# UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD Department of Politics and International Relations

Optional Subject for the MPhil in Politics

The Politics and Government of a Major State:
The United Kingdom

Academic Year 2023-24

#### **Course Providers**

Course providers are Nick Dickinson (Balliol College, <u>nicholas.dickinson@balliol.ox.ac.uk</u>) and Leonardo Carella (<u>leonardo.carella@nuffield.ox.ac.uk</u>). Dr Dickinson teaches topics 1-4 & 6, and Dr Carella teaches topics 5, 7 & 8.

# **Objectives**

The aims of this course are i) to acquire understanding of political science and political behaviour as it applies to understanding the politics of the United Kingdom; and ii) to understand and assess the substantial changes that have taken place in British politics in the post-war period, at an electoral and institutional level. Students will achieve in-depth understanding of the politics and government of the UK and will demonstrate the ability to evaluate theories and evidence relating to understanding change in comparative and British perspective.

The course will draw heavily on academic research focused on Britain but students are also encouraged to put the UK into comparative perspective by engaging with some of the wider comparative politics literature. The focus will be on acquiring analytic skills, as well as developing in-depth understanding of the politics and government of the UK. Students will be expected to critically assess the arguments and evidence in the readings, and provide engaging answers to each question posed, per topic. The course is organised around timely and important questions about British politics, which each class will focus on answering.

Please note: students are expected to come to the first class with a good grounding in the institutional configurations of power in the British political system.

Each student will give a presentation (at least) once throughout the term, for which topics will be assigned in week 1. In addition, students will write an essay during the term, so that they can receive feedback. The course is assessed by one three-hour written examination.

# **Presentations**

These should be 15-20 minutes long, ideally accompanied with slides. Presenters should share a handout for class participants (including the course leaders) summarising the points using the readings. Presentations should respond to the <u>question posed</u> for each topic.

#### **Discussants**

Each participant will be a 'discussant' once (the week following their presentation). They should liaise with the presenter ahead of the class and pose 3-5 questions in response to the readings that can guide class discussion.

# **Formative Essays**

Students taking the course for credit are *required* to write an essay of c.2000 words length. The essay can be on any of topics 1-4 & 6, and should be emailed to the course leader (Dr Nick Dickinson) *24hrs before the corresponding class* (Wednesday of 4<sup>rd</sup> week), or any topic from weeks 5, 7 or 8 and should be emailed to the other course leader (Dr Leonardo Carella) again *24hrs before the corresponding class*. We aim to provide individual feedback the following week.

## **READINGS**

The reading list is organised around core readings, background readings, putting the UK into context sections, and other recent contributions which provide additional comparative readings, where relevant. You should consult the background readings (as helpful) and read the core readings in preparation for the classes, and ideally a sample of the additional reading – which will be especially helpful for essays and exam preparation.

### Course outline

- Topic 1 Where does power lie in the British political system?
- Topic 2 Was devolution a successful political strategy?
- Topic 3 Do judges have too much power in British politics?
- Topic 4 Are Britain's current political difficulties due to the lack of a codified constitution?
- Topic 5 Should Britain adopt proportional representation?
- Topic 6 Are Britain's political parties fit for purpose?
- Topic 7 'Because the British electorate has become increasingly volatile, election campaigns matter more than they used to.' Discuss.
- Topic 8 Was the 'Brexit' vote an example of a vote for populism?

# Topic 1. Where does power lie in the British political system?

#### Core readings

- Russell, Meg, and Philip Cowley. 2018. "Modes of UK Executive-Legislative Relations Revisited." Political Quarterly 89(1): 18–28.
- Russell, Meg, Daniel Gover, and Kristina Wollter. 2016. "Does the Executive Dominate the Westminster Legislative Process?: Six Reasons for Doubt." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69(2): 286–308.
- Russell, Meg. "Brexit and Parliament: The Anatomy of a Perfect Storm." Parliamentary Affairs (2020).

