

Queen Mary,
University of London

School of Politics and International Relations

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SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MODULE HANDBOOK

POL/325

ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

2010-2011

Queen Mary

University of London
School of Politics and International Relations

POL/325:
Electoral Behaviour

2010-11

Lecture: Tuesday 10.00 – 11.00

Seminars: Tuesday 11.00 - 12.00
Tuesday 12.00 – 13.00

Semester A
Value 15 credits

Convenor and Lecturer: Dr Judith Bara
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I. Aims and Learning Outcomes

Electoral Behaviour is a specialist final year option in British politics. It focuses on national elections, especially those of the past decade.

The module aims to:

- Examine and evaluate major issues and controversies in the study of elections and voting behaviour in Britain
- Provide a basis for comparative analysis of elections and voting
- Develop an appreciation of major theoretical models employed by specialists in the field
- Provide students with a higher understanding of advanced analytic techniques developed by political scientists and applied to the study of British elections and voting.

Learning outcomes:

(i) Knowledge

By the end of this module students should be able to

- Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the electoral process in Britain
- Evaluate reasons why voters choose to support specific parties
- Account for variation in turnout, electoral engagement and changes in strength of party identification
- Analyse the strengths and weaknesses of party election campaigns
- Assess why particular parties win or lose elections

(ii) Skills

This module will also provide students with the opportunity to develop further particular skills acquired in the second year:

- The ability to evaluate and develop analytic arguments on the basis of critical reading of advanced texts
- The competence to apply and develop complex conceptual tools to real world situations
- An enhanced capability to cogently communicate ideas, both verbally and in writing in class discussion, drawing on knowledge of the literature, including a high level of application of scholarly conventions in referencing and bibliographical work
- Strengthening of information acquisition skills that integrate material from a wide variety of sources and a wide range of theoretical perspectives
- Development of general research skills, especially in terms of application of survey methods through participation in a group exercise.

II. Module requirements and assessment

Seminars

Students are required to attend weekly seminars. Failure to attend three or more seminars will lead to your automatic de-registration from the module. The seminar schedule will follow the lecture schedule, but will start one week later. Seminar groups will be allocated at the start of the module.

Exam and coursework

Students are required to present two pieces of written work, each of which should be between 1,800 and 2,000 words in length and to sit one two-hour examination at the end of the academic year. The grade you receive at the end of the module will reflect the following breakdown: Exam 60%, Essay 1 20%, Essay 2 20%. Associate students who are staying for only Semester A will be given an additional piece of work instead of the examination, which will be collected in Week 12.

The assessment will be collected in the seminars - in **Week 9 for the first piece of coursework) Tuesday 23rd November 2010)** and in **Week 12 for the second piece of coursework (Tuesday December 14th 2010)**. Written feedback for the first piece of work will be provided by week 11 and for the second by the end of the second week of Semester B. See section V of this guide for further details concerning the nature of assessment tasks and guidance. Further details will be provided in class.

➔ **N.B. In accordance with departmental regulations, all essays must be anonymous, with only your (long) college candidate number on the cover. SEE DEPARTMENTAL HANDBOOK.**

The module convenor/ seminar tutor may grant extensions for a maximum of THREE DAYS ONLY. Further extensions may only be obtained from the Senior Tutor after your coursework has been submitted. SEE THE APPROPRIATE SECTION OF THE DEPARTMENTAL HANDBOOK.

The assessment is based on different types of question/ task than those required in the examination. Examples of past examination papers may be found on the Departmental website or via the Library's electronic resources.

III. Reading

All students are expected to undertake weekly reading and/or preparation for the next week's seminar from the detailed reading list that follows or from additional materials provided in hard copy or on WebCT. Reading for each topic is given in Section IV.

Please note that assessment tasks are not bases solely on reading for one topic only and you will need to consult references for more than one week's reading.

→ Important information for accessing internet material ←

The reading list uses many articles published on the internet: now everyone on the module can access the reading. Many can be found via the library website (follow the links from the library homepage to electronic journals). The list on the library website is not exhaustive, however, as the college now has free access to other journals.

Most journals can only be accessed from QMUL computers, not from computers outside campus. This includes all articles on Cambridge <<http://journals.cambridge.org>>, on Ingenta <www.ingenta.com>, on JStor <www.jstor.ac.uk>, on Kluwer <<http://journals.kluweronline.com>>, and on ScienceDirect <www.sciencedirect.com>.

Many of these articles are downloadable as .pdf (portable document format) files, which can be printed out and/or read on the screen and/or saved onto a floppy disk for copying onto a home computer. To read these on a home computer, you will need a copy of Adobe Acrobat Reader, which can be downloaded for free from <www.adobe.com>.

It is extremely important that you are able to access internet articles during the course. You will also find it very helpful to have a store of articles when you come to write essays or revise for exams. So if you have any problems accessing these journals, please contact us.

The following journals are currently available online, from QM computers:

Journal Title	Date from
<i>American Political Science Review</i>	
<i>British Journal of Political Science</i>	1997
<i>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i>	1999
<i>British Politics (BJIPR)</i>	2006
<i>Comparative Political Studies</i>	1999
<i>Electoral Studies</i>	1995
<i>Government and Opposition</i>	2000
<i>Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (JEPOP)</i>	2004
<i>Journal of Politics</i>	
<i>Journal of Public Economics</i>	1972
<i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>	1996
<i>Party Politics</i>	1999
<i>The Political Quarterly</i>	1997
<i>Political Science Quarterly</i>	up to 1997
<i>Political Studies</i>	1997
<i>Politics</i>	1997
<i>West European Politics</i>	2001

Useful web sites

The subject matter of this module has lent itself to considerable comment, analysis and debate. Hence, it is important to look beyond the literature cited for a more complete picture. In particular, a number of web sites are useful adjuncts to information which may be obtained from books and articles. The selection following represent good sources for this section of the module.

