

W/SERD NEWS

Wales Institute of Social & Economic
Research, Data & Methods

The Generation Issue



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A Welcome from the WISERD Director



Professor Ian Rees Jones
WISERD Director

Tolstoy was deeply concerned with historical change and his novel tracks the experiences and inter-relationships of generations and families in the context of major events and long term social and economic transformations. Viewing the novel from the perspective of Generation adds to the pathos of the epilogue as we see the earlier youthful romantic figures living out their lives in a different time.

Today the term Generation has a good deal of popular appeal with references in the media to different generational groups such as the Millennial Generation or Generation Y - the demographic cohort that came after Generation X - talk of which makes me feel very old. In addition there is a good deal of concern about inter-generational relations which is perhaps an indication of its continued importance for social science.

But we have to recognise that the concept of generation is a tricky one that is full of ambiguities. For some social scientists this is reason enough to discard the term, while for others the concept of Generation, from Karl Mannheim's classic work on generations onwards, still offers important insights into social life. Generation might be referred to as a principle of kinship descent, but it could also be a term that is related to a cohort of people born around the same time. Equally it could refer to a stage in the life cycle, while in other uses

One thing I've learnt this New Year is that it is easier to watch War and Peace on television than to read it.

generation is more closely associated with a historical period. Often these different meaning are mixed up and are difficult to unpick, and perhaps because of this Generation has powerful rhetorical and political qualities.

These are evident in recent debates about a so called 'selfish' generation, about generation conflict and, perhaps most disturbingly, in shallow justifications for austerity policies on the basis that they are somehow designed to protect future generations from inheriting debt. Protecting future generations is double edged and needs to be balanced with a concern for the here and now rather than seeing particular generations as a burden on others.

Here in Wales the government has developed a legal framework that attempts to address these issues in the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 which sets out ambitious well-being goals, based on the sustainable development principle, requiring public bodies to act in a manner which seeks to ensure that the needs of the present are met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This is easier said than done and the evidence base for the policies associated with this Act is underdeveloped. Moreover, we need to be prepared for surprising outcomes from such policies. For example, when considering our potential to live ever longer lives, the philosopher John Harris

draws on Douglas Adams's idea of the restaurant at the end of the universe to argue that, far from increasing the burden on health care, longevity might help to reduce health care costs by means of economic discounting.

Older people make a major contribution to social and economic life in ways that are not adequately valued in orthodox public accounting methods. WISERD research is attempting to address many of these issues through its thematic work on Generation, Life Course and Social Participation. Work is being undertaken on large survey data sets trying to control for age, period and cohort effects in relation to different social outcomes including social participation, volunteering and well-being. We are also looking at intergenerational sharing and transmission of values, beliefs and language using a range of methods and are specifically looking at the relationship between children and grandparents and what this might mean for children's social and emotional development. Here we are already identifying interesting differences in the forms of contact between grandparents and children in Wales compared to other parts of the UK.

This work might not cover the historical sweep of War and Peace but I think there is much that we can contribute at theoretically, methodologically and empirically to our understanding of generations and generational relations.

Hwyl!



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Flexible Pre-School Education Pilots

Separating the Impactful from the Impractical

Dr Daniel Evans

Children in Wales are required to begin school at age 5. Although parents have no legal obligation to put their children into forms of education before this age, it is widely accepted that pre-school education has a positive impact on children's cognitive and social development. Pre-school education is therefore universally popular and local authorities in Wales are required to ensure that all 3 to 4 year old children can access a minimum of ten free hours of early years education a week.

At present, this free pre-school education in Wales is provided by a myriad of venues and settings. The array of different pre-school settings and childcare providers can often be confusing (even for researchers!), so it's worth clarifying the different forms of pre-school education available to parents before I explain exactly what my research is all about.

Nurseries or nursery schools are schools in their own right, which take children from age 3-5. Some nursery schools are run and funded by local authorities ('maintained') or privately ('non-maintained'). In many nursery settings, nursery provision is organized in the traditional form of mornings or afternoon sessions. Sessions normally last 2.5 hours. Morning sessions typically last from 9am until 11 or 11.30am, whilst afternoon sessions typically last



from 1pm until 3 or 3.30pm. Children can access their ten hours entitlement within the parameters of this organization, although generally they may not stay all day in nurseries, and nurseries do not typically offer wrap around care (i.e. care before and after the sessions)

In addition to these standalone nursery schools, many primary schools in Wales have nursery classes, which are separate units within their infants' schools. Provision here is usually the same as in nursery schools (that is, mornings or afternoons only). The alternative to these form of pre-school education are private day nurseries. These settings typically open early in the morning until the evening, and take children from birth to 5 years of age. Parents may take their ten hours entitlement in these private day nurseries. Playgroups are settings which are often run by community or voluntary groups. They take children from 2 years

of age and sessions are typically the same as in nursery schools or classes.

OK, so what's the problem? It has been suggested that the current way pre-school education is organized in Wales is inflexible and ultimately inconvenient for parents. There is a fear in particular that some parents may find the system so inconvenient that they actually withhold their children from pre-school education completely, or children may only be accessing part of their ten hours entitlement. Ultimately then, children may not be able to receive the full educational benefits of pre-school that they are entitled to.

In response to these fears, the Welsh Government is keen to explore ways to increase the flexibility of pre-school provision with the overarching aim of increasing children's participation in early years education. In 2013, the Welsh Government invited local authorities in Wales to participate in pilot schemes to test out how pre-school education can be made more flexible. Local authorities were given the freedom to design forms of flexibility which responded to the specific needs and issues within their area. 4 local authorities eventually participated:

- Carmarthenshire
- Neath Port Talbot
- Newport
- Denbighshire

Each local authority came up with different strategies to improve flexibility in their respective region. The different forms of flexibility in each local authority reflected the different needs and demands within each area.





WISERD was commissioned by the Welsh Government to evaluate the implementation and impact of these flexibility pilots. My job as a researcher is to assess how these forms of flexibility have impacted on parents, staff and settings, and finally on the children themselves.

Our research was comprised of two elements. The first was case study visits to schools and settings across the 4 local authorities.

This element of the research was extremely interesting and relatively familiar to me since I conducted a significant amount of research in schools for my PhD. Nonetheless, I was confidently (and patiently) led through the first few research visits by my colleague Dr Mirain Rhys, who helpfully introduced me to my role before she departed for a round the world trip.

We interviewed head teachers and managers, teachers and support staff in each setting, getting their views on the flexibility pilot and how it impacted on their job. When we could, we also chatted to parents outside the school gates and asked them their thoughts on the pilots.

