political Studies Association.

On behalf of the Association, I wish to offer my warmest congratulations to them. I would also like to thank James Naughtie for offering to act as Master of Ceremonies for this event, having performed splendidly in a similar capacity at the Association's 50th Anniversary event in London in 2000. Finally, I wish to express the Association's gratitude to our sponsors – BP, Blackwell Publishing, and the Economic and Social Research Council – and the staff at Neil Stewart Associates who have made this event possible. I very much hope that everyone enjoys the occasion.

**Professor Wyn Grant** *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.









# JOURNALS

WE PROVIDE A FORUM FOR SCHOLARSHIP THROUGH FOUR QUALITY JOURNALS, PUBLISHED IN ASSOCIATION WITH **BLACKWELL PUBLISHING** 

**Political Studies** is the leading UK journal in the field and attracts contributions from academics of international standing. Through articles, debates and research notes, it reflects the vigour and importance of the discipline of politics and contributes significantly to the development of political science internationally.

Political Studies Review is a new resource for political scientists worldwide. From 2003 the unique book reviews service of *Political* Studies is brought together with a set of major review articles which survey key current issues in political science. The journal builds on more than fifty years of book reviewing which have made Political Studies the largest source of book reviews in political science in the world.

**Politics** is a key teaching resource, identifying the topics that students really need to know about. It has established a reputation for lively writing, and contains debates and analyses by both established and new members of the political science community.

#### 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.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

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



### **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.

Heads of Department Conferences, held to assist UK political science departments with planning and training for research and teaching.

#### Media Training Workshops, offering

members expert training and practical preparation for TV and radio interviews.

#### www.psa.ac.uk

'Best Political Science Site in the World' Lycos

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

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

political studies

# ABOVE

Awardwinners in 2000 included Lord Melchett (Greenpeace), Mary Ann Stephenson (The Fawcett Society), Polly Toynbee (Guardian, presenting the awards), and Pam Giddy (Charter 88).

## **GRADUATE NETWORK**

WE ARE COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING THE NEXT GENERATION OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

for lifetime contribution to political

for best dissertation in any field of



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.

# MEMBERSHIP

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.

To join call 0191 222 8021, e-mail: psa@ncl.ac.uk. or visit our website: www.psa.ac.uk



# Politics Book of the Year PROFESSOR RICHARD ENGLISH

Armed Struggle: A History of the IRA

# Lifetime Achievement in Politics RT HON BARONESS WILLIAMS OF CROSBY

#### THE JUDGES SAY

Armed Struggle is a book that consistently offers thought-provoking analysis of the IRA and republicanism more generally. Always fair, always judicious, the volume combines accurate narrative with incisive comments and interpretation. The book has an appeal beyond the academic community.

Richard English was born in Belfast in 1963. He read modern history at Keble College, Oxford and completed his doctoral thesis at Keele, entitled *Radicals and the Republic: Socialist Republicans in the Irish Free State 1925-1937*. He joined the Politics Department at Queen's University Belfast, as a lecturer in 1990 and he was made professor in 1999. He teaches Irish and British history and is the course director for the MA in Irish politics.

Professor English's research focuses on Irish republicanism, Irish unionism, the concept of the state, and the politics of British decline. His previous publications include *Ernie O'Malley: IRA Intellectual* (1998) and *Unionism in Modern Ireland: New Perspectives on Politics and Culture* (1996), which he co-edited with Graham Walker.

Armed Struggle was published in 2003 by Pan Macmillan in the UK, and Oxford University Press in the United States. The book is a historical account of the IRA from the Easter Rising of 1916, through the development of the Provisional IRA during the civil breakdown of the late 1960s, to the contemporary peace process. English argues that IRA members "act with just that mixture of the rational and visceral that one commonly finds throughout human history" and his book provides a provocative and comprehensive overview of ideological and tactical change within the republican movement.

Armed Struggle was praised by Roy Foster, Carroll Professor of Irish History at Oxford University, in a review for *The Times*, for "its sympathetic but relentless exploration of the arguments and logic that led the IRA and Sinn Fein to their present position". This was one of dozens of similarly favourable reviews, in newspapers and journals, of a truly seminal work.



#### THE JUDGES SAY

Shirley Williams has for many decades offered a substantial input to British politics. As a Labour minister and founder member of the SDP and Liberal Democrats, and for many years subsequently, she has made a remarkable, positive contribution to political debate. Many politicians of all parties and numerous academics have been indebted to her output.

Shirley Williams was born in 1930 in London, daughter of political scientist Sir George Catlin and novelist Vera Brittain. She read PPE at Somerville College, Oxford and went to Columbia University, New York as a Fulbright Scholar. After this, she worked as a journalist for the Daily Mirror and Financial Times and between 1960 and 1964 she held the post of General Secretary of the Fabian Society. She was elected Labour MP for Hitchin in 1964 and served in the Labour Government under Prime Minister Harold Wilson. When Labour was re-elected to office in 1974 she spent two years as Secretary of State for Consumer Protection before becoming Secretary of State for Education and Science in 1976. She also took the post of Paymaster General and held both these positions until the 1979 election in which she lost her seat.

Concerned at the growing influence of the 'far left', Shirley Williams left the Labour Party and was one of the 'Gang of Four' who founded the Social Democratic Party in 1981. In November of that year she became the first SDP member to be elected to Parliament as MP for Crosby. She served as President of the SDP from 1982 until 1988, when with her support the party merged with the Liberals.

