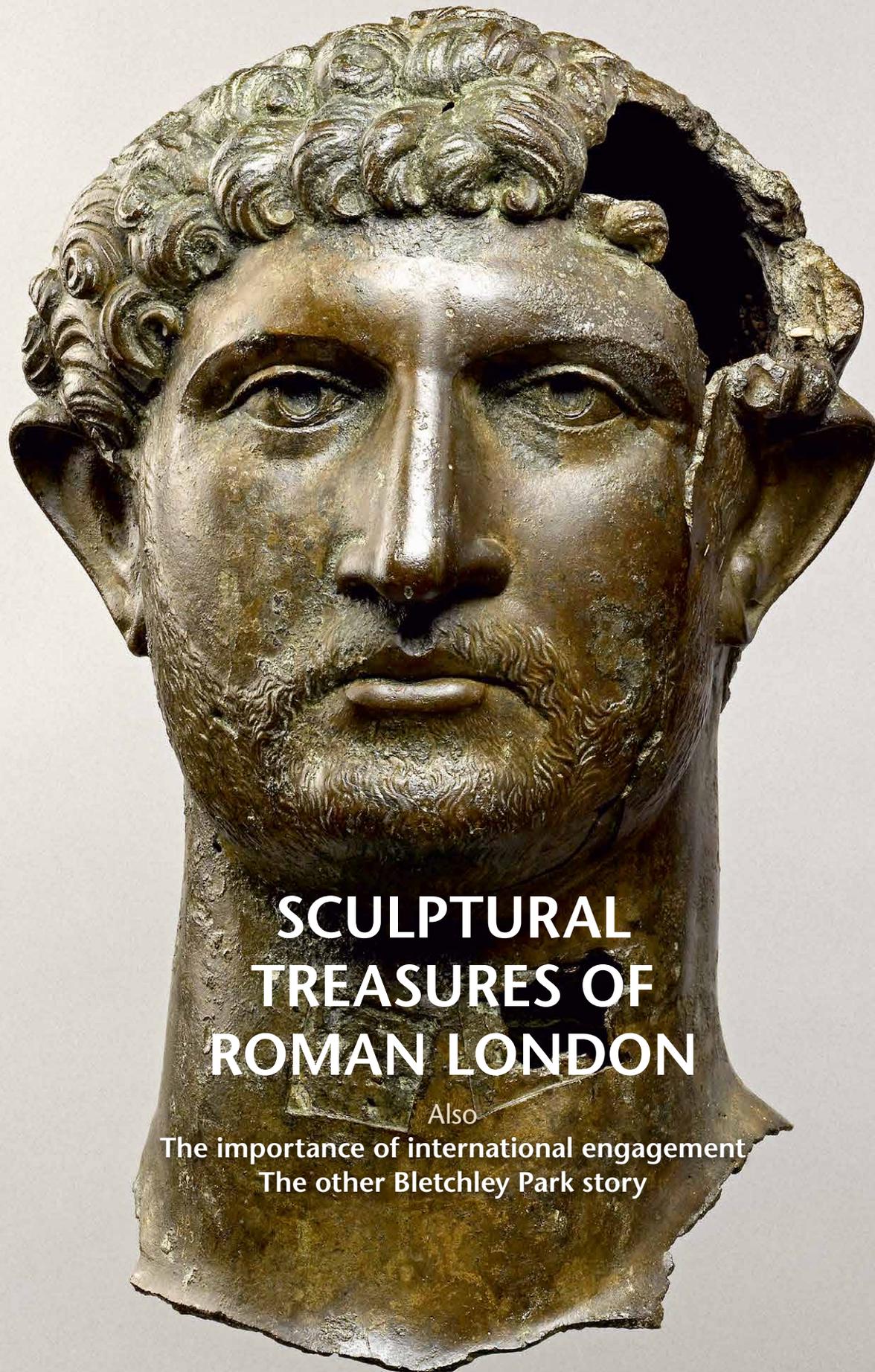


British Academy Review • 25



SCULPTURAL TREASURES OF ROMAN LONDON

Also

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The *British Academy Review* contains articles illustrating the wide range of scholarship which the British Academy promotes in its role as the UK's national academy for the humanities and social sciences.

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Suggestions for articles by current and former British Academy grant- and post-holders, as well as by Fellows of the British Academy, are very welcome. Suggestions may be sent to the Editor, James Rivington, at pubs@britac.ac.uk

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The articles in this issue give a flavour of the range of activities undertaken by the British Academy in the last six months. The Academy has been particularly busy in its international programmes and activities, and these global perspectives are reflected in several of the contributions.

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Cover: Bronze head of the Roman Emperor Hadrian (see article on page 27). Photo copyright British Museum.



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for the humanities and social sciences

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The Academy is an independent, self-governing organisation of 900 Fellows (with a further 300 overseas) elected for their distinction in research. The British Academy's mission is: to inspire, recognise and support high achievement in the humanities and social sciences throughout the UK and internationally, and to champion their role and value.

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Discussing what Prime Ministers are for

PETER HENNESSY

On 13 October 2014, Lord Hennessy of Nympsfield FBA, Attlee Professor of Contemporary British History at Queen Mary, University of London, delivered the first British Academy Lecture in Politics and Government, on 'What are Prime Ministers for?' A video recording of the lecture and an article published in the *Journal of the British Academy* can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/events/2014/

The following article contains edited extracts from the question and answer session that followed the lecture.

Do we expect Prime Ministers to do too much?

I think it was 1977 when the Procedure Committee in the House of Commons wanted the Prime Minister to be prepared to take questions on anything at PMQs (Prime Minister Questions). Until then – I can remember this from when I was a lobby correspondent – questions were referred to particular Secretaries of State, and only truly Prime Ministerial questions were taken. But then Jim Callaghan agreed to take them across the whole piece. This meant that, because the questions are disguised, Prime Ministers now had to prepare madly over an enormous range, which took up increasing amounts of time on Tuesday and Thursday mornings. Mrs Thatcher learned to use the process as a weapon of intrusion into other departments of government. But it did mean that the country expected the Prime Minister to answer everything all the time.

Jim Callaghan used to ration out his appearances with the media very considerably: very rarely were there interviews or press conferences. There used to be a time when you could be in your constituency and not be bothered much by television cameras. You could talk quite candidly to people. But the new methods of electronic 24-hour news gathering – often involving a local television crew of just two people – mean that you are never really left alone once you have reached a certain level in politics.

Douglas Hurd wrote that Prime Ministers shouldn't always have to be the head of the rush, shouldn't feel the need to respond to everything. I have often thought that

New Labour has a lot to answer for on this front. They had seen what the press was doing to John Major from Black Wednesday onwards – relentless attacks on him, which bothered him deeply.¹ And they were determined that this wouldn't happen to them. So they went into the business of creating permanent rebuttal capabilities. If somebody said something offensive about the Government on the *Today* programme, they would make every effort to put it right by the *World at One*. They went into this kind of mania of permanent rebuttal, which means that you don't have time to reflect before reacting to events.

It's arguable now that, if the Government doesn't react to events immediately, other people's versions of breaking stories (circulating through social media etc.) will make the pace, and it won't be able to get back on top of an issue. But it has all fed off itself.

You can't get back to the days of Mr Attlee saying 'Quite' – which was his standard answer to a question. (Douglas Jay, who had worked with him in Number 10 after the War, said that Attlee would never use one syllable where none would do.) I don't think Clem Attlee would be selected for even a *losable* seat today: he was all right on the wireless, but was terrible on television.² You obviously can't get back to those days. It may be that we will get a leader who isn't verbose, spin-laden and dripping with well-rehearsed spontaneities – but it will almost certainly be by accident.

My big worry is the debates held between the party leaders before a General Election. I know they got the 18- to 24-year-olds more interested, which was a good thing. But to succeed in a pre-Election leaders' debate you have to be above all a plausible tart. And being a plausible tart is only 10 per cent of the requirement of being Prime Minister, no more. It means that in future, if

1. Baldwin's advice to a new backbencher was: cancel your subscription to the cuttings agency, and grow a new skin.

2. When Tony Benn was once having lunch with Herbert Morrison, Attlee walked past, and Morrison, who was very sensitive to the press, said, 'Clem, have you seen that terrible attack on you in *The Sketch*?' Attlee said, 'No, I never read it,' and walked on. And Morrison said, 'I've known that man since the 1920s, and he has always been like this. I never know whether he is telling the truth or not.' But actually Attlee was, because he read *The Times* for the cricket and the crossword, the *Daily Herald* to see what the chaps were doing, and that was it.



Changed times. Clement Attlee, who had a monosyllabic relationship with the media, is shown campaigning in the 1945 General Election. (Reproduced courtesy of Queen Mary, University of London; PP2 Donald Chesworth archives.)



Now there is an expectation that would-be Prime Ministers should deliver polished soundbites in televised debates.

we have leaders' debates all the time, parties will choose their leaders with that in mind to too great an extent. So people who are not flash and quick, yet are extremely good, are very thoughtful and have all the other qualities, won't get a chance of being a party leader and therefore Prime Minister. So I think we have done ourselves a great disservice by these leaders' debates. But I have probably been round the block too long.

But the demands are all one way, and it's very hard to fight against this. The state has got out of a lot of activities since the '70s, with the privatisations and all the rest of it. But Prime Ministers are still expected to be in the vanguard on everything all the time. There are some things where they have got to be – if there is a terrible atrocity, or for moments of special anxiety – big things. But there is all that intermediate stuff – down to absolute trivia – which I am sure a determined Prime Minister could shed a great deal of. And we would probably breathe a sigh of relief.

Wouldn't a Prime Minister like Mrs Thatcher say that her role was to be the guardian of the strategy?

I remember that, in her televisual memoirs, which were extraordinary, Mrs Thatcher said, 'One must have stars to steer by.' You always knew what those stars were. Somebody once said to me that, of all the Prime Ministers this person had known, she was the same front of house and back of house. Very often a politician in private is a slightly different person, but she was pretty well the same in private as she was in public. Like Martin Luther, I always thought, she could be no other.

What if a Prime Minister doesn't have a strategy?

The British Civil Service, because it is a very good Crown Service and is not corrupted or politicised, is the best automatic pilot the world has ever seen. The show will always stay on the road. But you are reduced to what George Bain called 'structured busking', and you could argue that that isn't enough.

Are you worried by the increasing politicisation of the Civil Service?

I *am* worried. There has been creeping politicisation already. But Francis Maude has said publicly he wants powerful ministerial choice in the final decision on who will be a Permanent Secretary. He also wants extended ministerial offices – like a British version of French *cabinets* – in which there would be a large number of special advisers brought in on political patronage. The senior civil servants in the offices would still have to go through the Civil Service Commission. But there is a danger that you create a central directorate within a department which runs it, rather than having the departmental structure.

I am a great believer in Crown Service. Officials can't 'speak truth unto power' – which is what I think the best ministers want and which is indispensable – if they are creatures of patronage. It is often the ministers who, if I can put it tactfully, are not the most self-confident who don't value that. The Labour minister Edmund Dell was quite cynical about all this: he used to talk of the danger of 'surrounding yourself with a comfort blanket', and he would never have any special advisers, which I thought was taking it too far.

In the House of Lords we have debated this quite a lot, but I don't think this debate is happening widely; it should be. The test would be when there was a change of Government. The new Government could say, 'We wouldn't have introduced all this ministerial choice in appointments. But these extended ministerial offices are a good idea. And the Civil Service has now been effectively politicised. So we're going to do the same. We're going to have a wholesale clear-out, and bring in our people.' Then we will have lost the 19th-century principle which has served us so well – in the Home Civil Service, the Diplomatic, the secret world and in the military – of people being chosen because they can do things, rather than because of what they believe. It's like a clean water supply: we will only realise it has gone when it's too late.

What are the political factors that affect a Prime Minister's power and influence?

I have never made up my mind about changes in the political weather. Peter Riddell has argued that the press doesn't make the political weather; but if the political weather is turned for other reasons, the press can reinforce the weather change and speed it up. So it is usually a combination of factors that leads to the dissipation of power and authority.

I have always been reluctant to take part in those surveys that the newspapers occasionally do with political scientists and political historians on 'Who were the greatest Prime Ministers?' because the circumstances have been so different. Size of majority, the condition of the domestic economy and the world economy, international affairs – it is never comparing like with like. But, as a political historian, you can get a sense of those Prime Ministers who made the best of terrible circumstances, and also those who managed to put a ring round absolute essentials whatever else was going on around them.

Attlee had a sense of about five things that you had to do come hell or high water to improve the conditions of the 75 per cent of people who were then in working-class families. The phrase 'ring-fencing' didn't exist then, but through thick and thin – admittedly with a lot of help from American money, Marshall Aid – he stuck to those five things – which are roughly what was in the Beveridge Report. I have always admired Prime Ministers who have managed to do that to some degree, have kept going the essential flame of what they think really needs to be done.

Douglas Hurd observed in his biography of Robert Peel that fortunate are those Prime Ministers who come into Number 10 wanting to do the things that really need to be done – where there is that coincidence of purpose. I think you could argue that Mrs Thatcher reflected the need to do something about trade union power, for example – though there isn't a consensus on that.

So being a Prime Minister is very difficult, but it's about making the most of the circumstances and not panicking. When Parliament is sitting, it's like being a chief executive of a company in a permanent meeting of shareholders who are in a terrible mood, and who include several people you have sacked or never appointed in the first place and who therefore have got it in for you. And when Parliament is not sitting, the media immediately takes up that role. It is absolute hell, and it is inescapable. Some of the most poignant stuff in Bernard Donoghue's diary of the last days of the Callaghan Government is when Jim is so worn out he doesn't know what to do, and he stays for about a fortnight pretty much in his study. I remember him saying to a friend of mine, 'I felt I let the country down.' He simply didn't know what to do towards the end of the Winter of Discontent. I had immense sympathy with him because when you read Bernard's diaries and the other accounts, the flesh of his flesh had turned on him.

One of the awful things about studying Prime Ministers is that quite often they are wrecked on the very ground where they thought they were most secure in their own knowledge: Anthony Eden on diplomacy in the Middle East; Jim Callaghan on the Labour movement and the trade unions. You could say that Mrs Thatcher had a very strong empathy with the aggrieved rate payer, but the Poll Tax did for her, didn't it? For anybody here young enough to aspire to be Prime Minister – where you have really got to worry is when a problem arises on the terrain where you think you have got more knowledge than anybody else, because the gods of politics are wrathful bastards and they are always waiting.

Policy Engagement

The UK constitution

The Scottish independence referendum stirred up an eagerness to engage in political debate and evoked strong feelings on issues that lie at the heart of the UK's constitutional structure. In the run up to the vote, the British Academy worked with the Royal Society of Edinburgh (RSE) to present detailed evidence on all of the major aspects of the independence issue, to ensure that light was shed on the sometimes heated discussions – the outcomes of which were published in *Enlightening the Constitutional Debate*.¹

These meetings were held in what was a long lead-up to the referendum, where there was time for these public and political arguments to be aired and for academic analysis to be brought to bear on them. In the wake of the vote, commitments have been made to move swiftly to a resolution on the constitution of the union. Rapid reviews were launched on increased devolution to Scotland and on the adequacy of representation of English voters at Westminster.

In November 2014, the British Academy issued a statement following the Prime Minister's post referendum announcement, calling on all parties to ensure that there is time and space for considered public debate and academic analysis of the options for constitutional reform,² and made this point to the Political and Constitutional Reform Committee's inquiry on the future of devolution. The point was made that this time needs to be taken as such major constitutional change should be enduring and sustainable – presenting a long-term future for the UK.

We have worked with partner organisations to enable the required analysis of some of the immediate constitutional issues. While the RSE has been analysing the outcomes of the Smith Commission, the British Academy worked with the UCL

Constitution Unit to host a private roundtable on English Votes on English Laws, with key parliamentary staff, MPs and academics. This meeting highlighted the procedural complexity that lies behind the rhetorical simplicity of English votes – how is it decided that a Bill or clause of a Bill is 'English', or 'English and Welsh'? Will we have different groups of MPs voting on different clauses of the same Bill – potentially resulting in different parties having majorities on various clauses? What about finance bills that pertain to England where the outcome of which could have follow-on impacts on Scotland? The roundtable illuminated the critical detail of the issue, which must be resolved effectively if it is to capture what would be hoped for in any move towards better representation of English voters' view.

The Academy is continuing to work with the RSE, the ESRC and other partners to encourage debate on these constitutional matters. Decisions will be taken which will be of major historic importance and we hope to make space for expertise to be brought to bear on the choices in play – and to maintain what has been exciting period of widespread and passionate engagement in political issues.

Counter-terrorism and higher education

On 21 January 2015, the British Academy issued a statement³ in response to the Home Office's open consultation on draft guidance, to be issued under the Counter-Terrorism and Security Bill, for specified authorities to have due regard to the need to prevent people being drawn into terrorism.

The British Academy states that it is entirely appropriate that the UK government should seek to do all it reasonably can to prevent people from being drawn into terrorist activity, and fully supports that protective goal.

However, the Academy argues that some of the current recommendations seem potentially counter-productive in relation to higher education. The Academy highlights three main problems with the current recommendations:

1. The suggestions about events featuring speakers and public debate seem potentially unhelpful, as university settings can offer one of the few places in which those who espouse extreme views might be challenged in a calm, interrogative manner. To insist that any speaker must provide prior presentations and detailed contents for their talks, in order that they be assessed beforehand, will make Universities far less likely to be able to host the kind of events which have, on occasions in the past, been fruitful in rationally challenging the views of those who advocate violence.

2. There is considerable debate about whether it is right to assume that the expression of non-violent extremism is something to be monitored because it might encourage terrorism. Some within government service itself (not least within the setting which has produced the most sustained UK terrorism to date, Northern Ireland) hold the view that the encouragement of non-violent articulation of extreme political views can in fact work as an insulation for some people against involvement in terrorist violence. To seem to blur the distinction between violent and non-violent political views might, in practice, risk pushing exponents of the latter more probably towards the former.

3. The many bureaucratic requirements are likely to have the practical effect of discouraging academics and students alike from sustaining open and fruitful political debate on issues of high importance. They would also damage the reputation currently enjoyed by UK universities as places where open debate can be had without fear or favour.

The British Academy has sent its statement to the Home Office, and has worked closely with other higher education institutions to co-ordinate responses to the consultation.

1. See www.britishacademy.ac.uk/scotland

2. 'Constitutional Reform: Three Crucial Tests Are Proposed For Any New Legislation', a public statement by the British Academy, November 2014 (www.britac.ac.uk/news/news.cfm/newsid/1187).

3. 'Reflections on the *Prevent Duty Guidance* Consultation', a statement from the British Academy, 21 January 2015 (www.britac.ac.uk/news/news.cfm/newsid/1215).

Immigration: The state of debate

In September – November 2014, the British Academy held its second series of 'British Academy Debates', on the subject of Immigration. The three Debates were held in Birmingham, Liverpool and London. To watch video recordings of the Debates, or to download the *Immigration* booklet that summarises the arguments that were presented, go to www.britishacademy.ac.uk/immigration

The following article reproduces the first part of the British Academy's booklet on *Immigration*.

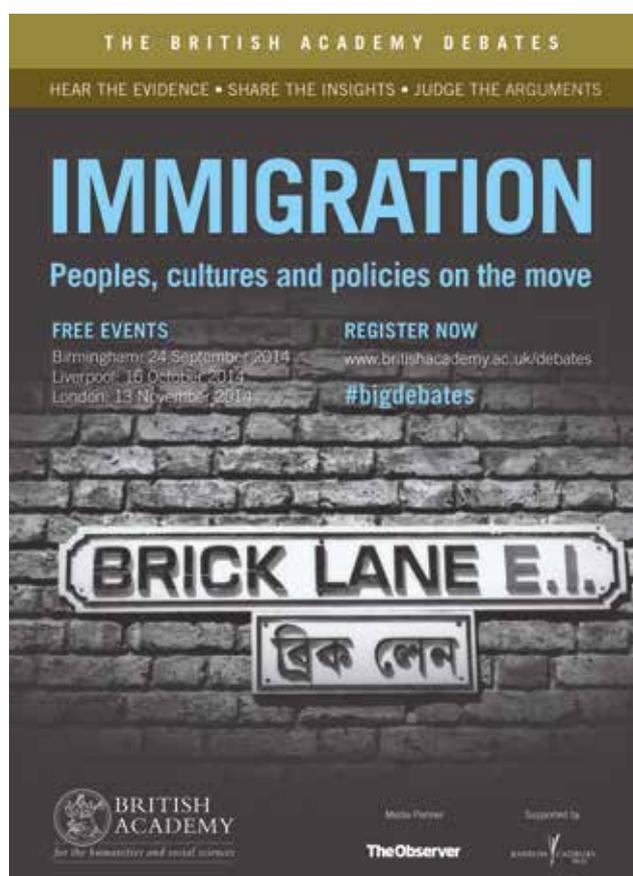
Public concerns

Immigration has moved to the forefront of the British political consciousness. For only the second time in recent years, it now outweighs the economy, the NHS, and unemployment in measures of public concern.¹ A recent poll suggests that 40 per cent of Britons rate immigration as the most important issue facing Britain today.

