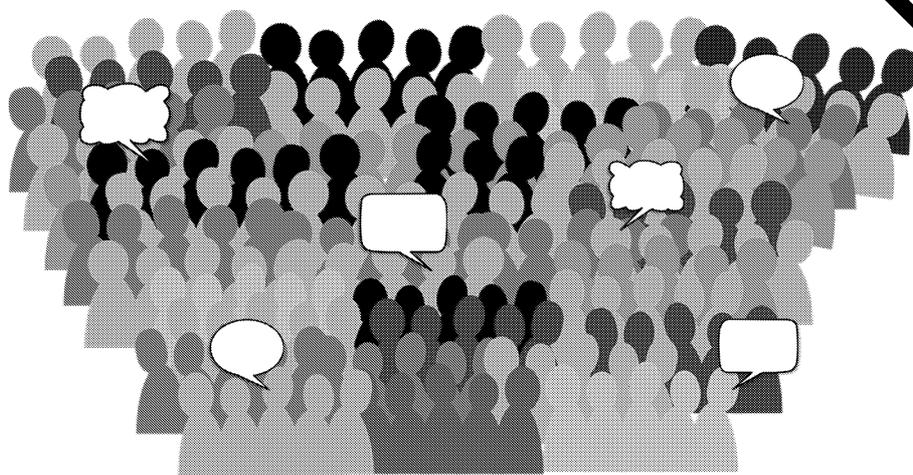




Politics

AS and A Level | Edexcel | 8PL0/9PL0

2017 specification
first exams in 2019 (2018 for AS)



Course Companion for A Level Edexcel

Component 1: UK Politics

Democracy and Participation

2026 Edition

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Teacher's Introduction

This pack is designed to provide students with a comprehensive educational resource on Democracy and Political Participation for AS and A Level Edexcel.

Understanding democracy is essential for learning about politics in the United Kingdom. The idea of representative democracy, the developments in the culture of democracy, and the introduction of legal rights are all fundamental parts of how democracy in the UK operates today. This chapter will give vital context to the rest of the students' learning about British politics. Students will be introduced to the concept of democracy and how it applies in the United Kingdom today, as well as how it has developed over time.

The democracy and participation module in the 2017 Edexcel specification covers four main topics: democracy in the context of the UK, the widening of the franchise, group politics, and rights in context. The idea of this chapter is to give students a basic understanding of what democracy means in the United Kingdom. The course companion is as comprehensive as possible, and covers key political developments up to and including the June 2017 general election.

This pack has been designed either to be worked through in order, or dipped in and out of to support your own lesson structures. Please use it in whichever way you prefer. The talking points and activities provided are designed to engage students while provoking the critical thought and analysis that will be required in the exam.

Each chapter contains:

- a brief overview and learning objectives for the chapter
- a list of key terms and key words
- students' notes and analysis of the key events
- 'talking point' questions designed to encourage discussion in class and develop key analysis skills

Second edition, April 2020

The second edition of this course companion has been updated to reflect recent developments, contemporary debates and new political contexts that have emerged since its initial publication. In relation to Democracy and Participation, this includes (but is not limited to) political developments since the 2017 general election, the evolution of policy commitments, the advancement of debates around the influence of European institutions and the role of the judiciary, and the impact of new pressure group activity.

Third edition, October 2022

The third edition of this course companion has been further updated to include developments such as the political context since the 2019 general election, the passage of new legislation, the emergence of new pressure groups, and the impact of Brexit on civil rights.

Fourth edition, January 2026

This edition incorporates the tumultuous events of the last three and a half years: a change of government, reform of the House of Lords, further electoral reform including a reversion of the change to mayoral systems, and the move towards votes at 16. New case studies include the debate on giving prisoners the vote, Marcus Rashford's free school meals campaign, and the removal of IPP sentences.

Remember!

Always check the exam board website for new information, including changes to the specification and sample assessment material.

Unit 1.1 Democracy in the Context

Learning Objectives

- ✓ Learn the features of, and similarities and differences between, direct and representative democracy
- ✓ Be aware of the advantages and disadvantages of direct and representative democracy
- ✓ Have an understanding of the current health of democracy in the UK
- ✓ Know some of the reforms proposed for UK democracy



Key Words

Democracy	Stems from the Greek words 'demos' (people) and 'kratia' (power). It is the idea that the people in a society should control how the society is run.
Direct Democracy	A form of democracy in which the public is consulted directly rather than through representatives. Referendums are a mechanism of direct democracy.
Representative Democracy	A system in which the electorate chooses officials (representatives) to run the government on their behalf. In the UK, these representatives are members of parliament through the process of elections. Representatives are organised into parties.
Pluralism	A political system in which many different groups, interests, views, opinions and parties exist and compete for power.
Democratic Deficit	A term used by some people who believe that there is not enough direct participation in the political process. This could mean that the public is not involved enough in the running of the government or that the government is not held to account enough.
Election	A formal public vote to choose political representatives.
Judiciary	The system of courts in a society and a collective name for all judges who uphold the law and make judgments in trials. They also have the power to review the actions of the executive and legislature.
Media	All forms of mass communication in a country. This includes television, radio and newspapers, as well as newer forms such as the internet and social media.
Devolution	The movement of powers and responsibilities away from the central government (in the UK) and towards regional bodies (such as the Welsh Assembly, the Scottish Parliament and the Northern Ireland Executive).
House of Commons	One of the Houses of Parliament; the chamber where the 650 members of the United Kingdom's elected House of Commons sit. The House of Commons and the House of Lords pass laws and hold the government to account. The governing party in the Commons is the Prime Minister.
House of Lords	The other House of Parliament. It is made up of members who are appointed or elected. Its main role is to scrutinise the government and make suggestions for laws.
Accountability	In a democracy, accountability refers to the ability of the public to hold the government and parliament responsible for their actions. This is done through elections, referendums and other forms of public participation.

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Representative and Direct Democracy

These important terms are a favourite in the exams. The first is the basis of in the UK and many other states. There are particular aspects of democracy you should think about.

Let's get the basics out of the way first. 'Democracy' literally means 'rule by the people'. The idea of democracy sounds fine. How could we object to the idea that the people of the state should decide on important matters? There are two main types of democracy.

Direct Democracy

A **direct democracy** is a system that allows the people to make all the decisions. It is rarely practicable today. We do use it in a way when we hold **referendums** and we are bound to follow those decisions. You would think that direct democracy was the best form of government – a true government of and for the people. Yet, if we look around the world, there are few examples of any state simply allowing its people to govern.

Representative Democracy

On the other hand, an **indirect** or **representative** democracy is where the people elect representatives to represent their interests and to make the important decisions of government. The UK has adopted a system of representative democracy, and developed it into a form of constitutional democracy. This is an aspect of politics that you should make thorough notes about from your textbook.

Similarities and Differences between Representative and Direct Democracy

Now we have determined the main features of direct and representative democracy, you should try to work out whether there are any similarities between them, and if so, what they are.

The most important similarity between the two forms of democracy is that they both aim to do the will of the majority. In both systems the idea is that the best way to make decisions is to ask everybody what the right thing to do is, and do whatever the largest group of people think. In direct democracies the interests of the many are represented by elected individuals. In representative democracies individuals represent their own interests. It is also true that representative democracies tend to offer more protection for minority interests, but in total, the will of the majority is the most important factor in both systems.

On the other hand, there are a great many differences between direct and representative democracy. In a direct democracy, every political decision would be taken to a vote of every citizen. Citizens would be active in all sorts of decision-making, and there would be no professional politicians. On the other hand, in a representative democracy citizens take part in elections in order to elect representatives to make political decisions on their behalf.

There is a case for direct democracy as being the 'purest' form of democracy, where the hands are in the hands of the public. However, although it may seem democratic, that is not always true without disadvantages.

Talking Point



Why do you think representative democracies are so much more common than direct democracies in the modern world?

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Advantages and Disadvantages of Direct Democracy

Advantages of Direct Democracy

1. The people elected in representative democracies tend not to be representative of the people who live in the state as a whole. In western democracies such as the UK and the USA, they tend to be male, white and from an educated background. Direct democracy overcomes this problem.
2. Direct democracy encourages participation. Citizens are taken seriously and their opinions are how policy is formed. Direct democracy encourages a sense of community but also voters as they feel part of the governance of the country.
3. Some electoral systems, such as simple plurality used in the UK and USA, do not represent the population in terms of seats won. Direct democracy overcomes this by ensuring that every vote is being properly represented.
4. Once elected, representatives can become corrupt and want to become members of a party. This makes them follow the orders of the party leader rather than the interests of the people. Direct democracy overcomes this problem.
5. The problems of vast numbers voting with direct democracy can be overcome by using technology such as the Internet.
6. We already use direct democracy when we hold referendums in the UK, and in other countries in recent years.
7. Direct democracy means that governments will be directly accountable to the people at the time. They would always worry about the interests of the people rather than during election time.

Disadvantages of Direct Democracy

You could argue that states such as Switzerland carry out forms of direct democracy. However, the USA and the UK, but it would be difficult to have a government permanently running on the direct actions of the people. Even the USA has never mentioned the word 'democracy' and built in systems that would prevent the President from being elected. So, what problems might there be with direct democracy?

1. It becomes impossible to reach agreement in a modern state with a large population of millions of people.
2. It will be the will of the majority who bother to take part in elections that will be the will of the majority of people in the state. These might be influential for the will of the people but it will be undemocratic.
3. It is cumbersome and costly, and open to much corruption.
4. There are strong indications that most people would not have the time or interest to make decisions. Turnout in elections in major democracies can often be very low.
5. Uninformed voters will think of themselves as better than what is best for the country.
6. Many of the issues of modern government are too complex for ordinary people to understand.
7. It could lead to rule by the mob and be open to emotional decisions rather than the majority.



EXAM TIP:

Remember the advantages and disadvantages of both direct democracy and representative democracy; they may come up in an exam. Remember to use these to help you to write a complete answer.

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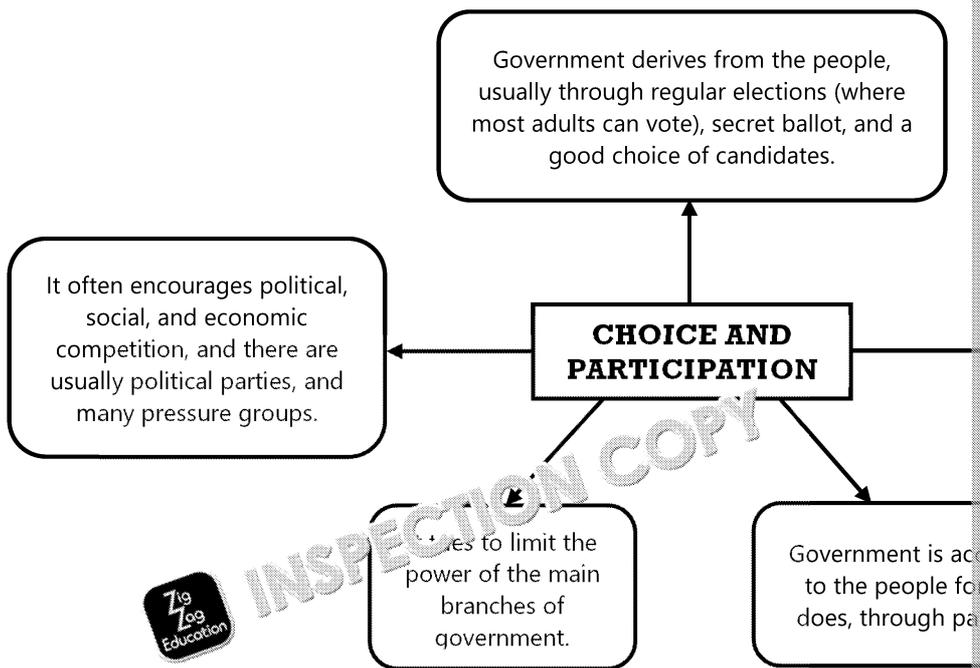
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Representative Democracy

Liberal democracy – our form of representative democracy – has developed from the ideas of John Locke, who believed that governments should be removed by the people, and Adam Smith, who believed in reasonable individual freedom, especially in the context of business. It has some special characteristics. The ‘liberal’ part refers to the belief in the rights of the individual. It is a particular form of representative democracy, and the terms are used interchangeably. The UK turned to liberal democracy when electoral reform led to a vote towards the end of the nineteenth century. This developed further in the twentieth century, producing a type of democracy that can also be described as a mass democracy, where citizens are allowed to participate in politics if they wish to do so, and where all citizens have the right to vote.