#### Background

- \*Burch, Martin, and Ian Holliday. 2004. "The Blair Government and the Core Executive." *Government and Opposition* 39(1): 1–21
- \*Hood, Christopher, and Ruth Dixon. 2015. *A Government that Worked Better and Cost Less? Evaluating Three Decades of Reform and Change in UK Central Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bogdanor, Vernon. 2009. The New British Constitution. Oxford: Hart.
- Heffernan, Richard, Colin Hay, Meg Russell, and Philip Cowley, eds. 2016. *Developments in British Politics* 10. 10<sup>th</sup> ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- King, Anthony. 2007. The British Constitution. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

#### Putting the UK in context

- Thomas Fleming and Petra Schleiter. 2020. "Prorogation: Comparative Context and Scope for Reform", Parliamentary Affairs, (2020)
- Schleiter, Petra, and Georgina Evans. "The changing confidence relationship between the UK executive and Parliament in comparative context." *Parliamentary Affairs* 74.1 (2021): 121-137.

### Parliament

- Fisher, Lucy. 2015. "The Growing Power and Autonomy of House of Commons Select Committees: Causes and Effects." *The Political Quarterly* 86(3): 419–26.
- Kelso, Alexandra. 2009. Parliamentary Reform at Westminster. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Lynch, Philip, and Richard Whitaker. 2019. "Select Committees and Brexit: Parliamentary Influence in a Divisive Policy Area." *Parliamentary Affairs* 72(4): 923–44.
- Maer, Lucinda. 2019. "Select Committee Reform: Shifting the Balance and Pushing the Boundaries." *Parliamentary Affairs* 72(4): 761–78.
- Martin, Shane, and Richard Whitaker. 2019. "Beyond Committees: Parliamentary Oversight of Coalition Government in Britain." West European Politics 42(7): 1464–86.
- Norton, Philip. 2013. Parliament in British Politics. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Russell, Meg, and Daniel Gover. 2017. *Legislation at Westminster: Parliamentary Actors and Influence in the Making of British Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Russell, Meg. 2013. The Contemporary House of Lords: Westminster Bicameralism Revived. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Russell, Meg. 2011. 'Never Allow a Crisis to Go to Waste: The Wright Committee Reforms to Strengthen the House of Commons' *Parliamentary Affairs* 64 (4):612-633.
- Schleiter, Petra, and Valerie Belu. 2016. "The Decline of Majoritarianism in the UK and the Fixed-Term Parliaments Act." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69(1): 36–52.

• Thompson, Louise, and Ben Yong. 2019. "What Do We Mean by Parliamentary Scrutiny of Brexit? A View from the House of Commons." *Brexit and Democracy*. Palgrave (pp.29-49).

#### Executive – ministers

- Bennister, Mark, and Richard Heffernan. 2012. "Cameron as Prime Minister: The Intra-Executive Politics of Britain's Coalition Government." *Parliamentary Affairs* 65(4): 778–801.
- Byrne, Christopher, and Kevin Theakston. 2019. "Understanding the power of the prime minister: structure and agency in models of prime ministerial power." *British Politics* 14(4): 329-46.
- Heffernan, Richard. 2003. "Prime Ministerial Predominance? Core Executive Politics in the UK." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5(3): 347–72.
- Indridason, Indridi H., and Christopher Kam. 2008. "Cabinet Reshuffles and Ministerial Drift." British Journal of Political Science 38(4): 621–56.
- King, Anthony, and Nicholas Allen. 2010. "'Off With Their Heads': British Prime Ministers and the Power to Dismiss." *British Journal of Political Science* 40(2): 249–78.
- King, Anthony. 1985. The British Prime Minister. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.
- Rhodes, R. A. W., and Patrick Dunleavy, eds. 1995. Prime Minister, Cabinet and Core Executive. Basingstoke: St. Martin's Press.

#### Executive – civil service

- Richards, David. 2008. New Labour and the civil service: Reconstituting the Westminster model. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.
- Yong, Ben, and Robert Hazell. 2014. Special Advisers: Who They Are, What They Do and Why They Matter. Oxford: Hart.

