

# International Network of Women Against Tobacco

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## Notes on a beginning: Eileen Crofton

To mark International Women's Day 2010, the International Network of Women Against Tobacco (INWAT) honors one of the early champions of the movement to free women and girls from the health burden of tobacco, Dr. Eileen Crofton. What follows is Eileen's own memoir of those days, with a foreword by her colleague and friend, Alison Hillhouse.

### Foreword

Eileen Crofton became the first Director of ASH Scotland in 1973, and led the tobacco control campaign in Scotland until 1984. She was one of the most important figures in the struggle – and it was a struggle – to ensure that women's tobacco use, in Scotland, the UK and internationally, was taken seriously and confronted by health educators and governments. She did of course work across the whole field of tobacco control, but she had a particular interest in women's health and tobacco, based on her own experience as a woman in the then heavily male field of medicine. She continued her involvement after her retirement until she relinquished the post of convenor of the ASH women's committee in 1990. In 1999 she wrote this personal memoir of the work of the committee.

I think that INWAT members will enjoy this vivid account of the beginnings of the world wide campaign to prevent tobacco induced disease among women as much as I have enjoyed being reminded of those now long-ago days. I joined ASH Scotland in 1975, and succeeded Eileen as Director in 1984. Like her I have retired from the daily battle, but many of the major players of those days are still involved through INWAT and otherwise. They will be reminded of what a long way we have come, while the very many who have come into the field more recently may be interested – and possibly a little shocked – to learn how hard it was to gain a hearing for women's health issues in the UK in the 1980's, but also to learn how much was accomplished by a small band of women.

The international tobacco control community has recently celebrated the life of one of its greatest and earliest leaders, Sir John Crofton, former Professor of Respiratory Diseases at the University of Edinburgh, who died in December 2009 at the age of 97. His death also came shortly before the 64th anniversary of his wedding to Dr Eileen Mercer. Without John and Eileen's long and productive partnership the history of tobacco control might have been rather different. And



**Eileen in action in the 1980s, with Alison Hillhouse**

almost certainly women's smoking and health would have taken much longer to become a serious issue for public health.

Eileen embarked on her medical studies before the Second World War, joined a small but determined generation of women doctors in 1943, served in the Royal Army



Medical Corps in the latter part of the war, met John who had served as a doctor throughout the war, and married him in 1945. From that time until 1973 she was involved in raising a family, working for the Red Cross, and supporting John's outstanding work on tuberculosis control and his ever-expanding role in medical education, university life and international medical activities.

Eileen and John Crofton were a remarkable partnership. Many eminent doctors were, and are, reluctant to become involved in public health issues or in the gritty political work required to shift public opinion and change Government policy. Eileen and John however were always clear that smoking and health was a political as well as a medical and public health issue. John was among the found-

ers of ASH UK in 1971, and as President of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, was instrumental in the foundation of ASH Scotland in 1973. It would have been very interesting to eavesdrop on the conversations between John and Eileen which preceded the foundation of ASH Scotland and Eileen's acceptance of the post of founding director – or medical secretary as she was then described.

ASH Scotland was from the first a campaigning organisation based firmly on the best available scientific evidence on tobacco and health. Eileen's rigorous scientific approach was exemplary. So also was her grasp of policy issues and her understanding of the need for serious lobbying at every level. ASH Scotland worked on all aspects of tobacco control, with tiny resources and a complete lack of modern communication technology. It is salutary to remember what was accomplished with one telephone, a typewriter to copy



**Sir John and Lady Eileen Crofton with Dr Judith Mackay in their home in 2006**



hand-drafted letters to politicians and newspapers, carbon sheets for copies, and the loan of the Royal College of Physicians' inky duplicating machine for committee minutes. Fax machine, photocopier and, finally, that modern invention, a computer, did not arrive until after Eileen retired. Email and the web were far in the unimaginable future.

But even in those electronic dark ages, information and collaboration were the lifeblood of the young anti-tobacco movement. Eileen, as ever well informed, was among the first to recognise the importance of trends in smoking among women and adolescents, and, working with kindred spirits such as Bobbie Jacobson and Patti White in London, and Amanda Amos and Yvonne Bostock in Scotland, began the task of persuading the medical and health education establishments in the UK and Scotland of the scale of the problem. It was a difficult task, as Eileen's paper describes.