Baroness Williams has lectured at Cambridge, Princeton and Berkeley. Following the loss of her parliamentary seat in 1983 she increased her academic commitments. She was Public Service Professor of Elective Politics at Harvard University between 1988 and 2000. Her publications include *Politics is for People* (1981), *Unemployment and Growth in Western Economies* (1984) and *Snakes* 

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# and Ladders: a Diary of a Political Life (1996).

Shirley Williams re-entered Parliament as a life peer in 1993 and in 2001 was elected Leader of the Liberal Democrats in the House of Lords.

Her most recent contribution to political debate came after she decided not to contest the post of Chancellor of the University of Oxford. She used the announcement of this decision to criticise proposals to allow universities to charge differential rates of fees to undergraduates. Explaining that she would find herself with "an irreconcilable conflict of interest" at a time when prestigious universities such as Oxford would be pressing for higher fees, she denounced the policy shift as a threat to "the precious heritage of academic freedom and equality of opportunity".

# Lifetime Achievement in Politics **DR GARRET FITZGERALD**

# Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize for Lifetime Contribution to Political Studies **PROFESSOR LORD BHIKHU PAREKH OF KINGSTON UPON HULL, AcSS FBA**



# THE JUDGES SAY

Lord Parekh has made an enormous contribution to political studies, in Britain. India and further afield, and has also made an important and sustained practical contribution to political life. His work is thoughtful, inventive, caring and accessible. His scholarship is widely admired, with words such as 'brilliant', 'profound' and 'compassionate' featuring in reviews of his books. Bhikhu Parekh is also an activist, serving on commissions and trusts, bringing his understanding and ideas to bear on a range of issues and doing much to promote a more liberal and tolerant society. He is particularly wellknown for his writing and activities in the fields of cultural diversity and the development of a multicultural society. The Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom is delighted to award the 2003 Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize to Professor Lord Parekh - scholar, activist, philosopher and educator

Bhikhu Parekh was born in 1935 in Gujarat. He graduated from the University of Bombay before coming to the London School of Economics to study for his PhD. He taught at the LSE and the University of Glasgow before moving to the University of Hull in 1964, becoming Professor of Political Theory in 1982. He returned to India in 1981 where he served as Vice-Chancellor of Baroda University until 1984. He has been a visiting professor at a number of institutions, including the University of British Columbia. Harvard. McGill. the Institute of Advanced Studies, Vienna, and the University of Pennsylvania. In 2001 he was appointed Centennial Professor at the London School of Economics.

Professor Parekh is the author of over a dozen acclaimed books, and he has also published more than 100 articles and has edited four volumes of Critical Assessments of Jeremy Bentham. His published work, which has received widespread international praise and recognition, includes Marx's Theory and Ideology (1982), Contemporary Political Thinkers (1982), Colonialism, Tradition and Reform (1999), and Gandhi (2001). Bhikhu Parekh's recent book Rethinking Multiculturalism (2000) received fulsome tributes, described as 'a brilliant analysis... a work of profound compassion' (Stuart Hall, Open University), 'a most profound, original and wide-ranging book' (Tariq Modood, Bristol), 'a lucid and luminous examination... written by a fine scholar' (Homi Bhabha, Chicago) and 'a truly important and original book' (Benjamin Barber, Rutgers).

Lord Parekh has also been very active in public life. He was a member of the

Rampton/Swann Committee into Educational Problems of Ethnic Minority Children and Deputy Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality from 1985 to 1990. He was a member of the Commission of Inquiry into the Rise of Fascism and the National Commission on Equal Opportunity. He has served as a trustee for the Runnymede Trust, Institute for Public Policy Research, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Anne Frank Trust and the Gandhi Foundation. He chaired the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, which reported in October 2000.

Professor Parekh's main academic interests include the history of political thought, ancient and modern Indian political ideas, and political philosophy. He is particularly well-known for his trenchant work on the philosophy of ethnic relations and has frequently broadcast on radio and television, and written widely in national newspapers, on race relations and political events. His work, both academic and practical, has been dedicated to advancing multiculturalism and to developing thinking about citizenship and moral obligations in societies that are culturally diverse.

Bhikhu Parekh and his brother set up a charitable foundation in memory of their father, Chhotalal, and this has endowed a chair in Indian Politics at the University of Hull and a visiting fellowship in Indian studies at the University of Oxford. He was elevated to the House of Lords in 2000. Professor Lord Parekh has received many honours, including British Asian of the year in 1992. In 2003, Lord Parekh was elected Fellow of the British Academy and he also serves as President of the Academy of Social Sciences.



#### THE JUDGES SAY

Dr Garret FitzGerald has spent a lifetime acting constructively in reshaping Irish politics, North and South. As Taoiseach, leader of Fine Gael and for many years subsequently, he has made a remarkable, consistently positive contribution to political debate in Ireland, shaping and influencing policy. Successive governments and many academics have been indebted to his output. Garret FitzGerald was born in Dublin in 1926. He read history and modern languages at University College Dublin (UCD) and studied law at Kings Inn, Dublin. He was called to the Bar in 1947 but chose instead to take up a managerial position at Aer Lingus. In 1959 he took up a full-time post in the Department of Political Economy at UCD and completed his doctoral thesis, *Planning in Ireland*, which appeared as a book in 1969.

Although approached in the early 1960s to join Fianna Fail, Garret FitzGerald joined Fine Gael, the party that counted his father amongst its founding members. In 1965 Dr FitzGerald was voted into the Irish Senate before being elected to Dail Eireann in 1969. He served as foreign minister for Fine Gael before becoming leader in 1977. He was Taoiseach of Ireland from July 1981 until February 1982 and won a second victory as leader in December 1982. He resigned the party leadership after the electoral defeat of 1987 but remained a TD until 1992.

