

Genetic Engineering: Policy Making in Britain

The Politics of Uncertainty. Regulating Recombinant DNA Research in Britain. DAVID BENNETT, PETER GLASNER, and DAVID TRAVIS. Routledge and Kegan Paul (Methuen), New York, 1986. xii, 218 pp. \$35.

The controversy over the hazards of recombinant DNA technology in the 1970's brought into sharp focus the issue of the control of new and powerful forms of technology in the face of widely varying technical opinion about their future impact. Most nations where research involving recombinant DNA was under way responded by establishing systems of voluntary control developed by committees consisting largely if not exclusively of scientific experts. Britain took a different path, choosing to regulate genetic engineering and place policy making in the hands of a broadly constituted committee.

The Politics of Uncertainty by sociologists David Bennett, Peter Glasner, and David Travis examines the development of British policy for genetic engineering, particularly the role played by the principal committees responsible for advising the British government: the Working Party chaired by Lord Ashby, established by the Advisory Board for the Research Councils in 1974 and charged with assessing the potential benefits and hazards of the techniques; the Working Party chaired by Sir Robert Williams, established by the Department of Education and Science in 1975 and charged with advising on the nature of controls; and finally, the Genetic Manipulation Advisory Group (GMAG), established by the Department of Education and Science in December 1976, which was responsible for continuing assessment of possible hazards and for implementation of controls until January 1984, when its remaining responsibilities were transferred to the Health and Safety Executive, the government agency responsible for implementing occupational health and safety regulations.

The principal focus of the book is the establishment and operation of GMAG. The considerations that influenced decisions on the structure and role of GMAG, particularly the differing positions of scientists, who envisaged an advisory committee of experts, and trade union representatives, who pressed for a statutory system of controls with strong representation of employees, are

presented in detail. The committee that resulted was a curious political hybrid, the product of compromises on both sides. Formally constituted as an independent body, or QUANGO (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organization), GMAG was run by the Department of Education and Science and had advisory status. On the other hand, GMAG's "advice" had statutory backing in the 1974 Health and Safety at Work Act as well as in regulations requiring notification of the construction of genetically engineered organisms to the Health and Safety Executive. In contrast to the American system of voluntary controls, the British controls applied uniformly to all sectors and were mandatory in practice if not in theory.

Two other features distinguished the British system from its American counterpart and from most other systems established at this time to oversee genetic engineering. First, GMAG was structured as a broadly representative body. In addition to the scientific community, its members represented the universities, trade unions, private industry, and, more ambiguously, the public. Second, local safety committees were required to represent, in the words of GMAG's first report, "all grades of staff and all interests of the laboratory," and trade unions had the right to be involved in their establishment.

Bennett, Glasner, and Travis examine in detail decision making on the issues addressed by GMAG: the criteria to be used by local committees in assessing experiments; the protection of information deemed sensitive by private industry; the introduction in 1979 of a new scheme for reassessing hazards; controls for large-scale production using genetically engineered organisms; the progressive weakening of requirements for containment and oversight; the future of GMAG itself. The task they confronted was not an easy one. The Official Secrets Act, which covers all governmental proceedings in Britain, meant that decision making occurred entirely behind closed doors. Through interviews with civil servants, committee chairmen, and committee members and others closely associated with genetic engineering, the authors were able to see behind British policy as presented in official documents. What emerges is a revealing picture of policy making at the micro level of committee proceedings: the often differing

perceptions, positions, and roles of participants; the struggles over such issues as the confidentiality of industrial submissions, use of scientific merit as a criterion in assessment of experiments, and relaxation of controls; the compromises that were ultimately negotiated.

However, the larger picture of the relation between GMAG and the government agencies responsible for it and their socioeconomic context remains unclear. As sociologists working in a research tradition that views scientific knowledge as rooted in a particular time and culture, Bennett, Glasner, and Travis define their goal as examination of social influences on the processes of scientific development (p. 5). Presumably this includes analysis of social influences on the scientific content of policy decisions as well as non-technical aspects of policy.

But this delicate issue is dodged to a great extent. How scientific assessments of recombinant DNA hazards were affected by social and economic pressures is not directly addressed. For example, in 1978, as the United States prepared to dismantle a large part of its recombinant DNA guidelines covering research with *Escherichia coli* K12, it was recognized that if Britain retained its original system for assessment of hazards it would be left "out on a limb" and researchers might well be driven abroad (p. 140). But how the scientific content of the new risk assessment scheme formulated by various subcommittees of GMAG in 1978 was affected by that stark prospect with all it entailed for Britain's fledgling genetic engineering industry is far from clear. The authors conclude, evasively, that the scheme was the outcome of "mainly scientific but partly administrative decisions" and that the "climate was conducive to the reception of a scheme bringing about relaxation, but it was also demanding of one which provided an acceptable, sound scientific basis to any new system" (p. 148).

Two tendencies appear to prevent the authors from taking the analysis further. First, there is a tendency to accept the terms of the genetic engineering debate as defined in the United States by 1978. Although the authors note that some British scientists were skeptical about American moves to dismantle controls, the change in scientific consensus that occurred in the United States in the period 1977 to 1979 is generally taken as given. The reasons for differences in the perceptions of British and American scientists are not pursued, even though there is substantial evidence suggesting that many British scientists took the question of occupational hazards of genetic engineering more seriously than their American col-

Politics Of Uncertainty Regulating Recombinant Dna Research In Britain

Michael Hoelscher



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