# Topic 2. Was devolution a successful political strategy?

### Core Readings

- Cheung, Aron, Akash Paun, and Lucy Valsamidis. *Devolution at 20*. London: Institute for Government (2019). Available at https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk
- Akash Paun, and Sam Macrory Has Devolution Worked? The first 20 years. London: Institute for Government (2019).
   Available at https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk
- McHarg, Aileen, Tom Mullen, Alan Page, and Neil Walker, eds. 2016. *The Scottish Independence Referendum: Constitutional and Political Implications*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tilley, James, John Garry, and Neil Matthews. 2019. "The Evolution of Party Policy and Cleavage Voting under Power-Sharing in Northern Ireland." *Government and Opposition*.

## Background

- Kenny, Michael, Iain McLean, and Akash Paun, eds. 2018. *Governing England: English Identity and Institutions in a Changing United Kingdom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wyn Jones, Richard, and Roger Scully. 2012. Wales Says Yes: Devolution and the 2011 Welsh Referendum. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Birrell, Derek. 2012. Comparing Devolved Governance. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bogdanor, Vernon. 2009. The New British Constitution. Oxford: Hart.
- McMahon, Margery. 2008. Government and Politics of Northern Ireland. 3rd ed. Newtonards, Co. Down: Colourpoint Books.
- Mitchell, James. 2009. Devolution in the UK. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

## Putting the UK in context

- Keating, Michael, and Nicola McEwen. "Introduction: Devolution and public policy in comparative perspective." Regional & Federal Studies 15.4 (2005): 413-421.
- Hopkins, John. Devolution In Context: Regional Federal & Devolved Government In The EU. Routledge-Cavendish, 2006.

# Recent Contributions

- Awan-Scully, Roger. 2018. The End of British Party Politics? London: Biteback.
- Birrell, Derek, and Deirdre Heenan. 2019. "The Confidence and Supply Agreement between the Conservative Party and the Democratic Unionist Party: Implications for the Barnett Formula and Intergovernmental Relations in the UK." Parliamentary Affairs.
- Bradbury, Jonathan, and Rhys Andrews. 2009. "State devolution and national identity: continuity and change in the politics of Welshness and Britishness in Wales." *Parliamentary Affairs* 63 (2): 229-249.
- Bromley, Catherine, John Curtice, David McCrone, and Alison Park, eds. 2006. *Has Devolution Delivered?* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Convery, Alan, and Thomas Carl Lundberg. 2018. "Rational Choice Meets the New Politics: Choosing the Scottish Parliament's Electoral System." *Government and Opposition*.
- Curtice, John, and Ben Seyd, eds. 2009. *Has devolution worked? The verdict from policymakers and the public*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Haughey, Sean. 2019. "Worth Restoring? Taking Stock of the Northern Ireland Assembly." The Political Quarterly 90(4): 705-12.
- Henderson, Ailsa, and Richard Wyn Jones. 2021. Englishness. The Political Force Transforming Britain. Oxford University Press

- Jackson, Ben. 2020. The Case for Scottish Independence: A History of Nationalist Political Thought in Modern Scotland. Cambridge University Press.
- Lundberg, Thomas. 2014. "Tensions between Constituency and Regional Members of the Scottish Parliament under Mixed-Member Proportional Representation: A Failure of the New Politics." *Parliamentary Affairs* 67(2): 351–70.
- McAllister, Laura, and Roger Awan-Scully. 2019. "For Wales, Do Not See England? An Analysis of the 2017 General Election." *Parliamentary Affairs*.
- McGrattan, Cillian. 2010. "Learning from the past or laundering history? Consociational narratives and state intervention in Northern Ireland." *British Politics* 5(1): 92-113.
- Russell, Meg, and Jack Sheldon. 2018. Options for an English Parliament. London: Constitution Unit.
   Tilley, James, Geoffrey Evans, and Claire Mitchell. 2008. "Consociationalism and the Evolution of Political Cleavages in Northern Ireland, 1989-2004". British Journal of Political Science 38(4): 699-717.
- Williams, Sophie. 2018. "The Politics of Welshness: A Response to Bradbury and Andrews." *Parliamentary Affairs* 71(2): 305-23.

# Putting the UK in context

- Bel, Germà, Xavier Cuadras-Morató, and Toni Rodon. 2019. "Crisis? What crisis? Economic recovery and support for independence in Catalonia." *Regional Science Policy & Practice*.
- Bélanger, Éric, Richard Nadeau, Ailsa Henderson, and Eve Hepburn. 2018. *The National Question and Electoral Politics in Quebec and Scotland*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Hierro, María José, and Guillem Rico. 2019. "Economic crisis and national attitudes: experimental evidence from Spain." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42(5): 820-37.