How does this concern relate to the underlying reality of immigration? On average, Britons estimate the percentage of foreign-born people living in the United Kingdom at around 30 per cent. This is more than double official estimates of between 13 per cent and 14 per cent. The last two decades have seen gross immigration and gross emigration rise to 500,000-600,000 and 300,000-400,000 respectively. However, what has shifted most notably is the balance between the two. After a long period of approximate balance, we have seen a period of net immigration, of between 150,000 and nearly 300,000 year on year, for around two decades. For 2013/14 (ending March) it is 243,000.² Of the 560,000 people who immigrated to the UK in that year, 38 per cent were EU citizens from outside the UK and 47 per cent were non-EU citizens. A similar split has been recorded since 2004, before which in-flows were more heavily weighted

1. *Economist*/Ipsos MORI September 2014 Issues Index.

2. ONS Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, August 2014.



towards non-EU immigration.³ How do people perceive and experience the associated changes?

Polling of public attitudes shows that the way individuals view immigration is highly variable. Heated polarisation in the immigration debate obscures a quieter majority of around half of the population for whom immigration is taken to be a pragmatic matter requiring balanced consideration. The remaining half of the

3. See *Britain's '70 Million' Debate: A Primer on Reducing Immigration to Manage Population Size* (Migration Observatory report, September 2012), p. 12, fig. 4.

population is made up of two camps. On one hand, there is a quarter of the population for whom a sense of rapid demographic and cultural change is profoundly troubling. Another quarter of the population are confidently cosmopolitan, seeing new diversity as an essential facet of the social world in which they live.

It is possible to make further distinctions within this broad picture.⁴ This can help reveal people's reasons for their positive and negative attitudes towards immigration. While some of the population report being totally against immigration in all its aspects (16 per cent), other distinct groups note specific concerns about culture (16 per cent), the labour market (14 per cent), and access to the welfare state (12 per cent) as underlying their negative views.

Similarly, there is a clear distinction among those whose attitude to immigration is broadly positive. On one hand, there are those graduates and professionals who see immigration as unremittingly positive, benefiting themselves from its positive economic effects (10 per cent). However, there are also urban dwellers who value multicultural harmony while being concerned by increased competition for jobs or public services (9 per cent).

Alongside such variations are important differences in the way people see the criteria determining whether someone is British – with age being a particularly marked factor.⁵ Different generations view what is central to the national identity of individuals very differently. This is registered in how variable proportions across three key generations see the importance of ethnic and civic ways of categorising people.

Among members of the population who were born before 1945, polls suggest that 86 per cent think both ethnic and civic Britishness is essential. For this group, to be truly British requires both a white British heritage and, for example, a British passport. In those born between 1945 and 1964, 61 per cent define Britishness in both ethnic and civic terms, but there is a significant minority of 33 per cent for whom only civic criteria count. In those born after 1964, the civic-only attitude is held by 40 per cent while a noteworthy 10 per cent include neither ethnic nor civic criteria in their judgements about who counts as British.

Theoretical responses

The general lesson here is that immigration is an irreducibly many-sided issue. This affects the kinds of research that are needed to expand our understanding and to address public concerns – including those of migrants



The first of the British Academy Debates on Immigration was held in Birmingham on 24 September 2014. It was chaired by BBC Midlands Today presenter Mary Rhodes, pictured here (right) with one of the panellists, Professor Montserrat Guibernau.

themselves. Firstly, there is considerable research which addresses the overall effect of different immigration flows on the British national economy. Secondly, there is research which investigates the 'congestion effects' associated with a growing population to which net immigration is a contributor – for example, how immigration affects the functioning of the health care system, schools, the transport network, and the housing stock. A third layer of research investigates the processes underlying different experiences of immigration and the extent to which these emerge as worthy of consideration in public debate. Has immigration fundamentally changed the social landscape to become one of 'super-diversity'?⁶ What are the different ways in which people negotiate their national identity? Are the experiences of some migrants ignored or sidelined amidst the fractious contentions of political and public policy debate?

As with public attitudes, it is possible to discern some standard positions which give the academic debate some of its major contours. One central distinction might be characterised as being between 'liberals' and 'nationalists'. A more 'liberal' approach to immigration emphasises the benefits to economic activity of the free movement of peoples, contending that this is an important motor of a more general prosperity. For example, in *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future*, Ian Goldin, Geoffrey Cameron and Meera Balarajan argue that states will increasingly need to attract rather than restrict migrant labour by opening their borders.⁷ The basic argument comes as two steps. First, states need to encourage those considered to be the most productive – a globalised labour force of 'exceptional people'. Second, they need to find ways of ensuring that the poorest of their national citizens are not left behind.

A more 'nationalist' position reverses this, as in David Goodhart's *The British Dream: The Successes and Failures of Post-War Immigration* (2013). Here the first priority becomes that of reinvigorating and rediscovering a sense

4. Bobby Duffy and Tom Frere-Smith, *Perceptions and Reality: Public Attitudes to Immigration* (Ipsos MORI, January 2014), pp. 19-20.

5. A. Park, C. Bryson and J. Curtice (eds.), *British Social Attitudes: the 31st Report* (London, NatCen Social Research, 2014), p.81-2.

6. Steven Vertovec, 'Super-diversity and its implications', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30:6 (2007), 1024-1054.

7. Ian Goldin, Geoffrey Cameron and Meera Balarajan, *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future* (Princeton University Press, 2011).

of national identity in the existing British population. This is to be matched by a rekindling of a social contract where British citizens can claim priority over non-citizens in accessing state services and are the presumed beneficiaries of government policy and legislation. Immigration policy should then be tailored to meet the needs of the national economy and new migrants offered ways of integrating into British culture. Nationalists anticipate that stronger nation states will provide restrictions on what they see as the destructive effects of rapid migration. For example, in *Exodus: Immigration and Multiculturalism in the 21st Century* (2013), Paul Collier argues that too rapid a flow of emigration out of the poorest countries in the world, such as Haiti, can result in a 'brain-drain' of talent, further disrupting an already precipitous state infrastructure.⁸

The one thing that both these perspectives have in common is a view of immigration that places the market at the centre of the debate. A different approach is found in the work of scholars whose starting point is human rights rather than the economy. In *Borderline Justice: The Fight for Refugee and Migrant Rights*, Frances Webber highlights the ways in which the extension of immigration control at and within the borders of the UK effectively violates the human rights and dignity of migrants. For example, she cites cases in which individuals have been denied life-saving medical treatment due to suspicions about their immigration status.⁹

Germane to this human rights-led approach is research on low-profile modes of citizenship and political identity, where people define themselves in the course of their own social life rather than conforming to external categories and definitions – what Leah Bassel has called 'frame shattering'.¹⁰ Research in this direction explores immigration as an opportunity for Britons themselves to redefine their own identity at a local level in the presence of others. This represents a challenge to both 'liberal' and 'nationalist' positions, suggesting that the common good can be found in the democratic solidarities of social life itself rather than in world trade or a homogenising national culture.

The British Academy Debates were launched at the start of 2014 to provide a contribution to the public understanding of some of the great challenges of our times. The Debates build on the argument set out in the Academy's multimedia publication *Prospering Wisely: How the humanities and social sciences enrich our lives*, that we need a new national conversation, with the humanities and social sciences at its centre. See www.britishacademy.ac.uk/prosperingwisely

The Debates aim to show humanities and social sciences 'at work' – helping us understand the nature of the challenges we face as societies, as economies and as individuals. They demonstrate how new insights from research can challenge and question existing assumptions, illuminate dilemmas, and help us explore possible new directions, choices and possibilities – and so push forward political and public debate.

In Spring 2015, the British Academy Debates are addressing the subject of 'Well-being': www.britishacademy.ac.uk/well-being/

In Autumn 2015, the Debates will be on energy and the environment.

More on the series of British Academy Debates can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/debates/

8. Paul Collier, *Exodus: Immigration and Multiculturalism in the 21st Century* (Allen Lane, London, 2013), p. 219.

9. Frances Webber, *Borderline Justice: The Fight for Refugee and Migrant Rights* (Pluto Books, London, 2012), pp. 88-9.

10. Cf. Leah Bassel, *Refugee Women: Beyond Gender versus Culture* (Routledge, London, 2012), p. 139.

Other recent British Academy events

The British Academy holds regular events that tackle issues of topical interest. Further information about the following three events, which took place in February 2015, can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/events/2015/



Poverty beyond the statistics

On 5 February 2015, Baroness (Ruth) Lister of Burtsett FBA delivered the British Academy Lecture on "To count for nothing": Poverty beyond the statistics'. 'All too often,' she said, 'political debate about poverty hangs on statistics and the measures used to compile them. Statistics are of course very important not least to hold governments to account. But my starting point is that we need to move beyond the statistics, if we are to understand the experience of poverty.' It was crucial 'to appreciate the ways in which people living in poverty are shamed and "othered".' Ruth Lister's lecture sought to offer counter-discourses or narratives to this process of othering, and concluded with some reflections on possible implications for policy and poverty politics.



Why the humanities and social sciences matter now

On 3 February 2015, in partnership with the London School of Economics' Institute of Public Affairs, the British Academy held an event to explore how humanities and social science research fuels our modern knowledge-based economy, helps sustain our healthy democracy, and contributes to human and cultural well-being. Panellists included Lord (Nick) Stern, President of the British Academy, and Rt Hon. Greg Clark MP, Minister for Universities, Science and Cities (pictured together).

In his presentation, the Minister explained that the Government's

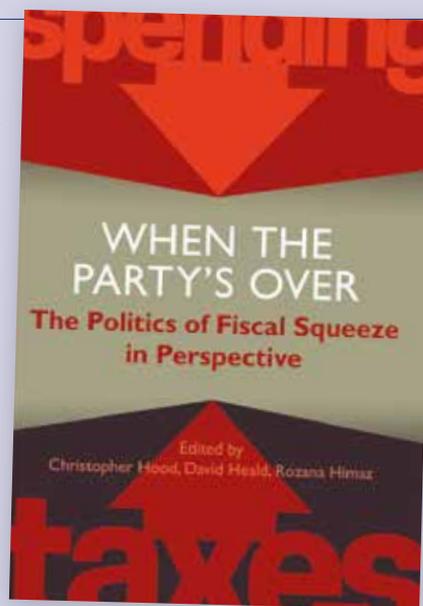
Science and Innovation Strategy embraced the humanities and social sciences:¹ 'I am defiant in insisting that we should capture in our definition of "science" the humanities and social sciences as well.' In his work as Minister, he was daily exposed to the interplay of disciplines to tackle issues: for example, alongside medical breakthroughs, an anthropological understanding of local burial practices had helped in the Ebola crisis in West Africa.

Dr Clark said that the Strategy 'looked to reflect the justified position of confidence that UK science and social science and the humanities enjoy at the moment. By any measure this is an area of strength and national pride, and it is increasingly recognised around the world. ... There is a recognition – across party and across the country – that we have something very substantial and precious in our capability in research, and that we need to add to it over the years ahead.'

1. HM Treasury and BIS, *Our plan for growth: science and innovation* (Cm 8980, December 2014), p. 9.

The future of fiscal squeeze

On 5 February 2015, a British Academy Forum discussed 'The future of fiscal squeeze'. The event followed up issues raised in the book *When the Party's Over: The Politics of Fiscal Squeeze in Perspective*, edited by Christopher Hood FBA, David Heald and Rozana Himaz, published by the British Academy in October 2014. The Forum brought together both academics and practitioners to discuss the lessons of past episodes of fiscal squeeze, and to consider the critical decisions to be made by current and future governments, both in the UK and internationally.



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Interview Helen Wallace

This is the latest in a series of interviews with Fellows of the British Academy, showing leading humanities and social sciences academics at work.

Dame Helen Wallace was previously Professor in the European Institute at the London School of Economics. Since 2011 she has been the British Academy's Foreign Secretary, with overall responsibility for the Academy's busy programme of international activities.

What was the initial spark that first made you want to work in and study international relations?

I didn't really start studying international relations. I did a Classics degree, which I suppose with hindsight you could call ancient European studies. I then decided I'd like to be more contemporary, and jumped two millennia to contemporary European studies. I did that just around the time Britain was, for the second time, trying to become a member of the European Economic Community.

My parents were both graduates: my father was a classicist, my mother a linguist. They were both very much engaged in policy and the political, and had met working at Bletchley Park.¹ The fact that they were both linguists of one kind or another I think meant that we were brought up being very aware that Britain wasn't the only place in the world. Both of them were schoolteachers, and my father then became a university teacher.

Your interest in contemporary European affairs was very timely.

There is something about being caught up with what's going on around you. After I'd done my degree in Classics, I went and studied for a year in Belgium in 1967-68. I saw the television broadcast in which General de Gaulle for the second time said, 'No, the United Kingdom shall not join the European Community.' But then de Gaulle passed on his way and the application was revived, and then it became very engaging. At the time, there were very few people in Britain who were following the European story, and it was quite exciting to be in at the beginning of that story and to be one of the first people doing academic research on it.

1. For more on Bletchley Park, see in this issue Nigel Vincent & Helen Wallace, 'Lost without translation: Why codebreaking is not just a numbers game', pp. 42-46.

It's one of the paradoxes of Britain's relationship with the rest of Europe that, in matters academic and intellectual, the British are often much more proactive than people in other European countries. So during the 1970s several British universities set up European studies departments – I worked in one of them in Manchester. I was an officer of the University Association for Contemporary European Studies in my twenties, in a period when this British association was much bigger than that in any other country. Similarly now Britain has far more foreigners working in its academic life than is true in other European countries. We've always been very open and engaged.

Have you always been interested in the practical policy dimension?

I've always been interested in the interconnection between the academic world and the world of practice. I was brought up in a very political family where we were always involved in elections and political activity of various kinds; it is in the blood.

For my PhD thesis, I interviewed many senior policy-makers in the then six member states of the European Economic Community and produced some written work on that. So I was able to come back as a very young PhD student to talk to senior British officials. They said, 'Tell us what they said! Tell us what they said!' That was good fun.

I've done a lot of teaching of plurinational groups of students ever since the mid-1970s. In particular, I developed courses – when most other people didn't think it was possible – in how to negotiate in a European context. And wherever I was teaching I ran simulation exercises: I ran them both for civil servants and for students; I ran them both in Britain and in other countries. Many of my former students went on to become practitioners – I currently have two prime ministers, one in Finland and



one in Denmark. That is the contribution of academic experience, I suppose, to the world of practice.

I don't have a conventional academic background. I worked for several years at the Civil Service College, where I was responsible for a programme of training courses on European affairs and also wider international relations. I then went and worked in the Royal Institute of Affairs, Chatham House, which is also an intermediate organisation between the world of academics and the world of practice.

After that I went to the University of Sussex. This was shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and one of the things we did, working with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, was to develop a programme for bright youngsters from Central and East European countries to come and learn about how the European Union operated. Many of those went on to help their own countries make the transition from the Soviet empire to democratic, liberal market economies. It was very interesting to have been able to see that interface.

With colleagues, I developed a textbook, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, the seventh edition of which was formally published on 25 December 2014. That has become a standard text and is used extensively in many different countries. Because earlier editions were co-edited with my husband, it was known as 'Wallace & Wallace', but apparently some students call it 'Wallace & Gromit'!

Can you give any examples of where you have been able to influence policy-making?

These are hard stories to tell about oneself, because we all want to think we've had some importance, don't we? Others have to make that judgement. There are specific occasions when one may have had a particular impact on a particular piece of policy – maybe yes sometimes, maybe no sometimes.

I was quite involved in the discussion in the early 1980s – because I also worked in the Foreign Office for a bit – on what became the 1992 single market programme, and was involved both inside government and then at Chatham House in bringing people together to discuss ways of turning what had been a set of rather miscellaneous ideas into a more orchestrated single market strategy. Maybe what I did made a little bit of difference.

Do you think politicians and civil servants listen to academics?

I don't think one can generalise about that. Some academics are more articulate than others in explaining to the world of practice the results of their knowledge and expertise. Some practitioners, whether politicians or civil servants, are more interested than others in listening to people from outside the beltway. Wherever I've worked and whatever subjects I've worked on, I've always been interested in trying to encourage that exchange.

Let me give you an example from what is now quite a long time ago. In the early 1980s the Labour Party had a policy that was very hostile to the European Community, and indeed fought one General Election with a commitment to negotiate Britain's withdrawal from the European Community. We've heard this story before and we're going to hear it again. One of the things I tried very hard to do at Chatham House, as the Labour Party had been beginning to rethink its European policy – despite my not being a member of the Labour Party – was to provide opportunities for people from the Labour Party to inform themselves, and to move beyond the slogans and the headlines to a deeper understanding of Europe. Those of us who were involved in that helped enable the Labour Party to develop a very different approach which, from my point of view, was a more sensible one.

Is Europe going to be a key issue in the forthcoming General Election?

I am not sure I would quite say that the European issue is going to be a big topic in this Election campaign. What we know from public-opinion evidence is that Britain's relationship with the rest of Europe is quite low in salience for the median voter: it is something like ninth or tenth on the list of topics listed by importance. What we also know, however, is that immigration is very near the top of the list of salient topics, and latterly the immigration issue and the European issue have been conflated. So, whether it is the European issue or the immigration issue, and how that will turn out, we shall see.

Of course, because of the new configuration of parties in the United Kingdom, there is an expectation that attitudes on this mix of immigration and European policy may have a very important bearing on the final outcome. What I think is very clear is that, if we end up on 8 May with a situation where no single party has a majority in the House of Commons, which many people regard as very possible, the European issue will figure very prominently in any negotiations that take place about creating a composite government from several parties.

We also know that the European issue is extremely divisive for the Conservative Party, and although this may not play out so obviously in the Election campaign as such, it is going to play out in the politics within the Conservative Party after the Election. But the real test will come if and when an EU referendum is held.

Can academics help inform the debate about Europe?

Academics may be able to contribute background and insights and expertise that others may draw on.

But my sense of the European debate is that many people have rather fixed opinions. There are three segments of opinion on the European issue. There is a small Europhile segment, a larger Eurosceptic segment (a mix of soft and hard Euroscepticism), and in between there are people for whom the issue is not terribly important, and who might swing in either a more pro or a more anti direction. The assumption is often made that those 'don't know' and 'not quite sure' people will be influenced by reasoned argument. In the closing stages of the Scottish independence referendum campaign, arguments were made about the potential outcomes for the Scottish economy of independence, and some people infer from that that similar arguments will be very important in the European case. I am not entirely sure that those cognitive dimensions will carry the same weight on a European issue.

My guess and my expectation are that the affective arguments – that is to say the emotional, the heart rather than head arguments – may turn out to be very important, and those are harder ones for academics to gain traction on. But they may be some of the ones to which, if we at the British Academy want to think of engaging with these issues, we should give some serious thought.

The European Union is very important in funding academic research, and the British Academy has contributed to discussions about the EU's research

and innovation programme, Horizon 2020. In December 2014, you wrote to the Prime Minister expressing concern about a recent European Commission proposal affecting Horizon 2020.²

What are your concerns about?

We at the British Academy have been very involved throughout the whole of the period in which Horizon 2020 has been put together in trying to plead the cause of having a vibrant, robust, European research framework programme, and also arguing that the role of humanities and social sciences should be firmly in the middle of that and not at the margins. We have worked together quite hard with colleagues in other European academies on that. We had the previous European commissioner here a couple of years ago,³ who made some helpful statements which were not entirely followed through, latterly because of the wider problems in the European economy.

The new President of the Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, has proposed establishing a new investment fund, but he hasn't got any euros to put in there, so he needs to find them from somewhere, and one of the ways is to raid the budget for Horizon 2020. All of us in the scientific community have been quite upset about that. We have a particular worry that the social science and humanities part of the Horizon 2020 budget may be particularly vulnerable. So we, amongst others, have been trying to make the case that, if you want to invest in a dynamic future in Europe, spending on scientific research in the broadest sense is actually one very important part of that. So don't undermine a good instrument you've already got; set that alongside other things that you may want to develop.

There's a lot of competition for the ear of those who develop public policy on higher education matters and on research matters. We in the British Academy – latterly with our sister academies in the European grouping – have had some considerable success in getting our voice heard on European research issues. Whether it is always taken notice of is another question.

Am I right in thinking that British-based academics are actually rather successful in securing research funding from the EU?

Academics based in British institutions have been extremely successful in the past record of funding, both from the main framework programmes and from the new European Research Council. People based in British and German universities level-peg each other a bit – given the strength of Germany as a country with robust science, that is a good place to be. On some statistics, the British-based applicants outperform the German ones. What is interesting from the point of view of the British Academy is that, in particular with funding from the European Research Council, British-based applicants from the social sciences and humanities have been spectacularly successful – even more successful than British-based applicants in the natural sciences. We should be very

2. www.britishacademy.ac.uk/news/news.cfm/newsid/1198

3. Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, 'The future of social sciences and humanities in Horizon 2020', *British Academy Review*, 19 (January 2012), 20-23.

pleased about the ability of high quality work in the humanities and social sciences by scholars based in this country to be judged so successful in what are highly competitive programmes. The statistics on this are very impressive.⁴

*

In the 1970s and 1980s, the British Academy played an important role in facilitating academic exchange with the Soviet Union and China. In September 2014, the British Academy welcomed a delegation from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and in November 2014 it held a workshop on cultural interactions between Britain and Russia. How important are these continuing academic connections with Russia and China?