Some Characteristics of Liberal or Representative Democracy



Let’s repeat that liberal democracy is a system that believes in civil rights and individual freedoms in politics. It also owes something to the ideas of writers such as the eighteenth-century philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the nineteenth-century thinker J S Mill. But Rousseau once said:

The people of England believe they are free. They are seriously mistaken. They are only free during the election of Members of Parliament.

Think about that idea as you go through the course. Develop your own opinion on whether Rousseau was right. When you read below about some of the problems with democracy, think about some of the good points. After all, we do have a democratic system that has worked strongly in 1979, 1997 and 2023. We can let the government know what we think through methods such as referendums, through pressure groups, and through a free press. We have a large amount of freedom which some other states don’t allow, and so on. Make sure your view is balanced.

Talking Point



‘The people of England believe they are free. They are seriously mistaken. They are only free during the election of Members of Parliament.’ How far do you agree with this statement, and why?

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Advantages of Representative Democracy

1. The only workable system in places with large populations. It means that politicians can focus on governing, leaving everyone else to get on with their own lives. In small democracies have developed the concept of a professional politician who spends their time to thinking about policies, government and representation. If every member of society to do the same thing would be unreasonable.
2. Is much more efficient than trying to run a vote for every issue. Imagine if every decision in the United Kingdom had to be decided by a referendum, it would be challenging to say the least.
3. Elections mean that there is a clear link to the electorate. Even though politicians will be directly making a decision on each issue, if free and fair elections are held then the representatives will still have to act on behalf of the public and not just themselves. A representative is linked to a constituency (as they are in the 'first past the post' system) and can be closer to the electorate of their constituency and gain an understanding of their needs.
4. Can protect minority rights and stop the tyranny of the majority. Representatives can exercise their discretion to protect minority groups in a way that direct democracy cannot. For example, in a referendum there is essentially no representation for minority groups. In parliament there will be representatives for every group, rather than just the majority.
5. Encourages a diversity of opinions to be represented; this is known as pluralism.

Disadvantages of Representative Democracy

1. Politicians may have to follow their own judgments. Should the people follow our wishes, or should they decide for themselves what is best? In the 18th century, Edmund Burke believed the second was true, and that politicians should be representatives for themselves, and not delegates to follow our every command.
2. Today, the growth of political parties, which is often a typical part of representative democracy, has meant that MPs usually have to follow the party line that might not always agree with what local voters want.
3. There are many different ideas that it's impossible for every voter to express. That means that we all follow the decision of the majority. But what happens to the interests of the very large in number. Who will protect their interests?
4. Some, such as Marxists, would say that it's only the rich who actually control the government. The capitalists who hold the real power in our society. Government is a capitalist state. Others would add that it's the media that holds the real power, not the people of this country.

Talking Point



After looking at the advantages and disadvantages of direct and representative democracy, which do you think would be better for the United Kingdom? Can you think of examples of when the other system has been used?



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Why Do We Hold Elections?

You know by now that an important aspect of liberal democracy is **representation**. It is not always possible for direct democracy to be generally practical. In the UK, this means holding elections at national and local level to choose people who will represent our interests. We tend to elect representatives. Most candidates who successfully become MPs or local councillors are representatives. Theoretically, to be fair, we should end up with the same number of representatives in local councils that is directly in proportion to the percentage of the votes their party receives. It doesn't work like that in the present system of voting for parliament, or for local councils. Try to think about that later. Before you move on, try to draw up a list saying **why** we hold elections. (Remember what we've already said about representative democracies.)



The Purpose of Elections

1. The UK does not generally use direct democracy. It is an indirect democracy in local and national government.
2. We need to retain a democratic hold on governments by making politicians accountable.
3. Elections provide a way for us to participate in politics and to influence the decisions (and our lives as citizens) to take.
4. We wish to protect the freedom that a liberal democracy offers, and to have a way to remove those in power from changing that.
5. We look at our own history or at other states that don't hold fair elections and see how a chance to vote has become important.
6. We might one day want to change the political system altogether, and voting is a way to do that without bloodshed.

A point to ponder. If this list is true, why do you think so few people in the UK and European elections? Why did only 55% of voters take part in the 2005 general election, a figure since 1918? Turnout has been steadily rising since 2001, peaking at 68% in the 2017 general election. This is due to increased political engagement and fewer issues regarded as 'settled'. However, turnout was only 59.8% in the 2019 general election, perhaps reflecting voter frustration with a perceived lack of political change. Low turnout presents another problem for representation. Think about this, and else for you to think about as you carry on through the course.



The Mandate

The mandate means that the winning party in an election will claim that they have a right to carry out the policies that they promised before the elections. Often, it's very difficult to give the winning party a mandate on every issue, because there are usually so many issues. Instead, we talk about a **general mandate** to govern, and this might include changing some of the policies. But obviously, a mandate can be taken away if the voters think that the government has moved far from its promises. Margaret Thatcher, for example, always claimed that her government had a mandate to govern. But when she introduced the so-called Poll Tax, many people opposed it in uncertain terms through demonstrations and rioting, leading to her resignation in 1990.



The Poll Tax was opposed in protests around the country in 1990.



Remember how we've said that the public chooses its representatives.

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The Health of Democracy in the UK

We have not yet looked comprehensively at what makes a state more or less democratic. To assess the health of democracy in the UK we must first understand what a democracy is. Some of the most important functions are:

- **Representation:** The people must be able to have their views adequately represented in the political system and government.
- **Participation:** It must be possible for the public to engage with the political system.
- **Openness:** A democracy should be open to all those who wish to participate in the political system.
- **Accountability:** It must be possible to force the government to take responsibility for its actions and to remove the government if necessary.
- **Protection of minorities:** Liberal democracies must have a method for protecting minorities, particularly for stopping minorities from being persecuted by the majority.
- **Checks and balances:** It should not be possible for one branch of government to become too powerful in a democracy. One of the main features that distinguishes a democracy from a dictatorship is that there is no all-powerful and unaccountable entity.

Signs of a Healthy Democracy in the UK

Free and Fair Elections

The UK has elections roughly once every five years to choose its representatives. These elections are both free and fair, meaning that everyone can participate (both by standing for election and by voting) and no one group has any institutional advantage. Elections are overseen by a non-party interest group, and overseen by a regulatory body called the Electoral Commission, which makes sure that the election is run as fairly and transparently as possible. Following an election, a member of the Electoral Commission or a political group can go to the Election Courts to settle any disputes. The Electoral Commission was introduced in 2011 to ensure the integrity of elections held in the UK. When there are significant concerns (such as undue campaign expenses) then the Electoral Commission can issue fines.

In an election the public is able to throw out a representative they do not agree with (and hold them to account) and is able to show its preference for policies. Elections are a key feature of a democracy in which the public exercises their power over their representatives. However, the UK is not a democracy in the way in which UK democracy is healthy.

Independent Judiciary

Representatives are also held to account by the judiciary. This is the name for all of the courts in the land, the highest of which is the UK Supreme Court, established in 2009. The judiciary enforces the laws that Parliament passes. One example of the judiciary ensuring that there are checks and balances on the government was the *R (Miller) v Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union* case in January 2017. It was decided that the government could not invoke Article 50 (meaning start the process of leaving the European Union) without first getting an Act of Parliament. This meant that the judiciary had effectively constrained the power of the government to act without making sure that representatives approved of the decision. The judiciary is also there to help minority interests be protected.

Did you know? The doctrine of judicial review was established in 1713.

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Free Media

A media system is the main means of mass communication, including newspapers, television and the Internet. In the UK the media system shows a high level of diversity, and is not constrained by the government in what it chooses to publish. The UK media includes many privately owned media companies (newspapers such as the *Daily Mail*, *The Times* or *The Guardian*) and a publicly owned broadcaster (the BBC).

Electronics

The media system in the UK is very complicated, but the most democratic feature is that it is not fully controlled by the government. Different opinions can be represented in the media. This is especially true of social media, where anyone can broadcast their opinions to a wide audience.

Devolved Governments

Since the 1990s, there has been a process of **devolution**. This means that many powers have been moved from the hands of regions rather than at the centre of the UK. This has added another layer to the UK democracy in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. These bodies are elected and operate under different electoral systems. The addition of more local representation has brought politics closer to the people, and policies can be more tailored to local interests.

Pluralism in Political Opinion

One of the clearest signs that the UK has a healthy democracy is the range of opinions represented in the public sphere. In the British media, in the House of Commons, in the House of Lords, in the devolved parliaments and the press, in political pressure groups, and in social media, there is no end to the diversity of opinions expressed in British politics.

Referendums

Since the 1970s there has been a marked increase in the number of referendums held in the UK. Referendums are a form of direct democracy, and you will learn much more about them in the next chapter. What you know for now is that a referendum is a public vote on a single political issue. When a referendum involves the public directly they are seen as part of a healthy democracy. Referendums provide a chance for citizens to participate.

Talking Point



What parts of the UK's political system do you think are the best? How does the UK have a healthy democracy?

Signs of an Unhealthy Democracy in the UK

Although the UK has many signs of being a healthy democracy, there are some signs that the UK is governed, saying there is a **democratic deficit**. Some of the main signs of an unhealthy democracy are the following:

First Past the Post

You will hear a lot about first past the post in your study of UK politics about first past the post. This is the system used to elect MPs to Parliament. It is not a proportional system, meaning that the number of seats a party wins does not necessarily match the votes cast. FPTP favours the larger parties and means that smaller parties struggle to win seats. Many see the electoral system as unfair to smaller parties and as excluding those who support smaller parties from participating as fully as they should.

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House of Lords

The House of Lords is the second chamber of Parliament, and although less important than the House of Commons, still has a major part to play in British politics. Its main role today is to scrutinise laws passed through the Commons and hold the Commons to account. The House of Lords is completely unelected. In 1999, Labour significantly reduced the number of hereditary peers (members of the House of Lords who inherit their seats), and passed a bill to remove them entirely which was passed by the Labour government in 2024. In the House of Lords, the House of Bishops of the 26 Church of England Bishops in the Lords, the House of Lords has special privilege for one religion. Most of its members have been appointed by the government or have been appointed as Lords, the House of Lords is still not elected, and, therefore, the House of Lords are also not accountable, and hold their seat until they die. They are



The famous Unicorn

European Legislation

During the 2016 referendum on whether Britain should leave the EU, there was a strong argument that having EU laws over the UK was undemocratic. People opposed to British membership argued that the EU forced its laws on the UK. A good example of EU law being used in the UK was in the *Factortame* decision of 2000 when a case over fishing rights resulted in the UK government being forced to change its law. This could overrule UK law in the event that it was opposed. Defenders of the EU argue that EU governments can participate in creating EU law and blocking it if they disagree.