# Topic 3. Do judges now have much power in British politics?

# Core readings

- Hanretty, Chris. "Courts in the United Kingdom." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. 2020.
- Oliver, Dawn. 2018. "Parliament and the Courts: A Pragmatic (or Principled) Defence of the Sovereignty of Parliament." In *Parliament and the Law*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, eds. Alexander Horne and Gavin Drewry. Oxford: Hart.
- Fisher, James C. "No Politics Please, We're British': R (Miller) v the Prime Minister; Cherry and Others v Advocate General for Scotland [2019] UKSC 41." *Hibernian LJ* 19 (2020): 140.
  - See also R (on the application of Miller) v The Prime Minister. 2019. UKSC 41.
- Trench, Alan. "The Courts and Devolution in the UK." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 14.2 (2012): 303-322.

## Background

- Hanretty, Chris. 2020. A Court of Specialists: Judicial Behaviour on the UK Supreme Court. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Young, Alison. 2009. Parliamentary Sovereignty and the Human Rights Act. Oxford: Hart.
- Ginsburg, Tom. 2008. "The Global Spread of Constitutional Review." In *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics*, eds. Gregory A. Caldeira, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Keith E. Whittington. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 81-98.
- Bogdanor, Vernon. 2009. The New British Constitution. Oxford: Hart.
- Hanretty, Chris. "Courts in the United Kingdom." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. 2020.
- · Malleson, Kate. 1999. The New Judiciary: The Effects of Expansion and Activism. Aldershot: Ashgate

# Putting the UK in context

- Dickson, Brice. 2007. Judicial Activism in Common Law Supreme Courts. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Epp, Charles R. 1998. The Rights Revolution: Lawyers, Activists, and Supreme Courts in Comparative Perspective. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hirschl, Ran. 2004. *Towards Juristocracy: The Origins and Consequences of the New Constitutionalism.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Le Sueur, Andrew. ed., 2004. )Building the UK's new Supreme Court: National and Comparative Perspectives

## Recent Contributions

- Dickson, Brice. 2015. "Activism and Restraint within the UK Supreme Court." European Journal of Current Legal Issues. 21(1).
- Elliott, Mark. 2013. "A Damp Squib in the Long Grass: The Report of the Commission on a Bill of Rights." European Human Rights Law Review 2: 137–51.
- Gee, Graham, Robert Hazell, Kate Malleson, and Patrick O'Brien. 2015. *The Politics of Judicial Independence in the UK's Changing Constitution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gonzales-Ocantos, Ezequeil, and Elias Dinas. 2019. Compensation and Compliance: Sources of Public Acceptance of the U.K. Supreme Court's Brexit Decision. *Law and Society Review*, 53(3): 889–919.
- Hanretty, Chris. 2015. "The Appointment of Judges by Ministers: Political Preferment in England 18802005." *Journal of Law and Courts* 3(2): 305-29.
- Klug, Francesca. 2009. "Solidity or Wind?" What's on the Menu in the Bill of Rights Debate?" The Political Quarterly 80(3): 420-26
- Klug, Francesca. 2015. A Magna Carta for all Humanity: Homing in on Human Rights. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Sumption, Jonathan. 2019. Trials of the State: Law and the Decline of Politics. London: Profile Books.
- Williams, Matthew. 2018. How Language Works in Politics: The Impact of Vague Legislation on Policy.

- Woodhouse, Diana. 2001. "The Law and Politics: More Power to the Judges and to the People?" *Parliamentary Affairs* 54(2): 223-37.
- Woodhouse, Diana. 2004. "The constitutional and political implications of a United Kingdom Supreme Court." *Legal Studies*. 24(1-2): 134-55.
- Young, Alison. 2005. "A Peculiarly British Protection of Human Rights?" The Modern Law Review 68(5): 858-72.