For data:

<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk> UK Data Archive at Essex University

<http://www.essex.ac.uk/bes> British Election Study 2001

<http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/bhps/index.html> British Household Panel Study

<http://www.umich.edu/~nes> National Election Studies

<http://www.icpsr.umich.edu> Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) at the University of Michigan

<http://www.pippanorris.com> Pippa Norris has made a great deal of material available. Go to her website and click on appropriate links.

<http://dodgson.ucsd.edu/lij/>, the web site of the Lijphart Election Archive at the University of California, San Diego, has information about elections in 26 countries.

Academic sites

<http://www.crest.ox.ac.uk> Centre for Research into Electoral and Social Trends

<http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR> European Consortium for Political Research

<http://www.apsanet.org> American Political Science Association

Elections and related sites

<http://www.electoralcommission.gov.uk/> Electoral Commission

<http://www.ukpol.co.uk> UK Politics Site which has pages on relevant material.

<http://www.club.demon.co.uk/Politics/elect.html> The British Elections site

<http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk> Richard Kimber's Resource Pages at Keele.

<http://www.democratic.org.uk> The Democratic UK site (Charter 88) has information on alternative electoral systems.

<http://www.ipsos-mori.com> Market and Opinion Research International (MORI)

<http://www.yougov.com> YouGov –Peter Kellner's polling organisation

<http://www.idea.int> Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)

<http://www.scottishelections.co.uk> Scottish election results and analysis

<http://www.wales.gov.uk> or www.election.demon.co.uk/wales.html for Wales

<http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections> for Northern Ireland

Main Political Parties

<http://www.conservatives.com> Conservative Party

<http://www.labour.org.uk> Labour Party

<http://www.libdems.org.uk> Liberal Democrats

Use Google to find other appropriate websites.

Books recommended for purchase

You should consider buying one or two books for the module. It is most useful to purchase one general book and one specialist study of the 2005 general election.

The most useful general books are

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain* 2nd Edition, (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007)

Or

C. van der Eijk and M. Franklin, *Elections and Voters* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2009)

Or

J. Evans, *Voters and Voting: An Introduction* (Sage, 2004).

Denver concentrates on Britain whereas Evans and van der Eijk and Franklin take more general and/or theoretical approaches.

The ***British Elections and Parties Review*** was published annually (by Cass) until 2004 as a collection of essays and debates about ongoing issues in the study of parties, elections and voters. Those relating to General Election Years are especially useful, e.g. Volume 12, 2001. From 2004, this publication was relaunched as a journal, the *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (JEPOP)*.

A vast number of articles on relevant topics appear regularly in the main academic journals which deal with politics, which should be monitored for new material. Much of this can be done via the 'electronic journals' facility available on the library website.

More specialised studies of the most recent elections provide valuable insight into how academic debate is constructed. There are several of these that are worthwhile. However, at the time of printing this handbook, the studies of the 2010 General Election are not yet available, so those for 2005 are also cited. The 2010 studies should be available in time for your first assignment. There are no specific references to particular chapters in these books given in the reading list but guidance will be provided as soon as they become available.

2005 General Election:

D. Butler and D. Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 2005* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2005) provides a thorough account of the 2005 election.

J. Bartle and A. King (eds) *Britain at the Polls 2005* (CQ Press, 2005) offers some interesting, specialist views on several election topics.

P. Norris and C. Wlezien (eds) *Britain Votes 2005* (OUP, 2005) has some very useful contributions. **This can also be accessed electronically as a Special Issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* (58 (4), 2005.**

A. Geddes and J. Tonge (eds) *Britain Decides: The UK General Election, 2005* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2005)

2010 General Election: Forthcoming material

Further information will be provided when these, and other, publications become available

D. Kavanagh and P. Cowley, *The British General Election of 2010* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2010)

N. Allen and J. Bartle (eds) *Britain at the Polls 2010* (Sage, 2010)

Special Issue of *Parliamentary Affairs*, October 2010 edited by A. Geddes and J. Tonge

You should always read the weekly essential reading as designated in the lists set out below together with any additional material posted on Blackboard.

IV. Lecture and Seminar Programme

Lectures

1. Introduction to the module: Do elections matter?

Theoretical approaches to the study of elections and voting

2. Partisan Identification and dealignment.
3. Social Structure or Rational Choice?

Survey Workshops

4. Lecture period only: Setting overall themes and preliminary questions.
5. Decisions on focus of survey
6. Reporting on pre-testing of questions.

7. Reading Week

Why voters choose specific parties?

8. Issues or ideology?
9. 'It's the economy, stupid!'
10. Leadership and institutional effects.
11. Campaign effects.
12. Overview

Seminars

1. Introductory meeting: Course delivery and assessment
2. Why do some people vote whilst others do not?
3. It is the 21st century so we are all 'dealigned voters'- or are we?
4. *It must be class, stupid, since if we were rational, we would not vote at all!
5. Survey workshop: Preparation of questions.
6. Survey workshop: Final preparation of questionnaires.

7. Reading Week -No seminars

8. *Survey workshop: Coding of responses.
9. Do voters regard issues as more important than ideology?
10. Why is the economy seen as such an important barometer for judging election outcomes?
11. Are perceptions of party leaders really important in influencing voting decisions?
12. Do election campaigns matter?

* Survey workshop in week 4 will be held in lecture period only and in week 8, in seminar period only

Lectures and Reading

Week 1: Introduction to the module: Do elections matter?

Essential reading:

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd edition (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 1, pages 1-14 only and Chapter 2.

OR

J. Evans, *Voters and Voting: An Introduction* (Sage, 2004), Chapters 1 and 7

OR

C. van der Eijk and M. Franklin, *Elections and Voters* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2009), Chapters 1-3.