During his second term in office Dr FitzGerald signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985) with Margaret Thatcher. Before this, in 1983, he was responsible for the creation of the New Ireland Forum, which he hoped would help establish "a new arrangement with Britain that would reduce the alienation of the northern nationalist minority". He sought to encourage dialogue with unionists and the development of a wholly constitutional nationalist political path in Northern Ireland.

Throughout his career, Garret FitzGerald has been committed to the development of the European Union. During the 1972

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2003 referendum he was one of the leading spokesmen in the successful campaign to persuade Irish voters to vote yes to joining the EEC. As foreign minister he led the first Irish presidency of the European Council of Ministers in 1975. He came out of political retirement in 2002 to campaign for a yes vote in the second Irish referendum on the Nice Treaty.

In addition to his autobiography, *All in a Life* (1991), Dr FitzGerald's books include *Towards a New Ireland* (1972), *Unequal Partners* (1991), and *Reflections on the Irish State* (2002). In the 1960s he was the Ireland Correspondent for the BBC, the *Economist* and the *Financial Times*. He currently writes a weekly column for the *Irish Times*. He is Chancellor of the National University of Ireland.

# Opposition Politician of the Year RT HON THERESA MAY MP

# Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies PROFESSOR JACK HAYWARD FBA

# Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies PROFESSOR LORD PLANT OF HIGHFIELD, AcSS



## THE JUDGES SAY

Theresa May has made a number of bold statements in her attempt to reform the Conservative Party. From her declaration that too often her party is seen as the 'nasty party', to the insistence that more women need to become prominent in its ranks, Theresa May has led from the front and proved a high profile Conservative Party Chairman. She is a worthy winner of the award for Opposition Politician of the Year.

Theresa May was born in 1956 in Eastbourne. She graduated from St. Hugh's College, Oxford with an MA in geography. Starting her political career in local government, she was a Conservative Councillor in the London Borough of Merton between 1986 and 1994. Whilst at Merton, she served as chair of Education between 1988 and 1990, and deputy group leader and housing spokeswoman between 1992 and 1994.

Having worked in the banking industry, Theresa May joined the Association of Payment Clearing Services, holding the post of Senior Adviser on International Affairs between 1996 and 1997. However, she remained committed to a political career in the Conservative Party and was

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2003 elected to represent the constituency of Maidenhead in 1997. She has held a number of posts in the shadow cabinet including shadow Secretary of State for Education and Employment, and Transport, Local Government and the Regions. In July 2002 she was promoted to Conservative Party Chairman.

The new chair stated her aims for the Party in a blunt speech at the Party Conference in October 2002. Delegates were told that the Tories were being branded 'the nasty party' and would face electoral defeat again unless they could reach out beyond their core vote. Mrs May told the conference "there is a lot we need to do in this Party of ours. Our base is too narrow and so, occasionally, are our sympathies."

This commitment to broadening the Conservatives' appeal reflects a wider interest in rejuvenating public interest in and respect for the political process. In December 2002 Theresa May announced she would be chairing the non-partisan Commission for Democracy and monitoring the Commission's research into voter apathy.



THE JUDGES SAY The lifetime achievement award to Professor Jack Hayward is not just because of his output of highly-regarded publications and his contribution to academic debates – immense though that has been. Academic colleagues are also indebted to him for his collegiality and helpful advice, assistance to younger members of staff, and his very considerable contribution to the development of political studies in Britain.

Jack Hayward was born in 1931 in Shanghai. He gained his degree in government at the London School of Economics, where he also undertook his doctoral studies on The Idea of Solidarity in French Political Thought in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. He lectured at the University of Sheffield, from 1959 until 1963, before moving to Keele, where he remained for the next decade. He was appointed Professor of Politics at the University of Hull in 1973 where he taught until 1992. He was also a Visiting Professor at the University of Paris III and at the Institute D'Études Politiques, also in Paris.

In 1993, Jack Hayward became Professor of Politics at Oxford University, Director

of the European Studies Institute, and Fellow of St Antony's College. He returned to Hull in 1999 as Research Professor and is also Emeritus Professor of the University of Oxford.

Professor Hayward recently wrote that: 'The Political Studies Association has for many years had a particularly warm place in my heart and mind'. He was Chair of the Association from 1975 until 1977, President between 1979 and 1981, and has been a Vice-President since then. Between 1987 and 1993 he edited *Political Studies*, and did much to establish the journal's formidable international reputation.

Professor Hayward's many publications include Private Interests and Public Policy (1966), After the French Revolution (1991), De Gaulle to Mitterrand (1993), Governing the New Europe (1995), Industrial Enterprise and European Integration (1995) and Elitism, Populism and European Politics (1996). As co-editor of The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century (1999) he says he 'endeavoured to draw our collective achievements to public attention.'

Professor Hayward was awarded the Chevalier De L'Ordre National Du Mérite in 1980 and the Chevalier De La Legion D'Honneur in 1996. He has been a Fellow of the British Academy since 1990.

THE JUDGES SAY Lord Plant has made a huge contribution to political studies, not only as a result of his seminal works on political philosophy, but also through his wider involvement in political life. This contribution has seen Lord Plant articulate important ideas on a variety of commissions, which have helped to shape contemporary British politics.