INWAT members all over the world struggle with many obstacles, but they still may find it hard to realise just how "male" the medical, political and even voluntary sector world once was. Symptomatic, perhaps, was the fact that very few people even noticed, let alone found it odd, that the famous study on British doctors' smoking and mortality by Doll & Hill, published in 1954, which convinced medical opinion of the link between tobacco and lung cancer, included only male doctors. The women were invisible.

ASH Scotland started work in the 1970's and began serious work on women and tobacco in the early 1980's. Today people look back and describe this as the period of "first-wave feminism". Women's health issues became prominent, but were often seen as relating mainly to sexual and family matters. Smoking was sometimes even portrayed – and not only by the tobacco industry – as one of the freedoms for which women should strive. For Eileen, of course, the campaign for women's rights was nothing new, while her scientific training ensured that her arguments were soundly based

and courteously argued. Yet, as she recounts, it was hard to convince medical and health education bodies that tobacco use was inevitably becoming as important a health issue for women as for men, and that a serious response to the tobacco industry's sustained campaign to recruit women and girls was required. Am I being unfair to suggest that some of the men we were trying to convince felt quite threatened by these noisy women? But Eileen was never noisy, and her belief in science and rational discussion was invaluable.

Eileen, in her paper, describes some of the obstacles we faced in those early days, but also how with support from among women (and men) from many disciplines, women began to become visible. She and I both remember with great affection and gratitude the generosity of so many people, and she mentions many of them in her appendix. The same spirit of mutual help exists today in INWAT.

After retiring, Eileen did not retreat into private life, any more than John did. Women in medicine had always been a major interest, and in 1990 while attending a European Medical Association meeting on smoking at the Abbey of Royaumont north of Paris, she was intrigued to find a plaque commemorating the abbey's use during the First World War as the base for a Scottish Women's Hospital. Typically, she went home and began to research the story of the hospital, the result of which was the publication in 1996 of her fascinating and illuminating book: **The Women of Royaumont, A Scottish Women's Hospital on the Western Front**. This is a major work of research, beautifully written, and full of personal stories. It set Eileen off on new career in her 70's as a respected historian in demand for lectures and interviews. A much hoped-for film of the Royaumont story is still under discussion. Since the publication of her book, Eileen has continued to research the personal history of women doctors in the UK – but she has never lost her interest in the women's tobacco control campaign. She is proud of how it has become a world-wide movement, and of the work of INWAT.

Alison Hillhouse, Edinburgh March 2010



## SOME NOTES ON THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE OF ACTION ON SMOKING AND HEALTH

### A Personal Account by Eileen Crofton

In March 1984 I retired from my post as Medical Director of ASH Scotland which had held for 11 years. In January 1973 when it began it was a very small affair, just myself and a typist for two sessions a week. We were accommodated in the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh at 9 Queen Street. At first we were high up in the Top Library. Later, as we expanded, we were in one of the beautiful Adam rooms on the ground floor. Alison Hillhouse joined as an assistant shortly after we began and we worked harmoniously together until I retired and she succeeded me as Director. At this time we were still a part-time organisation, though Alison, with her drive and dynamism, soon changed that.

I have no intention of writing an account of the early years of ASH. I hope that will be done sometime, but I feel that it should be by another hand than mine, who can look at it dispassionately. I hope the archives will be carefully guarded so that this can be done in the future.

However I think there may be one area where the records I have may possibly not be found elsewhere. That is those relating to the Women's Committee which was set up after I retired.

During my time as Medical Director I had very strong links with the main ASH organization based in London. I had always had tremendous support from the two directors, Mike Daube and David Simpson. I served on their Council, and so kept in close touch. The „constitution“ was a very simple affair in those days. We shared in each other's conferences and major events. It was Mike Daube who thrust me into the international field by getting me appointed to the Expert Committee of the World Health Organization to take part in the preparation of their second report on smoking and health in Geneva. There was an understanding that no country which took part could have more than one delegate. Mike Daube was the UK delegate. He was not to be put off, and put my name forward as from Scotland - an early declaration of independence. This was a fascinating educational experience for me. For one thing I learnt that I did have something to contribute. It was a great boost to my confidence, and more so when I was asked to go back to Geneva later in the year to speak at a meeting of the Education Committee of the Federation of Cardiological Societies. There were, of course, other conferences in which I took part including two World Conferences on Smoking and Health, first in Winnipeg and, after my retirement, in Japan. In Winnipeg I chaired a session on youth in which a number of different countries participated. I also read a paper