Further reading:

H. Catt, *Voting Behaviour: A Radical Critique* (Leicester University Press, 1996)

J. Curtice 'Turnout: Voters Stay at Home- Again' in Norris and Wlezien, 2005, Chapter 8.

N. Allen 'A Grumpy Electorate' in Bartle and King, 2005, Chapter 3.

H. Clarke, D. Sanders, M. Stewart and P. Whiteley, *Political Choice in Britain*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), Chapters 1, 7 and 8.

P. Whiteley et al, 'Turnout' in P Norris (ed) *Britain Votes 2001* (OUP, 2001) and also in *Parliamentary Affairs* (54 (4), 2001, pp.775-88.

R. Johnston and C. Pattie, *Putting Voters in Their Place* (OUP, 2006) Chapter 1 and Chapter 7.

British Elections and Parties Review, Vol. 13, 2003, Section on 'Turnout', 159-225.

S. Diplock, *None of the Above: Non-Voters and the 2001 election* (Hansard Society, 2002).

M. Henn and M. Weinstein, 'Young people and political (in) action: Why don't young people vote?' *Policy and Politics*, 34, 3, 517-34.

E. Phelps, 'Young voters at the 2005 British General Election', *The Political Quarterly*, 76, 4, 2005, 469-594.

Theoretical approaches to the study of elections and voting:**Week 2: Partisan Identification and dealignment***Essential reading:*

J. Evans, *Voters and Voting: An Introduction* (Sage, 2004), Chapter 2, Chapter 3, pp. 56-65 and Chapter 8.

OR

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd edition (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007) , Chapter 1, pages 18-24, Chapter 3, pages 61-65 and Chapter 4.

OR

C. van der Eijk and M. Franklin, *Elections and Voters* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2009), Chapters 4 and 7.

R. Johnston and C. Pattie, 'The strength of party identification among the British electorate: An explanation', *Electoral Studies*, 15, 1996, 295-309.

*Further reading:**Partisan identification:*

A. Campbell, P. Converse, W. Miller and D. Stokes, *The American Voter* (John Wiley, 1960).

D. Butler and D. Stokes, *Political Change in Britain* (Macmillan, 1969 or Penguin, 1970)

J. Bartle, 'Improving the measurement of Partisan identification in Britain' in *British Elections and Parties Review*, Vol. 9, 1999.

J. Bartle, 'Measuring Party Identification: An Exploratory Study with focus groups', *Electoral Studies*, 22, 2, 217-37, 2003.

J. Bartle, 'The Measurement of Party Identification in Britain', *British Elections and Parties Review*, Vol. 11, 2001.

D Sanders, 'Party identification, economic perceptions and voting in British general elections, 1974-97', *Electoral Studies*, 22 (2) 239-263, 2003.

H. Clarke, M. Stewart, D. Sanders and P. Whiteley, *Political Choice in Britain* (OUP, 2004). Use index to access sections dealing with 'party identification'.

Partisan dealignment:

I. Crewe, B. Sarlvik and J. Alt 'Partisan dealignment in Britain, 1964-74' *British Journal of Political Science*, 7, 1977, 129-90 (Quite difficult!)

I. Crewe and K. Thomson, 'Party Loyalties: Dealignment or realignment' in G. Evans and P. Norris eds. *Critical Elections* (Sage, 1999)

I. Crewe, 'On the death and resurrection of class voting: Some comments on 'How Britain Votes'' *Political Studies*, 35, 1986, 620-38.

A. Heath et al *Understanding Political Change* (Pergamon, 1991) Chapters 2 (especially) and 5, 6,7,13.

P. Norris, *Electoral Change Since 1945*, (Blackwell, 1997) Chapters 4,5 and 6.

G. Evans ed., *The End of Class Politics?* (Oxford University Press, 1999)

A. Mughan, 'Partisan Dealignment, Party Attachments and Leader Effects', *JEPOP*, 19,4, 2009

O. Heath 'Explaining Turnout Decline in Britain, 1964-2005: Party Identification and the Political Context', *Political Behaviour*, 29,493-516, 2007.

Week 3: Social Structure or Rational Choice*Essential reading:**Social Structure:*

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd edition (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 1, pages 19-23 and Chapter 3, pages 48-61.

Or

J. Evans, *Voters and Voting: An Introduction* (Sage, 2004), Chapter 3.

OR

C. van der Eijk and M. Franklin, *Elections and Voters* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2009), Chapter 5

D. Butler and D. Stokes, *Political Change in Britain* (Macmillan, 1969 or Penguin, 1970) Chapter 4.

Rational Choice:

J. Evans, *Voters and Voting: An Introduction* (Sage, 2004), Chapter 4.

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 1, pages 23-24.

M. Harrop and W. Miller, *Elections and Voters*, Macmillan, (1987) Chapter 6, pp.145-57.

Further reading:

Social structure:

R. Alford, 'Class Voting in the Anglo-American political systems' in S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan eds. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (Free Press, 1967).

A. Heath et al *Understanding Political Change* (Pergamon, 1991), Chapter 1.

A. Goerres, 'Why are Older People More Likely to Vote? BJIPR, 9, 1, 2007, 90-121.

P. Norris, 'Gender: A Generation Gap', G. Evans and P. Norris (eds) *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long term Perspective* (Sage 1999)

S. Saggat and A Heath, 'Race: Towards a Multicultural Electorate?' in G Evans and P Norris, (eds), *Critical Elections* (Sage, 1999).

S. Saggat, 'The Race Card, Again', in P Norris (ed), *Britain Votes 2001* (OUP, 2001) /*Parliamentary Affairs*, 54 (4), 2001.

