L1 - SEMESTER 2

THE UNITED KINGDOM

2014-2015

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Semester 2 - THE UNITED KINGDOM

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UNITED KINGDOM
Political Map

Shetland Islands

Orkney Islands

Outer Hebrides

NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN

SCOTLAND

North Sea

Islay

EDINBURGH

Arran

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST

ISLE OF MAN

Irish Sea

Prime Meridean

IRELAND

ENGLAND

WALES

Celtic Sea

CARDIFF

LONDON

Greenwich District

Isle of Wight

Strait of Dover

English Channel

FRANCE

0   135   270 Km

0   100 Miles

LEGEND
- ▣ National Capital
- –·–·– International Boundry
- —— Coastline

WEEK 1 - BRITISH CITIZENSHIP

A. READING

Document 1

Want to become a British citizen? Better swot up on Monty Python

New citizenship test will quiz people on all aspects of British life including comedy, music, history and science

Robert Booth, *The Guardian*, Sunday 27 January 2013

Monty Python's Life of Brian: people hoping to become UK citizens could be quizzed on the comedy team. Photograph: Evening Standard/Getty Images

From highly trained heart surgeons to hard-working vegetable pickers, immigrants will be told today that they will only be considered for UK citizenship if they can correctly answer "Britishness" questions on a range of topics, from the principles of medieval land ownership to the invention of the hovercraft.

The achievements of Monty Python, Rudyard Kipling and Andrew Lloyd Webber are all included in a new 180-page Home Office syllabus which asks potential citizens to learn about Britain's history, culture and values, from the stone age to the 2010 general election, before they take a new and more tough "Life in the UK" test as part of the government's intention to dramatically reduce net migration.

In what critics dismissed as the equivalent of an outdated public school entrance exam, a text book written by Home Office officials goes on sale on Monday with sections on the engineering achievements of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Churchill's great speeches, Margaret Thatcher and the writing of Robert Burns.

The syllabus was announced by the minister for migration, Mark Harper, who complained that Labour's version featured "mundane information about water meters, how to find train timetables, and using the internet", as well as details of the welfare system. The government says that residents would already be aware of that sort of information.

"The new book rightly focuses on values and principles at the heart of being British," Harper said. "Instead of telling people how to claim benefits it encourages participation in British life."

From March, applicants will be expected to score 75% or above in a 24-question multiple choice exam to secure a pass.

Migrant groups attacked the new syllabus and test as "a lampoon of Britishness" that made citizenship harder to achieve but for the wrong reasons. Don Flynn, director of the Migrants' Rights Network, said: "The test takes us a long way from the goal of supporting the integration of migrants. It is in danger of looking more like an entry examination for a public school which requires complete identification with elite views of British history and culture.

"The chapter which primes applicants' knowledge about history is permeated with the sort of Whig views of the world-civilising mission of the British realm which have encouraged generations of Etonians and Harrovians to play their role in the great imperial enterprise.

"The tone is set with the title of the chapter, A Long and Illustrious History, and the depiction of a scene from the Battle of Trafalgar on its front cover."

The section on India and empire is likely to raise eyebrows among Indians and Pakistanis, who, along with Poles, are now the largest migrating populations entering the UK according to the 2011 census. There is a box on the poet Rudyard Kipling, an extract from his poem If, and a description of "for the most part, an orderly transition from empire to commonwealth, with countries being granted their independence".

There is no mention of the million or more people who died in communal and religious violence at Britain's withdrawal during the 1947 partition of India.

The Home Office defended its move saying that earlier British history tests meant migrants did not have to show understanding of how modern Britain evolved. "The new book and test will focus on events and people who have contributed to making Britain great," the ministry said.

Document 2

The all-new British citizenship test – take the quiz
The Guardian, Tuesday 26 March 2013

The new citizenship test for aspiring Britons, intended to place more emphasis on British history and achievements than previous versions comes into force this week. Take the sample questions below and see whether you score the 75% necessary to pass.

1. Which landmark is a prehistoric monument which still stands in the English county of Wiltshire?
a) Stonehenge
b) Hadrian's Wall
c) Offa's Dyke
d) Fountains Abbey

2. What is the name of the admiral who died in a sea battle in 1805 and has a monument in Trafalgar Square, London?
a) Cook
b) Drake
c) Nelson
d) Raleigh

3. In 1801, a new version of the official flag of the United Kingdom was created. What is it often called?
a) British standard
b) Royal banner
c) St George cross
d) Union jack

4. Who is the patron saint of Scotland?
a) St Andrew
b) St David
c) St George
d) St Patrick

5. What flower is traditionally worn by people on Remembrance Day?
a) Poppy
b) Lily
c) Daffodil
d) Iris

6. Which of these sporting events was hosted in London in 2012?
a) Commonwealth Games
b) Cricket World Cup
c) European Football Championship
d) Paralympic Games

7. At her jubilee in 2012, how many years as queen did Queen Elizabeth II celebrate?
a) 25
b) 40
c) 50
d) 60

8. The second largest party in the House of Commons is usually known by what name?
a) Senate
b) Opposition
c) Lords
d) The other side

9. From what age can you be asked to serve on a jury?
a) 16
b) 18
c) 21
d) 25

10. What is the title given to the person who chairs the debates in the House of Commons?
a) Chairman
b) Speaker
c) Leader of the House
d) Prime minister

11. Which countries make up 'Great Britain'?
a) England, Scotland and Northern Ireland
b) England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland
c) Wales and England
d) England, Scotland and Wales

12. Which monarch established the Church of England?
a) King Henry VII
b) Elizabeth I
c) Edward I
d) King Henry VIII

13. Which monarch was defeated by Oliver Cromwell in the English Civil War?
a) Elizabeth I
b) James I
c) Charles I
d) Henry VII

14. Which famous document eventually led to the formation of Parliament in England?
a) The Domesday Book
b) The Magna Carta
c) The Minor Carta
d) The Carta Majorum

15. Which were the first colonies granted independence by the Labour Party in 1947?
a) The United States of America
b) India, Pakistan and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka)
c) Australia, New Zealand and Singapore
d) India, Pakistan and Assam (now Sri Lanka)

Document 3

Great and British? A royal wedding street party.

Photograph: Tony Kyriacou/Rex Features The Guardian, Sunday 5 February 2012

GRAMMAR : Confusable words

Fill in the sentences with the appropriate word

1. That roof tile is _____and might fall at any minute. /You must not _____ that cheque. (*lose/loose*)

2. July 4, 1776 is a _____ date. A great deal of _____ research has been done on the events leading up to that day. (*Historic/ historical*)

3. She gave me some good _____about the problem of noisy neighbours. / I asked him to _____ me about my noisy neighbours. (*advise/advice*)

4. He was elected to represent his class on the school _____. / I would _____ you to pay the fine and draw a line under the matter. (*council / counsel*)

5. The country was experiencing a period of sustained _____ growth. / The minister was accused of being somewhat _____ with the truth. (*economical / economic*)

6. We _____ the game until the end. / Now the Cubs have taken the _____ (*lead/ led*).

7. Mr. Bill retired as school _____./ His _____ ambition now is to tend to his garden./The _____ of gardening is the same as the _____ of teaching: to provide nourishment. *(principle/principal)*

8. The film *Amreeka* tells the story of a Palestinian mother and son who _____ from the West Bank to Illinois. / The modern American Christmas tree originated with German Lutherans and spread to Pennsylvania after they began to _____ here in the 18th century. *(Immigrate/emigrate)*

9. "We did not _____ armies for glory or for conquest." (Thomas Jefferson) / People _____ their hands to vote in the 18th century. / The sun _____ very early yesterday. (*rise/rose/ raise/raised*)

10. The cat always _____ curled up under the table./ Don't shout when you _____ your cards down./ Linda _____ down for a nap after yoga last night./ "So great was the noise during the day that I used to _____ awake at night listening to the silence." / Don't _____ to me ! Where were you last night ? / Professor Espinoza _____ her papers carefully on the podium before beginning her talk/ I was so tired that I could have _____ in bed all day. *(lie/lies/lied/lay/laid/lain)*

11. *'I want to buy that dress.' 'Be, _____ dear. You haven't got that much money.'/ Don't shout at her--she's very _____ (sensitive/sensible).*

12. Mr. Moody took several dollar bills out of his pocket and placed the money

_____ his plate. / Nobody _____ me knows the password. *(beside / besides)*

13. Last week I _____ my classes for next semester, but I haven't _____ yet a major. It's hard to _____ between podiatry and penology. (*choose / chose / chosen*)

14. The computer can be a clever _____ for avoiding thought. / We need to _____ new solutions to old problems. (*device/devise*)

15. The human species, according to the best theory I can form of it, is composed of two _____races, the men who borrow and the men who lend." (Charles Lamb) / The _____ character of a child is to always live in the tangible present. (John Ruskin) (*Distinct/distinctive*).

16. The teacher congratulated _____ class. / The teacher congratulated _____ students of his class. (*the whole/all the*)

17. Man is a _____ animal. / He's a _____ manager. / He has a degree in _____ science. His dream is to enter into _____. / The Communist Party has a _____of returning power to the workers./ The _____of ancient Athens became a standard for later governments. *(politic/political/policy/polity/politics).*

WEEK 2 – MONARCHY

A. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE

Do you know the answers to these questions about the royal family?

1. How long has the Queen been the monarch?
2. What's the name of her husband? Is he the King?
3. How many children does she have?
4. What is William's title?
5. Where does the Queen live?
6. What powers does she have? Are the options below true or false?

- She can give assent or refuse to give assent to new laws passed by parliament
- She can override parliament to enact legislation of her own
- She appoints the Prime Minister after he/she has been elected
- She can dissolve parliament and claim executive power if she feels the government is not acting in the proper interests of the country
- She is above the law and therefore cannot be prosecuted in court
- She can give Royal Pardon to correct errors in sentencing, for example freeing a convicted criminal
- She is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces
- She gives orders of honour, including knighthoods
- She can fly and has invisibility

7. Who is next in line to the throne? What is the order of succession?

8. Who was the monarch before Elizabeth II?

B. OPINION – **Should the monarchy be abolished?** Read the article "Down with the monarchy!" Identify and underline the arguments against the monarchy in the text.

Document 4

Down with the monarchy! Why it's time for change at the top

Chris Hallam for Metro.co.uk, Saturday 3 Jan 2015 10:50 am (Picture: EPA)

Who is Prince Harry's dad? A new play has reignited rumours that Princess Diana's second son is not the son of Prince Charles. The play Truth, Lies, Diana claims that Prince Harry, born in 1984, was the result of an affair between Diana, Princess of Wales and onetime Household Calvary captain James Hewitt.

Hewitt denies he is Harry's father, but perhaps the real question we should be asking is not who Prince Harry's father is but who cares? Harry's chances of ever becoming king are slim anyway – this isn't Game Of Thrones, you know. Besides, it doesn't matter who the king or queen is these days anyway. Once upon a time, kings and queens actually did stuff. William conquered. Henry VIII married six times. Elizabeth I inspired the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Richard III lost his horse, Charles I lost his head and George III his marbles, but no king has led his men into battle since George II in 1743, and who cares if the royals have orgies or not? These people aren't our role models.

The power of the monarchy has withered away almost to nothing. The Queen's speech at the State Opening of parliament is all written by the government anyway. The Queen, a figurehead, merely reads it. Everything important is already done by the government. The decision to give James Corden an OBE was made by the government not the Queen.

It is right that this should be so.The idea that anyone should wield any serious power simply because of who their parents are is absurd, yet the monarchy continues to exist: expensive, irrelevant and cruel. Yes, cruel. For who would envy the infant Prince George after all? True, he will never be poor and will one day be king, but already his daily movements are coming under intense public scrutiny. How fast is he growing? Can he read yet? Is he dating? Is he fat? Is he balding? This will continue for the rest of his life. He didn't ask for any of this. He didn't apply for the X Factor. He is already living in the limelight in his own version of The Truman Show. It is time we snapped out of it as a nation.

We are a modern democratic society. For God's sake, let's act like one and abolish the monarchy forever.

C. DEBATE

What do you think? Should the UK royal family be abolished?With a partner, list some arguments on both sides, and prepare to have a debate.

Yes, the monarchy should be abolished	No, the monarchy should not be abolished

Now prepare to debate the subject with your classmates.

D. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE MONARCHY

Are the points below *for* or *against* the monarchy?

a. A King or Queen has no real power, but can unite the people of a country in a symbolic way, as they represent the heritage of that nation. [for / against]

b. An impartial head of state, with a duty to serve his/her people can act as a balancing force against radical policies. [for / against]

c. In this modern age, the mystery surrounding royals has faded, and as a result they are unable to command the same level of respect on people as before. We are familiar with intimate details of their personal lives, and in fact royals are often a source of amusement and ridicule than great respect and pride. [for / against]

d. In this scientific age, in which most people in the UK consider themselves to be non-believers, monarchs can no longer claim to have a connection with God. In fact, a monarchy based on Christian values may alienate people of different faiths, and the growing atheist community in the country. [for / against]

e. Monarchy operates above the political system, and so it can raise awareness of issues that normally would not find public attention. For example, Prince Charles' environmental concerns and Princess Diana's anti-landmine campaign. [for / against]

f. One unelected individual should not be able to affect the way a nation is run. [for / against]

g. Politicians, including presidents are now more unpopular than ever. Trust in elected representatives is low. Monarchs are more effective in unifying a nation because they are not associated with the 'punch & judy' politics of the partisan system. [for / against]

h. Separating ceremonial work and executive work between royals and government is significant because it forces the Prime Minister to focus purely on governing the country. Also, this encourages a healthy lack of deference to the Prime Minister, allowing the people to freely criticise, question and challenge his/her actions. [for / against]

i. The cost of running a royal family is very expensive and is therefore a drain on public money. Taxpayers pay for the royal family, their staff and homes, and yet the public are not allowed to access these buildings or services. [for / against]

j. The cost of maintaining a presidency with large staff and high security requirements is just as high if not higher than that of running a monarchy. In fact the monarchy only costs the taxpayer an average of 53p per person per year. [for / against]

k. The presence of a royal family can strengthen social inequalities in society, such as a class system, and as a result can stifle individual aspiration and social mobility. [for / against]

l. The royal family pays its way by contributing tax to the government, and bringing in tourism to the country. [for / against]

E. LISTENING – JEREMY PAXMAN ON BRITISH MONARCHY
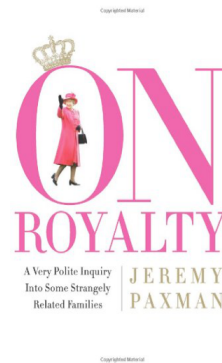
Jeremy Paxman is a respected BBC journalist and broadcaster. In 2006 he wrote a book about the royal family, entitled *On Royalty*. In this video he is interviewed by American journalist Charlie Rose.

YouTube: "Jeremy Paxman on British Monarchy (1/2)"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tLcJWIPWHqY

◦ What did Jeremy use to think of the monarchy?

◦ Why did he change his mind?

◦ Why do people have a fascination with the Royals?

◦ What about Charles?

◦ Will the Queen abdicate? Why/why not?

◦ Will William become king instead of Charles?

◦ What power does The Queen have?

◦ What does Jeremy say about Prince Philip?

F. READING – PUBLIC OPINION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

Document 5

Confidence in British monarchy at all-time high, poll shows

Confidence in the future of the monarchy is at an all-time high, an opinion poll shows.

By Patrick Hennessy, 27 Jul 2013

Three quarters of people believe that the newborn Prince George will one day accede to the throne to which he is third in line, the ComRes survey for *The Sunday Telegraph* found.Just 9 per cent of those questioned think that he will not become king because Britain will have become a republic — whereas a poll in 2011 found that a quarter of people expected a republic to emerge within 50 years.Even among 18 to 24-year-olds, the age group most likely to hold republican views, today's poll shows a solid 69 per cent believe that Prince George will one day become king.The poll suggests that the majority of the country sees no benefit in republicanism, with some two thirds of those polled (66 per cent) thinking that Britain is better off as a monarchy. Only 17 per cent wanted a republic instead.

The survey also highlights the rising popularity of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, particularly among the young. They, along with Prince Harry, are the three most popular members of the Royal family behind the Queen. Support for the monarchy is the same level as the record set in opinion polls last summer when Britain was celebrating the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and the hosting of the Olympics.

More than half (53 per cent) of those questioned today think that Britain would be worse off without the Royal family while only 14 per cent believe we would be better off without them.

The poll suggests that republicans doubt that the abolition of the monarchy will happen this century. Prince George's reign — which would follow those of the Prince

of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge — is unlikely to begin for another half century and could last into the 22nd century. However, just under 10 per cent of those questioned think that the prince, who was born last Monday, will never become king because the country will have become a republic by then. The figure suggests that the future of a monarchy built on popular support has been ensured and shows a far lower level of expectation that there could be a republic than previous polls.

A poll in 2011 found that a quarter of people expected a republic to emerge within 50 years', while 35 per cent thought it would come into being within 100 years. The poll also shows how the changing face of the monarchy has seen its younger members embraced by those of a similar age.While the Queen is the most admired member of the Royal family overall, among those aged between 18 and 24, the Duchess of Cambridge emerges as the single most popular figure. As well as being favoured by young adults, both she and the Duke of Cambridge are markedly more admired by women than by men, according to the survey.

Prince Harry, emerges from the poll as Britain's third-favourite member of the Royal family, suggesting that his service in Afghanistan as an Apache attack helicopter gunner has endeared him to the public. Party antics including games of "strip billiards" in Las Vegas have either failed to dent his popularity — or possibly increased it.

However, when it comes to the key question of who should succeed the Queen, the public is split. Some 42 per cent say that the Prince of Wales should inherit the throne while 38 per cent believe that it should skip a generation and pass to the Duke of Cambridge instead. Some 14 per cent believe that neither should inherit the throne — and that Britain should become a republic at this stage by electing its head of state.

Again, there is a clear difference along gender and age lines, with women and younger people much more likely to favour the Duke of Cambridge taking over rather than his father. There is, currently, no sign whatsoever that the crown will pass to anyone other than the Prince of Wales when the Queen dies. Such an arrangement would have no recent constitutional precedent.

The events of the past few years — which have seen the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and the birth of Prince George — have ensured that overall support for the monarchy remains high. The Royal family received similar public support in the Eighties — but in the following decade saw its popularity fall after a series of separations, including the divorce of the Prince of Wales and Diana, Princess of Wales.
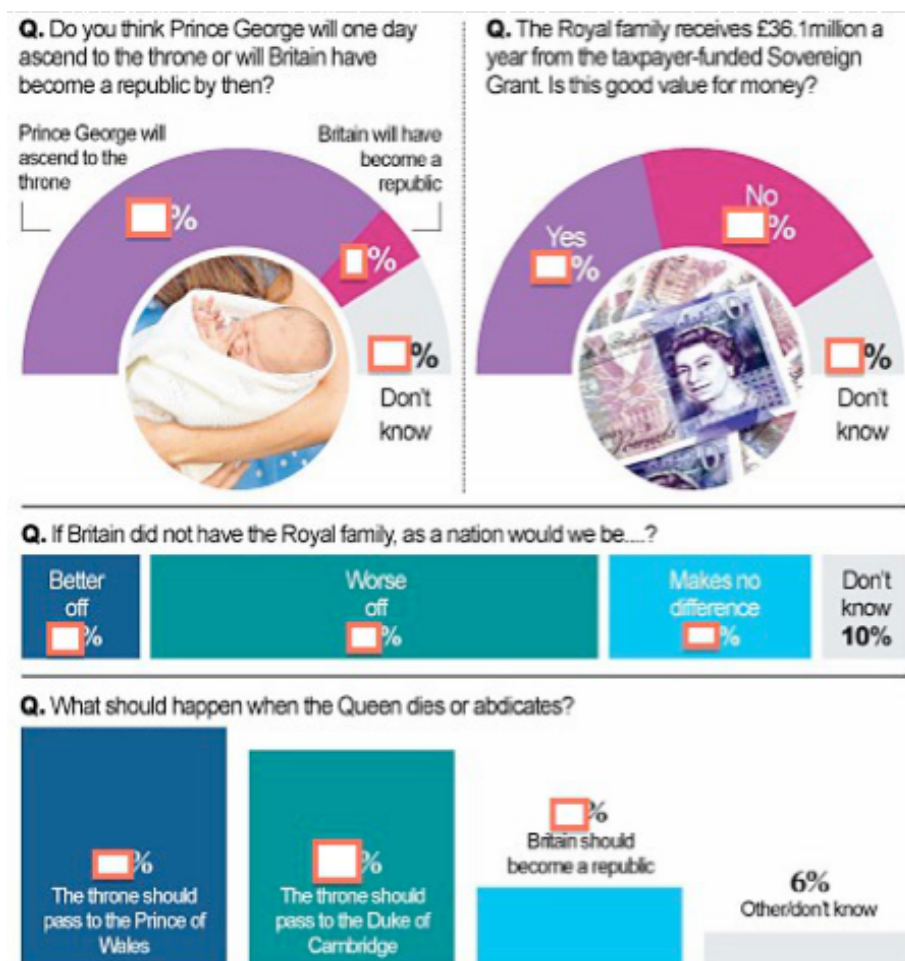
The Royal family regained some of its popularity amid a wave of public sympathy following the death of Diana, Princess of Wales in 1997. There were further boosts provided by the Queen's Golden Jubilee in 2002 and following the Prince of Wales's marriage to the then Camilla Parker-Bowles, now the Duchess of Cornwall, in 2005.

The only area in which there is not majority opinion in favour of the current settlement is on the cost of the Royal family. The public is divided over whether it offers value for money during the current tough economic times.

Under a new settlement brought in by the current government, the monarchy is no longer paid for out of the Exchequer. Instead a proportion of the profits from the Crown Estate, the land and property owned by the Queen in her official capacity, is given to Buckingham Palace as the Sovereign Grant.

The poll found 43 per cent of people believe the £36.1million annual Sovereign Grant — which funds many official royal duties, pays staff and maintains palaces — represents good value for money while 40 per cent disagree.More than half the 18-24 age group (56 per cent) disagrees that the Royal family is worth the cost, the highest figure in any age group. By contrast almost six in 10 of those (59 per cent) aged 65 and above agrees that it is value for money.

Complete the infographic below using numbers from the article above.

Q. Do you think Prince George will one day ascend to the throne or will Britain have become a republic by then?

Prince George will ascend to the throne

Britain will have become a republic

☐%

☐%

☐%

Don't know

Q. The Royal family receives £36.1million a year from the taxpayer-funded Sovereign Grant. Is this good value for money?

No

☐%

Yes

☐%

☐%

Don't know

Q. If Britain did not have the Royal family, as a nation would we be....?

Better off	Worse off	Makes no difference	Don't know
☐%	☐%	☐%	10%

Q. What should happen when the Queen dies or abdicates?

☐%
The throne should pass to the Prince of Wales

☐%
The throne should pass to the Duke of Cambridge

☐%
Britain should become a republic

6%
Other/don't know

Document 6

End of the line

For years we have gawked as the ancient dignity of the royal family has vanished in a flood of scandal and dysfunction. So is it finally time to abolish the monarchy? No, says Christopher Hitchens - but it is time we grew out of it

Christopher Hitchens in *The Guardian*, Wednesday 6 December 2000

1. For my parents and my teachers, it was - and they meant it unironically - "something to look up to". I invite readers who are of my generation to remember that familiar, modest, slightly embarrassing mantra, if only as a measure of how old they are. Something up to which to look would be more grammatical, of course, but no less archaic. Nowadays, the royal family is at best something to look at, and at worst something to look away from, or look down upon.

It unavoidably remains, however, something to contemplate. The gaze cannot be averted for long. The Windsor clan still compels attention even from the reluctant or the sated. It does so either by pervading the showbiz media, or by occupying the no man's land that separates us from the constitutional future. Whichever direction we may be taking, there is a monarchy-shaped blur that obscures the view. More worrying in a way, there seems to be a fear of what might be revealed if that blur was dispelled.

2. Events, many of them biological, have done what republican propaganda could not and forced at least a surmise about what lies on the other side of the fog. It will come as sad news to some people, but within a few years the Queen Mother will be no more, the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh will be on their last legs, and the mass-circulation papers will be forced to write in earnest about the really serious matters, such as whether or not "It's Queen Camilla!", or with which "supermodel" Prince William will compromise himself.

3. At around that time, if I'm spared, I will no doubt be hearing from Windsor partisans who demand to know if I'd really prefer President Bush, or what it is I have against our tourist trade. But deference has become an irrelevant curio, and tourists will probably manage to get here anyway, and the American presidential system will (with any luck at all) be coming under increasingly strenuous criticism precisely for being too monarchical and ceremonial. We shall still be faced with the question of how to make a devolved and Europeanised parliamentary system out of the pig's ear of "the crown in parliament" and the ramshackle insular union for which it stood.

4. Understand that there is no avoiding this; we can do many things but we cannot go on as we have. And there may be a variety of potential solutions, but King Charles III is not one of them, not even on an exceptionally good day.

5. Walter Bagehot's famous distinction between the "dignified" and the "efficient" parts of our unwritten constitution is in reality a distinction without a difference. If efficiency can be assumed of the functioning parts, then dignity is at least probable in

the decorative ones. But something that is by definition inefficient is fairly certain also to be undignified. And the House of Windsor has overdetermined this outcome by sacrificing what remained of its rather heavy dignity in a welter of family dysfunction.

6. In addition to this, it almost imposes irrelevance. Recall the chancellorship of Norman Lamont; that amazing interlude in the history of our great currency. As the debate on the euro began to become real for the first time, he returned from a tense meeting with his fellow European finance ministers with the breathless intelligence that, whatever shape the future money was to take, he had ensured that the British version would still have the sovereign's head inscribed upon it. Imagine the effort that was involved in this Treasury triumph.

7. And those who believe that monarchy acts as a solvent upon local differences have only to look at the recent symbolic tussles in the six counties, where the first step - the necessary if not the sufficient condition - towards a redefined and non-sectarian police force was the removal of the word "royal" from its name.

8. This country for some reason does not have a name. Britain doesn't quite cover it (Ulster is part of the UK but not of Great Britain), England clearly doesn't cover it, and terms such as Albion or Britannia are part of the lost world of the Punch cartoon. Instead we have - like the recipient of some outmoded honour - a title: the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Other countries have titles which express ideas - "the United States of America" was proudly coined by that great English republican Thomas Paine, and at a time when there were fewer than 20 states - but ours is more a mode of address for a slightly iffy constitutional compromise that is now drawing peacefully towards its close.

9. And at the apex of this compromise is, fittingly enough, an absurdity. If it were not for the regal fog - the mist of state openings and birthday honours and Christmas broadcasts and fairytale weddings - we could have begun to confront this reality long before it was thrust upon us.

