



British Politics Group **NEWSLETTER+**

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Executive Secretary

Donley Studlar
West Virginia University

Spring 2005, No 120

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Publication note: The British Politics Group Newsletter is published quarterly by the British Politics Group (BPG). Inquiries about the content of the Newsletter should be communicated to the Editor – address on the front cover. Dues are: One year - \$20 or £14; two years - \$35 or £25; three years - \$50 or £35; graduate student dues at ½ of these rates. Dues and inquiries about membership in the British Politics Group should be directed to the Executive Secretary – address on the front cover. In addition to the Newsletter, the BPG provides an annual annotated bibliography of books on British politics. The BPG offers the Samuel H. Beer Prize for the best dissertation at a North American university on a British politics subject, the Donald E. Stokes Dissertation Fellowship for dissertation research in the UK by a North American working on a British politics topic, and the James B. Christoph Prize for the Best Paper on British Politics by a graduate student at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Submissions for the Christoph Prize should be made to the Executive Director by October 15 following the meeting at which the paper is presented. Inquiries about the Beer Prize, the Stokes Fellowship, and the Christoph Prize should be made to the Executive Secretary. Periodically, a membership directory is compiled and sent to members.

BPG Electronic Communications – A) Discussion List– Joel Wolfe has created a discussion list for the BPG. The instructions for its use were revised in August 1998 as follows: Send an email to listserv@listserv.uc.edu with this message: subscribe BPG-L, followed by your first name, middle initial and last name. Inquiries about the list serve? Contact Joel at Joel.Wolfe@uc.edu B) Web Site – Joel has also constructed a home page for the BPG: <http://www.uc.edu/bpg>. We thank the University of Cincinnati for providing these internet services.

ACTIVITIES

Samuel H. Beer Prize of the British Politics Group, 2006

The Samuel H. Beer Dissertation Prize was developed by the British Politics Group to encourage the study of British politics by graduate students and to reward exceptional work in that area of study. The principle criterion for awarding the Prize is the dissertation's contribution to the understanding of

British politics, regardless of whether the study is exclusively British or comparative research. We invite nominations for the 2006 award of \$300 for the best doctoral dissertation in British politics completed during the calendar years 2003, 2004, or 2005. All nominees must have received their Ph.D. from a department in the U.S. or Canada. Either a supervising professor or a department's director of graduate studies may nominate a dissertation. Either the supervising professor or the dissertation author must be a member of the BPG (can join upon submission). No one person may nominate more than one dissertation. Three (3) loose copies of the nominated dissertation, along with a brief letter of nomination, should be postmarked by March 1, 2006 and sent to:

Donley T. Studlar
Executive Secretary of the British Politics Group
Department of Political Science
West Virginia University
P.O. Box 6317
Morgantown, WV 26506-6317 USA
Email: dstudlar@wvu.edu
Phone: (304) 293-3811, X5269
Fax: (304) 293-8644

The winner of the award will be announced at the BPG's annual business meeting at the 2006 APSA convention in Washington, DC.

2006 Donald E. Stokes Dissertation Research Fellowship of the British Politics Group

The British Politics Group is pleased to announce the annual Donald E. Stokes Dissertation Research Fellowship, to enable a North American graduate student doing research on British politics for his/her dissertation at a North American University to conduct research in the United Kingdom. The award, in the amount of \$500 U.S., is to be used for Ph.D. dissertation research on British politics, broadly defined, including comparative and historical work as well as approaches more specifically focused on contemporary British politics. Application deadline for the 2006 competition is March 15, 2006. Application should include a prospectus of 3-5 double-spaced typewritten pages which outlines the project and makes clear how the fellowship will aid the research, plus a brief C.V. of no more than three pages. A letter from the Chair of the Dissertation Committee concerning the research is also required. Research should be conducted in the United Kingdom sometime during the period June 2006 through August 2006. The successful applicant is required to submit a brief report (3-5 double-spaced pages) on the research financed by the Fellowship by September 30, 2006,

including for what purposes expenses were incurred. Applications will be judged by an international committee of British politics scholars. Applicants will be notified of the committee's decision on their application by May 15, 2006. The fellowship honors Donald E. Stokes, a founding member of the British Politics Group, a member of its first Executive Committee, and co-author of the seminal book, *Political Change in Britain*.

All materials and/or inquiries should be directed to:

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The James B. Christoph Prize for the Best Paper on British Politics by a Graduate Student

– 2004 (revised terms)

The fifth annual James B. Christoph Award for the Best Paper on British Politics presented by a graduate student will be awarded by the British Politics Group. The paper (or poster) must be presented at a conference during the calendar year 2004. All papers on British politics, whether solely on Britain or comparative, are eligible. The author/presenter must have been a registered graduate student (pre-awarding of Ph.D.) at any institution of higher education in North America at the time of presentation. The prize is \$200, and the decision will be made by a three-person committee of established scholars who are BPG members. Four copies of the paper should be submitted to the Executive Secretary of the British Politics Group at the address below by April 1, 2005 for consideration. The winner will be recognized at the 2005 Business Meeting of the BPG in Washington. The prize is named in honor of the late James B. Christoph, a leading scholar and former President of the BPG.

Submissions to
Donley T. Studlar
Executive Secretary of the British Politics Group
Department of Political Science
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P.O. Box 6317
Morgantown, WV 26506-6317 USA
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ANNOUNCEMENTS

NOMINEES FOR THE BPG EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

– Following are the nominees for the Executive Committee, whose terms will begin this fall. Customarily, following the Annual Business Meeting, the Executive Secretary distributes a postal or email ballot to the entire BPG membership for selecting among the nominees.

Mark Franklin, Trinity College (CT)
Rachel Gibson, Australian National University and U. of Salford
Bonnie Meguid, University of Rochester
Pippa Norris, Harvard University
Terry Royed, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa
Susan Scarrow, University of Houston
Donley Studlar, West Virginia University
Jonathon Tonge, University of Salford
Paul Whiteley, Essex University
Joel Wolfe, University of Cincinnati

JOB OPENING – Lectureship/Senior Lectureship in Politics, University of Liverpool, School of Politics and Communication Studies

The School of Politics and Communication Studies wishes to appoint a Lecturer or Senior Lecturer with expertise in one (or more) of the following areas: British Politics, Political Communication, and the Politics of Developing Areas. In relation to Developing Areas, the preference is for candidates with special interests in Latin American Politics or African Politics, including the involvement of their 'area' in International Politics. However, candidates with expertise relating to Asian or Middle Eastern Politics will be considered.

The successful candidate will contribute to relevant undergraduate and postgraduate teaching programmes and will have scope to introduce or develop modules in their fields of expertise. Possessing a strong honours degree and PhD in Politics, s/he will be expected to offer research supervision and will possess an existing record of publication as well as coherent research plans, thus demonstrating a capacity to assist in the School objective of improving on its current RAE rating of 4A in 2008. The successful candidate will also be expected to take on significant administrative duties, as decided by the Head of School.

Applications are particularly welcome from candidates with experience of successfully attracting research funding and/or research students.

Interviews for this post will be held on 16 June 2005.

The successful candidate is expected to take up the post in September 2005.

Further details on School programmes can be found on the School's website: www.liv.ac.uk/polcomm

CALL FOR PAPERS - LSE/KCL European

Foreign Policy Conference

“The Ethical Dimension of European Foreign Policy,”
London School of Economics, July 1st-2nd 2005.

The International Relations Department of the London School of Economics (LSE), the War Studies Department of King’s College London (KCL), and FORNET invite post-graduate research students with research interests in European foreign policy to submit abstracts (max. 300 words) outlining the main points of their proposed papers by Friday, April 22nd along with a copy of your CV. Any topic related to European foreign policy qualifies for submission. We are particularly interested in submissions pertaining to this year’s theme, “The Ethical Dimension of European Foreign Policy”.

If selected for the conference, presenters will be asked to submit a paper of between 3,000 and 5,000 words by Friday, June 17th for inclusion at the conference. Selected paper-givers will be expected to deliver a 10-minute presentation at the conference. In addition, selected papers may be published on-line on the LSE International Relations Department, King’s College War Studies Department and FORNET websites.