S Saggat (ed), *Race and British Electoral Behaviour* (UCL Press, 1998).

J. Liddle and E. Micheilesens, 'NQOC: Social Identity and representation in British Politics', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9, 4, 2007, 670-95.

Rational Choice:

A. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (Harper and Row, 1957)

A. Heath et al *Understanding Political Change* (Pergamon, 1991) Chapter 3.

Debate in the *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* (BJIPR) comprising the following three articles. Please read the following three articles in the same order as they appear below.

K. Dowding, 'Is it rational to vote?' *BJIPR*, 7, 3, 2005, 442-59'

S. Parsons, 'The rationality of voting: A response to Dowding', *BJIPR*, 7, 3, 2005, 295-298.

K. Dowding, 'The 'D' Term: A reply to Stephen Parsons', *BJPIR*, 7, 3, 2005, 299-302

J. Friedman ed. *The Rational Choice Controversy* (Yale University Press, 1996).

I. McLean, 'Rational Choice and Politics', *Political Studies*, XXXIX, 1991, 496-512.

I. McLean, *Dealing in Votes* (Martin Robertson, 1982)

M.J. Lebo and E. Young 'The Comparative Dynamics of Party Support in Great Britain: Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats', *JEPOP*, 19, 1, 2009, 73-104.

Weeks 4-6: Survey Workshops

The lecture and seminar periods dedicated to the class survey are practical in orientation and any materials deemed necessary will be provided in the workshops and/or on Blackboard as appropriate.

However, it is very useful to acquaint yourself with some general reading on survey techniques. Some examples are set out below.

General reading:

L. Harrison, *Political Research*, (London and New York, Routledge, 2001) Chapter 3.

A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, (London: Sage, 2001) Chapters 4-7.

P. Burnham, K. Gilland, W. Grant and Z. Layton-Henry, *Research Methods in Politics*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) Chapter 4 or Second edition (2008), Chapter 4.

D. De Vaus, *Surveys in Social Research*, (London: UCL Press, 2002), Chapter 3

See breakdown of topics on page 10 of this handbook for precise weekly topics.

Week 7: Reading Week

Week 8: Issues or ideology?

Essential reading:

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd edition (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 5, pages 98-107.

J. Bara: 'The 2005 Manifestos: A sense of *déjà vu*?' [JEPOP](#), 16, 3, 2006, 265-82. (Available on Blackboard)

P. Whiteley et al 'The Issue Agenda' in Norris and Wlezien, 2005, Chapter 10. Available on Blackboard)

Further reading:

J. Bara and I. Budge, 'Party policy and ideology,' in P Norris (ed), *Britain Votes 2001* (OUP, 2001), or *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54 (4) 2001.

R. Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies* (Chatham House, 1996) Chapters 2 and 6.

D. Denver and G. Hands (eds) *Issues and Controversies in British Electoral Behaviour* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991). Readings by Butler and Stokes on analysis of issues, Heath and McDonald on demise of party identification, Heath et al on policy and ideology.

G. Evans and P. Norris (eds) *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long Term Perspective* (Sage, 1998) Chapters by Budge (1-21), Norris (148-63), Sanders (181-206) and Evans (207-22).

P. Norris, *Electoral Change since 1945* (Blackwell, 1996) Chapter 7.

M. Franklin, 'Assessing the rise of issue voting in British elections since 1964', *Electoral Studies*, 4, 1985, 36-55. (Also partly reproduced in Denver and Hands, 5.3).

A. Heath et al. *Understanding Political Change: The British Voter 1964-1987* (Pergamon, 1991) Chapter 3.

K. Arceneaux and R. Kolodny, 'The effects of grassroots campaigning on issue preferences and issue salience', *JEPOP*, 19,3,235-50, 2009

J. Bartle, 'Political awareness: Opinion constraint and the stability of ideological positions', *Political Studies*, 48, 2000, 467-84.

P. Kelly, 'Ideas and Policy Agendas in Contemporary Politics' in P. Dunleavy et al, *Developments in British Politics 7* (Palgrave /Macmillan, 2003), 242-60.

D. Sanders, 'Reflections on the 2005 general Election: Some Speculations on How The Conservatives Can Win Next Time', *British Politics*, 1, 2, 2006, 170-94.

Week 9: It's the economy, stupid!

Essential reading:

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd edition (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 5, pages 107-117.

D. Butler and D. Stokes, *Political Change in Britain* (Macmillan, 1974) Chapter 18.

D. Sanders, 'Conservative incompetence, Labour responsibility and the feelgood factor: why the economy failed to save the Conservatives in 1997', *Electoral Studies* 18 (2), 1999.

Further reading:

A. Heath et al, *Labour's Last Chance: The 1992 Election and Beyond* (Dartmouth, 1994) Chapter 6.

D. Sanders, 'Economic performance, management competence and the outcome of the next general election', *Political Studies*, 44, 1996, 203-31.

N. Gavin and D. Sanders, 'The Economy and Voting', in P Norris and N Gavin (eds), *Britain Votes 1997* (OUP, 1997), also in *Parliamentary Affairs*, 50 (4), 1997.

R. Johnston et al, 'Egocentric economic voting and changes in party choice: Great Britain 1992-2001', *JEPOP*, 15, 1, 2005, 129-44

D. Sanders, H. Clarke, M. Stewart and P. Whiteley 'The Economy and Voting' in P Norris (ed), *Britain Votes 2001* (OUP, 2001), or *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54 (4) 2001.

M. Fiorina *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (Yale University Press, 1981) Chapter 4.

M. Fiorina, S. Abrams and J. Pope 'The 2000 Presidential Election: Can Retrospective Voting be saved?' *British Journal of Political Science*, 33 (2), 2003, 163-187.