Citizens' Rights

The European Convention on Human Rights was incorporated into UK law in 1998 because it is not binding on the government, there is still not strong enough protection for citizens' rights groups see as evidence that the Human Rights Act was not enough. The Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures Act passed from 2000. These allowed suspects to be imprisoned for up to 14 days.

Media

Although there are many different opinions expressed in the media in the UK, some are louder than others. Some business own a large number of media companies. The News Group owns *The Times*, *The Sun* and Sky News. Having all of the media companies owned by a few unelected politicians raises questions about how accountable these powerful organisations are. There is also increasing pressure to reform social media regulations. Facebook and Twitter are often blamed for any news spread on their platform, but critics argue that they bear responsibility (not all of it real) that their platforms are used to broadcast.

Low Turnout

If elections are one of the most important parts of democracy in the UK, the low turnout at elections can be seen as a clear sign that not everything is healthy in the UK. It shows the extent to which people are participating in elections, and also compares the turnout of a government. The 2017 general election saw a moderate increase following the 2001 general election of 59.4%, but this trend reversed in 2024. The general elections of 2017 and 2019 saw 68.7% and 67.3% respectively, yet by 2024 turnout dropped again to only 59.4%, always lower for elections outside Westminster; average turnout in the May 2024 local elections was only 32.0%.

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England

Since devolution, there has become something of a problem in the division of powers in Parliament – the so-called West Lothian Question, which asks whether MPs from Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland should be allowed to vote on matters which only affect England – the problem being that MPs from the devolved administrations can vote on English-only matters but not the other way round. In 2015 the Conservative Government introduced a cross-party, England-only committee designed to address this problem, though this approach was ultimately abandoned in 2021. Some want to introduce a second English Parliament in order to resolve

Party Membership

Another issue that there is not enough participation in the UK is the decline in party membership. In 1983, 3.8% of people in the UK were members of a political party; by 2015 this had fallen to approximately 0.8%. However, in recent years party membership has started to rise again, with the figure at 1.5% in 2022. This differs between the parties, with the Labour Party showing a significant increase in members since the 2015 leadership contest. While Labour's membership peaked at over 500,000 in 2020 to approximately 300,000 in 2025, Reform UK has grown to over 200,000, overtaking the Conservatives and gaining on Labour. (These figures are only reported so can only be glimpsed at key moments such as leadership elections.) A decline in party membership might indicate that people no longer identify strongly enough with a party or that people are choosing to express their political interests outside political parties, through social media groups, or independently, through social media. However, the gradual revival of political party membership in recent years suggests this trend might not be so clear-cut.

Remember to explain the impact of this to an ideal democracy.

A Crisis of Participation?

Although it is often said that UK democracy is suffering from a crisis of participation, there is evidence to suggest the way that citizens interact with politics has changed. With the new importance of social media in connecting people to politicians and their news consumption, there is also a system of e-petitions. These e-petitions allow a viewpoint online that will be considered for a debate in parliament if it gets enough signatures. However, the most successful e-petitions have not yet caused any real change.

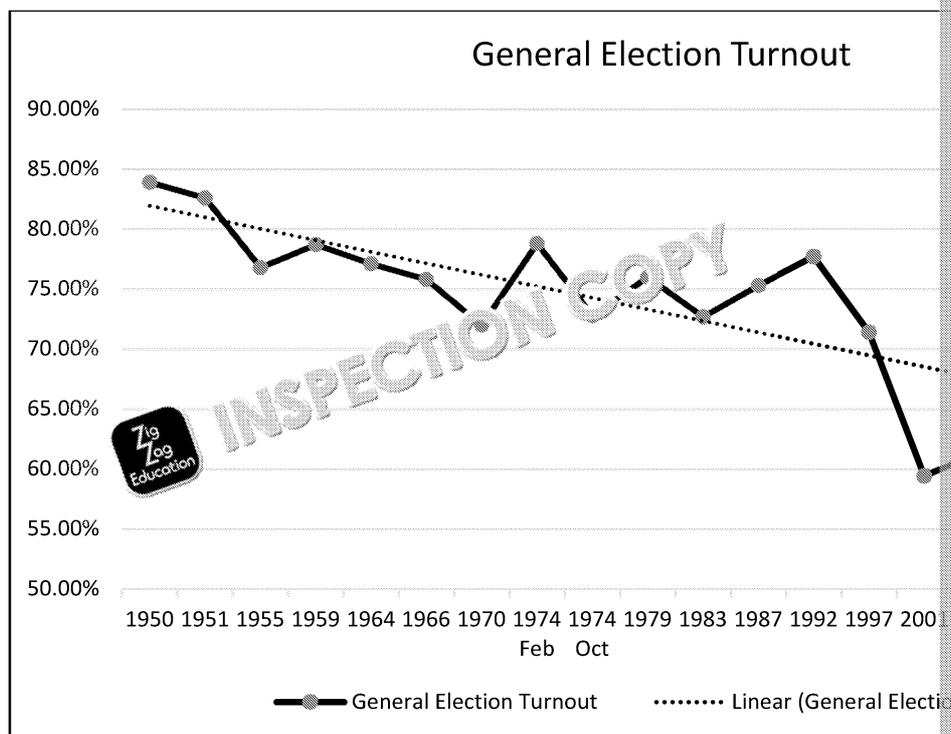
It is possible that one of the reasons people do not choose to participate in politics is a lack of trust in politicians. Since the parliamentary expenses scandal in 2009 (when many MPs were found to be abusing their expenses allowances for their own gain) many people have become disillusioned with politics. Politicians have always been an unpopular group with the public, but since then corruption, scandals and hypocrisy are widespread. This all adds to a situation where people choose to isolate themselves from politics rather than try to participate.

The referendums on Scottish Independence and British membership of the EU were both voted on with a much larger than average turnout. The turnout in Scotland's 2014 referendum was 84.6%, and in the 2016 EU referendum it was 72.2%.

It is possible that people are simply content, and are not interested in the way the country is run because they are happy with their own lives. However, there have been calls for reform of the way in which UK democracy is run. The theory by many reformers is that if people's voice is not being heard, and that means they stop bothering to participate, then a more democratic system might be more likely to participate.

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Talking Point



Is there a crisis of participation in the UK?

How Should Democracy in the UK Be Improved?

Change the Electoral System

Many groups such as the Electoral Reform Society, the Liberal Democrats, and others have been campaigning for a change in the electoral system by which representatives in Westminster are elected. The debate in UK politics, and the last major news in the debate was the referendum on the alternative vote (the alternative vote) in 2011. The pro-AV side lost the referendum, from that it seemed that there is little public support or interest in changing the electoral system. However, the reformed electoral system would allow for seats won to more evenly match the votes, removing the advantage that the larger parties have because of first past the post. If this doesn't worry you – the debate over electoral systems will be explored in much more detail in your course.

House of Lords Reform

Some suggest a wholly or partially elected House of Lords would make the UK a more democratic country. The Labour and Liberal Democrat parties in the UK are committed to scrapping the Lords, as stated in their 2024 manifestos. However, the Conservative Party resists this, and has introduced elections to the Lords during their spell in government, and Labour reforms face heavy opposition from the Lords themselves. Peers currently have a vested interest in the status quo, and reform to maintain their positions, as demonstrated by the 2015 referendum on hereditary peers in 1999, which resulted in the compromise whereby 92 would remain.

An elected House of Lords would be a significant change in UK politics, and a new dimension of legitimacy and accountability to the Lords. The questions still to be asked are: what would the Lords look like and what would it do after reform? Would it have the same powers as the current Lords, or a completely new set of responsibilities and powers?

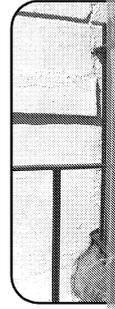
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Change the Way We Vote

There are two common responses to calls for increasing turnout: making voting compulsory (as it is in Australia) or introducing electronic voting.

Compulsory voting is a contentious proposal for a number of reasons. Forced participation could be insincere – it could lead to people casting their votes not for a consideration of policies, but based on some arbitrary feature, such as how much they like someone's name or where a candidate is on the ballot paper. Under a system of compulsory voting, people would not have to vote for any candidate (there is usually a no-vote option on the ballot for reopen nominations), but they would have to cast their vote or face a legal



Physical post

Electronic voting is another proposal that has caused a large amount of debate. Proponents of e-voting claim that voters will be more likely to turn out to vote if they can do so from home. Those against the change argue that it would be open to cyberattacks.

More Devolution

There have been calls for further devolution of powers away from Westminster. Support for these initiatives is mixed. Since 2010, there has been a growing number of 'local authorities' which have powers over transport, policing, and housing. Some have introduced directly elected mayors through referendums, but turnout is usually low, between 20% and 30%. In 2004, a referendum was held on whether to establish a regional assembly for the entire North East region, but this was overwhelmingly rejected by 77.9%. A regional assembly's limited powers did not justify the significant logistical costs, which would have been borne primarily by Newcastle, leaving rural areas under-represented.



Talking Point



What reforms (if any) do you think should be made to the UK political system?



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Arguments for and against an elected House of Lords	
The House of Lords should be fully elected	The House of Lords should not be fully elected
If the House of Lords were elected, then it would better represent the people of the country.	The appointments process is not democratic. The Lords do not win seats in the Lords; they win elections.
An elected House of Lords would mean that voters could hold Lords to account and would stop underserving or corrupt Lords from serving in Parliament.	The Lords are not afraid to speak openly on issues of public consequence, meaning their work is open and thorough in a way that elected members are not.
The House of Lords is a relic of a bygone era and an undemocratic relic of the past. This is symbolised by the fact that there are still hereditary peers and Bishops who have a seat in the Lords. Not anyone can become a Lord; they need to be given the seat by birth or political patronage.	The powers and responsibilities of the Lords would need to be reformed, which is an extremely complicated task. Attempting reform may require a tricky constitutional process and a long time for discussion.
At the moment a prime minister can change the composition of the Lords by appointing whoever they want, giving them great powers over the scrutiny procedure. Tony Blair appointed 162 Labour Lords, and only 62 Conservative Lords.	The Lords tend to be more independent and so are more likely to provide a balanced and unbiased judgment on issues of public interest. There are currently no party interests, meaning they are not biased.
The House of Lords has been superseded by the Supreme Court in one of its main functions; it should be changed to reflect its reduced responsibilities.	It is possible that voters would be more likely to turn out to vote anyway, and asking for a referendum would be a waste of time.

Arguments for and against compulsory voting	
Voting should be compulsory	Voting should not be compulsory
Voting is a responsibility as well as a right. Every citizen should contribute to their democracy in some way.	Voters may turn out to vote but that does not mean the result of an election is based on the views of those who voted, not those who did not vote.
If the main purpose of Parliament is to represent the public, then everyone should have to vote. Non-compulsory voting means that Parliament only represents a self-selected group. At the moment 30–40% of people are not represented.	The essence of party politics is to force people to vote. Forcing people to vote takes away our freedom of choice.
The consistent non-voters are ignored in the current political system, despite their having interests.	Compulsory voting does not mean that people choose not to vote. It increases participation and undoubtedly more successful people will be represented.
It would still be possible to choose not to vote for any of the candidates if someone objects to the candidates.	The religious beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses are a point of moral conscience that should be respected.
Politicians would have to run a campaign to appeal to the true majority of voters, rather than the majority of the voters who turn out. Politicians are more likely to turn out.	Politicians will still be able to appeal to some areas, such as geographical areas and demographics – urban areas are more likely to vote dramatically.

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Talking Point

Should voting be compulsory?

Case Study – Elections Act 2022

A controversial bill to reform aspects of how elections are run in the UK was introduced into Parliament in July 2021. Measures within the bill included scrapping the use of a supplementary vote system, giving voting rights to citizens who live overseas, and ending the independence of the Electoral Commission from ministerial directives.