10. The argument of practicality - of the obvious need to evolve a secular constitution that separates church from state, replaces the hereditary principle and in other ways reflects the modern Euro-American world of human rights and civil society - ought not to be allowed to obscure the argument of principle. At bottom, the republican idea contains a different concept of citizenship itself. Not only does monarchy have a bad effect on our elite, it has a dire effect on our popular and public opinion.

11. Historically, the favouritism shown by Buckingham Palace to certain politicians and generals - to Benjamin Disraeli and Field Marshal Douglas Haig and Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain and Sir Alec Douglas-Home - has been meddlesome and retrograde. And many mediocre political time-servers have become completely insufferable with the addition of the words "right honourable" and the initials "PC" (for "privy counsellor" of all things) to their names. I think we may doubt that it was entirely good for Tony Blair to become so much of a palace politician so early in his tenure; it's only a step from nominating the "people's princess" to developing the fatal illusion that you can cure scrofula by being the princely people's prime minister.

12. Further down the scale, though, the monarchic principle constitutes an obstacle to precisely that sense of responsibility about which we hear so much. It can't be good for people to lead vicarious lives, made up partly of prurience and partly of deference, and fixated on the doings of an undistinguished and spoiled family.

13. In case I should seem snobbish about this, I can speak of the section of the public with which I am best acquainted: the humble drudges who bring out the nation's newspapers. The "royal" theme operates with the intensity of Gresham's law in this sector, encouraging laziness and sentimentality and salacity by making it too easy to fill page upon page with brainless twaddle, and encouraging contempt for the readership that makes itself such an easy target.

14. There have been times in our history - the stupid adulation of the loathsome Edward VIII as "one of us" - when such manipulated populism was positively dangerous. But at no time is this conditioning of mild hysteria and personality cult a wholesome thing.

15. What one wants to propose, therefore, is not that we abolish monarchy but that we transcend it or, to put it in more old-fashioned terms, that we grow out of it. To remove the Windsors by the stroke of a legislative pen would be highly satisfying in one way, but disappointing in another. The infantilism and cretinism of the press, for example, can't be cured just by a fiat. What should now begin is the process of emancipating ourselves from the mental habits of royalism, and the many supports it provides to unthinking attitudes and dysfunctional practices.

16. The last-ditchers are right in one way: it would scarcely be progress if we scrapped the Windsors and then prostrated ourselves at the feet of an imperial presidency. But if the argument is rightly conducted then the attitudes required to see us through to a democratic republic - or federation of democratic republics - would be their own insurance. We even begin to think as democratic republicans, and cultivate and reward democratic republican virtues.

17. Those who really wanted to would not be prevented from idolising Prince William or from gurgling at the Queen Mum. There will be room for royalists and restorationists in a democratic republic, and there will no doubt be tabloids and glossies to gratify them. But the large and growing number of republicans and democrats will not have to witness this spectacle as if we were all a part of it, and it was all a part of us.

18. The private travails of the Windsors would not have - as they now do - the gruesome aspect of a publicly financed human sacrifice. The converse, in other words, does not hold - there is not limitless room for democracy in a monarchy and the sooner we appreciate this, and demand the extra space that an adult and constitutional settlement would require, the better off all of us, including even the monarchists, will be.

• Christopher Hitchens is a columnist for Vanity Fair.

Answer these questions which relate to specific paragraphs in the text.

Paragraph 1: How does the author look at the royal family?

a) He sees it as something to look up to.

b) He sees it as something which blocks our view of the future.

c) He sees it as something worth thinking about carefully.

Paragraph 3: How does the author deal with these arguments in favour of the monarchy?

a) A monarchy is preferable to a presidency because we shouldn't be too deferential to a president.

b) The royals bring in valuable tourist revenue.

Paragraph 6: Explain the author's use of the 'Norman Lamont' example. What point is he making about the monarchy?

Paragraph 10: What are the arguments of practicality and principle the author describes?

Paragraph 13: What effect does the monarchy have on the press?

Paragraph 15: What does Hitchens propose as an alternative to the abolition of the monarchy?

G. Tasks: Grammar & Vocabulary

Task 1: Fill the gaps in this paragraph with articles: (a, an, the or no article)

Although _____ U.K. has perhaps _____ best-known monarchy in _____ world, it is far from unique. Within _____ Europe, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, _____ Netherlands, Belgium and Spain also function as _____ constitutional monarchies, as do Japan and Thailand within Asia. Hereditary rulers in Africa and _____ Middle East (e.g. Morocco, Lesotho, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia) still retain _____ great deal of _____ real power. Are these Heads of State anachronisms who should be swept away in _____ spirit of true democracy, or do they have much to commend them at _____ time when _____ leaders of many new republics still struggle to find _____ popular legitimacy?

Task 2: Find words in the following 2 paragraphs that mean these things:

1. A moment when power is taken away from the government, probably by force	7. Lords who inherit their title
	8. Responsibility
2. A situation where there is no majority in an election	9. Smallandunimportant
	10. Something which balances other political forces
3. Important	
4. Impossible to justify	11. The final result
5. Judges in the highest court in the UK	12. To support
6. Keeps	13. Unbiased

Yes (it should be abolished)

The concept of monarchy is undemocratic. If the monarch retains any significant political powers (as they do in Belgium and the U.K. for example) these are unjustifiable. Why should the opinion of just one person, in office purely by accident of birth, be able to influence the outcome of elections (e.g. in the U.K. if no party has an overall majority in parliament) or of political decision-making (e.g. the U.K. and Belgium again, where the monarch has to sign legislation before it becomes law)? Monarchy may also be used to prop up other unjustifiable elements within the constitution, e.g. the presence of hereditary peers in the House of Lords in the U.K.

No (the monarchy should not be abolished)

Constitutional monarchy is a very effective political system. A hereditary Head of State acts as an important element of continuity within a democratic system. The real powers (as opposed to purely theoretical ones – no British ruler has actually vetoed an Act of Parliament since c1720) of European monarchs are negligible. But as unelected figures above the political conflicts of the day, they retain an important symbolic role as a focus for national unity (very important in Belgium, for example). In Britain their right "to advise, encourage and warn" the Prime Minister of the day has acted as a check against overly radical policies, in Spain King Juan Carlos actually faced down a military coup in the 1980s. They also will have had experience for many years of remaining independent of political allegiance, and a strong sense of duty in their work, and as such are more likely to be impartial in their choice of prime minister in a hung parliament than an elected politician or appointed supreme court justice.

***Task 3*: *Add the following words to the two paragraphs below* :** Aspirations, class, crisis, entrepreneurialism, free, heritage, honours, innovation, make, sense, suspicion

Yes The concept of monarchy is also inegalitarian. Even if the monarchy retains little or no political power, its presence sustains the traditional _____ system, sending out a message that who you are born matters more than what you _____ of yourself. This can stifle _____ and lead to a culture of deference, where _____ and individual ability are not valued. A system of royal _____ may be used to tie achievers into the traditional social structures, making radical social and political change less possible.

No Monarchy acts as a guardian of a nation's _____, a living reminder of the events and personalities that have shaped it. As such it is a powerful focus for loyalty and a source of strength in times of _____, for example World War II, and a reminder of enduring values and traditions. Separating the positions of Head of State and Head of Government also makes great practical _____; the monarchy undertakes much of the ceremonial work at home and abroad, leaving the Prime Minister _____ to focus more effectively upon governing. Also, there is no culture of deference to authority in the United Kingdom - _____ of government and other public bodies is rife, and at the head of a capitalist society for centuries, often leading the world in _____, the monarchy can hardly have been said to stifle entrepreneurial and individual thought.

Task 4*: *Complete the following paragraphs with one word per gap. No words are provided in a box but the first letter of each word has been given.

Yes The costs of monarchy are unjustifiable. Typically monarchs and their immediate family receive substantial a_____ of money from the state to maintain luxurious l_____, complete with servants, expensive holidays and hobbies. The state also spends a great deal to maintain and run palaces and other royal residences, which are seldom a_____ to the general public who support them through their t_____. Security costs are also very high.

No Monarchy is highly cost-e_____ when compared to the expense of maintaining a Presidency with a large staff and equally stringent security requirements. Royal residences are held in trust for the nation, and would require the same upkeep costs whether they were inhabited by a monarch or not. Instead monarchy more than pays its w____, not only through its tourist r_____ and through its role in promoting trade and i_____ abroad on royal visits, but through the Crown Estates which are owned by the monarchy and contribute over £200m annually to the government of the United Kingdom; much less than the given figure for the cost of the monarchy (£41.5m), or even the figure when including an estimate of security and other hidden costs (~£150m).

Task 5: Put the sentence endings a) - f) in the correct positions 1 – 6 in the two following paragraphs.

Sentence endings :

. a) no longer able to maintain the mystique which once set them apart from the common man

. b) to be mortal, fallible and sometimes foolish creatures

. c) and by extension their whole country

. d) an elected Presidency

. e) public trust of politicians is sinking to new lows

. f) vesting real power clearly in the hands of democratically accountable leaders

Yes

Royal families have become national embarrassments. In an age of mass-media monarchies are 1. ____. Instead kings, queens, princes and princesses are revealed 2. _____. As their wardrobes, squabbles and failing marriages have become constant sources of media scrutiny, so any remaining respect for monarchy as an institution has waned. How many people travelling abroad like to find their Head of State, 3. ____, is a source of amusement to foreigners?

No

Monarchy is preferable to the alternative; 4. ____. It avoids the partisan nature of that kind of government, inevitably associated with one of the political parties, and thus incapable of uniting the nation as monarchy can. Bob Worcester of Mori, a well-known polling organisation, says that support for the monarchy has remained constant at about 70 per cent for the past 30 years. In all countries, 5. ____ , another reason why an elected Presidency fails to provide a focus for national feeling. Constitutional monarchy is also a more effective system of government, 6. ____ with a mandate to govern, without all the dangers of political gridlock and lack of accountability that can result from conflict between two differently elected bodies (e.g. in the USA or France).

H. CARTOONS

What point is being made in each cartoon below?

Document 7 .

Document 8.

Document 9.

Document 10.

WEEK 3 – POLITICAL PARTIES

A. BRAINSTORMING

1. What is a political party?

2. What are the main parties in the UK?

3. Who are their leaders?

4. Who is the longest serving Prime Minister in Modern Britain (1900-2010)?

5. What is the difference between Old and New Labour?

6. Can you explain Davis Cameron's Big Society?

7. When were the Labour and Conservative parties created?

8. What party do these logos belong to?

9. How is the British parliament organized?

10. Some people think there's not that much difference between the parties, which means that there's not really any choice. What do you think?

B. READING

Document 11

Abandon the Liberal Democrats and govern alone, Tory MPs tell David Cameron
One MP said that as many as 50 Tory MPs wanted the Prime Minister to jettison his deputy Nick Clegg and start to govern alone

By Christopher Hope, Senior Political Correspondent, 08 Dec 2014, *The Telegraph*

Dozens of Conservative MPs want David Cameron to walk away from the Coalition and govern alone in a minority administration.

The Tories and Liberal Democrats should formally unwind the Coalition now and agree ground rules to allow each to criticise the other, MPs said.

One MP said that as many as 50 Tory MPs wanted the Prime Minister to jettison his deputy Nick Clegg and start to govern alone.

The views were shared by a Tory member of the Government who said that given the Tories should govern alone in a minority administration. "New Year, new start," he said.

The news came as the war of words between senior members of the Coalition reached new heights, with Danny Alexander, the Chief Secretary to the Treasury, saying the Conservatives were in the grip of a "pre-election panic" by "pandering to Ukip" and pursuing a policy of "austerity forever".

Mr Alexander's comments emerged amid new polling which showed the Tories had not received a bounce in support after last week's Autumn statement.

According to Populus, Labour's support among those who were likely to cast a vote had increased by one per cent to 36 per cent, ahead of the Conservatives on 33 per cent and the Liberal Democrats down one per cent on 8 per cent. Ukip was on 15 per cent.

But another poll from Lord Ashcroft found support for Labour had slipped one per cent 31 per cent, with the Conservatives unchanged on 30 per cent. The Liberal Democrats are up one at 8 per cent, UKIP up 3 per cent at 19 per cent.

Tory MPs – who declined to be named – said that a large number of them now wanted the Coalition to come to an end but recognised that they would have to stick it out until the general election in May.

Another senior Conservative said: "There is a very wide frustration – most colleagues would agree that it would be much better to have an election this year rather than waiting til next."

"They could either formally end the Coalition and move to a confidence and supply arrangement that many of us would have liked to see at the outset, or they could formally set out some ground rules for the way the two parties will conduct themselves between now and the election."

Another said: "Pretending everything will continue like the rose garden does not do anyone any favours.

"Some kind of ground rules for a planned degree of separation would be sensible."

A third MP said that the Coalition was "breaking up in fact if not in law. Either side could [walk away] but neither side wants to.

"If the Conservatives walked away, the Government would fall and if the Liberal Democrats walk out of office how would that really help them."

A fourth Tory MP said the calls were not louder for the dissolution of the Coalition because some Conservative MPs needed local Lib Dem candidates to perform well in May's general election.

He said: "A lot of our colleagues need the Lib Dem vote to harden up. What they cannot afford is for the Liberal Democrat vote to fracture and the votes to go to Labour."

Don Foster, a senior Lib Dem minister, told the BBC's Daily Politics that the Lib Dems were going to "stick to the task right up until polling day". He accepted the Tories and Lib Dems had their differences but he added: "It would be a crazy idea to separate now."

1. *What does the majority of MPs want Cameron to do?*
2. *What are the reasons for such a decision?*
3. *Does every Tory MP agree? Why?*
4. *What about the Lib Dem's point of view?*

Document 12

Cameron is poor man's Thatcher, taunts Clegg. Cameron will be 'trapped between being a poor man's Margaret Thatcher and a rich man's Nigel Farage' says Clegg.

TheTelegraph, October 4 2014. By Tim Ross, Political Correspondent

Nick Clegg launched a personal attack on David Cameron on Saturday night as he urged Liberal Democrats to fight to stop the Conservatives winning a majority at next year's general election.

Addressing a rally at the start of the Lib Dem party conference in Glasgow, Mr Clegg predicted that the Prime Minister would "botch" his attempt to overhaul Britain's membership of the European Union if he won power outright.

Mr Clegg openly mocked the Conservative leader's struggle with the UK Independence Party, claiming Mr Cameron would be "in hock" to the Right-wingers on his own side, "desperately running after and pandering to Ukip's ugly nationalism".

Mr Cameron would end up "*trapped between being a poor man's Margaret Thatcher and a rich man's Nigel Farage*", the Lib Dem leader said, as he set out his predictions for what Britain would look like after five years of a Tory majority government.

Mr Clegg's comments come just days after he demanded an apology when the Home Secretary, backed by Mr Cameron, accused him of putting children at risk by blocking Tory plans for what opponents call a "snooper's charter".

Theresa May had told the Tory conference that the Government's declining ability to store communications data meant "crimes are going unpunished, children are being abused and lives are being put at risk".

In his rally address last night, Mr Clegg said a Tory majority at next year's election would see Britain "diminished and divided after a botched attempt to renegotiate our relationship with Europe" ahead of a referendum on whether to leave.

The result of a referendum on Europe in 2017, which Mr Cameron has promised if the Tories should win, would be "a vote to withdraw" from the EU.

The result, said Mr Clegg, would be "companies pulling out of the UK left, right and centre, the markets losing confidence, hiking up our borrowing costs and halting the recovery in its tracks".

Workers would fear for their jobs because the Conservatives would allow bosses to "fire them at will, no questions asked" while the young and poor would suffer as George Osborne, the Chancellor, "takes his axe to the welfare budget with no regard for the impact on people's lives", he said.

Mr Clegg rounded on Labour too, warning that a majority government led by Ed Miliband and Ed Balls would squander the economic recovery, "throwing good money after bad at every problem that comes along."

He also issued a threat to block any plan for delivering greater power to English MPs in the wake of more devolution for Scotland if it gave the Tories an unfair advantage in the Commons.

And he called for "a new constitutional settlement for the United Kingdom" and a "much more radical" approach to handing power from Whitehall to local communities, with a new legal right for "devolution on demand".

Mr Clegg's speech was an attempt to energise amid gloomy poll ratings, with some research putting the party's support as low as 6 per cent.

1. Find out in the text the names of the leaders of the Conservative party, of the Labour Party, of the Lib Dem Party and of the Ukip Party.
2. What does Nick Clegg blame David Cameron for?
3 What is his position regarding the Labour Party?
4. What is his vision on the future of Britain?
5. Comment on the underlined sentence.

Document 13

Ed Miliband Leadership Crisis: Why Labour Leader's Poll Ratings Are Better Than They Look.

The International Business Times. November 10, 2014

Ed Miliband has faced repeated questions over his leadership of the Labour party amid poor polling (Reuters)

We're almost at the end of an entire parliament of Tory austerity. Billions of pounds shaved off public spending, a cost of living crisis, rising inequality. The Labour party couldn't ask for a better platform from which to make its case at the 2015 general election.

Yet Ed Miliband, the Labour party leader, is down in the poll dumps. His approval ratings are terrible and some pollsters even have the Conservatives slightly ahead of Labour. But are things as bad as they appear?

A YouGov poll for the *Sunday Times* found that just 34% of those who supported Labour at the 2010 general election think Miliband is capable of being prime minister, down from 51% the previous month. A separate YouGov poll for LBC radio station found 49% of voters believe Miliband should quit. It follows a disastrous Labour conference speech in which Miliband forgot key passages.

Miliband is being beasted in the media. Awkward, weak, out-of-touch, failing to connect with voters. In both the right and left-wing press. And what makes it particularly painful is some of that beasting comes from his own party's anonymous briefing against him.

MPs are looking at the poll ratings nervously, with reports that some are choosing to focus on protecting their own seats rather than campaign nationally for a Labour government. Most had wanted his brother, David, as leader, but lost out because the party's trade union voting bloc secured Ed the victory in 2010.

There has been talk of a leadership crisis, but no credible successor has surfaced. In fact, no potential successor has surfaced at all. It appears to be a desperate wobble by a handful of disgruntled Labour politicians trying their luck in a last-ditch attempt to rock Miliband out of the boat. Unless something drastic happens soon, it looks like they've failed. That boat is about to sink or float with Miliband as its captain.

Likeability

But we might be reading too much into the wrong poll results argues Professor Paul Whiteley, a psephologist from the University of Essex. Instead, the likeability of a leader is more indicative of voting intentions.

"**It turns out that likeability is closely associated with other desirable traits that a successful leader needs, such as being seen as competent, decisive, in touch with ordinary people and honest**," Whiteley wrote in an article for *The Conversation*.

"More to the point, it is a powerful predictor of voting intentions and therefore a good guide to what people might do in the general election."

His analysis of the likeability ratings still shows Miliband trailing Cameron. But not by much. Miliband's average rating since June 2010, after the last election is 3.9. Cameron's is 4.2 and Lib Dem leader Nick Clegg's is 3.3.

"In judging these scores it is important to remember that Miliband will be judged against Cameron and Clegg in the general election, not some ideal leader with a perfect score," Whiteley wrote.

"It is the difference between leaders which counts, not the absolute scores on the scale.

"The findings suggest Miliband's unpopularity has been exaggerated in comparison with Cameron and clearly some Labour backbenchers are getting very anxious about what are relatively small differences, given that political leaders in general are none too popular."

Mike Smithson, a political analyst and editor of the Political Betting blog, wrote on his website that "there's a lot in Whiteley's analysis".

"The key thing is, of course, to find the ratings that are the best predictor of how people will vote. Mrs. Thatcher, it will be recalled, was 21% behind James Callaghan as 'best PM' three days before she led the Tories to victory in the 1979 general election."

1. What aspects could favour the Labour Party for the coming elections?
2. What are the reasons for the current crisis within the Labour Party?
3. Is the whole situation negative for Ed Miliband? Explain.
4. Comment on the underlined sentence.

C. Cartoons

Document 14

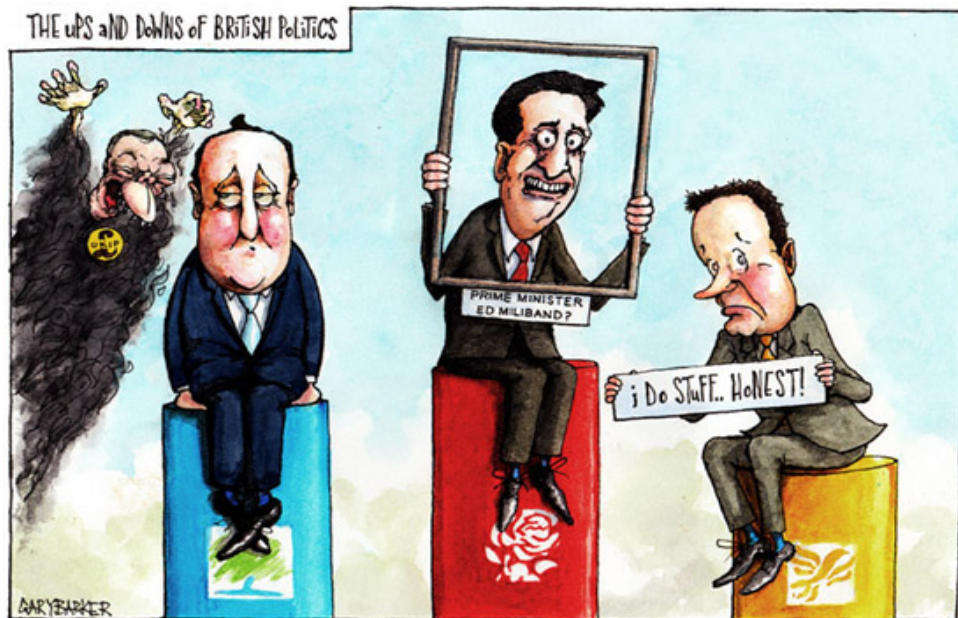
"He can't tell his left from his right."

Source : http://www.cartoonstock.com/cartoonview.asp?catref=grin883

Document 15

Source: http://www.economist.com/node/15912978

Document 16

Source: http://www.countingcats.com/?p=17324

Document 17

Source : http://www.spectator.co.uk/features/9019201/the-end-of-the-party/

IV. LISTENING COMPREHENSION

Document 18

Why more political parties are being set up, 1 December 2014

Link : http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-30277459

Please, watch the above video and answer the following questions:

1. What will this video be about?
2. Why has Anne Spencer decided to set up Populous, her own political party?
3. What piece of advice does James Smith give her concerning fundraising?
4. How does the journalist define "direct democracy"?
5. What difference does Richard Wilson see between his party, My Stroud, and traditional parties?
6. According to you, is this increase in votes towards these parties a threat to traditional parties? (Conservative, Labour and Lib Dem)

V. GRAMMAR: COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE ADJECTIVES.

A. Complete each of the sentences below with the correct form of the adjective.

1. Nick Clegg was born in 1967 and David Cameron was born in 1966. Nick Clegg is (old) …………………………………... David Cameron.
2. The Labour Party is very high in the polls. They are actually (high) …………... in the polls.
3. General elections cost a lot of money. A local election costs less. A general election is (expensive) ………………………………… a local election.
4. The Labour Party results were bad. The Lib Dem results were very poor. The Lib Dem results were (bad) ………………………….. the Labour Party results.
5. David Cameron's popularity is not very good. I hope it will be (good) …………………………… in the coming weeks.
6. In the government of Great Britain, the Prime Minister is (important) ……………… person.
7. MPs are not very popular in Westminster. They are generally (famous) …………………….. in their constituency.
8. The UKIP of 2014 is (big) ………………………………… it was 10 years ago.
9. Nick Clegg's popularity is similar to Ed Miliband's. Nick Clegg is (popular) ………………………………… Ed Miliband.

10. The conservative party is (large) …………………………………………….. the UKIP.

B. Make sentences with the following elements: successful, old, united, important, declining, favorable, good, late, popular, small, independent.

(légende : - = moins de / + = plus de / ++ = le plus / -- = le moins)

1. The three main party leaders are collectively ………………… in the history of polling. (--)

2. England has ……………………………… parliament in the world (++)

3. Initially, the Whigs were the party of the liberal and reforming aristocracy. In contrast to the Tories, the Whig Party attracted people ……………….…… to constitutional reforms (+)

4. In the 1850's, the Whig Party became …………………………..… element of a union of Whigs and Radicals who took the name "Liberal Party". (++)

5. Very weak following the recession of the 1970s, the Labour party was largely reformed ………………….…............... by Tony Blair, who transformed it into a modern social democratic party. (+)

6. Opposition to the government comes from the parties that sit on the Opposition benches in Parliament. They have to remain …………………………… possible if they are to maintain an effective opposition to the government in power. (=)

7. The simple majority system of election tends to under-represent …………………………………….. political parties and to maximise the chance of the most popular political party winning a majority of seats nationwide. (-)

8. The three parties have ……………………………………….. memberships than they did, since voters are much less inclined to join a political party. (-)

9. It has been argued that democracy would be ……………………..… served and parties could be ……………………..… if there was public funding of political parties with the actual level of funding depending of some combination of candidates and votes. (+)

10. The Conservative party has taken over the role of Britain's ……………... institution. (++)

VI. Vocabulary

-By-election: A special election, held between regular elections, when an area votes. A by-election can be 'called' if an existing M.P. dies or retires.

-Coalition: If there's no outright winner in an election a government can be formed in which several parties cooperate.

-Constituency: Each of the electoral areas or divisions in the UK which elect one or more members to parliament.

- MP: Member of Parliament. The person who represents their constituency in the House of Commons.

- PM: Prime Minister. The person who holds the position of head of the government.

-Tories: The modern Conservative Party, whose members are sometimes still referred to as Tories.

-Politics: The process through which decisions on how to run the country / government are made.

-Policy: A plan of action or guide that a political party or group decides upon.

-Ruling party: The party in power, the governing party.

-dispute: A dispute is an argument or disagreement between people or groups

WEEK 4 - THE UK AND EUROPE

A.   READING COMPREHENSION

Document 19

Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship

BBC News, 1 April 2014, by Sam Wilson

The United Kingdom's relationship with the EU - or, in political parlance, "Europe" - has long been one of the most divisive, emotive issues in British politics.

Now it is centre stage again, and the debates between Eurosceptic Nigel Farage and Europhile Nick Clegg bring the argument down to a stark, binary choice not seriously faced in decades - In, or Out.

But why does Europe produce such a polarised reaction? Many Britons, on both sides of the debate, love visiting European countries and idolise elements of their culture - not least the food. Indeed, more than 1.5 million Britons have moved there to live.

But Europeans viewing British newspaper coverage, political debates or opinion polls would be forgiven for thinking we have little but contempt for our neighbours. It is, to say the least, a complex relationship.