Doing fieldwork involves a lot of mundane, but important, rituals wherever you are. As a researcher you are pretty much constantly making notes, habitually checking that you have batteries for your dictaphone, constantly re-reading policy documents, and so on. Doing fieldwork in schools, however, involves a few unique quirks. For one, young children love visitors, and no matter how inconspicuous I tried to make myself in the classroom, they would come up and chat to me, ask me how I was, and often offer me a (make believe) cup of tea, some food or other gifts. Other times I would be invited to play

or proudly and solemnly given a tour of the classroom. Over the course of my time in the schools my legs gradually got used to sitting on tiny chairs. A lot of the time was spent laughing to myself in the corner at the children's antics and questions.

Ultimately the fieldwork in schools was incredibly interesting. Teachers were very welcoming and tolerant of me being in their classrooms and always made the time to chat despite their hectic schedules. Over the course of the research I have periodically had to phone these same teachers and managers and ask them to clarify certain points about the flexibility scheme, or to get updates on the scheme. Again my intrusions have always been met with warmth and enthusiasm.

The next phase of the research was to speak to parents. Although I had previously handed out surveys through the schools and chatted to parents at the school gates, our main strategy was to contact parents directly via telephone and conduct more in depth discussions to find out their views on the pilot.

I approached this element of the fieldwork with some trepidation, for I worked in call centres for two unhappy years in a previous life, and subsequently developed something of a phobia of phones.

Facing my fear, I put on my best 'phone manner' and embarked on the phone interviews. Of course, I needn't have worried, because all the parents I spoke to were friendly and engaging and very keen to discuss the pilots. The phone interviews were fascinating and revealed the sheer

diversity of family life across Wales and how different parents and households had different working patterns, daily routines and childcare arrangements. The diversity of families means that some parents face different pressures to others, and some parents ultimately have different needs.

The challenge for me, as a researcher, is to collate and present all this data in a coherent way. This involves listening and re-listening to my interview recordings (which is hard for someone who doesn't like the sound of their own voice), and trying to pick out common themes which emerge from these and also picking out issues which may be unique to each region, to particular types of school, or to certain groups of parents, for example.

At the time of writing I am putting the finishing touches to an interim report on the flexibility pilots, which will eventually be presented to representatives in the Welsh Government.



Welsh School Children's 'Heroes' and 'Villains'

Professor Sally Power and Dr Kevin Smith

The nature of children's heroes and villains has come under increased scrutiny as commentators fear young people today are too heavily influenced by 'popular culture', and in particular the 'cult of the celebrity'. For those involved with education there are additional concerns that children and young people look up to individuals who should not be looked up to – individuals whose short-lived fame is based on luck, physical prowess or limited talent, rather than more enduring and socially beneficial achievements. Relatedly, it has been claimed that the 'cult of the celebrity' is creating a climate in which young people seek to realise themselves through 'fame' and reject the more traditional pathway to success – academic achievement, hard work and educational qualifications. Despite all these concerns, very little research has been done on who it is that children and young people actually admire and dislike.

The data come from 1200 young people who are part of our WISERD Education cohort studies. The children (aged 10, 12 and 14) attend 29 schools (16 primary, 13 secondary), serving very different kinds of communities (advantaged/disadvantaged, rural/urban, Welsh-speaking/English-speaking) across Wales. As part of a larger self-completion survey, the children were asked to identify which three famous people they most admired and which three they most disliked. Over 7000 names were provided by the pupils. As one can imagine, this created real challenges in coding and analysis. After sorting and organising the data, we decided to focus only on those 'famous people' who were identified as a 'hero' or 'villain' by at least five respondents.

The children and young people nominated a wide variety of people – stretching alphabetically from Adele and Adolf Hitler to Zara Philips and Zayn Malik. While there were nominations for political activists and writers, nearly three-quarters of all nominations were for pop stars and sports-men and -women.

We can see that concerns about the 'capture' of young people by popular culture appear to be justified. With the exception of Jessica Ennis-Hill (athlete), all the female 'heroes' in the Top 20 are pop singers. The male 'heroes' do include pop stars (and one 'boy band'), but are mainly footballers and rugby players (four play for the Wales national sides). Only two politicians were nominated – with Barack Obama in 40th place and Boris Johnson (Conservative London Mayor) in 100th place.

In general, the 'disliked' nominations are drawn from a wider range of fields, including actors, presenters and politicians – with UK Prime Minister David Cameron making it into the 'top 10' most disliked – two places ahead of Adolf Hitler.

If we take these nominations as indicative of young people's values then there would appear to be good grounds to believe some of the worst fears about the influence of popular culture on young people's values. For example, it could be argued that their choices display a lack of ability to discriminate between contributions that are of lasting social value and those which are more fleeting. Are the achievements of Nelson Mandela (only appearing as a 'hero' in 34th place) to be relegated behind the achievements of pop singers whose names many may now find hard to remember at all? Does Justin Bieber really

The Top 10 'heroes' and 'villains'

Heroes			Villains		
	n	%		n	%
1. Jessie J	54	3.2	1. Justin Bieber	470	26.2
2. Taylor Swift	47	2.8	2. One Direction	112	6.2
3. Beyoncé	44	2.6	3. Nicki Minaj	75	4.2
4. One Direction	44	2.6	4. Lady Gaga	68	3.8
5. Lionel Messi	41	2.4	5. Simon Cowell	60	3.3
6. Leigh Halfpenny	40	2.4	6. Harry Styles	50	2.8
7. Cristiano Ronaldo	38	2.3	7. Katie Price	48	2.7
8. Jessica Ennis-Hill	38	2.3	8. Wayne Rooney	46	2.6
9. George North	34	2	9. Luis Suarez	42	2.3
10. Rihanna	34	2	10. David Cameron	37	2.1



Similar patterns of nomination can be found in terms of ethnicity. Over 70% of nominations from our white respondents were for famous white people, while our Black Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) respondents are twice as likely to have nominated a famous BAME person than our white respondents. The landscape of celebrities is highly 'raced' and 'gendered' and our young people's nominations reflect this landscape. As men are over-represented in most walks of public life generally, it is not surprising that they are over-represented in our young people's nominations of 'heroes' and 'villains'.

These patterns suggest that the use of famous people and celebrities in the development of identities and allegiances may provide the 'glue' for developing social ties and affirm the achievements of women and black and minority ethnic people. However, the fields of their achievements – particularly for women – are relatively narrow which is as likely to compound as to challenge notions of female and minority ethnic success.