The most controversial measure, however, was the introduction of photo identification requirements for voters. The Conservative government argued that voter ID is needed to combat electoral fraud – people casting votes that they are not entitled to. They argued that public confidence in elections will be improved as a result. However, critics say there is no evidence of widespread fraud being a widespread issue in the UK, and the government's argument that voter ID will tip elections in their favour, perhaps believing that those unlikely to vote for other parties are less likely to have costly photo ID.



Arguments for and against voter ID

Voter ID should be used in elections	Voter ID should not be used in elections
Voter ID helps to ensure that election results are genuine and not fraudulent.	There is no evidence of widespread fraud.
Voter ID gives electors greater confidence that they are participating in a secure process.	Certain demographics are excluded from identification, which is unfair.
Requesting ID when voting is no more of a burden than requesting ID for any other activity.	Many low-income individuals do not have a form of identification.
Election fraud can be hard and costly to prove, but easier to prevent.	Voter ID may prevent some genuine voters from voting.



It is paramount we protect the integrity of our elections and ensure they remain secure for generations to come.

[The Elections Act 2022] now means we can make elections more inclusive, ensuring that every eligible voter will continue to have the opportunity to be heard.
Kemi Badenoch, Conservative MP

'Voting is safe and secure in Britain. Ministers should be promoting confidence in our elections instead of spreading baseless scare stories which threaten our democracy.'

Millions of people lack photo ID in this country – in particular the elderly, low income and black, Asian and ethnic minority voters. The Conservatives are reversing decades of democratic progress.'
John Smith, Labour MP

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Talking Point



Does the Elections Act 2022 help or hinder democracy?

Unit 1.2 A Wider Franchise

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Learning Objectives

- ✓ Know the main events in the extension of the franchise
- ✓ Know how the franchise was extended to include the working class and women
- ✓ Learn the importance of the suffragists and suffragettes in extending the franchise
- ✓ Learn the main arguments for and against extending the right to vote to include women

Key Words

Franchise/Suffrage	The right to vote in elections.
Suffragettes	A group who protested in favour of women being allowed to vote. They often used more extreme forms of protest such as arson and hunger strikes. They were led by Emmeline Pankhurst and the WPSU.
Suffragists	People who argued women should be allowed to vote through peaceful means. The largest suffragist group was the NUWSS led by Millicent Fawcett. The group was mainly middle class.
Plural Voting	Voting more than once, for more than one representative. This was possible when graduates of certain universities were allowed to vote in their home constituency as well as the university constituency.
Borough	The old name for some constituencies. Before the Reform Act of 1832 there were many problems with 'rotten boroughs' where a small number of people were allowed to elect an MP.
Electorate	All the people who can vote in an election.

Key Milestones in Widening the Franchise

The **franchise** is the ability and right to vote in elections (also known as 'suffrage'). The franchise is set before every election, when the election is called, but must be extended to different groups. In the UK all citizens are now able to vote in public elections, with

- Anyone under the age of 18 (with the exception of some elections in Scotland and the 2016 independence referendum) – this restriction is due to be lowered to 16 by the 2025 elections bill in 2026
- Some EU citizens can vote in local elections
- Members of the House of Lords cannot vote in elections
- Prisoners cannot vote in elections
- Those convicted of an electoral offence are banned for up to five years
- People detained in a mental hospital cannot vote in elections

Irish citizens and Commonwealth citizens resident in the UK are eligible to vote in UK general elections. UK citizens who have lived abroad for under 15 years. Anyone who wishes to vote must be registered to vote at an address in the UK.

However, it has not always been this way. There were many groups of people who were not allowed to vote before the reforms that we will now look at. Most shocking is probably that women were only able to vote on the same terms as men since 1928.

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Timeline of the Extension of the Franchise

Timeline

<p>Before 1832</p>	<p>Before the 1832 Great Reform Act, the franchise was land worth at least 40 shillings. The franchise was restricted rather than by law. The number of people who could vote was only about 200,000 compared to a population of over 10 million. Also many landowners who could vote in certain boroughs, these were known as rotten boroughs, were allowed to elect more than one MP. The franchise was to become more democratic.</p>
<p> 1832 Great Reform Act</p>	<p>In 1832 there was the first major change to the franchise. Property holders were granted the vote for the first time. Rotten boroughs were abolished and seats were created for urban areas. The franchise was spread more evenly across the country. There was still a property qualification but the act equalised the qualifications needed to vote across the country. The number of people who could vote increased to about 650,000 – around 5% of the adult population. The age of 21 were able to vote.</p>
<p>1867 Reform Act</p>	<p>Male suffrage was further increased to include men in the working class with a property qualification. This was a further increase to the franchise. The number of people who could vote increased from approximately one to two million – around 13% of the adult population.</p>
<p>1884 Representation of the People Act</p>	<p>The 1884 act redressed the discrepancies in the franchise between the towns and the countryside. Rural householders were granted the franchise. The number of people who could vote increased to five million – around 25% of the adult population. All men over 21 were still without the right to vote. Property was still the main qualification for the franchise.</p>
<p>1918 Representation of the People Act</p> <p></p>	<p>This Act was introduced at the end of the First World War. It gave the franchise to all men over 21 and all women over 30 the right to vote. Practical property qualifications were abolished. The First World War was extremely costly, and one of the features of the act was that property qualifications were abolished. Women were allowed to vote if they had made a contribution to the war effort. 75% of the adult population were now able to vote.</p>
<p>1928 Equal Franchise</p>	<p>In 1928 the terms for the franchise were equalised between men and women. The franchise was given to all women over 21 years old without any property qualifications. This made women a majority of the electorate as they were more numerous than men. The act was passed by the Conservative Party without a majority.</p>
<p>1948 End of plural voting</p>	<p>This reform ended the process of plural voting, and introduced the single vote system that exists today. It meant that all MPs were elected by a single constituency (no more university seats).</p>
<p>1969 Voting age reduced</p>	<p>The voting age was reduced to 18. This reflected the end of the process of adulthood in the 1960s. The provision for students to vote was also put in place.</p>
<p>1981 British Nationality Act</p>	<p>This act provided Commonwealth citizens with the right to vote. The Representation of the People Act 1985 gave British citizenship to Commonwealth citizens who had left the United Kingdom for a five-year period after 1962. This essentially extended the franchise to groups who otherwise would not have been able to vote. The act was passed when they were in the UK or had been born in the UK.</p>
<p>Before 2029</p> <p></p>	<p>At the time of writing, the government intends to fulfil its promise to give the franchise to 16- and 17-year-olds before the 2029 general election.</p>

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Suffragettes and Suffragists

As you can see from the timeline, there were two major trends in the push towards universal suffrage. The first was to allow people without property to be able to vote, thereby ensuring the democratic rights of the poor and the working class. The second was the push towards equal voting rights for women. Equal voting rights for women were only established in 1928, less than 100 years ago. The fight for women's suffrage was a long and difficult one, and before the nineteenth century there was very little support. Some MPs had argued in favour of equal voting rights for women (most notably John Stuart Mill), but there had been no success.

In 1897 the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) was formed under Millicent Fawcett. The members of this group were known as suffragists. Suffragists were mainly middle class, and were non-violent. They preferred to campaign in favour of women's suffrage through petitions, lobbying and other forms of peaceful protest. Progress was slow. Fawcett said that the movement was like a glacier: slow and steady. Suffragists also allowed men to join their organisation.

The progress of the NUWSS was too slow for some campaigners, who became more radical. The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) was formed in 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst, a more militant, women-only organisation, who used hunger strikes, breaking windows and other forms of civil disobedience to pressure the government into change. One of the most famous examples was when Emily Davison threw herself under the King's horse at the Epsom Derby in 1913, leading to her death. After her death, 5,000 suffragettes accompanied her coffin in procession, and 50,000 people gathered to see her coffin pass. As this example shows, the suffragettes used more radical methods. However, they also provoked public hostility because of their actions. Some of the government force-fed suffragettes who were on hunger strike.

The suffragettes received a mixed reaction from the public. Some were sympathetic to the way the government had treated them, whereas others saw them as too extreme. The WSPU suspended their campaign at the outbreak of the First World War, which showed that women's support for Britain during the war was important enough to stop their previous actions.

The first act to allow limited female enfranchisement came in 1918. Women over 30 who were householders or the wives of householders were given the right to vote (compared to 21 for men). Men were given the right to vote without a property qualification. This was a result of the impact of the First World War, when many young working-class men had died, leaving a gap in the political system that they had no stake in.

The question as to whether the suffragettes were successful is a controversial one. Some argue that the issue of women's voting rights was on the agenda in the decade before the First World War, and that the suffragettes put members of the public off the issue. On the other hand, it could also be argued that the more radical methods of the suffragettes, and the publicity that they generated, were non-violent actions that the suffragists did not have. Overall, the impact of the movements is hard to gauge, and the First World War provided the immediate reason why suffrage was extended to both some women and all adult men.

Talk
What impact did the suffragettes have on the franchise?

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The Right to Vote

As we have seen from the reforms that extended the right to vote, the vote is a citizen's political rights. Without the vote, a person cannot be represented in Parliament. At some time in the history of the United Kingdom, the right to vote was restricted to a small group of people. This meant that, in effect, withholding the right to vote was a form of discrimination and political disempowerment.

If withholding the right to vote is a form of discrimination and political disempowerment, what about the people who cannot vote today? Prisoners are unable to vote in UK general elections. In 2010, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) found by a majority that the British ban on prisoners voting was a breach of Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). While a 2011 law allowed prisoners released on temporary licence to vote led to the ECtHR dropping its ruling, the prohibition remains in place. Scottish Parliament legislated in 2020 that prisoners in Scotland with less than 12 months could vote in Scottish elections, while the Senedd Cymru is currently considering legislation to reform prisoners' rights in the future.

The most recent major debate on the franchise was over who should vote in the 2016 referendum on European Union membership. UK and Gibraltar residents who were British citizens were entitled to vote. That EU citizens living in the UK were not entitled to vote in the referendum caused controversy, as the European citizens living in the UK were not allowed to vote in the event that the referendum result was to leave. The question of whether EU citizens living in the UK should get the right to vote is another one that divides opinion. Some might possibly be affected by a parliament's decision should be allowed to vote in the referendum. Left EU citizens with even fewer voting rights, allowing them to vote in local elections. No agreement exists for UK citizens in their respective country.

Members of the House of Lords cannot vote in general elections. They are not eligible to stand for authority in the European parliamentary elections. The rationale for this is that they are already represented in Parliament because they can sit in the House of Lords. It is also seen as part of the constitution that separates the Commons from the Lords.

There are many debates over whether the currently disenfranchised should be treated in the same way as working-class people and women were in the past. Perhaps the most important of these is whether the vote should be extended to 16–18-year-olds.



European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg

Always try to use the vote.
Keep an eye on the front page.
not be on the front page.
voting rights.

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Current Movements to Extend the Franchise

With the election of the Labour government in 2024, the movement to extend the franchise secured a key goal: to allow 16- and 17-year-olds to vote in UK elections. They have already voted in Scottish elections, but not in general elections. The Labour government extended the franchise to 16- and 17-year-olds in their 2024 manifesto while the Conservative government said they would not change the voting age.

This is at least partly due to the support of MPs at 16, a coalition including the Labour Party, the National Union of Students, and the British Youth Council, among others. They have consistently argued that the voting age should be changed to include 16- and 17-year-olds.

Other pressure groups such as Unlock, the National Association of Ex-Offenders, and the Prisoners' Trust, have argued that prisoners should also have the right to vote.