The weight of history

Maybe it is the long history of hostilities that clouds the British view of Europe with suspicion. As an empire builder and major trading power it was inevitable that Britain would come into conflict with rivals vying for the same territories and trade routes. And allegiances shifted. All of its main rivals - Germany in the world wars, Russia in the Cold War, and France through most of modern history - have also at times been important allies.

But for many historians the most enduring influence on Britain's self-image is World War Two. And it may be that the popular perception of Britain in its Darkest Hour, standing alone as the British Empire against Nazi Germany in 1940-41, informs a modern view of the UK as its own best friend. And that if anyone can be relied on to come to her aid, it is the United States.

An insular mentality?

Britain, obviously, is an island nation. Is this the key to its arms-length attitude to Europe? For centuries "we lived in splendid isolation, protected by the Navy and the Empire", the historian Vernon Bogdanor has said. "Now, of course, that period of isolation has long gone, but perhaps it still retains some of its impact upon the British people, who do not want ties with the Continent."

But other members of the EU - Ireland, Malta, and Cyprus - are islands, and they do not object so much to handing powers to Brussels. Perhaps it is Britain's island mentality, combined with that imperial hangover, that is at play - Britain is used to giving orders, not taking them.

An end to the war

The formation of the European Union had its origins after 1945, in the desire to tie Europe's nations so closely together that they could never again wreak such damage on each other. Winston Churchill fully supported this idea, proposing for Europe "a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom... a kind of United States of Europe".

But as the European Coal and Steel Community was forged in 1951, Britain stood on the sidelines; and it declined an invitation to join the six founding nations of the European Economic Community in signing the Treaty of Rome in 1957.

One of the architects of the ECSC, Frenchman Jean Monnet, said: "I never understood why the British did not join. I came to the conclusion that it must have been because it was the price of victory - the illusion that you could maintain what you had, without change."

Britain wants in

With its own economy stuck in a rut, Britain saw France and Germany posting a strong post-war recovery and forming a powerful alliance, and changed its mind. It applied to join the EEC in 1961, only for entry to be vetoed - twice - by French President Charles de Gaulle. He accused Britain of a "deep-seated hostility" towards European construction, and of being more interested in links with the US.

Britain may have had selfish reasons for wanting to sign up, but then seeking mutual benefits is part of the motivation for the European project. As the historian James Ellison points out, Europe has not just been a place of conflict for Britain over the centuries. "It was also a place of diplomatic agreement, trade, co-operation and - through most of the second half of the 20th Century and the 21st - peace and stability and growth," he says.

Britain gets in

Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath finally led Britain into the EEC in 1973, after General de Gaulle had left office. When membership was put to a referendum in 1975, it had the support of Britain's three main parties and all its national newspapers. The result was resounding - with more than 67% voting in favour. But that did not end the debate. There was no immediate economic fillip - in fact strikes and power cuts continued, and rising oil prices caused double-digit inflation.

Role reversal

In the 1970s, the Conservatives backed British membership - though there was some opposition on the right of the party. The most concerted opposition came from the left of the Labour party, led by Tony Benn and Michael Foot. Mr Foot's 1983 Labour manifesto promised withdrawal from the EEC - by then more commonly called the European Community (EC) - after the pro-Europe wing of the party had split off to form the SDP.

"Europe has been a toxic issue in British politics," Prof Bogdanor says, not just because it caused division between parties, "but also deep divisions within the parties".

"Some might argue that the fundamental conflict in post-war British politics is not so much between left and right as between those who believe that Britain's future lies with Europe and those who believe it does not."

Rising antipathy
In 1984, Margaret Thatcher corrected what was seen as an injustice, negotiating a permanent rebate for Britain on its EC contributions, because it received much less in agricultural subsidies than some other countries, notably France.

The 1980s saw a growing divide between Britain and Brussels, where the socialist Jacques Delors had taken the helm at the European Commission and was steering towards a more federal Europe and a single currency.

Mrs Thatcher was uncompromising. Her 1988 speech in Bruges, in which she rejected "a European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels", has become a seminal text for Eurosceptics. But, with many Europhiles in her cabinet (far more than nowadays), her stance fuelled the Conservatives' internal warfare, and helped lead eventually to her downfall.

Humiliation
"Black Wednesday" was one of the lowest points in Britain's relationship with Europe. After failing to fend off intense currency speculation, Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont was forced to announce Britain's withdrawal from the Exchange Rate Mechanism on 16 September, 1992.

1992 and all that
Mrs Thatcher had been unable to stop Europe's march towards political union, and was gone by the time the Maastricht Treaty was signed by her successor John Major in 1992. This involved huge transfers of power to the new European Union. Britain secured opt-outs from the single currency and the social chapter. But to the treaty's critics - including many Tory rebels - it undermined the British tradition of the inviolable sovereignty of parliament.

Building bridges…..
Tony Blair followed a landslide election victory in 1997 by quickly patching things up with Europe. He signed Britain up to the social chapter, delivering some of the social protections long coveted on the left, and setting his sights on the euro. But Britain's economy was doing well, support for euro entry was not widespread, and Chancellor Gordon Brown put the plans on hold.

…and burning them?
The Euro crisis has put paid to any prospect of Britain adopting the single currency, and has perhaps fuelled the Euroscepticism that now apparently runs strongly through parts of the Conservative Party and the public at large.

In December 2011, as EU leaders tried to tackle their problems through a treaty setting new budget rules, David Cameron demanded exemptions and then vetoed the pact. To critics, this cut Britain adrift. But it delighted Eurosceptics and encouraged them to demand more. Soon enough, the Prime Minister promised a referendum on British membership. Britain's most poisonous political issue was back centre stage.

1. *What are the landmarks of the relationship between the UK and Europe?*
2. *How do you understand the phrase "an insular mentality"?*
3. *Explain the phrase "the United States of Europe".*
4. *Define "Eurosceptics". What does being a "Eurosceptic" mean?*

Document 20

Britain and Europe: the Essential Guide

The Guardian, Friday 18 January 2013, by Nicholas Watt, chief political correspondent

If David Cameron wins a majority at the next general election he wants to offer the British people a referendum on a "new settlement" for UK membership of the European Union. Study the issue in depth and learn all you need to know about what happens next with our essential guide.

1. The issue at a glance

Nobody under the age of 56 in Britain has been given a vote on Britain's membership of the EU because the first – and only – referendum took place in 1975. Britain is now one of the least enthusiastic members of the 27-strong union after a series of measures which have led to deeper integration. A majority of voters in a recent Observer/Opinium poll said Britain should leave. The 17 members of the Eurozone are likely to integrate even further over the coming years, raising questions about the position of the 10 members – led by Britain – that remain outside the currency.

2. Why is it being talked about now?

David Cameron believes Britain's membership of the EU can only be stabilised by agreeing a "new settlement" in which some powers would be repatriated from Brussels back to Britain. He will seek a negotiating mandate in the Conservative general election manifesto. The new terms would be put to voters in a referendum. The Prime Minister believes he is acting in the national interest by achieving a goal that eluded Tony Blair – achieving a settled position on the EU. There is also a party interest – the vast majority of Tory MPs want a referendum.

3. A brief history

Britain initially spurned the European Economic Community, founded in the Treaty of Rome in 1957, on the grounds that the UK was a global power with horizons beyond the European continent. When Britain applied to join in 1963, the then French president, Charles de Gaulle, said "non" – a view he repeated in 1967 – on the grounds that Britain was hostile to European integration. Britain eventually joined the EEC in January 1973.

4. What happens next?

The Prime Minister will have little room for manoeuvre until the next election because his coalition deputy, Nick Clegg, has described his plans to repatriate powers as a "false promise wrapped in a Union Jack". Cameron will therefore have to wait at least two and a half years before he can table demands to repatriate powers in the areas of social and employment law in future EU negotiations on a revision of the Lisbon treaty. This could be necessary if the 17 members of the Eurozone move towards creating a fiscal union. Britain will have a power of veto even though it has a legal opt-out from the Euro.

5. The options – and key arguments

Option	Arguments for	Arguments against	Who supports
One: Give Britain a full opt-out from the Working Time Directive, which gives workers the right to a minimum number of holidays and rest. Britain has an opt-out from the 48-hour limit on the working week	It is wrong for the EU to dictate the hours of hard-working people who want to increase their hours to earn more money, thereby helping the economy grow. The medical profession has warned that the directive is undermining the training of doctors by preventing them from having more experience on the job	The directive is one of the key elements of "social Europe", promoted by the former European commission president Jacques Delors, which guaranteed basic rights for workers. It would also be wrong to give Britain an advantage over its competitors in the EU single market by allowing UK businesses to undercut rivals in France and Germany	The Conservatives would like a complete opt-out. Labour supports calls for reform but is wary of undermining "social Europe"
Two: Ensure Britain has a greater say over European justice measures. Decisions on this have to be made by next year	Britain should not tie its hands by subsuming basic elements of criminal justice in pan-European arrangements. The Fresh Start group of Conservative MPs say the European arrest warrant has been used by some member states,	The Association of Chief Police Officers told a sub-committee of the House of Lords EU committee that pan-European measures, such as the arrest warrant, help in the fight against organised crime and terrorism	The Conservatives would like to reduce the number of measures requiring British involvement. Labour and the Liberal Democrats believe the government should be guided by the police and the intelligence services, who support European

	such as Poland, to request the arrest of people in Britain on relatively trivial matters		co-operation. The coalition is to opt out of around 130 justice measures. A battle is under way over the number of measures to which Britain will opt back in
Three: Guarantee British interests in the EU single market to avoid "caucusing", under which the 17 members of the Eurozone work together to impose their will on the 10 EU members outside the Euro	The single market has liberalised trade across Europe and played a significant part in the strong economic growth across the continent until the economic crash in 2008. Its rules are decided by a process known as "qualified majority voting", in which no country has a veto, to ensure that member states cannot impose protectionist restrictions. Safeguards are needed to ensure the 17 members of the Eurozone could not form a blocking group	Critics say Britain needs to be careful not to upset the level playing field in the single market by seeking to win special safeguards that could give it an unfair advantage over competitors	The Conservatives believe major safeguards are needed. Labour and the Liberal Democrats agree on the need to protect Britain's interests but believe Britain cannot push its luck too far

6. What does it mean?

Any eligible voter in the UK will be allowed to vote in a referendum – the first UK-wide vote since the AV referendum in 2011.

Any powers repatriated to Britain would be a matter for the UK parliament, rather than the institutions of the EU.

A question mark over Britain's future membership of the EU may threaten some jobs if inward investors are deterred from opening factories in Britain, which has marketed itself for 20 years as the "gateway" to the single market, in the words of the retired diplomat Sir Nigel Sheinwald.

1. What is the main issue at work in the 2017 referendum?
2. What are the two main parties' viewpoints concerning this issue?

Group work:

Work on the main arguments, do some research and imagine you support some of them: you are going to debate against your political opponents, so be prepared for it!

Document 21

Labour's leader has made it less likely that Britain will leave the EU

The Economist, March 15th 2014.

ED MILIBAND is not a natural gambler. His inner circle resembles an intellectual salon, with a strong Harvard flavour. "People think we're too professorial," joke his intimates. "Shall we hold a seminar to discuss it?" For Christmas he handed out biographies of Theodore Roosevelt. But this week the Labour Party's leader placed a big bet by all but ruling out a referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union if Labour wins the next general election.

As the EU's second-biggest economy, Britain is central to the club, yet it has mostly seemed uncomfortable there. It joined late and has become increasingly disaffected. The creation of the Euro in 1999 pushed it further from the centre; over the past ten years, a torrent of migrants from new member states in Eastern Europe has undermined Britons' enthusiasm for membership and encouraged the growth of the anti-immigrant, anti-EU United Kingdom Independence Party.

Plenty of Britons, including this newspaper, have long argued that there should be a referendum on membership of the EU, given the very different nature of the union from the one that Britain joined 40 years ago. As politicians have ducked the issue, anger has mounted. These days the referendum campaign is led mostly by those who simply want to leave. In January 2013 David Cameron, the Prime Minister, gave in to pressure from backbenchers in his party, who feel about the European Union much as rural Republicans do about gun bans, and promised to hold one in the first half of the next parliament—that is, by the end of 2017.

Until this week Mr Miliband avoided committing himself either way. Now he has made it clear that, unless there is a significant transfer of powers from Westminster to Brussels—probably in the form of a treaty change, which he does not expect to happen—he will not hold a referendum if he wins next year's election.

The call he has made is a risky one for Labour. On the one hand, voters—who can always smell hypocrisy—will appreciate the fact that he is being true to his, and his party's, instincts. The son of a Belgian Marxist father and a Polish mother, he was never going to convince as a little Englander, and Labour has come to see the EU as a handy way of advancing workers' rights. Yet Mr Miliband has also provided Mr Cameron with a profitable new line of attack. Britons tell pollsters that they want a say over whether their country stays in the union, even if no more powers are transferred

to Brussels. Mr Miliband's refusal to promise a vote could confirm the view that he is out of touch with normal people.

In a way, Mr Miliband's call is a good one for Britain. Had Labour's leader matched Mr Cameron's promise, the country could well have dropped out of the EU by accident. If Mr Cameron wins the next election and holds a referendum, he will campaign to stay in and has a good chance of winning. But if Mr Miliband wins, the Tories will probably ditch Mr Cameron for a hardline anti-European; such a figure would have campaigned to leave in a referendum, and a grumpy mid-term electorate might well have agreed with him. Business is relieved: the prospect that Britain might fall out with by far its biggest export market worries banks and manufacturers almost as much as Labour's anti-business rhetoric does.

In another way, though, Mr Miliband's call is the wrong one. Britons ought to be given a say on their membership of the EU. Mr Cameron was wrong to promise a referendum in 2017, because the chances are that the mess caused by the euro crisis will not be cleared up by then, and Britons will still not know what sort of club they are voting to stay in or leave. Early last year a major EU treaty change seemed imminent, but now the prospect is receding.

Still, once things have settled down Britain needs to decide whether it is in or out. Until it does, the issue will continue to plague the country's politics.

Questions:

1. What is the difference between Ed Miliband's and David Cameron's viewpoints concerning the EU Referendum?
2. What will happen if David Cameron wins the next election?
3. What will happen if Ed Miliband wins the next election?

Document 22

British people favour leaving the European Union, according to poll
The Guardian, Saturday 21 June 2014

Nearly half would vote to leave while only 37% would vote to stay, though the picture changes if membership is renegotiated.

British people would vote to leave the European Union by a large margin under the current terms of membership, according to a new Opinium/Observer poll.

But David Cameron could turn public opinion round and keep the UK in the EU if he is able to negotiate new and improved terms of membership, the survey suggests.

Opinium found a total of 48% would definitely or probably vote to leave under present rules, while 37% said they would definitely or probably vote to stay in.

However the poll suggests the tide could be turned if David Cameron, who has promised to hold an in/out referendum by the end of 2017 if the Conservatives win the next election, does manage to secure a favourable renegotiation of terms.

In that event, 42% say they would either definitely or probably vote to stay in, against 36% who would probably or definitely vote to leave. There is widespread scepticism, however, over Cameron's ability to achieve a satisfactory renegotiation.

Only 18% (including 34% of Conservatives) think he will win the necessary concessions.

The findings underline the risk that Cameron faces. If he puts a vote to the British people having gained only minimal concessions, voters may oppose his party's policy of remaining in the EU and vote to leave. In this scenario his authority would be damaged to the point where many would question his ability to remain prime minister.

With Cameron facing an EU summit this week, at which his attempts to block federalist Jean-Claude Juncker from becoming the next president of the European Commission are likely to fail, voters were also asked if the appointment of the former Luxembourg Prime Minister to the top Brussels job would affect their decision in the planned 2017 referendum.

Some 27% said it would have some sort of effect, while 43% said it would not and 28% did not know.

After a difficult week for Labour leader Ed Miliband, there is some relief as Labour's poll lead holds steady over the Tories at four percentage points. Labour is unchanged on 35%, the Conservatives are also unchanged on 31%, Ukip is down two points to 17% and the Lib Dems are up one point on 7%.
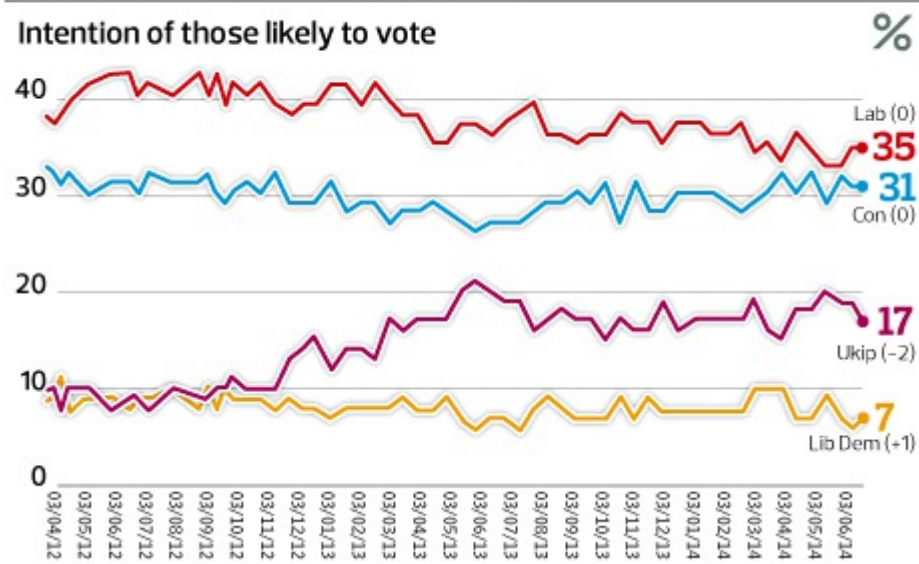
Intention of voters in 2015 UK general election. Photograph: Guardian

But Miliband's personal ratings remain poor with only 23% approving of the way he is leading Labour and 49% disapproving. David Cameron fares better with 37% approving and 47% disapproving.

Questions:
1. *According to the Opinium/Observer poll, what is the position of the British people concerning the European Union?*
2. *What could happen if David Cameron managed to renegotiate the terms of UK membership?*
3. *What are the positions of the different political parties within the UK over the issue? Analyse and comment upon the chart to support your answer.*

B.VIDEOS

Document 23

1. **EU Exit: Will Europe grieve over UK loss?**
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRsPOR-0zz0

   Watch the video and answer the following questions:

   1. What did the British Conservative party issue? Why?
   2. What does the opinion poll suggest according to the journalist?
   3. Has UK population's euroscepticism decreased between 2007 and 2012?
   4. What message do the British media convey?
   5. What is Daniel Broessler's opinion? What are his arguments?
   6. Do German Eurosceptics agree with their British counterparts?
   7. What is Christian Schmidt's opinion? What are his arguments?
   8. What are the German people's opinions concerning the issue?

   Listen to the four people interviewed and write down what they say about it.

   9. What is Nora Hessse's opinion? Why?

Document 24

2. **Without the UK the EU will leave**. (→ 3:44)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2k3JaiXvp9U

   Watch the video and answer the following questions:

   1. What did the British Prime Minister succeed in doing?
   2. Who thinks that it is unimaginable that Britain can fall out of the EU?
   3. What are Nigel Farage's arguments?
   4. Why are Northern European leaders scared about Britain leaving?
   5. According to the journalist, which party said that they can win the next election and hold a referendum?
   6. What are the criticisms Nigel Farage levelled at David Cameron?
   7. Why does the journalist accuse Nigel Farage of being an obstacle?
   8. What does the journalist advise Nigel Farage to do if he truly believes in the referendum?
   9. What is Nigel Farage's response?

B. CARTOONS

Document 25

www.cartoonstock.com, September 2014

Document 26

http://www.viennareview.net, December2012/January 2013

Document 27

www.nytimes.com, December 13, 2011

Document 28

www.weknowwhatsup.blogspot.fr, December 20, 2011

Document 29

Document 30

C. GLOSSARY

Landslide victory: An overwhelming majority of votes for one party or candidate in an election.

Opt in: to choose to participate in something
≠ **Opt out**: to choose not to participate in something

Repatriate powers: The process by which Britain would return some powers to Westminster that have been ceded by previous governments over the last 40 years.
Lisbon treaty: Signed in 2007, the treaty provides the legal basis for the functioning of the EU. This will have to be amended to provide a legal basis for greater fiscal co-ordination, giving Britain a chance to table its demands because all 27 members of the EU would have a power of veto.

European council: The leaders of the 27 EU member states meet in the European council at least three times a year (March, June and December) though they have held more frequent meetings during the eurozone crisis. Their consent is usually needed to amend any EU treaty.

D. GRAMMAR : MODALS : PROBABILITY/POSSIBILITY (*Pratique de l'anglais de A à Z*, unit 238)

Complete the following sentences with the appropriate modal. Pay attention to the verbal form you are going to use afterwards:

1. The UK ………………………… (leave) Europe; otherwise, its economy will collapse.

2. The Prime Minister ………………………. soon (make) a speech on the referendum.

3. The British Prime Minister …………………….. (encourage) anti-EU feelings.

4. You …………………….. (listen) to that politician if he advocates ideas you don't support.

5. The Labour leader …………………………. (deal) with anti-EU feelings.

6. The poll results …………………….. (be published) before his speech.

7. The EU commissioners ………………………… (meet) the German Chancellor if there is no point to discuss.

8. You ………………………………… (know) that the Tories would organise a referendum on EU membership when you voted for them.

WEEK 5 - ENFORCING THE LAW

—PART 1: THE POLICE—

A. READING

Document 31

The British public would not trust or accept armed police, Hugh Orde

theguardian.com, Thursday 20 September 2012

This week has been an exceptionally sad one for the police service, with the tragic death of two officers from Greater Manchester police. Both unarmed and responding to a routine call, Fiona Bone and Nicola Hudges were killed in the line of **duty**, simply going about their daily job – responding to one of the 9m calls for help that the police in this country receive each year.

The catastrophic events of this week serve as a reminder of just how real the dangers that the men and women of the police face day in, and day out, in order to protect the public from **harm**. The officers who died paid the ultimate price for their dedication and bravery. Our thoughts and prayers are with them, their family, friends and colleagues at Greater Manchester police.

My colleague **Chief Constable** Peter Fahy has said that these officers exemplify the very best of British policing. They were delivering that neighbourhood service which is so important in our style of policing in this country. The British model has always relied on the close link between the public and the police, from neighbourhoods upwards. It is this relationship that breeds trust, confidence, and legitimacy. Minimum interference with the citizen and minimum use of force form a vital part of this **bedrock**. Quite simply, we police with the public's consent. That we are a routinely unarmed service is part of our identity and helps support the closeness and connection with the public.

Looking to colleagues in America, and across the world, it is strikingly obvious that bringing firearms into the policing equation does not solve the problem of violent crime, or protect officers from being injured or killed. When such catastrophic events happen it is so easy and understandable to look for ready solutions. That process, of openness to scrutiny and learning from events, is critical. Transparency is equally important to legitimacy in British policing. But the police service collectively does not want to routinely carry guns – we agree our relationship with the public we serve is too precious **to jeopardise.**

Recent days have been difficult ones for British policing. At such times we are sometimes asked about police morale, but what can never be questioned is the unswerving commitment that our officers have to serving our communities. This is the business of policing, and we go about it every day. Things do go wrong, mistakes are made, and when this happens, we are held to account. The men and women of the service will continue, as ever, carrying out the job that they have **sworn** to do – protecting the public with dedication and courage, putting their lives on the line as they do so. For this, I remain immensely proud.

Questions on the text:

1/ What is the specificity of British police?
2/ What sort of relationship do they have with the citizens?
3/ How does the US deal with criminality?
4/ Would you say there is a model better than the other?

Make sure you know the meaning of the following words:
to jeopardise, sworn, the Chief Constable, a bedrock, duty, to harm

B. CARTOON

Document 32

'Okay, guys. Listen up. The Brits want me to kick ass over in the UK - but don't worry, its a reciprocal arrangement...'

Mac on...foreign police officers taking charge of British forces
By MAC, The Daily Mail, 31 January 2013

1/ How do you react to this cartoon?

2/ How are American and British police officers depicted in this cartoon?

3/ What does it indicate about the way police officers are seen in their respective countries?

—PART 2: INNOCENCE PROJECT—

Document 33

« Murder conviction quashed thanks to 30 law students' homework », Paul Peachey, *The Independent*, Tuesday, 9 December 2014

After five years in prison for a murder he said he didn't commit, Dwaine George's options were running out. Found guilty by a jury and rebuffed by the court of appeal, he took one of the few options left open to him: he entrusted his future in a group of law students.

Eight years on, his decision has now been justified and his conviction for murder **quashed** after a dogged campaign by around 30 students in the first success for a university Innocence Project in Britain.

Mr George, a member of the Cheetham Hill gang, had been **sentenced** to a minimum of 12 years after a jury found him guilty of murder in 2002 following a gangland feud.

He claimed he was eating at a friend's house at the time of the murder, but was convicted after being identified as part of a group that shot dead teenager Daniel Dale in Manchester.

But the Court of Appeal ruled that new scientific evidence about gunshot residue, found on a coat at Mr George's Manchester home on his arrest in 2001, meant that his conviction was unsafe.

It comes too late to save him from any more jail time – he had already been **released** last year – but ends a long campaign for the 30-year-old who said he "said from day one that it wasn't me". In quashing the conviction, judge Sir Brian Leveson said yesterday: "We pay tribute to the work of the Innocence Project and Pro Bono Unit at Cardiff Law School, which took up **the appellant**'s case and pursued it so diligently."

The protracted saga to clear Mr George's name has highlighted the time and difficulty it takes for a conviction to be quashed in Britain.

After his application **to appeal** was first **turned down** in 2004, Mr George, now 30, wrote to the newly founded Innocence Network UK, a small group of linked British law schools inspired by similar projects in the United States.

Students from Cardiff Law School took on the case and over four years studied court papers and examined scientific papers while studying for their own law degrees. They visited Mr George in prison and secured their own expert **witness** reports that questioned the confidence that the residue could used to prove his guilt.

"After seeing Dwaine, we agreed it renewed our desire **to overturn** his **conviction**," said Caitlin Gallagher, 27, who worked on the case. "It made us more driven."

Four years after they filed papers in the case, their confidence of Mr George's innocence was vindicated. "From the first read of the papers, I was always surprised that the case had got to trial and I was very surprised that he had been **convicted**," said Sarah Magill, 29, one of the few students now working in criminal law.

"I'm a staunch supporter of trial by jury but sometimes they make the wrong decision. I'm very relieved for Dwaine, but I'm very mindful that a family will now feel that they haven't achieved justice for the death of their son."

The family of Mr Dale, the victim, have said they believed that the court rightly convicted Mr George for murder.