For a fuller account, see Sally Power & Kevin Smith (2016) 'Heroes' and 'Villains' in the Lives of Children and Young People. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2015.1129311>

The Top 10 'heroes' by gender

Boys' heroes			Girls' heroes		
	n	%		n	%
1. Lionel Messi	36	5.1	1. Jessie J	53	5.4
2. Cristiano Ronaldo	35	5	2. Beyoncé	42	4.3
3. George North	28	4	3. Taylor Swift	42	4.3
4. Leigh Halfpenny	28	4	4. One Direction	41	4.2
5. Gareth Bale	26	3.7	5. Jessica Ennis-Hill	33	3.4
6. Shane Williams	25	3.6	6. Rihanna	33	3.4
7. Steven Gerrard	24	3.4	7. Demi Lovato	31	3.2
8. Adam Sandler	19	2.7	8. Justin Bieber	30	3.1
9. PewDiePie	16	2.3	9. Adele	27	2.8
10. Ryan Giggs	15	2.1	10. Nicki Minaj	23	2.4

deserve to be disliked by so many more young people than Adolf Hitler or Osama bin Laden?

However, this would be a very simplistic interpretation of the data. One very noticeable feature of the responses is the finding that the majority (55%) of our 84 villains were other people's heroes. This suggests that expressions of admiration and dislike may be less to do with the famous people themselves and rather more to do with the way in which young

people appropriate them in order to foster particular kinds of allegiances. Seen in this way, admiration or dislike for particular famous people can be seen as a form of identity work of affirmation and cultural belonging.

These is evident in the clear gender differences – both in terms of the respondents and their nominations.



16/17 year olds and the EU Referendum:

A Potential Coup for the 'In' Campaign

Dr Stuart Fox

In November, the House of Lords voted in favour of allowing 16 and 17 year olds to vote in Britain's EU referendum, expected to be held sometime in the next two years. On December 14th, following a rejection of the proposal by the House of Commons, the issue was put before the House of Lords again. The debate has opened up yet another battle between those who want to see Britain remain a member of the EU, and those who wish to leave it. Eurosceptics are hostile to the idea, while EU-supporters are far more favourable. While part of the disagreement may well reflect differing opinions on extending the franchise, there is a clear instrumental motive behind these views as well: Millennials – not just in Wales but throughout Britain – are considerably more likely to favour membership of the EU than older generations. By extending the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds, Eurosceptics fear that a larger cohort of supporters for the 'In' campaign will suddenly be given the right to vote.

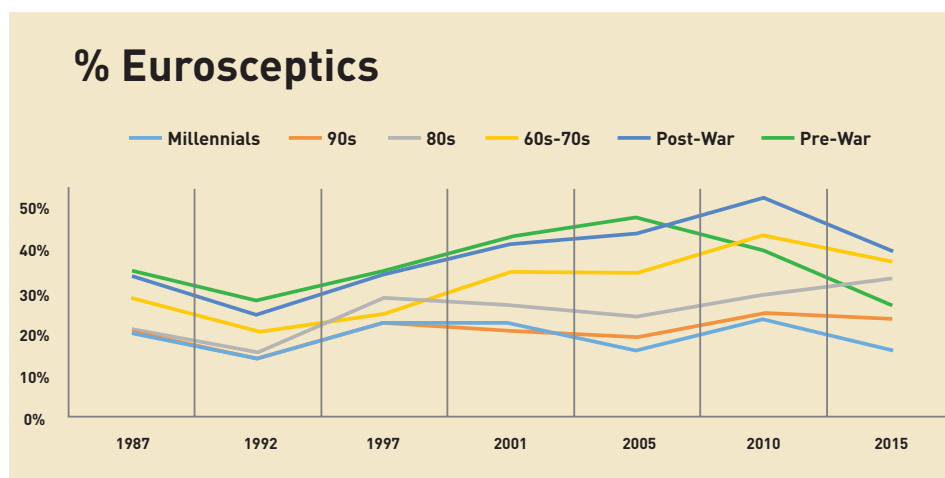
It has been known for some time that younger voters are more likely to look favourably on Britain's relationship with the European Union. This is not so much a universal trait associated with being young as it is a reflection of the generational decay of British Euroscepticism. The graph below, based on data from the British Election Study, illustrates the trend which has led to the Millennials being the most pro-EU generation since Britain joined the organisation in 1973. While Euroscepticism has fluctuated since then, each new generation entering

the electorate – particularly since the arrival of the 80s generation – has tended to be less Eurosceptic than their predecessors. Typically, between the 2001 and 2015 elections, an average of one in five Millennials could be described as Eurosceptic. This compares with a similar proportion of the 90s generation between 1992 and 2015, and a quarter of the 80s generation since the beginning of the data series in 1987, as well as around a third of the 60s-70s, Post-War and Pre-War generations.

This is why allowing 16 and 17 year olds to vote in any referendum on Britain's EU membership will inevitably help the 'In' campaign; younger generations are less likely to be hostile towards the EU, and so are more likely to vote to stay.

The British Election Study shows that at the time of the 2015 general election 55% of Millennials would vote to remain in the EU, compared with 18% who would vote to leave – a net 'stay' score of +37%. This compares with scores of 26% for the 90s generation, 5% for the 80s and 60s-70s generations, -2% for the Post-War generation, and 3% for the Pre-War generation.

While it is clear that the Millennials are a distinctly pro-EU generation, it is harder to identify why this is the case. Previous research has suggested that part of the reason is that Millennials tend not to think that the EU has much influence over their daily lives, while older voters feel it is very influential. The feeling that the EU is particularly influential over issues one cares about tends to be associated with Euroscepticism because it is harder for a British voter to influence EU decision-making than it is that of a more localised



Source: British Election Study, 1987 – 2015. Data reports % of respondents who disapprove of Britain's membership of the EU.





body (such as the UK government). Another important perception relates to immigration. As the campaigns of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) have demonstrated, anti-immigration sentiments are strongly associated with hostility towards the EU because it is the single greatest source of immigrants to the UK. Around the general election, 90% of those who disapproved of Britain's EU membership felt that they were too many immigrants in the country, compared with 64% of those who were less critical of EU membership.

As well as being the least Eurosceptic, Millennials are also the least hostile generation towards immigration. 58% of Millennials feel that there are too many immigrants in Britain; still a majority, but notably lower than the average of three quarters of the older generations. When asked to rate how beneficial immigration is to Britain's economy on a scale from 0 (meaning no benefit at all) to 7 (meaning highly beneficial), 10% of Millennials say there is no benefit compared with an average of 20% in the wider electorate. In addition, Millennials are the least likely to think that immigration is a salient issue; 32% said that they felt very strongly about it, compared with half of their elders. In short, the Millennials are less hostile towards immigrants and immigration, and are less likely to think it is an important issue, so they are less likely to be critical of the greatest source of immigrants into Britain: the EU.

In the Millennials, therefore, supporters of Britain's EU membership could well have a vital resource, one they could maximise through lowering the voting age for the referendum to 16 and enabling an even greater chunk of the most pro-EU generation in Britain's history to vote. Perhaps more worrying for Eurosceptics is that the Millennials' relative support for the EU compared with their elders is not a passing tendency which will dissipate as they age, but reflects a generational shift in attitudes making the young less likely to be hostile towards the European Union. As UKIP campaigner Michael Heaven puts it, British Euroscepticism is sitting on a 'demographic time bomb'; with each new generation, the pool of supporters for British withdrawal from the EU will shrink.