Arguments for and against extending the franchise to prisoners

Arguments for prisoners voting	Arguments against prisoners voting
Participating in politics by voting is a human right – the European Court of Human Rights reprimanded the UK for the current ban in 2005.	Convicted criminals are excluded from the franchise because they have been found guilty of a crime by a court of law and have lost the right to vote as a result of their judgment and could be seen as not taking responsibility for their actions.
The right to vote would give prisoners a link to the wider world, increasing social cohesion, and encourage an interest in society as a whole.	Prisoners who are excluded from the franchise would be an additional barrier to their rehabilitation. Those who want to be freed, and who are motivated to change their lives, would be less likely to vote.
If MPs had to campaign for the votes of prisoners in their constituency, they would be more likely to represent them properly and consider their needs and interests as citizens – and as prisoners, given that prison conditions have been poor for a long time.	Prisoners would form a large bloc in constituencies, skewing representation and ensuring that the views of those who do not participate in the electoral process are not represented.
Although prison is reserved for the worst offenders, not everyone in prison is there for things that most people would consider deeply immoral.	Allowing prisoners to vote would increase the popularity of the government and could lead to a change in the reaction in new elections. Is the expense of the prison system worth it?
Some ethnic minorities are over-represented in prisons, and this is an indication of systemic bias and/or social exclusion. Therefore, excluding them from voting damages the representation of particular demographics.	Prisoners do not have access to the same information and news as the general public, and therefore their views on political issues may be skewed.

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Unit 1.3 Group Politics

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Learning Objectives

- ✓ Know how participation in a democracy can have an impact on society
- ✓ Understand what a pressure group is, and how pressure groups attempt to change policy
- ✓ Know the different theories on how pressure groups operate: pluralism, elitism
- ✓ Know the methods, motives and key points used by pressure groups
- ✓ Be able to conclude how a pressure group might be successful
- ✓ Understand the case studies of Brian Haw, UK Uncut and Stonewall, and their different methods
- ✓ Understand how other collective organisations, such as think tanks and corporates, influence policy.

Key Words

Pressure Group	A group that tries to influence the government or parliament. It is different from a political party because it does not try to win an election.
Sectional Group	A group that represents a particular section of society, representing workers.
Cause Group	A pressure group that tries to promote a certain cause, representing a particular group of society. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.
Insider Group	A group that is consulted by governments on certain issues. It is such a group as an organisation like think tanks.
Outsider Group	A group that the government does not accept, or whose views are not taken on a policy issue. These include protest groups such as Greenpeace.
Elitism	The idea that society is governed by elites and that pressure groups are just elitism; they just enshrine the strength of elites.
Lobbying	Seeking to influence a representative or government official. It is a technique used by pressure groups.
Think Tank	A group of experts who seek to advise the government on a particular political goal in mind.

The Impact Participation Can Have on Society

Every democracy in the world is based on the idea of citizen participation. If citizens can participate, then how can their views be heard? In a representative democracy, citizens can participate through the election of representatives, but this is not always the best way. There are other ways that the public can make sure their opinions are heard between elections.

Citizens can join parties in order to influence policies and run for election. They can also join pressure groups (known as pressure groups) designed to pressure lawmakers into taking action. Citizens can also choose to demonstrate in public in large-scale protests.

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Groups are recognised as having certain democratic rights in the same way as individuals. They are allowed to assemble in groups, and some groups have other rights (such as the right to petition) to make sure they can protect their members against the government.

Groups who come together because they have similar interests, or all believe in a particular cause, are called 'pressure groups'. They are different from political parties because they do not stand for office; they simply want to influence the government of the day (or other governments) to change the policies that they agree with.

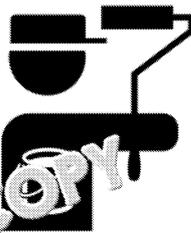
Participation is seen as a good thing for democracy in and of itself. The larger the participation in a democracy, the more likely it is that policies enacted will be in the interests of the people as a whole. It can also ensure that no group is overlooked and, therefore, that minority interests are protected.

There are thousands of pressure groups active in the UK today. They range from small groups that come together for local issues, to huge multinational corporations looking to gain influence with the government. We will have a look at all of the different types of pressure groups and their successes and failures.

Talking Point



Is it a moral duty for citizens to participate in their democracy?



Pressure Groups

Definition: Pressure groups are groups of like-minded people who seek to influence the government in power without acquiring political power themselves. They are usually

1. **Sectional groups** – these represent the interest of particular sections in society, such as doctors or transport workers. Good examples are the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) and the Confederation of British Industry (CBI).
2. **Promotional (cause) groups** – these promote issues such as anti-fracking, reducing sugar or reducing animal cruelty. Examples are Greenpeace or the RSPCA. They are usually set up with a particular cause in mind. They do not represent a particular section of society, but a group of people united by anything other than their belief in a single cause.
3. **Insider and outsider groups.** Insider groups such as the National Farmers' Union and the CBI are those that are accepted by the government and are consulted when policy is being made. They are known as core insider groups. Outsider groups either do not get into this position or don't want to. They are usually such as some radical action groups who believe in violent demonstration, such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) or the Green Party. A good example of an outsider group is the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which has been a pressure group for years, with widespread support, but the government usually ignores their approach for advice on matters of defence. There can also be groups that are accepted by the government but who stridently oppose acceptance from the government.

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Remember that these classifications are not always neat, and many groups could fit into both sectional and promotional categories, e.g. the Ramblers' Association.



EXAM TIP:

Remember to use examples when arguing in favour of or against something.

Pressure Groups and Democracy

Good for Democracy

1. They are important if people want to participate actively in politics, especially by joining political parties.
2. They are an important way of influencing those in power between general elections, especially the environmental lobbies.
3. They provide the resources and information necessary for people to represent their interests. (e.g. Oxfam).
4. They encourage cooperative action, enabling people to work together.
5. They provide a vital check on government power.
6. They can give expert advice to governments, as in the Royal Society for the Environment.

Bad for Democracy

1. There is a danger that minorities can wield too much political influence. For example, the British Medical Association and Business Association, a disproportionately powerful group representing a privileged minority.
2. They can turn society selfish by demanding resources for individual cases rather than for the good of a whole.
3. Power can be concentrated in the hands of a just a few people who have money, such as some trade union leaders. This is known as 'elitism'.
4. Certain groups, for example those with a high social and educational background, while others are not served.
5. Pressure groups are not necessarily right in what they believe, and might be represented by militant groups on the extreme left and right of the political spectrum.
6. The more recent trend for large demonstrations and direct action, perhaps encouraged by the Internet, can lead to riots and damage to property. This tends to happen at international economic summits, when people from many different backgrounds gather together, such as Third World debt.

What is Pluralism?

Pluralism is where a society allows many different and competing ideas to flourish. It is where **power** lies within society, and about the distribution of power among different groups. Not all societies will permit a pluralist approach. Some will be fearful that too many groups will have an influence over government. The UK is said to have a pluralist system, where many different points of view are allowed, and where pressure groups can influence government. The state is seen as neutral. Those who defend **pluralism** say that the richer, more powerful groups do not become too dominant because smaller groups will join to form new groups to compete with them. This is called **countervailing power**. The government's role is to make sure society runs fairly.

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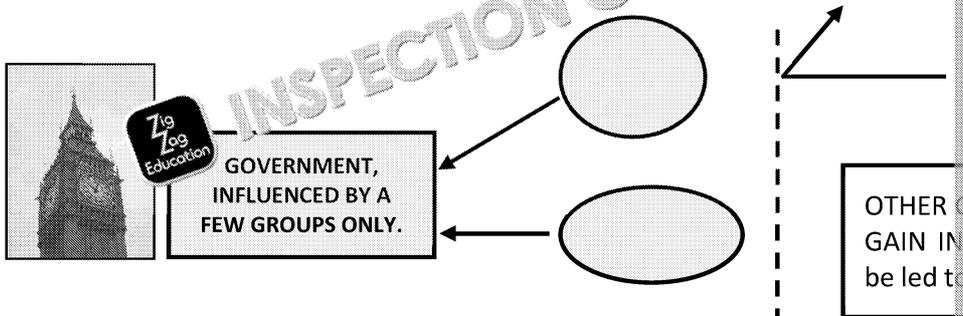
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Criticisms of Pluralism

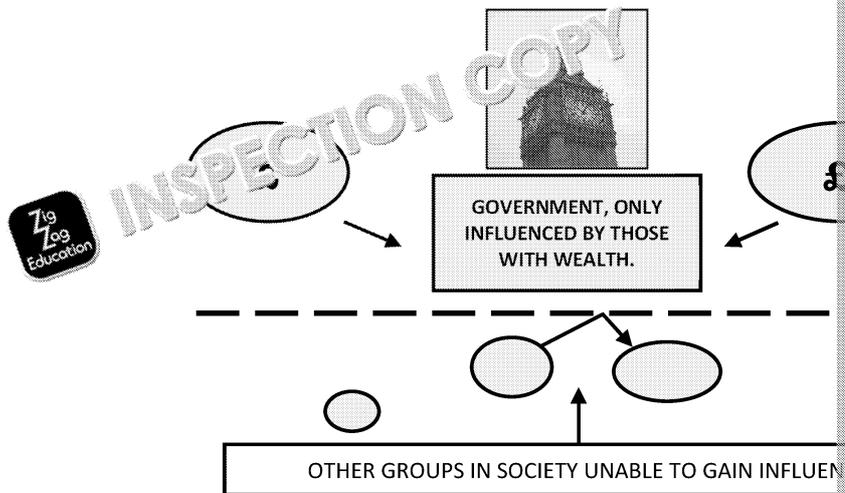
The **elitist** school of thought argues that a few important groups will always be considered seriously when it comes to making policy, although their views matter.

1. Elitist Arguments



2. Marxist Arguments

Marxists argue that the idea of pluralism doesn't really work at all. Government is a capitalist state, dominated by systems and interests that support big business. Those who want other things don't stand a chance, but are wrongly led to believe they might matter.



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Methods, Motives and Reasons for Success

What Political Access Points Will Pressure Groups Use?

1. The executive – Whitehall civil servants, ministers, the Prime Minister. Influential figures will be hard to get, so pressure groups can influence them if they are highly regarded by the current executive.
2. The legislature – both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. A large number of MPs and Lords are sympathetic to the cause. Pressure groups may try to petition Members of Parliament in person to convince them on an issue.
3. Individual MPs, especially those with influence in committees.
4. Political parties – through individual MPs, through influencing the media, supporting MPs and parties financially. Some pressure groups are very close to parties. The Labour Party has strong historical links to trade unions.
5. The public, especially through the media. This is one of the most common access points. If a pressure group is able to get the support of the public, the lawmakers much more easily that their cause is the right one to choose. A good example is the campaign managed this before the 2004 law to ban fox hunting.
6. The judiciary. Pressure groups can bring cases to court in order to force the government to do something that might help them achieve their goal.
7. Local and regional government. Local governments are much more responsive to local issues. Organisations may form on very specific issues, such as the closure of a bus route. They can pressure the local government to stand against the bus route closure. In any local government, there are often pressure groups campaigning on local issues putting pressure on the local government.

Why Might a Pressure Group Form?

Pressure groups can form for a variety of good reasons. Sectional groups usually form as a result of a specific need in society believing that their interests need to be protected. This was the origin of trade unions. Unions are collections of workers who believed that by joining together they could become powerful enough to challenge their employers, and, therefore, demand better treatment. The union movement has been one of the most enduring and successful movements ever, comprising pressure groups across most countries. The current Labour Party grew out of the union movement of the nineteenth century, and dedicated itself towards representing the interest of workers. The relationship between the unions and the Labour Party is one of the most important examples of pressure groups having an impact on government and party policy.