The successful appeal ruling – the first for an Innocence project – has highlighted the previously poor record of student-based Innocence projects. Cardiff left the network before it broke up in acrimony this year without a successful exoneration in a decade with the founder accusing many students and universities of using the project to help recruit students to their courses, and of burnishing their CVs. Of six cases Cardiff handed to the Criminal Cases Review Commission in 2010, four have been unsuccessful and one is still being considered. Professor Julie Price, who headed the programme at Cardiff said that Government cuts in legal aid would further hit the numbers of lawyers taking on the long-running and difficult cases.

Questions on the text:

1/ Who is Dwaine George and what is he accused of? What information do we get concerning his sentence?

2/ Find elements in the text showing he did everything he could to claim his innocence.

3/ Explain precisely what the work of these law students consisted in and what they managed to do. What can you say about these students and their project?

4/ Do you think such a project could work in France? Would you be interested in joining such a project?

In your own words explain what these words from the text mean:
to quash, to appeal, the appellant, a witness, to turn down, to release, to overturn, to sentence, a conviction, to convict

Document 34

Listening comprehension: INUK and the University of Bristol Innocence Project
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gOyfvM59I7E
Dr Michael Naughton, founder and director , INUK

1/ What can you say about the evolution of the Innocence Project?
2/ What is the purpose of this project?
3/ How does it work?
4/ Why did the students interviewed decide to get involved in this project?
5/ What is the other purpose of the project?

—PART 3: GRAMMAR SECTION—

Translate the following sentences and use a different modal for each sentence (must, have to, need, should, ought to). Don't forget to have a look at <u>L'Anglais de A à Z</u> to make sure you know the difference between them.

1/ Les étudiants doivent travailler dur sur ce cas s'ils veulent aider cette personne.
2/ Ils doivent travailler dur s'ils veulent réussir.
3/ Le suspect doit trouver un alibi s'il ne veut pas finir en prison.
4/ Toutes les universités de droit devraient avoir leur propre Projet Innocence.
5/ Les suspects doivent être polis et respectueux lorsqu'ils s'adressent à un juge.

—PART 4: VOCABULARY SECTION—

→ Remember that **'guilt'** is a noun (his **guilt** has not been established yet) and that **'guilty'** is an adjective (he is **guilty**, he is a **guilty** person).
→ **'Evidence'** is an uncountable noun, so you will have to say 'The evidence provided by the police **is** not a proof of his innocence'.
→ The verb is **'to arrest'** and the noun is **'an arrest'** (not 'an arrest̶a̶t̶i̶o̶n̶'!!)
→ The adjective is 'legitimate' and the noun is **'legitimacy'**.

WEEK 6 – PRIVACY

A. INTRODUCTION

Document 35

Privacy in English law is a rapidly developing area of English law that considers in what situations an individual has a legal right to informational privacy - the protection of personal or private information from misuse or unauthorised disclosure. Privacy law is distinct from those laws such as trespass or assault that are designed to protect physical privacy. Such laws are generally considered as part of criminal law or the law of tort. Historically, English common law has recognised no general right or tort of privacy, and was offered only limited protection through the doctrine of breach of confidence and a "piecemeal" collection of related legislation on topics like harassment and data protection. The introduction of the *Human Rights Act 1998* incorporated into English law the European Convention on Human Rights. Article 8.1 of the ECHR provided an explicit right to respect for a private life for the first time within English law. The Convention also requires the judiciary to "have regard" to the Convention in developing the common law.

Definition
The earliest definition of privacy in English law was given by Judge Cooley who defined privacy as "the right to be left alone". In 1972 the Younger Committee, an inquiry into privacy stated that the term could not be defined satisfactorily. Again in 1990 the Calcutt Committee concluded that: "nowhere have we found a wholly satisfactory statutory definition of privacy".

Common law
There is currently no freestanding right to privacy at common law. This point was reaffirmed when the House of Lords ruled in *Home Office v Wainwright* (a case involving a strip search undertaken on the plaintiff Mary Wainwright while visiting Armley prison). It has also been stated that the European Convention on Human Rights does not require the development of an independent tort of privacy. In the absence of a common law right to privacy in English law torts such as the equitable doctrine breach of confidence, torts linked to the intentional infliction of harm to the person and public law torts relating to the use of police powers have been used to fill a lacuna in the law. The judiciary has developed the law in an incremental fashion and have resisted the opportunity to create a new tort.

Expansion of privacy laws

British radio DJ Sara Cox's case against The People newspaper was one of the first celebrity privacy cases. The media referred to the case as a "watershed". The disc jockey sued after the newspaper printed nude photographs of her taken while on her honeymoon. However the case was settled out of court and so did not establish a precedent. The decision was seen as discrediting the Press Complaints Commission.

The expansion of the doctrine of breach of confidence under the *Human Rights Act* began with the *Douglas v Hello*! decision. Section 6 of the Human Rights Act requires English courts to give effect to the rights in the Convention when developing the common law. There is no need to show a pre-existing relationship of confidence where private information is involved and the courts have recognised that the publication of private material represents a detriment in itself. The *Human Rights act* has horizontal effect in disputes between private individuals meaning that the *Human Rights Act* is just as applicable as if one party had been a public body. Breach of confidence now extends to private information (regardless of whether it is confidential) so as to give effect to Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Before this breach of confidence afforded "umbrella protection" to both personal and non-personal information.

ECHR challenge

Following Max Mosley's successful action against the News of the World Newspaper for publishing details of his private life, he announced that he would challenge English law's implementation of the Article 8 right to privacy guaranteed when the *Human Rights Act* implemented the European Convention on Human Rights into English law. The European Court of Human Rights was asked to rule on the issue of "prior notification". This would require journalists to approach the subject of any investigation and inform them of the details of any allegations made about them, therefore allowing an injunction to be claimed.

Debate

The increasing protections afforded to the private lives of individuals has sparked debate as to whether English law gives enough weight to freedom of the press and whether intervention by Parliament would be beneficial. The editor of the satirical magazine Private Eye Ian Hislop has argued against the development of English privacy law. He told BBC's Panorama: "You don't have to prove it [an allegation] isn't true, you just have to prove that it's private by your definition. And in some of the cases the definition of privacy is pretty weak." However, Liberal Democrat politician Mark Oaten has stated that the press were right to expose details of his private life:

"I concluded that however awful it may be, it's better to have a press which can expose MPs' private lives because it means we have a free press… it means we

can expose corruption." Max Mosley has argued for the further advancement of the law whereas the editor of the Daily Mail newspaper Paul Dacre has accused Mr Justice Eady, the judge in the Mosley case, of bringing in a privacy law by the back door.

<u>Source</u>: Wikipedia.

Discussion

In a modern democracy, do you think that freedom of the press should take precedence over the respect of privacy?

B. READING AND LISTENING COMPREHENSION

<u>Document 36</u>

Home surveillance CCTV images may breach data protection laws, ECJ rules

European court of justice rules CCTV film of public spaces not 'purely personal', contradicting UK's application of laws on data
The Guardian, Thursday 11 December 2014.

A CCTV camera in London. The UK Information Commissioner's Office had regarded a camera on a house as outside the law. Photograph: Stuart Clarke/Rex

Images captured on a household surveillance camera could breach data-protection rules if the person filmed was on a public footpath when videoed, the European court of justice (ECJ) has ruled.

By clarifying European legislation, the judgment could have significant consequences for householders in the UK who use CCTV and keep or try to use the images, according to a legal expert.

The case related to a Czech man, František Ryneš, who installed a surveillance camera after he and his family were subjected to attacks by unknown individuals. The camera filmed areas including a public footpath and the entrance to the house opposite.

After someone fired a catapult at his home, breaking a window, Ryneš gave the recordings to the police, allowing them to identify two suspects, who were subsequently prosecuted.

However, one of the suspects challenged the legality of Ryneš recording and holding the images. The Czech office for the protection of personal data, found that

although Ryneš had been trying to expose the perpetrators of a crime, he had infringed data-protection rules and issued him with a fine.

Ryneš appealed against the ruling and the supreme administrative court in the Czech Republic referred the case to the ECJ, asking whether European data-protection directive rules on the processing of personal data applied.

The court decided Ryneš was not liable for a fine because he had acted to help prosecute a criminal. However, the judgment suggested that if a crime had not been committed he would have breached European data regulations. The directive has an exception in the case of data processing carried out "by a natural person in the course of a purely personal or household activity", but the court found that the exception would not always apply if a camera is recording images of a public space such as a footpath.

The judges said: "The operation of a camera system, as a result of which a video recording of people is stored on a continuous recording device such as a hard disk drive, installed by an individual on his family home for the purposes of protecting the property, health and life of the homeowners, but which also monitors a public space, does not amount to the processing of data in the course of a purely personal or household activity, for the purposes of that provision."

This contradicts the application of the directive in the UK. Kathryn Wynn, senior associate at Pinsent Masons, said the UK Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) had always taken the view that a camera on someone's house was outside of the law.

Householders who have surveillance cameras that capture public space would have to put up a notice informing people they are being filmed and make sure footage was not unduly retained, she said.

"The overarching concern is if you have two neighbours in dispute and one installs CCTV to capture their neighbour doing whatever they are complaining about, the other will run off to the ICO and complain about use of the film," she said. "The ICO will start to get pulled into domestic property disputes." However, she emphasised that the ruling made it clear that footage of criminal activity could still be used.

An ICO spokesman said: "We are just considering the ruling and what implications might have."

Explain the characteristics of the case presented in the article. Do you agree with what the judges said?

Document 37

The Guardian view on the freedom of the Internet: it's under attack around the world

The net is a powerful weapon, and governments don't want it in the hands of their critics

Editorial, *The Guardian*, Thursday 11 December 2014.

A Twitter user. "The revelations of NSA activity have served 'as an excuse' for some governments to 'augment their own monitoring capabilities'." Photograph: Dominic Lipinski/PA

The internet is not a culture in itself. It has no values and works indifferently either for or against freedom and democracy. But however it is employed, it works powerfully. So it has become an arena in which struggles over power and ideas are fought out all across the world. This is not just a matter of competing messages. Governments want to control what is said and what is heard and where they can't control it, then at any rate to listen in and take advantage of what they learn there.

When the power of the internet first became apparent, the obvious resort of government was simply to ban or block access to sources of information that political leadership found displeasing. But, as a recently released report from the Washington-based thinktank Freedom House points out, there is now a growing tendency to use more sophisticated methods. A recent study in *Science magazine* showed how the Chinese censorship regime lets through any amount of criticism of the party or its officials but clamps down hard on anything that might inspire political action. And here in Britain, a woman has just been jailed for five years for inciting terrorism in Syria on Facebook.

Other countries are just as authoritarian but less subtle about it. Out of 65 countries assessed by Freedom House, 36 have seen a deterioration of online freedom. The worst examples are in Russia, Turkey and Ukraine, where media users and online journalists were targeted by the Yanukovych regime during the Euromaidan protest. Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, called Twitter "the worst menace to society", and Vladimir Putin has called the internet a "CIA operation". In May his government passed a so-called bloggers law that requires any site drawing more than 3,000 daily viewers to register with the telecommunications regulator – an approach intended to inhibit independent reporting of the Putin regime. There is now a frightening number of Russian laws repressing free speech online, which authorities often describe as "extremism".

It is especially worrying that repressive techniques are being mimicked from one country to the next. The Snowden revelations led to a healthy debate on how a

democratic country, the United States, as well as some of its allies, carries out massive online surveillance. But repressive regimes have seized upon this to introduce more online repression that increasingly leads to detentions. Surveillance, in these countries, is now used not just to collect huge amounts of data but to punish dissent and lock people up. The revelations of NSA activity, says Freedom House, have served "as an excuse" for some governments to "augment their own monitoring capabilities".

In Bahrain, malicious links have been used to identify and arrest several anonymous Twitter users who were outspoken against the government. Kazakhstan adopted legislation similar to Russia's in order to crack down on digital media carrying criticism of the authorities. In Bangladesh and in Singapore, government reprisals have focused on social media posts critical of political leaders. Iranian authorities have continued to hand down harsh punishments, sentencing some users to lengthy prison terms for their digital activities. The Syrian regime, in the midst of an ongoing civil war, has an army of hackers that infected 10,000 computers with malware.

The Syrian regime shows off another worrying trend: the bad actors are doing their best to take advantage of other countries' freedoms. The Russians and the Chinese, especially, work tirelessly to infiltrate the systems of the western companies such as Google, Facebook or Apple to which we entrust so many of our secrets and desires. Unlike privateering hackers, they don't want to release what they find, nor to advertise their exploits. They just want to know everything, and to use for surveillance the mechanisms that have been built for other ends. That, too, is a threat to the freedom with which we may use the internet. There is no purely technological fix. The struggle for freedom from repression online is in the end just a part of the wider struggle for freedom offline. Activism online cannot substitute for action in the physical world, but freedom in each world now depends on freedom in the other.

1. *Sum up the article in your own words.*
2. *In what sense can we say that the internet is an ambivalent tool?*
3. *What is the connection between online and offline freedom?*

C. VIDEO

Document 38 and 39

http://www.theguardian.com/technology/video/2014/jul/16/phone-snooping-how-to-stop-video

http://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2014/dec/01/edward-snowden-honoured-swedish-human-rights-award-video

D. GRAMMAR - TENSE REVIEW AND ADJECTIVES OF NATIONALITY (L'Anglais de A à Z, units 309-320 and unit 247)

*Translate the following sentences into English.*

1. Le respect de la liberté "en ligne" est depuis peu un principe fondamental dans les démocraties occidentales.

2. Ponctuellement, le gouvernement chinois verrouille l'accès de ses citoyens à internet.

3. Liberté de la presse et respect de la vie privée ont rarement fait bon ménage dans l'histoire du Royaume-Uni.

4. Mes amis iraniens m'ont dit hier soir qu'il était interdit de publier ses photos personnelles sur les réseaux sociaux.

5. Les autorités russes sont en train de limiter l'accès à l'information en ligne.

E. KEY WORDS

Privacy – online freedom – social network – a surveillance society- a whistleblower- to pry into- to spy on somebody- to snoop on somebody- to breach somebody's right to privacy- personal data – to be available online- CCTV (closed circuit) cameras – digital resources – a hacker – a hard drive- an Englishman's home is his castle- freedom of the press- free speech- freedom of the internet
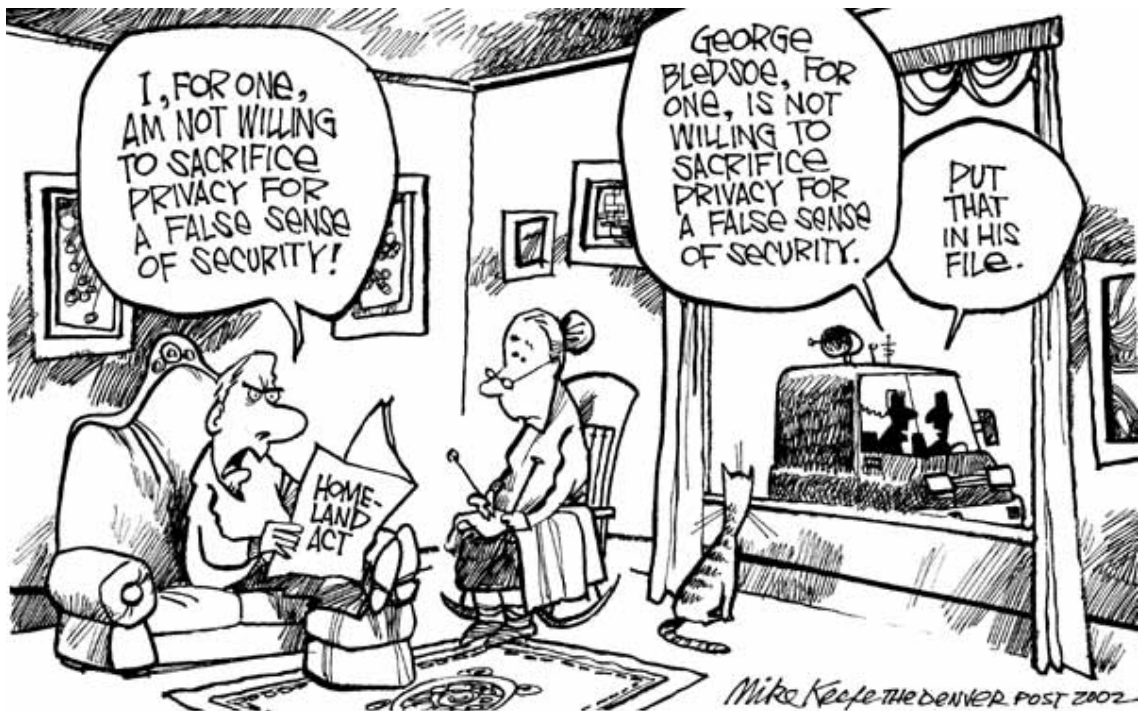
E. CARTOONS

Document 40
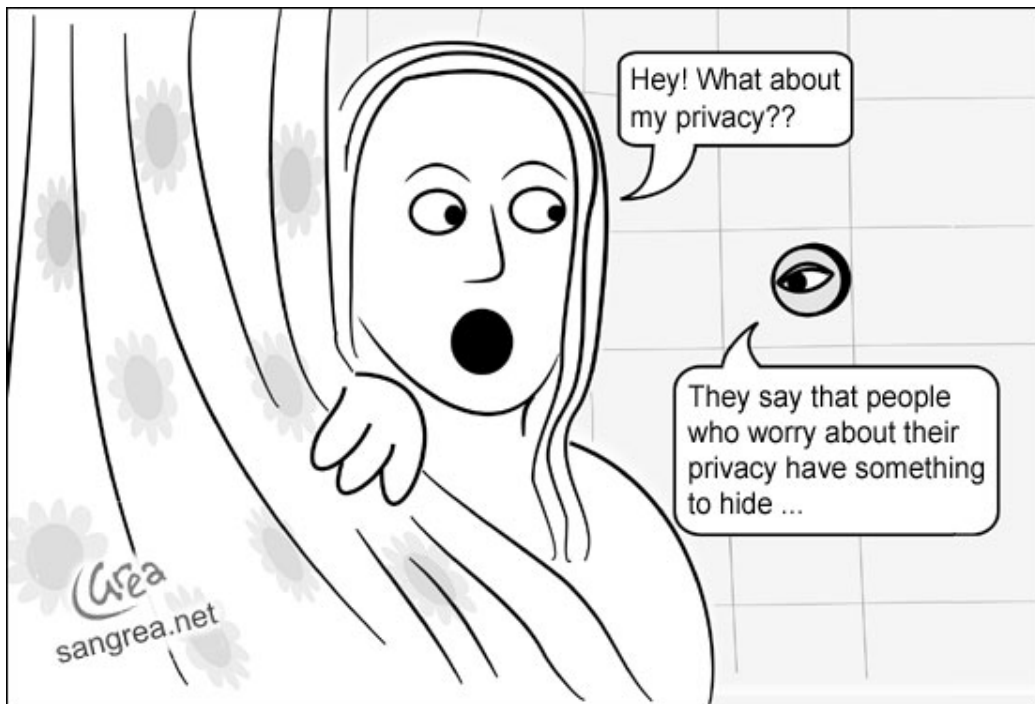
Source: www.sangrea.net

Document 41

Source : ww.madspace.nl

Document 42

"I'll also need your home address, phone number and
social security number."

Source : www.cartoonstock.com

WEEK 7 - MULTICULTURALISM

I. MULTICULTURALISM : CONCEPTS AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Match the words with the definitions below.

1. Integration   2. Culture   3. To settle   4. Multicultural   5. Refugee   6. Separatism   7. Xenophobia   8. Secular   9. To assimilate   10. Nativism   11. Bigot   12. Self-segregation.

a) …………………….……………. To make one's permanent home somewhere.

b) …………………………………… The belief that the interests of certain established inhabitants of an area or nation must be favoured over the claims of newcomers or immigrants.

c) …………………………………………A person who hates or refuses to accept the members of a particular group (such as a racial or religious group)

d) …..……………………. dislike of or prejudice against people from other countries

e) ……………………………………………A person who has been forced to leave his/her country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster.

f) ……..…………………………The advocacy or practice of separation of a certain group of people from a larger body on the basis of ethnicity, religion, or gender.

g) ………………………………………Relating to or containing several cultural or ethnic groups within a society

h) …………………………………………..The ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society.

i) ………………………………….Not connected with religious or spiritual matters.

j) …………………………………..The intermixing of people who were previously segregated

k) …………………………………..To absorb and integrate (people, ideas, or culture) into a wider society or culture

l) ……………………………………. The separation of a religious or ethnic group from the rest of society in a state by the group itself

2. Do other words come to your mind when you think about multiculturalism ? Which one(s) and why ?

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A. READING COMPREHENSION

Document 43

Multiculturalism: What does it mean?

BBC news, 7 February 2011.

Pundits have been reacting to a speech by David Cameron in which the prime minister argued multiculturalism had "failed". But what do commentators actually mean by the term?

It is one of the most emotive and sensitive subjects in British politics. But at times it seems there are as many definitions of multiculturalism as there are columnists, experts and intellectuals prepared to weigh into the debate. The subject has become the focus of renewed scrutiny in the wake of a speech by prime minister David Cameron, in which he told a security conference in Germany that the UK needed a stronger national identity to prevent extremism.

In his speech, which has provoked a political storm, Mr Cameron defines **(A)** ***"the doctrine of state multiculturalism" as a strategy which has "encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream".***

This characterisation is not new. In 2004 Trevor Phillips, chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality - now the Equality and Human Rights Commission - told the Times that **(B)** ***multiculturalism was out of date because it "suggests separateness" and should be replaced with policies which promote integration and "assert a core of Britishness".***

But is everyone who uses the term referring to the same phenomenon?

Academics' definitions of multiculturalism refer to anything from people of different communities living alongside each other to ethnic or religious groups leading completely separate lives.

Likewise, columnists who write about multiculturalism don't often define what they mean by the term, looking instead at what it is not.

The Oxford English Dictionary offers a broad definition of multiculturalism as the **(C)** **"*characteristics of a multicultural society" and "the policy or process whereby the distinctive identities of the cultural groups within such a society are maintained or supported".***

Lord Sacks, Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth says in the Times that **(D)** ***multiculturalism was intended to create a more tolerant society, one in which everyone, regardless of colour, creed or culture, felt at home. But, he says, multiculturalism's message is "there is no need to integrate***".

He distinguishes between tolerance and multiculturalism - using the Netherlands as an example of a tolerant, rather than multicultural, society.

Additionally, he says the current meaning of multiculturalism is part of the wider European phenomenon of moral relativism and talks of multiculturalism **(E)** ***as dissolving national identity, shared values and collective identity which***

"makes it impossible for groups to integrate because there is nothing to integrate into".

Others, however, see the term as offering a range of meanings. In the Observer, the editor of Prospect magazine, David Goodhart, insists the strategy has taken on different forms within the UK over the years. He distinguishes **between (F)** *the "live and let live" multiculturalism of the 1950s, which "assumed that if people could keep significant aspects of their culture they would choose to integrate in their own way";* **(G) the 1980s** *"'soft' multiculturalism of tolerance and equal rights";* and **(H) the more recent** *"hard" multiculturalism "of positive promotion of religious and ethnic identities".*

Rod Liddle says in the Spectator **(i)** *that multiculturalism is a notion that cultures, no matter how antithetical to the norm, or anti-social, should be allowed to develop unhindered, without criticism.*

Melanie Phillips takes this argument further in the Daily Mail, arguing **(J)** *that multiculturalism is a form of reverse-racism and "sickeningly hypocritical".*

However, Madeleine Bunting of the Guardian says Mr Cameron has offered "a straw man version of multiculturalism". Instead of promoting segregation, she says, it is "a matter of pragmatism" - reaching out to organisations within ethnic communities who can help the government achieve its goals of maintaining good community relations.

In the same newspaper in March 2010, Antony Lerman, a former director of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, pointed to some of the academic work on multiculturalism to show it is the opposite of a philosophy of separateness. He cited Professor Bhikhu Parekh's definition which says, far from "putting people into ethnic boxes", **(K)** *multiculturalism is a "fusion in which a culture borrows bits of others and creatively transforms both itself and them".*

Professor Tariq Modood is director of the Centre for Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship at the University of Bristol and wrote *Still Not Easy Being British: Struggles for a Multicultural Citizenship*. He says in a Runnymede Trust web chat **(L)** *that multiculturalism* **has many meanings, but the** *minimum is the need to politically identify groups, typically by ethnicity, and to work to remove stigmatisation, exclusion and domination in relation to such groups.*

The debate around multiculturalism may be an important one. But while public discussion of the subject may have become more familiar, there remains little consensus about what the word actually means.

1) **Classify the different definitions of multiculturalism. Which definitions suggest that multiculturalism promotes separateness and which ones suggest that it promotes the opposite?**

Separateness	Integration/inclusion	Other

2) Which one matches your definition of multiculturalism in Britain and why ? And in France ?

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B. LISTENING

Document 44

« Multicultural Britain », The British Council.
http://youtu.be/yuqXO-ENu5Y

1) *What were the different waves of immigration to England after World War II and when did they occur ?*
2) *Why do you think those immigrants decided to settle in Britain and why did Britain need them?*
3) *According to the reporter, what were the positive and negative consequences of mass immigration to Britain ?*
4) *How is Cardiff trying to embrace its multicultural society and help newcomers integrate?*
5) *What do you think about this policy on multiculturalism?*

II. Immigration and multiculturalism

A. READING
Document 45

A) Before reading :

- How do you understand the title ?
- Consider the source. What do you know about *The Guardian ?* What do you think *The Guardian*'s stance on immigration and diversity is ?

Immigration and diversity: Britain must integrate to accumulate

Becky Slack, *The Guardian*, Tuesday 30 September 2014 20.31 BST

Can the UK capitalise on the influx of cultures and talents brought by refugees from Europe seeking a better life ?   A subject that always provokes heated debate, immigration divides people into those who think immigrants create a richer society, both culturally and financially and those who think they are a drain on public funds and a source of tension and mistrust.

The real and imagined challenges of an ethnically diverse Britain were the focus of a recent roundtable, hosted by the Guardian and the British Academy at this autumn's Labour party conference. The aim was to discuss whether greater levels of ethnic diversity resulted in more or less social trust and community spirit, particularly at a time when immigration is constantly in the headlines.

The volume of immigrants arriving on our shores is increasing – a total of 560,000 arrived in the year to March 2014 – a rise of 68,000, according to the latest data from the Office for National Statistics. This is due to many different factors: thousands are fleeing humanitarian crises in Africa and the Middle East, in particular Syria and Liberia, while others, including many Europeans, are responding to economic collapse in their home countries. According to panellist László Andor, EU commissioner for employment, social affairs and inclusion, the Eurozone crisis has resulted in many more people from Italy and Spain seeking a new life in the UK – far more than individuals from Romania or Bulgaria.

The social impacts of this population movement are wide and varied. Figures from the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration (CReAM) suggest that immigrants from the European Economic Area (EEA) between 2001 and 2011 contributed 34% more to our financial system than they took out, while non-EEA immigrants paid in 2% more. Overall, the net fiscal balance of overall immigration to the UK amounts to a positive contribution of roughly £25bn between 2001 and 2011.