British institutions, including the British Academy and Chatham House, where I worked during the 1980s, were important partners in enabling soft contacts to take place with communist countries, and in providing opportunities for academics or quasi-academics to meet each other and discuss matters of common interest. This was in a period when, for those communist countries, the way the gatekeeping worked meant you had to have authorised channels in order for contacts to take place. That is much less true now than it was, so we need to find other ways of working with colleagues in those other countries.

The academy-to-academy relationships continue to be important as a way of channelling some of our contacts – and that is why we have ‘Memoranda of Understanding’ with Chinese opposite numbers. But we know that these should not be understood as the exclusive means of contact, because China is changing and we need to be responsive to that change.

The Russian question is a different one and a good one, and I think it is one we need to give some further thought to. It is hard to see what the trajectory of change in Russia is. It had apparently been becoming more democratic, and it is now apparently becoming more authoritarian. That is beginning to make it quite difficult for Russian scholars, and it makes us have to think quite carefully about how to develop our relationship with Russian counterparts, who are obviously important. Russia is an important country.

What we have done rather more of in the last two or three years is to thicken up some of our relationships with other parts of the world. We cannot do everything equally vigorously, so we sometimes have to make choices about priorities.

In December 2014 the British Academy held a conference on ‘Emerging Prosperity in Emerging Economies’.⁵ What’s the importance of this?

4. In the 2013 round of European Research Council (ERC) Advanced Grants, UK-based researchers in humanities and social sciences (HSS) subjects won 28% of awards, more than any other country. In the 2014 round of ERC Starting Grants, UK-based researchers in HSS subjects won 25% of awards, again more than any other country.

5. This event built on a two-day conference held by the British Academy in October 2013 on ‘Emerging Powers Going Global’. Video recordings of the presentations can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/emerging_powers



Dame Helen Wallace FBA, the British Academy's Foreign Secretary, welcomes delegates to the conference on ‘Emerging Prosperity in Emerging Economies’, held at the Academy in December 2014. Photo: Jon Ball.

The term ‘emerging economies’ is a bit of a flavour-of-the-month title, obviously, but the underlying point is important. The shape of the world really has changed and continues to change. It had been so much simpler, apparently, to understand that old bipolar world. All of us have got to re-think the world that we see around us, and we need now not only to have deep understanding of developments within individual countries, but also to get some sense of the patterns that cut across different parts of the world. What we have done in a variety of activities, including that conference on emerging powers, is try to identify some global issues and look at the way they are expressed and addressed in different countries.

I remember at one of our conferences talking to a contributor from Thailand who was a health specialist, who said how much he had enjoyed listening to the Mexican speaker on the same panel. He would never have thought of himself comparing Thailand with Mexico, but actually it had been very interesting to see that there were some of the same dilemmas and different ways of responding to them. To be able to put together these slightly unlikely combinations can turn out to be really quite rewarding.

What we are also in the business of doing is trying to ensure the Academy does what it can to promote, develop, reinforce expertise of a deep kind on some of those other countries which are becoming either much more important in the way that China is, or which are much more troubled in the way that is the case in parts of the Middle East currently. In the British Academy, we have an obligation and an opportunity to show the value of ensuring that we safeguard expertise on these important developments.

The first awards have just been made under two new British Academy schemes – Newton Advanced Fellowships and Newton Mobility Grants – and these again have something of an ‘emerging economies’ focus, covering countries such as Brazil,

Mexico, South Africa, Turkey and Vietnam. How important is the British Academy's role in helping to bring overseas academics to Britain to conduct research and collaboration with UK academics?

It is important that we are able to do as much as we can in two respects. We help to bring very talented people from other countries to work in Britain and with British colleagues, some of whom will stay and contribute to scientific research and academic strengthening in the United Kingdom, which is very welcome. We are also in the business of helping countries in other parts of the world to strength their own research capacity and capability.

The Newton Fund under which these new schemes are made possible, and which is still in its early phases, provides an opportunity for us to help colleagues in the partner countries become higher-performing in their own fields of research. That is a valuable piece of external activity for us. We get huge rewards if we manage to find good partners, and hopefully the countries concerned will also be able to strengthen their own capacity.

The Newton International Fellowships provide opportunities for outstanding foreign early-career scholars to come and conduct research in this country. In the current climate of opinion about immigration, how important is it that academic exchange across borders is not impeded?

Most academics are committed to the view that intellectual endeavour and collaboration should be able to cross borders easily, and that talented scholars from different countries should be able to be in touch with each other and work with each other to get the best they can out of their shared field of work. There are lots of different ways of doing that, but that includes making it possible for scholars from other countries – at whatever stage of their careers – to be able to come to the United Kingdom easily.

We have got into a total panic in Britain about migration. We have got ourselves into a muddle about the role of student and academic migration amongst the rest. British universities are service exporters, in providing education for so many foreign students. But as others have commented – including the very good

piece by Sir James Dyson in the *Guardian*⁶ – we should not make it too difficult for those people to stay on and contribute to the British economy.

I have a son who is in the United States at the moment on a postdoctoral project. He cannot currently leave the US and then return to the US because his visa status in the US has to be changed before he is able to do that. So I see this from the point of view of my family in another country, as well. It is horrid.

We in the British Academy and the other UK national academies would say the same thing: that we would prefer to see the questions of academic exchange, whether of established faculty or of students, removed from the conventional migration statistics and understood in a different way.

In November 2014 the British Academy held an event on 'Contested Approaches to Conflict, Stability and Security: Rethinking State Fragility', and in December there was the meeting on 'The Geography of Poverty'.⁷ Do these sorts of topics have strategic significance for the UK, or are they just academically interesting?

There is obviously a case for saying that scholars should be free to roam across whatever subjects they find interesting, irrespective of whether there's a wider public interest in the topic. You can take that so far, but only so far. To the extent that scholars are dependent on public funding to pay for their posts and to enable them to do their research, I think there's some obligation to show what the 'value added' for society is. It is not unreasonable that the 'so why?' and the 'so what?' questions should be asked of an academic – although I would hate it to be the case that each piece of research had to be justified in terms of its wider public interest.

There is a wonderful story about how the Mayan Code was broken. A Soviet scholar in what was then Leningrad, who had never left Leningrad, was the first person in

6. www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jan/04/theresa-may-foreign-postgraduates-students-qualification-vote-dyson

7. For the October 2014 seminar on 'Social Innovation and Creative Responses to Global Urban Challenges', see in this issue Adam Greenfield, 'Urban challenges: Toward real and lasting social innovation', pp. 24-26. Information about all these events can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/international

The Newton Fund is a £375 million fund operated by the UK's Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. Through the Newton Fund, the UK will use its strength in research and innovation to promote the economic development and social welfare of partner countries. By working together on bi-lateral and multi-lateral programmes with a research and innovation focus, the UK will build strong, sustainable, systemic relationships with partner countries. The Newton Fund is part of the UK's Official Development Assistance (ODA) commitment. The British Academy is one of several UK delivery partners for the Newton Fund and is working with a number of partners overseas to provide fellowship and mobility grant opportunities.

For the first round of its new Newton Fund calls, the British Academy has made over 40 awards to researchers across the social sciences and humanities, committing £1.5 million of funding. These awards will develop the skills and capacity of researchers in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, and Turkey.



More information about the Newton Fund and future calls can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/newtonfund

effect to decode the Mayan symbols. He would never have been explicitly funded in the 1950s in Leningrad to study the Mayans. What a wacky thing to do. There needs to be room for wacky choices like that, and his story is a great one.

That having been said, quite a lot depends on what you think the position and responsibilities of the United Kingdom are as a country. If we, in the United Kingdom, think that the country has some global aspirations – it certainly has global history, and there are footprints of British presence all around the world – and if we believe that that global character is important, then we have got to equip ourselves to make sense of it. And that includes ensuring that we have in the country expertise and depth of understanding of other countries and other parts of the world, otherwise we are going to make fools of ourselves.⁸ Indeed, you could say – and I would say – that had a little more thought been given to a deep understanding of Iraq in 2003, maybe the British government might have taken a different decision and maybe Iraq would be a less stressed place than it now is. If, on the other hand, you take the view that we are just living on a few islands off the north-west coast of Europe, it doesn't matter so much whether we have got deep expertise about the Arab world or China or whatever. We can bumble along more modestly as a country, and pick and choose more casually as to what areas of academic expertise to promote.

Through its series of British Academy International Forums, the Academy seeks to bring together academics and policy-makers for roundtable discussions about topical issues. What role do those meetings have?

Policy-makers are always pulled in two different directions – between the pressures of today and whatever today's panics and problems are, and deeper and more long-run features and factors. I live with a member of the Government, and I see how he's pulled, day-by-day between long-term analysis, and panicked responses where one has to do something today, or if not today, tomorrow morning – and he is an academic by background. So we need to have some sympathy for the predicament of the politician and the policy-maker, because it isn't easy.

The invasion of Iraq is maybe a good illustration of that. It is not always easy for the practitioners to know when and how to ask for outside, more academic



Sir Adam Roberts, former President of the British Academy, shares a word with Lord Ashdown at the conference on 'Contested Approaches to Conflict, Stability and Security: Rethinking State Fragility', held at the Academy in November 2014. Photo: Jon Ball.

understanding, or for academics to know when and how to feed it in. Probably once upon a time, when there were much closer connections between some of the policy-makers and Oxford and Cambridge, maybe they had those discussions in their clubs in the evening. Then the world became more segmented and we have all gone into our silos. What those of us who care about the connection have to do is to try and provide ways to get both the academics and the practitioners out of their silos and to have opportunities to converse with each other, and to converse with each other in such a way that you might hope they would occasionally ring up and say, 'Hey, can we talk about such-and-such?'

With our series of British Academy International Forums, we have tried to provide a basis for some of those conversations to take place. We could do a lot more of that.

What should the British Academy be doing more of?

In the time I have been more closely involved, I think the British Academy has changed quite a lot. It has become much more involved in explicitly showcasing the strengths of the humanities and social science in the UK, and the importance of the humanities and social sciences in a broader global context. In some sense, we have to be evangelists for our own concerns, and that means using different ways of working from the conventional ways of publishing academic research. We keep having to exploit alternative vehicles for putting our message across, and we have to develop the public relations capability to do that effectively. I think we have made a great deal of progress on that, but there is still more to be done.

8. In March 2014 the British Academy published a report on *The Art of Attraction: Soft Power and the UK's Role in the World* (www.britishacademy.ac.uk/softpower). This was discussed in Adam Roberts, 'Global power, influence and perception in the 21st century', *British Academy Review*, 24 (Summer 2014), 13-15.

After 2015: Development and its alternatives

CLIVE GABAY

The convenor of a British Academy Conference held in September 2014 reports on a timely discussion of the effectiveness of global development targets.

Dr Clive Gabay is Senior Lecturer in the School of Politics and International Relations, Queen Mary, University of London.

The Millennium Development Goals

September 2015 will mark the end of a hugely resourced 15-year experiment in global consensus-building otherwise known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs emerged from a concerted effort on the part of United Nations, other donor agencies and Western governments at the turn of the century to devise a universal set of international development goals and targets which would reboot the aid industry in an effort to address some (although not all) of the major issues affecting developing countries at that time. At a UN summit in 2000, every UN member state signed up to the *Millennium Declaration*, a document committing in quite vague terms to concepts of universal social justice and human rights. Eighteen months later the MDGs emerged, a result of a set of negotiations between a relatively small group of people from the major international organisations (the World Bank, UN Development Programme, International Monetary Fund) and Western aid donors. The MDGs consist of eight goals, 21 targets, and 60 measurable indicators. At the top level, the eight goals commit to: eradicating extreme hunger and poverty; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria; ensuring environmental sustainability; and establishing a global partnership for development.

As 2015 begins, there is much debate on how successful the goals have been, which depends in itself on whether one takes the whole world as the unit of analysis (in which case, not very successful), or particular regions, countries or sub-regions (in which case, very mixed). However,

quite apart from the success or failure of the MDGs, there has been a clear momentum in the past couple of years to build a new, post-MDG development settlement. This has brought to the fore questions of politics, influence and control. The original goals were highly technocratic, marginalising a great number of issues central to life and livelihoods in many parts of the world, ranging from land rights to gender-based violence. Furthermore, the MDGs did not make any reference whatsoever to the structural conditions that underpin poverty in much of the world. There was no sense of *how* poverty was to be eradicated. There are perhaps obvious reasons for this, including the lack of input from groups living in poverty or even their governments, and the impossibility of proposing any developmental compact which might challenge the hegemony of economic interests that held sway in that pre-9/11, pre-financial crisis world.

Much has now changed. The policy prescriptions of neo-classical, small-state economics which dominated development industry thinking in the 1990s and 2000s have been discredited for many. Related ideas still persist, as we saw with the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on the post-2015 agenda, chaired by UK Prime Minister David Cameron, who is on record as favouring market-oriented solutions to development. However, we do seem to be at a critical juncture where a number of more or less potentially radical alternatives seem to be open for discussion. One example of this would be the discussion around truly *global* development goals. A post-2015 goal that targeted, say, obesity, would clearly represent a challenge to food policy and potentially a radical challenge to the food industry around the globe.

Conference

Issues like these were the subject of a British Academy Conference – *After 2015: Development and its Alternatives* – held in September 2014. The conference brought together experts ranging from internationally renowned scholars, to activists working with indigenous groups resisting mainstream 'development' solutions that take little account of local interests. The subject of the conference itself was designed to open up questions about:



The British Academy Conference, 'After 2015', was held in September 2014.

how the MDGs and mainstream development thinking have evolved up to 2015; alternatives to that mainstream thinking; and finally alternatives to the whole concept of 'development' itself.

One of the major debates to emerge concerned the whole efficacy of setting targets for development. Participants in the opening roundtable, such as Jan Vandemoortele – the former director of the Poverty Group at the UN Development Programme, and key protagonist in shaping the MDGs – argued that, even though the causes of poverty were multiple and complex, reducing poverty and development to a set of targets that even his 'grandmother could understand' made progress possible. Others felt that reducing these complex issues to a set of technocratic targets depoliticised development, and drew attention away from important structural factors (like inequality) which underpin poverty and social exclusion.

This debate fed into an 'in conversation' session with James C. Scott, Professor of Anthropology and Political Science at Yale University. Professor Scott has authored some of the most influential works in his field over a period of 40 years, much of which have centred on how state efforts to make human and non-human environments 'legible' for ease of census-taking, taxation, land planning, etc. have simultaneously destroyed human and non-human diversity and depoliticised human relationships with each other and their environment. Professor Scott argued that 'universal' goals like the MDGs, or the good governance agenda promoted by institutions like the World Bank, represent vernacular elements of 19th-century North Atlantic capitalism, and as such they erase other vernacular ways of doing development, government, property relations and so on.

Alternatives

The conference also considered the issue of where alternatives to mainstream efforts may be coming from, the challenges those alternatives are facing, and how support for them may be nurtured. The co-chair of the Global Call to Action against Poverty, the world's largest anti-poverty civil society coalition, detailed the difficulties GCAP has faced in having its voice heard within UN forums, and how NGOs based in the Global North have also been guilty of overlooking the political demands of their Southern counterparts. This raised the issue of whether alternative forms of development

should be enacted within established global forums such as the UN, or instead at a much more local scale – perhaps out of the 'limelight' of big international development agreements and their associated monitoring structures and agents.

Of course, one might well ask whether big, headline development programmes and targets should be dropped altogether, and that was certainly the view of many present at the conference. However, another question to emerge was whether it might be desirable to manufacture a global moment that is supportive of local alternative practices. And if the answer to that question is yes, then we obviously have to consider how we would go about supporting local, 'from below' mobilisations to make that happen.

One way of doing this would be to stop treating development as 'our' (i.e. privileged) solution for 'them' (i.e. the poor, excluded, dispossessed). Devising development strategies along such lines inevitably ends up treating the subjects of development as passive recipients of rich-world largesse and/or expertise. Similarly, people living in poverty should not simply be encouraged to 'participate' in programmes where the broad parameters of what is possible have already been defined in the air-conditioned offices of donor agencies. Ultimately, the people who often know most about, and are hence expert in the conditions which perpetuate their social and economic exclusion, are those people being excluded. This was best articulated by Carlos Zorilla, representative of Defensa y Conservacion Ecologica de Intag (DECOIN), a movement of indigenous peoples in the Intag (Cloud-forest) region of Ecuador. For two decades the Intag region has been targeted by mining companies who want to explore for minerals. Promises of local infrastructure development have gone hand-in-hand with violence targeted against those who have argued against the vision of industrial development, deforestation and loss of biodiversity and livelihood which the mining projects would deliver. DECOIN is one example of a group which knows what it wants, and to whom policy-makers at every level should listen if they want to think seriously about meeting the demands of people living in poverty.

Ultimately, what comes after 2015 will likely be some version of 'development' rather than any of its alternatives. Nonetheless, for the first time in a very long time alternative voices are being heard and have built impressive momentum around issues of economic rights, socio-economic exclusion and global structural inequality. Should such voices be ignored this time around, they will not go quietly into the night.

Each year the British Academy holds up to six 'British Academy Conferences' – pivotal events of lasting significance, at which leading-edge research of the highest calibre can be presented and discussed. Held over one or two days, these conferences provide particular opportunities for multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary perspectives. More information can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/conferences

The deep past as a social asset in Jordan

BILL FINLAYSON
with Paul Burtenshaw and Carol Palmer

On 18 November 2014, the British Academy hosted a showcase event that explored 'The Social and Economic Benefits of Cultural Heritage'. The evening featured presentations by some of the British Academy-sponsored overseas institutes. The following article is based on the presentation by Professor Bill Finlayson, Director of the Council for British Research in the Levant.

Cultural heritage is important for the sustainable development, well-being and resilience of communities. Cultural heritage has the potential to be an asset for group cohesion and identity, for the diversity of local economies, and for cultural inspiration and vibrancy. The successful mobilisation of cultural heritage as such a social asset depends on an understanding not just of heritage assets, but of the social, economic, cultural and political context of the communities involved, their institutional capacity, and their access to resources and education, as well as their current relationship with local cultural heritages.

Jordanian heritage tourism, and local identification with heritage, is closely tied to Nabataean heritage (most significantly at Petra), classical heritage (Jerash, in the north of Jordan), and biblical heritage (the baptism site). Jordan is in a region of old civilisations, but young modern states, and the Nabataean heritage has been enlisted to help bind the new Jordanian state, along with an imagined Bedouin identity. For a country rich in heritage, Jordanian heritage tourism is based around a surprisingly small number of sites, notably Petra and Jerash, where it is dominated by big tour company tourism; and it is notorious for short visits, which have generally been built into regional tours based in other neighbouring countries such as Israel, Syria and Egypt. As a consequence, tourism in Jordan suffers from any regional instability, regardless of the actual relative safety of Jordan, and the economic benefits are diluted.

Within Jordan, although tourism is recognised as important to the economy, only a limited part of the population benefits directly, although many people continue to share a great optimism about the potential benefits. At Petra, only one Bedouin tribe, the Bdul,

benefits significantly – others tribes more marginally. Even the Bdul have had a mixed experience of the benefits, as they were moved from their traditional cave dwellings in a resettlement programme that caused considerable conflict. Their removal, while seen as essential by the heritage management community, arguably also created a rather sterilised or dehumanised cultural heritage – the Bedouin inhabitants of the caves in Petra had always been an integral part of the image of the site since its rediscovery by the west (Figure 1). Indeed, the Bedouin living in and around Petra are still a popular part of the ordinary tourist experience. The Bedouin identities presented locally are extremely diverse: the state image of martial Bedouin, represented by the uniformed desert police; the young Bdul men, who often seem to be channelling Johnny Depp and the *Pirates of the Caribbean*; the older Bedouin who are still very much in touch with their own heritage; and the visibly impoverished concrete block settlements that have replaced the more romantic image of black goat hair tents.

The Neolithic and tourism

The Neolithic is the incredibly dynamic phase of human history when many of the foundations of modern society were developed – including the foundations of food-producing economies, the social developments that enabled people to live together in large permanent communities, and the rise of increasingly formalised symbolic systems that ultimately led to religion. The Neolithic sites of Jordan (Figure 2) offer a globally significant history of enormous economic, social and ideological change which is shared throughout the region, irrespective of current borders, and which represents an asset for new perspectives on identity and social stories. Within Jordan, that heritage is unusually well-preserved and visually striking, yet surveys show few tourists know of Neolithic archaeology.