Cause groups usually develop as a result of a specific incident or policy proposal, but they might simply represent the views of a large non-specific group (such as non-smokers). Just Stop Oil was a high-profile single-issue group that campaigned against new fossil fuel extraction licences in the UK. Significantly, they disbanded in 2025 following success after a ban on new licences. Pressure groups can be created for almost any reason. They are most likely to form if there is a small group of people who are very passionate about an issue.



Thinking Point

What do you think are the most important access points for pressure groups? Does it depend on the group?

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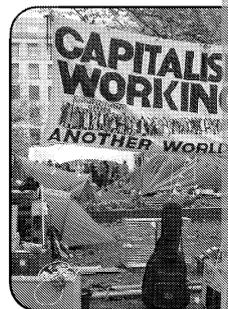
Methods Used by Pressure Groups

1. Taking action in the UK and international courts to challenge government legal decision on an issue can be one of the most effective tactics in change. The Supreme Court's declaration of Boris Johnson's prorogation of Parliament was probably the most famous example of this.
2. Using professional lobbyists – businesses that are set up to contact and persuade members of the pressure group. It is hard to see the direct impact of lobbying because it is not in the public eye.
3. Attempting to provide politicians with funds or expert advice. Pressure groups often attempt to gain their ear.
4. Using social media in a variety of ways, e.g. publicity stunts, advertising. While traditional media still has a place in advertising pressure group beliefs, as people still do not get their news from social media, the importance of traditional media is being overlooked. One good example of a pressure group that used traditional media was Fathers 4 Justice, who dressed up as superheroes and attracted widespread media attention.
5. Direct mail shots to peoples' homes. This is an old-fashioned method used by many pressure groups. It is a reliable way of making sure people hear about a group's cause. It is a successful one for making people care.
6. Demonstrations and public protests. Another common technique used by pressure groups. Demonstrations and public protests can help to draw the public's attention to an issue and convince the government that a cause is worth paying attention to.
7. Illegal actions such as damage to property or even murder to force others to listen. This is the most controversial method that pressure groups can use, and blurs the line between a legitimate and terrorist organisation in some cases.
8. Internet activism. By far the most important recent development in pressure group tactics. The Internet provides a platform for groups to publicise their views, a place where they can lobby the government. E-petitions and the fact that social media has become so popular have meant that the Internet has become a key tool for pressure groups to communicate with politicians. However, e-petitions rarely cause a change in government.



EXAM TIP:

Remember the different methods used by pressure groups, and try to think about which ones, in your opinion, are the most likely to lead to success.



Occupy Wall Street

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New Types of Pressure Group Activity

Grant, who first defined the idea of insider and outsider groups, has since the distinction is not so clear now as before. Many more groups are potential to have the right sort of pressure at the right time. He also points out that a newer method of activity is occurring, namely the presence of large-scale demonstrations and protests organised on a national or global scale, using the Internet. Such action was seen in demonstrations against the war in Iraq (2003) and in regular international protests on environmental and economic summits (e.g. the G20 protests in 2009, or the 2011/2012). In the UK, we have seen large demonstrations both against the Iraq War (2002) and against the Afghanistan War (2003). The Iraq War protests were considered the largest political demonstration in the world with over one million in attendance; however, the government did not change its position. Similarly, demonstrations against rises in university fees provoked a government to achieve their aims of preventing the changes. Most recently, large demonstrations by young people in support of a second referendum on leaving the EU failed to persuade the government. Often, this pressure group activity is characterised by having no clear leadership and presenting itself as originating from the mass of the people. While such types of activity are inconvenient and difficult to manage, it has to be said that governments do not seem to be overly influenced by them. In 2011 Parliament set up a website that allowed citizens to start an online petition on any topic for which the UK Parliament or government would consider a petition which reaches 100,000 signatories can be considered for a debate in Parliament, and pressure groups have certainly encouraged members and supporters to get involved as another way of furthering their cause.

It remains true, however, that pressure groups have had to adapt their methods in order to stay effective, as demonstrated by the large investments in technology that many groups have made into digital strategies. Governments now tend to consult much more with all types of pressure group before they carry out major changes, and this has blurred the difference between insider and outsider groups. Partly, this is because you need to ask yourself whether these new methods have been more successful. Look back at some of the reasons why some groups are more successful than others, and see whether these apply to these new social movements, which are often hard to identify and which seem to have several purposes.

What Makes Some Pressure Groups Successful?

1. **Resources**, in terms of both money and people. A large or dedicated membership and a high number of subscriptions to be part of the pressure group means that the group is more powerful. They can pay staff, rent offices and organise more lobbying activities. Well-funded pressure groups can get more publicity through advertising. The Trades Union Congress, the federation of trade unions that represents over 5.6 million members across the UK, is therefore very influential because of its resources and membership.
2. An **appropriate strategy** that seems to be particularly effective at the time to government. Seen in the different ways that the suffragettes and the suffragists were successful. More violent or shocking methods can be a good way of getting media attention and necessary to the way of gaining public sympathy. In a more modern example, the planned rise in tuition fees (organised and led by the National Union of Students) was criticised after several hundred of its members taking part branched off and attacked the Conservative Party headquarters. The violence of the protest became the main focus of all coverage rather than the protesters had been trying to spread.

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3. **Compatibility with the aims of the government**, at least to some extent insider groups. Trade unions have always been considered more under whereas large business interest groups, such as the Confederation of British Industry, are more influential when the Conservatives are in power. Think tanks are especially influential. The Centre for Policy Studies was very influential in creating Thatcher's policies. The Institute for Public Policy Research under Blair.
4. **Accepted by the public** for their cause, e.g. the Snowdrop campaign in 1996 following the 1996 massacre in Dunblane, where 16 children and a teacher were killed. It led to support for a total ban on handguns. The Snowdrop campaign was able to gain widespread public sympathy for their cause. Compare and contrast with the attempt to introduce more stringent gun control laws has been frequent.
5. **Unity**. There are some pressure groups that do not present a united front. There are many similar ideals. There is no leading teachers' union (unlike many professions). This can result in the government taking less care in its decisions regarding teachers. There is only one union. The merger of the NUT and the ATL in 2017 demonstrates the importance of unity in pressure groups.
6. **Good leadership**. A highly motivated and well-organised leadership is much more likely to succeed. In the 1980s the leaders of trade unions were often charismatic figures. In particular, Arthur Scargill of the National Union of Mineworkers led a strike in a way that caused national attention. Union leaders today can still benefit from their leadership abilities. This is the case with the former General Secretary of the GMB, Lynn Lynch, who became an unofficial spokesperson for the wider trade union movement during the profile rail strikes in 2023.
7. **Support of a public figure** and possibly patronage, e.g. the anti-landmines campaign led by Princess Diana. Diana's support allowed for the issue to become more prominent in the household-name of celebrities. This led to many pressure groups being more successful. It might be argued that the anti-phone-hacking group Hacked Off became more successful because of actor Hugh Grant speaking on its behalf. This has been a feature of pressure groups in the age of the celebrity, and among the most famous are the animal rights work of Peta and Marcus Rashford's campaign for free school meals.

Talking Point



Based on what makes a pressure group successful, compare and contrast with elitists that a few pressure groups will always be successful.

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Case Studies of Different Groups

Case Study 1: Stonewall and Same-sex Marriage

Following the agreement between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats in 2010, it was announced that a consultation would take place two years later on marriage for same-sex couples. Stonewall, the leading pressure group representing (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) people, set about preparing their response to the consultation. First, they allowed a year for their members to send in their views. They then produced a document reflecting the contributions, and, finally, they sent this to the government in 2012 while it was the basis for lobbying MPs and ministers.

This approach reflects the nature and type of pressure group Stonewall wants to be seen as. It was set up by a small group which set out to get the infamous Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act repealed. Its website says the aim from the start was to create a professional lobbying group. It has encouraged others to put the case for equality of LGBT people onto the mainstream political agenda. In England, Scotland and Wales, it employs a professional staff and has a budget of £10 million. It is a good example of a sectional group which has, or aims for, insider status.

The debate on the issue of same-sex marriage generated a wide range of strong opinions. Many supported same-sex marriage so that the relationship homosexual people committed to was equally valid as the relationships to which heterosexual couples committed. Many others were concerned about prejudice against them. While the government's consultation was on same-sex marriage, some argued that any legislation should allow same-sex religious marriages to take place. The majority of the body was in favour. Legislation was introduced in Parliament in January 2013, allowing for religious same-sex marriages. At the time, many leaders agreed MPs would face fierce opposition, the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Bill was passed in the Commons by 393 to 142 in June, and in the Lords by 359 to 275 in June. It received Royal Assent in July 2013.

Each of the case studies illustrates well not only the importance of leadership, organisation, resources and methods, but also the vital point that the cause uses public sympathy to be successful. It is worth comparing the different approaches taken.

Case Study 2: Extinction Rebellion

In May 2018, a group of academics signed an open letter calling for direct action to encourage political urgency in responding to climate change and other global environmental crises. They declared their support for a new pressure group called Extinction Rebellion, which aimed to raise awareness of what they described as a 'sixth mass-extinction event' and sought to force politicians to acknowledge the crisis as a global climate emergency. Their methods were to encourage disruptive and non-violent civil disobedience among a large group of committed activists which they hoped would hold the issue in the public eye and force the government to act before inflicting damage to the economy.

In November that year, large groups of activists caused significant disruption in Central London, blockading most of London's bridges over the river Thames and occupying roads around Trafalgar Square, Parliament, the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy and other government buildings. The disruption lasted for several days.

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large-scale actions continued to take place throughout 2019. In contrast to Extinction Rebellion was different because it encouraged participants to get warned those not willing to be arrested not to take part. It took this approach would become so overstretched processing large numbers of arrests that they quickly break up the protests and end the disruption. Extinction Rebellion is an outsider group, without any links to government. It is a decentralised movement using economic and public pressure on the government through disruption and protest to make the government declare a climate and ecological emergency, and to implement the advice of a 'citizen's assembly' in taking action to tackle climate change.



Extinction Rebellion protesters blocking Waterloo Bridge in Central London in April 2019.

The group has seen more than similar pressure groups successfully block roads in London, Extinction Rebellion generate significant media attention for their actions and raise public awareness. Many pollsters record climate change as a top environmental issue in 2019. YouGov recorded that climate change was the public's tenth most important issue. In a 2019 election, it had become a major pressing matter, tied with the economy.

of respondents saying it was a major factor in their voting preference. This is due to Extinction Rebellion's actions. The group has been significantly less successful in pressuring the government to take action. However, although the government did commit to becoming carbon-neutral by 2050, it is far below the target of 2030 that the group has demanded. Some of Extinction Rebellion's methods have been criticised for alienating the public. The London Underground system have angered commuters and received criticism as the Underground is considered a more environmentally friendly method of transport. This said to represent a tension between the group's strategy of disruption and its commitment to environmental sustainability.



EXAM TIP:

When judging how successful a pressure group is, remember that they have different aims. Some might seek to influence government policy, while others focus on raising awareness.

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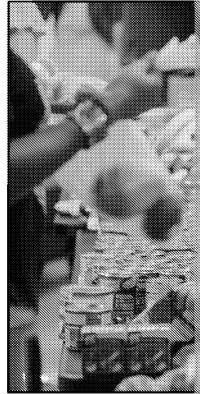
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Case Study 3: Marcus Rashford and FareShare

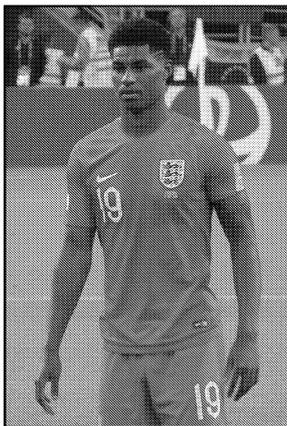
FareShare is a national charity which seeks to reduce food waste and food poverty by collecting food from suppliers which is due to be thrown away, and redistributing it to community groups to help feed low-income families. In early 2020, at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, FareShare partnered with Manchester United footballer Marcus Rashford to use his resources and publicity as FareShare attempted to feed millions of children from low-income families who normally receive free school meals, but were going hungry without due to the closure of schools.