# Topic 4. Are Britain's current difficulties due to the lack of a codified constitution?

## Core Readings

- Norton, Philip., Governing Britain: Parliament, Ministers and Our Ambiguous Constitution (2020)
- Jennings, Will, and Martin Lodge. 2019. 'Brexit, the tides and Canute: the fracturing politics of the British state.' *Journal of European Public Policy* 26.5: 772-789.
- Matthews, Felicity. 2017. "Whose mandate is it anyway? Brexit, the constitution and the contestation of authority." *The Political Quarterly* 88.4: 603-611.
- Smith, Julie. "COVID-19, Brexit and the United Kingdom-a year of uncertainty." The Round Table 110.1 (2021): 62-75.

#### Background

- Bogdanor, Vernon., Beyond Brexit: Towards a British Constitution (2019)
- Young, Alison. 2017. "The Constitutional Implications of Brexit". European Public Law 23(4): 757-86.
- Bogdanor, Vernon. 2009. The New British Constitution. Oxford: Hart.
- Bogdanor, Vernon, Tarunabh Khaitan, and Stefan Vogenauer. 2007. "Should Britain Have a Written Constitution?" The Political Quarterly 78(4): 499-517.
- Dicey, Albert V. 1885. Lectures Introductory to the Study of the Law of the Constitution. 1st ed. London
- North, Douglass C. and Barry R. Weingast. 1989. "Constitution and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Journal of Economic History* 49(4): 803-32.

#### Putting the UK in Context

- Tsebelis, George, and Dominic J. Nardi. 2016. "A Long Constitution is a (Positively) Bad Constitution: Evidence from OECD Countries." *British Journal of Political Science* 46(2): 457-78.
- Elkins, Zachary, Tom Ginsburg, and James Molton. 2009. *The Endurance of National Constitutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oliver, Dawn, ed. 2011. How Constitutions Change: A Comparative Study. Oxford: Hart.
- The Comparative Constitutions Project (comparative constitutions project.org);

#### Recent contributions

- Bamforth, Nicholas, and Peter Leylands, eds. 2013. *Accountability in the Contemporary Constitution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, Christine. 2014. "Constitutional transitions: the peculiarities of the British constitution and the politics of comparison." *Public Law*. July: 446-71.
- Blick, Andrew. 2019. Stretching the Constitution: The Brexit Shock in Historic Perspective. Oxford: Hart.
- Bogdanor, Vernon. 2011. The Coalition and the Constitution. Oxford: Hart.
- Bogdanor, Vernon. 2019. Beyond Brexit: Towards a British Constitution. London: I.B. Taurus.
- Elliott, Mark, Jack Williams, and Alison Young, eds. 2018. The UK Constitution after Miller: Brexit and Beyond. Oxford: Hart.
- Jowell, Jeffrey, and Colm O'Cinneide. 2019. *The Changing Constitution*. 9th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McHarg, Aileen. 2018. "Navigating without maps: Constitutional silence and the management of the Brexit crisis. *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 16(3): 952-968.
- McLean, Iain. 2010. What's Wrong With the British Constitution? Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oliver, Dawn, Tony Prosser, and Richard Rawlings, eds. 2010. The Regulatory State: Constitutional Implications. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weill, Rivka. 2003. "Dicey Was Not Diceyan". The Cambridge Law Journal 62(2): 474-493.
- Young, Alison. 2009. Parliamentary Sovereignty and the Human Rights Act. Oxford: Hart.