Conference Information -

Following the success of last year’s inaugural conference at the LSE which featured talks Prof. Christopher Hill (Cambridge), Lord Hannay of Chiswick (former UK ambassador to the UN and EU), and Robert Culshaw (Director of Americas and Overseas Territories, FCO) and was attended by over 110 participants from all over Europe and abroad, the LSE and King’s College are proud to host this second annual research student conference.

This year’s keynote address will be given by the Honourable Gareth Evans, President of the International Crisis Group. Gareth Evans was also a member of the UN Secretary General’s High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, whose report “A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility” was published in December 2004.

Conference proceedings will take part throughout the day at the LSE on Friday, July 1st and in the morning of Saturday, July 2nd. In addition, a wine reception is planned for Friday evening. All research students and other interested parties are invited to attend. Conference registration costs £10 and includes all conference fees, coffee and light snacks.

For further information including registration procedures please see the conference website www.lse.ac.uk/depts/intrel/efpc. Registration for conference participation will begin on May 1st, 2005. Please direct any inquiries to efpc@lse.ac.uk.

European Foreign Policy Conference
London School of Economics
Dept of International Relations
c/o Michael Aktipis, Chair
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
E-mail: efpc@lse.ac.uk

PUBLICATION NEWS:

A) *European Journal of Political Research* has introduced a new system of electronic submission and reviewing of manuscripts. This brings advantages for both authors and reviewers.

With manuscripts and information about potential referees in one single database, and the reviewing process conducted online, authors can expect to receive a quicker answer from the editors than under the old manual system. The network of potential referees can be expanded as scholars are invited to register areas of interest in which they would be able to evaluate manuscripts, and there is the added convenience for all of sending and receiving electronic rather than paper copies of submissions and reviews.

Potential authors should now go to <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/ejpr> where they can create an account and upload their manuscript in their ‘author centre’. Those who would like to offer their services as reviewers are also invited to log on the same web address and should indicate their areas of expertise when they set up their account.

If you want to be or remain involved with the *EJPR*, either as a potential author or as a potential referee, you are welcome to register at <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/ejpr>

Kris Deschouwer & Edward C. Page, Editors of the *EJPR*

For further information about European Journal of Political Research, visit www.blackwellpublishing.com/ejpr

B) *Public Policy Research* will provide a forum for debate on the major policy issues of the day. The Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), has relaunched *New Economy*, its quarterly journal, as *Public Policy Research*. The new journal will reach beyond Westminster and the UK, by placing policy issues in a global context. *Public Policy Research* will publish the finest international writers and thinkers, including academics, practitioners, and politicians. The questions posed by *Public Policy Research* are driven by the belief that the journey to a good society is one that places social justice, democratic participation and economic and environmental sustainability at its heart. However, the journal hopes to engender debate and will engage writers from across the political spectrum and from different perspectives.

Articles include:

In conversation with....David Blunkett MP
A progressive politics of responsibility: What would it look like? Stuart White
A duty to serve? Responsibility, reciprocity and the paradox of civic service Richard Dagger
Something for something: personal responsibility meets behavioural economics David Halpern
Whose fault is it we're getting fat? Obesity in the United States Inas Rashad
Sanctions and sweeteners: Rights, responsibilities and the welfare state - Kate Stanley
Solving the disability problem: Whose responsibility? Tom Shakespeare
Bringing fathers back in: Child support in Australia Adrienne Burge

C) *British Politics* is a new journal from Palgrave Macmillan to be launched in 2006.

It offers the only forum explicitly designed to promote research in British political studies, and seeks to provide a counterweight to the growing fragmentation of this field during recent years. To this end, the journal aims to promote a more holistic understanding of British politics by encouraging a closer integration between theoretical and empirical research, between historical and contemporary analyses, and by fostering a conception of British politics as a broad and multi-disciplinary field of study. This incorporates a range of sub-fields, including psephology, policy analysis, regional studies, comparative politics, institutional analysis, political theory, political economy, historical analysis, cultural studies and social policy.

The editors welcome submissions on any aspect of British politics, and from any theoretical perspective. Submissions should be between 8-10,000 words in length, and priority will be given to contributions which conform most closely to the above remit.

British Politics will feature an innovative section, which aims to promote the very latest research and theoretical reflection from within the field. Ph.D. students are especially encouraged to submit to this section. Submissions should be around 3,000 words in length; authors are invited to contact the Executive Editors prior to making a submission to this section.

British Politics

Editors: Colin Hay, Peter Kerr, Steven Kettell, David Marsh, Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham, UK

Call for Papers

All submissions should be sent to:

Dr Steven Kettell / Dr Peter Kerr
(Executive Editors)
Department of Political Science & International Studies
European Research Institute
University of Birmingham
Edgbaston B15 2TT UK
s.kettell@bham.ac.uk or p.kerr@bham.ac.uk

D) Call for submissions for the *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* (JEPOP).

JEPOP aims to publish research of the highest quality on elections, public opinion, participation and political parties. Published under the auspices of the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom specialist group of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties (EPOP), it welcomes submissions based on either comparative or single nation studies. The journal has no methodological bias other than demonstrable excellence. All submissions are subject to peer and editorial review.

Full details about the process and form of submission can be found on our website (www.jepop.org). For guidance, the current issue of the journal is currently available online at: <http://journalonline.tandf.co.uk>

Justin Fisher & Chris Wlezien (Editors)

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The Political Economy of UK Party Support, 1997-2004: Forecasts for the 2005 General Election David Sanders
The Fundamentals in U.S. Presidential Elections: Public Opinion, the Economy, and Incumbency in the 2004 Presidential Election, James Campbell
When Europe Matters: The Impact of Salience on Voting Behavior in EU Referendums Sara Binzer Hobolt
Conservative Party Rationality: Learning the Lessons from the Last Election for the Next Jane Green
Egocentric Voting and Changes in Party Choice: Great Britain, 1992-2001 Ron Johnston, Rebecca Sarker, Kelyvn Jones, Anne Bolster, Carol Propper, and Simon Burgess

CONFERENCES/WORKSHOPS/SUMMER PROGRAMS

A) Workshop on National Identity and Eurocepticism: A Comparison Between France and the United Kingdom, Friday the 13th of May 2005

Organisers: Sophie Duchesne (CNRS, Maison Francaise) and Julian Mischi (INRA, St Antony's college), on behalf of the Maison Française d'Oxford, the European Studies Centre of St Antony's college and the Department of Politics and International Relations of the University of Oxford

9.00 Registration

9.15 Opening remarks - Julian Mischi

9.30 Panel 1: Nation and Europe in French and British public opinion

- Talking About 'Europe' and 'Britain', Atsuko Ichijo
- European And Sub-European Identity - When Are Multiple Identities Compatible?, Michael Bruter
- Orientations Of Young Men And Women To Citizenship And European Identity, Lynn Jamieson

11.00 Coffee break

11.15 Panel 2: French and British national identities

- Patterns Of National Identity: A Comparison Of The French And British Ways Of Imagining The Nation, Sophie Duchesne and Anthony Heath
- Nation And Nationalism In France: Between Idealism And Reality, Alain Dieckhoff
- 'Set in the Silver Sea': English National Identity and European Integration, Anthony Smith

13.00 Lunch

14.00 Panel 3: Eurosceptic political attitudes

- A Dual Exceptionalism?: British and French Patterns of Euroscepticism in Wider Comparative Perspective, Robert Harmsen
- 'E with much less U': or 'No More E or U'? British Eurosceptic Exceptionalism After Enlargement, David Baker
- Euroscepticism In French Political Parties, Bruno Cautrès et Agnès Alexandre-Collier

15.30 Tea break

16.00 Panel 4 : Elite discourses on Europe and postnationalism

- Euroscepticism Among The Intellectuals, Justine Lacroix
- References And Uses Of Postnationalism In French And British Debates On Europe, Muriel Rambour
- Normative Conclusions, Kalypso Nicolaidis

Venue: MAISON FRANÇAISE D'OXFORD,
Norham Road, Oxford OX2 6SE

The conference fee is £6, to include lunch and tea and coffee

Booking: maison@herald.ox.ac.uk. Tel. 01865 274220

B) The Centre for European Studies of Istanbul Bilgi University and the Institute of International Relations of Panteion University of Athens are organising a Summer Seminar on 'The EU, Turkey and Greece: Perceptions on the Middle East' on June 27-July 8, 2005. This is part of the International Summer Programme series organised by the two institutions, titled 'Turkey and Greece: Transcending the Past and Embracing the Future'. The aim of the Seminar is to examine the main geopolitical challenges facing the Middle East today as well as Turkey's and Greece's role within this context, with respect to issues such as the US policy in the region, the situation in Iraq and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Special attention will be given to the European perspective regarding the Middle East and transatlantic relations under this prism. The Seminar will also examine the role of Greece in the Middle East and perspectives on Greek-Turkish relations.