E. R. Tillman and B. Park, 'Do Voters reward and Punish Governments for Changes in Income Tax', *JEPOP*, 19, 3, 2009, 313-332.

Week 10: Leadership and institutional 'effects'.

Essential reading:

Leadership effects

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd edition (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 5, pages 117-24.

D. Butler and D. Stokes, *Political Change in Britain* (Macmillan, 1974) Chapter 17.

Institutional effects

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd edition, (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007) Chapter 7, pages 171-79.

I Crewe, 'Voting and the Electorate' in P. Dunleavy et al, *Developments in British Politics 4* (Macmillan, 1993) 116-120.

J. Curtice, 'Changing Voting Systems' in P. Dunleavy et al, *Developments in British Politics 7* (Palgrave /Macmillan, 2003) 100-118.

J. Curtice, 'The Electoral System: Biased to Blair?' in P Norris (ed), *Britain Votes 2001* (OUP, 2001), or *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54 (4) 2001.

Further reading:

Leadership effects:

G. Evans and R. Andersen 'The Impact of party Leaders: How Blair Cost labour Votes' in Norris and Wlezien, 2005, Chapter 11.

M. C. Stewart and H. D. Clarke, 'The (Un) importance of party leaders: leader images and party choice in the 1987 British election', *Journal of Politics*, 54, 1992, 447-70.

H. D. Clarke, D. Sanders, M. C. Stewart and P.F. Whiteley, *Performance Politics and the British Voter* (Cambridge University oppress, 2009)

I. Crewe and A. King, 'Are British elections becoming more presidential?' in M. Kent Jennings and T E Mann (eds) *Elections at home and abroad: Essays in honor of Warren E Miller*' (University of Michigan press, 1994) 181-206.

I. Crewe and A. King, 'Did Major Win? Did Kinnock Lose? Leadership Effects in the 1992 Election' in A Heath et al, *Labour's Last Chance: The 1992 Election and Beyond* (Dartmouth, 1994).

J. Bartle and I. Crewe 'The impact of party leaders in Britain: Strong assumptions, weak evidence' in A King (ed) *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections* (Oxford University Press, 2002) 70-95.

A. Mughan, 'Partisan Dealignment, Party Attachments and Leader Effects', *JEPOP*, 19, 4, 2009

Institutional effects

N. Johnson, *Electoral Reform: The Risk of Unintended Consequences* (Centre for Policy Studies, 1998). Also at <www.cps.org.uk/johnson.htm>

G. Evans, 'Tactical Voting and Labour's Prospects' in A Heath et al, *Labour's Last Chance: The 1992 Election and Beyond* (Dartmouth, 1994).

G. Evans, J. Curtice and P. Norris, 'New Labour: New Tactical Voting?', in D. Denver, J. Fisher, P. Cowley, C. Pattie (eds) *British Elections and Parties Review Volume 8: The 1997 General Election* (Frank Cass, 1998) 65-79.

D. Farrell, *Electoral Systems*, (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2001) Chapter 7.

P. Dunleavy and H. Margetts 'The Impact of UK Electoral Systems' in Norris and Wlezien, 2005, Chapter 13.

R. Johnston and C. Pattie, *Putting Voters in Their Place* (OUP, 2006) Chapter 8.

R. Johnston and C. Pattie, 'Disproportionality and bias in the results of the 2005 general election in Great Britain: Evaluating the electoral system's impact', *JEPOP*, 16, 1, 2006, 37-54.

P. Dunleavy, H. Margetts and S. Weir, *The Politico's Guide to Electoral Reform in Britain* (Politico's 1998)

G. Bingham Powell 'Westminster Versus PR: Normative and Empirical Assessments', *Representation*, 1999, 127-32.

Week 11: Campaign Effects

Essential reading:

D. Denver, *Elections and Voters in Britain* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. pages 154-171.

R. Johnston and C. Pattie, *Putting Voters in Their Place* (OUP, 2006) Chapter 6.

P. Norris and C. Wlezien (2005) 'Conclusions: Whether the Campaign Mattered and How', in P. Norris and C. Wlezien (eds) *Britain Votes 2005*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

R. Johnston, C. Pattie and D. Rossiter (2005) 'The Election Results in the UK Regions', in P. Norris and C. Wlezien (eds) *Britain Votes 2005*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Further reading:

J. Fisher and D. Denver 'Evaluating the Electoral Effects of Traditional and Modern Modes of Constituency Campaigning in Britain, 1992-2005', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 2009, 62, 2, 196-210.

- D. Denver, G. Hands and I. MacAllister (2004) 'The Electoral Impact of Constituency Campaigning in Britain', 1992-2001', *Political Studies*, 52, 2, pp. 289-306
- P. Norris and C. Wlezien (eds) *Britain Votes 2005* – chapters by Wring (Labour), Seldon and Snowdon (Conservative) and Russell (Liberal Democrat).
- D. Butler and D. Kavanagh (2005) *The British General Election of 2005*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, chapter on 'Local Results and IT'.
- D. Denver et al, 'Constituency campaigning in 2001 – the effectiveness of targeting', in J. Bartle, S. Atkinson and R. Mortimore (eds) *Political Communications: The General Election of 2001* (Frank Cass, 2002).
- D. Cutts and N. Shryane (2006) 'Did Local Activism Really Matter? Liberal Democrat Campaigning and the 2001 British General Election', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 8, 2, pp. 427-444.
- D. Butler and D. Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 2001* (Palgrave, 2002), chap 11.
- D. Denver & G. Hands in D. Farrell et al *British Elections and Parties Yearbook, 1996* (Frank Cass, 1997).
- D. Denver & G. Hands *Modern Constituency Electioneering* (Frank Cass, 1997).
- D. Denver, G. Hands, I. MacAllister, 'The Electoral Impact of Constituency Campaigning in Britain', 1992-2001, *Political Studies*, 52 (2), 2004 pp. 289-304
- R. Johnston and C. Pattie, *Where's the Difference? Decomposing the Impact of Local Election Campaigns in Great Britain*, *Electoral Studies*, 16 (2), 1997.
- P. Seyd & P. Whiteley, *Labour's Grass Roots*, (Clarendon Press, 1992).
- P. Whiteley, P. Seyd & J. Richardson, *True Blues*, (Clarendon Press, 1994).
- P. Norris, 'Did the Media Matter? Agenda-setting, Persuasion and Mobilization Effects in the British general Election Campaign', *British Politics*, 1, 2, 2006, 195-221.