Immigration also allows for the creation of a much more culturally diverse society: there are more than 300 languages spoken on a daily basis; during the 2012

Olympics we cheered as Somalia-born Mo Farah won gold for Great Britain; chicken tikka masala has overtaken fish and chips as the nation's favourite dish.

Yet, despite the benefits, immigration creates challenges, not least for our public services, which are creaking under the weight of the additional demand: many schools are unprepared to accommodate children for whom English is their second language; hospitals are full of foreign patients who have failed to register with their local GP; and social housing lists grow ever longer.

In some regards it is not just the increased numbers but the changing nature of immigration that has created these impacts, said Sunder Katwala, director of British Future. He highlighted how, whereas migrants used to be keen to settle in a major city, today they are much more willing to disperse around the country – meaning places such as Boston in Lincolnshire and Merthyr Tydfil in Wales are having to cope with higher levels of migration than ever experienced before. Equally, there is a higher rate of "churn" – immigrants staying here on a temporary basis - that is also changing the dynamic of the way they relate to their communities.

"People want to be fair to citizens and migrants, but we find it easier to tell you what the fair deal is for the new citizen than it is for the temporary resident. We've got more work to do on how to deal with people whose intention is to come and go," he said.

Phillip Blond, director of Respublica, believes our failure to create cultural cohesion needs to be addressed. Multiculturalism has allowed minorities to integrate, he said, but "hasn't created the strong binding narrative that all nations need. If you don't create one, other competing narratives will be created for you. We've just seen that with the Scottish referendum, which saw 45% of people saying Britishness wasn't for them."

So what are the potential solutions to these challenges? One option is for Britain to renegotiate the terms of the European single market – something David Cameron has stated he will do. However, as EU Commissioner Andor pointed out, the British prime minister will need to come to an agreement with 27 other countries to achieve this. "First you have to explain what the problem is; then you suggest solutions. The free movement of people is an integral part of the single market. To propose people should have less rights than commodities is a very difficult argument," he said, before hinting that this task is made all the more challenging once immigration trends elsewhere in Europe are taken into account. "In this country you have 100,000 Romanian citizens. Spain has one million," he said.

Several panellists believed education provides a more achievable solution.

"This government has not done a great deal to encourage an outward-looking attitude among young people," said Sue Mendus FBA, Morrell professor emerita of political philosophy at the University of York, who highlighted that more and better teaching of history, culture and language skills could do much to change attitudes. Katie Ghose, chief executive of the Electoral Reform Society, said much of the power lies in the hands of primary school teachers, whom she described as "a hugely untapped resource".

"My experience is that a primary school teacher in a highly mixed school will do an incredibly good cohesion job," she said.

Brian Lightman, general secretary of the Association of School and College Leaders, expanded on this theme, adding that longer-term, strategic thinking within education was vital.

"We've known about the scale of this change for a long time, but really it has not been planned for. Take school places, for example - nothing has been done about increased numbers of applicants, so you've got overcrowded schools and people who can't get into a school in their locality. That leads to resentment," he said. "We also need to think about the way in which new schools open. We're at risk of creating a polarised system, where ethnic minorities go into one dedicated school, rather than a truly comprehensive system that allows us to integrate."

Sadiq Khan, shadow justice secretary, concurred that better planning was essential, but added that for this to be successful, good quality data was required to allocate funds appropriately. Devolving powers away from Westminster towards cities and regions could be one way of addressing this, he suggested.

Much of the challenge around the immigration debate is that views tend to be polarised, and are all too often associated with racism, explained Amina Lone, director of the Social Action and Research Foundation. Many working-class people in particular struggle with this, she added, and feel that if they do talk about immigration, they are accused of being racist. A more open and honest conversation needs to take place that allows everyone to participate.

This is not going to be easy. Ghose reflected on a project that attempted to shift the focus from words such as "asylum" towards more positive terms such as "sanctuary", concluding: "It is impossible with a topic such as immigration to change the narrative overnight."

For John Denham MP, the conversation must start on the doorstep and acknowledge individual perceptions of immigration, even if they are not statistically accurate. "Too often people on the liberal left don't even allow the conversation to happen – when actually, most people just want to be heard. We need to listen, acknowledge the unfairness and give people a voice. The worse thing we can do is show them the data and tell them they shouldn't be worried."

Denham drew upon examples of initiatives from Southampton that he felt were going some way towards addressing negative perceptions of immigration, particularly those within the labour market and the British sense of identity. These include increasing the length of time newcomers to the city had to wait to get on the council housing waiting list; running a fair employment fortnight, which tackled issues around the low-pay economy; and hosting St George's Day events to celebrate Englishness.

Ethnic diversity does not come without its challenges, but there is also much to celebrate. One only needs to look to London to see the kind of impact immigration can have, socially and economically. As Prof Shamit Saggar of Essex University said: "London is an exceptional city. Permanent and temporary influences and identities are all represented there. It doesn't take a huge amount of vision to say that the country as a whole has that kind of future ahead of it."

B) Answer the following questions on the text.

1) *Why is the volume of immigrants increasing in Britain ?*
2) *What are the financial and social impacts of this population movement ?*
3) *What problems does it engender in Britain?*
4) *What are the different solutions to these challenges ?*

Document 46

We're all in this together: How Leicester became a model of multiculturalism (even if that was never the plan…)

The Independent, Peter Popham Sunday, 28 July 2013.

'The original idea was that they would stay two or three years, make enough money to buy a tractor, then go home. But they got into the rhythm of life here'.

You couldn't ask for a better symbol of the present, paradoxical state of multicultural Britain than Jawaahir Daahir.

She is a vigorous example of female empowerment: a Somali refugee in the Hague, she learnt Dutch and studied for seven years to become a social worker there, while bringing up her six children. She is also a conservative Muslim, like most of her compatriots. She combines the two – feminism and religious piety – with no apparent strain. And it was because that combination is one that Britain can deal with, while the Continent finds it unacceptable, that she is now happily settled in Leicester.

Daahir is under no illusions about what she left behind in Holland. "Holland is a lovely country," she says, "and in terms of housing and health, the system it is much better than here. And the standard of education is not lower."

Yet, after 10 years living with her children in The Hague, she chose, like thousands of other Somalis settled in Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, to move to Leicester.

"When the Somali community came to Leicester there was a sense of support and a welcoming environment. For example, now there are lights, welcoming Ramadan. When I registered my children for school, there were welcome signs in so many languages, including Somali. It was a culture shock, because you don't expect a Western city to welcome you in your own language. In Holland, even though I participated actively in all sorts of different areas, I still felt separate, different. But here in Leicester you feel a sense of belonging. You are not a foreigner, you are not an outsider. The society and the system acknowledge you and consider you."

The murder of Private Lee Rigby two months ago was a watershed. Today, British multiculturalism is under assault from all directions.

Attacks on mosques and marches by the English Defence League are warnings of worse to come. The Coalition's attempt to bring down immigration rates is one of its most popular policies. Local authority provision for ethnic minorities has been torpedoed by the cuts. In an authoritative new book, David Goodhart, founding editor of Prospect magazine, asks hard questions about the economic and political rationale for the mass immigration that has transformed the ethnic profile of so many of our towns and cities. He finds an explanation for it in official absent-mindedness: happy to welcome immigrants from Australia and Canada after the war, it only dawned slowly that the door had also been left open for 400 million imperial subjects from the Indian subcontinent.

Britain obtained its dazzling array of new citizens with little conscious planning. And, as Goodhart describes, in places such as Bradford and Tower Hamlets, the

mixture of declining local industry and a large, tight-knit population of immigrants from rural parts of Pakistan and Bangladesh has produced severe social tension, culminating in the mill-town riots of 2001.

But as Jawaahir Daahir's story reveals, that is not the whole picture. Slap in the middle of England there is a city where an improbably rich mix of people and religions seems to be working rather well. Leicester was a stronghold of Cromwell's side during the Civil War; the short-lived Commonwealth saw the blooming of 100 dissenting religious sects. Unlike the peoples of countries whose history is dominated by a single hegemonic religion, we became accustomed to the idea that there might be 100 versions of the truth, and that civil peace depended on letting them alone: live and let live. Something very similar is happening now.

Nobody planned for Leicester to become the most multicultural city on the planet. It just happened that way. And for the early immigrants, too, there was little thought that they might make their lives here.

"The original idea was that they would work for a bit then go home," says Surinderpal Singh Rai, a Leicester Sikh whose father was one of the first arrivals. "That's why nobody bought houses. My father's generation thought, we'll stay two or three years here, make enough money to buy a tractor – they were all farmers from the Punjab in India – then we'll be set up for life. But they got into the rhythm of life here, and the families started coming over in the 1960s. We were the sixth or seventh family to come over in 1963."

[…] Leicester has become the poster city for multicultural Britain, a place where the stunning number and size of the minorities – the 55 mosques, 18 Hindu temples, nine Sikh gurudwaras, two synagogues, two Buddhist centres and one Jain centre – are seen not as a recipe for conflict or a millstone around the city's neck, but a badge of honour.

But in the 12 years since the attacks on America, punctuated by 7/7 and the Woolwich atrocity, Britain's faith in multiculturalism has begun to erode. After every act of Islamist terrorism, there has been a spasm of revulsion. The average white liberal finds his brain hijacked by unexpected emotions. What exactly are these people doing here? Why did we let them in? Why do some of them – even if only a tiny minority – hate us so much?

Jawaahir Daahir is clear that it was attitudes to religion that persuaded her to come.

"My motivation to move was religious freedom, cultural and religious freedom," she says. "My worry was how my children could keep their identity as a Muslim, as a Somali. In Holland there was anti-Muslim feeling from 9/11, but even before that it was a closed institutional system. The expectation there is for new arrivals to assimilate, not to integrate while retaining their own identities. And for the younger generation, it is very difficult because there is no acceptance or tolerance of differences."

This is one of the conundrums of our age, one which laid-back, permissive Holland epitomises: how are the super-tolerant children of the European Enlightenment to react to the arrival of newcomers who refuse to adopt the uniform of secular liberalism? How far do you tolerate those who themselves have strict limits on what they will tolerate?

Daahir's experience was that the Dutch were intolerant and rigid towards her religion. "If you are wearing a scarf, it's very difficult in Holland. My daughter – her

school principal said she will be the first and only one wearing a scarf. She went to the school and had a very tough time from students and even teachers with their comments. They mocked the different dress code."

And Dutch secularism made no concessions to religious practice. "There were no facilities or understanding for Muslims," she goes on, "for example in terms of having praying facilities."

Despite the lower standard of social provision here, she has no regrets about moving to Leicester. "It's great here. I heard these stories about Leicester and decided to visit after my friend came and I thought, 'Wow, it's true.'

"It's about how you go about being multicultural. Leicester has managed over the years to have leadership policies and procedures in place that embrace and celebrate diversity. I'm not saying everything is smooth and fine – obviously there will be issues and concerns and because of human nature there are always things that need improvement – but I think in general it is well ahead in terms of making it inclusive for religious communities. You feel it."

1) *What makes Leicester a « model of multuculturalism » ?*
2) *Explain the clause from the title « even if that was never the plan ».*
3) *Why do you think some people, including Mr Cameron, are now questioning the viability of that model?*

B. ORAL COMPREHENSION

Document 47

«Multicultural society : UK Whites choose to live apart »,
Russia Today, 2013. www.youtube.com/watch?v=13kOeTojCBl

1) *Why does the journalist claim that Britain is turning into a « colour-coded » society ?*
2) *In his research and report, Mr Trevor Phillips defined two major population migration trends in London between 2001 and 2011. What were they ?*
3) *Why do ethnic groups and White British choose to go to these specific and different areas ?*
4) *According to the report and to Mr Eric Kaufmann, why is this phenomenon worrying ?*

C. DISCUSSIONS AND DEBATES

A) *Questions*

- *Is Britain turning into a « colour-coded society » ?*
- *Is there a « British Dream » ?*

B) Cartoons. Look at these cartoons (pay attention to the source). How are multiculturalism and immigration defined ? How are they called into question or celebrated ?

Document 48

Marf, on David Cameron's immigration speech, Friday, April 15th, 2011, Guidehall Gallery Exhibition, City of London.

"Forgive my wife - Cameron's speech made her a little nervous."

Document 49

The Triumph of British multiculturalism poster : 2012 London Olympics poster.

Document 50

Dailymail.co.uk cartoon, Mac, 2011.

'Come on, mate. You're holding up the queue here. Through you go.'

Document 51

The Economist, Peter Shrank, December 14th 2013.
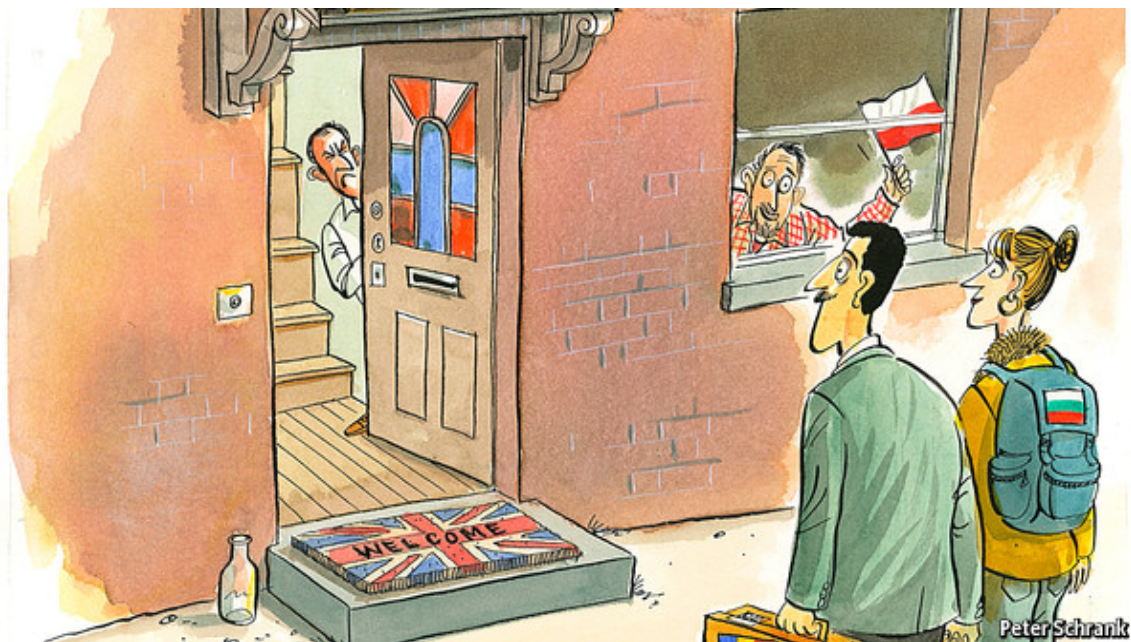
C. GRAMMAR : Indirect speech (L'anglais de A à Z, units 103-105)

A) Use starters to turn the sentences into indirect speech.

1) Why is the Chancellor of the Exchequer leaving ?

They wondered …

2) Will refugees get benefits or aids from the states ?

The journalist wanted to know …

3) When is the interview starting ?

The Home Secretary would like to know...

B) Turn the sentences into indirect speech.

1) « Newcomers must assimilate » she said.
2) « She's had a tough time in Holland. Teachers mocked her dress code » she added.
3) « There are fewer and fewer British Whites in parts of East London » Eric Kaufmann declared.
4) The reporter added : « Ethnic minority groups have moved outside London between 2001 and 2011 ».

E. GLOSSARY *(Apart from the words in the introductory exercise (I.A), these are the words and phrases that you will need when discussing « British multiculturalism »)*

Asian *(Brit) :* of or relating to natives of the Indian subcontinent or any of their descendants, especially when living in Britain
Ethnicity : an ethnic group. / Ethnic character, background or affiliation.
Foreigner (n) : someone who is from another country or place / adj. Foreign.
Migrant (n) An itinerant worker who travels from one area to another in search of work. / A person who leaves one country to settle permanently in another; an immigrant.
Religions (pay attention to the spelling) : Buddhism (a Buddhist), Christianity (a Christian) Hinduism (a Hindu), Islam (a Muslim), Judaism (a Jew/ adj. : Jewish), Sikhism (a Sikh) – Atheism (an Atheist).
Nationalities : Bangladeshi, Indian, Somali, Nigerian, Kenyan, Pakistani, Polish (from Poland), Bulgarian, Romanian (but the Roma population: les roms).

Some useful phrases :

An intermixture of nationalities/ethnicities.

To be a scapegoat : être un bouc émissaire (also « to scapegoat » : faire de qn un bouc émissaire)

Racial bias, racial prejudice : les préjugés raciaux.

To fuel tensions : alimenter, nourrir les tensions

To feel alienated, excluded.

A two-tier society : une société à deux vitesses.

A full-fledged citizen : un citoyen à part entière.

A second-class citizen : un citoyen de seconde zone

A native country : un pays d'origine.

A host country : un pays d'accueil

Mainstream culture : la culture dominante, majoritaire.

To become integrated **into** a society.

To assimilate **into** a society.

To mix, to mingle **with** other people.

To live peacebly with other communities : vivre en paix avec d'autres communautés.

To cohabit with sb.

To coexist with sb.

Communal conflicts : Conflicts between <u>different</u> <u>communities</u>, especially those having <u>different</u> <u>religions</u> or <u>ethnic</u> <u>origins</u>.

The language barrier : la barrière de la langue.

They keep themselves to themselves : ils ne se mêlent pas autres.

To be cut off from the rest of the society

The rejection of Western cultural standards

Broad-mindedness : ouverture d'esprit ≠ narrow-mindedness (adj.narrow-minded)

Social cohesion.

Dual heritage : double culture

Cultural diversity.

To be British of Indian descent.

WEEK 8 – CLASS CLASH

Food for thought

1. « It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman hate or despise him. »

George Bernard Shaw, Preface to *Pygmalion*, 1916

2. Snob = sine nobilitate

3. Please watch classic class comedy sketch from April 1966 and comment:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SfiFTEaz_0U (1'02)

I.   A class-ridden society

A. READING

Document 52

Great British Class Survey finds seven social classes in UK

Old model of working, middle and upper classes makes way for tiers ranging from 'precariat' to 'elite' based on economic, social and cultural indicators

Sam Jones and agency
The Guardian, Wednesday 3 April 2013

The traditional three classes – working, middle and upper – are no longer sufficient to contain and explain Britain's enduring obsession, according to a new survey that offers no fewer than seven categories.

The Great British Class Survey, a collaboration between the BBC and academics from six universities, used economic, social and cultural indicators rather than occupation, wealth and education to define the new classes. Researchers found the established model of an upper, middle and working class had fragmented to such a degree that there are now seven categories ranging from the "precariat" to the "elite".

Bottom of the newly configured heap is the "precariat" (or precarious proletariat), who make up 15% of the population. Its members earn just £8,000 after tax, have average savings of £800, and are extremely unlikely to go on to higher education, with just one in 30 having a university qualification.

Next in the study are the "emergent service workers" – "a new, young urban group which is relatively poor but has high social and cultural capital". They are the

youngest group, with a mean age of 34 and high proportions of ethnic minority members.

The "traditional working class", described as "not completely deprived" despite scoring low on all forms of capital, then appear. Its members tend to have properties with reasonably high values because they are, on average, aged 66. The category, making up just 14% of the total population, "is fading from contemporary importance", say the academics.

Next come the "new affluent workers", a young, socially and culturally active group with middling levels of economic capital, followed by the "technical middle class", "a small, distinctive new class group which is prosperous but scores low for social and cultural capital".

The group is further distinguished by its "social isolation and cultural apathy".

On the next rung is the "established middle class", described as the largest and most gregarious group, scoring highly when it comes to economic, social and cultural capital. Comprising a quarter of the population, it is the largest group, with household income of £47,000 and some "highbrow" tastes.

At the top is the "elite" – 6% of the population – whose members have extensive social contacts, are educated at top universities and have average savings of more than £140,000.

The research was carried out by academics at the London School of Economics, the University of Manchester, City University and the Universities of York, Bergen in Norway, and the Université Paris Descartes, France.

Professor Mike Savage of the LSE said the researchers had been struck by the existence of a distinctive elite class "whose sheer economic advantage sets it apart from other classes".

He added: "At the opposite extreme, we have discerned the existence of a sizable group – 15% of the population – which is marked by the lack of any significant amount of economic, cultural or social capital. The recognition of the existence of this group, along with the elite, is a powerful reminder that our conventional approaches to class have hindered our recognition of these two extremes, which occupy a very distinctive place in British society."

Professor Fiona Devine of the University of Manchester said the most interesting aspect of the research was the groups they had identified in the middle: "There's a much more fuzzy area between the traditional working class and traditional middle class. There's the emergent workers and the new affluent workers who are different groups of people who won't necessarily see themselves as working or middle class."

The findings, based on 161,000 online responses, will be presented at a conference of the British Sociological Association on Wednesday, and will be published in this month's Sociology journal.

1. *How many social classes are there now in Britain?*
2. *What has changed ?*
3. *What is most striking?*

Document 53

Britons cling to working-class roots despite more having white-collar job

Rosemary Bennett, Social Affairs Correspondent
The Times, September 10, 2013

Britons are determined to cling to their working-class roots despite moving into the middle class in their droves.

Researchers found that the same proportion of people as 30 years ago consider themselves to be working class, despite a vast increase in the number of Britons in professional, managerial and white collar jobs, designated as middle-class occupations.

The findings, from the annual British Social Attitudes Survey, which draws on 3,000 interviews, suggests that working-class people are still considered decent and straightforward, and that social climbing is viewed with suspicion.

While two thirds of the population now have an occupation that classifies them as middle class, only a third describe themselves as such, the same as in 1983, when almost half of the population (47 percent) had a middle-class job.

Michael Savage, a sociologist at the London School of Economics and the co-author of the research, said that it was a peculiarly British trait to deny class advancement. "Britain is unusual in this regard. In the US, Canada, Australia and elsewhere in Europe people like to say they are middle class because it means they are not super-wealthy but they are not poor," he said.

"In the UK, in some quarters, to say you are middle class is considered to be a claim that you are above other people. It has connotations of elitism, so people would rather not say it."

The qualities associated with being working class are honesty and being down-to-earth, he said, which perhaps explains why politicians in particular are keen to play up their working-class connections. Ed Miliband uses his comprehensive school education to suggest that he is in touch with ordinary people, while playing down his roots as the son of an intellectual.

Professor Savage said the confusion arose because the definition of middle class had become "all encompassing".

"It has rather lost its meaning. It used to be that only a small proportion of the

population had white collar jobs. Now they are a majority," he said.

Among other findings, the research discovered a collapse in trust in a range of institutions and

professions, including the police, bankers, politicians and journalists. Bankers suffered the sharpest fall in confidence, with only 19 per cent saying that they are doing a good job compared with 90 percent in 1983.

The only institution to buck the trend is the Royal Family. Just under half the population think they are "very important", double the number of supporters they had in 2006.

Attitudes towards the role of men and women have changed, too. In the 1980s most people agreed that "a man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family" — today only 13 per cent agree with this view. In 1983 two thirds of the population also thought "family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job", compared with just over a quarter now.

Answer the questions in your own words :

1. How do the British see themselves in terms of social mobility?
2. What are the qualities associated with the working class ?
3. Why should politicians refer to working class origins ?

Document 54

The evolution of the middle class
By Tom de Castella
BBC News Magazine, 16 January 2014

The British middle class is facing a crisis of confidence, says Labour's leader. But in a nation famously fixated on social stratifications, what does the term actually mean?

Once upon a time it was signalled by having servants and owning a piano. Today it might mean driving a Volvo, shopping at Waitrose or listening to Radio 4.

Middle class is a slippery term. Is it the same thing as middle income? Or does it refer to a collection of family and cultural baggage - parents, education, job sector and lifestyle choices?

This week Labour leader Ed Milband entered the fray with plans to "rebuild our middle class".

In the Daily Telegraph, he wrote that "there has been a hollowing-out of those white-collar professions that used to keep the middle class strong."

His definition appeared to be related to jobs and income. But exactly who qualified as middle class was left vague.

Traditional British social divisions of upper, middle and working class can seem out of date. David Cameron - educated at Eton - has described himself and his wife - the daughter of a baronet - as part of the "sharp-elbowed middle classes".

'Hard-working people' is the term modern politicians of all parties prefer.

Former ship's steward John Prescott said in 1997 "we're all middle class now" shortly before he became a cabinet minister, although a decade on he seemed more ambivalent.

It used to be easier, says Lawrence James, author of *The Middle Class: A History*. In one of the early attempts at a definition, an Elizabethan writer defined it as "people who live by their wits rather than manual labour", James says. Going even further back, they were the doctor, lawyer and clerk in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, he says.

But they really came into their own during the industrial revolution and the growth of Empire when "large armies of clerks" were needed, he says.

It's often said that the British have a unique obsession with class. Popular culture is riddled with references to it. Foreign visitors struggle to comprehend the complexities of British hierarchy. So what class am I, asks Tom Heyden.

After World War Two, the middle class grew steadily, says David Kynaston, author of *Modernity Britain*. The faultlines were pretty clear-cut between workers in heavy industry and employees in offices. "A clerk might earn less than a skilled worker. But he would cling on to his middle class status," says Kynaston.

The 1960s were significant in that the UK's service industries caught up with manufacturing. It was the era of Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, who once asked: "Who are the middle class? And what do they want?"

But it wasn't until the 1980s that the shift really accelerated to services away from heavy industry.

The Thatcher government's sell-off of council housing and share offers for public utilities is often cited as a turning point. Both policies were pitched to workers who aspired to join the middle classes. But Times columnist Matthew Parris, who served in Thatcher's private office before being elected as a Conservative MP, sees it slightly differently.

"In some ways the Thatcher government was following social trends rather than causing them," he says. You cannot examine the middle class without looking at the "death of the English working class", Parris adds. In economic terms - particularly the Marxist sense of the proletariat - the class is no more, he argues.

Now it's widely believed that the old certainties are gone. One of the old-fashioned signs was accent. The children of the middle class once learned to "speak properly" but not any more, says James.

Even the signifiers are harder to spot, says Robert Opie, founder of the Museum of Brands in London. "By the 1990s you get celebrities taking over as an aspiration from the hope of being middle class," he believes.

Today an employee in a low-wage service sector job might not get their hands dirty. But that doesn't necessarily make them middle class.

And it is debatable whether the cliched signifiers of the middle-class lifestyle really are an accurate picture of the middle class.

Median gross annual income for fulltime employees was £27,000 in 2013, according to the Office for National Statistics. For households with two workers the average income is about £40,000. That may not support what are perceived to be the trappings of being middle class in cultural terms - a Volvo or Audi, foreign holidays to places like Tuscany, clothes from Boden, a subscription to the Week and regular glasses of Prosecco.