The Programme will take the form of a series of lectures by experts in the field of Turkish and Greek studies, to be held in Istanbul and on the island of Hydra. In addition, a cultural programme comprising events and excursions as well as various workshops designed to explore fields of possible cooperation between Greece and Turkey will be held during the course of the Seminar.

Deadline for applications is May 9, 2005 and admission is highly competitive. Eligible to apply are graduate/senior undergraduate students in the field of International Relations and related disciplines, junior diplomats, journalists, civil servants and consultants in foreign and international affairs, up to 30 years of age and proficient in English. A limited number of scholarships is available. For more information on application, admissions, courses, fees and scholarships, please visit <<http://www.summer2005.bilgi.edu.tr>> <<http://www.summer2005.bilgi.edu.tr/>>

Please distribute to those whomight be interested.

From: Assoc. Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Director, Centre for European Studies (CES)

FROM THE BPG-L

The Electoral Commission (This was sent to the List last May by David Waller. With the general election at hand, some BPGers may wish to refer to it again.)

Research reports

Academic and survey research is used by us to ensure that our policy reviews and campaigns are evidence-based. We also use survey research to assist meeting our statutory obligation to review the conduct of parliamentary elections and to evaluate electoral pilot schemes. The list below covers the latest year's reports. If you wish to look at our previous research reports, please visit our 2003 archive page, 2002 archive page or 2001 archive page. All downloads are in PDF format. Where available, findings or summaries related to these reports are also downloadable.

An Audit of Political Engagement 2 - Research Report (March 2005). This report is published jointly with the Hansard Society. It explores the UK public's level of political engagement and asks whether this has changed in the last 12 months. Based on MORI's annual Political Engagement Poll, it is an update to the first audit, and is based on six key indicators: knowledge and interest, action and participation, and efficacy and satisfaction. The full report of *An Audit of political engagement 2*, as well as a summary of *An Audit of Political Engagement 2*, are available for download.

The June 2004 Elections - the Public's Perspective (September 2004) Report written for us by ICM and Professor John Curtice summarising public opinion research measuring and exploring attitudes towards the 10 June elections, reasons for voting and non-voting at the European Parliamentary elections, and looking to explain why turnout in 2004 was higher than in 1999. ICM conducted telephone interviews with 8,512 UK adults between 11-29 June. This research will inform our statutory report on the elections to be published in December this year. The resulting report, *The June 2004 Elections - The Public's Perspective*, is available for download.

Public Opinion and the 2004 Electoral Pilot Schemes (August 2004) ICM's report for us summarising the findings from a programme of public opinion research including 4,009 interviews across the four pilot scheme areas, 6 focus group discussions and 12 depths. The research informed our evaluation reports for the regions and *Delivering Democracy? The future of Postal Voting*. The resulting report, *Public Opinion and the 2004 Electoral Pilot Schemes*, is available for download.

Rules of engagement? (August 2004) This report, written for us by MORI, presents the findings of multivariate statistical analysis of the Political Engagement Poll (the basis of our Audit of political engagement) and provides a deeper understanding of what determines people's political engagement and their propensity to vote. The resulting report, *Rules of Engagement?* is available for download.

Gender and Political Participation (April 2004) We retained academics from Harvard University and Birkbeck College, University of London to conduct research into the extent and nature of men and women's political participation in the UK and to examine the existence of any political activism by gender. The resulting report, *Gender and Political Participation*, is available for download. The executive summary of *Gender and Political Participation* can also be downloaded.

Age of Electoral Majority (April 2004) This report presents the findings of public opinion research, conducted by ICM on behalf of the Commission to inform its review of the age of electoral majority. The resulting report, *Age of Electoral Majority*, is available for download.

Perceptions of Electoral Fraud in Great Britain (April 2004). We commissioned MORI to conduct survey research on our behalf to measure public perceptions of electoral fraud in Britain. The resulting report, *Perceptions of Electoral Fraud in Great Britain*, is available for download.

An Audit of Political Engagement (March 2004) This research by The Electoral Commission and the Hansard Society audits the extent and nature of political engagement in the UK. It does so from one perspective - that of the public - and uses 16 indicators derived from a Political Engagement Poll conducted by MORI. The resulting report, *An Audit of Political Engagement*, is available for download. The executive summary of *An Audit of Political Engagement* can also be downloaded.

The Electoral Commission, Trevelyan House, Great Peter Street, London SW1P 2HW
T: 020 7271 0500
F: 020 7271 0505

The Security Threat in Northern Ireland: A Fresh Perspective? - On Thursday, March 10, 2005, **Alan Ward** reported: "The Belfast Telegraph today reports on a 2001 audit of apparent excessive spending of public monies by the Ulster Scots Agency, including taxi and limousine hire by its chairman Lord Laird. The article reveals a hitherto underappreciated aspect of the security problem in Ireland. I quote: 'The peer has claimed that he needed to use taxis as his practice of wearing a kilt could have led to him being attacked in public.'"

Why can't the English teach their children how to speak? The Argot of the Brits – A brief exposure – Or "two peoples separated by a common language" [For more on this topic, see the *British Library's Accent Website*, where some recordings go back to the 1950s. The Library also has a *Sound Archive in London*. For more on the impact of regional accents, see *Pot Pourri* below.]

On 9 Feb 05, **Chris Howell**, Oberlin College sent this message:

"I'm talking to American students who arrive for Oberlin's 'London Program' tomorrow, and I wanted to talk a little about social class and politics in Britain.

"Would anyone on the list feel comfortable trying to run down some of the regional and vehicular descriptions attached to voting groups and explain what they are meant to be descriptors of, or what they are designed to capture? I'm thinking of Worcester woman, Mondeo man, Essex man, and so on - The more esoteric the better!"

Peter Dorey, Cardiff University, replied. "Essex Man - popularised in the 1980s and early 1990s, to characterize - caricature - a particular type of working class (manual worker) Conservative who enthusiastically endorsed Thatcherism. Often 'self-made' and relatively successful or prosperous economically, he endorsed Thatcherite economics (rugged individualism, tax cuts, hostility to the state and meddling civil servants), but also supported neo-conservatism's social authoritarian/anti-intellectual populism: contemptuous of anti-racism (the so-called 'race relations lobby'), gay rights, feminism, and any other causes associated with the 'loony Left' in those days (and what would now be deemed 'political correctness gone mad'!) etc, and proudly jingoistic in their view of foreigners (needless to say, profoundly anti-European and dismissive of the EU). Essex Man was also extremely tough on law-and-order issues: 'lock 'em up/string 'em up - it's the only

language they understand, innit' !!! All Essex Men doubtless read The Sun newspaper, which often explicitly aligned itself with him (just as today The Sun will claim to speak on behalf of 'white van man').

"Although Thatcherism was the political creed of Essex Man, it was Norman Tebbit (Conservative MP for Chingford, on the London/Essex border) who was perhaps the public face or voice of Essex Man, and articulated his views and prejudices.

"The 'Essex' element derived from the notion that Essex Man was born and bred in the East End of London (once 'rough', now achingly trendy amongst 'struggling' artists and musicians who cannot afford to live in the posher West London) to poor working class parents, but made 'loads money' in the 1980s (and thus turned their backs on the Labour Party seeing it as the Party of society's 'losers' and unpopular minorities), and so moved out to Essex - which was originally semi-rural - and bought mock-Tudor houses, etc.

"Having risen from humble backgrounds, and become successful, Essex Man had little political sympathy for those who remained poor or unemployed. Essex Man was not afflicted with 'bourgeois guilt': he'd worked hard for what he now had, or had seized the opportunities made available, and was fully entitled, he felt, to enjoy the fruits of his hard work and success.