In June 2020, Rashford published an openly publicised open letter to all MPs, requesting that the government ensure all eligible children entitled to free school meals are fed during the summer holidays. The letter gained strong public support, and a number of Conservative MPs applied pressure on the government to implement the policy. The next day the government announced that it would issue summer holiday food vouchers to all low-income families, with Prime Minister Boris Johnson congratulating Rashford on his successful campaign.



Demand for food bank

Rashford received an MBE for his campaigning, and continued to speak out about hunger. He started a parliamentary petition to expand the free school meal programme, which gathered more than 300,000 signatures in a few days, and led to a parliamentary debate. However, Conservative MPs were whipped to vote against the popular policy. On the back of the high-profile campaign, raising significant funds and gaining support from the public, the government agreed to issue food vouchers. His parliamentary petition continued to gain momentum, with a million signatures over the next few days. Subsequently, the government agreed to meet Rashford's demands, allocating a further £400 million for the expansion of the free school meal programme. Conservative MPs were privately angry they had been whipped to support a measure, but the government gave in to the demand just days later.



Rashford's campaigning forced the government into two high-profile U-turns.

In January 2021, photos circulated online depicting food parcels being sent to households by government contractors. The parcels were clearly of a value considerably lower than the value of the vouchers expected to receive. Rashford once again spoke out about the issue, and public outcry received reassurances from the prime minister that the voucher scheme would be reviewed and the issue addressed.

Over the course of 2020, Rashford's campaigning and the success of FareShare to deliver 21 million meals to children, and the government's provision of food for children from low-income families, can be seen as an example of the impact of public campaigning, endorsement, particularly when a campaign is popular and supported effectively or successfully alongside civil society groups.

These case studies illustrate well not only the impact of public campaigning, but also the use of the media, organisation, resources and methods. It shows that the campaign usually has to attract public sympathy to be successful. It is worth comparing the different approaches taken and the reasons for them.

Talking Point



What do the three case studies tell you about the impact of a pressure group can become successful?

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Other Collective Groups

Pressure groups are by no means the only way that groups can have an influence on the government of the day. There are also professional lobbying groups, large professional pressure groups that spontaneously organise based on a single issue.

Think Tanks

A government can also be influenced by a group that assembles in order to provide advice. These pressure groups are called 'think tanks' and they are non-governmental organisations that produce research on specific policy areas. Think tanks tend to be more successful than other groups in influencing the government of the day is due to their views. The Centre for Policy Studies was a major think tank that was instrumental in reducing the power of the state, and became very influential during the years that Margaret Thatcher was prime minister. The CPS's support for free market economics and trade liberalisation meant that it was in line with Margaret Thatcher's own political views, and it influenced policies by providing research on possible policy impacts. For an older link to the Labour Party, see the Fabian Society, a socialist organisation that has been a part of the Labour Party for over 100 years. More recently, the Institute for Public Policy Research is a major think tank in the New Labour era.

Think tanks can also be less obviously ideological. Chatham House is a think tank that focuses on international affairs, and the Foreign Policy Centre explores the impact of globalisation. Some think tanks have a very specific policy goal that drives their research, such as the Electoral Reform Society. Think tanks hope that their research will be influential in driving policy change by influencing the government.

Lobbyists

A lobbyist is anyone who tries to influence the decisions of a lawmaker or government official. However, a professional lobbyist or lobbying service can be employed by a group to try to influence the government. Around 4,000 people are lobbyists in the UK and they spend a significant amount of money on lobbying.

There are several major issues to do with the ethics of lobbying. The first is the process by which people can move rapidly between the lawmaking and lobbying professions could create a certain conflict of interest when a person's responsibilities as a lawmaker and their interests as a lobbyist come into conflict. For many years, lobbying was considered to be a legitimate part of the political process but in 2014 there was a law passed requiring lobbyists to register. Critics believe that the law is not transparent enough.

Another issue on the ethics of lobbying is that the pressure groups with the most resources invariably afford to lobby more effectively. Far from pressure groups adding to the increasing plurality of opinion, they add to the imbalance of power in the political system by giving a privileged a louder voice. One of the ways that this has been criticised is that pressure groups can hire lobbyists much more easily than ordinary citizens can.

Corporations

As well as citizens, corporations can form pressure groups. In almost any country, large corporations can benefit from a relaxation of government regulations, or a new government can be pressured to attempt to pressure the government into action. Tobacco companies have a long history of commitment to pressuring the government by campaigning against legislation that would ban the sale of cigarettes to anyone born after 2009. However, influential pressure groups in the UK support the measure, and with cross-party backing, the legislation appeared to be a foregone conclusion.

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Unit 1.4 Rights in Context

Learning Objectives

- ✓ Know what rights and responsibilities are, and how they have developed
- ✓ Understand the major milestones in the development of rights in the UK
- ✓ Understand the current debates on rights in the UK, especially on how the primacy of parliament fits the problem of rights and democracy
- ✓ Know the tension between individual and collective rights, and how it is managed

Key Words

Rights	A moral or legal entitlement to do something free from interference
Human Rights	Rights that are believed to belong to every person. These include the right to freedom from torture and the right to free speech
Civil Rights	Any right that belongs to a person as a citizen. These include the right to law, employee rights, and the right to vote.
Civic Duty	Any responsibility that a person has as a citizen. This may include taking up arms in a war.
Universal Declaration of Human Rights	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was a document that gave a common standard for all rights across the world
Human Rights Act	A law passed in the United Kingdom in 1998 which enshrined human rights in law. The rights enshrined in the HRA are taken from the European Convention on Human Rights.
Parliamentary Sovereignty	The idea that Parliament is the supreme legal authority and is not restricted in what laws it passes by any other body or source of law

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The Concept of Rights and Responsibilities

One of the other major features of a liberal democracy is the concept of rights and liberties. Individual rights are the legal or moral entitlements to do something. A person's rights are the actions that they can take without government interference. In the UK, you can almost do whatever you like, so long as you don't break any laws. There wasn't a written list of rights in the UK until the **Human Rights Act** came into force in 2000. What the UK has built up over the centuries are two kinds of rights – the right to do certain things (positive rights) and the right not to have certain things done to you (negative rights). Let's begin with **human rights** are those rights that all human beings have, irrespective of where they live. Examples of these are the right to food, shelter, and education.

Civil liberties are those rights that a person enjoys through being a citizen of a particular country. These can vary. In the UK, for example, most adults are free to criticise the government and break any law. In some other states, citizens don't have that particular freedom.

Some important **civil liberties** we are said to enjoy in the UK include the following:

1. Freedom of speech, which refers to our right to state our views freely in public.
2. Freedom of movement, which is said to allow us to travel peacefully in and out of the country without fear of being arrested when doing so.
3. Freedom of association, which allows us to gather in public for a variety of purposes.
4. Freedom of worship, which allows us to follow any legal religion we choose without being arrested for doing so.
5. Freedom to vote in free and fair elections.

Responsibilities are a much more difficult concept to define. There are different views on what everyone in a society needs to follow (such as paying taxes or paying fines). The state depends much more on individual beliefs. Some people consider voting in their democracy, as well as other responsibilities as a citizen. Others see it as a moral duty during a crisis as a responsibility. You may often see citizens' moral responsibilities referred to as 'civic duty', but there is no legal standing for this concept. What constitutes a citizen's responsibilities is a matter of debate in contemporary society.

The problem is that Parliament passes laws, and in trying to preserve order and maintain the state, may have to allow certain things that infringe our rights. For example, if we exercise our right to freedom of speech, what would happen if we spoke our mind to a person in a television interview? We might truly believe that our opinion might be helpful, but we might find ourselves in court, being sued for defamation. We soon see that civil liberties are not absolute human rights, to which every human being should be entitled all the time, but are rights that are often violated or tortured. Civil rights or liberties are rights that the state **allows** us to have, and these can vary depending on public attitudes, economic circumstances, and so on.

In the 1970s members of trade unions enjoyed a wide range of rights. But the government believed it was pleasing public opinion and following its own interests. Many of these disappeared in laws passed from 1980 to 1992. In other words, governments can take away civil rights that they believe the majority will accept, and that might leave them in a better position. Many of these rights can only be protected if the judiciary is impartial and is deciding which laws are passed or which laws are acceptable. Even then, there are still problems with this. In June 2006 David Cameron called for the Human Rights Act to be rewritten to make the rights of individual citizens more clear. The government was looking to alter aspects of the act, mainly because it was proving difficult to enforce it on those who had committed criminal offences in the UK. The chorus of criticism that followed indicated just what a difficult task it was to lay down rights for every individual.

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Judges are there partly to make sure that the rights and liberties of the citizen are protected from other citizens and from governments that might choose to ignore them. In the UK, judges have much power against a government and a parliament that chooses to pass laws that are harsh, and have no power to change those laws, even to protect civil liberties. What judges do is to declare that a particular law or government regulation is incompatible with the European Convention on Human Rights Act and point that out to Parliament, or to the government. Parliament then has to change the law through a fast-track system. Laws have been changed that way in the past. It is tied in that they also have to follow the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights. Decisions will be applied to cases in our courts. Unlike the Supreme Court of the US, UK judges cannot strike down (end) particular laws that might be seen as unjust, even if they are. The Human Rights Act of 1998, which also, the Human Rights Act has been accused of protecting civil liberties, e.g. convicting terrorists who may not be sent back to their countries of origin. The fact that the civil liberties of citizens also brings up the arguments that we've already seen about the rights of minorities, while governments are more interested in the feelings of the majority. Are judges independent of governments and neutral when it is working? Will it always be about justice and the rights and freedom of the citizens, or will it be sympathising with the government?

The most recent debate on civil rights in the UK is regarding the effect of Brexit. In 2020, many EU-derived laws were retained to ensure legal standards were included important environmental standards and consumer safety protection. There was a lot of sceptical over whether these laws should be kept. The UK has also remained a member of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which, although separate from the EU, with British leadership, has raised further questions over the influence of the EU on British politics. The issue is further complicated by the fragile political situation in Northern Ireland where the ECHR plays a central role in the Good Friday Agreement. Signed in 1998, the agreement governments alongside Northern Ireland's main political parties, the agreement has ended decades of sectarian violence and political instability in the region.



Talking Point



Is the right to vote a human right or a civil right?



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Debates over the UK's Culture of Rights

Parliamentary Sovereignty

If there is one central problem with the application of human rights in the UK, it is also the fundamental principle of parliamentary sovereignty. The question is: if Parliament votes to infringe human rights, which takes precedence? So, because the Human Rights Act is an act of Parliament – there is nothing to stop Parliament or amending it if they can get a simple majority.

In the 2000s, the Terrorism Acts showed the power that Parliament has over the courts. The case of the leaker David Miranda's detention as the main one) was that the Terrorism Acts are not compatible with the European Convention on Human Rights. The courts are able to take two actions in any situation where the Human Rights Act and the legislation are found to be incompatible: either interpret the legislation in a way that is compatible with the Convention, or if that is not possible, then the higher courts can issue a declaration of incompatibility.