Before getting carried away, however, the 'In' campaign should remember that while the Millennials may be the most pro-EU generation in the country, they are also the least likely to vote and are the most politically apathetic. Even in the Scottish Independence Referendum, the turnout of the 16 and 17 year olds (while greater than that of 18-24 year olds) was estimated to be at least 10% lower than that of older age groups. If the potential of extending the franchise for the referendum is to be realised for supporters of EU membership, they will need to ensure that the move is accompanied by a well-funded, sustained effort to engage Millennials with the referendum and the opportunity to vote in it.



Change and Stability

in Family Relations

Dr Martijn Hogerbrugge

Our world is a changing place. Innovations in technology, as well as changes in governments and policies have affected the lives of individuals drastically. It is often proposed that within this changing society, the importance of the family has declined greatly (e.g., Popenoe, 1993). But to what extent can these proposed changes actually be observed in empirical data? With the release of a recent wave of data collection, the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study provides the means to look at changes in family relations over a 12 year period.

Before one can study family relations, one first has to determine what exactly encompasses a relationship. After all, several characteristics or dimensions can be distinguished in a relation, including contact, affection, and help exchange, but also negative aspects such as conflict. Previous research on family relations has studied these dimensions mostly in isolation from each other. A drawback of such an approach is that it provides an incomplete and incorrect representation of family relations. For instance, a relation that is characterized by high levels of contact is substantively different when feelings of affection are absent than if such feelings are present. To arrive at a complete and correct representation of family relations, one should therefore study the different aspects of relations simultaneously. There are several ways to do this, but the method used in the current contribution is to derive a typology of family relations using empirical data from the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS).

The NKPS is a large-scale nationally representative study on kinship in the Netherlands. The first wave of data was collected from 2002 to 2004, followed by a second, third, and fourth wave in 2006–2007, 2010–2011, and 2014 respectively. The typology that is presented here is based on the relations the respondents had with their parents and siblings and is based on data from all four waves of data collection, allowing us to examine changes in family relations over time. Relations in which there was no contact at all in the 12 months preceding a round of data collection, or in which the same household was shared by both the respondent and family member, were excluded from the analysis.

Table 1 provides an overview of the differences between the different relation types in terms of observed characteristics. A plus sign indicates a higher likelihood that a certain characteristic is observed in a relationship type when compared to

the sample average, whereas a minus sign indicates a lower likelihood. The most common relation type is characterized by a high likelihood of frequent contact and exchanges of support, as well as high levels of affection. The likelihood that conflict is observed in this relation type is lower than average. As such, this relationship type can be best labelled harmonious. As can be seen in Figure 1, over half of the parent-child relations fall in this relationship type, whereas ‘only’ 1 out of 3 sibling relations do likewise.

Although the second relation type shares the relatively high probability of frequent face-to-face contact, the likelihood of exchanging practical, emotional, or financial support is lower than in the complete sample – despite the high probability for great affection between the family members. As such, the patterns of interaction seem to be mostly compulsory and driven by feelings of obligation. About 1 out of 6 parent-child and sibling relations

Table 1	Harmonious	Obligatory	Ambivalent	Discordant	Affective1	Detached2
At least monthly face-to-face contact in the last 12 months	+	+	+	-	-	-
At least monthly contact by phone or letter in the last 12 months	+	-	+	-	+	-
Exchanged practical support in the last 3 months	+	-	+	-	-	-
Exchanged emotional support in the last 3 months	+	-	-	-	+	+
Exchanged financial support in the last 3 months	+	-	+	-	0	-
(Very) high level of affection	+	+	-	-	+	+
At least once conflict in the last 3 months	-	-	+	+	-	-

1) Only distinguished and observed among parent-child relations.

2) Only distinguished and observed among sibling relations.



Parent-Child relations

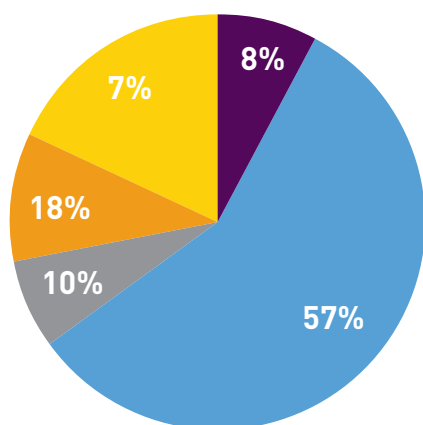


Figure 1 – Distribution of types of family relations among parent-child and sibling relations at the first wave of data collection

can be seen as obligatory in nature. Whereas the likelihood for conflict was lower than average in the previous two types, this likelihood is above average in the ambivalent and discordant relation types. The ambivalent type differs from the discordant type by the fact that the increased chance of conflict in the relation is joint by higher than average levels of contact and exchanges of practical and financial support – aspects that generally have a positive connotation to them. The proportion of ambivalent relations among parent-child relations is about twice as high as among sibling relations, whereas the proportion of discordant relations is three times as high among sibling relations as among parent-child relations.

Because the typology was derived separately for parent-child and sibling relations, it was found that the fifth type of relation was intrinsically different for sibling relations. Among parent-child relations the fifth type was characterized by a high likelihood to exchange emotional support, to have at least monthly contact by phone or letter, and in which feelings of affection were present. However, the chance that the parent and child saw each other at least monthly or exchanged practical support was lower than average. This relation type can be labelled affective and around 1 out of 12 parent-child relations can be described as such.

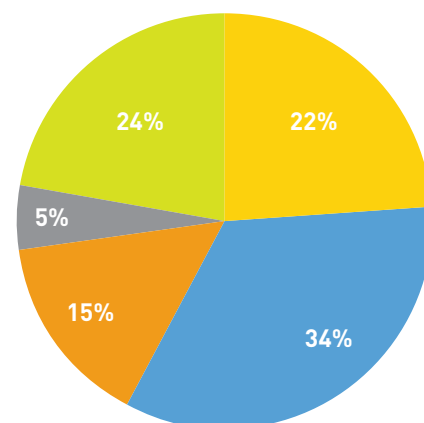
Among sibling relations the fifth type is denoted by a high likelihood to have exchanged some form of emotional support in the past 3 months, and to be characterized by significant feelings of affection between the feelings. Yet, the likelihood to have frequent contact (either direct or indirect) to exchange practical support, or to have had conflict at least

once in lower than average. Detached seems to best describe this relation type and the associated patterns of interaction can be found among 24% of the sibling relations.