"The other derogatory image of Essex Man was that whilst he was economically prosperous and socially mobile, he was culturally bankrupt, Philistine and boorish. Essex Man represented the nouveaux riches - here as Old Money was often refined and discrete in displaying their wealth, Essex Man and the nouveaux riches proudly and ostentatiously flaunted their money on anything 'loud', large, or 'in ter face' - nothing was too tacky (big gold rings on every finger, for example!!), naff or tasteless for Essex Man, if it meant that he could show off to the world that he could afford these things! Cultural phenomena, such as fine wines, art, theatre, traveling to exotic places, were of no interest to Essex Man - socially, life still revolved around drinking, fighting, football and holidays in Benidorm or Malaga: it's just that he could now afford to indulge in these past-times even more frequently, or to even greater excess.

"Hope this helps (I'm sure it will attract some criticism)!!"

Bob Worcester, MORI, added: "To add a bit of history to the discussion: Essex man was from 1992 election, when Labour knew that they lost Basildon

(in Essex), they lost the election. I take credit, if you can call it that, for Worcester woman. Stryker McGuire, Bureau Chief of Newsweek in London, rang a couple of months before the 1997 election, and said where should he go to talk to the average voter. Looking at the demographics, I said a woman, middle aged, English, C1 (lower middle class) living in the Midlands. Looking at the map, and with my surname, I said it's got to be...Worcester Woman. Stryker wrote it up, and it stuck.

"Mondeo man came from Blair, who was shown on TV talking to a chap in his driveway washing his car, which happened to be a Ford Mondeo."

Wyn Grant, University of Warwick, cited personal experience with the Essex phenomenon, "I can add an anecdote to this very full account. I went to school in Chelmsford, Essex and was recently invited back to address the upper sixth (17-18 year olds). I had to stay overnight in a rather unsatisfactory bed-and-breakfast. The proprietor had grown up in Stepney in the East End, but had moved to Chelmsford. He asked me over breakfast what I was talking about at the school and I said 'The Politics of Protest'. 'Oh yeah', he said, 'we want more of that in this country. I'm always up for a ruck'. And went and produced a photo of himself in one.

Terry Royed, University of Alabama, noted: "This is interesting. Now, I've heard people talk about "Essex girls" (apparently there are no "Essex women"...?) and the connotation was different. Can anyone comment on the origin/meaning of that term?"

Alistair Howard, Temple University, commented: "Aren't Essex girls the same as Jersey girls? Sort of an 80s Thing, I think."

Shannon Granville offered this reference: "The 19 May 2001 edition of The Economist has an interesting article that might be of use — it's titled "The politics of Bedpan man", and gives an analysis of the more recent political stereotypes."

David Baker, University of Warwick, provided a 'translation table,' with this introduction, "Just to follow up on Wyn's anecdote - Essex Girls (and boys) reputedly speak Estuary English (after the Thames Estuary catchment area) - as most probably does Wyn's informant on the local 'rucking' scene in Chelmsford. The term was coined in 1984 by British linguist, David Rosewarne. Defined as a "variety of modified regional speech" it becomes "a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English pronun-

ciation and intonation" The Sunday Times, once described it as a dialect existing between "Cockney and the Queen" and one Tory Minister of Education condemned it as a "bastardized version of Cockney dialect." It includes such baffling examples as (and this really will stretch some of our American colleagues I suspect):

Alma chizzit	A request to find the cost of an item
Amant	Quantity; sum total ("Thez a yuge amant of mud in Saffend")
Assband	Unable to leave the house because of illness, disability etc
Awss	A four legged animal, on which money is won, or more likely lost ("That awss ya tipped cost me a fiver t' day")
Branna	More brown than on a previous occasion ("Ere, Trace, ya look branna today, ave you been on a sunbed?")
Cort a panda	A rather large hamburger
Dan in the maff	Unhappy ("Wossmatta, Trace, ya look a bit dan in the maff")
Eye-eels	Women's shoes
Furrock	The location of Lakeside Shopping Centre
Garrij	A building where a car is kept or repaired (Trace: "Oi, Darren, I fink the motah needs ta go in the garrij cos it aint working proper")
Ibeefa	Balaeric holiday island
Lafarjik	Lacking in energy ("I feel all lafarjik")
Oi oi!	Traditional greeting. Often heard from the doorway of pubs or during banging dance tunes at clubs
Paipa	The Sun, The Mirror or The Sport
Reband	The period of recovery and emotional turmoil after rejection by a lover ("I couldn't elp it, I wuz on the reband from Craig")
Saffend	Essex coastal resort boasting the longest pleasure pier in the world. The place where the characters from TV's, popular soap opera, 'Eastenders' go on holiday
Tan	The city of London, the big smoke
Webbats	Querying the location something or someone is. ("Webbats is me dole card Trace? I've gotta sign on in arf hour")
Wonnid	1. Desired, needed. 2. Wanted by the police
Zaggerate	To suggest that something is bigger or better than it actually is. ("I told ya a fazzand times already done zaggerate")

Taken from the website devoted to this at 'Dijja Wanna Say Sumfing' - <http://www.sumfing.co.uk/>

Eric Shaw, University of Stirling, offered the Liverpuddlian version, "Well, I thought I'd add some vocab, if anyone from the States was to ever visit Liverpool, and needs some words of scouse."

Ullo dur!	Greetings! Pleased to make your acquaintance
Wack	Sir
Yis	Yes
Any Road	Anyways, whatever
Darrafact	Is that so?
Gisalite	Could you oblige me with a match please?
Ay ay	I say!
La	I say, young man
Ere, tatty 'ead!	I say, young woman
Boogaroff	No, please depart
I wudden mind	Yes, please
Ta, Wack	Thanks, I am most grateful
Make yer name Walker	Please go away
Y'know like	Meaningless interjection
Ere's yer 'at, wur's de 'urry?	Its been nice but I have to go now
Yer wha?	Do I hear you correctly?
T'sarrahwell	Farewell
Sarawak	Farewell, sir
I dunno a blind werd 'e sez	I do not understand him
I wanna	I want to
Yer wanna	You ought to
Worrel?	What will?
Give us some or Gizza lorra	A large portion please
Yerl get no bevvy 'ere	Not licensed premises
Gear (followed by belch)	Thanks, I enjoyed that
Ollies	Marbles
Saggin' skewl	Playing truant
'E yockered on me	He spat on me
Leg it!	Lets escape, ***** is coming, run!
Less bunk into de pictures	Lets go into the film without paying
Lugole	The ear
Mitts	The hands
Purra zip in it	Please be silent
Yistiddy	Yesterday
Thisavvay	This afternoon
Termorrer, t'sermorrer	Tomorrow
Gear, de gear	Excellent, suitable, satisfactory
'Ead as big as Birkened	Rather self assured
'Unchback of Knotty Ash	Of a rather grotesque appearance
We 'ad a do lassnight	We had a party last night
Lissen to 'is rantin	He is knocking loudly
Uz	I, me
Yer, yiz	You, yours
Yews	You (plural)
Me nin, me gran	My grandmother
Me ol' gerl, me man	My mother
Dem	They, those
Me judy, me tart	My lady friend, wife

Me fella	My boy friend, husband
'Im	Derisively my husband
Me gerls ole fella	My father in law
Me dar, de ole man	My father
Are kid	My brother
De unkill	My uncle
De ant	My aunt
De pool	The city of Liverpool
Whur bugs wear clogs	Bootle
Whur de play tick wid 'atchets	Dingle
Cost millyins	Expensive
Dis pura kecks is too tight	These trousers are tight
I wanna	I require
Sarneys	Sandwiches
De chippy	The fish and chips shop
Hey! Yu wid de 'ead!	Waiter!
'E won't crack on	He is ignoring us
A cuppa tea an' a long sit-down	It is cold outside
Gissome	Please serve us with
Scouse	Pot-au-feu l'hiver poule
Kirkby kiss	Head butting an opponent in the face

Joan Duggan remarked: "I was also led to believe that the movie that we in the UK called "Letter To Brezhnef" needed subtitles because of the strong Liverpool accents. ("Kirby Girls" may have been the title in the USA.) I'm ashamed to say that I have difficulty in understanding the Glasgow accent, when it is very strong, in spite of having Scottish friends. A lot of English people do, I think."