These Neolithic sites have the potential to diversify both the market and geographical spread of tourism. Small numbers of independent tourists already visit the south of Jordan, primarily for walking and touring the



Figure 1
The Bedouin appear prominently in this 1839 painting of El Deir, Petra, by David Roberts. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

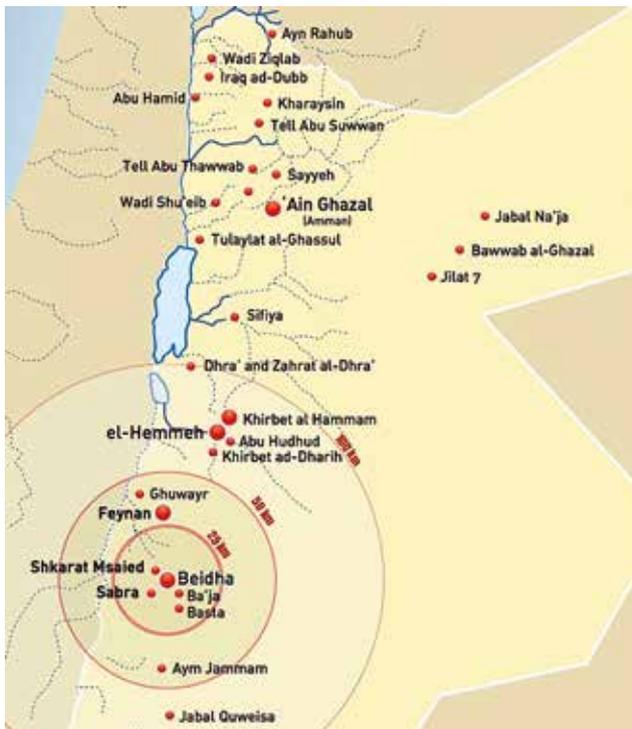


Figure 2
Distribution of Neolithic sites in Jordan.

landscape, and ecotourism is relatively well marketed. These tourists stay almost twice as long as the tour company visitors, and are less sensitive to security problems, which is critical to sustainable tourism. Small numbers of tourists spending money in the right places and behaving in an appropriate way can make a large positive contribution to small communities. They seem an ideal market to target to develop the ideas of Neolithic heritage tourism.

A regular criticism of development projects involving heritage is the lack of knowledge to inform design and suitable approaches. Unfortunately, while public-benefit projects around archaeology are well-intentioned, they are not researched, and are simply imposed with a short-lived injection of funds, leading to a poor return on investments in resources.

Beidha

The Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL) is actively engaged with the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities to develop local sustainable heritage tourism. We initially commenced work at the Neolithic site of Beidha in 2000 as a response to the perceived need to diversify tourism, and to bring its economic benefits to other groups – in this case the Amarine Bedouin,



Figure 3a
Beidha: aerial view. Photo: APAAME_20020930_RHB-0258 © Robert Bewley, Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East (www.apaame.org).



Figure 3b
Beidha: experimental reconstruction of Neolithic buildings.

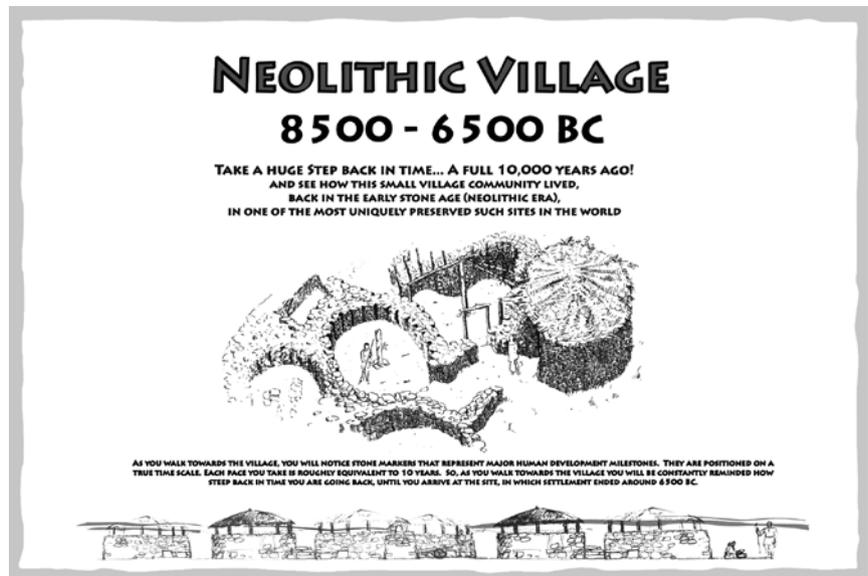


Figure 3c
Beidha: improved signs for tourists.

who felt largely excluded from the booming Petra tourism industry. Beidha was excavated in the 1950s and 1960s by Diana Kirkbride and was seen as a flagship of Neolithic research. Kirkbride had been trained by Kathleen Kenyon at Jericho and this experience inspired her to work at Beidha. The frustration of only being able to see small areas of the Neolithic at Jericho at the bottom of deep excavations through the tell, led her to use a new type of open area excavation at Beidha, to expose large areas of architecture which enabled her to understand how the community had been constructed. This methodology has since become the standard approach to settlement archaeology applied throughout the region.

Our first project, jointly run with Dr Mohammed Najjar, then Director of Fieldwork at the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, was envisioned

as a community project from the start, involving as many of the local Bedouin as possible. We decided early on that we would not apply for large-scale international funding, but would attempt to build the project slowly, in a manner that made it sustainable and attracted local interest. Initial work largely consisted of removing old spoil heaps, backfilling large open excavation trenches, and conducting conservation works on archaeological remains that had been suffering from being exposed to the elements, goats and tourists for 40 years. We were joined by Samantha Dennis who developed an experimental construction project which was subsequently taken forward as part of her PhD. The Neolithic structures she would supervise building were also intended to be used as an interpretation centre, helping to make sense of an archaeological maze of collapsing stone walls. It soon transpired that the construction process and the gradual appearance of a Neolithic village was quite a tourist draw in itself, although there were moments (such as the experimental burning of one of the buildings) that were perceived as some form of active vandalism. Ever since then we have understood that having people working on-site, especially the combination of archaeologists and the local Bedouin, is a great enhancement to a visit.

Beidha is located within the Petra Park, one of the most significant tourist locations in the Levant, with parts of the local population heavily involved in, and indeed defined by, this location and the heritage industry. Beidha receives visitors, mostly those combining visits to Petra, but also people who know of the site as one of the earliest excavated Neolithic sites – and it is still very important as an early locus for goat domestication processes – a visible part of contemporary Bedouin heritage.

Anthropological research affiliated to CBRL has also examined the local Bedouin populations in light of the UNESCO proclamation of Bedouin 'Intangible Cultural Heritage', where an existing knowledge of the economic



Figure 4
Wadi Faynan 16, one of the world's first large public buildings, built about 11,600 years ago, with tiered benches around a central space.

potential of world heritage status, as exemplified by the Petra industry, has led to an enthusiastic florescence of traditional culture.

Neolithic Heritage Trail

We have a long engagement at Beidha, with the original excavations conducted under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in the 1950s, more recently through our community-based site conservation and interpretation projects, and currently in a multi-agency format with the Department of Antiquities, Ministry of Tourism, the Petra Archaeological Park, and Siyaha (the USAID-funded Jordan tourism development project), putting up signage around the site. Beidha acts as one of the anchor points on the 'Neolithic Heritage Trail', a route that links together major Neolithic sites in southern Jordan.

Our work builds on areas of experience and expertise built up over many years in archaeology, cultural heritage management, rural economics, and contemporary politics and identity within an interdisciplinary project. Since our work began around Beidha, extensive research has been conducted in the Wadi Faynan at the base of the Jordanian plateau, the location of numerous CBRL field projects in archaeology and anthropology (Figure 4). Most recently, Paul Burtenshaw undertook an evaluation of cultural heritage tourism within the context of the Wadi Faynan tourism developments, which have been largely built around an Ecodge and nature reserve, and have been focused on ecotourism, not the cultural heritage. Wadi Faynan is now known from archaeological studies of the Neolithic as one of the earliest locations of communal architecture, and of the process of becoming sedentary – a prehistoric story that echoes with contemporary Bedouin life. Long-term archaeological and



Figure 5
Basta, a large Neolithic site from 9,000 years ago, almost urban in character with densely packed multi-storey buildings.
Photo: APAAME_20020930_RHB-0234 © Robert Bewley, Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East (www.apaame.org).

anthropological studies have established strong connections with the local community, and the recent studies provide data on the benefits that the community receives from archaeology.

For some years now, with the approval of the Ministry of Tourism, support of the Department of Antiquities, and collaboration with other international researchers from the Free University of Berlin, the University of Copenhagen, and the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, we have led the Neolithic Heritage Trail project to promote tourism to, and awareness of, Jordan's Neolithic heritage while providing local sustainable development. Both Wadi Faynan and Beidha act as anchors to this trail, providing key parts of the story the trail is telling, as well as practical access. This is a conscious attempt to fulfil the original objectives of the Beidha community project, aiming to work with the local populations, and to make the Neolithic heritage more accessible in itself, and also enhance it as a tourist attraction by combining it with locally guided walking tours. The local people, many of whom either have worked on archaeological sites, or have been employed as actors on the many documentaries filmed in the area, see that archaeology is important, but recognise that information about the sites is key for them to appreciate what the sites are and why they have relevance to their lives today. Part

of our work is to improve knowledge of the Neolithic past and to assess how cultural heritage assets can be mobilised in the future to benefit these communities. This mobilisation depends not simply on the availability of funds, but on having a solid understanding of the unique local contexts of relationships with the past and how they operate in the practical realities of the present.

New research on tourism and the deep past

New field research will take place at two locations – Basta and Beidha – to extend Burtenshaw's Wadi Faynan project. Before the field research work begins, we will collect background and census information on local socio-economic conditions and education levels, and establish a history of the involvement and motivation of major stakeholders, as well as the archaeological research and previous efforts to promote the heritage carried out at each site. Each of these locations contains significant and visible Neolithic heritage, but the local population and tourism contexts are different.

Basta, although located near Petra, with prominent cultural heritage – both an excavated Neolithic village and well-preserved traditional houses – currently sees little tourism despite attempts by the Department of

Antiquities to promote it. The Neolithic site lies central to the village (Figure 5), but without interpretation or facilities. Visitors often report hostility and acts of vandalism, and the site is frequently used as a rubbish dump, indicating that it has little social value.

Local data collection will take a variety of forms. A household survey will sample the local populations to establish economic activity, household composition, skills and education levels, conducting interviews covering community and personal identity, knowledge of and relationships with local cultural heritage, and opinions on local tourism. An Economic Impact Assessment, including a tourist survey, will establish the current benefits for the local population that result from tourism and research projects. In addition to these formal data collection methods, ethnographic and participant-observer activities will be employed to provide a wider context including local politics and power structures, rural economics and social organisation.

The data will first provide the opportunity for comparison between sites, including data from Wadi Faynan, to identify the key factors affecting the use of Neolithic heritage as a social asset. It will also act as the basis for a more proactive engagement with local communities to mobilise any identified potential. The project will carry out participatory approaches to allow community members to express values and opinions around issues raised in the data collection, and to build consensus on how best to enhance and use the heritage assets.

Projects will then be carried out to meet priorities identified by these activities. These will take place under the umbrella of the Neolithic Heritage Trail. The development of the tourist trail allows for different

heritage sites to provide mutual support for each other and offer a tourist experience to attract economic impact. The trail will also connect the communities involved, enhancing the sharing of expertise and networks. Initial activities for the trail will involve the community-led development of publicity material, guide training, and the enhancement of tourism skills. The foundation of the trail's development in real community understanding and 'bottom-up' processes will maximise the possibilities for the long-term success of the trail and the conservation of the archaeology involved. These processes may take the form of local heritage education through written and digital material, collaboration with local schools, guide and tourism training, or training in dealing with heritage conservation. Local NGOs, including the Petra National Trust, will be partners in such projects, and have already been engaged in primary school education around Petra.

Working with a bulldozer driver at another Neolithic excavation at the site of Dhra' by the Dead Sea, I explained that this might be the earliest village in Jordan. He replied to say that he supposed that must mean the house we were looking at could have been the house of Adam and Eve. I could only reply that, yes, I supposed it could have been. He answered 'We are all the sons and daughters of Adam and Eve' – which in a way, is kind of the point.

The Council for British Research in the Levant is one of the eight British Academy-Sponsored Institutes and Societies. More about these 'BASIS' institutes can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/basis/

Urban challenges: Toward real and lasting social innovation

ADAM GREENFIELD

On 31 October 2014, in celebration of World Cities Day 2014, the British Academy held a seminar on 'Social Innovation and Creative Responses to Global Urban Challenges', which highlighted the role and importance of social innovation in contemporary urban change and 'smart' liveable city spaces. The event was organised in collaboration with the Economic and Social Research Council and the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

One of the speakers, Adam Greenfield, discusses two recent examples of social innovation – in New York and Madrid. Adam was the 2014 Senior Urban Fellow at LSE Cities, an international centre in the London School of Economics.

Spend even a few days listening to the residents of just about any city neighbourhood on Earth, and you will come away with the acute sense that everyday urban life for all too many – in the affluent North as well as the developing South – remains beset by difficulties that existing institutions are powerless to resolve. You will hear, variously, that garbage goes uncollected, graffiti spoors the walls and storefronts, children go to school hungry, or that potentially productive land sits fenced-off and vacant, and that neither the public nor the private sector seems to have the willingness or wherewithal to do anything about it.

You will hear this sort of grievance almost word-for-word wherever you go, from Delhi to Florence to Leeds. It only takes a few such recitations for the sensitive listener to understand that a planetary gap has opened up between those few provisions the austere state is able to make for its constituents and that which the market offers, and that literally millions are tumbling into it. It shouldn't surprise us that, when faced with such circumstances, the more energetic will cast about for something that might help them attack the seemingly intractable challenges they face, and maybe restore a little pride and dignity to their lives into the bargain.

This, as I understand it anyway, is the aim of the diffuse global endeavour that its adherents call 'social innovation'. Broadly speaking, social innovation seeks

to address these persistent challenges by calling upon the set of actors and resources we think of as civil society. The impetus for such efforts frequently enough begins with what Jane Jacobs would have called a 'local character', one of those more than usually vocal, independent and self-motivating people you will, again, encounter in every neighbourhood on Earth – but it can also be an existing affinity or pressure group that gets the ball rolling. When confronted with a situation that has finally become intolerable, this highly motivated kernel of activity surveys the community around them for available human and financial assets, activates them with whatever means they have at their disposal, and organises them into a functional ensemble that can be brought to bear on the crisis effectively. In many ways, this can be thought of as a formalised, institutionalised and scaled-up version of the processes of adaptive improvisation that communities under pressure have always relied upon – what might be called *jugaad* in Hindi and Urdu, or *gambiarra* in Brazilian Portuguese.

The necessity for improvisation clearly arises as a response to a set of real conditions on the ground. Scoured by 35 years of rigid adherence to free-market orthodoxy, communities have largely been left to fend for themselves in situations where the state has withdrawn from the provision of service, and no market actor perceives an enticingly clear revenue opportunity.

Further, there is unquestionably an appeal to it. Locally organised efforts tend to be more respectful of the knowledge, initiative and energy that exist in the neighbourhood than one-size-fits-all solutions imposed from the top down. They harness the insights and talents of those close to the ground, with a direct stake in the outcome. They recognise that creative ingenuity can and demonstrably does live anywhere, and foster sound habits of self-reliance. They make brilliant use of existing resources, leveraging the sunk material and energetic costs of tools that are already ready to hand. Perhaps best of all, they tend to restore to participants a sense of their own competence and agency.

We can see all of these tendencies at work in two cases we might understand as examples of social innovation at its best and most effective.

Occupy Sandy

In October 2012, the compound hurricane known as Superstorm Sandy made landfall on the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, to devastating effect. In New York City alone, hundreds of thousands of households found themselves without power, light, heat or potable water. Tens of thousands of elderly people and others with limited mobility were stranded on high floors, in buildings where elevator service might not be restored for a week or more. Entire housing projects were left to fend for themselves – in many cases because those responsible for their care and maintenance were stranded offsite by the collapse of the regional transportation network. Attempts to right that network struggled against acute and immediate fuel shortages, amid 40-block queues and spreading mayhem at gas stations.

One bright light in all of this was the effective response. Thankfully, in the aftermath of the superstorm there was an organisation capable of standing up a network of intake, co-ordination and distribution centres, and starting relief operations almost immediately. This organisation funnelled an enormous quantity of donated goods and supplies out to the hardest-hit areas, ensuring that thousands of New Yorkers were sheltered, warmed and fed, and provided crew after crew of volunteers willing to take on the difficult, dirty, and occasionally dangerous job of site clearance. It was called Occupy Sandy (Figure 1).

Organised by veterans of the previous year's Occupy Wall Street demonstrations, this group of amateurs, unequipped with budgetary resources, or any significant prior experience of logistics management, is universally acknowledged as having outstripped traditional, hierarchical and abundantly resourced groups like the US Federal Emergency Management Agency and the American Red Cross in delivering relief to the hardest-hit communities.

El Campo de Cebada

For many years, Madrid's central La Latina neighbourhood supported a thriving market hall, and later a well-used community sporting facility. These were demolished in August 2009, to make way for planned improvements. But with Spain still in the grips of the 2008 economic downturn, the money earmarked for the improvements failed to materialise, and the site remained vacant and inaccessible for many months, cordoned off by a chainlink fence. As will tend to happen at such sacrifice zones, this site – el Campo de Cebada – increasingly began to attract graffiti, illegal dumping and still less salutary behaviour, to which the municipal authorities claimed they were powerless to respond.

Exasperated with this state of affairs, a group of community activists cut through the fence and immediately began retrieving the site for citizen use. Following a clean-up, the activists used salvaged material to build benches, mobile sunshades and other elements of an ingenious, rapidly reconfigurable parliament – and the first question they put before this parliament was



Figure 1
After Hurricane Sandy hit New York in 2012, the Occupy Sandy movement promoted relief and reconstruction in affected neighbourhoods, in a spirit of 'mutual aid, not charity'.

how to manage the site itself.

This ongoing self-stewardship was successful enough for long enough that the site collective eventually obtained quasi-official sanction for their activities. Some three years on, in its various roles as recreation ground, youth centre and assembly hall, el Campo has become a vital community resource (Figure 2). If it has problems now, they are of the sort that attend unanticipated success; on holiday weekends especially, the site attracts overflow crowds.

In both of these cases, organisations emerging from within civil society itself were able to do what the state manifestly could not, in contexts where the market did not perceive an advantage to be had. What did they have in common? And what distinguishes them from other examples of social innovation we might have cited?

Driven by an underlying commitment to values

Despite their many salient differences, Occupy Sandy and el Campo were linked by something very old-fashioned: an explicit commitment to a participatory, even a liberatory politics. Both were fundamentally organised along strong principles of leaderlessness, horizontality and consensus. Would-be OS volunteers, for example, were required to attend an initial 15-minute presentation (referred to, with refreshing straightforwardness, as 'indoctrination') in which this guiding ethos was explained to them. Anyone who didn't think they would be able to abide by this set of values was thanked for their time and invited to offer their help somewhere else. I can attest from personal experience that at least a core cadre of those who remained found sustaining energy, over some very rough days and weeks, in the idea that



Figure 2
El Campo de Cebada – a space in the centre of Madrid reclaimed and managed by its own citizens. Image: <http://uneven-growth.moma.org/>

they were living these values in the most concrete way possible.

Largely because of this, it's highly unlikely that anyone involved with either effort would have thought of what they were doing as 'social innovation' *per se*. The commitment to shared values stands in pointed contrast to all too many activities which transpire under the banner, which are strikingly decoupled from any broader theory of change, or for that matter from one another.

The process is the outcome

Social-innovation discourse implicitly constructs a model of urban crisis, treating the undesirable circumstance as a discrete and bounded *problem* which admits to a technical *solution*.

In both Occupy Sandy and el Campo, by contrast, there is a strong sense in which the ongoing effort involved in mounting an effective response *was itself* the solution to the issues confronting the community. While most of the activists involved would certainly have said their primary aim was distributing hot meals to the hungry, or restoring an abandoned lot to active use, almost as important (and probably of greater long-term impact) was their lived experience of enacting participatory values in the here and now. To hear them tell it, many participants gleaned both confidence and a sense of their own competence – tools in perpetually short supply, which might well be carried on to other circumstances, shared with other communities, or inform the response to future challenges. This makes these initiatives the frank antithesis of the many social innovation schemes which seem designed to appeal to a global community of bloggers, social-media aficionados

and self-designated 'change agents', before generating any particularly lasting benefit for local people.

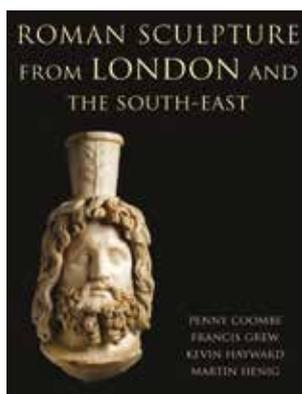
It is, of course, inevitable in an attention-hungry age that some projects billed as socially productive would amount to little more than puffery and clever branding. Nevertheless, most of the people who think of themselves as being involved in social innovation represent the best that is in us. They tend to be optimistic, creative, boundlessly energetic. They are unquestionably entrepreneurial, in the sense that they are more than usually attentive to the gap between need and existing capability, and how it might best be spanned or filled. Above all, they demonstrably care about their communities, at a time when it's emotionally and psychologically safer, and certainly easier, to withdraw behind a screen of cynicism and snark.

If it is occasionally misapplied, the instinct to communal repair that underlies their work is sound, and to my mind very much worth encouraging. When it does happen to be linked by some commitment to a set of shared values, sustained by an overt politics of solidarity, it can be astonishingly effective in restoring a sense of agency and ownership to communities beaten this way and that by decades of disenfranchisement. If we wish to see such initiatives reach their deepest potential, we should encourage the active citizens behind them to link up, to understand the common sources of their distress, and to think of what they are doing as steps toward a broader and more coherent inquiry into the allocation of resources and the organisation of our society. For all the good we see being generated by these occasionally brilliant acts of improvisation, the real and only lasting social innovation will be when we collectively face up to the reality of our profound interdependence.