# Topic 5. Should Britain adopt proportional representation?

# Background

- Dunleavy, Paul, and Margetts, Helen, 2001. From majoritarian to pluralist democracy? Electoral reform in Britain since 1997. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 13(3), 295-319.
- Farrell, David M. 2011. Electoral systems: A comparative introduction. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Gallagher, Michael, and Paul Mitchell, eds. 2005. The Politics of Electoral Systems. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hix, Simon, Johnston, Ron and McLean, Iain, 2010. *Choosing an electoral system: a report by the British Academy Policy Centre*. British Academy.
  - Available at: https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/246/Choosing-an-electoral-system.pdf
- Johnston, Ronald, Charles Pattie, Danny Dorling, and David Rossiter. 2001. From Votes to Seats: The Operation of the UK Electoral System Since 1945. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Klemperer, D., 2019. Electoral Systems and Electoral Reform in the UK in Historical Perspective. The Constitution Society, London. <a href="https://consoc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/David-Klemperer-Electoral-Systems-and-Electoral-Reform-in-the-UK-in-Historical-Perspective.pdf">https://consoc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/David-Klemperer-Electoral-Systems-and-Electoral-Reform-in-the-UK-in-Historical-Perspective.pdf</a>
- Klemperer, D., 2019. The Electoral System and British Politics. *The Constitution Society, London*. <a href="https://consoc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/David-Klemperer-The-Electoral-System-and-British-Politics.pdf">https://consoc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/David-Klemperer-The-Electoral-System-and-British-Politics.pdf</a>
- Norris, Pippa. 2001. "The Twilight of Westminster? Electoral Reform and Its Consequences." Political Studies 49(5): 877–900.
- Shugart, Matthew S. and Taagepera, Rein, 2018. Electoral system effects on party systems. In Herron, Erik. S., Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, 41-68.

# Core readings

- \*Blais, André ed., 2008. To Keep or to Change First Past the Post?: the Politics of Electoral Reform. OUP Oxford. Chapters 1 (by Shugart) and 2 (by Blau)
- \*Curtice, John. 2018. "How the Electoral System Failed to Deliver Again." In *Britain Votes* 2017, eds. Jonathan Tonge, Cristina Leston-Bandeira, and Stuart Wilks-Heeg. Oxford: OUP, 29–45.
- \*Curtice, John, 2020. A Return to 'Normality' at Last? How the Electoral System Worked in 2019. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 73 (Supplement 1), 29-47.
- \*Denver, David and Johns, Robert (2021) *Elections and Voters in Britain*. Springer Nature. (Fifth Edition). Chapter 8 ('Elections and Electoral Systems').
- \*Renwick, Alan. 2010. *The Politics of Electoral Reform: Changing the Rules of the Game*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-4 and 13.
- \*Sargeant, J., Pannell, J., McKee, R., Lilly, A., Thomas, A. and Haddon, C., 2023. Electoral reform and the constitution.
   Institute for Government/Bennet Institute for Public Policy. Available at: <a href="https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Electoral-reform-and-the-constitution.pdf">https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Electoral-reform-and-the-constitution.pdf</a>

## Recent Contributions (electoral system functioning and (non-)reform)

- Curtice, John, 2013. Politicians, voters and democracy: The 2011 UK referendum on the Alternative Vote. *Electoral Studies*, 32(2), pp.215-223. (more broadly, see the 2013 special edition of Electoral Studies Volume 32, Issue 2 on the 2011 AV referendum)
- Curtice, John. 2015. "A Return to Normality? How the Electoral System Operated." In *Britain Votes* 2015, eds. Andrew Geddes and Jonathan Tonge. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 25–40.
- Hanretty, Chris, Jonathan Mellon, and Patrick English. "Members of parliament are minimally accountable for their issue stances (and they know it)." *American Political Science Review* 115.4 (2021): 1275-1291.
- Miles, J., 2023. The Labour Party and Electoral Reform. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Sanders, D., Harold D. Clarke, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul Whiteley. 2011. "Simulating the Effects of the Alternative Vote in the 2010 UK General Election." *Parliamentary Affairs* 64(1): 5–23.
- Stolz, K. (2019). Should unionists support PR? Electoral systems, party systems and territorial integration in the United Kingdom. *British Politics*, 14, 269-289.

- Vivyan, N. and Wagner, M., 2012. Do voters reward rebellion? The electoral accountability of MPs in Britain. *European Journal of Political Research*, 51(2), pp.235-264.
- Whiteley, Paul, Harold D. Clarke, David Sanders, and Marianne C. Stewart. 2012. "Britain Says NO: Voting in the AV Ballot Referendum." *Parliamentary Affairs* 65(2): 301–22.