Conservativehome.com

BPG list members,

May I recommend to you a newly launched website, 'conservativehome.com'. It aims to draw together everything conservative (not just big C' Conservative but small 'c' social and moral conservatism, too). It offers, news, briefing and a blog. Very useful for students as introduction to the different kinds of conservatism. It serves as the only UK portal of its kind, linking an otherwise disparate collection of resources and individuals. Of particular use may be the definitions, including useful quotations and pointers to further information.

Kind regards,
Jane Green, Nuffield College, Oxford
conservativehome.com

ARTICLES

Election Reflections
Wyn Grant
University of Warwick

In an article in the Financial Times on the results of the British general election Pippa Norris used the apt analogy of a toddlers' party in which each child gets a balloon to take home as a present. Labour won an historic third term with a comfortable majority. The Conservatives gained a respectable number of seats, electing many young MPs, some of them women, others gay and one (from Windsor) their first black MP. The Liberal Democrats pushed up their share of the popular vote and won the largest number of seats since the 1920s. At the moment I am reading a biography of Jo Grimond and on the front there is a picture of the Liberal leader greeting the candidate for Manchester Withington at the 1964 general election. Manchester Withington was won in 2005 by the Lib Dems with a spectacular swing, just as they took true blue Solihull (a commuter suburb of Birmingham) from the Conservatives.

However, an alternative account is that all the parties lost. Labour did not do as well as they might have hoped and suffered a substantial reduction in their majority. Their share of the poll (even more so of the electorate, around one in five) was smaller than that obtained by any government in modern times. The Conservatives ended up with fewer seats than Michael Foot in 1983 and only marginally moved forward their share of the national vote. As for the Liberal Democrats, they might have expected to do even better given a loss of trust in New Labour and a Conservative leader and party that were also unpopular. With their opposition to the Iraq war and their stance on tuition fees, they did do well among young voters, especially students.

However, for those of us who think that the Downs median voter theorem remains a robust if simplified model of voting behaviour, there was something contradictory about the Lib Dems trying to place themselves to the left of Labour and at the same time appeal to disaffected Conservatives. The consequence was that they did make inroads on Labour seats, including a spectacular but expected gain at Hornsey and Wood Green, but lost more seats to the Conservatives than they won from them. The so-called 'decapitation strategy' aimed at depriving leading Conservatives of their seats was a spectacu-

lar failure, except in the Lake District where the Conservative education spokesman lost his seat.

It was quite a good night for the minor parties. The SNP gained ground in terms of seats (winning Dundee East and Na h-Eileanan an Iar from Labour), although their share of the Scottish vote fell and they were overhauled by the Liberal Democrats. Plaid Cymru were disappointed to lose Ceredigion to the Lib Dems and to fail to take Ynys Mon from Labour. A Welsh Assembly Labour member standing as an Independent took the old seat of Aneurin Bevan and Michael Foot from Labour on a spectacular swing, ousting an external candidate who had formed part of a short list confined to women. An independent retained his seat for the first time since 1945 when Richard Taylor won Wyre Forest for Kidderminster Health and Hospital Concern. In Bethnal Green and Bow George Galloway's Respect (essentially a new version of the old Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party) took Bethnal Green and Bow from Labour's Oona King after a nasty and often violent campaign in which anti-Semitism reared its head (Oona King, the daughter of political scientist Preston King, is black and has a Jewish mother).

In Northern Ireland, the Ulster Unionists were reduced to one seat with David Trimble being defeated and resigning as leader. Such is the price paid for moderation. Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists now speak for the Unionist community. The SDLP did, however, do quite well, taking one seat from the Unionists, reinforcing their mandate to speak for the nationalist constituency alongside Sinn Fein.

Turnout was up slightly, but it is difficult to rely on the figure given the number of electors that have votes in more than one constituency because of dual residences, students being one example. It is difficult to detect if more than one vote has been cast. The security of postal voting continued to be controversial and its operation will require further attention from the Electoral Commission and legislative action by government. Swing varied considerably by region and by seat with Labour holding on to its most vulnerable seat of Dorset South. The largest Labour to Conservative swing was in London (4.9 per cent) which may reflect concerns about taxation, congestion and crime in the capital.

My own seat of Warwick and Leamington was highly marginal, finally being retained by the assiduous constituency MP and Labour loyalist, James Plaskitt, with a majority of 306 over the Conservatives. Warwick and Leamington used to be known

as the 'Garden of Eden' when it was the seat of one time Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden. He first won the seat in 1923 when the cause of Socialism was advanced by the Countess of Warwick who emerged from Warwick Castle in her chauffeur driven limousine to campaign. In later years Sir Anthony's visits to the constituency would represent a royal progress as he was driven from Leamington to Warwick along streets decorated by bunting and lined with cheering crowds whom he graciously acknowledged.

Given the marginality of the seat, little campaigning was in evidence. John Prescott made an early visit to be greeted by a dozen Labour campaign workers. Only one party (the Conservatives) called to canvass and the only literature I received from Labour was a postcard. The most detailed literature came from the Greens while the Liberal Democrat literature was focussed on retaining their local county council seat. Perhaps sensing how marginal it was, Michael Howard made an appearance on polling day among bemused tourists in Warwick.

The period immediately after the election was characterized by media stories of the 'When will Tony go?' variety. 'Many Labour MPs' were said to want him to go immediately, but this turned out to be the usual collection of marginalized malcontents and old leftists. The fevered atmosphere seemed likely to calm. The first real test for the prime minister (if it goes ahead) will be the referendum on the European constitution in 2006 which could turn into a referendum on Tony Blair.

In many ways the situation in the Conservative Party is more interesting. Michael Howard is to step down once the rules for the leadership election have been changed (yet again) so as to diminish the role of the party's ageing and out of touch activists. Warwick graduate David Davies (early 5-4 favourite with the bookies) is likely to be one of the leading contenders, particularly given that Ken Clarke has indicated that he might support him if he moderates his policies. William Hague has indicated that he might be available for a second term. Tim Yeo has emerged as a standard bearer for the left, but is unlikely to get very far. Michael Howard's favoured choice, David Cameron, a prominent member of the 'Notting Hill set' is probably too young. Sir Malcolm Rifkind, back as MP for Kensington and Chelsea, has probably been away from the Commons too long to be a serious contender. The barely visible Andrew Lansley might just emerge as a compromise candidate.

Of greater interest and importance is how the Conservatives re-position themselves. By emphasizing the immigration and asylum issue, they sought to shore up their core vote and win some DE votes away from Labour. However, the problem with these 'dog whistle' tactics is that everyone can hear the dog whistle and the consequence was to reinforce the image of the Conservatives as the 'nasty party', scaring away more moderate voters. YouGov polling evidence show that voters typically see themselves as near to a median position on the political spectrum but perceive the Conservatives as well out to the right. Between 1992 and 2005 the share of AB voters in the population has gone up from 18 per cent to nearly a quarter. The Conservative share of that vote has declined as follows:

1992	54%
1997	43%
2001	40%
2005	35%

As one Conservative MP commented, 'now when I am out campaigning and I see a guy with a T-shirt, big muscles and a tattoo, I think, "Oh good, a Tory."'

Now that the election is over, attention will have to be directed to postponed policy problems, notably pensions and local taxation (although Charles Kennedy seems to have realised that a local income tax is not popular with the many voters who would lose out). An early decision needs to be made about whether Britain will resume a nuclear power programme, while the bill to introduce identity cards is likely to prove controversial. Labour revolts are likely to be more important in this Parliament in the last, even though some rebels have been defeated, so Phil Cowley's excellent www.revolts.co.uk will become an even more important resource.

ABSTRACTS

Irwin Garfinkel, Lee Rainwater, & Timothy M. Smeeding, "Equal Opportunities for children: Social welfare expenditures in the English-speaking countries and in Western Europe," Focus, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Spring 2005), pp. 16-23.

This study uses data from the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS) and other sources to compare "the degree to which social welfare expenditures, broadly defined, close the gap in the economic resources

afforded to poor versus middle-income children and poor versus rich children in rich countries”(p.16) in the UK, the US, Australia, Canada, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Finland, and Sweden.

Among other findings: of “the four English-speaking nations examined the United States ranks last if employer-related health benefits are not counted, but second if they are. But because U.S. GDP is so much larger than the GDP of other nations, per capita social welfare expenditures in the United States are barely below the level of Sweden and higher than in all other nations we consider.