When looking at the distribution of relation types over time, hardly any changes can be observed. Nonetheless, transitions between the different types can be observed between the different waves of data collection, and differences exist in the stability of relation types. Harmonious relations are relatively stable over time, whereas ambivalent and discordant relations transition most often into different types. In addition, it can be observed that parent-child relations are more stable: between each wave of data collection 90 percent of the relations remain unchanged, whereas this percentage is 'just' 84 percent among sibling relations. This finding is in line with previous research that suggests that sibling relations are less guided by moral obligations and are more a matter of personal selection and choice. Even so, both among sibling and parent-child relations can transitions in relation types often be related to important events in the life of either family member, such as a marriage, divorce, or the birth of a (grand) child. However, the biggest impact can be observed when either family member relocates to a new address and the geographical distance between the two family members changes.

The picture that emerges from the four waves of data from the NKPS is certainly not unique. A similar typology of relations was found in a study using US data that covered a period of over 18 years (Hogerbrugge & Silverstein, 2014). Moreover, the parent-child relations in that

Sibling relations



study were likewise more characterized by stability than by change (sibling relations were not included in the analyses). It thus seems that family relations constitute an exception to the majority of aspects that rapidly change in the world we live in. However, one should keep in mind that the results presented here are only based on respondents who do have family members with whom they are in contact.

Future research should also focus on changes in the number of people who live alone, who report to have no family, or to have lost all contact with their family.

This contribution is a translation of a Dutch article previously published in Demos (2016), pp 1-3 (<http://publ.nidi.nl/demos/2016/demos-32-01.pdf>).

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Digital Civil Society

and the Landscape of Modern Surveillance

Wil Chivers

The last three years have been a turbulent time, at both a national and international level, the way in which we view surveillance in our society. Chief among the tectonic shifts that for have occurred during this time was the release of information in 2013 obtained by NSA whistle-blower Edward Snowden that detailed the surveillance capabilities of intelligence agencies in the UK and the United States. These revelations have made the question of regulating and legislating for surveillance a thorny issue for government. In large part, this is because the revelations have also galvanised an international civil society community of ‘privacy advocates’. This network of groups has built a coherent narrative against extensions to surveillance powers and this role is once again in the spotlight as the UK government attempts to enact new surveillance legislation. On-going research at WISERD looks at the role civil society plays in shaping the national surveillance discourse and how can we gain a sense of the dynamics of this vital discussion.

The draft Investigatory Powers Bill (IP Bill), published on the 4th November 2015, represents the government’s latest attempt to reform the law on surveillance in the UK. The draft Bill follows a succession of independent reports in 2015 that examined the state of surveillance in the UK and the necessity of large-scale reform of these practices. Much anticipated since its announcement earlier last year, the Bill has already generated much debate within civil society, and between critics and advocates in the policy, technology and law enforcement sectors. Many of these parties are now currently providing evidence to the Joint Select Committee that has been appointed to carry out pre-legislative scrutiny of the Bill.

The precursor to the IP Bill was the Communications Data Bill in 2012. Then, as in the current Bill, the rationale for the extension of surveillance powers was one of a ‘capability gap’ in the ability of law enforcement to provide effective security in an age of proliferating and encrypted digital communication technologies. The Communications Data Bill failed to make it past the draft stage. This is often attributed to discontent within the Coalition Government, specifically the Lib Dems’ discomfort with the civil liberties implications of the powers that were being sought. This tension between security and privacy is a familiar one and is characteristic of the debates that have

taken place over the last few years not only in the UK and the USA but a large number of countries implicated in the revelations from Edward Snowden. It is a theme that has already resurfaced in the evidence sessions for the IP Bill, alongside other discussions surrounding new aspects contained in the Bill (such as judicial authorisation of surveillance warrants) and the national and international context of surveillance post-Snowden.

The landscape is very different in 2015 than it was in 2012. The Lib Dems are no longer an obstacle for the Conservative majority and, what is more, senior Labour ministers are in favour of reforms that provide necessary safeguards and oversight regimes. ‘Emergency’ surveillance legislation enacted in 2014 was found unlawful by the High Court in July last year. There has also been significant pressure from civil society and the news media for more transparent and accountable surveillance practices in the law enforcement and intelligence community. The community of civil society organisations active in this area, at both a grassroots and national level, have their own agendas to pursue in related fields of privacy, human/digital rights, and censorship. But they also function effectively together. Key organising moments in the national surveillance discourse such as the Communications Data Bill and the IP Bill allow for such collaboration between these organisations. Prominent voices in this on-going conversation are the Open Rights Group, Privacy International, Liberty and Big Brother Watch, whose representatives gave evidence on the draft



Bill in December. Article 19 and English PEN have also been involved in collective action against intrusive surveillance, partnering with the former groups under the banner 'Don't Spy On Us' in the wake of Edward Snowden's disclosures. No2ID, 38 Degrees, Index on Censorship and the Electronics Frontier Foundation are a small handful of the wider national and international community of organisations who have helped in various ways to raise awareness of (digital) surveillance and to continue encouraging critical discussions of the necessity and proportionality of surveillance in society. These types of cooperation can be revealing, more broadly, for the efficacy of collective action amongst civil society actors.

My research continues to trace the coordination and organisation of these groups, as well as the strategies and arguments that characterise their response to the IP Bill. There has already been some (necessary) rehearsing of previously well-made arguments such as those highlighting the problems with bulk collection of 'metadata' about digital communications. However, there are new debates to be had as well.

As well as in front of the Select Committee, one place in which civil society groups construct their arguments about the necessity of new surveillance powers and communicate them to the wider public is social media. In particular, Twitter is increasingly the arena where civil society as a whole finds itself at home. The highly populated – albeit demographically biased – environment of Twitter, alongside its specific conversational dynamics mean that significant support for a group's objectives can be leveraged with relative ease. Observing these dynamics can give researchers valuable insight into influential individuals and groups in such conversations, catalysing moments or issues and the transmission of fundamental points of contention regarding, for instance, the IP Bill.

At first glance a large Twitter conversation can be immensely confounding, the object of one's interest seemingly lost in a digital miasma of retweets and hashtags. However forms of network analysis can give some structure to the vast quantities of data accessed on Twitter. What is shown below is a snapshot of tweets containing #InvestigatoryPowersBill on the 6th November. Clusters are created

where users retweet the same or similar content. Typically, in a conversation about current events or issues, this will be a tweet from a prominent group shared by like-minded followers. As with any network of organisations, some of the groups are more visible on Twitter than others. In the context of challenging surveillance in the UK, the Open Rights Group and Privacy International are two such organisations. At the moment the conversation below was captured both groups were influential in shaping the online discussion on Twitter.