Roman sculpture from London and the South-East

PENNY COOMBE

One dark and chilly Monday in the winter of 2007, two overalled figures gingerly opened the doors to Bay 4 in the warehouse of the Museum of London reserve collections and the London Archaeological Archive. With small backpack hoovers strapped on, they moved further into the darkness as the overhead lights flickered. These were not *Ghostbusters*, but a conservator and myself, seeking out, cleaning and examining the Roman sculpture from London and South-East England, which would form part of the latest British contribution to the international *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* – a definitive catalogue of the sculpture of the Roman Empire.



was really the genesis of fascicule 10. Aided by a generous grant from the British Academy, and by help from experts and the curators at more than 35 institutions, this project has been completed by a team of four. Dr Henig has acted as academic director. Francis Grew of the Museum of London has undertaken a general editorial and co-ordinating role, which has been especially important in the later stages. Dr Kevin Hayward has provided specialist petrological analysis of the stone. I was employed as the research assistant.

The sources of stones and styles

The most significant innovation in this fascicule has been Kevin Hayward's petrological analysis and thin-sectioning of most of the pieces, included for the first time in the British Academy series. This has allowed identification of a far greater variety of materials than was possible in previous fascicules.

Dr Hayward had already demonstrated in his doctoral thesis the significance of understanding the source of the stone when attempting to set sculptures and stone-carving in their full socio-economic and geographic context.² We now have an insight into the important links between the Cotswold region and Londinium for the provision of stone and the transmission of a specific sculptural style. The evidence also shows that stone was imported from parts of northern France, especially into the region south of the Thames. All this emphasises the significance of supply via waterways – notably the Thames and the English Channel.

Styles of carving also travelled. The forms seen on the 'London Arch' and the 'Screen of Gods' (see below) have parallels in German and French monuments. Large blocks found in the foundations of the bastions of the Roman Wall in Londinium and at Verulamium could be reconstructed in the same manner as some of the largest of the funerary structures from the Rhine and Moselle, such as the mausoleum at Igel near Trier.³ Martin Henig has suggested that many items were carved

The project

The British Academy's contribution to this international publication project is the cataloguing of sculpture from Roman Britain. Since 1977, the Academy has published nine fascicules (parts) of its series. The new fascicule 10, which is being published in March 2015, covers Greater London, Surrey, Kent and Hertfordshire.¹

Dr Tom Blagg began listing items for inclusion in the fascicule some years ago, but sadly died before the work was fully under way. In 2007, the responsibility for completing the fascicule fell to Dr Martin Henig, who was already author of fascicules 7 and 9, which had catalogued all the sculpture from the Cotswold region and the North West Midlands respectively. It was particularly appropriate that he should now turn to London and the South-East because, between 1965 and 1967, he had compiled the original catalogue cards of items in the then Guildhall Museum's collection, which

1. Penny Coombe, Francis Grew, Kevin Hayward & Martin Henig, *Roman Sculpture from London and the South-East* (*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Great Britain, Volume I, Fascicule 10). Further information can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/pubs

2. K. Hayward, *Roman quarrying and stone supply on the periphery – Southern England: a geological study of first century funerary monuments and monumental architecture* (BAR British series 500, 2009).

3. E.M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London 1970), pl. 11.



Figure 1
A temple dedicated to Mithras was built beside the Walbrook, City of London, in the mid 3rd century AD. It was rededicated to Bacchus in the early 4th century. The site was excavated in 1954 because of building work. Among the fine pieces recovered was this head of the god Serapis. (Catalogue entry 16.)
Photo: copyright the Board of Governors of the Museum of London.



Figure 2

A frieze of Medusa heads, from the 2nd century AD. Imported by Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel (1585-1641), this was evidently one of the most highly prized classical antiquities in early 17th-century England, and inspired some of the greatest artists of the day. After Arundel's death, his London mansion off the Strand was requisitioned by Parliament during the English Civil War, and the collection broken up. Some are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, but others of his pieces were simply abandoned in the garden. This one was excavated on the site of the house in 1972. (Catalogue entry 47.) Photo: copyright the Board of Governors of the Museum of London.

when they arrived at their destination in order to avoid damage during transport, with evidence from London of workshops of sculptors originating from the Cotswolds.⁴ It is possible that artisans from other parts of England or even elsewhere in the North Western provinces were also located in London, to complete work that had been commenced before shipping.

Monumental architecture

Fragments are now all that remain of the sculptural embellishments of several noteworthy buildings from the region. At the Roman port of Richborough in Kent, a marble-clad arch, evidently surmounted by an equestrian statue, provided an awesome gateway to Britain in much the same way as Trajan's arch at Ancona must have welcomed sailors to Italy.⁵ Excavations in 1975 recovered 29 stones that had been reused as building material within the late-Roman riverside wall in London; Tom Blagg devised a masterly reconstruction to show how they had originally formed part of a single monumental arch (the 'London Arch'), perhaps from a nearby temple precinct. He also showed how another nine fragments retrieved from the same wall in the same excavation originally belonged to an impressive screen, one face of which depicted six deities (the 'Screen of Gods').⁶

4. M. Henig, 'Sculptors from the west in Roman London', in J. Bird, M. Hassall and H. Sheldon (eds), *Interpreting Roman London: Papers in memory of Hugh Chapman* (1996), pp. 97-103.

5. J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (second edn, Harmondsworth, 1981), pp. 179-81, ill. 109.

6. T.F.C. Blagg, 'The Roman Sculptured Stones', in C. Hill, M. Millett and T. Blagg, *The Roman Riverside Wall and Monumental Arch in London* (LAMAS Special Paper No. 3, London, 1980).

Marbles

The fascicule catalogues a quantity of very fine imported marble sculptures, unsurpassed in number and importance so far as Roman Britain goes. Perhaps the finest and the best known of the marbles are the 12 pieces recovered from the Temple of Mithras at Walbrook in the City of London, and the Baccheum that succeeded it (Figure 1). Outside the provincial capital, two marble busts were excavated from the cellar of the villa at Lullingstone in Kent, and there is an impressive statue of Venus from Hinxworth, Hertfordshire. Although now very fragmentary, 28 pieces belonging to a sarcophagus in Attic style and of Greek marble from Welwyn in the same county, as well as fragments from a statuette of Orpheus playing a lyre, hint at the presence of wealthy residents in that region, perhaps with direct links to Greece.

The opportunity has been taken to catalogue in this fascicule other pieces that were brought into the country later, particularly during the 17th- and 18th-century fervour for acquiring ancient art. The marbles imported by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, hint at the calibre and quantity of Roman art on display in London houses during this period (Figure 2). Two items in the fascicule, both identified as parts of sarcophagi, depict figures that have been extracted so neatly from larger objects as to suggest deliberate severing in order to aid transport and collection.⁷

7. Catalogue entries 45A and B.



Figure 3

This is a superb casting of the head of Hadrian from the early 2nd century AD, one of a mere handful of major bronze portraits of him to have survived from antiquity. Erected in his honour, the statue no doubt stood in the Forum until the head was roughly hacked from the body and thrown in the Thames – either as a cult offering, or after deliberate destruction by iconoclasts in late antiquity. (Catalogue entry 213.) Photo: copyright British Museum.

Destruction and survival

We know that the catalogue contains only a part of the totality of sculpture that must once have graced public and private spaces in the Roman South-East.⁸ Bronze sculpture was particularly vulnerable, as it was often melted down to be reused, but even some of the finer carvings in stone were not safe from a less glorious, if more functional, end.

Several of the bastions of the late-Roman inland city wall stood firm on foundations built on a base of sculptures. Bastions 8, 9 and 10 included the 'Camomile Street soldier', a funerary statue of a lion, and several blocks from large funerary monuments. Bastion 4 contained the tombstone of a young girl, Marciana. The funerary monument of Gaius Julius Classicianus, with its carving of the finest quality as befitted a procurator of the province, originally emerged from Bastion 2 – along with a 'complete quarry of stones' numbering 40 cartloads – during the 1852 excavations.⁹ The tombstone of the centurion Vivius Marcianus, the earliest Roman sculpture find from London, uncovered in 1669 during the rebuilding of St Martin-within-Ludgate by Sir Christopher Wren, bears a cramp socket in the chest of the figure as evidence of its reuse as a building block. Another example is the rare hexagonal tombstone of Claudia Martina, set up by her husband Anencletus who may well have been a slave.

In some cases, the very method of destruction or deposition ensured that the object has survived today, even where sculptures may have been deliberately destroyed or damaged in acts of political iconoclasm.¹⁰ A magnificent cast bronze head of Hadrian was thrown into the Thames but, protected by silt, it was preserved intact until dredged up in 1834 (Figure 3). Similarly, a right forearm and hand discovered in a well near Seething Lane in the east of the city was preserved by silt.

The cache of sculptures that includes a hunter god (Figure 4), a small stone box topped by a reclining female figure, and the leg from a fine marble carving of Neptune, excavated in 1977 from a well under Southwark Cathedral (albeit, interred after suffering significant damage), may have been buried for similar reasons, though perhaps here it was the result of Christian, rather than political zealotry.¹¹

Excavation and preservation

In the mid-19th century, Charles Roach Smith tirelessly campaigned for the key works to be preserved and

displayed to the public, his efforts providing the core of the London collection held mainly at the British Museum.¹² Excavations conducted by W.F. Grimes and Museum of London Archaeology have continued the tradition. Elsewhere, Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit has excavated part of the *Classis Britannica* fort in Dover together with the sculptures from it. As the City evolves and further development takes place throughout the region, we can expect the collection to grow, perhaps even adding items of a quality to rival the statue of an eagle carrying a serpent in its mouth discovered in late 2013 probably from a funerary context, and included in this fascicule as an appendix (Figure 5).

The continuing story

The very fact that other items will appear over time highlights the limitations of any printed catalogue. There are other restraints in producing the work. Although we have attempted to identify every piece, in many cases certainty is difficult. Indeed, some of the stones have been the subject of debate for many years, and arguments about several of them will no doubt continue. In other cases, the item is so fragmentary as to be almost impossible to identify, while others have deteriorated since they were found. Bastions, river and experts in conservation have preserved the collection for us for now, but a couple of the objects grow increasingly friable.

Finally, while many of the sculptures are of interest individually, there are others of less moment. For Adolf Michaelis, Sir John Soane's wide-ranging collection of antiquities incorporated, alongside high value or high interest pieces, an 'immeasurable chaos of worthless fragments'. This is too harsh a judgement to be applied here, and indeed it misses the point.¹³ Important for some individual pieces and their complex provenance, it is in the collection and identification of *comparanda*, and in bringing together disparate items that the significant value of the assemblage is shown. For instance, examples from Verulamium, London and Springhead have allowed us to identify a new category of bronze clamp, each cast in the form of a human thumb (albeit at different scales) – probably designed to hold inscriptions in place on a wall. Together, the number of fragments of column and capital, or at least the larger examples like that from Verulamium, provide evidence for significant buildings in their various locations.

This fascicule is a resource, the start of the story, not the end, and an important one in which we can record what is here before any further decay or loss. We trust it will be of interest and use to scholars, now and in the future.

8. Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, iv.1.

9. Burkitt, 'Excavations near the Roman Wall on Tower Hill, London', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 8 (1853), p. 240.

10. B. Croxford, 'Iconoclasm in Roman Britain?', *Britannia* 34 (2003), 81-95, doubts Christian iconoclasm in many cases.

11. R. Merrifield, 'The London Hunter-God and his Significance in the History of Londinium', in Bird *et al.*, *Interpreting Roman London*, p. 106.

12. M. Henig and P. Coombe, 'Roach Smith and the antiquities of London: the sculptures', in H. Wiegel and M. Vickers (eds), *Excalibur: Essays on Antiquity and the History of Collecting in Honour of Arthur MacGregor* (BAR International Series 2512, 2013).

13. C.C. Vermuele, *Catalogue of the Classical Antiquities in Sir John Soane's Museum, London* (London, 1953), p. 30.



Figure 4
Recovered with other carved stonework from a well in the crypt of Southwark cathedral during excavation in 1977, this figure of a hunter god was probably carved by a sculptor from the Cotswolds in the 2nd to 3rd century AD. In his left arm the hunter cradles a bow; with his right, which is a little too large in proportion to the rest of his body, he reaches up and back to draw an arrow from the quiver he carries on his back. He is flanked by a dog at his left, and by a stag at his right. (Catalogue entry 74.) Photo: copyright the Board of Governors of the Museum of London.



Figure 5

In a powerful representation of the eternal struggle between heaven and the underworld, an eagle with wings partially spread clasps a writhing serpent firmly in its beak. Approximately half life-size, both eagle and serpent are meticulously carved. The bird's feathers are of varying length and profile, ranging from those at the neck to long, slightly curving pinions in the wings. This rich texturing is characteristic of Romano-British art at its best. The statue shows almost no weathering. This, and the fact that the back is less detailed, suggests that it was designed to be displayed in an alcove or niche within a building, most probably a burial chamber. (Catalogue entry 229.) Photo: copyright Museum of London Archaeology.

Tudor music on the international stage

JOHN MILSOM

In December 2014, the British Academy published an edition of Tallis and Byrd's 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*, a collection of Latin motets dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I and intended to serve as a cultural ambassador in continental Europe. The volume's editor, Dr John Milsom, discusses its origins, contents and significance.

John Milsom is Professorial Fellow in Music at Liverpool Hope University.

Displaying Elizabethan musical achievement

Music is often said to be a universal language that speaks across linguistic boundaries. When music becomes song, bearing words in a language that itself has wide currency – English in our own time, Latin in the past – then its potency increases further. Evidently this fact dawned on the court of Queen Elizabeth I, for in 1575 a collection of Latin-texted motets intended for export was published in London. Its contents, written by the two luminaries of the queen's Chapel Royal, Thomas Tallis (c. 1505-1585) and William Byrd (c. 1540-1623), were meant to impress European ears and eyes at a time when the English language was barely understood beyond Britain's shores; thus Latin-texted music could reach where Tudor poetry or drama could not. Modern choirs have long cherished individual pieces from this collection, but the latest volume in the British Academy's *Early English Church Music* series¹ shines the spotlight on the 1575 book itself – its origins, its printing history, and its role as a cultural ambassador.

Sets of motets published in 16th-century Europe often bear the title 'Cantiones sacrae' (sacred songs), but the Tudor book has a variant that has long puzzled the musicologists: *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (Figure 1) – variously translated as 'songs, which by their argument are called sacred', 'songs which are called sacred on account of their texts', even 'motets

called sacred because of their texts'. This evasiveness may in fact be justified: some of the compositions in the 1575 book were definitely or probably not conceived as settings of Latin texts, and were converted into motets for the sake of giving them international appeal. Several began life as textless instrumental pieces; others may have been English-texted anthems before they became Latin-texted motets. Thus various musical genres are represented in the book, re-texted where necessary, in order to display the full breadth of Elizabethan musical achievement to singers and audiences across Renaissance Europe.

The collection also covers an impressively wide chronological range. At one extreme there are pieces by Tallis composed back in the reigns of Elizabeth's father Henry VIII (d. 1547) and her half-sister Mary (reigned 1553-8). At the other extreme, some motets by both Tallis and Byrd were clearly brand new when the book went to press in 1575. Historical depth therefore complements stylistic breadth; it allows the book to celebrate England's musical past as well as its present. The encyclopaedic agenda helps explain one aspect of the book that at first sight might seem strange: some of the motet texts are drawn from the pre-Reformation Sarum rite, and others set words from the Roman Catholic rite, yet the book is dedicated to the Protestant Elizabeth. The book's prefatory material, however, neither declares nor hints that the contents of *Cantiones sacrae* were meant for liturgical use in England's churches. Rather the opposite; the main criterion for inclusion is clearly artistic excellence, not liturgical relevance.

Origins

Whose idea was it to create this book? Not necessarily Tallis and Byrd's; others may have drawn them into the project. A key suspect must be the Bolognese-born Alfonso Ferrabosco, one of Elizabeth's court musicians, who doubled as a diplomat and spy; he and Byrd were close, and some of Byrd's 1575 motets directly allude to motets composed by Ferrabosco. Other prime movers may have been the book's publisher, Thomas Vautrollier, and his patron, the music-loving Henry Fitzalan, 12th earl of

1. *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae, 1575*, transcribed and edited by John Milsom (*Early English Church Music*, 56). Further information can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/pubs

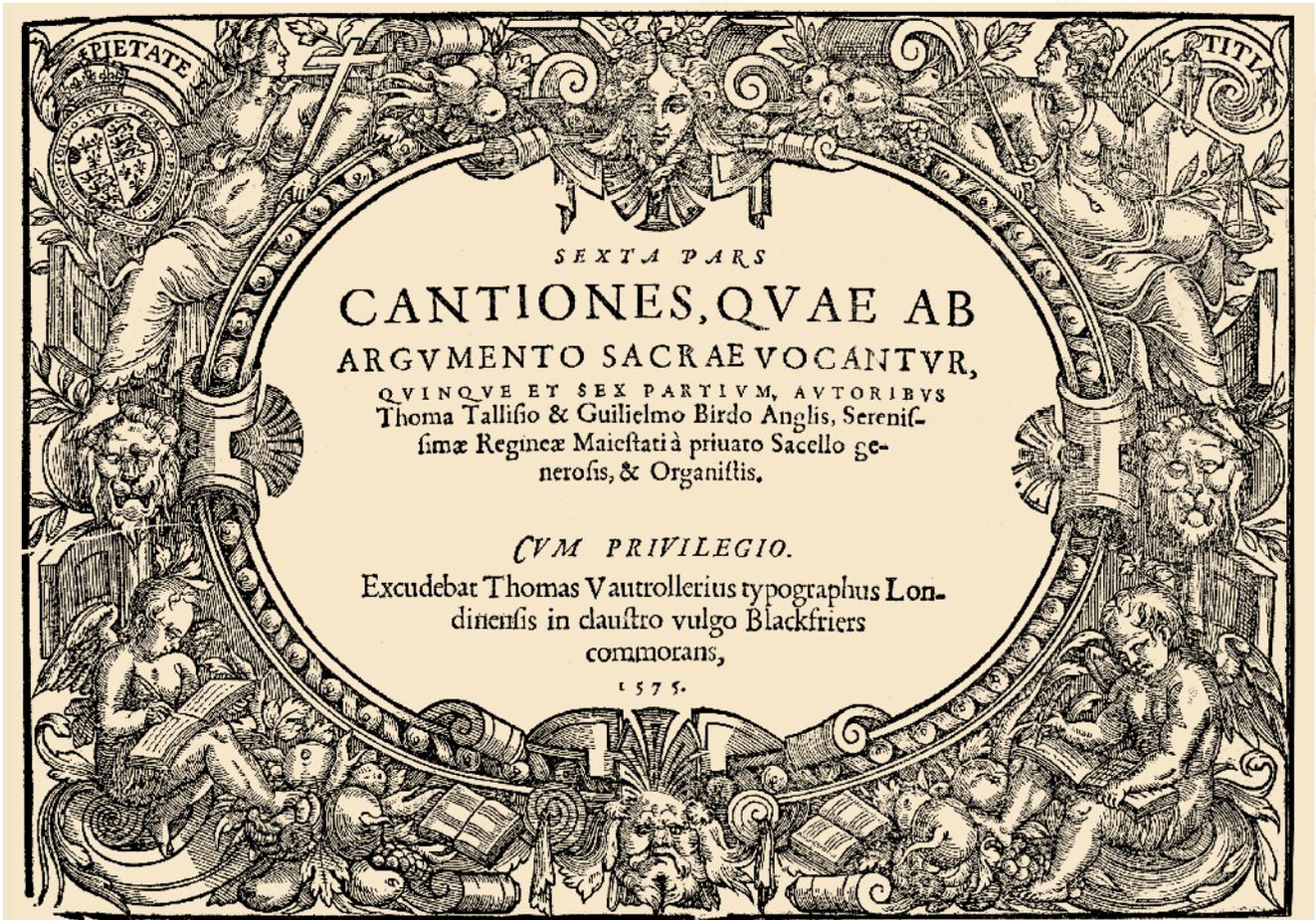


Figure 1
Title page of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1575), *Sexta Pars* partbook.

Arundel, who was one of the queen's privy councillors. But Elizabeth herself must surely have had an interest in this book. It is dedicated to her; its contents are the work of royal musicians; she was a competent musician herself; the book's function as a cultural ambassador is clearly stated; and in 1575 Elizabeth granted Tallis and Byrd sole rights to print music in England for a term of 21 years, perhaps as an incentive to publish the *Cantiones sacrae*.

Do the book's contents reflect the repertory of Elizabeth's own Chapel Royal? This is a hard question to answer. On the one hand, Latin was permitted in services held at the royal chapels, and a motet would have been viewed as ancillary to a liturgical service, just as an anthem today can be sung as a supplement to Anglican evensong. On the other hand, no documents survive to shed specific light on the music sung by England's premier ecclesiastical choir in Elizabeth's reign. What we do know is that, in England, copies of the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae* fell largely into the hands of individuals, to be used as devotional song in the privacy of the chamber. How the book fared abroad is less clear, but copies were available at the Frankfurt book fairs, and one had reached Wrocław/Breslau by the late 16th century.