on behalf of the author, Dr Brotherston, a member of the Scottish Executive Committee who was unable to travel. It reported on a survey of the deaths, hospital admissions and costs of treatment of illnesses due to smoking by parliamentary constituency, Local Authority and Health Board areas in Scotland. It was entitled „The Scottish Epidemic“ and was published by the Scottish Committee of ASH. It aroused a great deal of interest among the international audience. I also took part in a number of working groups. The one that impressed me most was that on women's smoking. I met some splendid people, but also learnt how, in an international conference, the North Americans could dominate the discussions to the disadvantage of people from the developing world whose problems were different and required a different approach. A splendid woman from India, Dr Mira Aghi reminded us of the very different forms of tobacco use in India, and the effects on women. Another brilliant presentation was given by Dr Virginia Ernster from USA who analysed the tactics of the tobacco companies in their ruthless campaign targeting women. Although the focus of this world conference was supposed to be on women this was less obvious than it might have been, and I suspect many delegates went away without appreciating that this was so. During one of the Council meetings in London before I retired I was deeply impressed by the case put forward by Dr Bobbie Jacobson for a reassessment of the way the tobacco control campaign should approach women. She had recently (1981) published her book, „The Ladykillers: Why Smoking is a Feminist Issue“ which demonstrated how the conditions of many women's lives could be responsible for their perceived need for cigarettes, and account for their resistance to the health education messages which were aimed primarily at men. She pointed out that when women were targeted, it tended to be during pregnancy, for the sake of the baby, and her own problems as a woman were ignored.

In September 1982 Scottish ASH was involved in preparations for a WHO/SHEG (World Health Organization / Scottish Health Education Group) conference on Women's Health, to be held in March, 1983. For this purpose a consultative committee was set up to advise SHEG on women and smoking issues, to prepare for the 5th World Conference in Winnipeg in July, and to plan a seminar on women and smoking in Scotland in November. The members were Alison Hillhouse, Patti White, Bobbie Jacobson, Yvonne Bostock and myself. There was a seminar in London, and a number of regional seminars were held in Scotland, but it was felt that progress in the rest of the UK was rather slow, and that the effec-



tiveness of the Scottish group was hindered by the lack of a formal identity. They therefore proposed to the main ASH organisation that the present informal group should be replaced by a formally constituted ASH Women and Smoking Committee. The present Scottish bias in membership was unfortunate as the English Health Education Council (HEC) was more interested than SHEG. It was intended that the committee should be small and function as a working group.

This proposal was agreed by the Council of ASH. David Simpson, Director of ASH, would be a member *ex officio*, and the convener should be a member of Council. I was accordingly approached to take this on. As I had recently retired (March 1984), I was glad to do this to maintain contact with work I had so greatly enjoyed, and hopefully could still contribute something.

The group was anxious that HEC (later Health Education Authority) should discuss smoking in the context of women's health generally and any women's programme should be integrated within HEC's general smoking programme for maximum effect. HEC was intending to appoint a women's health officer which would be helpful. As a result of the Scottish seminar on Smoking and Women organised by ASH Scotland in November 1983, and subsequent regional seminars it had become clear that a publication focussing on women and smoking would be widely welcomed. Yvonne Bostock agreed to prepare an outline for discussion and with Patti White, draft a policy document for submission to HEC. It was agreed that the booklet should consist of two parts: Background information on the main issues, and a guide to action. The Committee prepared a discussion paper for a meeting with the Health Education Council which took place in November 1984. The HEC made it clear that they only wanted a few members from ASH. Yvonne Bostock and I spoke for the group. David Simpson was present as Director of ASH, and Patti White, a member of our group. The HEC fielded 6 individuals but we were glad that so many were there to hear our views. I had previously circulated a discussion document, and led the discussion. Donald Reid was the chief spokesman for the HEC.