Crucially, Twitter conversations also reveal commentators and activists who play a similarly important role but are not among the usual suspects of civil liberties organisations. In discussions about digital surveillance in the UK, these individuals interact with the 'privacy advocates' as well as media groups and concerned politicians. The result is a lively, if at times a little fast-paced, debate. With this said, the conversation about surveillance in general and the IP Bill specifically is relatively fragmented. Other issues in the public eye have been seen to generate a larger and much more unified online response. There are also missing voices when we look at Twitter. It is a vital space in which to examine the role of civil society in challenging, and shaping awareness of, surveillance. Yet to understand the counter-arguments – those reasons why we do in fact need surveillance to protect us – we need to broaden our field of view.

The scrutiny period of the IP Bill is an opportunity to do this, as well as gain a sense of how all parties to the debate interact with one another in different domains. It is to be hoped that this interaction leads to a considered and justified outcome. Increasingly, challenges to surveillance reform are not just about protecting privacy but about ensuring our personal security as digital citizens – as well as achieving the laudable national security goals the Bill sets out to.



Making the Case for the Social Sciences in Wales

Madeleine Barrows

On July 6th, Cardiff University hosted the Welsh Baccalaureate Conference. This event was developed through a partnership between the Welsh Government, the WJEC and Cardiff University research staff. The aim of the conference was to engage secondary and further education teachers with some of the ins-and-outs of conducting research, with a particular focus given to enabling them to better assist their students in successfully completing the Individual Project Challenge in the new Welsh Baccalaureate design.

In 2010 the Academy of Social Sciences realised that the wider public and even policy makers were too often unaware of the wonderful things that social scientists have done and that the term 'social scientist' doesn't raise easy images in people's minds. We decided that something needed to be done to communicate better who social scientists are and what they do, as well as why they are a really important part of our research community, not just carrying on complex and sometimes difficult conversations about methods and theories, but providing practical, evidence-based ways of improving all our lives.

So we set about bringing together some small, 'taster' collections of easy-to-read stories from a range of disciplines, but with a single, overarching theme, which we could put into the hands of politicians, influencers and anyone who'd enjoy a good read celebrating the success of the UK's



Minister for Health and Social Services, Mark Drakeford, AM, gives the welcome address

important problems that affect our society. PDF versions – available free to download from the websites of the Academy and its Campaign for Social Science – make the booklets widely available.

By launching each issue to an invited audience of policymakers and other influencers in locations that are easy for them to reach – Westminster, Edinburgh or Cardiff to date – we have been able to share social science's amazing success story very effectively. And, most importantly perhaps, we find that they are welcomed by their readers. Ministers of State – Mark Drakeford, David Willetts and Vince Cable for example – have all spoken enthusiastically at our launches, delighted and proud to be able to celebrate UK researchers helping to move our society forward. The most recent of these was held in Cardiff on 25th November.



social science community. By doing this we can raise people's awareness of how important social science is and encourage everyone to understand and value it a bit more as a result.

We developed a format that would be attractive to handle and easy to pop into a briefcase, handbag or pocket waiting to fill a quiet moment. We tell the stories in as straightforward a way as possible, using the language of the newspapers rather than the academic world. Colourful images help bring out the key features of the stories and naming the lead researchers personalises the work and begins to introduce to a wider audience a few of the huge number of dedicated and highly trained people working on unpicking, understanding and helping to solve



Event sponsor Professor Judith Phillips, Deputy Pro-Vice Chancellor and Director of RIASS, Swansea University.



Our booklets aim to make the case for the social sciences – they do what they say on the cover! No one reading them can fail to be impressed by the way in which high quality social science work has made – and continues to make – a difference to all of us. Wales has good reason to celebrate: its social science community is strong, rich and diverse, and it has politicians who understand where to look for advice. This booklet – the tenth in the Making the Case for the Social Sciences series – is a timely and welcome confirmation of the wealth of social science expertise to be found in Wales.

The Academy of Social Sciences exists to be the voice of social science in the UK. As part of this mission we seek to promote, celebrate and communicate the real and very important difference that social science research makes to our society. In 2011 the Academy founded the Campaign for Social Science to help that promotional work and raise the profile of social science in the public, media and Parliament.

Madeleine Barrows is the Assistant Director (Secretariat) of the Academy for Social Sciences.

Photograph of panel above right to left: Richard Wyn Jones, Roger Scully, Fiona Brookman, David Blackaby and Ceridwen Roberts



Professor Fiona Brookman, Director of the Centre for Criminology, University of South Wales, discusses her research into helping improve homicide investigations.



Professor David Blackaby, Co-Director at WISERD, based at Swansea University, spoke about his team's research into improving the evidence base for policy in the areas of unemployment and public sector pay.



Madeleine Barrows, Assistant Director at the Academy of Social Sciences.

Using Open Data Sources to Monitor the Implications of Changes in Access to Services in Wales in Times of Austerity

Dr Mitchel Langford, Professor Gary Higgs and Dr Richard Fry

Increasing pressures on central and local government budgets have focused attention on the provision of, and accessibility to, public services. The importance of geographical variations in accessibility is recognised by the inclusion of accessibility 'domains' in the indices of multiple deprivation used by the different administrations of the UK. As well as the need to guide the design and delivery of services and to monitor compliance with national guidelines concerning social equity and helping ensure the maintenance of minimum standards of service level provision, there is a real need to examine the implications of future changes in service provision on spatial inequalities in accessibility. A well-established programme of research within the GIS Research Centre at the University of South Wales is exploring the use of spatial analytical approaches based around the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to evaluate the equity of spatial access to a range of public services. Using innovative approaches to examine changes in accessibility following service reconfiguration, we have examined the use of a range of network-based tools and alternative sources of data currently available to researchers wishing to monitor the implications of changes going forward.