Raymond Plant was born in 1945 in Grimsby. He read philosophy at King's College London and undertook his doctoral thesis at the University of Hull, with the title *Through Philosophy to Community: A Study in the Identity and Significance of the Thought of Hegel.* 

He joined the University of Manchester as a lecturer in philosophy in 1967, and in 1979 moved to the University of Southampton as Professor of Politics. In 1994 he became Master of St Catherine's College, Oxford, leaving in 2000 to return to Southampton as Professor of European Political Thought. In 2002 he returned to his alma mater King's College as Professor of Legal and Political Philosophy.

Professor Plant co-founded the *Journal of Medical Ethics* and has maintained his interest in medicine. He is also active in the Church of England and chaired the Winchester Diocese Working Party on Faith in the City. He has written on citizenship and the voluntary sector, and served as President of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations.

Raymond Plant's publications include Hegel (1973), Political Philosophy and Social Welfare (1979), Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship (1985), Citizenship and Rights in Thatcher's Britain (1990), Modern Political Thought (1991) and Politics, Theology and History (2001). He has delivered a number of key lectures, including the Agnes Cumming Lecture in Dublin in 1987, and the Charles Gore Lecture at Westminster Abbey in 1995. He was also a columnist for The Times between 1986 and 1988.

Professor Plant's research interests are wide-ranging and include social policy and ways of combating poverty and inequality. In his writings he has explored 'third way' policies and economic and political citizenship issues. He has established a widespread reputation as an astute political thinker and is frequently invited to speak at overseas colloquia. He chaired the Labour Party Commission on Electoral Systems, between 1991 and 1993, and the Fabian Society Commission on Taxation and Citizenship, between 1999 and 2000. He was created a Labour life peer in 1992. and was a spokesman on home affairs in the Lords from 1992 to 1996. He also spoke on constitutional and welfare issues.

Lord Plant made a great contribution to the development of the Political Studies Association, serving as its Chair 1986–1988 and President from 1988 to 1991. He has also served as President of the Academy of Learned Societies for the Social Sciences.

# Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies PROFESSOR LORD SMITH OF CLIFTON, AcSS

# Parliamentarian of the Year RT HON ROBIN COOK MP



### THE JUDGES SAY

Lord Smith has been a tremendous champion of political studies. Alongside his own highly regarded research and publications he has made a great practical contribution as well. Professor Smith has provided vital academic leadership, and continues to play a significant role in practical politics, campaigning for improved democracy and better governance. He has encouraged and enabled important new research into political, social and constitutional issues and has assisted many academic colleagues.

Trevor Smith was born in 1937 in Hackney, London. He studied political science at the London School of Economics and joined the University of Exeter as a lecturer in 1959, the same year he stood as unsuccessful Liberal parliamentary candidate in Lewisham West. In the 1960s he taught at the universities of Hull and California State Los Angeles, and in 1967 he moved to Queen Mary College in London, where he was promoted to professor and head of department, and then to Vice-Principal. In 1991 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ulster, a post he occupied with distinction until his retirement in 1999. Professor Smith was knighted in 1996.

Professor Smith has authored or coauthored a large number of books and articles on British politics and society. These include *Town and County Hall* (1966), *Anti-Politics: Consensus, Reform and Protest* (1972), *Direct Action and Democratic Politics* (1972), *The Politics of the Corporate Economy* (1979) and *The Fixers: Crisis Management in British Politics* (1996).

Professor Smith was Chair of the Political Studies Association 1988 –1989 and President from 1991 to 1993. Ever since he has continued to champion political studies and to work for the Association, and a special award was made to Lord Smith in 2001 in recognition of his outstanding service to the Association over many years.

In addition to his writing and research, and his role as an academic leader, Lord Smith has been involved in a wide variety of other activities. These include service on health authorities, and serving as President of the Belfast Civic Trust, Vice-President of the Patients' Association, and Trustee of the Stroke Association. Whilst at the University of Ulster, he helped to found INCORE, a joint United Nations University/University of Ulster centre in Derry, for the study of conflict resolution world-wide.

Professor Smith has been a trustee of the Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust since 1975 and was its chair between 1987 and 1999. He has supported political and social reform and constitutional change, through organisations such as Charter 88 and groups concerned with freedom of information, citizenship, and reform in South Africa and Northern Ireland. Lord Smith has also encouraged new political research, including the 'State of the Nation' surveys and the Democratic Audit.

Professor Smith became a Liberal Democrat working peer in 1997 and is the party's spokesperson on Northern Ireland in the House of Lords and a member of the British–Irish Interparliamentary Body. He also speaks on education, constitutional issues and transport and has served on a number of committees. Lord Smith is currently Chair of the Lords Select Committee on Animals in Scientific Procedures. He is also a visiting professor at the universities of York and Portsmouth and an honorary professor at the University of Ulster.



#### THE JUDGES SAY

Robin Cook is the choice of the judges for two reasons. Firstly, he undertook sterling work in reforming the working arrangements of the House of Commons. Secondly, Robin Cook took a principled stance in respect of the war in Iraq, which, irrespective of one's views of that conflict, can only be admired. His resignation speech was seen by many to be one of the most brilliant and effective in modern times Robin Cook was born in Bellshill, Lanarkshire, in 1946. He read English literature at Edinburgh University. Before entering Parliament, he was a tutor and organiser in adult education and an Edinburgh City Councillor between 1971 and 1974.

He became MP for Edinburgh Central in 1974 and has represented Livingston since 1983. He joined the shadow cabinet in 1987 as shadow Secretary of State for Health, taking on the role of shadow Foreign Secretary in 1994. When New Labour was elected in 1997 he stressed that his tenure as Foreign Secretary would be marked by a commitment to an 'ethical dimension' in foreign policy.