We pointed out the differences in the trends in deaths from smoking-related diseases in the two sexes, and also the differences in the trends in the levels of smoking. We were at

pains to point out that it was the disturbing trends in both these measures that gave us cause for concern, rather than the absolute levels at the present time. We were looking to the future and how the trends in women could lead to serious problems if they were not addressed. We felt that this was not entirely appreciated. They felt that because men smoked more than women, and their levels of smoking related disease were higher, they were right in focussing their efforts on men. They did accept that women had additional health risks, that women were being increasingly targeted by the tobacco industry, that their influence on children was particularly strong, and that they had particular difficulties in quitting.

We pressed for a strategy aimed particularly at women as part of the nationwide effort and asked them to consider a change of emphasis by stressing the value of woman's own health rather than focussing purely on women's responsibility to others. We further recommended that HEC should give consideration to the appointment of a woman with overall responsibility for women's health and to integrate smoking as an important component of such a programme.

We made a number of specific suggestions and recommendations which were sympathetically received though we remained a little sceptical that they might not consider women's smoking as crucially important as we did. They concluded by saying that though their campaign would continue to be targeted principally to men they would consider a different, rather than a preferential, approach towards women.

As a result of this meeting we felt we had established a useful co-operation with the HEC, and our expectations were not to be disappointed. There were to be further meetings and joint projects undertaken. The Committee on Women and Smoking was increased by the addition, by invitation, of women who were expert in particular areas, many of whom were conducting original research. It became a feature of future meetings that there would be discussions on the current research projects undertaken by group members. The group was building up useful liaison with various voluntary organisations with an interest in women, (not necessarily on health issues). One of the committee members represented the Women's National Cancer Campaign. She reported on a series of seminars on women's health, and found there was a need for practical help in the form of a booklet to tackle the problems of women



and smoking. The NCVO (National Council of Women's Voluntary Organisations) were also interested. With this encouragement the group approached the HEC who agreed to publish a handbook jointly with ASH. Preparatory work had already been begun by the group in Scotland.

In 1985 the HEC and British Medical Association (BMA) jointly published an important investigation on the tobacco industry's targeting of women in advertisements in women's magazines - „When Smoke gets in Your Eyes“ which resulted in much media interest. The tobacco industry did not like it. This was the work of two members of the Group, (Jacobson and Amos) though it was done independently of the group. The group, however, was involved in a subsequent publication (see later) on the same topic in 1990, „Smoke still gets in her Eyes“

In 1986 discussions were proceeding for the publication and distribution of the Women and Smoking booklet issued jointly by ASH and the HEC and for the launch later in the year. It would be entitled „Women and Smoking: A Handbook for Action“. It aimed to make information on women and smoking more widely available, to put together ideas, experiences and activities of women who had participated in many preliminary meetings and was intended as a practical guide to action. The booklet was delightfully illustrated throughout. In November the press launch took place in the HEC premises by Edwina Currie, then Minister of Health who was known to be supportive. A good cross section of the press was present. I introduced the booklet with a short talk and took the opportunity to bring with me a few women's magazines which were continuing to show advertisements which contravened the government guidelines. Edwina was a little perturbed by this, and asked to take them back with her. There had recently been considerable publicity about Edwina Currie and speculation about her position in the government. It was rather unfortunate that the press aimed questions to her on this which deflected somewhat from the attention which should have been given to the primary aim of the meeting. However there was satisfactory press coverage afterwards, and the booklet itself soon proved successful. A later development was a request from Canada to produce their own version of the booklet and the copyright was passed on to them. They produced an excellent version, which also contained a few new ideas which we would have liked to have included in our own version but it

was encouraging to have such a strong endorsement of our work. In 1987 Yvonne Bostock laid on a poster display in Tokyo at the 6th World Conference on Smoking and Health, and copies of the Handbook were eagerly snatched up.

In 1984 a conference had been held in Nairobi to mark the end of the UN Decade for Women. The Government subsequently published a Strategies Paper. Responding to this I prepared a submission on behalf of the group. I drew attention to Para 148 which called for action relating to the health of women, but which had made no mention of smoking. This was sent to the Ministry of Health and the Home Office. The reply from the Home Office was clearly a turn-off. Although it stated that our recommendations were being considered I subsequently saw these and they had not even had a mention. Edwina Currie for the Ministry of Health „appreciated our concern“ and said that the ministerial group considering the Government's response to Nairobi could „understand the call for an advertising ban“. My opinion was that though Mrs Currie was sympathetic to our aims she was distancing herself from government policy, possibly because of her own rather delicate situation at that time.