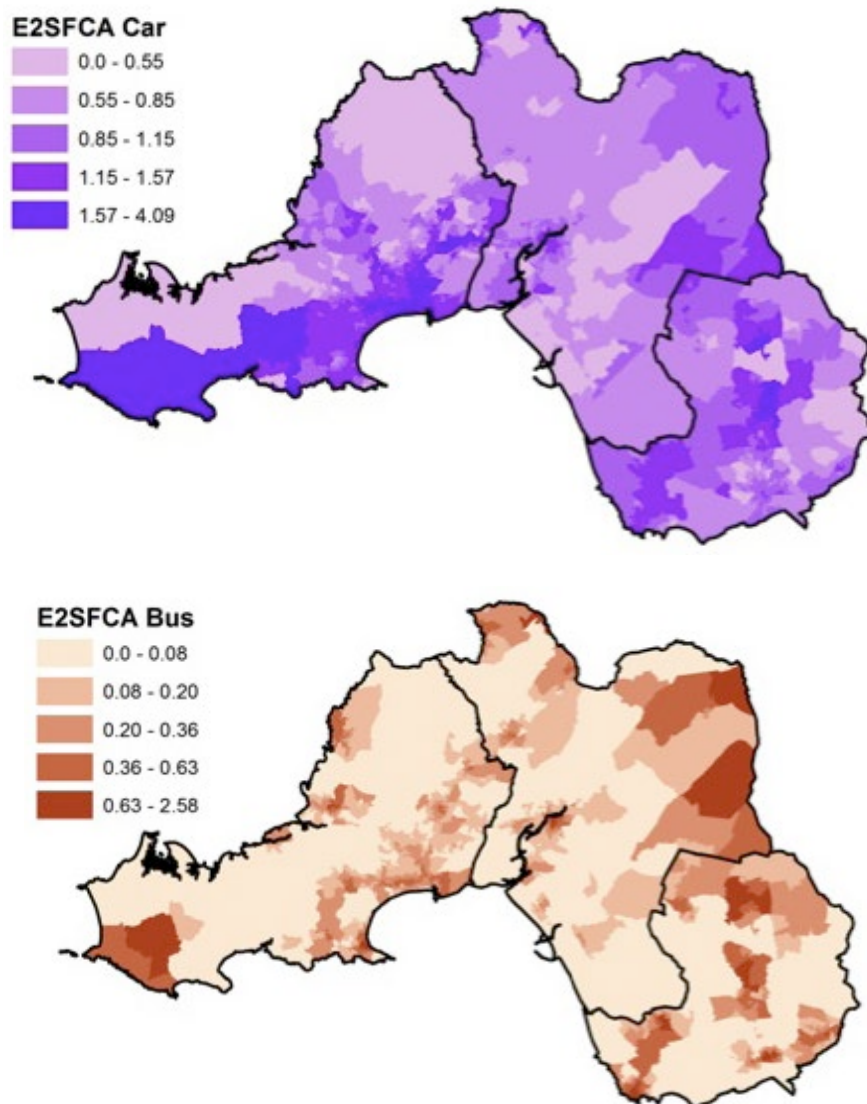
A limitation of a number of studies conducted to date relates to their use of relatively simplistic approaches to model access to services using for example the shortest distance or time to the nearest service, an average distance of the nearest aggregate number of services or confining analysis of availability to demand for those living within specific administrative areas. Thus for example the tendency for individuals to travel outside such areas, or the need for services to 'compete' for potential demand is often neglected. A further problem relates to the assumption inherent in traditional approaches to measuring accessibility regarding the availability of a private means of transport with which to access such services which often ignores other modes of travel. This may be problematic both in low-income areas where the local population may lack sufficient financial resources to own and operate a car and in metropolitan areas where people choose to use public transport as a more efficient mode of travel. Until recently however, partly because of the lack of availability of suitable data sources, there have been few attempts to understand the implications

of relaxing these assumptions to consider incorporating alternative modes of transport into such modelling exercises. In a paper accepted for publication in the journal *Health and Place* (Langford et al., forthcoming) we aim to address such gaps in the literature by drawing on sources of open data available in the UK that enable researchers to create suitable networks and to independently model the implications of changes in provision for car users, bus riders or indeed for those who choose to walk to services that are potentially accessible. Furthermore by making available the programmes used to run such models we have provided a resource for other researchers to use these tools in scenarios where alternative sources of data may be available (Langford et al., 2014).

Our case study concerns modelling access to General Practitioner surgeries in three local authority areas of South Wales. In order to examine the potential implications of

variations in public transport availability on spatial patterns of access, two key data sources were employed. Specifically the analysis firstly draws on a database detailing every bus stop in the UK (the National Public Transport Access Node or NaPTAN dataset), and secondly utilises the Traveline National Dataset which provides UK-wide bus timetable information.

Following various pre-processing stages and transference into a relational database accessed by a GIS package (ArcGISTM) the implications of variations in bus provision can be compared with that of travelling by car modelled using open data consisting of road network features made available by the Ordnance Survey. The accessibility models we have used to examine the consequences of using alternative modes of transport are based on the two-step floating catchment area (2SFCA)



technique; a variant of the gravity model that provides intuitively interpretable scores that have been widely used to investigate spatial patterns in accessibility to a variety of public (and private) services. These models consider the interaction between the supply-side 'attractiveness' component (e.g. total number of doctors or beds available at a hospital site) in relation to potential demand for a service within a certain catchment area (e.g. modelled from a population-weighted centroid of a census tract) whilst accounting for the impact of distance or travel time (modelled by a weighting parameter).

The consequences of using different modes of transport can be visualised in the map of quintiles of 2SFCA scores for census output areas within the three authority areas (Figure 1). In these maps the darker shades represent higher levels of access to GP surgeries from particular output areas and the lighter shades reflect areas of lower or no accessibility within a specified user-defined threshold catchment area size (in this example 15 minutes travel time). What is pertinent is the differences between approaches that assume car transport as the 'default' mode of travel to services and the trends illustrated by those accessing such services by bus since this hints at the need to include those people in local areas that are reliant on such services to provide a fuller picture of the potential implications of changes in service provision. Whilst we have yet to examine in detail the spatial trends in access scores in relation to the distribution of small area measures of deprivation or to investigate potential associations with health outcomes in the study area (both of which will be pursued in our follow-up research), a number of preliminary conclusions can be made by comparing the application of a widely researched accessibility model with independent networks to represent car users and bus riders where the latter only

travel between bus stops on defined bus routes. There are key differences between accessibility scores, with bus scores generally much lower than those obtained under the assumption of a single mode of transport based on the car. However important consideration needs to be given to the choice of catchment size employed within these models to take into account the likelihood that bus riders accept the need to spend longer in transit. The study also not only points the way to the use of such models in examining the implications of changes in facility availability at the local area level but also provides policy makers with the tools needed to plan the provision of transport services whilst attempting to mitigate the impacts of public spending cuts, rationalisation and restructuring of services such as libraries or leisure centres. We further suggest that such GIS-based tools also have the potential to help investigate the consequences of changing patterns of service delivery following the likely reconfiguration of local authorities in Wales for spatial patterns of public service provision.

Figure 1: Mapped accessibility scores at Output Area (OA) level using independently modelled bus and car transport networks for access to GP surgeries in Swansea, Neath Port Talbot and Bridgend

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New WISERD Book:

'People, Places and Policy: Knowing Contemporary Wales Through New Localities

Dr Scott Orford, Professor Martin Jones,
and Victoria Macfarlane

Our book has finally been published! We say finally, because the idea for the book started to take shape five years ago during the first phase of WISERD. During this phase we were interested in understanding how different localities in Wales were behaving in relation to devolution and devolved policy areas and we developed a research strand dedicated to investigating this – the WISERD Knowing Localities Research Programme. This was an important part of WISERD phase one and involved six post-doctoral research fellows based in three of the WISERD institutions – Aberystwyth, Bangor and Cardiff – working together to develop an integrated programme of research. This programme was multi-faceted and adopted various approaches to exploring what came to be known as the 'WISERD Localities'.