After the 2001 general election Robin Cook was moved to the post of Leader of the House of Commons. Here he was responsible for reform of the machinery of the House of Commons and he showed himself committed to creating a more efficient parliamentary system, one which had clear and effective powers of scrutiny and more modern working practices. Mr Cook said "I love the Commons but I don't want it to dwindle gently into a museum attracting visitors on the strength of an heroic history. I want the Commons to remain the great forum of our nation in which the views of the public find voice and in which their opinions are heard."

In October 2002 MPs voted to end the centuries-old tradition of late night debates, in favour of daytime working hours. Parliamentary sessions have also been adjusted, bringing the summer recess into line with school holidays. In addition to these changes, Prime

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2003 Minister's questions and important ministerial statements have been moved to lunchtime. Mr Cook also endeavoured to push through further reform of the House of Lords.

Robin Cook has been widely acknowledged as an erudite parliamentary debater. He was the Spectator Debater of the Year in 1996, thanks to his performance in the parliamentary debate on the Scott Report when he memorably described the Conservative front bench as "limpets". When he resigned from the Cabinet in March 2003, in opposition to military action in Iraq, he made a point of noting that his speech to the House had not already been leaked in a press statement. He urged fellow MPs to demonstrate their opposition to the war, to disprove "the favourite theme of commentators that this House no longer occupies a central role in British politics".

# Political Science Communication Award **PROFESSOR PAUL WHITELEY**

# **Best Political Satire – Print PRIVATE EYE**

# Broadcast of the Year **NEWSNIGHT SPECIAL: BLAIR ON IRAO**



## THE JUDGES SAY

The Political Science Communication Award acknowledges the academic who has most successfully disseminated knowledge and ideas to academic and non-academic audiences. Professor Paul Whiteley is receiving the award for a variety of reasons. His directorship of the ESRC Democracy and Participation programme will have long-term effects on the conduct of politics. His studies of party membership have already had considerable impact upon political parties, journalists and academics. His articles in the Guardian, clearly and tightly written, are a model of how an academic should convey ideas and information to an interested, but nonspecialist, audience.

Paul Whiteley was born in 1946 in Batley, West Yorkshire. He read economics at the University of Sheffield and then undertook postgraduate studies at the University of Essex, where his doctoral thesis was entitled The Labour Party in Crisis. He has taught at the University of Arizona, the College of William and Mary, Virginia and the University of Sheffield, and he is currently Professor of Politics at the University of Essex.

His research interests include British political parties, electoral behaviour, political economy, and the comparative analysis of citizenship and social capital. Paul Whiteley has published many articles and books on these subjects, and has coauthored works such as True Blues: The Politics of Conservative Party Membership (1994) and New Labour's Grassroots (2002) with Patrick Seyd. He has been a regular contributor to the *Guardian* since 1984. His articles provide cogent analysis of voter behaviour and the electoral strategies of British political parties, as well as exploring survey data on attitudes to issues such as the war on Iraq, or the funding of public services.

Professor Whiteley became Director of the ESRC Programme on Democracy and Participation in 1998. The programme is concerned with changes in political participation. As well as assessing declining voting turnout, the research examines involvement in interest groups, community action and protest, and cultural or education based activities. A key element of the programme is the Citizen's Audit, a large-scale survey into the state of citizen participation in Britain.



THE JUDGES SAY

*Private Eye regularly provides some of the* most amusing and biting political satire in British print, always seeing off poorer imitations. Clever, witty, stylish and penetrating, the magazine entices grins, laughter, anger, mirth and loyalty from its readers, without ever (despite some excellent campaigns on issues) taking itself too seriously. In particular, the judges cited St. Albion Parish News as the funniest (and most accurate) portrayal of the Prime Minister in print.

Private Eye was first published in 1961. The current editor, Ian Hislop, has also worked on the *Listener*, the *Telegraph* and the Spectator. He is a team captain on the BBC news quiz, Have I Got News for You. The programme's pointed use of the word 'allegedly' reflects the awareness of the potentially litigious response of satirical targets, something that Private Eye has experienced more than it would have preferred.

Under the watchful eye of fictitious proprietor Lord Gnome, the magazine targets corruption, waste and spin. Regular columns detail the activities of politicians, public institutions and services, big business and the media.

Public figures are lampooned through cartoons and fake newspaper articles, or they can be singled out for the dubious honour of a poetic tribute from E.J.Thribb (age  $17\frac{1}{2}$ ). The activities of New Labour are satirised in St. Albion Parish News. The parish is presided over by the Rev. A.R.P Blair MA (Oxford) who always seeks to assure us that "hey, look, I hear what you're saying, guys!" if he feels the congregation's faith in his divine mission is tested.

*Private Eye* invites contributions from its readers to features such as *Pseuds Corner*, Order of the Brown Nose and The Neophiliacs, which all aim to deflate the pomposity or stupidity contained in pronouncements such as "Saris are the new shoulder pads" and "cockroaches are the new cats". Meanwhile, the longrunning Colemanballs remains the funniest compilation of commentating nonsense across a range of topics. The magazine retains its ability to highlight absurd media conduct, ranging from its long-established 'Street of Shame' to the excellent expose of pointless 'live' broadcasts. *Private Eye* not only entertains The Newsnight 'grilling' of Tony Blair by its readers, but it also makes them think.