In 1987 a few of the group were involved in the 6th World Conference on Smoking and Health in Tokyo. I was invited to speak to a group of women who had recently set up a national campaigning organisation with the aim of discouraging women from smoking. I subsequently wrote to their chairman to congratulate her on her initiative. In the main conference I gave a paper entitled „The contribution of a National Working Group to the Campaign to reduce Smoking among Women“. After giving the background about the growing concern in the UK about the trends in women's smoking and health effects, I described how we worked as an informal association under the aegis of ASH. I indicated the geographical range of our members, the different disciplines represented, the range of expertise, and our many links with other organisations, official and non-official, concerned with women. It was very well received, the idea seemed to be unique and I hoped there might be some follow-up to my concluding sentence, -“As a result of our experiences we recommend other countries to experiment with a similar approach so as to extract the full potential from their own experts“.



The composition of the group was kept continuously under review and new members invited who contributed greatly to the prestige of the group. With regular reports of current research projects undertaken by group members the group was well-informed about recent developments and also discussed other relevant reports and surveys as they came out. Members came from different parts of the country and different disciplines, and this added greatly to the overall effectiveness of the group. [See Appendix].

In 1988 it was proposed that, in view of the great expertise within the group, we should be giving consideration to the production of Expert Papers which might reach a wide readership. The BMA offered their services for printing and publishing and I was to approach the major cancer charities for possible funding. It was suggested that priority should be given to tobacco advertising in women's magazines, teenage girls and smoking, and the issue of women, smoking and poverty.

In 1989 the first Expert Paper on Teenage Girls and Smoking was published to coincide with World No Smoking Day on 31st May. The Cancer Research Campaign provided generous financial support and the British Medical Association undertook the publication. In my foreword I pointed out that it was not the policy of the group to single out individual members, as a lot of useful discussion always preceded our reports, but I thanked all those who „had a finger in the pie“. However in this account (writing in 1999) I would like to offer belated personal thanks to Anne Charlton (now Professor), for her splendid contribution and for setting such a high standard for future Expert reports. The launch was very successful and the book sold well. An evaluation form had been included and the response had been generally favorable. In particular it had proved to be a very useful document for journalists. Following this initiative the Health Education Authority (HEA) which had succeeded the HEC, launched a campaign aimed at teenagers on December 11th 1989, which was followed by a policy manual for schools, posters, magazine advertisements and television commercials. Professor Hilary Graham generously offered to undertake the lead role in the next expert paper on women, smoking and poverty. She planned to use the term „Low income“, rather than poverty, as poverty was a term not popular with the government of the day. The topic was such an important one that it was agreed that the contents should not be circumscribed by restric-

tions of space or of time. (Later enquiry had shown that the Teenage report had not been at all too long for its purpose).

The Group was well represented at the 7th World Conference on Smoking and Health in Perth, Western Australia where a new group was established. This was „The International Network of Women against Tobacco“ (INWAT). However members reported that it was disappointing that there were relatively few women speakers or representative women from the Third World. Members of the Group played an important part in the later development of INWAT, though, owing to financing and other problems, it took time to get it off the ground. However it is now a flourishing organization.

The HEA agreed to fund a booklet on advertising to women to follow Amos and Jacobson's „Smoke gets in her Eyes“ (1985) to be called „Smoke Still gets in her Eyes“. This update was to be authored by the ASH Women's Group and was duly published in 1990. The Chest, Heart and Stroke Association, Scotland, had contributed generously to the research required. The press launch was organised by the BMA, and again the press were very interested. Copies were sent to all women MPs and all UK MEPs. (In retrospect I do not understand why we did not send it to male MPs ~ perhaps it would have been too expensive!). It was proposed to add an amendment to the current Early Day Motion on tobacco advertising. Copies were sent to all editors and publishers of magazines covered by the survey. The Lancet published an article strongly in support of the survey.