What we joke about as middle class behaviour is often more accurately associated with the upper middle class, says Dr Jon Lawrence, reader in modern British history at Cambridge University. "A lot of the stereotypes like going skiing are in fact only for that small 10% at most," he says.

There have been attempts to codify the new, more complex class system.

So there isn't just the middle class. There is the lower middle class, the upper middle class and - presumably - a middle middle class.

In April 2013 the BBC teamed up with sociologists and came up with seven new groups. At the top were the "elite". At the bottom were "traditional working class", "emergent service workers" and the "precariat".

In between came the "established middle class", the "technical middle class" and "new affluent workers".

Business and academics have long stratified people by income and profession along the ABCDE scale.

However it's hard to see such technocratic terms catching on in common speech. Perhaps the usefulness of the phrase "middle class" is that it can mean almost whatever you want it to.

Miliband didn't choose the term by accident. Previously he has used the "squeezed middle". To use the label "middle class" and in the pages of the Daily Telegraph suggests he was responding to specific polling advice, Lawrence says.

It's an intriguing move as, by and large, mainstream politicians tend to avoid grappling with the thorny issue of class, he says.

In the US, the term middle class is used to mean what the working class has traditionally meant in the UK, he says. British politicians have in the last decade or so adopted "hard working families" instead. It's code. In both the US and UK it means people who are not on benefits but are not bankers either, Lawrence says.

And yet six out of ten people called themselves working class in 2013's British Social Attitudes survey. The really interesting thing is how resistant to class labelling respondents were.

"Only half of the population spontaneously places themselves as belonging to either class, with others only doing so when prompted to put themselves into one camp or the other," the report explained.

Lawrence thinks it's because of the "pejorative cultural connotations" that go with being middle class - namely, suburban objects of ridicule such as Margot Leadbetter in The Good Life and later Hyacinth Bucket in Keeping Up Appearances.

"It's the secret associations of the middle class going back to the 70s and 80s, that sense of snobbery and social judgement," he says.

Parris says people's self-identification says more about fashion than reality. "The truth is that 60% of the British are not working class," he says.

The term used to mean something distinct - working in heavy industry, men in flat caps, women scrubbing the doorsteps. Now it simply doubles as "ordinary people", he believes.

William Nelson, who wrote a report about class for think tank the Future Foundation, told the Daily Telegraph in 2010 that the best predictor of middle class was accumulating assets for the future such as ISAs and shares.

Guardian columnist Polly Toynbee, who researched income awareness for her book *Unjust Rewards*, says both rich and poor tend to see themselves nearer the middle than they are. So in income terms, people's perception of what counts as middle class is skewed by their own economic circumstances.

About 85% of people earn under £40,000 a year, Toynbee says. And yet newspapers often talk of an "attack on the middle class" for tax rises on people earning more than this.

In the end it's a fudge, says Lawrence.

"What makes class complicated here is that people elide social status and income," he says. "Essentially we live in a world of Jane Austen but it's just been modernised. And we still obsess about that in a way other countries don't."

Attempting to pin down the middle class might be like trying to drizzle extra virgin olive oil uphill.

II.   Demonizing social class

Document 55

Why is 'chav' still controversial?
BBC News Magazine
3 June 2011

A new book claims the word "chav" is helping to reignite class war. The journalist Polly Toynbee calls it "the vile word at the heart of fractured Britain". Recently a peer caused a kerfuffle when she tweeted about being stuck in "chav-land". So almost a decade after its emergence, is chav really the most divisive word in Britain, asks Tom de Castella.

For some it has been a satisfying label to pin on Burberry check-wearing louts. But for others, it's a nasty, coded attack on the working class.

And for some commentators the word chav is now at the heart of Britain's obsession with class.

There has been much discussion over the origin of the term. The Romany word chavi - meaning child - was recorded in the 19th Century. Others argue it's from "Chatham average", a disparaging reference to the inhabitants of the Kent town.

There have always been regional labels equivalent to chav - skangers, spides, charvers, scallies and neds, respectively in Ireland, Northern Ireland, North East England, North West England and Scotland.

But chav has somehow scaled regional barriers to become a national term of abuse.

Driven by websites like Chavscum and Chavtowns, and soon picked up by the mainstream media, the word has also mutated into "chavtastic", "chavsters", "chavette", "chavdom".

There are plenty of people for whom the word is harmless. Daily Telegraph blogger James Delingpole argues it's merely an updating of "oik" (=*ill-mannered person*).

But more left-leaning commentators have seen it as shorthand for bashing the poor. In 2008 the Fabian Society urged the BBC to put it on their list of offensive terms.

"This is middle class hatred of the white working class, pure and simple," wrote Tom Hampsen, the society's editorial director. He also called on the Commission for Equality and Human Rights to take this kind of class discrimination seriously.

But last week a Lib Dem peer on that very commission caused controversy by using the term on twitter: "Help. Trapped in a queue in chav-land! Woman behind me explaining latest Eastenders plot to mate, while eating largest bun I've ever seen,"

Baroness Hussein-Ece tweeted.

Her comment appalled the Guardian columnist Polly Toynbee who compared it to two of the most serious racial insults, noting that chav is seen as "acceptable class abuse by people asserting superiority over those they despise".

Now a new book - *Chavs: the Demonization of the Working Class* - argues the word is a coded attack on the poor. "As inequality has widened it's a way of people saying that the people at the bottom deserve to be there," says Owen Jones, the book's author.

The situation is complicated by the decline in the number of people identifying themselves as working class. A survey in March this year by research firm Britainthinks, suggested 71% of people define themselves as middle class.

"I saw the 'working class' tag used as a slur, equated with other class-based insults such as 'chav'," wrote researcher Deborah Mattinson.

A belief has grown that the aspirational "decent" working class has become middle class, Jones argues. According to this narrative, what is left behind is a "feckless rump" housed on estates, living off benefits or working in low status jobs at supermarkets, hairdressers or fast food outlets. (…)

Document 56

Class politics
Giving the poor a good kicking
Unfairly, by its snobbish fellow citizens
Jun 16th 2011 | *The Economist*

Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class. By Owen Jones. **Verso; 298 pages**

IT WOULD be quite hard these days for a national newspaper columnist to get away with describing black people as "dismal ineducables" or "lard-gutted slappers". He would court opprobrium if he were to argue that, as a class of human beings, they lack morals or self-control, or to claim that they exist parasitically on the hard work of others. A politician who opined that they ought to be forcibly sterilised for the benefit of everyone else would be unlikely to get re-elected, and might even be thrown out of office.

But according to Owen Jones, a former trade-union worker, it is still acceptable in modern Britain to paint with such broad and hate-filled brushstrokes as long as you confine yourself to criticising the poor. His book concerns "chavs", a supposed underclass of ill-educated, fast-breeding, violent and amoral poor people currently plaguing Britain. The term has risen from obscure origins over the past decade: one "backronym" has it standing for Council Housed And Violent, another theory is that it

is derived from the Romany word *chavi*, meaning "child". Some argue that the term is meant mostly in jest, comparing it to describing the rich as "toffs". But for Mr Jones, it is a much nastier expression: infused with venom, and reflective of a growing distrust and fear, it has mutated to refer to the poor in general.

Inevitably, much of the evidence for that claim is subjective and anecdotal. But enough can be found for it to be quite persuasive. Bile and hatred are freely available, whether from books devoted to laughing at "chav towns", or websites that describe the five best ways to kill a chav, should you encounter one. A columnist describes Vicky Pollard, an archetypal chav created for a TV comedy programme, as emblematic of the aforementioned "dismal ineducables" and "pasty-faced, lard-gutted slappers" supposedly infesting the nation's public housing. A local newspaper writes about a "pack of slavering chav-estate mongrels". One local councillor infamously advocated compulsory sterilisation for benefit claimants who have had a second child or more. There is plenty more in a similar vein.

There is a double standard at work, argues Mr Jones, whereby Britain's entire working-class is tarred by association with its worst members. Serious crimes committed by poor people—including one recent well-known case of a mother kidnapping her own daughter—are seized on as evidence that they are all, as a group, criminal and violent. Other crimes, that may be even more serious but are committed by those further up the income scale—such as the quiet murder of dozens, possibly hundreds, of people by a middle-class doctor—are dismissed as outlandish one-offs.

Part of what makes Mr Jones so angry—and, as with all the best polemics, a luminous anger backlights his prose—is that this sneering and humiliation is inflicted by the well-off on those who have the least. He does not deny that there are problems with Britain's poor—but he ascribes them to the policies of governments over the past 30 years rather than a generic characteristic.

Mr Jones offers a fairly standard left-wing analysis: Margaret Thatcher's economic reforms in the 1980s destroyed many of the old working-class communities that relied on manufacturing. They threw millions of people out of stable and comparatively well-paid work into infrequent, badly paid temporary jobs—or trapped them in towns suddenly bereft of any reason to exist and with no jobs to apply for (intriguingly, this is a position that Norman Tebbit, a Thatcherite outrider interviewed in the book, seems to have some sympathy with). At the same time, politicians promoted the idea of individualism and meritocracy, the theory that one's station in life was best changed by hard work and dedication. Mrs Thatcher's three successive election victories so changed the nature of politics that even the Labour Party, traditionally the champion of the working classes, came to adopt a similar view of the world, competing for a tiny number of swing voters while reasoning that its traditional working-class base had nowhere else to go.

But the dark underside of the aspiration to meritocracy—as Michael Young, who coined the word in 1958, foresaw—is an assumption that the poor are the way

they are because they deserve to be, whether through laziness, obstinacy or just plain stupidity. That makes them easy targets for public ridicule. Worst of all, says Mr Jones, although a few do manage to escape their backgrounds, by and large the talk of opportunity is a diverting mirage. According to the OECD, a rich-country think tank, a father's income is a stronger predictor of a child's salary in Britain than in any of the other 11 rich countries surveyed.

Some readers will dispute Mr Jones's version of history, arguing that Mrs Thatcher's reforms—or something very similar—were both inevitable and necessary, or that governments can do little in the face of the economic tides that are enriching millions in the developing world at the same time as they de-industrialise the rich countries. The second half of his book, which deals with everything from political history to the decline of trades unions and the impact of a housing shortage, feels overly compressed, with too many ideas chasing too few pages. But even for those who disagree with his analysis, Mr Jones's diagnosis—that the poor are objects of scorn and an acceptable target for the sort of casual hatred reserved in previous decades for black people, say, or the Irish—is depressingly difficult to argue with.

Answer the questions in your own words using documents 4 and 5 :

1. What is a chav ?
2. Can you identify with the man pictured ?
3. How can the term chav fuel class hatred/war ?

III.   Criminalizing social conduct

Document 57 – Reading fiction

Lionel Asbo – a very violent but not very successful criminal – has always looked out for his nephew, Desmond Pepperdine, fifteen and a half. He gives him fatherly advice and introduces him to the joys of Internet porn. Des, on the other hand, desires nothing more than books, a girl to love and to steer clear of Uncle Li's psychotic pitbulls, Joe and Jeff.

The book opens on Desmond writing a letter to the local newspaper's agony aunt about his having sex with his grandmother. Desmond is interrupted as his uncle Lionel comes in.

Lionel was there, a great white shape, leaning on the open door with his brow pressed to his raised wrist, panting huskily, and giving off a faint grey steam in his purple singlet (the lift was misbehaving, and the flat was on the thirty-third floor – but

then again Lionel could give off steam while dozing in bed on a quiet afternoon). Under his other arm he was carrying a consignment of lager. Two dozen, covered in polythene. Brand: Cobra.

'You're back early, Uncle Li.'

He held up a callused palm. They waited. In his outward appearance Lionel was brutally generic – the slablike body, the full lump of the face, the tight-shaved crown with its tawny stubble. Out in the great world city, there were hundreds of thousands of young men who looked pretty much like Lionel Asbo. In certain lights and settings he resembled, some said, the England and Manchester United prodigy, striker Wayne Rooney: not exceptionally tall, and not fat, but exceptionally broad and exceptionally *deep* (Des saw his uncle every day – and Lionel was always one size bigger than expected). He even had Rooney's gap-toothed smile. Well, the upper incisors were widely spaced, yet Lionel very seldom smiled. You only saw them when he sneered.

'… What you doing there with that *pen*? What's that you writing? Guiss It.'
Des thought fast. 'Uh, it's about poetry, Uncle Li.'

'*Poetry*?' said Lionel and started back.

'Yeah. Poem called *The Faerie Queene*.'

'The *what*? … I despair of you sometimes, Des. Why aren't you out smashing windows? It's not healthy. Oh yeah, listen to this. You know that bloke I bashed up in the pub the other Friday? Mr "Ross Knowles", if you please? He's only pressing charges. Grassed me. Would you credit it.'

Desmond knew how Lionel was likely to feel about such a move. One night last year Lionel came home to find Des on the black leatherette sofa, innocently slumped in front of *Crimewatch*. The result was one of the longest and noisiest slappings he had ever received at his uncle's hands. *They asking members of the public*, said Lionel, standing in front of the giant screen with his arms akimbo, *to fink on they own neighbours*. Crimewatch, *it's like a … like a programme for* paedophiles, *that is. It disgusts me*. Now Des said,

'He went to the law? Aw, that's… That's… the lowest of the low, that is. What you going to do, Uncle Li?'

'Well, I've been asking around and it turns out he's a loner. Lives in a bedsit. So there's no one I can go and terrify. Except him.'

'But he's still in hospital.'

'So? I'll take him a bunch of grapes. You feed the dogs?'

'Yeah. Only we're out of Tabasco.'

The dogs, Joe and Jeff, were Lionel's psychopathic pitbulls. Their domain was the narrow balcony off the kitchen, where, all day, the two of them snarled, paced, and swivelled – and prosecuted their barking war with the pack of Rottweilers that lived on the roof of the next high-rise along.

'Don't lie to me, Desmond,' said Lionel quietly. 'Don't ever lie to me.'

'I'm not!'

'You told me you fed them. And you never give them they Tabasco!'

'Uncle Li, I didn't have the cash! They've only got the big bottles and they're five ninety-five!'

'That's no excuse. You should've nicked one. You spent thirty quid, *thirty quid*, on a fucking dictionary, and you can't spare a couple of bob for the dogs.'

'I never spent thirty quid! … Gran give it me. She won it on the crossword. The prize crossword.'

'Joe and Jeff – they not *pets*, Desmond Pepperdine. They tools of me trade.'

Lionel's trade was still something of a mystery to Des. He knew that part of it had to do with the very hairiest end of debt collection; and he knew that part of it involved 'selling on' (Lionel's word for selling on was *reset*). Des knew this by simple logic, because Extortion With Menaces and Receiving Stolen Property were what Lionel most often went to prison for… He stood there, Lionel, doing something he was very good at: disseminating tension. Des loved him deeply and more or less unquestioningly (*I wouldn't be here today without Uncle Li*, he often said to himself). But he always felt slightly ill in his presence. Not ill at ease. Ill.

From *Lionel Asbo, State of England*, Martin AMIS, Vintage, 2013, p 5-7

Answer the questions using every detail of the text:

1. What kind of man is Lionel Asbo? Comment on his physical description and his language.
2. Is Desmond Pepperdine the same kind of character?
3. Use document 7: justify the novel's title.

Document 58

Antisocial Behaviour Order (ASBO)
Anyone over the age of 10 can be given an ASBO if they behave antisocially.

Behaving antisocially includes:

- drunken or threatening behaviour
- vandalism and graffiti
- playing loud music at night

Getting an ASBO means you won't be allowed to do certain things, such as:

◦ going to a particular place, e.g. your local town centre
◦ spending time with people who are known as trouble-makers

◦ drinking in the street

An ASBO will last for at least 2 years. It could be reviewed if your behaviour improves.

Penalties for not obeying your ASBO
Breaking or 'breaching' the ASBO is a criminal offence and you can be taken to court. The sentence you get will depend on the circumstances and your age.

Young offenders
You can be fined up to £250 (if you're aged 10 to 14) or up to £1,000 (if you're aged 15 to 17). The fine may have to be paid by your parents if you're under 16. You might also get a community sentence or, if you're over 12, a detention and training order (DTO) for up to 24 months.

Adult offenders
You can be fined up to £5,000 or sentenced to 5 years in prison, or both.

www.gov.uk/asbo

IV.   Nobs and snobs

Document 59

Vicky Pollard, *Little Britain***,** *Source* : mobileindustryreview.com

Document 60

Watch: Vicky Pollard in a counselling session
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rxCPj40eFNc (2'36)

Document 61

Can I borrow the sawn-off shotgun tonight, Dad? *Source* : Daily Mail, 25 August 2009

Document 62

'Before I can pour the vintage chablis, will Sir raise his hand and swear he is not in possession of a booze asbo?'

Document 63

The Chav's Prayer

Our father, who art in prison,
mother knows not his name.
Thy chavdom come, thy shoplifting be done,
in JJB Sports as it is in Poundland.
Give us this day our welfare bread,
and forgive us our ASBOs,
as we happy slap those who give evidence
against us.
And lead us not into employment,
but deliver us free housing.
For thine is the chavdom, the burberry and the
blackberry,
for ever and ever,

Innit.

Source : funnyjunk.com

Document 64

Downton Abbey, *Source* : mirror.co.uk

Document 65

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6hLTX9HmWRY (4'49)

Document 66

Watch best moments of dowager countess from DA1:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=17CWRk1uYdQ (4'36)

D. GLOSSARY : KEY WORDS TO REMEMBER

To be pigeonholed/identified as upper, middle or working class

Cleavage/disparity/divide/gap

To climb the social ladder : to reach a more favourable status

To keep a stiff upper lip : not to show emotions as a product of good Victorian education

The haves and have-nots : the rich and the poor

To be well-off/rich : to live well ; the well-off

Affluent/moneyed/wealthy/well-to-do : rich

Wretched/miserable

Well-heeled : bien nanti

Toff (*informal*) : rupin

Impoverished/needy/penniless/underprivileged : poor

Destitute : indigent
Lout : pignouf
Thug : malfrat /voyou
Yob : loubard/petite frappe
The dregs of society : lie de la société

E.   GRAMMAR : PHRASAL VERBS

Phrasal verbs made simple :
Replace the verbs in capital letters with the following :
Carry out, cling on, draw on, go on, make up, play down, play up

Precariat members **ARE** 15% of the population.
They are extremely unlikely to **CONTINUE** to higher education.
The research **WAS CONDUCTED** by academics.
The British Social Attitudes Survey **USES** 3,000 interviews.
Politicians are keen to **EMPHASIZE** their working-class connections.
Ed Miliband **MINIMIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF** his roots as the son of an intellectual.
According to historian David Kynaston : « A clerk might earn less than a skilled worker. But he would **REMAIN ATTACHED** to his middle-class status. »

Answers to be found in documents 1,2 and 3.

Definitions :

A phrasal verb is « a phrase that consists of a verb plus an adverbial or prepositional particle » (www.thefreedictionary.com).
The particle changes the meaning of the original verb as in PLAY DOWN/UP.
The particle is meant to add the same value as in CLING ON/GO ON where ON conveys continuity.
Like any verb, a phrasal verb can be transitive or intransitive. What may change is the place of the object when the verb is separable:
Ed Miliband plays down his roots = Ed Miliband plays them down/down them.

To go further :

* 200 common phrasal verbs :
https://www.englishclub.com/vocabulary/phrasal-verbs-list.htm
* More with quizzes :
http://www.learn-english-today.com/phrasal-verbs/phrasal-verb-list.htm

WEEK 9 – WELFARE STATE

I.   For want of protection

Document 67

A brief history of the welfare state
By Tim Lambert
www.localhistories.org

The Elizabethan Poor Law

In the 16th century society was faced with the problem of what to do with the poor. Eventually the Elizabethan government realized they would have to introduce some kind of system to support them. By an act of 1601 overseers of the poor were appointed by each parish. They had power to force people to pay a local tax to help the poor. Those who could not work such as the old and the disabled would be provided for. The overseers were meant to provide work for the able-bodied poor. Anyone who refused to work was whipped and, after 1610, they could be placed in a house of correction. Pauper's children were sent to local employers to be apprentices.

A law of 1697 said that paupers (people supported by the parish) must wear a blue or red 'P' on their clothes.

On a more cheerful note in the 17th century in many towns wealthy people left money in their wills to provide almshouses (poorhouses) where the poor could live.

During the 18th century the Poor Law continued to operate. However a law of 1723 allowed parishes to build workhouses to house the destitute. Still, conditions in 18th century workhouses were generally less harsh than in Victorian ones.

The Victorian Poor Law

In 1792 well meaning magistrates met at Speenhamland in Berkshire and devised a system for helping the poor. Low wages were supplemented with money raised by a poor rate. Many areas of England adopted the system but it proved very expensive and the government decided to change things.

In 1834 they passed the Poor Law Amendment Act. In future the poor were to be treated as harshly as possible to dissuade them from seeking help from the state. In future able bodied people with no income were to be forced to enter a workhouse. (In practice some of the elected Boards of Guardians sometimes gave the unemployed 'outdoor relief' i.e. they were given money and allowed to live in their own homes).

For the unfortunate people made to enter workhouses life was made as

unpleasant as possible. Married couples were separated and children over 7 were separated from their parents. The inmates were made to do hard work like breaking stones to make roads or breaking bones to make fertilizer.

The poor called the new workhouses 'Bastilles' (after the infamous prison in Paris) and they caused much bitterness. However as the century went on the workhouses gradually became more humane (…)

Document 68

Birth of the welfare state

It was not until after the Second World War that the British Welfare state took its mature form. In a climate of relief after the war, a climate diffused with an idealism for a new, more just society, welfare legislation had bipartisan support. There was a clear sense of rebuilding a better Britain.

The period before the war had seen long-running debates about the lack of co-ordination of hospital services. There was concern to learn from and develop the existing experience of a health insurance scheme for medical treatment for some of the population. And there were criticisms of the legacies of the Poor Law - the indignities of means-tested payments for those in poverty and the fear among the old and impoverished of ending life in the workhouse.

But the Labour government's landslide victory in 1945 (not quite as big as that in the 1997 election) was still very much about creating a new deal for 'the boys back from the front', giving them a sense that their country had been worth fighting for and would support and care for them in peacetime by offering them and their families the opportunity for jobs, homes, education, health and a standard of living of which they could be proud.

The 1944 Education Act was already on the statute book when the Labour government came to power. By raising the school-leaving age to 15 and later to 16, it was going to give children chances that their parents had never had - to carry their education on (if they passed the examination) into grammar school and even to university. It would open up opportunities for jobs, homes and lifestyles that the working-class parents of these children had only dreamed of. Another nine major pieces of legislation were passed with strong support across the political parties before the decade was out.

The list of legislation brought forward by Atlee's government shows that along with opportunities for access to education came a house building programme, free health services and, above all, a comprehensive programme of benefits to deal with unemployment, old age and much more besides. It was a 'brave new world' indeed.

Main legislative measures of the post-war Labour government :

1945 Family Allowances Act
1946 National Insurance Act
1946 National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act
1946 National Health Service Act (implemented July 1948)
1947 Town and Country Planning Act
1947 New Towns Act
1948 National Assistance Act
1948 Children Act
1949 Housing Act

The architect of much of this reform in the field of social welfare was William Beveridge. His report, Social Insurance and Allied Services was compiled as the war at its height.

In it Beveridge set out a plan to put an end to what he called the 'five giants' - Want (today we could call it poverty), Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness (unemployment).

The centrepiece was a state-run system of compulsory insurance. Every worker, by contributing to a scheme of national insurance deducted through the weekly or monthly pay packet, would be helping to build up a fund that would pay out weekly benefits to those who were sick or unemployed or who suffered industrial injury. The scheme would pay pensions at the end of a working life to employees and the self-employed.

The idea was to support the worker and his family. Benefits were to be set at a level that enabled a man his wife and child to survive. There would be benefits for widows and an allowance for guardians of children without parents to care for them. A system of family allowances for the second child and subsequent children was intended to ensure that those with large families were not penalised.

There was also to be a marriage grant, maternity grant and benefit, some specific training grants and a death grant. The key feature was that people were eligible to receive these benefits and grants because they had contributed. Rich and poor 'paid the stamp' and could claim as of right because of this.

For those who had not paid enough contributions or were not contributing to the national insurance scheme, there was a second tier of welfare provision, national assistance. The financial side of this (later to be renamed supplementary benefit and later still, income support) was meant to be a supplement to the main scheme rather than to be central. The main scheme was universal - everyone had a right to it based on contributions. Only if supplementary help was needed did the 'means test' come into play, enquiring into your savings and your circumstances - who lived with whom, who was dependent on whom, and so on.

Alongside these financial security provisions for all, there would be universal access to education and to health services. These would be funded from taxation and would be free at the point of use. Again everyone in work would pay, but in this case, since taxation increased with increasing income, the rich would pay more.

The package overall gave meaning to the proud boast that the welfare state provided care for everyone - protection 'from cradle to grave'. For it all to happen, however, there had to be full employment. The government would give top priority to the rebuilding of a strong, peacetime economy and the redeployment of troops into civilian work. Only if the workers were in work would they be contributing to the scheme.

Use documents 68 and 69 to answer the questions :

1. How were the poor generally treated before the welfare state was introduced ?
2. Do you know a famous British novel telling the story of a young boy living in a workhouse?
3. What facilitated the emergence of the modern British welfare state ?
4. Who laid the foundations of the welfare state ?
5. Give a definition of the welfare state.
6. What is its guiding principle ?

II.   'Please Sir, I want some more'

Document 69

Welfare or warfare ?

Source : www.thegreatwelfarescrounge.wordpress.com

Document 70

Describe as precisely as possible then discuss.

The Economist, November 10th 2010

Document 71

Benefits Street : **Welcome to James Turner Street (trailer)**
Watch : https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XkKJQF1xSJU (1'47)

Document 72

Benefits Street Birmingham documentary criticised
Watch : https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j9vrrC-SrPo (2'42)

Use both documents to answer the questions :

1. What is 'Benefits Street' ?
2. Why is this programme so controversial ?

III. Welfare state : from cradle to grave ?

Document 73
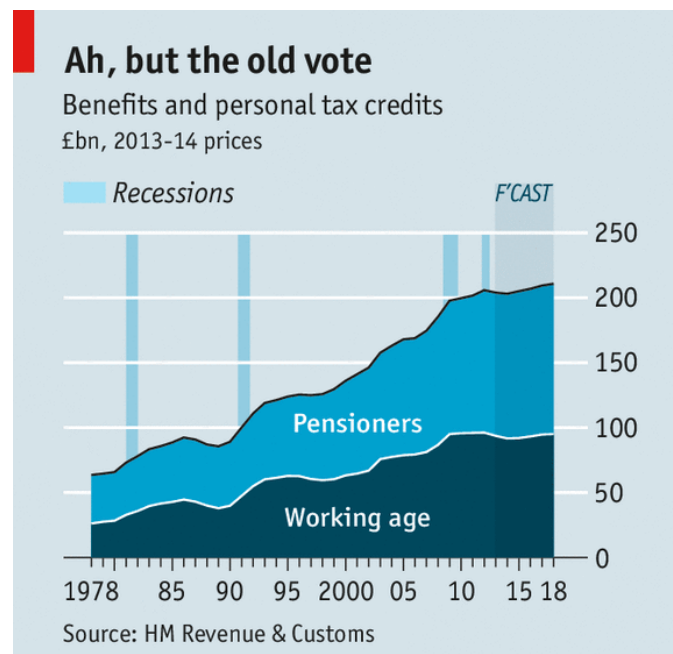
Welfare reform
Talk is cheap
Reforming welfare is harder than politicians are letting on

Jan 25th 2014 | *The Economist*

"THE new welfare state must encourage work, not dependency." So said Tony Blair in his first Labour Party conference speech after becoming prime minister in 1997. Reforming welfare was one of Mr Blair's top political priorities: proof of his "compassion with a hard edge".