THE JUDGES SAY The Newsnight special, Blair on Iraq, broadcast on 6 February 2003. is the judges' choice for the Broadcast of the Year award. This represented political broadcasting at its best, with Prime Minister Blair subject to direct and powerful questioning from members of the public. The programme showed that television can enhance political discussion in Britain, bringing lively and fascinating exchanges with our leaders into people's homes and promoting mature and passionate debate on the most important issues of the day.

Jeremy Paxman and an audience composed of the general public, in respect of the Prime Minister's decision to go to war with Iraq, was a compelling broadcast, containing several features healthy for democracy. Firstly, the willingness of the Prime Minister to subject himself to tough questioning by voters must be acknowledged. Secondly, the presenter was on top form in questioning the Prime Minister.

Finally, the points made by the general public discomfited the Prime Minister. These elements combined to increase the

# Political Studies Association Award Winners 2003

sum of human knowledge, add to the debate on Iraq and make riveting television viewing.

The broadcast, from the Baltic Centre in Gateshead, centred on the legitimacy of the war. Paxman and the audience grilled Blair on the absence of a second UN resolution, intelligence claims regarding weapons of mass destruction and why the previous belief that Saddam Hussein had been contained by sanctions had been revised. During a lively debate, questioners cast a sceptical eve over the reliability of the evidence used to make the case for war and Blair was labelled "the Member for Texas North" by one member of the audience. The Prime Minister maintained his belief in the veracity of the evidence, insisting: "I don't feel that I'm doing the wrong thing and I may not be doing the easy thing, but I do believe that I'm doing the right thing."

Newsnight has been broadcast by the BBC since 1980. It is currently the Royal Television Society News Programme of the Year.

# Political Science 'Making a Difference' Award PROFESSOR PATRICK DUNLEAVY, AcSS AND PROFESSOR HELEN MARGETTS





# THE JUDGES SAY

The Political Science 'Making a Difference' Award is intended for academics whose research has most influenced public debate and policy on an issue. The work of Patrick Dunleavy and Helen Margetts on Egovernment has been pioneering and will have long-term ramifications. Since the early 1990s they have been researching the use by government of information technologies. Since 1998 they have led a joint LSE-UCL team carrying out two major studies of government on the web (1999 and 2002), in addition to producing a number of papers and articles on the subject of E-government, this project has *involved the examination of cultural* barriers to the development of government on the web, as well as undertaking comparative analysis of the use of E*government in Europe. The project* suggests areas of policy innovation, access and participation and has contributed to the improved delivery of public services, by encouraging development of new information technologies.

Patrick Dunleavy was born in 1952 in Halifax. He read PPE at Corpus Christi College Oxford and undertook his PhD at Nuffield College, Oxford on *The Politics of* High Rise Housing in Britain, 1945-1975. He lectured for the Open University between 1978 and 1979 and has taught at the LSE since 1979, where he holds the position of Professor of Political Science and Public Policy and chairs the LSE Public Policy Group. He is the author of works such as Urban Political Analysis: The *Politics of Collective Consumption* (1980) and (with Brendan O'Leary) Theories of the State (1987). He is an editor of the Developments in British Politics Series.

Professor Dunleavy serves on the Executive Committee of the Political Studies Association and has been General Editor of the Association's journal *Political Studies* since 2000. He recently became a founding Editor of the new journal *Political Studies Review.* He is an Academician of the Academy of Learned Societies for the Social Sciences.

Professor Helen Margetts was born in 1961 in Birmingham. Her first degree, from the University of Bristol, was in mathematics. She undertook her postgraduate studies at the LSE, where her doctoral thesis was on Computerisation in American and British Central Government 1975-1995. Professor Margetts is Director of the School of Public Policy at University College, London. Previously, she was a research officer at the London School of Economics between 1991 and 1994 and lectured in politics at Birkbeck College between 1994 and 1999. She is the author or co-author of several major research reports, three books and over 50 academic articles and chapters. She has worked as an academic consultant on policy issues at every tier of government, including a wide variety of projects for the UK National Audit Office and for the OECD (1996-9). She is also an Associate Editor of Political Studies.

# Political Turkey of the Year 'FOLLYROOD'

The new Scottish Parliament building



#### THE JUDGES SAY

At the time of judging, 'Follyrood' was on schedule to cost a mere ten times the original estimate. The judges felt confident, however, that with more delays and revision, the cost of the new Scottish Parliament building would increase yet further by the time of the awards ceremony. The judges felt some recognition of Scotland's answer to 'The Dome' was long overdue. The referendum on 11 September 1997 produced a yes vote for the creation of a devolved Scottish Parliament with legislative and tax varying powers. The new legislature was created by the Scotland Act (1998) and the first elections were held on 6 May 1999. One hundred and twenty-nine MSPs make up the Parliament, which is elected by proportional representation. The Scottish Executive is headed by the First Minister, Jack McConnell.

Lord Steel of Aikwood became the first Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament on 12 May 1999. Born in Fife in 1938, David Steel was elected to the House of Commons in 1965 and was Leader of the Liberal Party from 1976 until the merger with the SDP in 1988. He was knighted in 1990 and retired from Parliament in 1997. Two years later he became a Member of the Scottish Parliament and served as Presiding Officer from 1999 until 2003, when he was succeeded by George Reid.

The site chosen for the new Scottish Parliament building is in an area known as Watergate. For obvious reasons this was not felt a suitable title for a political institution. Instead the name of Holyrood, reflecting the neighbouring Palace of Holyrood was deemed to have a more appealing ring. The initial budget for the building was £40 million. This now seems rather naive. Costs are officially running at £401 million and it is widely expected that this will rise further before the building is finally completed in the summer of 2004.