#### *Recent Contributions (normative considerations)*

- Blau, Adrian. 2004. "Fairness and Electoral Reform." British Journal of Politics and International Relations 6(2): 165-81.
- Carey, John M. and Hix, Simon, 2011. The electoral sweet spot: Low-magnitude proportional electoral systems. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2), pp.383-397.
- Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael, 1999. Send the rascals packing: Defects of proportional representation and the virtues of the Westminster model. *Representation*, 36(2), pp.117-126.
- Van Der Hout, Eliora, and Anthony J. McGann. 2009. "Proportional Representation within the Limits of Liberalism Alone." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(4): 735–54.

#### Putting the UK in context (electoral system origins and reform)

- Ahmed, Amel. 2010. "Reading History Forward: The Origins of Electoral Systems in European Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(8/9): 1059-88.
- Boix, Carles, 1999. Setting the rules of the game: the choice of electoral systems in advanced democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 93(3), pp.609-624.
- Colomer, Josep M. (2005). It's parties that choose electoral systems (or, Duverger's laws upside down). *Political Studies*, 53(1), 1-21.

#### Putting the UK in context (electoral system effects)

- Blais, A., Lachat, R., Hino, A., & Doray-Demers, P. 2011. The mechanical and psychological effects of electoral systems: A quasi-experimental study. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(12), 1599-1621.
- Carella, Leonardo and Eggers, Andrew, 2023. Electoral Systems and Geographic Representation. British Journal of Political Science, 1-29.
- Cox, G. W. 1990. Centripetal and centrifugal incentives in electoral systems. American Journal of Political Science, 903-935.
- Döring, Holger and Manow, Philip, 2017. Is proportional representation more favourable to the left? Electoral rules and their impact on elections, parliaments and the formation of cabinets. *British Journal of Political Science*, 47(1), pp.149-164.
- Eggers, Andrew C. 2015. "Proportionality and Turnout: Evidence from French Municipalities." Comparative Political Studies 48(2): 135–67.
- Fisher, Stephen D., and Sara B. Hobolt. 2010. "Coalition government and electoral accountability." *Electoral Studies* 29.3: 358-369.
- Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2006. "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others." *American Political Science Review* 100(2): 165–81.
- Kam, C., Bertelli, A.M. and Held, A., 2020. The electoral system, the party system and accountability in parliamentary government. *American Political Science Review*, 114(3), pp.744-760.
- Knutsen, Carl Henrik. 2011. "Which democracies prosper? Electoral rules, form of government and economic growth." Electoral Studies 30.1: 83-90.

# Topic 6. Are Britain's political parties fit for purpose?

# Core readings

- Bale, Tim, Paul D. Webb, and Monica Poletti. 2019. Footsoldiers: Political Party Membership in the 21st Century. London: Routledge.
- Fieldhouse, Edward et al. 2019. *Electoral Shocks: The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Chapters 1-3).
- Evans, Geoffrey, and James Tilley. 2017. The New Politics of Class: The Political Exclusion of the British Working Class. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

#### Background

- Cowley, Philip, and Dennis Kavanagh. 2016. The British General Election of 2015. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cowley, Philip, and Dennis Kavanagh. 2018. The British General Election of 2017. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- · Geddes, Andrew, and Jonathan Tonge, eds. 2015. Britain Votes 2015. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tonge, Jonathan, Cristina Leston-Bandeira, and Stuart Wilks-Heeg, eds. 2018. Britain Votes 2017. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Putting the UK in context

- Mair, Peter. Ruling the void: The hollowing of Western democracy. Verso books, 2013.
- Fisher, Justin. 2009. "Hayden Phillips and Jack Straw: The Continuation of British Exceptionalism in Party Finance?" *Parliamentary Affairs* 62(2): 298–17.
- Scarrow, Susan E. 2015. Beyond Party Members: Changing Approaches to Partisan Mobilization. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Webb, Paul, David Farrell and Ian Holliday (2002). Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies. Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J., and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scarrow, Susan E., Paul D. Webb, and Thomas Poguntke, eds. 2016. Organizing Political Parties: Representation, Participation, and Power.

## Recent contributions – Labour

- Heppell, Timothy. "The Labour Party leadership election: The Stark model and the selection of Keir Starmer." *British Politics* (2021): 1-17.
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# Topic 7. 'Because the British electorate has become increasingly volatile, election campaigns matter more than they used to.' Discuss.

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# Topic 8. Was the Brexit vote another example of a vote for populism?

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