If only he had succeeded, the British might be spared endless rehashes of his speech. On January 20th Rachel Reeves, Labour's welfare spokesman, gave a speech arguing that welfare should reward "work, responsibility and contribution". Three days later Iain Duncan Smith, the Tory welfare secretary, chimed in, claiming that benefits trap people in ghettos and push them into crime. Like Mr Blair, both think that welfare reform is an election winner. Yet their bold rhetoric disguises a notable lack of ambition.

Ah, but the old vote
Benefits and personal tax credits
£bn, 2013-14 prices
Source: HM Revenue & Customs

During Mr Blair's time in government, the state spent around 5% of GDP on welfare and tax credits for people of working age. When recession hit in 2008, shrinking the economy and pushing people out of work, the proportion jumped to around 6%, where it has stuck stubbornly ever since. Last year spending reached

£96 billion ($158 billion), a slight increase in real terms on the previous year. Pension spending, which accounts for £110 billion, is growing faster, thanks to generous uprating and an ageing population (see chart).

Cuts to welfare are necessary. Both Labour and the Conservatives have promised to bring about a budget surplus after the next general election in 2015. Public services have been cut heavily already, and voters tend to like spending on schools, hospitals and police officers. No party seems willing to commit to raising taxes. Slicing welfare, by contrast, is hugely popular—at least in broad theory. A private poll conducted by the Labour Party in October showed that 64% of Conservative-Labour swing voters supported welfare cuts. Just 9% opposed them.

Yet British voters have contradictory views about welfare, says Graeme Cooke of IPPR, a left-leaning think-tank. They tend to believe that benefits for newly unemployed people are too low, and that an outsize amount is spent on foreigners and habitual layabouts. Many voters are themselves claimants: 4.6m families receive tax credits, at a cost of around £29 billion. These mostly top up the incomes of working people with children—the sort of folk politicians try to court. A flurry of cuts already made will have only small effects on total spending.

As a result, both parties have focused on those who tend not to vote: young people and foreigners. The Conservative Party proposes to abolish housing benefit for people under the age of 25. The Labour Party argues that young people should have to pass literacy and numeracy tests to be able to claim benefits (illiterates will be sent back to school) while the long-term unemployed should get subsidised minimum-wage jobs. All three main parties want to prevent new immigrants from claiming out-of-work benefits.

Some of these policies have merit. But they will hardly nibble at the welfare bill. Housing benefit for the young, for example, costs around £2 billion per year—a little less than 10% of the housing bill. Once young adults with children of their own and people leaving care are excluded, as Tory officials hint they would be, the potential savings are negligible. As for benefit tourists, in 2011 people who were foreign nationals when they first registered for national insurance numbers represented just 6% of claimants. It is likely that few of them had arrived shortly before.

Savings will come from less trumpeted changes. George Osborne, the chancellor, has frozen the value of most working-age benefits in cash terms until 2015, allowing inflation to eat away at the bill. That freeze could easily be extended into the next parliament. Raising the age at which people become eligible for pensions has a similar effect. And so will economic recovery—at least if it begins to raise wages and enables more part-time workers to move into full-time jobs. Indeed, that is where the real difference between the parties lies. Labour types think that the economy will not start creating well-paid jobs again unless the state sets about altering its structure. The Tories prefer to wait.

Answer the questions in your own words :

1. Who is Ian Duncan Smith ?
2. What are the consequences of the 2008 crisis ?
3. Why is welfare reform popular among politicians ?

Document 74

Iain Duncan Smith: benefits cap gets jobless back to work

By Tim Ross, Political Correspondent
www.telegraph.co.uk, 14 Dec 2014

New figures from the Department for Work and Pensions give strongest evidence so far that the benefits cap is encouraging people to move off welfare and into jobs

The new cap on benefits payments for the unemployed has forced thousands of people to find work instead of living off the state, new research will reveal this week.

Four detailed studies from the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) will deliver the most comprehensive evidence so far that the benefits cap is encouraging people to move off welfare and into jobs.

The households that have lost the most in benefits payments since the cap was introduced in April 2013 are the most likely to have begun working for a living, the research concludes.

Claimants who saw their benefits cut by £200 a week or more were three times as likely to have found work after a year as households whose benefits were not affected, the findings suggest.

Iain Duncan Smith, the Work and Pensions Secretary, said the evidence showed the Conservatives were right to plan to cut the benefits cap further.

The policy is designed to ensure that people cannot earn more than the average working salary from state benefits.

It sets a rate of no more than £500 a week in total benefits payments for couples and families, equivalent to £26,000 a year. The cap is set at £350 for single people.

George Osborne has announced plans to reduce the level of the cap further, to £23,000 a year, after the election.

Mr Duncan Smith said the policy was helping hundreds of people every month to "break free from welfare dependency".

"We know that the benefit cap has had a real impact in changing attitudes and behaviours, and now we have evidence showing that our welfare reforms are encouraging people into work," he said.

"By putting an end to runaway benefit claims and introducing a system which guarantees you will always be better off in work, we are incentivising people find employment.

"Every month hundreds of people who have been affected by the cap are making the positive move into work - gaining the financial security and esteem that comes with a job and a pay packet."

The reports, which include a study by Ipsos MORI and analysis from the DWP, which has been verified by the independent Institute for Fiscal Studies, found 11 per cent of households whose benefits were below the level of the cap were working after a year.

But among those who had seen their benefits cut when the cap was introduced, 19 per cent had found jobs 12 months later.

More than 30 per cent of claimants whose benefits were reduced by £200 per week or more had found jobs.

The DWP said more than 50,000 households have had their benefits capped since April 2013. Some 12,000 of these are no longer affected by the cap because they have found work or are no longer claiming housing benefit.

The policy caps the amount claimants aged from 16 to 64 can receive in housing benefit, jobseekers' allowance, incapacity benefit, and child benefit, among other benefits.

Before the cap was introduced, fewer than 300 of the highest claiming families received more than £9 million in benefits each year.

One of the studies concluded that claimants whose benefits are cut by the cap are 41 per cent more likely to go into work than those who receive just below the maximum amount in benefits.

Almost four in 10 people affected by the cap – 38 per cent – told researchers that they were doing more to look for work as a result of the policy.

One interviewee told the researchers: "It gave me the shock of my life. But it's given me the kick I need. I can see what the gentleman was saying, why should we pay for your lifestyle?

"We should want to work. We shouldn't sit on our backsides watching Jeremy Kyle. I genuinely do want to work."

Document 75

Benefits cap NOT helping poor find jobs - it just punishes them

The Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) found the "large majority" of those hit by the welfare clampdown had failed to find a job or been able to move to a cheaper house

By Jason Beatie

www.mirror.co.uk, 15 Dec 2014

The controversial benefit cap has punished the poor without helping them find work, Britain's most respected economic think tank has found.

The Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) found the "large majority" of those hit by the welfare clampdown had failed to find a job or been able to move to a cheaper house.

The cap - introduced by the Coalition in 2011 - limits the amount of benefits you can receive to £500 a week.

But analysis by the IFS said that most of its victims had struggled to find a job and had been forced to rely on friends or rack up debts to make ends meet.

The think tank said around 27,000 families had lost £70 each on average since the cap came into force, saving the Treasury £100million.

Despite claims it would encourage people to move to cheaper accommodation and find a job, the IFS found: "The large majority of affected claimants responded neither by moving into work nor by moving house."

Many had suffered a "very large reduction" in their income and were having to cut back on spending, run down savings, build up debts or get help from family or friends, the analysis said.

The findings contradicted Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith who claimed the cap showed the government's welfare reforms were "encouraging people into work".

"By putting an end to runaway benefit claims and introducing a system which guarantees you will always be better off in work, we are incentivising people to find employment.

"Every month hundreds of people who have been affected by the cap are making the positive move into work - gaining the financial security and esteem that comes with a job and a pay packet," he said.

But IFS deputy director Carl Emmerson pointed out that the saving of £100million a year had to be put in the context of "about £100billion" spent each year on working-age benefits.

"So the rationale for the policy can't really be about a significant contribution to, for example, deficit reduction," he told the BBC.

Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary Rachel Reeves said: "People should always be better off in work, which is why we are in favour of a benefit cap that is fair and effective.

"But the government needs to do far more to get people off benefits and into work, by adopting our plans to replace the failing Work Programme and implement a Compulsory Jobs Guarantee."

Use documents 74 and 75 to answer the questions :

1. What does the benefits cap policy consist in ?
2. *The Daily Telegraph* being a quality paper and *The Daily Mirror* a popular paper/a tabloid, what light do the two articles cast on that policy?

IV. GLOSSARY : KEY WORDS TO REMEMBER

Allowances/benefits/handouts : public financial aid

Jobseeker's allowance : sum of money to compensate for job loss

Benefit/welfare claimants/recipients : those who ask for social help/receive help

Benefit scroungers/spongers/slackers : those who live/scrounge/sponge off the state/to be workshy

A cheat : somebody who does not play by the rule ; to cheat

To milk the system (*Fam*): to take unfair advantage of

To skive (*Fam*): to avoid work/to shy away from work

The workshy/the idle : those who dislike work and try to avoid it as much as possible

Contributions : sum of money paid by workers to fund social security

Dole (*Fam*) : unemployment benefit ; to be/go/live on the dole

Department for Work and Pensions : governmental body responsible for welfare, pensions and child maintenance policy

To clamp down on/to slash : to cut/curtail drastically

To incentivize : to encourage # **to incite** : to provoke to action

To make ends meet : to have enough money to live on

Means-tested benefits : benefits whose amount depends on your income

Universal benefits : welfare benefits that are available to anyone regardless of level of income, for example the NHS

Universal credit : introduced in 2013 to replace six means-tested benefits like for example the jobseeker's allowance

(Old Age) Pensioners, OAP: those who have retired from the world of work and therefore are entitled to claim a pension

Retirement: end of a person's career

Welfare/Nanny state : refers to a government that protects you/overprotects you

V. GRAMMAR : FALSE FRIENDS

Be *sensible* : A false friend does not make sense

How to claim benefits = comment clamer des bénéfices ?

1. Translate into English

Actuellement, l'Etat-providence connaît des difficultés.
On *assiste* à des excès.
Les sommes versées aux allocataires peuvent être *importantes*.
Certains peuvent en tirer *profit*.
On les appelle les *assistés*.

2. Translate into French

Eventually the Elizabethan government *realized* they would have to introduce some kind of system to *support* the poor. (doc. 1)

Four detailed studies from the *Department* for Work and Pensions (DWP) will *deliver* the most *comprehensive evidence* so far that the *benefits cap* is encouraging people to move off welfare and into jobs. (doc. 7)

Most common false friends : *From* : www.oxfordlanguagedictionaries.com

French faux ami	English translation	English look-alike	French translation of look-alike
actuel	current, present	*actual*	réel, exact
actuellement	currently, at the moment	*actually*	en fait
agenda	diary	*agenda*	ordre du jour (*de réunion*)
allure	pace, speed; appearance; style	*allure*	attrait, charme
assister à	to be present at, attend	*assist*	aider
attendre	to wait (for)	*attend*	assister à
avertissement	warning	*advertisement*	publicité
balance	scales (*for weighing*)	*balance*	équilibre
blesser	to wound	*bless*	bénir
bribes	fragments	*bribes*	pots-de-vin
car	coach	*car*	voiture

cave	cellar	*cave*	*grotte*
chair	flesh	*chair*	*chaise,*
			fauteuil, siège
chance	luck	*chance*	*hasard*
coin	corner	*coin*	*pièce (de*
			monnaie)
déception	disappointment	*deception*	*tromperie,*
			duperie
demander	to ask for	*demand*	*exiger*
éventuellement	possibly, if necessary	*eventually*	*finalement*
fabrique	factory	*fabric*	*tissu*
formidable	great, terrific, fantastic	*formidable*	*redoutable;*
			impressionnant
génial	brilliant	*genial*	*cordial*
gentil	kind, nice, likeable	*gentle*	*doux*
injures	(verbal) abuse	*injuries*	*blessures*
journée	day	*journey*	*voyage*
lecture	reading (matter)	*lecture*	*cours magistral*
librairie	bookshop	*library*	*bibliothèque*
monnaie	change (*coins*)	*money*	*argent*
nouvelle	piece of news; short story	*novel*	*roman*
patron	boss	*patron*	*client*
préservatif	condom	*preservative*	*conservateur*
procès	trial	*process*	*processus*
prune	plum	*prune*	*pruneau*
prétendre	to claim	*pretend*	*faire semblant*
quitter	to leave	*quit*	*arrêter, cesser*
raisin	grape	*raisin*	*raisin sec*
rester	to stay	*rest*	*se reposer*
sensible	sensitive	*sensible*	sensible =
			raisonnable
stage	(training) course	*stage*	*stade*; (*Theat*)
			scène
sympathique	nice, pleasant	*sympathetic*	*compatissant,*
			compréhensif
tissu	fabric, material	*tissue*	*mouchoir en*
			papier
veste	jacket, coat *US*	*vest*	*maillot de corps*

WEEK 11 – CHURCH AND STATE

A. INTRODUCTION

The Protestant Reformation :

1517 : Martin Luther publishes 95 Theses, sparking the Protestant Reformation. Throughout all North Western Europe, people started to protest against the corruption that existed within Catholicism. They rejecting the leadership of the Pope and denying certain articles of faith (eg Purgatory, Indulgences, Holy Communion and other Sacraments).

The Church of England :

1521 King Henry VIII of England was awarded the title, 'Defender of the Faith'. in

1534 After the Pope's refusal to annul King Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, the King, by the **Act of Supremacy,** was made *« the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England. »*

1611: King James Version of the Bible is published.

B. READING COMPREHENSION

Document 76

Holy Redundant: Let's get Bishops out of Parliament

Andrew Copson, Chief Executive of the British Humanist Association, 26/04/2012

This week we learned that the parliamentary committee considering reform of the House of Lords voted 13-7 to support the government's plan for automatic places for Bishops to remain in a reformed chamber.

They will be reduced in number from 26 to 12, but since the total number of appointed members of the chamber will also decrease, this will actually increase the proportion of Bishops relative to other appointed members. While they currently make up about 3% of the appointed House, they would make up anything between 12% and 17% of the appointed part of the reformed House.

Only 35% of the committee members voting opposed special reserved places for Bishops, with 65% of them in favour: proportions which are almost the diametric opposite of public opinion. 71% of public respondents to the 2002 consultation on Lords reform wanted Bishops removed; 60% of people in a YouGov survey this year

wanted them out; an Ekklesia poll found that 74% of people opposed the automatic right of Anglican bishops to sit in the House of Lords, with only 21% thinking it right.

The total unrepresentativeness of the committee and the government's position is the reason for the launch of the 'Holy Redundant' campaign [1]today, which is encouraging the public to let their MPs know of their opposition to automatic places reserved for Bishops in our Parliament.

No sound arguments were given in the report of the committee as having been considered to lead to the conclusion that Bishops should remain. Boiled down, what argument that does appear seems to be that Bishops should stay because they want to and some people of other religions want them to stay as well.

The only explanation we're left with is that the Church is a powerful vested interest, supported by powerful vested interests - just the kind you'd think that reform designed to make parliament more democratic and accountable might take on - but the kind that often triumphs, and has done so again. It is now up to those MPs and peers who do care about a fair reform of the Lords to take them in in the debates which the Bill will now proceed to have.

It is difficult to think of what arguments could possibly be made against the fair-minded parliamentarians to whom this cause now falls. The argument of tradition - that we should have Bishops because we have had them for a long time and it's best to leave things as they are - is nonsensical at a time of reform. The argument that Bishops bring unique ethical expertise is insulting to all those peers and MPs who aren't Anglican Bishops (whose ethical views may not even be that representative of Christians anyway when you consider that 70% of Christians support assisted dying for the terminally ill and 100% of Bishops in Parliament voted against it). The argument that removing them would amount to disestablishment of the church is rejected by legal experts.

More importantly, no argument that Bishops have a contribution to make to Parliament is a sufficient case for their having special reserved places in Parliament - why can't we take their places through open election or appointment like anyone else? A route into the national parliament of a free and open country which is available to individuals solely by virtue of their religion, their gender and their position in the hierarchy of one particular denomination of one particular Church is an unworthy route for a modern democracy in a plural society.

1. *Which decision has the parliamentary committee taken ?*

2. *What's the general public opinion about the Lords ?*

3. *What's the author's view on the presence of Bishops in Parliament ?*

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[1] Following the vote on 20 November 2012 by the Church of England to not allow women to become Bishops an online petition was set up calling for the government to remove the right of the Church of England to have automatic seats in the House of Lords.

Document 77

A Separation of Church and State? Not in the UK, Mate

Tony Karon, June 09, 2011 *Time Magazine*

The British government has no mandate to pursue its austerity policies, according to Dr. Rowan Williams. Dr. Williams is not an opposition politician or firebrand activist; **he's the Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of the Church of England**. But in his capacity as guest-editor of the latest edition of the leftie magazine *New Statesman,* the Archbishop has torn into the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government of Prime Minister David Cameron, accusing it of implementing "**radical, long-term policies for which no one voted.**" That's a reference to an election that produced no clear winner, forcing the rare act of cohabitation, and to privatization-oriented policies in education and health that the cleric said were spreading fear in Britain.

Williams was no less scathing of the Labor Party opposition, challenging it to stop simply crying foul and explain its alternative policy: "We are still waiting for a full and robust account of what the left would do differently."

But nobody in Britain's political class has suggested any impropriety in the fact that a man of the cloth was using the moral authority of his pulpit to excoriate government policies. On the contrary, it's a time-honored tradition in Britain, and as former Conservative cabinet minister and Margaret Thatcher acolyte Norman Tebbit noted, **such political interventions are "part of [the Archbishop's] job."** Former Prime Minister Tony Blair concurred, saying Bishops attacking the government is a tradition in British politics, recounting his own experience over the Iraq invasion. "It is just part of the way things work. I should imagine the govenrment will say they are relaxed about it, and just get on with the things they want to do."

Indeed, Prime Minister Cameron responded by affirming Williams' right to express his views, even if those ideas were wrongheaded. "I've never been one to say that the Church should fight shy of making political intervention," said Cameron.

The Church of England has always been **an institution of state** at the same time as playing a **global role as the mother church of the Anglican World Communion.** It was created, after all, in response to the refusal of the Vatican to annul the marriage of Henry VIII to Catherine of Aragon. And to this day, while Williams is its **primate**, the Church of England's Supreme Governor is Queen Elizabeth II, who is also the head of state.

In its contemporary incarnation, the Church of England has long been a repository of progressive social and political ideas, and successive governments, whether Conservative or Labour, have typically faced criticism from the Church on their left flank.

Williams, in fact, offered a broad progressive challenge to political conventional wisdom in his own critique, stressing the importance of a theological tradition "that is not about 'the poor' as objects of kindness but about the nature of sustainable community, seeing it as one in which what circulates – like the flow of blood – is the mutual creation of capacity, building the ability of the other person or group to become, in turn, a giver of life and responsibility."

"A democracy that would measure up to this sort of ideal – religious in its roots but not exclusive or confessional – would be one in which the central question about any policy would be: how far does it equip a person or group to engage generously and for the long term in building the resourcefulness and well-being of any other person or group, with the state seen as a 'community of communities'...?"

That the leader of the national Church would traffic in ideas he freely acknowledge come from the earlier socialist tradition of "syndicalism" is a reminder that the C of E, as it is known, has hardly followed the latter-day drift to the political right of its Catholic forebears.

And talking of Catholics, Tony Blair — who converted to Catholicism once out of office (Britain has never had a Catholic Prime Minister) — was making waves of his own in Britain this week, while touting a paperback edition of his memoir, *The Journey.* In a new foreword, he urges — among other things — a more interventionist Western role in the Arab Spring. Autocratic regimes in the Arab world must "change or be changed," Blair urged, and where they respond with violence to demands for peaceful change and close down the path of reform, the West should stand ready to intervene as it has done in Libya — and to use force, where necessary, on a wider front than is currently the case.

But Britons don't necessarily share Blair's enthusiasm for democratic crusading in the Arab world. Certainly not Archbishop Williams, who savaged the then-Prime Minister's decision-making and rhetoric that took Britain into Iraq. Nor the party faithful, whose backlash to his unpopular decision to join President Bush's invasion of Iraq ultimately cost Blair his job.

1. Who is Dr. Rowan Williams ? What did he say about David Cameron's government ?

2. Is it common to have Bishops criticizing the government in the UK ?

3. What are the two roles played by the Church of England ?

4. How does the Church consider democracy ?

5. According to you, can the Church have an influence on policy-making ?

Church of England Votes to Allow Women Bishops

By Louise Stewart, *Newsweek*, 15 July 2014

In a historic vote that took place Monday at the University of York, the highest governing body of the Church of England voted overwhelmingly in favor of admitting female bishops into its ranks.

The change overturns centuries of Anglican tradition in England. It required a two-thirds majority by the ruling General Synod, which is composed of the House of Bishops, House of Clergy and House of Laity.

The House of Bishops recorded 37 votes in favor, two against, and one abstention; the House of Clergy had 162 in favor, 25 against, and four abstentions; and in the House of Laity there were 152 in favor, 45 against, and five abstentions.

The church has been deeply divided over the issue for decades. The previous two times similar legislation has been brought to the table, nasty debates ensued. On Monday, however, a tone of tolerance governed the back-and-forth that took place in the synod chamber immediately prior to the vote. More than 60 leaders were given the opportunity to voice their varying opinions, and several ended their speeches with statements of respect for those who disagree.

The last time the synod voted on this issue was 18 months ago. Though the House of Bishops and House of Clergy voted to pass it, traditionalists outnumbered supporters of the change by six votes in the House of Laity. At the time, the archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, said, "the church lost a measure of credibility" over the vote.

Paula Gooder, a theologian who voted in favor of the change both times, was devastated when it did not pass in 2012. On BBC television she said of the debate then versus now, "The tone in the synod chamber last time was really difficult and very angry and hard to experience, whereas this time was much more welcoming and accepting."

The change of tone was in large part due to the addition of compromises to the legislation. The measure that passed on Monday contained concessions for traditionalists unwilling to serve under a woman bishop, giving them the right to ask for a male alternative and to take disputes to an independent arbitrator. Though some in favor of the change worry that this may undermine female bishops' authority, most were willing to take that risk in order to see the legislation pass.

Though the added concessions played a key role in changing the outcome of the vote, some voters also reported experiencing a change of heart with regard to the issue over the last 18 months. Among those who voted differently today than in 2012, is the bishop of Dorchester, Colin Fletcher. Addressing the synod prior to the vote, Fletcher explained that he used to believe, as most who oppose the legislation

do, the Bible teaches that male leadership of the church is God's will. He said that he interprets scripture differently now.

Many women interpret the Bible as Fletcher once did. According to a BBC report, more than 2,000 women within the Church of England signed a petition against the change.

Explaining why she would be voting against the legislation, lay member Sarah Finch said during Monday's debate, "The pattern for church life that we find in scripture points to a God-given male leadership."

Synod member Jane Bisson of Canterbury shares Finch's view. She stood before the chamber and spoke of Mary Magdalene's status as a disciple rather than an apostle as evidence that woman's place in the church is second to man's. BBC aired a clip of her asking the audience, "Have we said that the Bible doesn't matter anymore, and it's the world that we now follow?"

But another female clergy member cited the Bible in her argument supporting the change. Jennifer Thomlinson of Chelmsford referred the synod chamber to Galatians 3:27-28, which says, "All of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free man, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

The Church of England, which broke from the Roman Catholic Church in the 16th century, has the largest Christian denomination in Britain. It has a presence in more than 160 countries and, across them, over 80 million members.

Women bishops are already in office in a number of Anglican Communion branches in other countries, including the U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, India, South Africa, Cuba and Swaziland. According to BBC, there are currently between 20 and 30 active Anglican female bishops in the world.

The Most Reverend Katharine Jefferts Schori is the current leader of the U.S. branch, the Episcopal Church. The Huffington Post reports, "Episcopalians also ordain gay priests, bless same-sex marriages and voted in 2012 to ordain transgender priests."

Oxford clergywoman Rosie Harper urged the audience to think about how the rest of the world views the church, implying that their power and visibility on the global stage comes with an added dimension of social responsibility. She mentioned the plight of women in Cairo and those abducted in Nigeria, saying that religion is often to blame. "The Church of England should make a stand for those women by voting yes today," Harper said.

To this statement, lay member Lorna Ashworth of Chichester, responded, saying that the lack of women bishops has nothing to do with the suffering of women around the world. "Those sufferings are caused by sin," according to Ashworth. She voted against the change.

Archbishop of York John Sentamu told *USA Today* on Monday, "This is a momentous day. Generations of women have served the Lord faithfully in the Church of England for centuries. It is a moment of joy today."

Archbishop of Canterbury Justin Welby is also "delighted" with the result. He said in a

statement, "Today is the completion of what was begun over 20 years [ago] with the ordination of women as priests."

When the Church of England decided in 1992 to allow women to be priests, the motion passed by only one vote. Today, about a third of the Church's clergy are women. The first female bishops in England could be appointed as early as next year. The political establishment has expressed its support. On Twitter, Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg declared this to be a "big moment for the Church of England."

1. *Which major decision was taken by the highest governing body of the Church of England ?*
2. *How different was the climate of the vote this time ?*
3. *Which concessions were introduced for traditionalists to accept the change ?*
4. *Why would some women within the Church vote against the change ?*
5. *What's the difference between the Church of England in the UK and in other parts of the world ?*
6. *How is the Church of England called in the USA ?*
7. *What happened 20 years ago ?*

Document 79

Women bishops to be fast-tracked into Lords

Carey Lodge, Christiantoday.com, December 19th, 2014

A bill to fast-track women bishops into the House of Lords was introduced in Parliament yesterday.
The legislation proposes that the 21 "spiritual" seats be given to women bishops as they become available, rather than to the longest-serving bishop as is currently law. This provision would remain in place for 10 years.