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2003 Architectural experts have argued that the site is too small and has huge problems with drainage. The building of Holyrood has been beset by delays and building faults, with allegations that windows did not fit and scaffolding was in the wrong place. Consultancy fees are heading towards the £7 million mark and new expenses continually arise. After concerns that the landscaped ponds will attract noisy ducks and geese, £20,000 has been set aside to create a birdrepelling 'jacuzzi' effect.

The spiralling costs of the new building have caused consternation and anger. The increased budget breaks down to an extra £67 for every resident of Scotland. An independent inquiry into the project, and what has gone wrong, has been established under the former Lord Advocate, Lord Fraser of Carmyllie.

# Best Political Satire – Television BREMNER, BIRD AND FORTUNE

# Political Journalist of the Year POLLY TOYNBEE



### THE JUDGES SAY

Bremner, Bird and Fortune provides the most entertaining and penetrating political satire on British television. Acerbic, clever, witty and incisive, the programme rarely fails to hit its targets. The portrayals of several of our most senior politicians, skilfully crafted, generate much laughter, but underlying the amusement there is often concern and even anger about contemporary events. The monologues, sketches and impressions are sharp and clever and sometimes savage in their critique. As befits effective satire, the viewer often doesn't know whether to laugh or cry. Rory Bremner was born in 1961 in Edinburgh. He read French and German at University College London. His talents as an impressionist first received major public attention in 1985 when he had a chart hit with the single *Nineteen (Not Out)* in which he impersonated cricket commentators such as Jim Laker and Richie Benaud. The following year he made his first television series for BBC2, *Now for Something Else.* 

John Bird was born in 1936 in Nottingham, whilst John Fortune was born in 1939 in Bristol. They met while they were studying English at King's College Cambridge. They became involved in the Cambridge comedy scene and both performed at Peter Cook's Establishment Club between 1961 and 1964, with John Bird co-founding the New York branch of the club in 1963. They then made the move to television and contributed to a number of key satirical television hits of the 1960s such as *BBC3* and *The Late Show*.

John Bird and John Fortune teamed up with Rory Bremner for the 1993 series, Rory Bremner, Who Else? The trio have shared top billing on Channel 4's Bremner, *Bird and Fortune* since 1999. The have received awards from amongst others, BAFTA, the Variety Club and the British Comedy Awards, along with an Olivier nomination for their stage show, which ran at the Albany Theatre throughout the autumn of 2002. Bird and Fortune won the Oldie's Opposition of the Year award for 2003, as the judges felt they had provided the only effective opposition to the Blair Government. Rory Bremner was considered too young to be eligible.

In addition to a new series of Bremner, Bird and Fortune, the last year has seen the trio involved in the production of two specials, Between Irag and a Hard Place and Beyond Irag and a Hard Place. The relationship between western governments and Saddam Hussein's regime has been a favourite subject of the performers since their lampooning of events around the Scott inquiry. Whilst Bird and Fortune provided a wry commentary on the history of Britain and America's involvement in Iraq, Rory Bremner delivered sharp impersonations of the main players involved, from Tony Blair and George Bush to Osama Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein.



#### THE JUDGES SAY

The standard of Polly Toynbee's journalism has impressed all those who wish to see an articulate voice impress upon others the case for those who have little say. Her campaigning pieces in the Guardian, allied to her recent powerful and influential book, have stirred the conscience of many. Polly Toynbee's pieces are never merely polemical, however; instead, they combine a worthwhile cause with detailed presentation of fact, with careful attention to accuracy, and written with sensitivity and often anger and concern.

Polly Toynbee was born in 1946 on the Isle of Wight. She read history at St Anne's College, Oxford. She has pursued a journalistic career in both print and television. She became a Guardian political columnist in 1998 (her second stint for the paper) and has also worked as a columnist for the *Radio Times* since 1992. Previously she worked for the Observer and the Independent and edited Washington Monthly USA. She was the BBC editor for social affairs from 1988 until 1995. She has written a number of books including A Working Life (1970), Hospital (1977), The Way We Live Now (1981) and Lost Children: The Story Of Adopted Children Searching For Their Mothers (1985).

Polly Toynbee's *Guardian* columns serve as a critical assessment of political, social and economic inequality in modern Britain. This concern with poverty and welfare is also reflected in her latest book Hard Work: Life in Low-Pay Britain, published in 2003 by Bloomsbury. She researched this book by taking a succession of low-paid jobs, such as hospital portering and telesales, whilst living in accommodation on a London housing estate. Her findings were also serialised in the *Guardian*. The book makes a passionate argument that government measures to tackle exclusion and poverty have not alleviated the deprivation faced by the working poor. Hard Work demands that we acknowledge that 'poverty is not somewhere else... it is in the next street, intricately woven with wealth. It cleans the houses of the wellheeled, it serves them in shops and restaurants, it sweeps the streets and oils the work of the public services they use'.

Polly Toynbee's achievements have been acknowledged by appointment to national committees and inquiries, and by a number of awards, including Commentator of the Year from 'What the Papers Say', and the George Orwell Prize.

Interviewed by the *Daily Telegraph* in February 2003, Polly Toynbee spoke of the role that journalism could play in social and political change. She said 'It's silly to think a couple of articles can change the world but journalism as a whole can raise awareness – slowly, gradually.'