Week 12: Overview

V. Assessment

First Assignment

Choose **ONE** of the following topics and write a report of **1,500- 2,000 words maximum. TWO COPIES should be submitted in class in Week 8 and another must be submitted electronically.** All assessment work must be accompanied by a cover sheet.

1. Write a **report** for the leadership of **ONE** of the three main political parties in Britain which analyses the MAIN strengths and weaknesses of its 2010 general election campaign and highlight any improvements which might have been made to rectify these since then.

OR

2. Write a **report** for a publisher which assesses whether Denver: *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd edition, (2007) **AND ONE OTHER TEXT FROM THE LIST BELOW (*)** represent appropriate textbooks for adoption on this module. You should of course also refer to other works in the discussion in order to provide evidence that you have a broad understanding of the subject area.

In approaching this topic you need to take notice of the following points in addition to the guidelines given for 'report writing' in general.

- Summarise the main points of the authors' approach to the study of electoral behaviour.
- Discuss whether the authors set out the main purpose of the book clearly at the start of the book and whether this is realised by the book as a whole?
- How persuasive are authors in establishing the merits of their approach? Are their arguments convincing?
- Compare and contrast the approaches taken in the different books. Which, in your opinion, is more successful

Choose you additional book from the following.

J. Evans, *Voters and Voting: An Introduction* (Sage, 2004)

C. van der Eijk and M. Franklin, *Elections and Voters* (Palgrave/Macmillan. 2009)

D. Kavanagh and P. Cowley, *The British General Election of 2010* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2010)

N. Allen and J. Bartle (eds) *Britain at the Polls 2010*(Sage, 2010)

Special Issue of Parliamentary Affairs, October 2010 edited by A. Geddes and J. Tonge

Guidelines for report writing

Remember that **a report is not an essay** and therefore slightly different conventions should be followed.

- The report should directly address the audience stated in the brief rather than a broad readership.
- You should provide an 'executive summary' of your methods and findings at the beginning- similar to an abstract but geared towards a specific outcome you are recommending or evidence you are providing- whatever is appropriate. This is similar to an 'abstract' but is rather more extensive
- The report should take a position in terms of the object of investigation. This should not consist of uncorroborated generalisations but rather be a considered position backed up by evidence.
- The layout of the report should be clear, concise and sharp. You should make use of headings, sub-headings and bullet points where appropriate.
- As is the case with essays, your work should be referenced correctly where appropriate and must include a proper bibliography.
- You are strongly advised to discover the nature of the organisations by which these reports are 'commissioned'. All of them have websites and produce literature, most of which are mentioned in the module handbook.

All work **must** have a proper bibliography, including publisher's details and year of publication for each source, and **MUST** state the number of words used. Citations, bibliography and abstracts do **NOT** form part of the word count.

References may be presented according to the Harvard system or as footnotes or endnotes.

Examples of reports can be found on the Electoral Commission website, <http://www.electoralcommission.gov.uk/about-us/researchpub.cfm>

Second Assignment

This takes the form of a discussion relating to the results of the survey exercise as outlined in general below. TWO COPIES should be submitted in class in Week 12 and another must be submitted electronically. All assessment work must be accompanied by a cover sheet.

SPECIFIC DETAILS OF THE SECOND ASSIGNMENT WILL BE PROVIDED WHEN THE TOPIC FOR THE CLASS SURVEY HAS BEEN AGREED IN WEEK FOUR.

The assignment will be based on the following format.

Choose any two substantive areas from the module survey and analyse differences in terms of two demographic/cultural variables (e.g. age, gender). You should, in the course of your discussion, draw on existing academic literature and make a case as to why these results obtained in the module survey corroborate what we might expect or whether they deviate.

Further guidance on this assignment will be provided in Week 8 after the survey exercise has been completed. It is not possible to stipulate precisely what areas will be included as this will be decided collectively by the students taking this module.

Failure to comply with any of the criteria designated for the assignment/s stated above will result in loss of marks. Extensions will not normally be given beyond the handing in date for the second assignment as it is at the very end of the semester. Please note that any late submissions, even if approved, may result in delays in receiving feedback.

General advice for written work

All coursework MUST BE word-processed.

It should be double-spaced or spaced at 1.5 throughout except for indented quotations, endnotes or footnotes and bibliography. Pages should be numbered consecutively. Make sure your NINE DIGIT STUDENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER is on the front page of your Assessed Essays and Dissertation.

The final grade you will receive for this course will be greatly determined by your ability to write essays or reports, both as assessed coursework and in the final examination. In addition to guidance provided in the Politics Department's Student Handbook, the following tips for producing good written work may prove useful.