In undertaking this research, we were determined to bring together different ideas, theories, methodologies, data sets, and analytical techniques to really get under the skin of the three localities; whilst also exploring different ways of working together in multi-disciplinary, inter-institutional teams. This, as it turned out, wasn't easy – which will come as no surprise to others who have undertaken similar research activities, but this learning curve was what WISERD in its first phase was partly about – learning how to undertake collaborative multi-disciplinary social science research and then sharing experiences and best practice. So in hindsight, we are not too surprised that it has taken five years for the book to be published, during which time WISERD has grown in both size and scope and is now one year into a five year research programme investigating Civil Society, building on research coming out of the first

phase including the Knowing Localities programme. So, that is the history of the book but what is it about?

The book is written in the context of Welsh devolution and constitutional change, a subject that is very lively and topical both within Wales and the UK more generally, with the Scottish referendum for independence last year and the in/out EU referendum for the UK in the next couple of years. The book itself focuses on post-devolution governance and policy making and how the impact of this varies across Wales. But it's more than that. It is also an attempt to try and define, identify and understand how and why different parts of Wales have experienced difference in their fortunes post-devolution across a variety of policy areas – hence the use of localities as a conceptual and analytical framework to help us do this.

We chose three localities to help frame our research, based partly on their location to the three Universities where the researchers were situated but also because they were very different in their socio-economic and demographic characteristics, their economic base and labour force, their cultural identities and also the different pressures on the devolved policy areas.

These were the Central and West Coast Region (Aberystwyth), the A55 corridor in North Wales (Bangor) and the Heads of the

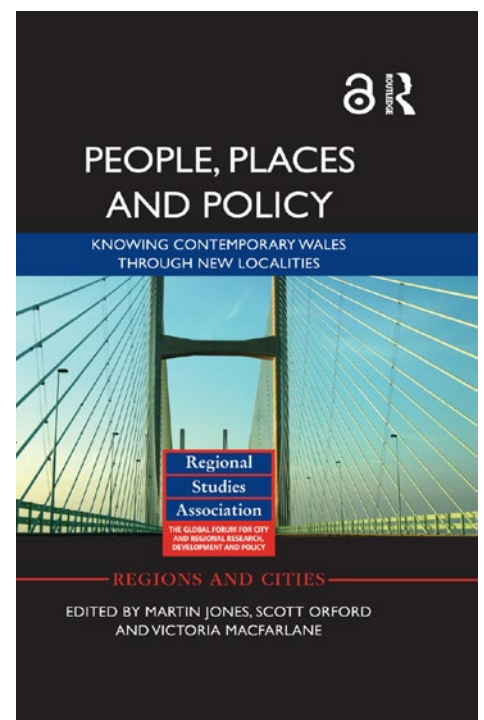




Valleys (Cardiff). The main empirical focus of the book is around 120 stakeholder interviews that we undertook across the three localities. As part of this process we sought to interview a wide range of stakeholders so as well as directors of key local government departments and policy makers, we also interviewed a variety of other stakeholders including head teachers of local schools; directors of third sector organisations such as charities, housing associations and voluntary groups; and managers of local museums and other cultural institutions. This generated a huge amount of data – too much to go into a single book – so we selected key themes for each locality in order to compare and contrast different parts of Wales and also to provide indicative examples of how policy plays out depending upon context. We supplemented and contextualised the interviews with a wide range of statistical data at different spatial scales and used techniques such as cartograms to analyse and present Wales in slightly different ways than you would usually see in official reports. We also experimented with mapping the places mentioned in the interviews and created very unusual but surprisingly insightful policy maps that we see as a way of moving beyond using conventional administrative and statistical measures to define localities to something that better reflects what is happening on the ground in terms of routine practices and processes.

The book is written with a general audience in mind – we have purposively avoided much of the rather specialist academic language that has grown up around the localities debate to make the book accessible to a wider audience, including policy makers and practitioners in Wales, the UK and beyond. The book is very timely too; the Williams Commission has recently concluded that Wales suffers from something akin to governance complexity with devolution appearing to have created confusion, rather than simplification, of governance and delivery in the devolved public sector in Wales – a situation that is illustrated in the book. The Commission offers 62 wide-ranging recommendations including mergers of existing local authorities to reduce the complexity of the existing structures. Obviously merging of existing local authorities has brought with it much excitement but also brings to the fore the importance in understanding the spatial complexities involved in place-making and locality-making – one of the main concerns of the book.

The book brings together some of the different ideas and approaches explored in the first phase of WISERD into a single piece of work and aims to set the scene for future research into these issues and debates.



The book can be found, in full, here:
[www.tandfebooks.com/doi/pdf/10.4324/9781315683904?](http://www.tandfebooks.com/doi/pdf/10.4324/9781315683904?DrnAccessMode)
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WISERD LOCALITIES



WISERD Blog and Events



The WISERD blog provides regular updates on the latest research activity, project development, key findings, funding, and events taking place at WISERD.

Our most recent blogs include:

Jeremy Corbyn's Youth Appeal: His support risks becoming dominated by people who won't vote for him
by Dr Stuart Fox

Stronger communities, healthier people: Medical summer placements November 2015 by Dr Martin O'Neill

A 'Mature Debate' on Communications Surveillance?
by Wil Chivers

Refugees, Rest and Routines: WISERD Education at ECER and BERA by Dr Kim Horton

Read all our blogs at:

www.wiserd.ac.uk/news/wiserd-blogs

If you'd like to contribute to the blog,
email us on WISERD.comms@cardiff.ac.uk

The Evolution of Social Enterprises: Investigating How to Encourage Further Interdependencies Between Government, Commerce and Society

26th February 2016,
University of South Wales

This seminar will explore the interdependencies and vagaries of social enterprise. It aims to improve our understanding of the interdependencies of the government, commerce and civil society, specifically in order to identify the tensions and challenges that social enterprises face in South Wales and identify the practical issues that beset social enterprises in attempting to self-reliant, sustainable service providers.

Education, language and identity. Creating devolved education systems in Scotland and Wales

16th March 2016, Aberystwyth University
This seminar is part of WISERD's Civil Society Seminar Series for 2016.

WISERD Annual Conference 2016

13th & 14th July 2016, Bay Campus,
Swansea University

Planning is in full swing for the 7th Annual WISERD Conference.

Here are some 2016 key dates:

Notification of Abstract Acceptance/Rejection February 2016

Online Registration Opens 1st March

Early Bird Registration Deadline 29th May

Register to Participate in 3MT 1st June

Online Registration Closes 6th July

Please note that these dates might change.



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