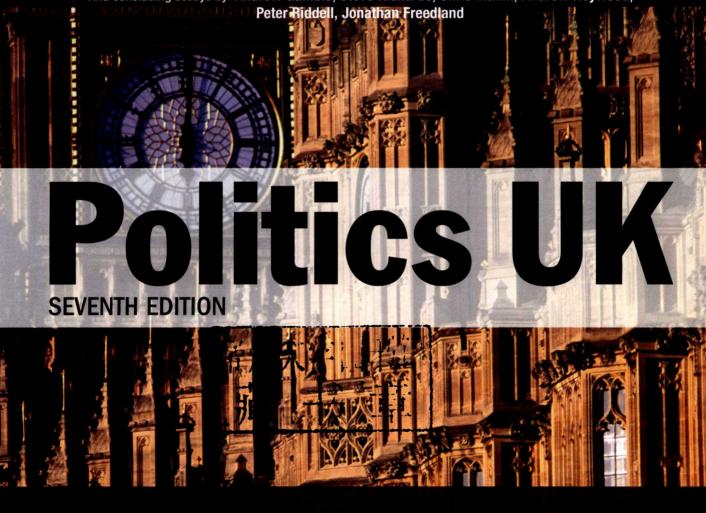


# BILL PHILIP JONES NORTON

With additional material by: Oliver Daddow, Mark Garnett, Michael Moran, Richard Kelly, Russell Deacon, Colin Copus, Harry Cowen, Wyn Grant, Peter Byrd, Andrew Flynn, Nicholas Rees
And concluding essays by: Andrew Gamble, Steve Richards, Chris Mullin, Andrew Heywood,





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## Contributors

Colin Copus is Professor of Local Politics and Director of the Local Governance Research Unit in the Department of Public Policy. De Montfort University. His main research interests are: local party politics, local political leadership, the changing role of the councillor, and small party and independent politics. He also researches and writes on English national identity and English governance. He has recently concluded two major research projects: the first a Leverhulme-funded project exploring the role and impact of small political parties, independent politics and political associations in local government; the second, a Nuffield-funded comparative project examining the roles, responsibilities and activities of councillors across Europe. Colin is the author of two major books: Leading the Localities: Executive Mayors in English Local Governance (Manchester University Press 2006); and Party Politics and Local Government (Manchester University Press 2004). He has also served as a councillor on a London Borough council, a county and a district council and three parish councils.

Harry Cowen was born in Manchester and has taught on social science courses and degrees in Manchester, Salford, Liverpool and Gloucestershire. He has also worked in regional development and planning for the Ontario Government, Canada. His publications include: The Human Nature Debate: Social Theory, Social Policy And The Caring Professions (Pluto Press 1994); Community Care, Ideology and Social Policy (Pearson 1999); and contributions to Alcock, Daly and Griggs, Introduction to Social Policy, 2nd edn (2007). He has carried out contract research for a range of public bodies such

as the former Commission For Racial Equality, local health authorities and housing associations. He was Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Gloucestershire.

**Oliver Daddow** is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics, History and International Relations, Loughborough University. He edited Harold Wilson and European Integration (2003); and is the author of Britain and Europe since 1945 (2004), International Relations Theory (2009) and New Labour and the European Union (2010).

Russell Deacon is a Reader in Welsh Governance and Modern Political History in the Department of Humanities in the University of Wales Institute, Cardiff. He has also been a civil servant in the former Welsh Office and a senior researcher in the National Assembly of Wales. Dr Deacon has published widely on devolution and written a number of books including: Devolution in Great Britain (2006) and Devolution in the United Kingdom (2007) (with Dr Alan Sandry) on this subject. He is also a political historian who specialises on the Welsh Liberal Party and the wider Liberal Democrats. His most recent publication in this respect is A History of Welsh Liberalism (2010). Dr Deacon is chair of the British Liberal Political Studies Group.

Jonathan Freedland writes a weekly column for the Guardian. He is also a regular contributor to the New York Times and the New York Review of Books, and presents BBC Radio 4's contemporary history series, The Long View. He was named 'Columnist of the Year' in the 2002 'What the Papers Say' awards and in 2008 was awarded the David Watt Prize for

Journalism. He has also published five books, including three best-selling thrillers under the name Sam Bourne.

**Andrew Gamble** is Professor of Politics at the University of Cambridge and joint editor of *The Political Quarterly*. He is the author of *The Spectre at the Feast: Capitalist Crisis and the Politics of Recession* (Palgrave Macmillan 2009).