In appearance, *Cantiones sacrae* is effectively a French book. It uses fonts and music type designed by Pierre

Haultin, and the printer Thomas Vautrollier, himself a Huguenot *émigré*, employed a staff of foreign workers whose standards of production were high. Close scrutiny of the extant copies – almost two dozen of them – shows that great care went into the typesetting and proof-reading: there are many stop-press corrections, sometimes of trivial details (such as missing hyphens), and handwritten corrections and paste-over cancel slips emend some of the few substantive errors that had slipped through. The result is an elegant and largely accurate publication that reflects well on its printers, no less than the book's internal contents do credit to the composers, their nation, and their royal dedicatee.

Evolving

Because *Cantiones sacrae* was prepared and seen through the press by Tallis and Byrd themselves, it tends to be viewed as the definitive source of the works it contains; but this raises the question of what 'definitive' might signify here. Some of the book's contents circulated in manuscript copies long before 1575, and were revised or re-texted by their composers expressly for publication; these revisions are interesting in themselves. Other pieces were converted into English-texted anthems after 1575 – not necessarily by Tallis and Byrd themselves – to make

V. Voc. T. Tallis **TENOR** 2

The image shows a musical score for a Tenor voice part. It consists of five staves of music. The first staff begins with a large, decorative initial 'A'. The music is written in a mensural style with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The lyrics are: 'Absterge Domine in sci enter iu ue nis fe ci, & ignof ce pæniten ti, nã tu es De us me us, tibi fo li fi dit tibi fo li fi dit a ni ma me a, ij tu es fa lus me a tu es fa lus mea, ij tu es fa lus me a, do lo re me um testãtur lachrimæ me æ'.

Absterge Domine in sci enter iu ue nis fe ci, & ignof ce pæniten ti, nã tu es De us me us, tibi fo li fi dit tibi fo li fi dit a ni ma me a, ij tu es fa lus me a tu es fa lus mea, ij tu es fa lus me a, do lo re me um testãtur lachrimæ me æ

Figure 2 Tallis, 'Absterge Domine', voice IV, opening, *Cantiones ... sacrae* (1575), Tenor partbook.

them fit for use by the choirs of England's Protestant cathedrals, colleges and churches. Thus the versions published in 1575 capture only a stage in what can be quite complex evolving histories. In recognition of this, the new edition in *Early English Church Music* gathers together all the variant states of each composition, and aligns them in parallel score, allowing the reader to see at a glance how music conceived as an instrumental fantasy might first become a Latin-texted motet, then an English texted anthem suited for use at evensong.

An example of this is the five-voice work by Tallis published in *Cantiones sacrae* as 'Absterge Domine' (Figure 2). Almost certainly this began life as an instrumental piece, scored for a consort of viols. Presumably it was Tallis himself who then devised a biblical-sounding Latin prayer, starting with the words 'Absterge Domine delicta mea'; this text, which is otherwise unknown, fits the music like hand in glove. Tallis then lightly revised this motet more than once before arriving at the version published in *Cantiones sacrae* in 1575. Around the same time, someone other than Tallis translated the motet's words into English ('Wipe away my sins, O Lord'), converting the piece from a motet into an anthem. In the 1580s it was adapted again, now to the text 'Discomfit them, O Lord', which probably refers to the Spanish Armada. In total, five discrete states of this work can be retrieved from printed or manuscript sources dating from Tallis's lifetime or soon after. All can now be viewed in *Early English Church Music*, aligned one above the other.

Among other things, the new edition invites thought about the notion of music as a 'universal language'. The motet printed in *Cantiones sacrae* as 'Absterge Domine' is musically equivalent to the anthems 'Wipe away my sins' and 'Discomfit them, O Lord', and originally the piece probably bore no words at all, yet in each of these states the work satisfies the ear. In effect, then, the music itself is linguistically ambiguous, neutral or even meaningless; only when bonded with words does it communicate actual concept. What it does possess in all its manifestations, however, is intrinsic interest that appeals to the listener and holds our attention as its musical argument unfolds; and on that count its quality might be judged. The fact that this piece was included in the *Cantiones sacrae* tells us that, in the view of the people who devised the 1575 book, this music was judged excellent: Tudor culture at its best, fit to be shared with the rest of the world.

The aim of the British Academy's *Early English Church Music* series is to make available church music by British composers from Anglo-Saxon times to 1660. The series includes work by anonymous and undeservedly neglected figures, as well as much of the output of acknowledged masters such as Thomas Tallis, John Taverner and John Sheppard. Further information can be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/pubs

A study of the studiolo

MARTIN KEMP

In March 2015 the British Academy will be taking delivery of a new addition to its collection of artworks adorning the walls of 10-11 Carlton House Terrace. The artist Patrick Hughes is producing for the Academy a version of his recent work *A Study of the Studiolo*. Professor Martin Kemp FBA, a member of the Academy's Pictures Committee, discusses the artist and the work.

The visual paradoxes of Patrick Hughes

Patrick Hughes is a magician of paradoxical space. In this he stands in a long tradition, dating back to the earliest spatial illusions in ancient painting, and more obviously in Renaissance art. His uncanny works relate historically to types of historical perspective that are painted or sculpted on inclined planes – those that are not perpendicular to our line of sight. Particularly relevant is perspectival stage design in the Renaissance and Baroque. This scenographic technique is exemplified in enduring form in the Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza by Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi, where short, tapering corridors of space flanked by sculpted architecture convince us that we are looking down deep streets.

We can also relate what Hughes is doing to anamorphic illusions, those 'trick' paintings that have to be viewed from an acute angle for the image to become coherent. The distorted skull smeared across the tiled floor in Holbein's *Ambassadors* in the National Gallery is an anamorphosis. We can also look at comparable effects in the National Gallery's intricate perspective box by the Dutch master of illusion, Samuel van Hoogstraten.

Hughes began as a painter of ironic visual paradoxes in the tradition of Surrealism. In one painting, a very definite, flat rainbow arches parabolically through the bars of a prison cell, becoming abruptly drained of its colour before plunging to the floor. In 1964 he constructed a rectangular relief in the form of a shallow box in which the four sides converge towards the front plane. The result is a shallow truncated pyramid. He then painted the five planes of the relief according to

orthodox linear perspective, directly contradicting their actual orientation – resulting in what he called a *Sticking Out Room*. Viewed from the side, the actual form of the relief is apparent. From the front it looks like a standard perspectival view of the interior of a rectangular room. This teasing piece of pictorial wit laid the foundations for what has become his characteristic genre, painted reliefs that exploit what he calls 'reverse perspective'.

In subsequent works, the single truncated pyramid of the *Sticking Out Room* was multiplied laterally to create as many as six separate cells or 'corridors' of perspectival space, each of which is painted in perspective in such a way that the illusionistic recessions assertively contradict surfaces that actually protrude. As we move in front of the constructions, the spaces slip, slide and lurch bewilderingly. He is creating a kind of kinetic art in which the spectator triggers the motion. Unsurprisingly his magic has attracted much attention from scientists involved in visual perception and cognition.

The way reverse perspective is created and operates is difficult to describe in words, and eludes flat photography. A video on Hughes's website helps greatly.¹

His subject matter – too often neglected in commentaries on his art – ranges across elaborate compounds of buildings and landscapes to radiant interiors inhabited by diverse objects. His repertoire includes recurrent motifs: densely shelved and stacked books, the titles of which underscore his wide reading in visual art and perception; many appropriated works of modern and historical art that dance to his geometrical tune; and angled doors that stand illogically in front of distant landscapes and seascapes. The tone is that of a highly personal Surrealism with a smile.

Studiolo

Fellows, staff and visitors to the British Academy can now see for themselves. He has specifically made for the Academy a version of a recent reverse perspective construction based on the *intarsia studiolo* created around 1480 for the Ducal Palace in Gubbio. This is the second

1. www.patrickhughes.co.uk/film.html



Patrick Hughes, *A Study of the Studiolo* (2013), oil on board construction, 98 × 278 × 24 cm. To mark Hughes' 75th birthday, in 2014 the Flowers Gallery in London hosted an exhibition of his 'reverspective' works – including this one – and published *A New Perspective: Patrick Hughes*, which included essays by Dawn Adès FBA and Martin Kemp FBA. The British Academy's version of this work will show four cupboards rather than five, so that it fits the intended space in the Academy's waiting room.

such chamber decorated in inlaid wood for Duke Federigo da Montefeltro, following the more famous one in Urbino. The Gubbio *studiolo* has now been reconstructed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, using the original panelling from the palace. Federigo was the dedicatee of Piero della Francesca's treatise on the perspective of pictures. The Duke clearly appreciated the new 'science' of painting and how it comprised a major factor in the cerebral status of the visual arts.

The illusions in inlaid wood run across all four walls of the small private study in Gubbio, including the surfaces that lead into the recessed door and window. From the prime viewing location, or from a range of positions not too far from this point, we see a continuous tier of cupboards above a low wooden bench. The angled doors, partly open, allow us to peer into cupboards containing man-made objects that are represented in compelling perspective and ludicly modelled in light and shade. We see instruments of mensuration – compasses, set-square and quadrant – together with refined instruments

of musical harmony, most notably a lute and harp. An armillary sphere stands as a mathematical model for the cosmos. The military fife and drum, on the bottom shelf below a large dagger, reminds us of the Duke's military prowess, while a hanging *scopetta* (short brush) is a political emblem that refers to his cleansing of his territories. The pen case, inkwell and plentiful books tell of his more learned pursuits and allude to his notable library.

Hughes works his own virtuoso variation on the Gubbio cupboards, creating a relief that depicts a set of receding compartments divided by shelves. But, as we might guess, the rear planes of the cupboards, seemingly furthest from us, are actually painted on the surfaces nearest us. As we move laterally, the spaces seem to pursue us in a mesmerising manner. Hughes is creating a unique kind of dynamic and time-based perspective that irresistibly draws each individual viewer into the illusion. We may imagine that Duke Federigo would have been as entranced as we are.



Radio and the voice

DAVID HENDY

In October 2014, the British Academy held three events to mark the centenary of the birth of Dylan Thomas. In recognition of Thomas's standing as one of the best known radio voices of all time, the Academy collaborated with BBC Radio 3 to commission a series of five essays from seasoned broadcasters and practitioners on the theme of the power of the voice on radio. The essays were recorded in front of an audience at the Academy on 21 October, and were broadcast on BBC Radio 3 during November 2014.

In anticipation of the occasion, one of the essayists, David Hendy, Professor of Media and Communication at the University of Sussex, posted the following piece on the British Academy Blog on 18 October 2014.

Being invited to talk on 'the Voice and Radio' has prompted me – perhaps inevitably, given I'm an historian of broadcasting – to turn to radio's earliest days as a mass medium. Going back to the 1920s, '30s, and '40s, we re-discover a vivid and urgent set of debates, both in Britain and America, about what was being done to our psyches by listening to disembodied voices – voices that we heard without us ever being able to see the persons to whom they belonged. These debates turned out to be central to a great deal of foundational work in both social psychology and media theory.

So they're well worth re-visiting, not just to reconnect us, deliciously, with that wonderful moment when a medium is new and all sorts of hopes and fears are attached to it, but also to remind us that some of those questions exercising us most deeply today – questions we are wont to think of as entirely new – have already been chewed over by our forebears, such as:

- Can we judge a person by their voice?
- How good are we at resisting a person's charms if his or her voice is in some way seductive?
- Are we, as listeners, able to penetrate the persona being projected – or will a speaker's vocal trickery always trump us?



This article is reproduced from the British Academy Blog (<http://blog.britac.ac.uk>). The Blog, launched in September 2014, contains topical pieces by people associated with the Academy and its work.

These are questions that have long been asked of the human voice. In the 4th century BC, Plato was already predicting that skilled oratory would send us down that slippery slope where style triumphs over content. But with the arrival of radio as a mass medium in the first half of the 20th century, such anxieties were revived in intensified form. So, it should be added, were many utopian hopes. As the British magazine *Vox* pronounced excitedly in 1929, 'Broadcasting is likely to effect the most tremendous change in human thought and action since the invention of printing'.

It's impossible to arbitrate decisively between two positions – that our voice will always reveal to the listener one's personality, or that a skilled speaker will always put listeners under a spell. But we can certainly marvel at the effort put into to exploring the contradictory evidence by a pioneering generation of psychologists and sociologists. In Britain, for example, there was Thomas Hatherley Pear, who in 1931 published a fascinating book, *Voice and Personality*. In my talk, I describe his innovative attempts

to pinpoint how and why listeners to the BBC made certain deductions about a person's character purely on the basis of hearing his or her voice on air. I also look at the results of some extraordinary laboratory experiments which were conducted at Harvard, Princeton, Madison, New York and elsewhere in the US by – among others – Gordon Allport, Hadley Cantril, A.L. Eisenberg, Merton Carver, and Paul Lazarsfeld, and later published in work such as *The Psychology of Radio* (1935), *Radio and the Printed Page* (1940), *The People Look at Radio* (1946), and *Radio Listening in America* (1948).

Little of this pioneering research on 'media effects' is read nowadays, even in the Psychology or Media departments of our universities. But it ought to be. Even when wrong-headed, it casts fresh light on the very genuine anxieties of the interwar era. And anyway, much of it turns out to be actually rather astute. Above all, it represents a body of work conducted by a group of men and women who cared deeply about the power of the radio voice and how it might be used in ways that could enlighten rather than mislead. In the 1930s, this mattered. In Nazi Germany, Hitler's voice blared out of radio sets set up as megaphones in public squares, cafes, and factories. In America, populist demagogues such as Father Charles Coughlin competed over the airwaves with skilled orators such as President Roosevelt in a struggle to shift public opinion over the New Deal and isolationism. The voice in the ether – its charm, its warmth, its sense of gravitas and authority – above all, its persuasiveness: all this really mattered then as never before or since. It's why university laboratories worked overtime to measure the risks and opportunities created by those who had access to the microphone.

I won't give away the results of these ground-breaking experiments here. You'll have to attend the talk at the British Academy or listen to its broadcast on BBC Radio 3's 'The Essay' to find out. But for me one recurring theme is the way in which, as listeners, we've long drawn on our own deeply-entrenched mental stereotypes about what certain kinds of people 'should' sound like. It's equally clear that those who stand before the microphone realise this and sculpt their vocal performance accordingly. For them, even an effortless, natural performance is



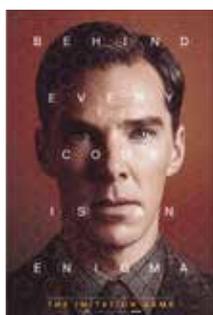
The five essays recorded at the British Academy on 21 October 2014 were by Samuel West, Olivia O'Leary, David Hendy, Roger Phillips, and Fi Glover. They were broadcast in BBC Radio 3's series 'The Essay' in the week beginning 24 November 2014, and may still be heard on the BBC iPlayer. They may be reached via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/dylanthomas

something fundamentally worked-at – though often unconsciously.

I don't criticise them for it. Nor do I fault the radio medium as a whole. But I think one of the lessons of history, or at least the history of the voice on the radio that I explore at this event, is that we probably have to work a little harder than we have in the past to avoid reinforcing the idea that there's just one way of speaking on the radio – namely, through the deployment of a voice at once warm, ingratiating, smooth, and authoritative. One of the lessons of the past is the recurrent danger of disenfranchising certain kinds of voices for their perceived inadequacies and investing other kinds of voices with too much power. Radio is a form of communication that combines large demographic reach with a style of address that is highly intimate – a potent form of 'touching at a distance'. As Hadley Cantril and Gordon Allport wrote back in 1935, the medium has helped create a 'new mental world'. It has done so – and continues to do so – very largely through that apparently banal but really rather extraordinary phenomenon, the invisible voice it propels into the air.

Lost without translation: Why codebreaking is not just a numbers game

NIGEL VINCENT and HELEN WALLACE



The recent film *The Imitation Game* has portrayed the part played by the mathematician Alan Turing in decrypting the messages sent from the German Enigma machine in the Second World War. But Nigel Vincent and Helen Wallace remind us that other skills – particularly in languages – have always been needed in order to understand an enemy's secrets.

Nigel Vincent is Professor Emeritus of General and Romance Linguistics at the University of Manchester, and a former Vice-President for Research and Higher Education Policy at the British Academy. Helen Wallace is Foreign Secretary of the British Academy; both of her parents worked at Bletchley Park in the Fusion Room.

If and when you go to war, the chances are your enemies will speak a different language from that of your own troops. It is also likely that they will seek to disguise their communications by enciphering them, so if you want to eavesdrop on their activities you face a double barrier: you have to crack the code and you have to understand the language. Finally, to turn the intercepted messages into usable military intelligence requires a capacity to link them to the map of where the opposing military units are located and how they might be planning their operations. To achieve this triple task requires a formidable combination of skills: mathematical, engineering, linguistic and analytical. Failure on any one of these fronts will render progress on the other two impossible or worthless.

The back story

There is some evidence of encryption in the ancient world, in Egypt as far back as around 1900 BC, in classical Greece, and to a limited extent in the Roman world (the Romans were hampered by their clunky

system of numerals). The term *cipher* derives ultimately from the Arabic word *ṣifr* meaning 'zero, empty', a concept introduced to Europeans by Arab scholars. Interestingly – and how ironically – one of the pioneers of cryptography was Al Kindi (c. 801-873 AD), an Iraqi Arab born and educated in Basra. He was the archetypal polymath, a talented mathematician, a philosopher, a theoretician of music – the list of accomplishments goes on. In particular, he introduced the notion of frequency analysis as a tool for cracking codes (Figure 1).

Over subsequent centuries Arab, and later European, intellectuals – not least those who worked for the Roman Catholic Church – developed cryptography and cryptanalysis for military purposes but also for messages that demanded political or commercial confidentiality. However, big scientific breakthroughs in the field did not come until the 19th century. Amongst others Charles Babbage, elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) in

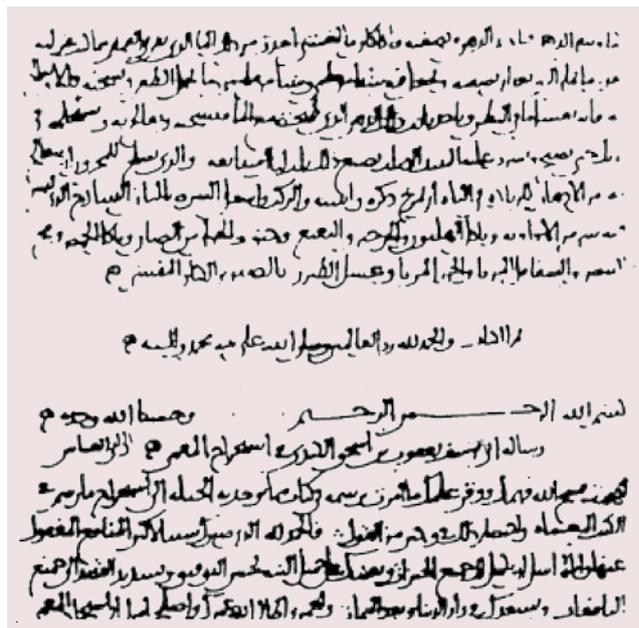


Figure 1
The first page of Al Kindi's manuscript 'On Deciphering Cryptographic Messages', containing the oldest known description of cryptanalysis by frequency analysis. Image: Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 2
The Enigma machine. © ShaunArmstrong/mubsta.com

1816 at the tender age of 25, was to produce a seminal work on polyalphabetic ciphers. This was written during the Crimean War after he had cracked the Vigenère autokey cipher in use by the Russian army, but publication was withheld on the grounds of military secrecy, his intellectual property rights not being established until 1985 (sic).

Into the modern era

It was in the period of the First World War that cryptography and cryptanalysis started to take off as systematic tools of military intelligence. Mathematicians and engineers in France, Germany, the US and the UK began to develop sophisticated techniques for encrypting their military communications with varying degrees of success in achieving impregnability.

In Britain, with the outbreak of war the naval intelligence team based in Room 40 of the Admiralty took the lead in building capacity for cryptography (the army had a separate unit) and was managed by Sir Alfred

Ewing FRS FRSE, an engineer.¹ Other recruits included mathematicians, linguists and classicists, several of whom were academics and who went back to distinguished academic careers after the war. These included: Frank Adcock FBA, classicist; John Beazley FBA, classical archaeologist; Francis Birch, historian; Dilly Knox, papyrologist. The link with Classics here is no coincidence. At the time it was considered a particularly appropriate degree for the very bright, even to the point that as late as 1955 the future Nobel Prize winning physicist, Anthony Leggett, entered Oxford on a Classics scholarship.² Classics too had links to the great 19th-century traditions of the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphics and cuneiform Hittite and other ancient middle eastern languages. In addition, classical scholars were used to dealing with partial texts and fragmentary evidence, skills that were to prove invaluable when breaking and interpreting coded messages.