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2003

# Setting the Political Agenda ROYAL SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF BIRDS



### THE JUDGES SAY

The RSPB is one of the largest and most effective pressure groups in Britain. It is held in respect by government and MPs for the quality of evidence to select committees, for the integrity of its advice and its impressive campaigning style. The manner in which the RSPB defends and articulates the interests of its many members, drawn from all walks of life, is a model for other pressure groups to follow.

The RSPB was founded in 1889 to tackle the damaging trade in wild birds' plumage. It is Europe's largest wildlife conservation charity and has over a million members. Backed by an army of nine thousand volunteers, the organisation has dedicated itself to the development of a "healthy environment rich in birds and wildlife".

The RSPB is a major participant in the UK Biodiversity Action Plan, a measure that was agreed at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. This commitment to a healthy and diverse environment has led the organisation to involvement with schemes for combating pollution through the use of renewable sources such as solar power.

# Political Publication of the Year THE SPECTATOR

# Politician of the Year **KEN LIVINGSTONE**

The group lobbies at the national, European and global level, seeking to inform governments of the environmental consequences of policies such as airport development and farming practices. The RSPB was active at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, promoting the economic value of global biodiversity. The charity also works with police forces and HM Customs to increase the effectiveness of legal protection for birds and other wildlife.

A successful fundraising campaign allowed the RSPB to announce a doubling of the size of its heathland nature reserve at Sandy in Bedfordshire. In addition to developing conservation schemes such as this, the RSPB provides teaching resources to schools, farming organisations and politicians, drawing on the scientific research it regularly commissions.

Given its impressive record of activity, members' services and campaigning, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds is a worthy winner of the Political Studies Association's Setting the Political Agenda Award.



### THE JUDGES SAY

The Spectator has provided a superb outlet for all those who like their political coverage to be vivid, challenging and occasionally partisan, the latter feature never compromising accuracy. The dynamism of the magazine reflects the editor and the Spectator has obtained the status of a 'must-read' for everyone connected with politics, not merely those who would locate themselves as right-ofcentre.

The Spectator was established in 1828 and is the oldest continuously published magazine in the English language. The founder, Robert Stephen Rintoul, said his aim was to produce a magazine of 'educated radicalism' and the Spectator originally supported the Whigs and parliamentary reform. The current editor is Boris Johnson, Conservative MP for Henley. He previously worked for The Times and the Daily Telegraph and is a contributor to the BBC news quiz Have I Got News for You.

The magazine's proclaimed editorial policy is that 'originality of thought and elegance of expression are the sole editorial constraints'. This means that readers can enjoy the thoughts of columnists as varied in their political outlook as Rod Liddle and Simon Heffer, in addition to the ever-controversial Taki. Columnists and other regular contributors, such as Simon Hoggart, Robin Oakley, Mark Steyn and Peter Oborne, provide incisive and pithy perspectives on current events both nationally and globally. The magazine also has space for in-depth pieces on topics such as the impending crisis in nursing care, or the rising suicide rates in British prisons, as well as interviews with political figures such as Robin Cook and Chris Patten.

In addition to irreverent analysis of current affairs, the magazine has a comprehensive review section devoted to the arts and media, as well as a regular science and nature section, which provides insight into scientific developments and their ethical implications.

The *Spectator* remains informative, irreverent and incisive. It can arouse and infuriate, but it is seldom dull or irrelevant. For keeping current affairs and politics interesting, the *Spectator* wins the award for Political Publication of the Year.



#### THE JUDGES SAY

Always a politician of courage and conviction, Ken Livingstone undertook a bold and imaginative step in introducing London's congestion charge. Whilst others may have bowed to countervailing lobby group pressure, Ken Livingstone took a personal political risk on what he believed to be the greater good of Londoners. Ken Livingstone was born in Lambeth in 1945. After eight years working as a technician, he trained as a teacher at the Philippa Fawcett College of Education. He joined the Labour Party in 1969, and in 1971 he was elected as a councillor for the London Borough of Lambeth. In 1978 he was elected to Camden Council and served as Chair of the Housing Committee.

Ken Livingstone was first elected to the Greater London Council in 1973, becoming leader in 1981. The relationship between the GLC and the Conservative Government during this period was intensely antagonistic and tabloid media coverage labelled the leader as 'Red Ken'. After the GLC was abolished in 1986, Ken Livingstone stood for Parliament and was elected to the London seat of Brent East in 1987, which he represented until May 2000.

Mr Livingstone sought nomination as the official Labour Party candidate in the 2000 mayoral elections. When he decided to stand as an independent, he was expelled from the Labour Party. He ran a highly successful campaign and was elected Mayor of London in 2000, with 58 per cent of the votes cast.

Throughout his political career Ken Livingstone has been concerned with the improvement of public transport. As GLC leader, he cut bus fares and as Mayor has committed himself to increasing the efficiency of London public transport. This involved clashes with the government over the partial privatisation of the London Underground. In February 2003, a London Congestion Charge was introduced, levying a fee on private

Political Studies Association Award Winners 2003 vehicles travelling through the city centre during peak hours.

The Mayor pressed ahead with this policy despite protest marches and strong opposition from some of the tabloid press and various other politicians. London is the largest city in the world to operate a congestion charge and Mr. Livingstone has argued "My responsibility is to do what I believe is right for London. And I believe I would be failing Londoners if I didn't attempt to tackle the congestion that is crippling our city". Despite some continuing carping, the congestion charge is widely regarded as a great success and vindication for a politician who showed the courage of his convictions.

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# **Political Studies** Association

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, policymakers, journalists, researchers and students in higher education.

To find out more about our work, including publications, events, and the benefits of membership, contact us at:

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