Mark Garnett is Lecturer in Politics at the University of Lancaster. His many books on British politics and society include *From Anger to Apathy: The British Experience since 1975* (Jonathan Cape 2007).

**Wyn Grant** is Professor of Politics at the University of Warwick and is the author of *Economic Policy in Britain* (2002). He is a regular commentator for radio and print media on economic policy issues.

**Andrew Heywood** is a leading writer of politics textbooks and an A Level chief examiner. His publications include: *Essentials of UK Politics* (2008), *Politics*, 3rd edn (2007), *Political Ideologies*, 4th edn (2007), *Political Theory*, 3rd edn (2004) and *Key Concepts in Politics* (2000). His main research interests are political ideologies and global politics.

Bill Jones joined the Extra-Mural Department at Manchester University in 1972 as the person in charge of politics and government, serving as Director 1987-92. His books include The Russia Complex (on Labour and the USSR): British Politics Today (which ran through seven editions before being republished with the suffix The Essentials in 2010]: Political Issues in Britain Today (five editions): Debates in British Politics (with Lynton Robins, 2001); and The Dictionary of British Politics (2nd edition 2010). He was Vice Chair and Chair of The Politics Association 1979-85, being made a Life Fellow in 2001. He suffered a stroke while jogging in 1992 and took medical retirement from Manchester. In 2006 he took up a part-time teaching position at Liverpool Hope University being made a professor in 2009. He also occasionally broadcasts on radio and television and runs a political blog: Skipper.

**Richard Kelly** is Head of Politics at Manchester Grammar School. His publications include *British Political Parties Today* (Manchester University Press 1998), *Conservative Party Conferences* (Manchester University Press 1989) and *Changing Party Policy in Britain* (Blackwell 1999).

**Michael Moran** is Professor of Government at the University of Manchester. His publications include *Politics and Governance in the UK* (Palgrave 2005, 2nd edn, 2011) and *Business, Politics and Society* (Oxford University Press 2009).

**Chris Mullin** is a former minister and select committee chairman. His recently published diaries, A View from the Foothills, have been described by Peter Riddell of *The Times* as 'the central text for understanding the Blair years'.

Philip Norton (Lord Norton of Louth) is Professor of Government and Director of the Centre for Legislative Studies at the University of Hull, as well as being a member of the House of Lords. He is the author or editor of 28 books.

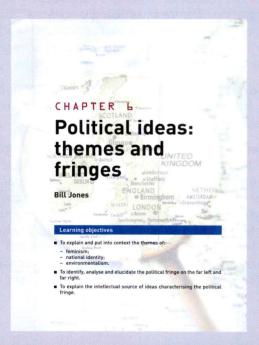
**Nicholas Rees** is Professor of International Politics and Contemporary History at Liverpool Hope University. His research interests include European integration, Europeanisation, EU external affairs and international relations. He has authored or edited four books, as well as having published numerous book chapters, and refereed journal articles.

**Steve Richards** is chief political commentator for the *Independent* and a contributing editor on the *New Statesman*.

Peter Riddell is Chief Political Commentator of The Times and a Senior Fellow of the Institute for Government (where he has co-written a report on Transitions: preparing for changes of government'). He chairs the Hansard Society and has been actively involved in the debate over parliamentary reform. He has written six books on British politics. He holds two honorary degree and is an Honorary Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

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Towards the end of each chapter you will find the new **Britain in Context** feature, which looks at the issues covered within a chapter in the context of global politics and provides a useful comparative angle on the key issues in British politics. Chapter 11 Political parties ■ 223

Chapter 12 Political parties ■ 223

Chapter 11 Political parties ■ 223

Chapter 12 Political parties = 223

As the first decade of the new century drew to a close, Britain's political parties remained in a state of crisis, stricken by voter distinctered, increasing public heatility, fumilising membership and disbuss sources of income. The 2019 general existinct is new to the parties and parties and the content of the first hard of distinctive approaches that once pare party politics traction. The nature of the British party system which are the parties are designed to the content of the party system and the state of the party system and the state of the party system parties a redemptive apportunity, encouraging them to reconsider their internal structures, the extent to which thy decoration and their relationship with alternative forms of political activity, it remains to be seen whether the main parties grasp this opportunity — or centions to arrive the party special parties at odds with social, economic and cultural sentingenetics?

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Chapter summaries come at the end of each chapter, to provide a resumé of the issues that have been under the microscope. Discussion points are listed at the end of each chapter, prompting you to consider and develop your own responses to the issues at hand. You will find annotated suggestions for Further reading at the end of each chapter.