During the inter-war years the UK developed its Government Code and Cypher School, which subsequently moved to Bletchley Park, and gradually strengthened its core team of mathematicians, engineers, classicists and other linguists and humanities scholars. Work there was famously associated with breaking messages sent from the Enigma machine (Figure 2), which had been

invented as a piece of private enterprise by Alfred Scherbius, a German engineer, who patented it as a commercial device in 1918/19. The German Navy and later the German Army adopted modified versions in the 1920s. When William Friedman, who first decrypted the corresponding, though differently constructed, Japanese Purple machine, headed the American Signals Intelligence Service in the same period, he deliberately set out to recruit staff who were qualified both as mathematicians and as linguists.³ The case of Japanese Purple also serves to illustrate the fact that it is not sufficient to break a cipher; the results also have to be properly deployed. Whether there was a deliberate attempt to conceal what they knew, or whether there was simply what has been called a 'failure of imagination' on their part, the fact remains that codebreaking had helped to make the US government aware of Japan's hostile intentions already before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

1. Patrick Beesly, *Room 40. British Naval Intelligence 1914-18* (Hamish Hamilton, 1982), chapter 2.

2. www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/physics/laureates/2003/leggett-bio.html

3. R.W. Clark, *The Man who Broke Purple* (Little Brown & Co, 1977).



Figure 3

The SIXTA traffic analysis group in the Fusion Room at Bletchley Park during the Second World War. The Fusion Room was where decrypted German army and air force messages were compared with the corresponding data extracted by the log readers from radio traffic between enemy stations so as to build up a wireless telegraphy picture of those units, which was in turn interpreted geographically to identify patterns and positions of German military operations. As the war went on, this task of collation and interpretation became more important, and the Fusion Room became the core of SIXTA. This drew together the intelligence work of Hut 3 with the cryptographic work of Hut 6.

In the centre of the photograph is Joan Thirsk (née Watkins, 1922-2013), who would become a leading economic and social historian and was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1974. Helen Wallace's mother, Joyce Robinson, may also be in this picture; her father, Edward Rushworth, was responsible for liaison between the Fusion Room and Hut 3.

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Bletchley Park

The story of Bletchley Park (BP), the centre of the British code-breaking operation during the Second World War, stayed a well-hidden secret until the 1970s, but is now widely recounted and sometimes dramatised as in the film *The Imitation Game*, which focuses on Alan Turing FRS, the very talented mathematician. In the film, as in the simple version of the story, it was the mathematicians who lay at the heart of the success of the British, with early help from clever Polish cryptographers and later contributions from American colleagues. The challenge of the sophisticated Enigma machine and subsequently the Lorenz machine (dubbed Fish or Tunny), the enhancement of statistical methods, and the building of proto-computers of course meant that skilled mathematicians were essential – as indeed were the engineers, among whom Tommy Flowers, who built the Colossus machine to facilitate decrypting. But, however great their success, the fruits of their labours had to be turned into words, and the words turned into usable meaning. Just as in the First World War, so in the Second, Bletchley Park needed other kinds of skills and talents to complement those of the cryptanalysts and the engineers.

So the leadership of BP – and the other cognate military units dealing with signals intelligence and decryption

– set about a huge recruitment drive to find more of these other kinds of people. Yes, of course some of these were already fluent in German and to an extent Italian, Japanese or Russian, and many were people whom we would now call lateral thinkers. The recruiters trawled the universities – mostly but not only Oxbridge – for talented academics and promising students. They were able to find an impressive range of men and women, most of whom quietly reverted to their former lives after the end of the war. Many of these went on to impressive academic careers in their specialist fields. Among these some 29 were in due course to be elected Fellows of the British Academy (FBA),⁴ including J.L. Austin, Carmen Blacker, Asa Briggs, John Chadwick, F. Harry Hinsley, Peter Laslett and Joan Thirsk (Figure 3).

Why were these people so important? First, as we can all understand from using our mobile phones and texting, poor signal can fracture a call and idiosyncratic

4. An initial trawl from both written and oral sources has yielded the names of some 73 humanities scholars who worked at BP and cognate units and went on to academic careers, among whom the 29 Fellows of the British Academy. In this 70th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the British Academy is seeking to commemorate, by means of a simple list, those men and women who helped bring about victory through their work in military intelligence and who were already or would go on to become humanities academics. The initial list has been posted on the British Academy's website, and we would welcome information on names that should be appropriately added – see www.britishacademy.ac.uk/ww2intelligence

shorthand has to be interpreted, so just getting the message itself into readable language was not straightforward. Secondly, the source and destination of the message had to be identified from recognition of the intercepted call signals and then plotted on the map of military units. Thirdly, the content of the message had to be functionally interpreted – it seems that those classicists who understood the Roman army were particularly skilled at this! A very great deal could be lost in translation. Fourthly, many of the messages were not decrypted in real time, and hence the sequencing of the messages had to be carefully plotted and analysed. Thus it was, for example, that several days after a message from a German unit during the liberation of Yugoslavia had been read in the Fusion Room at BP, it was realised that a stray Red Army unit was on its way to Tito's hideout and SOE was able to beat them to it.

What lessons can we draw from this? The successes of BP were due to the combination of talents, skills and ingenuities of men and women with a wide array of backgrounds; this was functioning interdisciplinarity at its best. It drew on what nowadays we call the STEM subjects, but it needed the insights from the humanities – linguists and others (there were not so many social scientists in those days). It presupposed that there was a pool of bright people in the academic community who could deploy what we might now badge as transferable skills that most of them had probably never dreamed they had.

It is interesting to reflect too on the relation between the language needs at the time and the provision that was available through the British educational system. In an age when most if not all pupils in grammar schools studied at least French and usually German, there was a ready supply of qualified people coming through into degree level work. Russian too was important and, although less widely studied at secondary level, there were a number of university departments up and down the country that could provide the relevant expertise and tuition. As the global conflict extended, so more languages came into the picture. The Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) had already warned the War Office in 1939 that there would be a need for other language skills, but it took until 1942 for the War Office to introduce its own intensive 6-month Japanese course from a base in Bedford. The Department of Linguistics and Phonetics at SOAS subsequently devoted its energies to running courses in Japanese and also Chinese, Farsi and Turkish for prospective service personnel. In teaching these new and understandably demanding students, staff did, however, have the advantage that, as we have said, by and large the people in their classes would have already studied one or more modern language and probably some Latin and Ancient Greek at school. It is always easier to teach a new language to someone who already has a couple under their belt.

When it came to more particular needs, say the languages of the Balkans or south-east Asia, there were small but specialist departments with qualified personnel on hand. SOAS for example was founded in 1916, and London's School of East European and Slavonic Studies

J.L. [John Langshaw] Austin (1911-1960), a philosopher at the University of Oxford, was one of many humanities scholars who brought their varied skills to bear on interpreting enemy intelligence in the Second World War. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1958. The following is an extract from his Obituary Notice in Proceedings of the British Academy, 49 (1963).



After a spell of preliminary training at Aldershot and Matlock in the summer of 1940, he had been commissioned in the Intelligence Corps and posted to the War Office in London. His first important employment was on the German Order of Battle, work which demanded exactly the kind of detailed accuracy which was, of course, immensely congenial to him. But in 1942 he took over the direction, at G.H.Q. Home Forces, of a small section which had recently been formed, to do the preliminary intelligence work for an invasion of Western Europe; and this was the field in which he became an unrivalled authority. His section, whose earlier days had been rather haphazard, was soon operating with method, rapidity, and a clear purpose. Though his standards were exacting, those under his command were enlivened by the confident sense of solid work getting done, of real progress being made. Professor A.J. Beattie [Professor of Greek, University of Edinburgh], who served with Austin at this time, records that 'his superiors in rank very quickly learned that he was an outstanding authority on all branches of intelligence work, and they soon depended on his advice far more than would normally have been considered proper in any headquarters'.

In the following year Austin's section was vastly enlarged and transferred, under the name of the Theatre Intelligence Section, to 21st Army Group. Of this larger affair Austin as a Major – and later, when S.H.A.E.F. was formed, a Lt.-Col. – was of course not formally in command; but by this time his knowledge was so voluminous, his expertise so great, and his judgement so highly valued, that in practice he continued in charge of all the work. Before D-Day he had accumulated a vast quantity of information on the coast defences of northern France, on the base areas, supplies, formations, and transport system behind them, and indeed on every aspect of the German defence forces and civilian administration in that 'theatre'. Weekly, and later daily, reports were issued recording changes in the German dispositions; and a kind of guidebook was compiled for the use of the invading troops, in whose title – *Invade Mecum* – those who know Austin's writings will recognize his style. It has been said of him that he directed this huge volume of work 'without ever getting into serious difficulty of any kind' and, more impressively, that 'he more than anybody was responsible for the life-saving accuracy of the D-Day Intelligence'.

had come into existence a year earlier. They could not of course contain experts in every one of the world's 6000 or so languages, but their broad knowledge of the language families and their geographical and cultural distribution meant they were well placed to offer advice and guidance in the event of urgent need. It must be a matter of national concern that many such centres have been closed or the range of languages covered has been reduced in the years between then and now.

The contemporary world

Nowadays the cryptography side has been pretty well totally taken over by computational methods and the advent of the cyber world. Arguably, too, even the basics of translation can be handled by algorithms of the kind that underlie Google Translate, which are based not on traditional modes of grammatical and structural analysis but on statistical patterns of recurrence over the very large bodies of texts that make up the daily activity of the internet. Hence, different kinds of skills and different forms of interdisciplinarity are now required. For the most part contemporary wars and conflicts are conducted within countries rather than in the classic forms of inter-state confrontation. This state of affairs exacerbates the need for mastery not only of formal written language but also of the informal and colloquial dimensions of language which are well beyond what computational methods can handle. Moreover, such skills need to be accompanied by deep historical and cultural understanding if we are to get to grips with the complex societal fissures that prompt conflicts, condition modes of action and hamper peacekeeping. A recurrent theme in books such as Mike Martin's *An Intimate War: An Oral History of the Helmand Conflict 1978-2012* and the essays by military leaders collected in *British Generals in Blair's Wars* is the way lack of knowledge of local languages and cultures led to our troops being misled or worse.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that the needs of the contemporary world are for languages

that are off the European and Oriental beaten tracks – for example Hausa in West Africa; Somali to deal with modern piracy; Pashto in the Afghanistan conflict – and in countries where multilingualism is the norm. There are for example 13 recognised national languages in Mali and some 60 indigenous languages in South Sudan, where paradoxically the only official language is English. It is in this context that the review of the national need for languages contained in the British Academy's report *Lost for Words* (2013) was conceived. We can do no better than quote the leading recommendation of that report: 'There needs to be a cross-government strategy for language capacity that identifies the language capabilities and requirements of government, and supports the development of these skills.'⁵

Conclusion

Unfortunately, the world is a troubled place and the need for this array of talents does not diminish. It is to be welcomed that the British Army has a culture and foreign language strategy, that the Ministry of Defence has recently enhanced its Defence Centre for Languages and Culture, and that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office has reopened its Foreign Language School. However, these have to be underpinned by an urgent effort across the educational sector to instil language competences as normal and useful, to maintain centres of specialised expertise on other countries and regions, and to promote the need for combining efforts through habits of functional interdisciplinarity. So, as we reflect on the past successes at BP, we must celebrate the achievements of those who contributed across this range, and learn from their example.

5. *Lost for Words: The Need for Languages in UK Diplomacy and Security* (British Academy, November 2013), p. 13. For more on the British Academy's programme to target deficits in languages, see Nigel Vincent, 'Why English isn't enough: Debating language education and policy', *British Academy Review*, 24 (Summer 2014), 10-12. Also go to www.britishacademy.ac.uk/languages

British Academy prizes and medals

Prizes and medals are an important means of recognising and celebrating achievement. Each year the British Academy awards a range of prizes and medals on the recommendation of specialist committees. The British Academy held its annual ceremony to award these prizes and medals on 25 November 2014. A full list of the awards and winners may be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/prizes2014



Winners Peter Brook and Paul Collier, either side of Lord (Nick) Stern, President of the British Academy

Two new awards

The inaugural **Neil & Saras Smith Medal for Linguistics** was awarded to Professor Noam Chomsky FBA. On the day after the awards ceremony, the Academy held a public event in which Professor Chomsky discussed his academic and political views with Lord (Melvyn) Bragg FBA: a video recording of the conversation may be found via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/chomsky



Brian Barry FBA (1936-2009) was a distinguished political philosopher. In 2014 the first **Brian Barry Prize in Political Science** was awarded to Dr Helder De Schutter and Dr Lea Ypi for their essay on 'Mandatory citizenship for immigrants', which will be published in the *British Journal of Political Science*.



President's Medal

Awarded 'for signal service to the cause of the humanities and social sciences', the President's Medal is intended to complement the medals and prizes given by the Academy for academic achievement, by identifying and rewarding outstanding leadership or contributions other than purely academic.

In 2014, President's Medals were awarded to the theatre director Peter Brook; the Co-Director of the Centre for the Study of African Economies, Professor Sir Paul Collier; the primatologist Dame Jane Goodall; and the critic and poet Clive James.

Jane Goodall and Clive James were not able to attend, but video messages from them were played during the ceremony – including Jane Goodall expressing thanks in the language of the chimpanzee! The video messages may be viewed via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/prizes2014

The British Academy Medal

The British Academy Medal, awarded for the first time in 2013, was created to recognise and reward a landmark academic achievement in any of the disciplines supported by the Academy, which has transformed understanding of a particular subject or field of study. In 2014, British Academy Medals were awarded to: Professor David Luscombe FBA for *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise* (2013); Professor Geoffrey Parker FBA for *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (2013); and Professor Thomas Piketty for *Capital in the 21st Century* (2013, English edition 2014).



Degrees of uncertainty

In 2014, nearly 50 per cent of all 18-year-olds decided to go to university. The huge expansion of higher education over the past 15 years has meant that more people than ever get access to the significant benefits that come with a degree: it is estimated that a graduate will earn on average £100,000 more over their lifetime than someone with two or more A levels but no degree. However, are these benefits to the individual to be taken for granted, and will the graduate wage premium hold up as graduates form a greater proportion of the labour market? Is the term 'graduate labour market' even meaningful anymore? The economy needs more highly-trained graduates and postgraduates, and is benefiting from a more highly-skilled workforce, but how is this to be funded in a period of continued public austerity? Does the significant individual benefit that comes from going to university mean that the individual should shoulder more of the financial burden? The following two articles explore the premium associated with having a university education, and how the means of funding that education might impact on individual choices and careers.

Undergraduate and postgraduate choices framed by debt?

THOMAS KOHUT

Policy Manager at the British Academy
with additional research by Jonathan Matthews
and Natasha McCarthy from the Policy Team

Securing a new funding model for university teaching that was sustainable, yet allowed for higher education to expand to meet demand, had been a central policy aim since the Browne Review was established in 2009. The Coalition's preferred system, which was announced in the 2011 White Paper *Students at the Heart of the System*, raised the fee cap to £9,000 a year and reduced barriers to entry for new providers.¹

For those who designed this policy, it was a triumph: they had ensured that undergraduate taught provision at UK universities would be funded through a mechanism that was 'out of reach' for those in the Treasury seeking to make public sector cuts. The Government would, indeed,

continue to 'fund' university teaching, recognising the tremendous public good that comes from a supply of highly trained graduates. However, it would fund university teaching by giving students access to up to £9,000 a year in loans for tuition, which the students would then pay to their universities. The Government's stake in this arrangement would be to service the debt, write off that which was unpaid after 30 years, and pay the interest on the loans for graduates earning less than £21,000.

At the heart of our university funding system, therefore, is personal debt. However, it is a very peculiar kind of debt. There has been much written about this debt, and much was said in both Houses of Parliament before the policy became law. How would this 'debt' affect students' choices before and after university? Would particular groups in society be more or less inclined to encourage teenage children to go to university and take on this 'debt'? How would our economy and society be affected by a generation of young adults graduating with an average of £41,000 of student debt (including tuition fee and maintenance loans),² then responsible for paying it back over a significant portion of their working life?

Report

The British Academy wanted to understand this debt better, and establish if there was a risk that it would

1. 'Students at the heart of the system' (Department for Business, Innovation & Skills White Paper Cm 8122; 2011).

2. Claire Crawford and Wenchao Jin, *Payback time? Student debt and loan repayments: what will the 2012 reforms mean for graduates?* (Institute for Fiscal Studies Report R93; 2014).



adversely affect graduates' choices or career paths – in particular their choices regarding postgraduate study. In 2013, the National Union of Students was commissioned to examine students' attitudes towards debt, the information available to them about debt and finances, and the impact debt has on decisions to continue with further postgraduate study once they complete their degree.³

At first glance, the results were surprising. Students did not consider their loan as 'debt', they did not perceive themselves as being in debt, and were not concerned about graduating owing many thousands of pounds. Indeed, the Office for Fair Access has since confirmed that the rise in tuition fees has not had the damaging effect on the demographic profile of those entering university as many had feared in 2011.

A reason for these attitudes could be that student debt as it is currently designed in the UK is not like other forms of debt. It does not require a credit check, there are no immediate demands for repayment because the debt is only paid back when the graduate is in work earning above a certain amount, and collection agencies only start knocking on doors if graduates purposely avoid making repayments. It would make sense, therefore, for students to have a vastly different attitude towards the risks associated with a £40,000 student debt versus a £40,000 bank loan. Additionally, student loans are written-off by the Government after 30 years. If you have never entered the labour market, or never earned above £21,000 per year, you will simply never repay this loan. It was estimated that two-thirds of all graduates under the current system will never pay off their loan in full during the 30 year period. This translates to around 45 per cent of all loans issued being unpaid by graduates, and therefore paid-off by Government.⁴ Without the pressure to pay whatever one's financial situation, it is not surprising that students with loans for tuition fees do not consider themselves to be in debt in the standard sense.

3. *Student attitudes to debt and its impact on postgraduate participation* (NUS Services for the British Academy; September 2014). Available via www.britishacademy.ac.uk/policy/research_and_he_policy.cfm

4. J. Thompson and B. Bekhradnia, *The cost of the Government's reforms of the financing of higher education – an update* (HEPI Report 64; December 2013).

There are, however, similarities between student debt and regular debt. These similarities become more significant when placed in the context of a worrying trend shown by our NUS research, namely that students are not fully informed of the debt burden before they begin university, and also overestimate the amount of student support available to them at postgraduate level.

Postgraduate study

Once repayments start, a student loan still reduces 'take home' pay. This affects the ability to apply successfully for a range of financial products later in life, alongside having an effect on a person's quality of life and disposable income. With the size of the loans dramatically increasing in 2012, and the average repayment term lengthening, the full impact of this reduction in take home earnings across a person's 20s, 30s, 40s, and 50s (in some cases) is not yet known. In April 2014, the Mortgage Market Review decided that student loan would be taken into account when calculating eligibility for a mortgage – student loans erode income, and do so for a long period of time.

So, whilst student loans do not incur the kinds of burden of standard debt, they will impact on future financial choices, especially once the reality of repayments kick in. For students not wishing to put off the possibility of getting a mortgage indefinitely, decisions such as whether to continue studies to postgraduate level would intuitively be affected by levels of debt. However, the British Academy and NUS study suggested they were not. The reason for this was that students were unaware of the challenges of securing funding for postgraduate study, with many believing that funding was available and accessible. The reality, of course, is that it is not.

In 2012, the British Academy published a position statement on the funding system for postgraduate education. In it, the Academy argued that the Government needed to give serious consideration to a state-backed loan system for postgraduate study, much like the one in place for undergraduates. The Academy's position statement was followed by a number of reports by the Higher Education Commission, Centre Forum, and the Universities Alliance, all of which made similar calls. There was particular concern that, as a financially burdensome bank loan is one of the only options for funding postgraduate taught degrees in the humanities and social sciences, the supply of researchers would dry up, and employers who value the higher level skills gained in postgraduate education would see a skills gap.

In the Autumn Statement 2014, Chancellor George Osborne announced just such a state-backed loan system for postgraduates. It will cover all disciplines, for prospective students younger than 30, up to the value of £10,000. The exact repayment mechanism is not yet known, but it is expected to be more onerous than that for undergraduates, with as low as possible a percentage of debt write-off by Government. This is seen to reflect the substantial personal benefit gained from studying at postgraduate level.

Information

This announcement is very welcome, but the British Academy will be continuing to ask questions about the implications of debt on choices made by students, particularly as it affects research careers. What has become most apparent from the NUS research, and research by others, has been how starved of information many students are, at important moments of choice during their university careers. Students appear to have little information either about debt or about the financial impacts of further study.

Much has been written about the decimation of adequate information, advice and guidance at schools. Organisations as diverse as the Russell Group, the CBI and the TUC all lambasted the current Government for closing the Connexions service (widely regarded as being patchy at best) but replacing it only with a statutory duty placed on schools to provide some form of independent advice. Only very recently did Secretary of State Nicky Morgan MP announce a replacement for Connexions – a careers and enterprise company, that will bring employers to schools and explain what the labour market has to offer young people.

However, there has been less written about advice available at universities about academic careers. Universities have responded to the ‘employability challenge’, students wanting to make sure that their £9,000 a year will lead to a healthy salary, by focusing resources on careers advice for employment post-graduation. There remains a gap, however, in adequate, honest advice about continuing careers in academia, or indeed the funding choices available for postgraduate research and study. It is not clear how well academic career paths post-PhD are understood by students, and with limited resources, universities are likely to focus their advisory capacity on graduates looking for a quick employment return on their educational investment. All evidence points towards students making more demands on the education system as a result of increased tuition fees, and associated debt.