“Whatever measures of income and benefits we use, however, the English-speaking nations devote less of their GDP to social welfare spending than do the continental and Nordic nations.” (p. 22) *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

David Remnick, “The Masochism Campaign: Say Something about Tony Blair. He can take it,” *The New Yorker* (May 2, 2005), pp. 74-82 & 84-87.

Remnick, the editor of *The New Yorker*, reports on time he spent with and observing the prime minister as the general election approached. The unifying theme is the political costs of Blair’s support for the Iraq War. Vignettes include the taping of an episode of ITV’s “Ant and Dee’s Saturday Night Takeaway,” Blair’s 1999 speech at the Economic Club in Chicago, and a campaign tour of Gravesend. Interspersed with these are comments by and about various figures, mainly Labourites.

Remnick offers delicious observations on Blair’s situation, e.g., “For the duration of the campaign, and for the sake of party unity, Blair and Brown would have to behave rather like an angrily divorced couple who must come together on their daughter’s wedding day; the cost a spat now could be Blair’s election and Brown’s ambition.” (p. 76)

The article is balanced, neither pro- or anti-Blair.
T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast

Edward Rothstein, “Contemplating Churchill,” *The Smithsonian* (March 2005), pp. 90-94, 96 & 98- 102.

Rothstein writes to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Churchill passing (January 1965). As one who was then in the infant stage of a university teaching career, this reviewer recalls that event vividly and does not expect to see another funereal pageant on the scale of what Winston ordained for that event.

That prime minister’s gravesite in contrast to that glorification is notably modest.

As is the custom with *The Smithsonian*, the article is adorned with photographs, including seven of Churchill at various points in his career. Rothstein notes that Winston’s reputation is undergoing revision with American scholars, e.g., John Lukacs, praising him, and British academics, e.g., David Cannadine degrading his achievements.

One focus of the article is the new Churchill Museum exhibit, an extension of the Cabinet War Room in London, which has become a major tourism destination since it was opened in 1984. The new museum, through modern technology exposes a visitor to 1,500 documents and 1,000 photographs of Winston’s career from 1940 on. (Rothstein summarizes Churchill’s outsider role in the 1930s.)

This article is not hagiography; Rothstein delineates contradictions in Churchill’s career.

T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast

Joseph A. Harris, “Ireland Unleashed,” *The Smithsonian* (March 2005), pp. 80-86 & 88.

This is a non-quantitative account of Ireland’s recent economic prosperity and the good life that accompanies that. Of the ten photographs included, three are from pubs and a fourth shows young adults relaxing with pints or bottles nearby. Harris notes, “Indeed, Ireland’s traditional international emblem, the shamrock, is giving way to another symbol, the Irish pub, a phenomenon from Tokyo to Tallinn.” (p.83) [That remark reminds this reader of what the late Irish-American actress, Mercedes McCambridge, called the “Irish sickness,” i.e., alcoholism.] The traditional lullabies associated with the island are being replaced by modern forms of entertainment: rock bands (U2) and film production. Although Ireland’s Gross Domestic Product per Capita has surpassed that of the UK, the economic boom has also brought booming house prices and road congestion, including the a rocketing automotive accident rate, the demolition of archaeological sites, immigrants from across Eastern Europe and elsewhere, as well as changes in the school curriculum – girls are no longer taught to knit. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

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BOOK REVIEWS

Simon Henig & Lewis Baston, *Politico's Guide to the General Election 2005* (London: Politico's, 2005), vii & 520 pp., Index, Pb. £9.99

This is a handy companion for those that wish to follow the general election of 2005. Among the five contributors is a BPG stalwart, Philip Cowley.

Among the more useful features of the book is a 23 page chapter "Key Events since June 2001 Month by Month" that enables to reader to either become acquainted with these matters or have one's memory refreshed about them. The second chapter, "General Elections 1945-2001" offers an historical review, albeit brief, of electoral politics since WWII. The next mini-chapter (7pp.) "Three Strikes and You're In: Precedents for a Third Term" includes a table (p. 46) for the period beginning in 1945 that shows the percentage change for the governing party and its 'worst moment,' e.g., '1986 Westland.' Cowley and Mark Stuart contribute "Rebellions by Labour MPs during the 2001 Parliament." Other chapters, mainly short pieces include: "By-Elections since 2002," "Opinion Polls since 2001," "Party Prospects" (Showing 1979-2001 results for the three largest parties and the marginal seats and likely targeted seats for each in the coming campaign.), "Retiring MPs," "Big Names at Risk," "Boundary Changes in Scotland" (Scotland loses 13 seats), and a 2+ page explanation of tables and related data.

The bulk of the book (350 pp.) is "Regional and Constituency Profiles" which is segregated into 12 parts, including one each for Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

At more than 500 pp., this is hardly something to carry around in one's suit jacket side-pocket, but anyone that cares less about sartorial appearance than having election data at hand might try that, although the book would not quite fit in this reviewer's blazer. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Simon Henig & Lewis Baston, *The Political Map of Britain* (London: Politico's, distributed in U.S. by International Specialized Book Service, 2002), ix & 1011 pp., Pb. \$59.95, £30.00.

As the total number of pages indicates this volume deserves the term *magnum opus*, if only for its length. The book is composed of these sections: "General Elections, 1945-2001" (14 pp. that summarize the issues and personages pertinent to each

election), "The Parties after the 2001 General Election" (30+ pp. that summarize the electoral standing of a dozen parties, including their share of the vote during key eras for several elections and significant constituencies for a party), "Regional trends – the opinion polls" (9 pp., reporting survey data on key issues: devolution, the euro, Afghanistan, etc.), and five sections ("London," "England," "Scotland," "Wales," and "Northern Ireland") that have constituency level election data (1992-2001) for the UK.

In addition to the main authors, Roger Mortimer contributed the section on the polls and Russell Deacon, Mark Stuart, and Sydney Elliott, handled the subsections for Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, respectively. This is a volume access to which is valuable for every serious scholar of British elections. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Paul Richards, *How to Win an Election* (London: Politico's, 2004, 2nd ed.), xix & 202 pp., Bibliography, Index, Pb. £12.99

The first edition of this handbook for campaigning was reviewed in BPGN #106. No doubt that version and this one have been consulted by several potential candidates, and the agents of candidates.

Richards addressed both the fundamentals (Why elections?) and the nitty-gritty (Creating your messages), dividing his treatise into eight chapters: 1. "What are elections for?" e.g., types of elections; 2. "The Nine Tribe of Politics, e.g., activists, spin doctors, journalists; 3. "Planning your campaign," e.g., getting selected, fund raising, background research; 4. "Direct campaigning," e.g., getting our the vote, making a speech; 5. Indirect campaigning I: The media," e.g., the role of the media, writing news releases; 6. "Indirect campaigning II. Other forms of communication," e.g., direct mail, campaign songs (!); 7. "When the wheels come off," e.g., scandals, dirty tricks, gaffes; 8. "I therefore declare," e.g., how to win, how to lose. These are followed by a Conclusion – "Campaigning in a post-modern world of three-plus pages.

As was the first edition, this is a useful handbook for the prospective candidate or anyone seeking insight about how a campaign is carried out. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Christopher Knill, *The Europeanization of National Administration; Patterns of Institutional Change and Persistence* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University, *Themes in European Governance Series*, 2001), xiii & 258 pp., Bibliography, Index, Cl. \$65.00, Pb. \$23.00; David Marsh, David Richards & Martin J. Smith, *Changing Patterns of Governance in the United Kingdom: Reinventing Whitehall?* (Houndmills & New York: Palgrave, 2002), xii & 276 pp. Bibliography, Index, Cl. \$68.00; Colin Pilkington, *The Civil Service Today* (Manchester & New York: Manchester U., distr. in the U.S. by St. Martin's, *Politics Today series*, 2000), viii & 183 pp., six appendices, Index, cl. \$59.95, pb. \$19.95.

These three books address the changing context of public administration from the traditional arena of Whitehall to the broader forum of the EU and its impact.