Because one of the main features of some human rights is that they are meant to be absolute (that is, they cannot be breached under any circumstances) having a parliament that can disregard human rights, or the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights (where the court said that prisoners in the United Kingdom should be allowed the right to free expression, but the government disregarded the decision), constitutes a lack of proper protection of human rights. Some rights are always rights that are qualified, such as the right to free expression, where your expression may be a threat to national security. The problem with parliamentary sovereignty, however, is that it means that there are no protections for rights, and nothing to stop Parliament from changing the law. Other political systems around the world (those with entrenched constitutions) protect rights through their constitutions, which puts limits on what their governments can do. Such as the Basic Law in Germany or the Bill of Rights in the United States. Human Rights Act can simply be repealed by a parliamentary majority.

Case Study – David Miranda

The David Miranda case has caused a re-examination of the current terrorism legislation. This case has led to a re-examination of the current terrorism legislation over the case and what it has meant for the antiterror acts.

David Miranda is a partner of a former Guardian journalist who was covering the whistleblower Edward Snowden. Miranda was detained in August 2014 at Heathrow Airport under the Terrorism Act 2000. His mobile phone and laptop were seized, and he was found to have information that could be used to identify sources of confidential information. He was not a journalist, but his flights had been paid for by The Guardian.

Miranda challenged the legality of his detention, and the High Court ruled that his detention was lawful on the needs of national security.

Miranda appealed the High Court decision, and the Court of Appeal made a judgment that parts of the Terrorism Act 2000 were incompatible with the European Convention on Human Rights. The court found that if the Act could result in journalists deciding not to publish stories of public interest, this would be a confidentiality breach. The court was incompatible with the right to free expression. The court found that the Act was incompatible with the right to free expression, as it allowed the police to seize information without having to show it to police based on the idea that the information was confidential. The court found that his detention was still lawful under current legislation.

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Undemocratic Judges

The shift in the UK constitution that took place with the introduction of the the judiciary a greater role in UK politics. The Human Rights Act has given Parliament and government to account for not complying with the Convention name of the process by which the courts supervise the exercise of power of judicial review has been exercised much more since the passage of the Act. There were 1,000 reviews in 2000, and 15,600 in 2013. The increase in the number of legal rights is criticised for decreasing the power of Parliament relative to judges (although in the previous section, not as much as in most other democracies).

The increase in the power of judges is contested because it gives unelected persons the power to make decisions. The question of judicial independence has become a political flashpoint. High profile Supreme Court rulings: the 2017 decision requiring parliamentary approval for the prorogation of Parliament and the 2019 unanimous judgment declaring Prime Minister Boris Johnson's prorogation of Parliament unlawful. These interventions prompted concern among senior Conservatives about an imbalance of power between the executive and judicial branches and that the courts were oversteering the authority. Included in the 2019 Conservative manifesto was a provision to 'rebalance the relationship between the government, parliament and the courts', which has been interpreted as a response to these rulings. Tensions further increased in 2023 when the Supreme Court ruled that the Rwanda asylum scheme was unlawful, as Rwanda could not be considered a safe country for relocation. In response, the government passed the Safety of Rwanda (Asylum and Immigration) Act which sought to prohibit legal challenges based on Rwanda's safety – prompting concerns about the erosion of judicial independence.

Undeserved Protection

One particularly prominent criticism of human rights legislation is that it protects people who do not deserve protection. Some factions of the Conservative Party supported the repeal of the Human Rights Act and its replacement with a Bill of Rights. Proponents of the Bill of Rights would reduce some of their perceived grievances.

One situation that illustrates the reasons the Conservative Party found the internment of Abu Qatada. Abu Qatada was an extremist Islamist preacher who used violent methods to promote his cause. For many years, the security service kept him in custody and refused to deport him to his home country of Jordan. Abu Qatada's lawyers protected him by arguing that if he was deported to Jordan then he might be tried using evidence that was a contravention of the Human Rights Act. Abu Qatada was only flown back to Britain made between Jordan and Britain promising that evidence obtained using

More controversial have been some judgments by the UK Supreme Court, which is bound by the HRA to take into account the rulings of the **European Court of Human Rights**. In 2011, it ruled that sex offenders could appeal against having to register with the police for life. The Supreme Court said the lack of a right to a jury trial for review was incompatible with the European Convention of Human Rights. Conservative backbenchers thought the decision was offensive and seemed to go against common sense. Judges of the European Court of Human Rights have also ruled against the UK. A far more controversial has been its decision taken on four separate occasions that the blanket ban on all prisoners voting in elections contravenes the European Human Rights. The European Court of Human Rights has exercised its right to call on the UK to lift the ban but has no power to enforce it. Both the Labour and Coalition governments did not have a consensus in Parliament to remove the ban on all prisoners voting. In 2012, a committee recommended that prisoners serving a sentence of 12 months or less should be able to vote. However, these attempts have never satisfied a majority of MPs.



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Both these issues were seen as undermining the authority of the UK Parliament and the sovereign lawmakers. Others see the cases as the courts responding to

Equality Act Protected Categories

The 2010 Equalities Act brought together existing legislation to create protected characteristics protected by the Act include: age; disability; gender reassignment; marriage and civil partnership; pregnancy and maternity; race; religion or belief; sex; and sexual orientation.

The act has caused some controversy over the limits that it has placed on discrimination. Breastfeeding has become a protected category, but there are often reports of employers who are hostile to breastfeeding mothers, and the public debate over whether business owners should be allowed to discriminate on certain grounds.

There has also been criticism from some disabled rights activists who say it does not fully recognise the specific needs that disabled people have in order to avoid discrimination. A particular issue with the Act where it regards disabled people is that it often requires a change in some way (to improve accessibility, etc.) but does not establish a clear process for implementing this change and making sure it has happened. The Act may require a change but it does not necessarily enforce steps to reduce discrimination without a change having been made.

The Conservatives' Commitment to Replacing the HRA with a British Bill of Rights

As a result of the controversies generated by court decisions, the Conservative Party included themselves in their 2010 and 2015 election manifestos to replacing the Human Rights Act with a so-called 'British Bill of Rights'. The Liberal Democrats stopped this proposal during the Coalition government of 2010–2015, but the Conservatives' win in the 2015 election gave them with the opportunity to pursue the commitment. However, the timetable for a consultation document for a new Bill of Rights amid divisions within the Conservative Party. The principle of 'sovereignty' and the complexities over the implications it will have for the devolved administrations, and possible complex constitutional change which in

The issue regained traction in the wake of Brexit, embedded in a broader narrative of regaining control from European institutions. Although the European Convention on Human Rights is not connected to the EU, some Conservative figures argued that leaving the EU would allow the UK to fully reclaim legal sovereignty. This sentiment culminated in the introduction of the British Bill of Rights 2022 under Justice Secretary Dominic Raab, which sought to limit the role of the Supreme Court. However, passage of the bill was halted in 2023 by the then Prime Minister, Liz Truss, amid criticism from legal experts and human rights groups.

Under Keir Starmer, Labour remains committed to the Human Rights Act and the ECHR. However, in June 2025, Justice Secretary Shabana Mahmood announced a new Bill of Rights reform. While rejecting full repeal or withdrawal from the ECHR, Labour aims to restore parliamentary sovereignty. This marks a shift from a purely defensive stance, contrasting with previous Conservative efforts to replace the Human Rights Act with a British Bill of Rights.

Talking Point



Would repealing the Human Rights Act restore sovereignty back to Parliament?

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The Work of Advocacy Groups

There are a number of pressure groups dedicated to civil liberties. We will determine the impact that they have had on rights in the UK.

The Howard League for Penal Reform is the oldest prison reform organisation in the world. Founded in 1866 as the Howard League, it campaigns to reduce the number of people in prison and to tackle what it sees as the real causes of crime. It even lets fundamentally believe that prisons do not solve the problem of crime, and that other types of solution should be sought. In the past the Howard League has fought for prisoners' rights and succeeded in a number of key cases. In 2003 the League took the government to court and won, arguing that children in prison and in custody should both be entitled to welfare support. In 2014 the Howard League successfully campaigned for the government to remove restrictions on the books that prisoners could receive from friends and family. In the past the Howard League had also campaigned in favour of the abolition of capital punishment. The Howard League has become synonymous with the rights in the United Kingdom. It provides evidence to the government in court and campaigns against policies that it sees as unjust. The Howard League is an advocacy pressure group that has become well respected and entrenched in the UK. It has focused on abolishing Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) sentences and detention for those deemed an ongoing risk to the public. Although abolition has not been affected. The Howard League helped secure reforms in 2024 to limit licence conditions and a campaign for full resentencing of those still imprisoned.

Liberty is another pressure group campaigning legal rights. The group was founded in 1954 after the police brutality at the 1951 national hunger march. Liberty has campaigned for civil liberties issues throughout the years. They were opposed to racial discrimination and lobbied in favour of the Race Relations Act. They have used the Human Rights Act including supporting Christine Goodwin's fight for transgender rights. They support test cases, and provide free advice to people concerned that their rights are being violated. In 2020, Liberty supported a successful legal challenge to the use of live facial recognition by the Police, marking the world's first court ruling against police use of the technology. The court found the practice breached privacy and data protection laws and failed to prevent racial discrimination. In most cases Liberty is campaigning against what it sees as a violation of rights into civil liberties.

Although pressure groups can be very successful in promoting a cause, the government reconsideration is often limited. You could look now at the Howard League and Liberty on their websites, and see that they have had some high profile successes and some failures. Remember as well that their work is always ongoing; each group continues to advocate for reform for a number of issues they believe that rights are being violated. One certainly true is that the introduction of the Human Rights Act (and before that the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg) have empowered the press and the judicial system to challenge legislation that they disagree with, rather than focus

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Individual Liberty vs Collective Rights

Perhaps the most controversial recent debate over human rights has been on collective rights (such as security) and individual liberty. This has been the case with the terrorism legislation introduced since 2000. The 9/11 attacks in the USA, as well as the bombings in 2005, resulted in the government introducing legislation that limits individual liberties to protect what they saw as the national right to security.

The argument is that in giving terrorists the protections under the Human Rights Act (such as the right to private communication, freedom of expression or free association) terrorists are able to plan and execute attacks that will result in the deaths of many people in the population later on. The government has argued that the right to private communication constitutes a threat to public safety, then it should be overridden by the importance of people's right to life.

In December 2004 the Law Lords (the highest court before the introduction of the Supreme Court) ruled that indefinite detention of terrorism suspects was discrimination, and, the Human Rights Act. The challenges to the government's proposed policies have often been based on their interpretations of the Human Rights Act. Successive governments have often argued that the Act allows the government to collect data on citizens (such as the Investigatory Powers Act) which some civil rights campaigners say is a breach of the public's right to privacy.

The government has often not been able to extend their policies as much as they would like. Blair's Government was defeated in the Commons in 2005 when it proposed indefinite detention of terrorism suspects, and was forced instead to compromise on 28 days.

However, Liberty and other civil liberties and privacy groups have been unable to force the government to do what they oppose. The Investigatory Powers Act 2016 was still passed despite the opposition of civil liberties groups. Liberty argued that the Act, in allowing for interception of communications, including browsing history, was a breach of the right to privacy. After an Act is passed, the only way to oppose a bill that is believed to infringe civil liberties is through a judicial review, which can be long and often requires an appropriate test case. Liberty raised £500,000 to launch a legal challenge to the 2016 Investigatory Powers Act; however, in 2017 the challenge failed in the High Court.

Most recently, the Covert Human Intelligence Sources Act 2021 has legalised the use of undercover police and security service activities which were previously conducted in a covert manner. Supporters stated that it was important for intelligence gathering to be legalised to maintain the country's footing, but opponents argued that it gave undercover officials immunity from prosecution for the most serious crimes.

For most governments, the issue is not one of eroding civil liberties in favour of security, but of finding what could be considered a 'balance' between the two.

Thinking Point

Which is more important in your opinion: individual liberties or national security? Is there really a tension between the two?

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