#### Discussion points

- Do you think that the reduction of direct gov ernment intervention in the UK economy since 1979 has been a welcome development?
- Since 1945, there has been a tendency for opposition parties to exaggerate British economic decline, and for governments to look on the bright side. Do you agree, and if so has this tendency helped the British public to appreciate the dilemmas facing their
- Has immigration brought benefits to Britisl society, or would it have been better if th country had closed its borders after 1945?
- Do you agree with the contention that 'British ness' is best defined as a common enjoymen of a consumerist culture?

#### Further reading

The key text on this subject is A.H. Halsey at J. Webb (eds.), Function Continued The Transport and Apprints of Societies (Macrillan, 2000), which contains expansiated for length even formation of the property of the prope

Chapter 3 Social and economic contexts

nice and occurs in Jurians in Augustus, and earlies of the Conference of the Confere

#### Websites

The government's National Statistics Online (www.on.gov.ui) is an invaluable resource for students of social and economic change. It is useful and economic change it is lengthed updated with one statistical information concentration of the statistical information concentration in the statistical information concentration in the statistical to be obtained from sww.himre.gov.ui also be obtained from sww.himre.gov.ui cause of the statistical to the scenario concentration in the statistical contribution of the statistical contribution of the statistical contribution for Economic Cooperation in Development (DCDI, ut sww.oecd.org.)

100 Politics UK Part 2 Defining the political wor

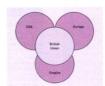


Figure 6.1 The Four Circles of England: in his Between Europe and America (2003), Andrew Gamble (pp. 30–4) quotes Churchill's view that Bratian lay at the touching point of three circles - Empire, Europe and America. Gamble argues that since devolution, a fourth, that of the 'British Union', should be added

to a new identity were therefold. Printly, Blair had shown a heavy his towards the U.S. philosophically in terms of economic systems and politically in terms of its world not as a hyper-power. Secondly, Europe's two biggest and leading countries, Prance and Germany, both beaders and voters, were not as enamoused of the U.S. as Tony Blair. Thirdly, on the major issues like frag. Birthir philos opinion was closer to America's European critics than to Blair's enthusiatist and uncritical support.

#### 'Britishness

the Vasions 1707-1857, appear that British people, known as used insect the Act of Union 1707 with Scoland, lend to have a Supered sense of being British plan as often even doser identity like British plan as often even doser identity like for the properties of the sense of the control of the coldy perhaps. English is more often regarded as interchangeable with 'British'. Some polling evidence suggests that the 'British' layer has given well one to encountry and the properties of the conmoral English. Scottish and so forth than the commoral English. Scottish and so forth than the comtrol or intermine his Scottishness by emphasing the importance of 'Britishness', in January 2006 he were augusted an autorial day for 'British, vigalining he was a supersonal to the control of the superior of Britishness', in January 2006 he were suggested a natural day for 'British, vigalining he was the control of the control of the control of the control of the superior of the control of the ished to 'recapture the union flag from the far

We have to face uncomfortable facts that while the British response to July 7th was remarkable, they were British citizens, British born apparently integrated into our communities, who were prepared to maim and kill

#### Green thinkin

The ecological perspective rejects philosophies of the right, left and centre as more similar than dissimilar. Sir Jonathon Porritt (a senior environmenadviser to the Blair government) characterises then

collectively as Industrialism: this 'toper-shology,' conditioned to three on the entitless explainting conditioned to three on the entitless explainting conditions of the condition of the consensations, and control in the control i

If the system works, i.e. we achieve full employment we basically destry the planet, if it doesn't, i.e. we muy with mass unemployment, we destroy the lives or up with mass unemployment, we destroy the lives or millions of people. From an industrial point of wire it is rational to ... promote wasteful consumption, to discount social costs, to destroy the environment From the Green point of view it is totally irrational, simply the control of the control of the control of the control of the most important politics reality of all, that all wealth ultimately derives from it.

Porritt [1984: 46-7

Each chapter also ends with a list of **Useful** websites. While the web should be approached with caution it can be a tremendous tool for deepening your understanding of politics.

Throughout the text you will find certain terms and phrases highlighted in bold; you will find definitions for these terms and phrases in the **Glossary**, which comes towards the end of the book.