The geographic purview of Pilkington's book is the most narrow, but it sets out the basic grounds for having a public bureaucracy, as well as a brief history of that institution in Britain, beginning with the English *Curia Regis*. Critiques of the service - Northcote-Trevelyan, Plowden, and Fulton - and their consequences are offered, as well as Thatcher's impact. Next Steps and the principal follow-up innovations associated with that are laid out. For several topics, Pilkington describes difference models and assumptions upon which contrasting advocates base their criticisms or endorsements of the changes. He has written a book that is primer for understanding the central administration of the UK, as well as what we may expect in the future, e.g., geographic decentralization of the service and devolution in Scotland and Wales!

The Marsh et al. book is part of the *Transforming Government* series, edited by R.A.W. Rhodes. Unlike the Pilkington work, this one omits the longitudinal development of the civil service and seeks to base its analysis on a theoretical framework, linked to the 1974-1997 period. A persistent theme is the culture of the service - in general, as found in particular departments, and how that changed in the two decades under consideration. Four departments receive extensive scrutiny, using published materials and nearly 200 interviews, carried out from October 1995 to August 1998, with ministers, civil servants, and interest group representatives.

As a consequence of spreading their data collection net widely, this work is replete with information that enriches one's understanding of the operation of the central administration under Labour (1974-79) and, particularly, under Thatcher -as an example of the former is the wrongheaded performance by Tony Benn as a cabinet member (pp. 31 ff.). Thatcher's minister did not want advice or utilize the experience of permanent secretaries that had been working in specific policy areas, but only the implementation of policy, as one would expect in a corporation.

The first 40% of Knill's book lays out the theoretical and analytic approaches he utilizes in the study. The second section is devoted to examining both the institutional traditions and prospects for administrative reform in Germany and Britain. Part III examines EU environmental policy, actually five such policies, in those two nations. Part IV, still citing experience in Britain and Germany, speculates on the impact of the EU on national administrative services in a more general context. This is not a book that is likely to warm the hearts of undergraduates, but graduate students, specializing in public administration will be challenged and enriched by this book. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Dave Morland & Mark Cowling, eds., *Political Issues for the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot, UK & Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2004), xi & 270 pp., Index, Cl., \$89.95.

This anthology, which as the title suggests, contemplates those topics that may mark the political agenda of the new century. The book is segmented into three parts: Theoretical Issues, UK Issues, and European and Global Issues.

At the title indicates, Part I. is the least directly focused on the UK explicitly, although "Capitalism in the Raw (or how the death of socialism made anti-capitalists of us all)" by John Carter draws numerous examples from New Labour's policy perspectives and practice. The other two chapters, "Political Philosophy without Foundations and Anti-Foundational Politics" by John Gibbons; and "Technologies, Surveillance and Totalitarianism" by Dave Morland will be attractive to those readers that enjoy exploring philosophical issues.

Three chapters comprise Part II: "New Labour, the Third Way and Ideological Politics" by Andrew Shepherd, "Northern Ireland: Plenty of Problems for the Future" by Mark Cowling, and "Regionalism: A Response to Globalisation" by Howard Elcock.

Shepherd traces the reasons for and the ideological bases of the Third Way. A subsection of his piece, 'The Class War is Over, Social-ism Won' and declares "New Labour is a distinct reaction to Thatcherism." Yet many observers contend the Blair way is a continuation of Thatcher's policies, albeit the latter lack the Christian ethos to which Blair frequently refers. If one wanted his or her students to read a brief treatise as the basis for understanding Northern Ireland, Mark Cowling's chapter would be an excellent choice. He starts with the future Gaelic tribes and continues through the likely demographic consequences there, noting that Sinn Fein may become the leading Catholic party with Unionists becoming less likely to compromise. The 2005 general election appears to support that. Howard Elcock analyzes the seemingly contrary developments of globalisation and regionalism. He sees the latter as thriving within the context of the former, e.g., the greater autonomy that Scotland might enjoy within the EU and Quebec within NAFTA.

Part III is the longest Part, consisting of four chapters: "The Economics and Politics of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)" by Stephen James & Julian Gough, "Economic and Monetary Union: Implications for the European Union's Global Role" by Charlotte Bretherton, "NATO and the Challenge of Security in a New Era" by Andrew Cottey, and "Globalisation and Third World Poverty" by Brian Vale. In one of the longer chapters in this book, James and Gough explore the advantages and drawbacks of the Euro for both the current and soon-to-become members of the EU. They conclude by noting the ways in which they disagree on this issue. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Tim Renton, *Chief Whip: People, Power and Patronage at Westminster* (London: Politico's, 2004), x & 372 pp., Bibliography, Index, Pb. £9.99; Cl. £25.

The opening statement of this work warms the political soul of this reviewer: "The concept of a freshly elected politician being whipped to make him forget his principles and vote instead for a measure that he does not agree with strikes at the heart of representative government. It disillusiones those voters, a diminishing number, who still read or listen about Westminster politics. Yet, without whipping and the organization of parliamentary business that goes with it, the Commons would be a shambles." (p. vii)

Renton structures his material in two parts. The first recounts his experience as Chief Whip; the second is a history of that position since it first appeared in 1621. Both parts are worth reading, but Renton's personal account will prove more rewarding to contemporary followers of British political matters. It is a biographic excerpt filled with political minutiae that will enliven the world of those enthusiastic about British politics.

As with other Chief Whips of his generation, Renton was assisted by a small staff that was intimately acquainted with the folkways and mores of the House, a group whose members remind this reviewer of an official he interviewed two decades ago in Smith Square: unpretentious, helpful, immensely informed, and wise.

A reader obtains brief, but informative, observations about Douglas Hurd (could not delegate), Chris Patten (compelling speech when the final vote came on the Community Charge bill), Geoffrey Howe (obviously crushed by demotion to the Leader of the House and Deputy Prime Minister), John Major (his Treasury had a disheveled public face), Margaret Thatcher (more vulnerable than she appeared), and others, as well as the duties of the Chief Whip (must support the PM on legislation but remain neutral in elections for the party leader, e.g., the 1989 challenge by Anthony Meyer).

Conservatives evidently have difficulty in agreeing upon and maintaining party rules: Renton notes that in the aftermath of the 1989 leadership election, many top Tories contended that the party guidelines for challenging a party leader needed to be tightened. A similar complaint arose in the aftermath of the 2005 election when Michael Howard announced he would resign.

As one would hope, Renton traces events in the last days of Thatcher's premiership, which one may wish to compare with Geoffrey Howe's autobiography, *Conflict of Loyalty* (1994).

The second half of the book has chapters devoted to seven Chief Whips, beginning with Henry Brand, 1866-1899. The appendix consists of a memorandum from Frances Pym on the likely Tory support for the bill approving British membership in the European Community.

This reviewer thinks it unlikely that anyone intrigued by British politics would not enjoy reading this book. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

POT POURRI XLIII

Around the Celtic Fringe:

A) Crime doesn't pay or 'the largest theft of waste paper' – The December robbery of Belfast's Northern Bank appeared to have garnered the crooks, believed to be members of the IRA, one of the largest monetary heists in the history of such ventures. In January, Northern Ireland's chief constable reported that a peculiarity in the UK banking system enabled the Northern Bank to cartel and replace all the currency taken and thus rendered the stash 'the largest theft of waste paper in the history of Northern Ireland.'

B) Another instance of a differing cultural custom imported by an immigrant? – In December, a Romanian teenage female was arrested for shoplifting in Wrexham, Wales. She was about to leave a Tesco store with 'four packs of frozen lamb, three fresh chickens, three packs of stock cubes, finger chillies, a packet of burgers, garlic, peppers, socks and underwear, plus almost five pounds of oranges and apples.' All were stored in a special sack under her robes. When apprehended, she informed police that in Romania many stores did not have shopping carts and this method of shopping was common there

What time is it now? – In the 18th century, Benjamin Franklin suggested use of daylight-savings-time. Despite his eminence, no government adopted the idea.

In 1905, an English man named Willard, who engaged in horseback riding at sunrise, advocated moving the clock setting twice-yearly so that his countrymen could share his appreciation of the earlier summer sunrise. For nine years his proposal lacked government endorsement. With the onset of WWI, the German government enacted daylight-savings-time to conserve electricity. Two weeks later, the British government adopted the practice. As is often the case with innovators, Mr. Willard died before his recommendation was approved.

In the interwar years, many nations abandoned the time change practice. Chaos was the result in some locales. For the United States, the commitment to states' right and localism generated such anomalies as these: the state of Iowa at one time had 23 time zones and a 35 mile trip from a town in Ohio to one in West Virginia went through seven time changes.