- Answer the actual question asked; don't simply write generally around the topic. Answer the question, the whole question and nothing but the question.
- Define the key terms at the outset. Words like 'class' or 'media' can be interpreted in different ways, so don't simply assume there is one accepted meaning – define how **you** understand and use the key terms, and/or discuss whether different uses of the term in the literature may lead to different answers to the question.
- Set out the structure/plan in your introduction (signposting) and then follow it. Don't lose sight of the issues you raise in your introduction and be sure to refer back to them in your conclusion.
- Make sure that you apply what you read to answer the question directly. Many weak essays simply recite what is in the literature; better essays explain its relevance to the essay question.
- Don't assume that all the relevant reading for the essay you are doing fits into the appropriate 'topic' – sometimes reading for other weeks is also relevant.
- Poorly written essays, incorrect punctuation and inadequate grammar may be penalised.
- Apply theoretical ideas and concepts where relevant, for example by relating empirical developments to conceptual models.
- Be critical and analytical. The highest marks are always awarded for analysis – show that you have the ability to analyse and evaluate different empirical developments. Don't be afraid to criticise what you read; as long as your criticisms are justified, you will gain marks!

STYLE GUIDE FOR COURSEWORK

1. Introduction

During your academic studies you will write many essays and most of you will write a dissertation. The Department of Politics has a preferred style for assessed work which you must adhere to in all cases, whether you are writing a literature review, an Assessed Essay or an undergraduate dissertation. This guide provides details of the style you must adopt in all the work you submit to the Department.

Students need to ensure that all essays conform to the style guide, as set out below. **Assessed work that does not conform to the guidelines may have marks deducted**, because it will have failed to meet the standard of presentation required of academic work.

Coursework submitted with one or more of the following may be penalised:

- an incomplete bibliography;

- incomplete citations without including page number(s); and
- web-page citations without the full address and date when accessed.

Finally, students must demonstrate their familiarity with, and understanding of, at least some of the material recommended on course reading lists. Students do not have to use this material exclusively, but if you submit coursework that does not draw on any, or only very little of the reading list material they risk failing to properly engage with the relevant academic literature and debates in the topic. This is likely to affect the quality of the coursework and, consequently, the mark awarded to it.

This guide covers most common points and questions regarding style. You will make a very good first impression with your work if it is well presented and follows these simple instructions.

3. Quotations

Using quotations allows you cite directly the ideas of others by using their own words. It enables you to support your argument by quoting directly from a comment made by, for example, a public figure. You may also copy a particularly good phrase or term from an author by putting it in quotation marks and giving the source in a footnote.

If a quotation is less than three lines long, put it in quotation marks and incorporate it in the text. For example:

'The term democracy and the classical conception of democratic rule are firmly rooted in Ancient Greece.'¹

If a quotation is more than three lines long, separate it from the text so that it appears as a separate paragraph. Start the quotation on a new line two lines down and leave two lines of space between the last line and the new line of text. Indent 2cm from the left and right margins. The whole quotation should be single-spaced. There is no need to use quotation marks for longer quotations. For example:

'Italian fascists offered plausible solutions to crisis. They claimed to transcend class struggle, especially attractive to those located outside the proletarian ghettos and outside the industrial/commercial core of the capitalist class. They claimed to achieve social development through nation-statism, attractive to those with stronger links to nation or state.'²

¹ A. Heywood, *Political Ideas & Concepts: An Introduction* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1994), p. 167.

² M. Mann, *Fascists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.137.

4. Endnotes and Footnotes

Endnotes (at the end of the work) or footnotes (at the foot of each page) should be used to indicate the source of information and ideas in your coursework. All notes should be numbered consecutively. You will also notice that in the examples above notes have been used to give details of the source of direct quotations. You should follow this format in all cases. In addition to providing the details of the source of information and quotations, notes should always be used to cite the source of specific facts such as a list of economic indicators or election results. In some cases, notes can also be used to add comments to or develop the discussion further.

For Assessed Essays and Dissertations, endnotes and footnotes SHOULD BE INCLUDED in the word count. (The Bibliography IS NOT INCLUDED in the word count.)

5. Citations

Endnotes and footnotes provide details of all sources cited in your coursework. These include books, articles, discussion papers, newspapers, government documents, official publications, CD-ROMS, on-line databases and others. Citation format differs from publisher to publisher. We are recommending what we consider to be best practice. *The most important rule of all, however, is to be consistent in the style you use.*

BOOKS - the first reference to a book should include:

- the name of the author (s)
- the full title (in italics or underlined)
- edition number (if any)
- place of publication
- publisher
- year of publication
- page reference (where appropriate, i.e. unless referring to the book as a whole)

Example of correct citation:

J. L. Gaddis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 21.

CHAPTERS IN BOOKS - the first reference to a chapter in a book should include:

- name of author
- title of chapter (in quotation marks)
- name of book (in italics or underlined)
- name of editor
- place of publication
- publisher
- year
- page reference

Example of correct citation:

I. Kearns, "Eastern and Central Europe in the World Political Economy," in R. Stubbs and G. R. D. Underhill (eds), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 56-7.

ARTICLES IN JOURNALS - the first reference to an article in a journal

should include:

- name of author(s)
- title of article (in quotation marks)
- name of journal (in italics or underlined)
- volume number
- year of publication (in parenthesis)
- page reference

Example of correct citation:

M. Whitebrook, 'Politics and Literature,' *Politics* 15 (1995), p. 13

NEWSPAPERS - references to newspapers should include:

- name of the paper (in italics or underlined)
- date (day, month, year)
- title of the article
- author's name (if possible)
- page number

Example of correct citation:

Wolf, M. 'America's Exports to Europe Could Soon Include Deflation,' *The Financial Times*, 14 May 2003, p.19

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS - these can be from published and unpublished sources.

Unpublished documents.

If you are using unpublished documents (primary sources) such as the Cabinet papers at the Public Records Office or the private papers of, for example, Clement Attlee at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, you will usually be given specific guidelines on citation when you visit these collections. The Public Records Office, for example, provides all visitors to the reading library with a helpful guide. You should adhere to the instructions given in these guides.