#### and another thing . . The great parliamentary expenses crisis = 247

MPs from the provisions of the Act. In fairness, it must be said that many Members refused to go along with this and as a result the proposed bill was swiftly

by one requests for information were flooding in from journalists and members of the public. The House authorities initially responded by public high model in the public different stappings of each MF's flow and the public different stappings of each MF's flow of the public different stappings of each MF's flow of the public different stappings of the public different stappings of the public different stappings of the public different statistic linguistres, whose appetite had by now been whether by attempts to avoid disclosure. Unvisely, the Hötuse authorities chose to resist, employing anywer to ange that the limited disclosures already the process of the public different states of the public different

At which point the House authorities caved in and agreed to provibe full details of septemes claims for each of the previous four years, minus addresses, and personal details and not have the count numbers and credit card details. It was a massive tails, and the county of the county of the county of the MW wave given a stance to comment and to suggest deletions. While this was underway, someone apparently stole the computer due containing the uncedited details and sold it to the Duilay Tolograph for a six-figure sum.

The countils were devastating. For day after criterious day the Trilegorph published decisils of some of the more exotic claims for the maintenance of the more exotic claims for the maintenance and require of winding pools, fermis control and and repairs of winding pools, fermis control and was found, unknown to low, to have claimed for the time of a prompagatic video, more seriously she was found to be claiming the second home allowance anguest her family home. She was not the only one, and the second produced to the second point of the capital to the full the second home allowance, to explicit to the full the second home allowance, the capital to the full the second home allowance, the capital to the full the second home allowance, the capital to the full the second home allowance, and were found to be claiming for a not grant to award Capital Caims Tax when they said up, Second were found to be claiming for a workpage that no longer existed. One was found to be claiming for a workpace, over the other feet has the constitutions; Almost immediately heads began to roll. Several mineral immediately heads began to roll. Several mineral residence of the property of the prop

to an curraged public that they were desiling family with miscreasts. Gordin Brown publicly discovered an member of the Calistest who had avoided paring a member of the Calistest who had avoided paring cliquid flows "Ear Hadour Party et up 3. The discovered public than the contract of the calistest of the contract of

On 19 May 2009, the scandal consumed its mo prominent victim. The Speaker, Michael Martir announced his retirement. Pairly or unfairly, Speake Martin had become widely regarded as an obstact to reform and in the end pressure on him to stan down became irresistible.

The tabloids were in heaven. Tabloid journalism requires a constant supply of victims, be they misbehaving footballers, errant soap stars or dodgy politicians – and here, courtesy of the Telegraph, was an unlimited supply. Even the most minor infringements supplemely became front transparent.

The political impact was considerable. For the first time option pols neted MPs as lower in public sestems than even the bankers who had brought estems than even the bankers who had brought the world economy to the brink of destruction. At the main parties were contaminated, but Laboucame off worst, partly because if we such te government of the property of the pr

And another thing . . . is a feature that you will find at the end of each of the six parts of the book. These interpretive essays by leading political thinkers take a sideways glance at some of the key issues under debate in contemporary British politics.

### **Preface**

Politics is an exciting subject. We, the authors, are naturally biased in thinking it offers students very special attractions. It is a subject you digest with your breakfast each morning; its complex canvas unfolds with the daily papers, the *Today* programme, the broadcast news, not excluding possible viewings of blogs; by the evening new details have been painted in and the picture subtly, sometimes dramatically, has changed.

Politics is unpredictable, dynamic; it affects us, it is about us. In one sense the canvas *is* us: a projection of ourselves and our aspirations, a measure of our ability to live together. Given what can happen when it goes wrong – a ruler like Pol Pot or Saddam Hussein, for example – politics is arguably the most important focus there is in the study of the human condition. We hope that this volume on the politics of the United Kingdom does the subject some kind of justice.

This book is designed to provide a comprehensive introduction to British politics for both the general reader and the examination candidate. With the latter group in mind, we fashioned a text for the first edition that was unusual by British standards. When we studied A-level politics, all those years ago, the transition from O-level to A-level was quite difficult. This was hardly surprising, because many of the A-level texts were the same as those we went on to study at university, partly because of shared assumptions about A-level and university students. It was believed that we should be treated as mature intellects (good), but also that it was up to us to extract meaning from the texts which, in the name of standards, made few concessions to our possible

unfamiliarity with the subject (not so good). In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that so many aspiring university students gave up before the intrinsic interest of the subject could capture them.

Things have improved since then, in the world of textbooks remarkably so. Syllabuses have become much wider and now embrace stimulating new areas such as political sociology and current political issues. This has helped authors produce more interesting work but a revolution has also taken place on the production side. *Politics UK*, when it came out in 1990, was arguably the first book to embrace the American approach of providing a comprehensive course textbook with a plethora of new features such as photographs, diagrams, tables and illustrative figures.

Since then most of our rival textbooks on British politics have adopted similar styles, and if imitation is the highest form of fiattery, we are greatly flattered. The book has moved through six successful editions and this is the seventh. The key features of this new edition are as follows.