Concurrently with all these developments preparatory work was being undertaken on Smoking and Pregnancy and on Women, Smoking and Poverty, and thought was turning also to a paper on Smoking and the Older Woman. The report on pregnancy was later dropped as the HEA had in the meanwhile produced an excellent one which made it redundant. The other two were published after my retirement as convener in 1990. „Her Share of Misfortune: Women, Smoking and Low Income“ was published in 1993. One of the group's regular activities was a letter to the Chancellor before the budget urging the importance of price increases in the control of smoking. (It became almost amusing that the letters I received in reply were almost identical over the years). There was no doubt whatsoever, that an increase of price had a very important influence on the overall level of smoking in all age groups, in every class and in both men



and women and it had to remain as an important plank in tobacco control policy. However the worry remained that poor women might become even poorer as a result. And so we came to feel that measures to reduce women's poverty were an inseparable part of the campaign to help them to reduce their smoking. This issue was sensitively handled in the report. „As Time goes by: Smoking and the Older Woman“ was published in 1995. I was particularly pleased to be asked to write a foreword. I had originally put forward an outline as a basis for the report, but I found much to admire in the sensitive and understanding way in which the subject had been handled. This was the last of the Expert Reports produced by the group. All have stood the test of time, and their achievement is one of which the group could be proud. In May 1990, with much regret, I indicated that I felt it was time for me to retire as convener and hand over to someone younger. I asked the group to put forward their views on the future of the group, and a possible successor. I thanked them, and they thanked me. This was followed by some very kind letters which I much value.

And so ended my long association with ASH that has been such an important part of my life. It was good to feel that the expert papers which we had planned some years previously were either already published or well on the way.

## Postscript

I am not in a position to write on the subsequent history of the group, apart from the issue of their further publications which I have already recorded. Patti White, who had taken part in all the discussions preceding the setting up of the group, and a very active member throughout, took over as convener. The Reports continued to come out as planned. This was a great tribute to all concerned.

In 1994 it was reported that smoking as a women's issue was now firmly on the agenda of women's organisations. The Women's National Commission hosted a seminar on Women and Tobacco; the Scottish Office with the Health Education Board for Scotland (HEBS) organised a conference focussing specifically on the topic of smoking among poor women including a number of well-attended workshops for health and community workers; The National Alliance of Women's Organisations (NAWO) identified smoking as a key issue, and on the international level INWAT was preparing to formalise its structure. What a change from Bobbie Jacobson's original call to action in 1981 - "The Ladykillers - Why Smoking is a Feminist Issue"!

## Appendix:

The following were all members at one time or another. My information is not adequate to give dates but I thought it was of interest to list them together with their particular interests and expertise (affiliations accurate at the time of writing).

Dr Amanda Amos, Senior Lecturer, Dept of Public Health, Edinburgh University. Rosemary Ballaster, representing Women's Interest Group of NCVO, Townswomen's Guild and National Alliance of Women's Organisations. Liz Batten, Senior Research Fellow, Dept of Psychology, Southampton University. Judy Berry, North-East Regional Health Authority. Leader of Smoke-Free Project. Dr Beulah Bewley, Senior Lecturer in Community Medicine, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Yvonne Bostock, Freelance writer, formerly Scottish Health Education Group. Alice Burns, Women's National Cancer Campaign and Chairman of Women's Organisation's Interests Group (WOIG) of NCVO (National Council of Voluntary organisations). Grace Burnside, Ulster Cancer Foundation. Anne Charlton (now Professor), CRC (Cancer Research Campaign) Education and Child Studies Research Group, School of Epidemiology and Health Sciences, Manchester University. Dr Penny Coyer, Director of National Society of Non-Smokers and Director of „Quit“ Dr Eileen Crofton, formerly Medical Director of ASH, Scotland. Dr Pam Gillies, Dept of Public Health, Medicine and Epidemiology Nottingham University, Director of Mother's Stop-Smoking Project. (Now Professor of Public Health). Professor Hilary Graham, Department of Applied Social Science, Warwick University Alison Hillhouse, Director of ASH, Scotland. Dr Bobbie Jacobson, Director of Public Health, City and Hackney Health Authority Ruth Newman, Health Promotion Officer, Wales. Amanda Sandford, ASH, Secretary to the Group. Pamela Taylor, BMA, Head of Public Affairs. Joy Townsend, MRC Epidemiology and Medical Care Unit, Northwick Park Hospital, Harrow, Middlesex. (Now Professor). Patti White, in turn, ASH, HEC, WHO, freelance. From ASH, ex officio, David Simpson, Director, and Joyce Epstein, Deputy Director. From HEC (later HEA) Jane Thornton, Linda Seymour, Nigel Smith, Sandi Wilson, Margit Skov and Ann McNeill.