There is concern that with debt building through undergraduate and postgraduate education, a continued academic career is unlikely to be the most attractive option for the brightest students. In our NUS survey, those students wishing to continue academic study had a very rosy view of the options available to them to fund further study. The truth about limited career options within academia should not be a reason to put off the brightest from beginning a PhD, but that they should begin the process with a realistic idea about the likely future.

The new plans for postgraduate loans are a welcome development in providing a route into postgraduate study. There is still much to be learned about the impact of the tuition fees and student loan system on student choices. The perceptions that students have now may change when the reality of repayments hit. We need to be sure that this reality won’t discourage the best students from pursuing research careers and taking on further debt for postgraduate study.

The portrayal of the graduate labour market in the media

The permanent state of perplexity and discontent

GERBRAND THOLEN

Dr Gerbrand Tholen is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre on Skills, Knowledge and Organisational Performance (SKOPE) at the Department of Education, University of Oxford. His monograph *The Changing Nature of the Graduate Labour Market: Media, Policy and Political Discourses in the UK* was published by Palgrave Macmillan in September 2014.

In recent years, the popular media has been flooded by news stories about the state of the graduate labour market. Numerous studies and reports as well opinion pieces on the job opportunities and earnings of (new) graduates keep receiving wide attention in Britain’s broadsheets, smaller newspapers and other news channels. There tends to be great pessimism or shock value in stories with headlines such as ‘Graduate job opportunities shrink amid economic uncertainty’, ‘The Cambridge graduates grateful to earn £7 an hour as Amazon drones’ and ‘University graduate finds work as human scarecrow’. This glumness is illustrated by the views of experts like Michael Barnard, product manager at Milkround:

Graduates can’t expect to just walk into a decent job any more. If you want to work in London – God forbid, it’s the hardest place to find a job in the world – you will have to accept that you probably need to live in a house-share with five strangers, work in a café to pay the bills and start at the bottom with a big employer.¹

Many articles describe how graduates have great difficulty finding any kind of employment or carry out unskilled work in order to survive. Other news articles with titles such as ‘Graduates stuck in low-skilled positions’ or ‘More graduates become shelf stackers as economy slides’ cover research on the mismatching of skills. The risk of skills mismatch is often linked to a particular degree, such as media studies, as it is claimed there is little demand for graduates in these subjects. In one article an employer is quoted saying, ‘Some degrees have no career opportunity at the end and the graduate ends up working in a coffee bar’.² The desperate situation of the graduate labour market is underlined by stories about students who decide to choose apprenticeships over a university

1. Cited in L. Peacock, ‘Graduate jobs: Do graduates need a first-class degree to get a good job?’ *Daily Telegraph* (4 July 2012).

2. D. Wooding, ‘£50k debt ... but many graduates WON’T earn more’, *Sun* (19 August 2012).

degree after sixth form, or to pursue a professional degree in a specially designed alternative corporate programme, such as exist within some accountancy firms.

The stories of declining fortunes for graduates do not come out of the blue. Many of the stories that appear in the popular media are linked to findings of research studies on, for instance, unemployment, employers' demands, or the role of universities in the economy. Graduates are positioned in opposition to adverse labour market effects. The fact that new graduate labour entrants are unable to find relevant employment is seen as not only problematic but also puzzling. The graduate labour market is considered to be distinct from the rest of the economy and placed at the top of a labour market pyramid. It is assumed that those workers with a university degree together constitute the elite of the labour market and have jobs in which special skills are required, and they are rewarded with high salaries.

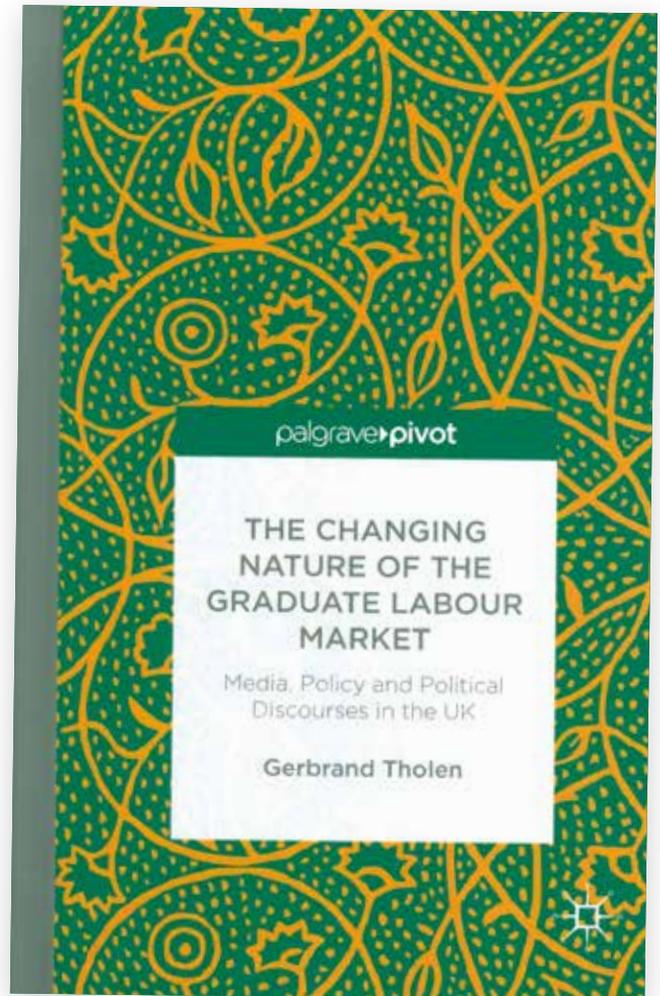
This represents a general misunderstanding of the changing nature of the graduate labour market. Much of the empirical evidence tells another story. The UK graduate labour market is in flux. Because of the rapid growth in the proportion of graduate workers in the UK labour force – combined with shifts in occupational structure, organisational change and global integration – the relationship between jobs, skills and rewards is fundamentally altered from the past.

First of all, graduates increasingly take employment in traditional non-graduate occupations. The definition of what constitutes a graduate occupation is rapidly changing.

Secondly, many organisations that recruit graduates no longer focus on the hard skills and knowledge that are often associated with higher learning. Instead, soft skills such as interpersonal skills are of increasing importance. These skills are not exclusively formed while people are studying at an institute of higher education. In other words, the skills that graduates possess are not always exclusive to graduate workers. It is therefore better to talk about the skills of graduates than about graduate skills.

Thirdly, earnings of graduates are diverging, leading to an increase in wage inequality among graduates as a group. Why this happens remains unclear. It could be due to occupational change, or shifting supply and demand for certain skills or characteristics. Both at the bottom and the top of the wage distribution scale, earnings have become more extreme. What this means is that the association between university qualifications and earning potential is becoming more complex.

But media commentators and journalists still tend to focus on the strong association between skills, jobs and rewards and university qualifications. Graduate workers' skills and jobs are deemed to be inherently valuable and desirable entities. The graduate labour market is regarded not only as the top layer of the labour market, incorporating the high-skilled and better-paid jobs, occupations and professions, but also



as the saviour of the economy and the route to a more just society. In addition, higher education is privileged as a skills-acquisition route. In many of the individual stories on graduate unemployment the most important element is the fact that they concern a graduate *vis-à-vis* a non-graduate. Similar stories about those with lower-level qualifications do not appear as frequently, or these people's educational background is less emphasised. The relatively high rate of youth unemployment is not supposed to affect graduates, who expect to be employed after their investment in advanced education. Underneath this lies the implicit assumption that the experiences, knowledge and skills (human capital) of the brightest and best-educated should interest employers.

But the graduate labour market is not an insular, independent or isolated social, political or economic phenomenon. The state of the UK's post-recession graduate labour market currently depends, and will continue to depend, on how work is organised; how and which skills are being developed, supplied, demanded and used; how rewards are distributed; and how capitalism itself is developing, among other developments.

Frida Mond: A good friend to the British Academy

Ludwig and Frida Mond

Frederike (Frida) Löwenthal was born in Cologne in 1847. In 1866, she married her cousin Ludwig Mond (b. 1839), a young industrial chemist. The couple moved to England in pursuit of Ludwig's blossoming business interests in 1867. In 1873, Ludwig Mond went into partnership with John Brunner to form the company Brunner Mond & Company. Ludwig's scientific and commercial achievement can be measured by the fact that his son Alfred would later (in 1926) merge this business with three others to create the industrial giant, Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI).

Growing financial and commercial status was accompanied by increasing social standing for both Ludwig and Frida Mond, and a growing role in the worlds of learning and the arts. Ludwig's scientific eminence and curiosity were matched on Frida's part by an equally passionate enthusiasm for literature and art. And in these cultural interests she was aided and abetted by her gifted former schoolfriend Henriette Hertz (b. 1846), who had been summoned from Germany to keep her company in England, and had remained with her ever since. Ludwig, Frida and Henriette were able to lead a lavish life of travelling, entertaining and collecting. They regularly wintered at the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome, which they turned into a centre of cosmopolitan intellectual life in the city.

Establishing the English Language and Literature Fund

Ludwig's death on 11 December 1909 left Frida Mond a wealthy widow. Two months later, Frida wrote to the Secretary of the British Academy to offer the body financial assistance. Established by Royal Charter in 1902, the British Academy was still a young body and lacked funds to pursue all its aims.

Frida Mond was well aware of the British Academy: in 1907, Ludwig's niece, Miss Constance Schweich, had made an extremely generous donation to the Academy to establish a fund devoted to the furtherance of research on 'Ancient Civilization with reference to Biblical

Study'.¹ And Frida personally knew Israel Gollancz, who was Secretary of the British Academy, and also Professor of English Language and Literature at King's College, London. In 1910, Gollancz would marry Alide Goldschmidt, the niece of that same Henriette Hertz who was Frida's best friend.

On 18 February 1910, Frida Mond wrote to Israel Gollancz (Figure 1): 'I desire to offer through you, for the acceptance of the British Academy, the sum of £500 a year for at least three years, to form the nucleus of a Fund (which it is hoped will be augmented by others donors, so that in time an annual income of about this amount may accrue) to be devoted to the furtherance of research and criticism, historical, philological, and philosophical, in the various branches of English literature, including the investigations of problems in the history and usage of English, written and spoken, and textual and documentary work elucidating the development of English language and literature.'

Frida explained that she was prompted to offer this gift particularly 'to give expression to the widespread feeling of gratitude to the British Academy for the effective and dignified manner in which the Milton Tercentenary Commemoration was organized and carried out.' In December 1908, the British Academy had successfully risen to the challenge of leading the national commemoration of the 300th anniversary of John Milton's birth, organising an impressive series of events.² This bold initiative had clearly been successful in raising the Academy's profile.

Frida had two specific wishes for the use of the fund. The first was the establishment of a public 'Shakespeare oration or lecture, to be delivered on or about April 23rd, on some Shakespearian subject, philosophical, historical, or philological, or some problem in English dramatic literature or histrionic art, or some study in literature of the age of Shakespeare. In order to emphasize the worldwide devotion to Shakespeare, any person, whether man or woman, of any nationality, shall be eligible to deliver the Shakespeare oration or lecture.'

1. For more about Constance Schweich, see *British Academy Review*, 12 (January 2009), 53-57.

2. For more on the Milton Tercentenary, see *British Academy Review*, 12 (January 2009), 58-59.

Feb. 18.1910.

Dear Dr. Gollancz,

I desire to offer through you, for the acceptance of the British Academy, the sum of £500 a year for at least three years, to form the nucleus of a Fund (which it is hoped will be augmented by other donors, so that in time an annual income of about this amount may accrue) to be devoted to the furtherance of research and criticism, historical, philological, and philosophical, in the various branches of English literature, including the investigation of problems in the history and usage of English, written and spoken, and textual and documentary work elucidating the development of English language and literature.

I beg leave to offer this gift in recognition of the work already accomplished by the British Academy, and more particularly to give expression to the widespread feeling of gratitude to the British Academy for the effective and dignified manner in which the Milton Tercentenary Commemoration was organized and carried out, in response to the influential memorial addressed to it.

Future donors to the proposed Fund will no doubt make stipulations in respect to their gifts, and the regulations for the administration of the Fund should be framed by the Council to admit of special conditions.

As regards the present endowment, it is my wish that it provide for the following objects:-

Figure 1

The first page of Mrs Frida Mond's letter of 18 February 1910 to Israel Gollancz, Secretary of the British Academy, offering to start a fund for the study of English language and literature. (BAA/EVS/3/1)

The second wish was for a lecture on English poetry, 'to be called the Warton Lecture, as a tribute to the memory of Thomas Warton, the first historian of English poetry, whose work not only led the way to the scientific study of English literature, but also stimulated creative genius, and played no small part in the Romantic Revival'.

At the Annual General Meeting in June 1910, the Academy's President publicly tendered thanks to the 'anonymous donor' for this gift (Frida had requested that 'for the present I wish the donation to be anonymous'). The first Warton Lecture on English Poetry was delivered on 16 November 1910 by Professor W.P. Ker FBA, on the subject of 'Thomas Warton'. The first Shakespeare Lecture was delivered on 5 July 1911 (Figure 2).³

In 1920, again through the offices of Sir Israel Gollancz (he had been knighted in 1919), Frida Mond offered the Academy 'the sum of £1200 as a further contribution towards the English Language and Literature Fund', with a particular emphasis on securing the future of the Shakespeare Lecture series. She made this new gift 'in

3. In 1913 Frida Mond was to lose her great companion, Henriette Hertz. A bequest to the British Academy from Miss Hertz established a fund that was intended both to support three new lecture series, and more generally to enable the Academy to support scholarly research and publication. For more about Henriette Hertz, see *British Academy Review*, 22 (Summer 2013), 65.

appreciation of the manner in which the Shakespeare Lectureship and the Warton Lectures have been carried out', and further specified that 'some portion of it is to be allocated for administration of the Fund.'

Frida Mond's bequest: establishing a memorial to Israel Gollancz

Mrs Frida Mond died in May 1923. In her will, she left 'to the British Academy two thousand pounds for the endowment of a Lecture & Prize on subjects connected with Anglo-Saxon or Early English Language & Literature, English Philology, the History of English Literature and cognate studies, on conditions so far as shall be practicable drawn up for me by Sir Israel Gollancz, with whose name it is my wish that this foundation shall in due course be associated, in token of a highly valued old friendship, and his efforts to further these studies'. When circulating his proposed conditions for operating the fund to members of the Academy's Council in October 1923, Sir Israel wrote 'As regards the personal condition in respect of myself attached to the Bequest, I have asked that this condition be in abeyance during my lifetime'.

The inaugural 'British Academy Lecture on English Philology and Literary History' was delivered in 1924 by

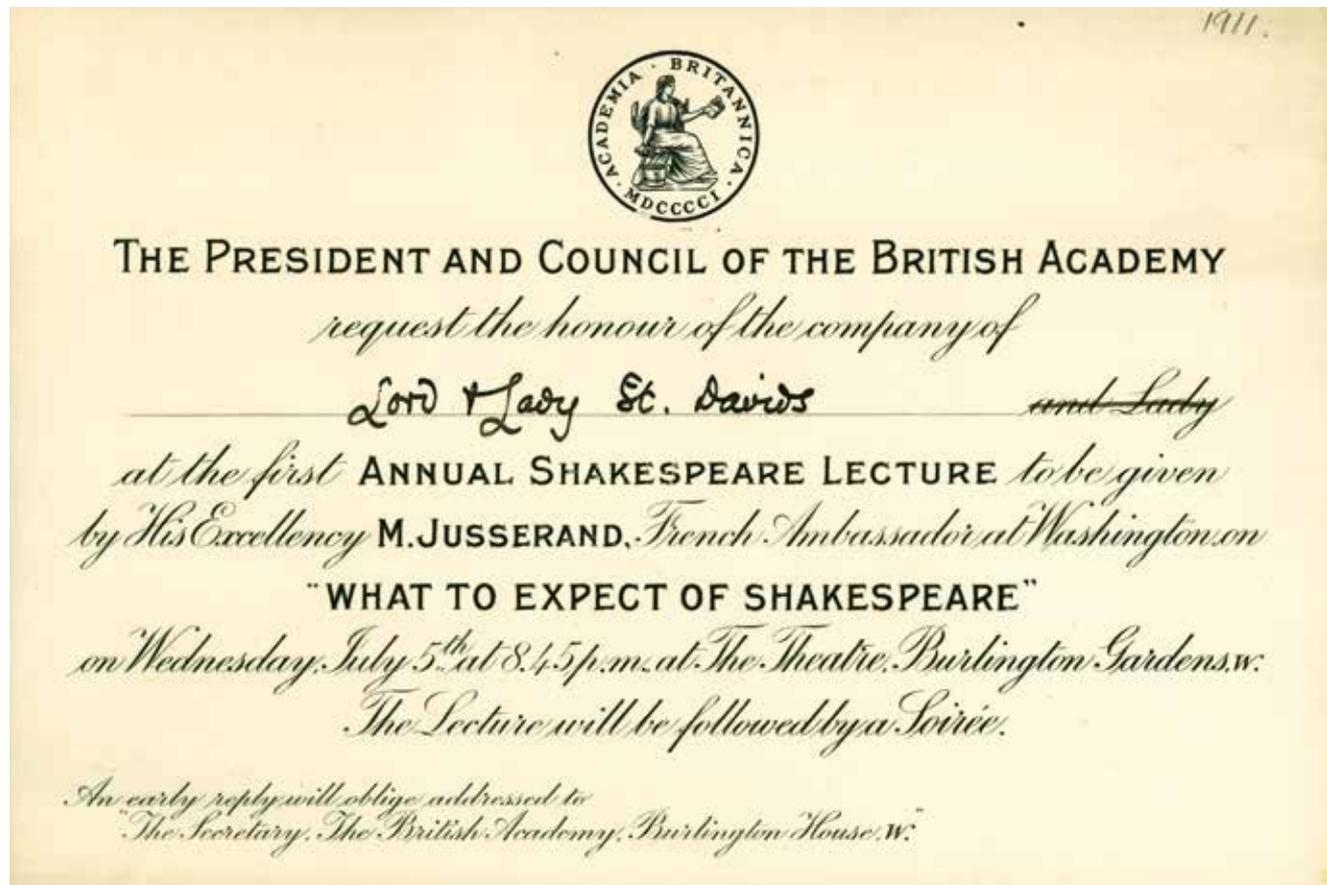


Figure 2

An invitation to the inaugural British Academy Shakespeare Lecture, delivered on 5 July 1911. The British Academy did not have a permanent home of its own until 1928; in its early years, the Academy held public lectures in the Theatre at No. 6 Burlington Gardens. The lecture was held on the evening of the Academy's Annual General Meeting, at which meeting the lecturer, J.J. Jusserand, was elected a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy. (BAA/EVS/9/1/1)



Figure 3
The bust of Frida Mond was sculpted in 1886 by Anna Dabis (1847-1927), a fellow German émigrée and one of Frida's many artistic protégés. The British Academy commissioned a copy of the bust in 2011, and it is now displayed at the foot of the grand staircase in No. 11 Carlton House Terrace.

Sir Israel Gollancz himself, on 'Old English Poetry'. The first 'Biennial Prize for English Studies' was awarded in 1925 to Professor Joseph Wright FBA, for his contributions to English philology, and more especially for his *English Dialect Dictionary* and *English Dialect Grammar*.

Frida Mond also bequeathed to King's College, London – again through the Israel Gollancz connection – two large marble statues of Sophocles and Sappho, and a collection of literary memorabilia relating to Goethe and Schiller.⁴

In 1930, Israel Gollancz himself died. From that year onwards, both the lecture and the prize established through Frida Mond's bequest would bear his name. And in 1930 his widow presented to King's College a bust of Frida Mond that had been in Gollancz's possession. The British Academy now owns and proudly displays a copy of that bust (Figure 3).

An enduring legacy

The Warton Lecture on English Poetry, the Shakespeare Lecture and the Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture all remain to this day important elements of the Academy's programme of events, and the Sir Israel Gollancz Prize continues to recognise academic excellence.

4. More about the bequest to King's College can be found at www.kingscollections.org/exhibitions/archives/the-mond-bequest

The Mond Society: Continuing a tradition of giving



The Legacy Lunch on 28 October 2014 at which Lord Stern, President of the British Academy, announced the establishment of the Mond Society. The bust of Frida Mond stands on the fireplace.

At the third annual Legacy Lunch in October 2014, the President of the British Academy, Lord Stern, announced the establishment of a legacy ‘club’ – the Mond Society – to recognise and thank those who have pledged a legacy to the British Academy in their will.

The Mond Society is named after Mrs Frida Mond, one of the Academy’s earliest benefactors, and a close friend of its first Secretary, Sir Israel Gollancz. A fuller appreciation of Frida Mond’s contributions to the British Academy is given on the preceding pages.

From its establishment to the present day, the British Academy has had a strong tradition of financial support from its Fellows and friends, and over the years has also

benefited from the generosity of those who have chosen to leave a gift in their will to the Academy. All those who choose to demonstrate their support in this munificent way are welcomed to the Mond Society and receive an annual invitation to a lunch hosted by the President, as well as information about Academy activities related to their interests.

The Academy is also pleased to be able to offer a free, simple will-writing service through the National Free Wills Network. This service is available to all Fellows and friends, and comes with no obligation. For more information, or to discuss your plans, please contact Jennifer Hawton, Development Officer, on j.hawton@britac.ac.uk or 020 7969 5258.