By the way, Benjamin Franklin customarily slept until noon.

One doesn't have to hear to employ a dialect – *The Mirror* (internet version) reported (5 March 05) that "deaf people have regional dialects when they use sign language." "Geordies, Scousers, Brummies and Cockneys all use different gestures for many common words. Milk, for instance, in Bristol is two clenched fists rubbing together while Glaswegians point the index finger of the left hand at the two clenched fingers of the right." Thus far, University of Bristol researchers have discovered about 50 words that vary regionally. They now wish to have 70,000 signers film their hands in motion to create a dictionary of the signed dialects. The British Deaf Association confirmed the use of regional variation of sign language.

Around the former colonies -

A) The naked truth, almost! –In Auckland, a man who says he goes unclothed everywhere in public to protest the use of the automobile, stopped outside the district courtroom to pluck clothing from his backpack and dress before entering the chambers. He plead not guilty to an earlier charge of indecent exposure.

B) The ever-thoughtful government of President Robert Mugabe shows its creativity! – Zimbabwe, facing a continued food shortage, is conducting a program to lure overweight foreigners, especially Americans, to visit Zimbabwe where the visitors could work on (confiscated) farms to drop pounds. Then they could flaunt their newly 'slim bodies on a sun-downer cruise on the Zambezi.'

C) Hong Kong technology – A Hong Kong company is marketing 'Vivienne,' an interactive companion accessible on powerful, 'third generation' cell phones. She is described as a high maintenance, video-image 'girlfriend,' who goes on dates with you, kisses you, speaks six languages, converses on 35,000 topics, accepts flowers and diamonds, and may even marry you (although you have to accept a troublesome mother-in-law). So far, she is prudish – no nudity, no sex – since the firm is marketing in nations with modest cultures. She is expected to be available in Europe and the US by the end of 2005 at about \$6.00 per month plus airtime.

D) Hands across the border or the long arm of the law - In March, a fugitive securities-swindler, living in Canada to avoid prosecution in the U.S., was lured into returning to the States when he was invited by a private investigator to lunch. The site of the meal was at a venue in Point Roberts, Washington where American authorities arrested the hungry guest as he approached the luncheon site.

Around the EU –

A) The lamppost strikes back or don't the French train their animals better than this?

Agence France-Press recently reported the sad fate of a canine in Wavrechain-sous-Denain. The pooch, a three-year-old mastiff, was abusing a lamppost when its 'stream' hit a loose wire and electrocuted the animal. The loose wire was a consequence of earlier vandalism.

B) Did Max Weber anticipate this or has German bureaucracy once again raised an undesirable unintended consequence?

– To generate revenue and provide health care for prostitutes, in 2002 Germany legalized that activity. At the same time, the law explicitly did not exempt prostitution as a form of employment to which the unemployed might be directed. In December, a 25-year-old unemployed waitress was claimed she was called to interview at a brothel, pursuant to her applying for unemployment benefits. She feared she would lose her benefits if she did not appear for the interview. The German Federal Labor Office said it would not do that, but a Hamburg lawyer said there have been instances of unemployed females in that municipality that had been offered telephone sex-talk jobs via the government.

C) The flaw in French culture, according to Trevelyan –

“If the French nobles had been capable of playing cricket with their peasants, their chateaux would never have been burnt.” G.M. Trevelyan in *English Social History* (1942)

More on cricket - “Cricket – a game which the English, not being a spiritual people, have invented in order to give themselves some conception of eternity.” Lord Mancroft in *Bees in Some Bonnets* (1979)

Trading oil 'ain't' beanbag! – In February, nearly three-dozen Greenpeace protesters charged onto the floor of London's International Petroleum Exchange to mark the day the Kyoto agreement took effect. To their surprise, traders confronted them with fists and feet, punching and kicking them until the protesters, two of whom were hospitalized, fled.

When filching bath towels is not enough! –

Management of the Globe Hotel in Topham reported in February that a guest dismantled the entire shower unit of his room.

The ultimate commentary on the general election?

– Comedy Central's *Daily Show* host, Jon Stewart, offered these comments (05 May 05): “I have some exciting news from, Britain. In a democratic election, Tony Blair has been rewarded with a term as prime minister, a third term. And, uh, I just want to say – for me – I'm sorry, it's a little emotional. To see democracy flourish in that part of the world – I'm not saying it's because of the Iraqi War, but it did happen after (it). They said you couldn't bring democracy to those scone-eating, tea-drinking bastards. I say, 'No. Everyone yearns to be free. Bless them'.”

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

Kudos – Justin Fisher noted (16 March 2005) that “An eagle-eyed EPOP-er informs me (Donley Studlar) that in last night's *Coronation Street*, a character called Roy was sat reading one of **David Butler's** General Election books.”

As a consequence of the general election campaign, members of the BPG have made numerous appearances with the media, we note here those that have come to our attention: **Justin Fisher** also contributed to an April 2nd National Public Radio (US) commentary on the coming General Election. **Tony King** commented (09 April 2005) on BBC Radio's World Service on the question of whether British politicians follow the polls or pursue politics independent of polling data. King noted that on the Iraq War, Tony Blair clearly did not follow the preference of most Brits as expressed in public opinion surveys. **Philip Cowley** wrote a piece, “A clear choice – between the lesser of two evils” for *The Guardian* (16/April/05), which David Baker forwarded to the BPG-L. Philip noted that survey data find British voters were not enthusiastic about either major party or their leaders, but preferred Labour and Blair in head-to-head competition. **John Curtice** commented the coming general election during National Public Radio's “Weekend Edition” of Sunday, April 24, 2005., and was cited in an Associated Press internet article (03 May 2005), along with Philip Cowley.

Robert Worcester (Sir Robert) discussed his background and his work as it pertains to elections in a C-SPAN broadcast, recorded 25 April 2005 and broadcast in the States 3 May 2005. On that same C-SPAN program, BBC-TV's David Dimbleby noted that the University of Essex's **Tony King** would provide analysis for the BBC-TV election night program. (Yanks watching the C-SPAN broadcast of five hours of BBC-TV's found Tony is that role.)

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In Memoriam

We received word of the passing, unexpectedly just before Christmas 2004, of a BPG member, who, among others contributions to our organization, reviewed books for this Newsletter. His Department provided the following information about him. **Donald Keith Sinclair** was born in Scotland, grew up in England, and pursued his undergraduate degree in Wales. He was a true “British gentleman” in the finest sense of the term. He was predeceased by his father, Donald, and his mother, Betty. He is survived by his sister, Fiona Woodall.

Keith continued his education in Canada and received his M.A. from the University of Western Ontario. He pursued doctoral work at UWO and began his university teaching career at Huron College. He came to the Department of Political Science at Laurentian University in 1971 to teach courses in Research Methods and Statistics and International Politics. In later years, he took on courses in Comparative Politics and especially enjoyed his course in British Politics.

Keith served as Chair of the Department and was a member of virtually every departmental, faculty and university committee over the course of his 33 years at Laurentian. He earned the respect of his colleagues in the Department and throughout the University for the quiet competence he brought to these administrative tasks.

Keith was a well-educated and well-read scholar who enjoyed research. He was a rare individual who was equally comfortable while engaged in quantitative or qualitative research. His work was published in highly regarded academic journals. At the time of his death, he was writing a book on the British Conservative Party. He enjoyed his many presentations to departmental research seminars for students and faculty. His contribution to the intellectual life of the Department cannot be overstated.

Keith came from a family of educators and it is in the classroom that he made his greatest contribution to intellectual development. He was able to explain difficult concepts and theories. He could show how they applied in everyday politics. He could challenge students to think critically about what they were reading and discussing in his courses. He demonstrated an ability to ensure that students understood what was being taught and in doing so he demonstrated patience, ingenuity and a genuine concern for each of those students. Every day, Keith showed us what teaching excellence in a University was really all about.

Keith was a kind and gentle scholar. He was a wonderful colleague and friend. He was a superb instructor. We shall miss him deeply, remember him fondly and we know that he has left us a legacy of reflective scholarship, an appreciation of students, and unswerving dedication to Laurentian University and the mission it serves. (We were unable to discover exact dates of either birth or death for Sinclair, BPG Editor.)

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