Published documents

During the course of your studies, you may make use of the wide variety of published documents in the Queen Mary Library (and other University of London libraries). These include U.K. government publications, documents of the European Union, the

International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the United Nations, local government publications and more. The general rule for references to official publications is that you should use a form of citation that makes them easily accessible to others wishing to locate them in the standard indexes. Citations should include:

- the name of the agency, legislative body, executive department,
- committee or organisation (abbreviated if commonly known)
- the title of the report, paper (in italics or underlined)
- the place of publication
- the publisher (usually a government or organisation)
- the year of publication
- page number

Example of correct citations:

UN, *A Study of Industrial Growth* (New York: UN, 1963), p. 45.

House of Commons, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 445 (London: HMSO, 1947), p. 52.

IMF, *World Economic Outlook* (Washington D.C.: IMF, 2004), p. 32.

WORLD WIDE WEB PAGES

As in previous years, you are highly likely to make use of a variety of online resources. These may include the official sites of organisations such as the EU or the UK government, professional or personal websites, online versions of newspapers, electronic journals etc. You should be careful in your use of online sources, as many of the web pages you will find in your searches may not be appropriate for use as sources in academic work. This could be because some of the sources and materials that you will find on the web may have not been refereed and vetted by other scholars as an acceptable source for academic work, as most books and journals have been, or because the material is of a personal or overly political nature. If you are unsure about using a particular online source make sure your subject tutor confirms to you that it is an acceptable source before using it. Furthermore, students must ensure that they treat online sources in exactly the same way as other bibliographical sources, such as books and journal articles, by citing text that is directly quoted or paraphrased from online sources.

You should use a form of citation that makes sites you have used easily accessible to others wishing to check your sources. The first reference must include:

- name of the database, project, periodical etc.

- author or editor of the report or database.
- title of the report, paper etc.
- date of electronic publishing or posting.
- full web page address.
- date when accessed.

Example of correct citations:

D. Cowling, "Turnout: a crisis of democratic withdrawal?" BBC News, 8 May 2001,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/vote2001/hi/english/voting_system/newsid_1199000/1199120.stm accessed May 15 2002.

European Council, "The Future of the European Union: The Laeken Declaration", 15 December 2001,
http://europa.eu.int/futurum/documents/offtext/doc151201_en.htm
accessed February 21 2002.

To reduce the potential for transcription errors, it is always advisable to try to copy web site addresses electronically.

CD-ROMS

It is unusual to use CD ROMS nowadays but there may still some that could prove useful.

First reference to CD-ROM material should include:

- name of author(s)
- title of CD-ROM
- place of publication
- publisher
- year of publication
- set and disk number

Example of correct citation:

M. Kandiah and G. Staerck, *PROfiles on CD-ROM 1964: Documents on External Affairs*
(Norwich: HMSO Electronic Publishing, 1995) set 2, disk 5.

SECOND AND SUBSEQUENT CITATIONS

Once you have given the full citation of a piece of work, whether it be a book, journal article, official publication etc., subsequent references can be shortened. The general rule is that you cite only the author's surname and year of publication and page reference. The second citation of some of the above examples would then be given as:

Gaddis (1992), p.67.

Kearns (1994), pp.56-7.

Whitebrook (1995), p.13.

Wolf (2003), p.19.
UN (1963), p. 45.
House of Commons (1947), p.52.
IMF (2004), p.32.
Kandiah and Staerck (1995) set 2 disk 3.

Ibid. - meaning 'in the same place', can be used in endnotes or footnotes where references to the exact same book, article etc., (though they may have different page numbers) follow one another without any intervening reference but you should indicate page number. This should be written as Ibid, p. 615.

Op. Cit., (opera citata) – meaning 'in the work/s cited' , can be used in endnotes or footnotes to refer again to a text that you have already cited, but not directly above in your list of end/footnotes and should include the author and page number (where necessary). This should be written as Gaddis, Op cit., (p.34). If your bibliography contains more than one source written by the same author, be careful to ensure that the 'op cit' refers to the correct source.

6. The 'Harvard System' of Referencing

This is an alternative form of referencing that you may wish to use instead of the use of end/footnotes. In this system you include – immediately after a quote or reference within the main text – the surname and date of the source in brackets, with a page number(s) (separated by a colon) if appropriate. The full reference traced from the author's surname should be listed in the bibliography.

Example of correct citation:

'In effect, the world situation became reasonably stable soon after the war and remained so until the middle 1970s, when the international system and its component units entered another period of lengthy political and economic crisis' (Hobsbawm, 1994: 228).

7. Bibliography

Your bibliography should list all the sources you have used in writing your essay or dissertation, even those sources that you have not cited in your notes. For essays, bibliographies will be short and should therefore list all sources in alphabetical order. To do this you will have to reverse the order of the author's name (only the first author if there are two) so that the surname appears first. Journal articles should include the page references of the whole article. Remember, all material cited in the essay MUST be included in the bibliography.

Examples of correct form:

Gaddis, J. L., *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Arndt, S. and C. Milner (eds.), *The World Economy: Global Trade Policy 1997* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

I. Kearns, "Eastern and Central Europe in the World Political Economy," in R. Stubbs and G. R. D. Underhill (eds), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (London: Macmillan, 1994).

Whitebrook, M., "Politics and Literature," *Politics* 15 (1995) 1-14.

Ward, N. and R. Almas, "Explaining change in the international agro-food system," *Review Of International Political Economy* 4 (1997) 613-630.

8. Plagiarism

Your attention is drawn to the section on plagiarism in the Departmental Handbook.

Please also take care not to reproduce work that you might have submitted for any other purpose. Whilst it is perfectly reasonable to discuss relevant ideas that might have been the topic of previous work, you must take care not to reproduce these in the same format. Extensive use of previously submitted work is regarded as poor scholarship and will be likely to depress your mark.