- The fourth edition was comprehensively 'Europeanised': each chapter was looked at and amended to take account of the EU impact and influence – all this material has been accordingly updated for the seventh edition.
- 'Updating' means covering developments over the four years since the last edition, of course – including the 2010 election – but older examples are still cited in some cases; there are continuities in British politics and the whole of the postwar

period is used as a kind of laboratory in which political behaviour is observed.

- Many of the chapters have been completely rewritten, and all chapters not rewritten have been comprehensively updated up to, where possible, spring 2010.
- A chapter on the recent 2010 election was the last to be included.
- The book contains an alphabetical Glossary defining all the key terms highlighted in the text.
- The comparative approach to politics has become increasingly popular over the last decade and, while this is not expressly a comparative text, we have included a 'Britain in context' box for each chapter which provides a limited version of this kind of input.
- Politics UK's companion website contains the best available guide to useful websites, as well as many other additional features, including a specially written set of revision notes for each chapter.
- The book's presentation has been augmented by the inclusion of many tables, diagrams and up-todate cartoons from the quality press.

The comment and debate essays at the end of each major part have been written, as before, by distinguished guest writers. This time they are:

- **Professor Andrew Gamble** distinguished Cambridge scholar and an authority on recent political history and the world economic crisis 2007–9.
- **Jonathan Freedland** much admired *Guardian* columnist and broadcaster.
- **Steve Richards** chief columnist at the *Independent* newspaper as well as radio and television broadcaster.
- Andrew Heywood the most successful author of politics textbooks in the country.
- Chris Mullin MP The MP for Sunderland South was a distinguished select committee chair as well as author of a much praised volume of diaries, A View from the Foothills.

■ **Peter Riddell** – another contribution to the book by this doyen of British political analysts: columnist and assistant editor of *The Times* as well as broadcaster and author of several books on British politics.

The original line-up of principal authors diminished from six to four by the sixth edition; we were sorry to lose Michael Moran (though we retain one chapter by him in this edition) and Dennis Kavanagh though pressure of work, leaving just myself and Philip Norton as main authors/editors. Colin Copus, Nick Rees, Andrew Flynn, Harry Cowen, Mark Garnett, Wyn Grant, Oliver Daddow and Russell Deacon all contribute towards this volume with discrete chapters. Professor Philip Cowley of Nottingham University was intended to become a 'main author', but hectic pressure of work (including a burgeoning media career) prevented this from happening; however, Philip Norton and I are very grateful for the valuable input he made to the planning of the present edition of a book which has continued to evolve since its first appearance in 1991.

The chapters on parliament in this book have always been authoritative and up to date; they are even more so since Philip Norton became a member of the House of Lords himself in 1998. Thanks are due to all the contributors and to the staff at Pearson Education who have proved remarkably helpful and professional, especially Kate Ahl who has been central to the book's preparation and, during its later stages, Georgina Clark-Mazo. We have to thank (chiefly) Chris Riddell for the brilliant cartoons, borrowed from his weekly contributions to the Observer. Special thanks are offered to those reviewers who commented so usefully on draft chapters of this book and thereby helped to improve them. Lecturers and teachers are reminded that if they adopt the book they will receive, free of charge, the Instructor's Manual, written by Bill Jones (and Graham Thomas). We hope teachers and students find the book as useful and stimulating as previous editions.

> Bill Jones Philip Norton June 2010

## Acknowledgements

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#### **Figures**

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#### **Tables**

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#### **Text**

Box 1.1 adapted from 'A doctor writes: politicians' pride is a medical disorder', Guardian, 28 March 2009 (Boseley, S.), Guardian News and Media Ltd; Box 6.3 from Sex and Power: Who Runs Britain?, Equal Opportunities Commission (2006); extract on pages 147–8 from 'Commons sketch', Guardian, 1999 (Hoggart, S.), Guardian News and Media Ltd; extract on pages 157-8 from 'Commons sketch', Guardian, 3 November 2009 (Hoggart, S.), Guardian News and Media Ltd; Box 6.5 from 'Feminist debates, ideology: feminism', Politics Review, 12(4) (Bryson, V. 2003), Philip Allan Updates, reproduced with permission of Philip Allan Updates; Box 8.5 from Guardian, 6 April 2009 (Pilkington, E.), Guardian News and Media Ltd; Box 9.1 from 'Editorial', Guardian, 17 June 1999, Guardian News and Media Ltd; Interview 10.8 from Tyne Tees TV programme (1986); extract on page 269 from Hansard, 18 December 2002, Vol. 642, col. 692, www.publications. parliament.uk/pa/ld200203/ldhansard/vo021218/text/

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