Constitution minister Sam Gymiah explained in a statement to MPs that unless the current law is changed, "it would be many years before women bishops were represented in the Lords".
"With the way clear for the first women to be appointed, it is right that those women should be among the bishops who occupy seats in the House of Lords (known as Lords Spiritual)," Gymiah said.
"The government's bill, which is supported by the Church of England, proposes a modification of this rule for the next 10 years, so that if a female bishop is available when a Lords Spiritual seat becomes vacant, they will automatically be appointed to the House of Lords."
Gymiah added that were no female bishop available, the vacant seat would be given to the next most senior male bishop, as is the current custom.

The Church of England has welcomed the Lords Spiritual (Women) Bill. Bishop of Leicester, Tim Stevens, who is convenor of bishops in the House of Lords said

women bishops would "enrich and strengthen the leadership of the Church of England".

"We are very confident that they will also enrich and strengthen our voice in the House of Lords," he added.

"We have reason to suppose that this is supported from all sides of both Houses and we are grateful to the business managers for making time to get this minor amendment to the law in place as soon as possible."

Downing Street announced on Wednesday that Rev Libby Lane, a vicar in the Chester diocese, will be the first woman bishop in the Church of England. She will be consecrated in January as the Bishop of Stockport.

However, because she will not be a diocesan bishop, she will not be among those fast-tracked into the House of Lords. Southwell and Nottingham is understood to have women on its shortlist for a new diocesan bishop and Oxford is also likely to consider women when the appointments process begins next year.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, has been a key voice in the movement to allow women bishops in the Church of England. He earlier commended the decision "a change of historical significance" and has praised female vicars, archdeacons and deans for their "outstanding leadership".

Upon Lane's appointment, he said: "I am absolutely delighted that Libby has been appointed to succeed Bishop Robert Atwell as Bishop of Stockport. Her Christ-centred life, calmness and clear determination to serve the church and the community make her a wonderful choice.

"She will be bishop in a diocese that has been outstanding in its development of people, and she will make a major contribution. She and her family will be in my prayers during the initial excitement, and the pressures of moving."

There are 26 Lords Spiritual in total, but the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishops of London, Durham and Winchester are given automatic seats.

It is understood that a second reading of the bill will be scheduled early in 2015.

1. *What's this new bill about ?*

2. *Which impact could women have on the Church of England ?*

C. LISTENING COMPREHENSION

Document 80

: « Anglican church may change stance on gay marriage »
A new report commissioned, by the Church of England itself, finds that the Church should lift its ban on the blessing of same-sex relationships.

Originally aired on *Morning Report*, Friday 29 November 2013
http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/morningreport/audio/2578085/anglican-church-may-change-stance-on-gay-marriage

1. *Which recommandation did the Church announce ? Is it in accordance with the one it gave 7 months ago ?*

2. *What does the report say about the blessings of same-sex relationships ?*

3. *How will people react on both ends of the Church ?*

4. *What does that mean for other Anglican churches around the world ?*

D. WHAT YOU NEED TO REMEMBER

Link the following words to their definition

The Primate of the church of England	Someone who supervises a number of local churches or a diocese.
The Scriptures	Also called Spiritual Peers, the 26 bishops of the Church of England who serve in the House of Lords along with the Lords Temporal.
Lords Temporal	The secular members of the House of Lords.
The General synod	A bishop of higher rank.
A bishop	The deliberative and legislative body of the Church of England. consisting of the House of Bishops, the House of Clergy and the House of Laity. There are currently 467 members in total.
The Archbishop	The Archbishop of Canterbury who is called The Most Reverend.
Lords Spiritual	The sacred writings of the Old or New Testaments.

E. CARTOONS

Document 81

In the week that Gordon Brown, prime minister of Great Britain, nationalised three of the UK's largest banks, it only made sense that at some point the Church may well need government financial intervention. First published in the BT, 16/10/08, *https://cakeordeathcartoon.wordpress.com/2008/10/*

Document 82

"It's to appease the traditionalists."

http://www.cartoonstock.com/directory/c/church_of_england.asp

F. GRAMMAR : Link words

I. Fill in the sentences with the following link words : besides, therefore, despite, whereas, nevertheless, instead of, however, even though

1. The appointment of women bishops has been fiercely opposed by traditionalists _____the growing role of women in the clergy.

2. Membership of the Lords Spiritual is restricted to 26 members _____ the church has 44 dioceses.

3. Catholic priests cannot get married _____Anglican ones can.

4. "I only wish Libby had been made a diocesan bishop _____ a suffragan bishop," said American-born Christina Rees, a member of the House of Laity in the General Synod.

5. Mrs Lane came to the Church independently. Her parents were not regular churchgoers and her spiritual journey began when, at the age of 11, she started going to church with a friend. But her path to becoming our first female bishop has _____been heavily influenced by her family.

6. The Church is ready to accept homosexuals in its community. _____, the acceptance of unions between people of the same sex cannot be considered on the same footing as matrimony between man and woman.

7. _____being England's national church, the Church of England is also the mother church of the Anglican World Communion.

8. Rev Lane is a suffragan bishop and is _____ not allowed to sit in the House.

II. Complete the following sentences

1. Since her nomination as a bishop, Libby Lane_____
_____

2. Although the Church is more open towards women, _____
_____

3. In spite of strong opposition from Conservative members of the Church, _____
_____

4. Unless the current law on the admittance of women to the House of Lords is changed_____
_____

WEEK 12 - UK UNIVERSITIES

—PART 1: THE DARK SIDE—

1/ Explain to the class what "A-Level results" refer to and how important they are when applying for a university place.

2/ How have tuition fees evolved for the last 20 years in the UK?

	1998	2004	2010
Prime minister/ political party			Conservative David Cameron formed a coalition government with Lib-Dem
Annual tuition fee in £ for an English university			£9,000

3/ What is the equivalent in euros £9,000? →

4/ What are the two basic differences between the French and the English language in the way prices are indicated? →

A. READING COMPREHENSION

Document 83

Tuition fees increase led to 15,000 fewer applicants. Coalition's controversial education reforms have led to a 'clear drop' in students applying for university places, Jeevan Vasagar

The Guardian, Thursday 9 August 2012 (abridged version).

The increase in **tuition fees** to a maximum of £9,000 a year has led to a "clear drop" in the number of English students **applying for** university places this autumn, an independent analysis of the impact of the coalition's controversial reform has found. There are 15,000 "missing" applicants who might have been expected to have sought a place on a **degree course** this academic year but did not, according to the Independent Commission on Fees. The raising of fees prompted violent protests on the streets of London and inflicted deep damage on the reputation of the Liberal Democrats, who went into the election pledging to vote against a fee rise. Published a week before **A-level** results come out, the report says that the number of university

applicants in England dropped by 8.8% this year compared with **the tally** for 2010. And there was a 7.2% fall in numbers of 18- and 19-year-old applicants in England between this year and 2010, the last year of applications before **the cap** on tuition fees was raised.

The decline in England has not been mirrored in other parts of the UK where fees have not been raised, and the drop can only partly be explained by falling numbers of young people in the population, the commission says. Students from Scotland **attending** Scottish universities do not pay fees, while the Welsh assembly says it will pay fees above £3,465 for Welsh students attending UK institutions. Fees for students from Northern Ireland are also capped at £3,465.

About one person in 20 who would have been expected to have applied to university this year (if the trend of increasing application rates among English school-leavers was maintained) did not do so, the report says. This equates to approximately 15,000 young applicants (...).

"We're asking our young men and women to assume more debt than any other country in the world – it's higher than the average debt in the US. It's not clear whether those lost this year will return to the fold next year, or [if] it's a storm warning of a worrying trend."

The commission's report says there does not seem to be a disproportionate impact on poorer or less advantaged communities. The commission found there was no significant change in the application rate to the most selective universities, such as Oxford or Cambridge.

The average tuition fee at English universities this year is £8,385, rising to £8,507 next year. UK and EU students are entitled to take out government-backed loans to pay the fees(...).

"Although it is too early to draw any firm conclusions, this study provides initial evidence that increased fees have an impact on application behaviour. There's a clear drop in application numbers from English students when compared to their counterparts in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

"On a positive note, we are pleased to see that, at this stage, there has been no relative drop-off in applicants from less advantaged neighbourhoods. We will continue to monitor a range of indicators as the fee increases work their way through the system." A National Foundation for Educational Research **survey** of pupils found tuition fees and overall university costs were the most common factors **deterring** young people from studying for a degree. However the survey of 1,000 pupils aged 15-18, conducted this April, found that the majority expected to go on to higher education. Liam Burns, president of the National Union of Students, said: "We have always said it would be a tragedy if any young person **were put off** applying to or going to university because of financial concerns."

Any inquiry into the impact of fees had to look beyond applications to explore how varying fee levels affected the choices made by candidates from different

backgrounds, Burns said. Demand for university places still outstrips supply, and A-level results next Thursday will **trigger** a scramble for places. There were 700,000 applicants for university last year, of whom 492,030 were accepted. So far this year, there have been more than 618,000 applications for about the same number of degree course places (...).

A spokeswoman at the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills which is responsible for universities, said: "Even with a small reduction in applications, this will still be a competitive year like any other as people continue to understand that university remains a good long-term investment in their future". "Students should not be put off going to university for financial reasons. Most students will not have to pay upfront, and no one will have to start **paying back** their student **loan** until they start to earn at least £21,000 per year."

Work on vocabulary:

1/ Here is a list of words taken from the article. Circle those that are related to university and underline those associated with money. In pairs discuss the meaning of the words you do not understand and complete the VOCABULARY SECTION.
tuition fees - to apply for - a degree course - A-Level - the tally - to attend - the cap - loans - deterring - the survey - were put off - to trigger - had graduated

2/ Look for synonyms of words indicating numbers are going up or down and indicate their grammatical function.

	More and more	Less and less
Verb		
Noun		
Adjective		

Questions on the text:

1/ What is the reform about? Who is concerned?
2/ What are the consequences of such a reform? How did people react?
3/ "We're asking our young men and women to assume more debt than any other country in the world". How do you react to this quote from the text?
4/ Choose one of the two subjects and prepare a convincing speech.
→ You are one of the reform makers and you must explain the students why you introduced such a reform.
→ You are the spokesperson of your university's students' union, what arguments are you going to put forward to have this reform repealed.

Document 84

Students turn to gambling and medical trials to fund university,
Harriet Meyer,
The Guardian, Friday 31 May 2013

Students are resorting to high-risk strategies to fund the ever-increasing cost of living, according to a survey by money advice website Save the Student.

In an attempt to get hold of extra cash one in five students has turned to gambling with their limited funds, while one in four said they would consider selling their body for medical trials or take a job in the adult entertainment industry.

A small proportion (2%) said they would consider contacting a payday loan company to access cash.

The survey of 2,332 students found that living costs had soared over the last 12 months, with 80% of respondents worried about having enough money to live on.

The average monthly outgoings was up by £77 to £763. Rent remains the biggest factor, with the average amount spent on this rising by £128 a month to £358.

Securing a part-time job is still the most popular way students look to tackle money troubles, with two-thirds holding such a role or looking for one. More than a half of students rely heavily on their parents for financial support, despite nearly two-thirds claiming they feel their parents don't help them enough. Meanwhile, only 8% would turn to their university in a financial emergency, preferring instead a trip to their bank.

Jake Butler, editor of Save the Student, said: "It is clear that now more than ever before students require much more in the way of support, awareness and wider education when it comes to personal finance.

"Maintenance loans only go so far to cover the rising cost of living. It's also important that students are made aware that support is there for those who really need it."

Pete Mercer, vice-president for welfare at the National Union of Students (NUS), said his organisation's own research had revealed similar stories from people struggling to make ends meet.

"Students are having to take ever more desperate measures to raise money including dangerous jobs, gambling and payday loans. Students tell us that even small amounts of commercial debt significantly increase stress and stop them concentrating on their studies," Mercer said.

"Students are far from the only people facing these kinds of pressures but their traditional financial support networks of government loans and family gifts are not covering costs as they once were. Some students may lack the experience or knowledge to understand the risks hidden by irresponsible advertising."

Questions on the text:

1/ Why do students need more and more money? What is the most expensive factor?
2/ What are the traditional financial supports mentioned by the journalist?
3/ What solutions have students found to cover the living costs?
4/ What are the consequences of such methods?

Document 85

<h1 style="text-align:center">Rise of the stay-at-home students, Lucy Tobin,</h1>

The Guardian, Friday 12 August 2011

http://www.theguardian.com/money/2011/aug/12/stay-at-home-students - comments

If there were an index tracking sales of cheap kettle-and-toaster sets, it would surely be sloping downwards. The kitchen starter-kit was once a crucial purchase for every undergraduate in the country. But surging fees and the impact of the recession has seen the rise of the stay-at-home student. With accommodation in student halls now costing an average of more than £3,800 a year, thousands of undergraduates are opting to study for a degree while living with mum and dad to avoid building up a mountain of debt.

Last year, more than 310,000 students opted to study at local universities while living at home, according to the government's Higher Education Statistics Agency. That is 19% of all undergraduates – up from just 8% in 1984. The main reason, according to research from Liverpool University, is financial pressure. The research shows that nearly eight in 10 students living with their parents do so to save money. And with estimates suggesting students will pay an average of £48,409 in living costs and course charges when tuition fees triple next September, the trend for stay-at-home students is set to grow. A survey by HSBC last month found more than a quarter of parents plan to ask their children to live at home during the university years to help keep costs down.

For some, it is a perfect solution. Ricky Lawless, 21, has just finished his third and final year studying diagnostic radiography at St George's, University of London. He spent his time commuting on a 25-minute train ride from his home in Thornton Heath, south London, to campus. "I wasn't planning on staying at home, but I got my place at St George's through clearing, and when I realised how close it was, I thought I'd avoid spending loads on halls," he explains. "I'd planned to make friends and work out who I wanted to live with in my second year, but after buying a £600 train season ticket, I found it really easy to get from home to lectures, friends and nights out."

Lawless made the train journey about 15 times each week. "After my first year, I realised my course placements were nearer my home than the actual campus so I ended up staying with my parents."

Lawless's tuition fees were paid for by the NHS, and his family background made him eligible for a £3,000-a-year means-tested bursary.

That, plus living at home and working in part-time jobs, meant he avoided going into the red. "I earned about £3,000 a year working as a swimming pool lifeguard and hospital healthcare assistant," he says. "My parents said they wouldn't ask me for rent until I had a full-time job, and I don't drink alcohol, so that saved me loads. Apart from the train, my biggest expense was going out every Tuesday and Friday night, and rounds for all of my mates." Despite getting the drinks in, Lawless says he is set to graduate with savings of around £13,500.

But he admits it was tougher to be fully involved in campus life while living at home – indeed, the Liverpool research found only a fifth of stay-at-home students were involved in extra-curricular activities, compared with 70% of those living on campus.

For many, being a commuter-student is not a first choice. Susan Garfirth, 20, has just finished her first year of education studies and social care at Northampton University. "On my Ucas form I put down five different courses at Northampton, purely because it's a 15-minute drive from my home," she says. "I come from a single-parent family – my mum's a teaching assistant – so it would have been too expensive to move away to halls. I would have got myself into awful debt."

Garfirth receives a £2,000 maintenance grant and £1,000 university bursary, but pays for the family food shopping as well as vet bills for her two cats, so still has to take out a student loan to get by. "I'm desperately hoping to cope without it in my third year – I want to avoid the extra debt," she says. To that end, she has just started a part-time job at sandwich chain Subway. "But the bills for books, petrol and car costs all add up."

At freshers' week, Garfirth felt nervous that she'd struggle to make friends while living at home. "I felt like I couldn't go out to the union with everyone else, because I couldn't drink and drive. But then I met a good friend from my course, and now I stay on her floor after a night out. In fact, living at home has worked out pretty well, even though I hated the idea to start with. After a long day at uni I can come home and cook myself a nice meal, then go to bed without worrying about fire alarms going off at three in the morning."

It is Mum that does the cooking for Hannah Elder, 20, who is going into her second year studying TV production at Bournemouth University next month. That, she says, is one of the plus points of living at home. "Initially, I considered moving into a uni let because I was worried about struggling to meet new people and felt as if I needed to live with other students," she says. But after totting up the cost of halls, and realising commuting to uni meant she could keep her part-time job in a residential care home, she decided to stay put.

She has some regrets however. "If you live at home you have to make that extra bit of effort to go to parties and nights out. After my first year of uni, I've learnt that I need to make more of an effort to go out and socialise with friends from my course next term. Sometimes it's harder to get the energy to go out to town, because I don't live across the road from the clubs like other students. But if you never go, then you stop being invited."

Elder also admits she doesn't feel as independent as other students, and is hoping to move out in her third year. She does, however, feel closer to her family. "I thought living at home would mean I'd be fed up of still seeing my parents every day and that my relationship with them would worsen, but it really hasn't," she says. "They don't constantly check up on me, but do encourage me to socialise and have nights out – they want me to make the most of uni. I'm lucky to have supportive parents. They'll probably be the ones who will be sick of having me around if I don't move out within the next couple of years."

Questions on the text:

1/ Why do more and more students live with their parents?
2/ What are the advantages of such a solution?
3/ What are the drawbacks?

--PART 2: THE BRIGHT SIDE—

Document 86

Which university societies should you join? Mirren Gidda,
The Guardian, Tuesday 17 September 2013

As a fresher, your priority may be stocking up on UV paint, glowsticks and paracetamol, but joining a society should also be high on your list of things to do.

University can be surprisingly lonely in the first year and a society can give you a much needed sense of routine and regularity. It enables you to meet like-minded people outside of your course and your halls. Most importantly, becoming a society member is the best way to feel involved with the university. So the only real question is – how do you choose which society, or societies, to join?

Freshers' fair is your best chance to find out about the wide range of societies on offer.

University College London, for example, has 229 societies that can be viewed on the union's clubs and societies directory. But you can only truly learn if dinosaur appreciation society is for you by visiting their stall.

Once you're at freshers' fair try and visit all the stands; don't just stick to activities that you know. You never know what you might discover (morris dancing society anyone?).

Sign up for any societies that interest you; this doesn't mean you're obliged to become a member, but you'll receive emails about upcoming events and meetings which may be of interest.

For the sporty ones among you, your university will have a number of teams for you to join, from the competitive firsts, to the more relaxed amateur teams. Sports-mad medics may also have their own team operating separately to the university clubs, for example, and so may other courses.

Even if PE wasn't your thing at school, why not consider the more unusual sports on offer?

Sophie Corish, a third year student at Bristol University who joined the fencing society for the rather spurious reason of "the advantageous boy-girl ratio", found herself making lifelong friends and is running their stall at this year's freshers' fair.

Matt Cox, a third year student at De Montfort University, joined his university's korfball team, "a mixed-sex, faster-paced version of netball" because, "the club captain who I met at freshers' fair was engaging and got me intrigued so I went along just to try it."

Rob Ingham Clark, a recent graduate of the University of East Anglia, joined the men's lacrosse team on a hungover whim and because "it seemed more accessible and also completely different to the more mainstream sports teams, like football or rugby, where members have been playing since they were 10."

He says: "Some of my strongest friendships were made in the club, I was club secretary in second year and social secretary in third year."

Tom Riddington, a graduate of King's College London, sadly didn't have such a positive experience. He eagerly joined the kayaking society, "only to meet up with fellow members in local swimming pools..."

Societies are also a great way for you to participate in causes that really matter to you. Lilia Smith, a third year student at University College London, joined vegetarian society. She says: "It's worth joining an unusual society if it's about issues that you are actually interested in. I met some interesting people and found out things to do with vegetarianism that I wouldn't have known otherwise. You can always drop out if you don't like it."

Alanna Sargent, a second year student at King's College London, regrets dismissing her university's Sexpression Society, "which I thought was kind of wacky at freshers' fair. It's actually a really awesome sex ed volunteering society for medical students!"

Most universities have a range of volunteering opportunities. Georgie, a third year student at University College London, began working as a mentor for Debate Mate, an educational charity which aims to empower young people by teaching them debating skills. She says: "Debate Mate was a really worthwhile thing to do, I felt like I was making a difference and had the opportunity to participate in an activity outside of UCL."

A natural sciences student at UCL joined Disability in Camden, a volunteering organisation with the aim of helping the disabled. She joined "to provide company and help the less fortunate" and found the experience very rewarding.

Arts societies make up a huge number of societies within universities. Ranging from visual arts to performing arts to music and media they are often a hotbed of creativity and innovative ideas.

But they can sometimes seem intimidating and close-knit, particularly if they're involved in producing something, be it a magazine, theatre show or concert.

Julie Ann Hartigan, a third year student at University College London, joined the Modo fashion society but left after "feeling too intimidated by driven people discussing the fashion show. It's a cool society but I was just too shy as a fresher to speak up."

But don't give up on these societies, they'll be really eager to have new members and want to hear your input, just don't be afraid to voice it.

If there's something you're interested in or love to do, then chances are there's a society at your university devoted to it.

A common regret for many graduates is not joining a club or society. As the NUS points out, joining can "equip you with essential marketable skills". Joining a society that's relevant to your desired career is not just fun, but can be a real boost to your CV.

Whatever your passion or interest, it's bound to be represented in some form by a society. Of course, you'll have to drag yourself out of bed and into freshers' fair to find out.

Questions on the text:

1/ What is 'a fresher' and what is a 'Fresher's Fair'?
2/ From what you've understood, explain what a society is and give precise examples taken from the article.

2/ Why do students join societies?
3/ What is the journalist's advice to choose a society?
4/ Which society would you join and why?

Document 87

Students: your university society could help you get a job,
Lauren Razavi, *The Guardian*, Monday 20 January 2014

There's a society for just about every interest at university and joining is a great way to make friends. But the value of getting involved can also improve your employability and help you to get a job.

Jay Lawrence, station manager of Livewire 1350FM at the University of East Anglia, believes that getting involved with student journalism has helped him decide what he wants to do when he graduates. He says: "When you find something that you're really enthusiastic about it shapes what you want to do in the future. It's a natural progression."

Recent graduate Polly Grice works as a researcher in travel and lifestyle atAbsolute Publishing. Student journalism was a great starting point for her career and made her stand out as a potential employee.

She says: "It's easy to say you like writing about travel, but having edited the travel section of my student newspaper, I could say to an employer: here are some travel articles I wrote and here are the pages I produced when I took control of the section.

"I showed that I could write a story, that I knew how to work in a team and above all that I was prepared to work hard. That got me the work experience, and then two weeks of proving myself led to my current role."

Ann Chan, president of University College London's entrepreneurs society, emphasises the benefits of developing transferable skills. She says:

"Entrepreneurship is about seeking opportunities, knowing how things work, and ultimately making ideas happen. This mindset and these base skills allow our members to enter trades they are passionate about, and prepares them for careers in a wide range of industries."

Emily Mason, business development manager at global advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi, believes that student societies develop useful skills that employers are looking for.

Advertisement

She says: "Leadership, entrepreneurialism, negotiation, teamwork, collaboration, diplomacy and persuasion are all very important in our industry and many of our applicants demonstrate these skills through extra-curricular activities.

"Many of our recent hires have been part of university societies, from sport and drama clubs to student papers and marketing and advertising-related societies."

Abbie Baisden, content editor for graduate recruitment website Milkround, says: "When we employ our campus promotion managers, student clubs and societies are always impressive on a CV. They show commitment to something aside from your degree, and makes you what I refer to as a three-dimensional candidate."

If you take a managing role at your university society it can be particularly useful when you graduate, says Nicole Tiller, graduate recruitment manager for John Lewis. She says: "Being involved in a student society may give a student the opportunity to take on a leadership role, set vision and direction for a team, motivate others, and utilise creativity in solving problems."

Employers are looking for graduates who think for themselves, and getting stuck in to a uni society can be a good way to demonstrate this.

Lawrence says: "Livewire gave me the experience to go to a local community station with more listeners and present a show. When Coldplay came to play our student's union, I organised a radio Q&A with Zane Lowe and his team. And because of my role as station manager, a programme controller at Heart contacted me recently looking for interns."

University of Bristol graduate Leah Eades is currently an editorial assistant at science publisher Research Media. She was involved in a range of different societies while she studied, most of them revolving around writing and media.

She says: "Being involved in so many societies has helped me get into the industry I wanted. Media and publishing are incredibly experience-based. If I hadn't been involved at university, why would any employer believe this was something I was interested in?"

Lawrence thinks the time he spent at his student radio has made him more employable. He says: "I've dedicated hundreds of hours to student radio. It's a huge commitment, but if you're passionate about something and you're dedicated to it, that's only going to look good to employers."

Questions on the text:

1/ What is a society?
2/ What are the advantages of joining a society?
3/ Explain this quote from the text 'improve your employability'.

--LISTENING COMPREHENSION—
Document 88

UK students choose European universities as tuition fees rise, BBC News, 23 September 2011
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3VavZpNG-_g

1/ Why has Amsterdam University College become a popular destination among British students?
2/ How many British students are there in the University of Amsterdam?
3/ How much is a year in the different European universities?
4/ Does studying in the University of Amsterdam only have advantages?
5/ Would you say it is an easy decision to take? Explain.

--CARTOONS--

What is the message of these cartoons?

Document 90

'Look, Simon. Mummy and Daddy have brought you a hoodie - why not bunk off school and join a nice gang of yobs?'
By Mac, The Daily Mail, 12 October 2010

Document 91

Do stop complaining Julian. You're moving to Auchtermuchty and changing your name to Angus McTavish.'
By Mac, The Daily Mail, 24 August
2011http://ec.tynt.com/b/rf?id=bBOTTqvd0r3Pooab7jrHcU&u=DailyMail

-- GRAMMAR SECTION-- Question Form.

Make sure you know how to formulate a question in English with the help of your grammar book.

- Ask a question for each of the underlined parts of the following sentences.

1/ Since I started studying law in University College London in 2013, I've ruined my parents.

2/ My tuition fee is £7,500 this year.

3/ Students who want to get into Oxford will need at least a minimum of AAA A-level grades.

4/ I used to play the guitar every day.

- Reorder the sentences:

1/ Ed Miliband / did / Corpus Christi College / the University of Oxford / at / from / graduate ?

2/ really / with / this / are / situation / you / pleased ?

3/ pay / to / back / managed / you / debt / your / have ?

--VOCABULARY SECTION—

Find the meaning of the following words (see texts)

to afford: to be able to pay
A-Level:
to apply for:
to attend:
a controversy (noun) / controversial (adjective)
a degree course:
a fresher:
a graduate:
to graduate:
a loan:
to pay back: to reimburse
to protest: to express your anger in the streets
a tuition fee:
to raise: to increase
to rise:
to soar: