

PL3127 / PL3327 Political Participation in Britain

View Online



1.

Whiteley, Paul: Political participation in Britain: the decline and revival of civic culture. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

2.

Almond, Gabriel A, Verba, Sidney: The civic culture: political attitudes and democracy in five nations. Sage, Newbury Park, Ca (1989).

3.

Abramowitz, Alan I., Almond, Gabriel A, Verba, Sidney: The Civic culture revisited: An analytic study. Little, Brown, Boston (1980).

4.

Parry, Geraint, Moyser, George, Day, Neil: Political participation and democracy in Britain. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1992).

5.

Parry, G., Moyser, G.: A Map of Political Participation in Britain. Government and Opposition. 25, 147–169 (1990).

6.

Pattie, C. J., Seyd, Patrick, Whiteley, Paul: Citizenship in Britain: values, participation and democracy. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2004).

7.

Marsh, David, O'Toole, Therese, Jones, Su: Young people and politics in the UK: apathy or alienation? Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2007).

8.

DeBardleben, Joan, Pammett, Jon H.: Activating the citizen: Dilemmas of participation in Europe and Canada. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2009).

9.

Barnes, Samuel H., Kaase, Max: Political action: mass participation in five Western democracies. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, Calif (1979).

10.

Kyriakos, D.N. ed: Democracy in Transition: Political Participation in the European Union. Springer (2013).

11.

Dalton, R.J., Welzel, C. eds: The civic culture transformed: from allegiant to assertive citizens. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY (2014).

12.

Dalton, R.J.: The participation gap: social status and political inequality. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2017).

13.

Audit of Political Engagement,
<https://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/research/audit-of-political-engagement>.

14.

HM Government e-petitions, <http://epetitions.direct.gov.uk/>.

15.

Democratic Audit UK, <http://www.democraticaudit.com/>.

16.

Electoral Commission | Home, <http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/>.

17.

Voter Turnout Database | International IDEA,
<http://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/voter-turnout>.

18.

Direct Democracy Database | International IDEA,
<http://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/direct-democracy>.

19.

Power to the People: an independent inquiry into Britain's democracy - the full report | Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust,
<http://www.jrrt.org.uk/publications/power-people-independent-inquiry-britains-democracy-full-report>.

20.

Research briefings - UK Parliament, <http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/>.

21.

Protest | World news | The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/protest>.

22.

Major UK demonstrations and protests listed: which one was biggest? | News | theguardian.com,
<http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/mar/28/demonstrations-protests-uk-list>.

23.

Speaker's Commission on Digital Democracy,
<http://www.parliament.uk/business/commons/the-speaker/speakers-commission-on-digital-democracy/>.

24.

Voter engagement in the UK - UK Parliament,
<http://www.parliament.uk/voter-engagement-in-the-uk>.

25.

Citizenship and Civic Engagement Committee - UK Parliament,
<http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/lords-select/citizenship-civic-engagement/>.

26.

Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust - State of the Nation surveys,
<http://www.jrrt.org.uk/publications>.

27.

Fox, S.: Is it Time to Update the Definition of Political Participation? Political Participation in Britain: The Decline and Revival of Civic Culture. Parliamentary Affairs. 1-11 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gss094>.

28.

Whiteley, Paul: Political participation in Britain: the decline and revival of civic culture. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

29.

Seyd, P., Whiteley, P., Pattie, C.: Citizenship in Britain: Attitudes and Behaviour. *The Political Quarterly*. 72, 141–148 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.72.s1.17>.

30.

Heffernan, R., Hay, C., Russell, M., Cowley, P. eds: *Developments in British Politics* 10. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2016).

31.

Pattie, C.: Civic Attitudes and Engagement in Modern Britain. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 56, 616–633 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsg106>.

32.

Russell J. Dalton: *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. CQ Press (2013).

33.

Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Fuchs, Dieter: *Citizens and the state*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (1995).

34.

LeDuc, L., Niemi, R.G., Norris, P. eds: *Comparing democracies 4: elections and voting in a changing world*. SAGE, Los Angeles (2014).

35.

Hooghe, M., Hosch-Dayican, B., van Deth, J.W.: Conceptualizing political participation. *Acta Politica*. 49, 337–348 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2014.7>.

36.

de Moor, J.: Lifestyle politics and the concept of political participation. *Acta Politica*. (2016).

<https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2015.27>.

37.

Theocharis, Y., van Deth, J.W.: The continuous expansion of citizen participation: a new taxonomy. *European Political Science Review*. 10, 139–163 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773916000230>.

38.

van Deth, J.W.: A conceptual map of political participation. *Acta Politica*. 49, 349–367 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2014.6>.

39.

Theocharis, Y., Deth, J.W. van: Political participation in a changing world: conceptual and empirical challenges in the study of citizen engagement. Routledge, New York, New York (2018).

40.

Deth, J.W. van, Montero, J.R., Westholm, A.: Citizenship and involvement in European democracies: a comparative analysis. Routledge, London (2006).

41.

Smelser, Wright, Baltes: Chapter on 'Political Participation'. In: *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Elsevier Science & Technology ; 2001.

42.

Qvortrup, M.: *Politics of Participation*. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2013).

43.

Pattie, C. J., Seyd, Patrick, Whiteley, Paul: *Citizenship in Britain: values, participation and democracy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2004).

44.

Whiteley, Paul: Political participation in Britain: the decline and revival of civic culture. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

45.

Peter A. Hall: Social Capital in Britain. British Journal of Political Science. 29, 417–461 (1999).

46.

Norris, Pippa: Democratic phoenix: reinventing political activism. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2002).

47.

Henry E. Brady, Sidney Verba and Kay Lehman Schlozman: Beyond Ses: A Resource Model of Political Participation. The American Political Science Review. 89, 271–294 (1995).

48.

Marsh, David, O'Toole, Therese, Jones, Su: Young people and politics in the UK: apathy or alienation? Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2007).

49.

Putnam, Robert D.: Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community. Simon & Schuster, New York (2000).

50.

Putnam, R.D.: Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. Journal of Democracy. 6, 65–78 (1995). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1995.0002>.

51.

Whiteley, P.F.: The origins of social capital. In: van Deth, J.W., Maraffi, M., Newton, K., and Whiteley, P.F. (eds.) *Social Capital and European Democracy*. pp. 25–44. Routledge, London (1999).

52.

Whiteley, Paul, Seyd, Patrick: *High-intensity participation: the dynamics of party activism in Britain*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich (2002).

53.

Dalton, R.J., Klingemann, H.-D.: *The Oxford handbook of political behavior*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2009).

54.

Whiteley, P.F.: Rational Choice and Political Participation — Evaluating the Debate. *Political Research Quarterly*. 48, 211–233 (1995). <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591299504800112>.

55.

Muller, E.N.: *Aggressive Political Participation*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey (1979).

56.

Gurr, T.R.: *Why Men Rebel*. Paradigm, E. Boulder (2012).

57.

Runciman, W.G.: *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth Century England*. Law Book Co of Australasia, Pymont (1966).

58.

Denver, D. T., Carman, Christopher, Johns, Robert: *Elections and voters in Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2012).

59.

Park, Alison, National Centre for Social Research: British social attitudes: the 26th report. SAGE, London (2010).

60.

Curtice, J., Simpson, I.: Voting. In: Phillips, D., Curtice, J., Phillips, M., and Perry, J. (eds.) British Social Attitudes 35. pp. 1–29. NatCen, London (2018).

61.

Dunleavy, Patrick: Developments in British politics 7. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2003).

62.

Curtice, J.: Turnout: Electors Stay Home--Again. Parliamentary Affairs. 58, 776–785 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsi066>.

63.

Dalton, R.J., Klingemann, H.-D.: The Oxford handbook of political behavior. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2009).

64.

Clarke, Harold D.: Performance politics and the British voter. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2009).

65.

Dunleavy, Patrick: Developments in British politics 8. Macmillan, Basingstoke (2006).

66.

Evans, Geoffrey, Norris, Pippa: Critical elections: British parties and voters in long-term perspective. SAGE, London (1999).

67.

Denver, D.: The Results: How Britain Voted¹. Parliamentary Affairs. 71, 8–28 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsx059>.

68.

Clarke, H.D., Kellner, P., Stewart, M.C., Twyman, J., Whiteley, P.: Austerity and political choice in Britain. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire (2016).

69.

Saggar, Shamit: Race and British electoral politics. UCL Press, London (1998).

70.

McAllister, I.: Explaining turnout in the 2001 British General Election*. Representation. 38, 256–267 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890108523188>.

71.

Norris, Pippa: Democratic phoenix: reinventing political activism. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2002).

72.

Pattie, C., Johnston, R.: A Low Turnout Landslide: Abstention at the British General Election of 1997. Political Studies. 49, 286–305 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00314>.

73.

PHELPS, E.: Young Voters at the 2005 British General Election. The Political Quarterly. 76, 482–487 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2005.00710.x>.

74.

Phelps, E.: Young Citizens and Changing Electoral Turnout, 1964-2001. *The Political Quarterly*. 75, 238-248 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2004.00608.x>.

75.

Rallings, C., Thrasher, M.: Local Electoral Participation in Britain. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 56, 700-715 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsg111>.

76.

Sabucedo, Jose M.: Sociological and Psychological Predictors of Voting in Great Britain. *Journal of Social Psychology*. 131, (1991).

77.

Sparrow, N.: Analysis: voter apathy | Politics | The Guardian,
<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/nov/06/socialsciences.polls>.

78.

Travis, A.: Low turnout at police commissioner elections blamed on lack of information | UK news | The Guardian,
<http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/mar/19/low-turnout-police-commissioner-elections>.

79.

King, A.: Why a poor turn-out points to a democracy in good health - Telegraph,
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1331055/Why-a-poor-turn-out-points-to-a-democracy-in-good-health.html>.

80.

Norris, Pippa: *Britain votes*, 2001. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2001).

81.

Norris, Pippa, Gavin, Neil T.: Britain votes, 1997. Oxford University Press, Oxford (1997).

82.

Park, Alison, National Centre for Social Research: British social attitudes: the 19th report. SAGE, London (2002).

83.

Electoral Commission: Police and Crime Commissioner Elections in England and Wales. Report on the administration of the elections held on 15 November 2012, http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/154353/PCC-Elections-Report.pdf, (2013).

84.

Birch, S., Gottfried, G., Lodge, G.: Divided Democracy. Political Inequality in the UK and Why it Matters, http://www.ippr.org/assets/media/images/media/files/publication/2013/11/divided-democracy_Nov2013_11420.pdf, (2013).

85.

House of Commons Select Committee on Political and Constitutional Reform: Political and Constitutional Reform - Fourth Report. Voter engagement in the UK, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmpolcon/232/23202.htm>.

86.

House of Commons Political and Constitutional Reform Committee: Voter Engagement in the UK: Fourth Report of the 2014- 2015 Session, HC232, <http://www.parliament.uk/voter-engagement-in-the-uk>, (2014).

87.

Denver, D.: The Results: How Britain Voted. Parliamentary Affairs. 68, 5-24 (2015).

<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv024>.

88.

Denver, D., Garnett, M.: British General Elections Since 1964: Diversity, Dealignment, and Disillusion. Oxford University Press, USA (2014).

89.

Scandals, war and the Millennials: Why the Iraq War and the expenses scandal are not to blame for the low turnout of the young. British Politics. (2015).
<https://doi.org/doi:10.1057/bp.2015.11>.

90.

Oliver Hawkins: UK Election Statistics: 1918-2017.

91.

Voter turnout at UK general elections 1945 – 2017 | UK Political Info,
<http://www.ukpolitical.info/Turnout45.htm>.

92.

YouGov | How Britain voted at the 2017 general election,
<https://yougov.co.uk/news/2017/06/13/how-britain-voted-2017-general-election/>.

93.

Heath, O., Goodwin, M.: The 2017 General Election, Brexit and the Return to Two-Party Politics: An Aggregate-Level Analysis of the Result. The Political Quarterly. (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12405>.

94.

The myth of the 2017 'youthquake' election - BBC News,
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-42747342>.

95.

The myth of the 2017 youthquake election - The British Election Study,
<http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/the-myth-of-the-2017-youthquake-election/#.W1mieNJKg2w>.

96.

Sloam, J., Ehsan, R., Henn, M.: 'Youthquake': How and Why Young People Reshaped the Political Landscape in 2017. *Political Insight*. 9, 4-8 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2041905818764697>.

97.

Cowley, P., Kavanagh, D.: *The British General Election of 2017*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingtoke (2018).

98.

Butler, David, Ranney, Austin: *Referendums around the world: the growing use of direct democracy*. Macmillan, Basingstoke (1994).

99.

House of Lords - Referendums in the United Kingdom - Constitution Committee,
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200910/ldselect/ldconst/99/9902.htm>, (2010).

100.

Curtice, J.: The Electoral Reform Society blog,
<http://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/blog/the-av-referendum-what-went-wrong>.

101.

Bogdanor, Vernon: *The new British constitution*. Hart, Oxford (2009).

102.

King, Anthony: *The British Constitution*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2007).

103.

Curtice, J.: The Death of a Miserable Little Compromise: The Alternative Vote Referendum. *Political Insight*. 2, 14–17 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-9066.2011.00066.x>.

104.

Baston, Lewis: *Don't take no for an answer: the 2011 Referendum and the future of electoral reform*. Biteback, London (2011).

105.

Cotton, R., Fontana, C.: Political parties at critical junctures: explaining the decisions to offer referendums on constitutional change in the United Kingdom. *Contemporary British History*. 1–27 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2017.1417122>.

106.

Butler, David, Kitzinger, Uwe: *The 1975 referendum*. Macmillan, London (1976).

107.

Electoral Commission | EU referendum result visualisations,
<https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/eu-referendum-result-visualisations>.

108.

Curtice, J.: Brexit. In: Clery, E., Curtice, J., and Harding, R. (eds.) *British Social Attitudes 34*. NatCen, London (2017).

109.

Budge, Ian: The new challenge of direct democracy. Polity Press, Cambridge (1996).

110.

AV referendum | Politics | The Guardian,
<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/av-referendum>.

111.

King, Anthony: Britain says yes: the 1975 referendum on the Common Market. American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C. (1977).

112.

Saunders, R.: Yes to Europe! Cambridge University Press (Virtual Publishing), Cambridge (2018).

113.

LeDuc, Lawrence: The politics of direct democracy: referendums in global perspective. Broadview Press, Peterborough, Ont (2003).

114.

QVORTRUP, M.: Voting on Electoral Reform: A Comparative Perspective on the Alternative Vote Referendum in the United Kingdom. The Political Quarterly. 83, 108–116 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2012.02270.x>.

115.

Rallings, C., Thrasher, M.: 'Just Another Expensive Talking Shop': Public Attitudes and the 2004 Regional Assembly Referendum in the North East of England. Regional Studies. 40, 927–936 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343400600929069>.

116.

TICKELL, A., JOHN, P., MUSSON, S.: The North East Region Referendum Campaign of 2004: Issues and Turning Points. The Political Quarterly. 76, 488–496 (2005).

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2005.00711.x>.

117.

Whiteley, P., Clarke, H.D., Sanders, D., Stewart, M.C.: Britain Says NO: Voting in the AV Ballot Referendum. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 65, 301–322 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsr043>.

118.

Electoral Commission | 2011 UK referendum on the voting system used to elect MPs - results,
<http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/referendums/2011-UK-referendum-on-the-voting-system-used-to-elect-MPs>.

119.

Seawright, D.: 'Yes, the census': The 2011 UK Referendum campaign on the Alternative Vote. *British Politics*. 8, 457–475 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2013.23>.

120.

Rallings, C., Thrasher, M., Cowling, D.: Mayoral referendums and elections revisited. *British Politics*. (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2013.14>.

121.

McAllister, L.: The Welsh Devolution Referendum: Definitely, Maybe? *Parliamentary Affairs*. 51, 149–165 (1998).

122.

Curtice, J.: Politicians, voters and democracy: The 2011 UK referendum on the Alternative Vote. *Electoral Studies*. 32, 215–223 (2013).

123.

Bowler, S., Donovan, T.: Civic duty and turnout in the UK referendum on AV: What shapes the duty to vote? *Electoral Studies*. 32, 265–273 (2013).

124.

Kellner, P.: Down with people power. *Prospect*.

125.

Electoral Commission: Scottish Independence Referendum: report on the referendum held on 18 September 2014, http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/179812/Scottish-independence-referendum-report.pdf, (2014).

126.

Tierney, S.: Reclaiming Politics: Popular Democracy in Britain after the Scottish Referendum. *The Political Quarterly*. 86, 226–233 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12161>.

127.

New paper by Professor Matt Qvortrup: 'A Tale of Two Referendums' | The Constitution Society: Working to promote informed debate about constitutional reform, <http://www.consoc.org.uk/2015/09/new-paper-by-professor-matt-qvortrup-a-tale-of-two-referendums/>.

128.

LeDuc, L.: Referendums and deliberative democracy. *Electoral Studies*. 38, 139–148 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2015.02.007>.

129.

Quinlan, S., Shephard, M., Paterson, L.: Online discussion and the 2014 Scottish independence referendum: Flaming keyboards or forums for deliberation? *Electoral Studies*. 38, 192–205 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2015.02.009>.

130.

Schuck, A.R.T., de Vreese, C.H.: Public support for referendums in Europe: A cross-national comparison in 21 countries. *Electoral Studies*. 38, 149–158 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2015.02.012>.

131.

Morel, L., Qvortrup, M. eds: *The Routledge handbook to referendums and direct democracy*. Routledge, London, [England] (2018).

132.

Qvortrup, M.: *Government by referendum*. Manchester University Press, Manchester (2018).

133.

Qvortrup, M. ed: *Referendums around the world: the continued growth of direct democracy*. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire (2014).

134.

Qvortrup, M. ed: *Referendums Around the World*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2018).

135.

Budge, I.: DIRECT AND REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY: ARE THEY NECESSARILY OPPOSED? *Representation*. 42, 1–12 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890600583685>.

136.

Qvortrup, M.: DEMOCRACY BY DELEGATION: THE DECISION TO HOLD REFERENDUMS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. *Representation*. 42, 59–72 (2006).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890600583792>.

137.

Qvortrup, M.: *Direct democracy: a comparative study of the theory and practice of*

government by the people. Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK (2017).

138.

Qvortrup, M.: Power to the People! But How? the Different Uses of Referendums around the World Altman D. (2011) Direct Democracy Worldwide. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Bernhard L. (2012) Campaign Strategy in Direct Democracy. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Hobolt S. B. (2009) Europe in Question: Referendums on European Integration. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Schiller T. (ed.) (2011) Local Direct Democracy in Europe. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag. Setälä M. and Schiller T. (eds) (2012) Citizens' Initiatives in Europe: Procedures and Consequences of Agenda-Setting by Citizens. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Tierney S. (2012) Constitutional Referendums: The Theory and Practice of Republican Deliberation. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Wyn Jones R. and Scully R. (2012) Wales Says Yes: Devolution and the 2011 Welsh Referendum. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Political Studies Review. 13, 37–45 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1478-9302.12046>.

139.

Cecilia Emma Sottilotta: The Strategic Use of Government-Sponsored Referendums in Contemporary Europe: Issues and Implications. Journal of Contemporary European Research. 13, (2017).

140.

Seyd, B.: Regulating the referendum. Representation. 35, 191–199 (1998).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00344899808523040>.

141.

Young remain voters came out in force, but were outgunned | Politics | The Guardian,
<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/young-remain-voters-came-out-in-force-but-were-outgunned>.

142.

EU Referendum: Were young people less likely to vote? - BBC News,
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36737374>.

143.

Referendums, though they may be political lifeboats, can be very bad for democracy.

144.

Goodwin, M.J., Heath, O.: The 2016 Referendum, Brexit and the Left Behind: An Aggregate-level Analysis of the Result. *Political Quarterly*. 87, 323–332 (2016). <https://doi.org/http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/wol1/doi/10.1111/1467-923X.12285/full>.

145.

Sloam, J.: #Votebecause: Youth mobilisation for the referendum on British membership of the European Union. *New Media & Society*. (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818766701>.

146.

Lawrence LeDuc: Why did Britain vote for change when so many referendums end in the status quo? *The Conversation*.

147.

C2D - Centre for Research on Direct Democracy, <http://c2d.ch/>.

148.

Whiteley, Paul: Political participation in Britain: the decline and revival of civic culture. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

149.

Seyd, P., Whiteley, P.: British Party Members: An Overview. *Party Politics*. 10, 355–366 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068804043903>.

150.

van Haute, E., Gauja, A. eds: *Party Members and Activists*. Routledge, Abingdon (2015).

151.

Whiteley, P.: Where Have All the Members Gone? The Dynamics of Party Membership in Britain. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 62, 242–257 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsn054>.

152.

Lukas Audickas: Membership of UK political parties.

153.

Russell, A.: Political Parties as Vehicles of Political Engagement. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 58, 555–569 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsi051>.

154.

Dalton, R.J., Klingemann, H.-D.: *The Oxford handbook of political behavior*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2009).

155.

Webb, P., Poletti, M., Bale, T.: So who really does the donkey work in 'multi-speed membership parties'? Comparing the election campaign activity of party members and party supporters. *Electoral Studies*. 46, 64–74 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2017.02.002>.

156.

Peele, G., Francis, J.G. eds: *David Cameron and conservative renewal: the limits of modernisation?* Manchester University Press, Manchester (2016).

157.

Pickard, S.: Momentum and the Movementist 'Corbynistas': Young People Regenerating the Labour Party in Britain. In: Pickard, S. and Bessant, J. (eds.) *Young people re-generating politics in times of crises*. pp. 115–137. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2017). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-58250-4_7.

158.

Revealed: how Jeremy Corbyn has reshaped the Labour party | Politics | The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jan/13/revealed-how-jeremy-corbyn-has-reshaped-the-labour-party>.

159.

Clark, A.: Political Parties in the UK. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2018).

160.

Evans, Geoffrey, Norris, Pippa: Critical elections: British parties and voters in long-term perspective. SAGE, London (1999).

161.

Goodwin, M.J.: Activism in Contemporary Extreme Right Parties: The Case of the British National Party (BNP). *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*. 20, 31–54 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457280903450690>.

162.

Henn, M., Weinstein, M., Forrest, S.: Uninterested Youth? Young People's Attitudes towards Party Politics in Britain. *Political Studies*. 53, 556–578 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2005.00544.x>.

163.

Mitchell, James, Bennie, Lynn G., Johns, Robert: The Scottish National Party: transition to power. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2012).

164.

Norris, Pippa: Democratic phoenix: reinventing political activism. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2002).

165.

Whiteley, Paul, Seyd, Patrick: High-intensity participation: the dynamics of party activism in Britain. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich (2002).

166.

Seyd, Patrick, Whiteley, Paul: Labour's grass roots: the politics of party membership. Clarendon Press, Oxford (1992).

167.

Seyd, Patrick, Whiteley, Paul: New Labour's grassroots: the transformation of the Labour Party membership. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2002).

168.

Haute, Emilie van: Party membership in Europe: exploration into the anthills of party politics. Editions de Université de Bruxelles, Brussels (2011).

169.

Webb, P.: THE FAILINGS OF POLITICAL PARTIES: REALITY OR PERCEPTION? Representation. 45, 265–275 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890903129517>.

170.

Whiteley, Paul, Seyd, Patrick, Billingham, Antony: Third force politics: Liberal Democrats at the grassroots. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2006).

171.

Whiteley, Paul, Seyd, Patrick, Richardson, J. J.: True blues: the politics of Conservative Party membership. Clarendon Press, Oxford (1994).

172.

Paul F. Whiteley, Patrick Seyd, Jeremy Richardson and Paul Bissell: Explaining Party

Activism: The Case of the British Conservative Party. *British Journal of Political Science*. 24, 79–94 (1994).

173.

Bale, T.: The dwindling Tory party: is anybody out there? - Telegraph.

174.

BBC News - Conservative membership has nearly halved under Cameron, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-24143443>.

175.

The numbers that add up to trouble for all political parties | Andrew Rawnsley | Comment is free | The Observer.

176.

Wheeler, B.: BBC News - Can UK political parties be saved from extinction?, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12934148>.

177.

Wheeler, B., Davies, C.: BBC News - 'Swivel-eyed loons' or voice of the people?, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-22607108>.

178.

Pemberton, H., Wickham-Jones, M.: Labour's lost grassroots: The rise and fall of party membership. *British Politics*. 8, 181–206 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2012.27>.

179.

Low, M.: The changing nature of activist engagement within the Conservative Party: A review of Susan Scarrow's task-orientated approach to party membership. *British Politics*. (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2013.10>.

180.

Seyd, P., Whiteley, P.: Labour and Conservative Party Members: Change Over Time. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 48, 456–472 (1995).

181.

Thorpe, A.: Reconstructing Conservative Party Membership in World War II Britain. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 62, 227–241 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsn053>.

182.

Bennie, L., Russell, A.: Radical or Compliant? Young Party Members in Britain. (2012).

183.

Fisher, J., Fieldhouse, E., Cutts, D.: Members Are Not the Only Fruit: Volunteer Activity in British Political Parties at the 2010 General Election. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 16, 75–95 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.12011>.

184.

European Consortium for Political Research: The challenges of intra-party democracy. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2013).

185.

Fisher, J.: Whither the parties? In: Hazell, R. (ed.) *Constitutional Futures Revisited*. pp. 249–266. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2008).

186.

Thorpe, A.: THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1920–. *The Historical Journal*. 43, 777–800 (2000).

187.

Gauja, A.: The Individualisation of Party Politics: The Impact of Changing Internal Decision-Making Processes on Policy Development and Citizen Engagement. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.12035>.

188.

Gauja, A.: *The politics of party policy: from members to legislators*. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire (2013).

189.

Why do people join losing political parties? - BBC News.

190.

Card-carried away: what does it mean to be a member of a political party in Britain today?

191.

Webb, P.D.: Are British Political Parties in Decline? *Party Politics*. 1, 299–322 (1995).

192.

Scarrow, S.E.: The Changing Nature of Political Party Membership. In: *OXFORD RESEARCH ENCYCLOPEDIA, POLITICS*. Oxford University Press (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.226>.

193.

Katz, R.S., Crotty, W.J.: *Handbook of Party Politics*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London (2012).

194.

Wagner, M.: Why do Party Members Leave? *Parliamentary Affairs*. (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsw024>.

195.

Papers and Publications | ESRC Party Members Project (PMP),
<https://esrcpartymembersproject.org/papers-publications/>.

196.

Database by country | MAPP project, <http://www.projectmapp.eu/database-country/>.

197.

YouGov | Profiled for the first time: the UKIP party membership,
<https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/10/22/introduction-ukip-party-membership/>.

198.

Cowley, P., Ford, R.A. eds: More sex, lies & the ballot box: another 50 things you need to know about British elections. Biteback Publishing, London (2016).

199.

Mitchell, J., Bennie, L., Johns, R.: Referendum as platform: the SNP and Scottish Green membership surge. Political Insight. 8, 16–19 (2017).

200.

Dalton, Russell J., Wattenberg, Martin P.: Parties without partisans: political change in advanced industrial democracies. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2000).

201.

Mair, P., van Biezen, I.: Party Membership in Twenty European Democracies, 1980-2000. Party Politics. 7, 5–21 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068801007001001>.

202.

Van Biezen, I., Mair, P., Poguntke, T.: Going, going, . . . gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*. 51, 24–56 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2011.01995.x>.

203.

Scarrow, S.E., Gezgor, B.: Declining memberships, changing members? European political party members in a new era. *Party Politics*. 16, 823–843 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068809346078>.

204.

Webb, Paul, Farrell, David M., Holliday, Ian: Political parties in advanced industrial democracies. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2002).

205.

van Biezen, I.: The decline in party membership across Europe means that political parties need to reconsider how they engage with the electorate., <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2013/05/06/decline-in-party-membership-europe-ingrid-van-biezen/>.

206.

Whiteley, P.: Is the party over? The decline of party activism and membership across the democratic world. *Party Politics*. 17, 21–44 (2011).

207.

Biezen, I. v., Poguntke, T.: The decline of membership-based politics. *Party Politics*. 20, 205–216 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068813519969>.

208.

Scarrow, S.E.: Beyond party members: changing approaches to partisan mobilization. Oxford University Press, Oxford, United Kingdom (2015).

209.

Deth, J.V.: Private Groups and Public Life: Social Participation. Taylor & Francis, London (1997).

210.

Ponce, A.F., Scarrow, S.E.: Which members? Using cross-national surveys to study party membership. *Party Politics*. 22, 679–690 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068814550435>.

211.

Kölln, A.-K.: Party membership in Europe. *Party Politics*. 22, 465–477 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068814550432>.

212.

Scarrow, S.E., Webb, P., Poguntke, T. eds: Organizing political parties: representation, participation, and power. Oxford University Press, New York, New York (2017).

213.

Grant, Wyn: Pressure Groups and British politics. Macmillan Press, Basingstoke (2000).

214.

Heffernan, Richard, Cowley, Philip, Hay, Colin: Developments in British politics 9. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

215.

Grant, W.: Pressure Politics: The Changing World of Pressure Groups. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 57, 408–419 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsh033>.

216.

Grant, W.: The Changing Patterns of Group Politics in Britain. *British Politics*. 3, 204–222 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2008.3>.

217.

Maloney, W.: INTEREST GROUPS AND THE REVITALISATION OF DEMOCRACY: ARE WE EXPECTING TOO MUCH? *Representation*. 45, 277–287 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890903129541>.

218.

Dorey, Peter: *The Major premiership: politics and policies under John Major, 1990-97*. Macmillan, Basingstoke (1999).

219.

Coxall, W. N.: *Pressure groups in British politics*. Longman, Harlow (2001).

220.

Casey, Terrence: *The Blair legacy: Politics, policy, governance, and foreign affairs*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2009).

221.

Grant, W.: Pressure Politics: A Politics of Collective Consumption? *Parliamentary Affairs*. 58, 366–379 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsi028>.

222.

Grant, W.: Pressure Politics: The Challenges for Democracy. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 56, 297–308 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1093/parlij/gsg020>.

223.

Grant, W.: Pressure Politics: From 'Insider' Politics to Direct Action? *Parliamentary Affairs*. 54, 337–348 (2001).

224.

Grant, Wyn: Pressure groups, politics and democracy in Britain. Harvester Wheatsheaf, New York (1995).

225.

Grant, Wyn: Business and politics in Britain. Macmillan, Basingstoke (1993).

226.

Jordan, A. G., Maloney, William A.: Democracy and interest groups: enhancing participation? Palgrave Macmillan, New York (2007).

227.

Kuhn, Raymond: Politics and the media in Britain. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2007).

228.

William A. Maloney, Grant Jordan and Andrew M. McLaughlin: Interest Groups and Public Policy: The Insider/Outsider Model Revisited. *Journal of Public Policy*. 14, 17–38 (1994).

229.

Page, E.C.: The insider/outsider distinction: an empirical investigation. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 1, 205–214 (1999).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.00011>.

230.

Richards, David, Smith, Martin J.: Governance and public policy in the United Kingdom. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2002).

231.

Richardson, J.: Government, Interest Groups and Policy Change. *Political Studies*. 48, 1006–1025 (2000). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00292>.

232.

Richardson, J.: The market for political activism: Interest groups as a challenge to political parties. *West European Politics*. 18, 116–139 (1995).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01402389508425060>.

233.

Grant, W.: Pressure Politics: The Role of Pressure Groups. *Political Insight*. 5, 12–15 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12055>.

234.

Halpin, D.: *Surviving Global Change?* Routledge (2017).

235.

Dunleavy, Patrick: *Developments in British politics* 6. Macmillan, Basingstoke (2000).

236.

Doherty, B.: 'The Preferred Way of Doing Things': The British Direct Action Movement. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 56, 669–686 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsg109>.

237.

Norris, Pippa: *Democratic phoenix: reinventing political activism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2002).

238.

Byrne, Paul: *Social movements in Britain*. Routledge, London (1997).

239.

Dalton, R.J., Klingemann, H.-D.: *The Oxford handbook of political behavior*. Oxford

University Press, Oxford (2009).

240.

Plows, A.: Towards an Analysis of the 'Success' of UK Green Protests. *British Politics*. 3, 92-109 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.bp.4200081>.

241.

Benewick, Robert, Smith, Trevor: *Direct action and democratic politics*. Allen and Unwin, London (1972).

242.

Joyce, P., Joyce, P.D.: *Politics of Protest, The: Extra-Parliamentary Politics in Britain Since 1970*. Palgrave MacMillan (2002).

243.

Doherty, B., Paterson, M., Plows, A., Wall, D.: Explaining the fuel protests. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 5, 1-23 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.00093>.

244.

Doherty, B.: Paving the Way: the Rise of Direct Action against Road-building and the Changing Character of British Environmentalism. *Political Studies*. 47, 275-291 (1999). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00200>.

245.

Gavin, N.T.: Pressure Group Direct Action on Climate Change: The Role of the Media and the Web in Britain-A Case Study. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 12, 459-475 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00411.x>.

246.

Jordan, A. G., Maloney, William A.: *The protest business?: mobilizing campaign groups*.

Manchester University Press, Manchester (1997).

247.

Kriesi, Hanspeter: New social movements in Western Europe: a comparative analysis. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis (1995).

248.

Lent, A.: The transformation of gay and lesbian politics in Britain¹. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations. 5, 24–49 (2003).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.00094>.

249.

Lent, Adam: British social movements since 1945: sex, colour, peace and power. Palgrave, Basingstoke (2001).

250.

Marsh, Alan: Protest and political consciousness. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, Calif (1977).

251.

Rootes, Chris: Environmental protest in western Europe. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2003).

252.

Robinson, N.: Fuel Protests: Governing the Ungovernable? Parliamentary Affairs. 56, 423–440 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1093/parlij/gsg098>.

253.

Robinson, N.: The Politics of the Fuel Protests: Towards a Multi-Dimensional Explanation. The Political Quarterly. 73, 58–66 (2002). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.00442>.

254.

Rootes, C.: Facing south? British environmental movement organisations and the challenge of globalisation. *Environmental Politics*. 15, 768–786 (2006).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09644010600937207>.

255.

Rootes, C.: Acting locally: The character, contexts and significance of local environmental mobilisations. *Environmental Politics*. 16, 722–741 (2007).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09644010701640460>.

256.

Rootes, Chris: *Environmental movements: local, national, and global*. Frank Cass, London (1999).

257.

Sanders, D.: The Dynamics of Protest in Britain, 2000-2002. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 56, 687–699 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsg110>.

258.

Sanders, D., Clarke, H., Stewart, M., Whiteley, P.: Public attitudes towards political protest in Britain, 2000-02. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*. 14, 147–167 (2004).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1368988042000258817>.

259.

Todd, Malcolm J., Taylor, Gary: *Democracy and participation: popular protest and new social movements*. Merlin, London (2004).

260.

Deth, Jan W. van, Maloney, William A.: *New participatory dimensions in civil society: professionalization and individualized collective action*. Routledge, Abingdon (2012).

261.

van Deth, J.W. ed: *Private Groups and Public Life: Social Participation and Political Involvement in Representative Democracies*. Routledge, London (1997).

262.

Seel, Benjamin, Paterson, Matthew, Doherty, Brian: *Direct action in British environmentalism*. Routledge, London (2000).

263.

Della Porta, D., Diani, M.: *Social Movements: An Introduction*. John Wiley and Sons Ltd, Oxford (2006).

264.

Anheier, H.K., Toepler, S.: *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*. Springer-Verlag New York, New York, NY (2010).

265.

Richardson, J.: The Changing British Policy Style: From Governance to Government? *British Politics*. 13, 215–233 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41293-017-0051-y>.

266.

Halpin, D.: *Surviving Global Change?* Routledge (2017).

267.

di Gennaro, C.: The Internet and the Public: Online and Offline Political Participation in the United Kingdom. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 59, 299–313 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsl004>.

268.

Ward, S.: Online Participation and Mobilisation in Britain: Hype, Hope and Reality. Parliamentary Affairs. 56, 652–668 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsg108>.

269.

Gibson, R.K.: NEW MEDIA AND THE REVITALISATION OF POLITICS. Representation. 45, 289–299 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890903129566>.

270.

Park, Alison: British social attitudes: The 28th report. Sage, Los Angeles, Calif (2012).

271.

Wright, S.: 'Success' and online political participation: The case of Downing Street E-petitions. Information, Communication & Society. 19, 843–857 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1080285>.

272.

Bartle, John, Griffiths, Dylan: Political communications transformed: from Morrison to Mandelson. Palgrave, Houndmills [England] ; New York (2001).

273.

What Drives Political Participation? Motivations and Mobilization in a Digital Age.

274.

Chadwick, Andrew: Internet politics: states, citizens, and new communication technologies. Oxford University Press, New York ; Oxford (2006).

275.

Amnå, E.: Handbook of digital politics. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, England (2015).

276.

Chadwick, Andrew, Howard, Philip N.: Routledge handbook of Internet politics. Routledge, New York, NY (2008).

277.

Park, Alison: British social attitudes: the 21st report : continuity and change over two decades. SAGE, London (2004).

278.

Gibson, Rachel, Nixon, P. G., Ward, Stephen: Political parties and the Internet: net gain? Routledge, London (2003).

279.

Gibson, R., Cantijoch, M.: 2010 may not have marked the first 'internet election', but digital platforms are of ever increasing importance in political campaigning | British Politics and Policy at LSE, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/archives/16525>.

280.

Gibson, R.K., Lusoli, W., Ward, S.: Online Participation in the UK: Testing a 'Contextualised' Model of Internet Effects¹. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations. 7, 561-583 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2005.00209.x>.

281.

Harris, J.: Welcome to the first e-election | Politics | The Guardian. The Guardian.

282.

Helm, T.: How the 2010 election will be won by blogs and tweets | Politics | The Observer. The Observer.

283.

Hindman, Matthew Scott: The myth of digital democracy. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J. (2009).

284.

Lusoli, W., Ward, S.: Digital Rank-and-file: Party Activists' Perceptions and Use of the Internet. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 6, 453–470 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2004.00150.x>.

285.

Milner, Henry: The internet generation: engaged citizens or political dropouts. University Press of New England, Lebanon NH (2010).

286.

Norris, Pippa: Digital divide: civic engagement, information poverty, and the Internet worldwide. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2001).

287.

Sparrow, A.: Twitter users: young, metropolitan and angry about civil liberties | Technology | The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2009/nov/18/twitter-users-survey-poll-britain>.

288.

Theocharis, Y.: Cuts, Tweets, Solidarity and Mobilisation: How the Internet Shaped the Student Occupations. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 65, 162–194 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsr049>.

289.

Theocharis, Y.: THE INFLUENCE OF POSTMATERIALIST ORIENTATIONS ON YOUNG BRITISH PEOPLE'S OFFLINE AND ONLINE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. *Representation*. 47, 435–455 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2011.611160>.

290.

Williamson, A.: REVITALISING POLITICS FROM THE GROUND UP: THE ROLE OF DIGITAL MEDIA IN PROMOTING CITIZEN-LED DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL. *Representation*. 45, 301–311 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890903129707>.

291.

Dalton, R.J.: *The participation gap: social status and political inequality*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2017).

292.

Wring, Dominic, Mortimore, Roger, Atkinson, Simon: *Political communication in Britain: the leader debates, the campaign and the media in the 2010 general election*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

293.

Wring, Dominic: *Political communications: the general election campaign of 2005*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2007).

294.

Gibson, R., Cantijoch, M., Ward, S. eds: *The internet and the 2010 election; putting the small 'p' back in politics?*, <http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/The-internet-and-the-2010-election-2010.pdf>, (2010).

295.

Coleman, S., Ward, S.: *Spinning the Web: Online campaigning in the 2005 general election*, <http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Spinning-the-Web-2005.pdf>, (2005).

296.

Gibson, R., Cantijoch, M.: *Conceptualizing and Measuring Participation in the Age of the Internet: Is Online Political Engagement Really Different to Offline?* *The Journal of Politics*. 75, 701–716 (2013).

297.

Cantijoch, M., Cutts, D., Gibson, R.: Moving Slowly up the Ladder of Political Engagement: A 'Spill-over' Model of Internet Participation. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 18, 26–48 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.12067>.

298.

Lilleker, D.G., Koc-Michalska, K.: What Drives Political Participation? Motivations and Mobilization in a Digital Age. *Political Communication*. 34, 21–43 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1225235>.

299.

Vromen, A.: Digital citizenship and political engagement: the challenge from online campaigning and advocacy organisations. Palgrave Macmillan, London, England (2017).

300.

Halupka, M.: Clicktivism: A Systematic Heuristic. *Policy & Internet*. 6, 115–132 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1002/1944-2866.POI355>.

301.

Halupka, M.: The rise of information activism: how to bridge dualisms and reconceptualise political participation. *Information, Communication & Society*. 19, 1487–1503 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1119872>.

302.

The myth of the keyboard warrior: public participation and 38 Degrees | openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/participation-now/james-dennis/myth-of-keyboard-warrior-public-participation-and-38-degrees>.

303.

After the party - what can political parties learn from 38 Degrees | openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/james-dennis/after-party-what-can-political-parties-learn-from-38-degrees>.

304.

United by what divides us: 38 Degrees and the EU Referendum,
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/543e4a04e4b0a4f2ae6c0923/t/59edcf25ace8645c75976adf/1508757286543/2016_Dennis_United_By_What_Divides_US_EU_Referendum_Analysis.pdf.

305.

Chadwick, A., Dennis, J.: Social Media, Professional Media and Mobilisation in Contemporary Britain: Explaining the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Citizens' Movement 38 Degrees. *Political Studies*. 65, 42–60 (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321716631350>.

306.

Vaccari, C.: Online Mobilization in Comparative Perspective: Digital Appeals and Political Engagement in Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. *Political Communication*. 34, 69–88 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1201558>.

307.

Williamson, A.: The Digital Campaign: Are We There Yet? *Political Insight*. 6, 28–31 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12112>.

308.

Dominic Wring: Exit Velocity: The Media Election. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 68, 224–240 (2015).

309.

Will 2015 be the UK's first social media election? - BBC News,
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-31327154>.

310.

Welcome to the social media election that never was | Media Network | The Guardian,

<http://www.theguardian.com/media-network/2015/apr/27/social-media-general-election-political-parties>.

311.

Parties hope their digital push will click with Britain's voters. Financial Times.

312.

UK Election 2015 | Elections and the Internet,
<http://elections.oii.ox.ac.uk/uk-election-2015/>.

313.

Election Analysis | UK Election Analysis 2015: Media, Voters and the Campaign,
<http://www.electionanalysis.uk/>.

314.

Don't knock clickivism: it represents the political participation aspirations of the modern citizen | The Policy and Internet Blog,
<http://blogs.oii.ox.ac.uk/policy/dont-knock-clickivism-it-represents-the-political-participation-aspirations-of-the-modern-citizen/>.

315.

Chadwick, A., Stromer-Galley, J.: Digital Media, Power, and Democracy in Parties and Election Campaigns. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 21, 283–293 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216646731>.

316.

Dennis, J.: *Beyond Slacktivism*. Springer Nature Switzerland AG, Cham (2018).

317.

Chadwick, A., Dennis, J.: *Social Media, Professional Media and Mobilisation in Contemporary Britain: Explaining the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Citizens'*

Movement 38 Degrees. Political Studies. 65, 42–60 (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321716631350>.

318.

Cantijoch, Marta: Internet Use and Political Engagement: The Role of E-Campaigning as a Pathway to Online Political Participation.

319.

The Speaker's Commission on Digital Democracy: Open Up: The Speaker's Commission on Digital Democracy,
<http://www.parliament.uk/business/commons/the-speaker/speakers-commission-on-digital-democracy/ddc-news/digital-democracy-commission-report-publication/>, (26)AD.

320.

Park, Alison: British social attitudes: the 20th report : continuity and change over two decades. SAGE, London (2003).

321.

Richards, D., Smith, M.J., Hay, C. eds: Institutional crisis in 21st-century Britain. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2014).

322.

Baldini, G.: Is Britain Facing a Crisis of Democracy? The Political Quarterly. 86, 540–549 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12185>.

323.

Heffernan, Richard, Cowley, Philip, Hay, Colin: Developments in British politics 9. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

324.

Fox, R.: Engagement and Participation: What the Public Want and How our Politicians Need

to Respond. Parliamentary Affairs. 62, 673–685 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsp027>.

325.

Jennings, W., Stoker, G., Twyman, J.: The Dimensions and Impact of Political Discontent in Britain. Parliamentary Affairs. (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv067>.

326.

Simpson, I., Philips, M.: Disengaged and disconnected? Trends in attitudes towards politics. In: Curtice, J. and Ormston, R. (eds.) British Social Attitudes 32. NatCen, London (2015).

327.

Mchugh, D.: Wanting to be Heard But Not Wanting to Act? Addressing Political Disengagement. Parliamentary Affairs. 59, 546–552 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsl027>.

328.

Clarke, N., Jennings, W., Moss, J., Stoker, G.: The Good Politician Folk Theories, Political Interaction, and the Rise of Anti-Politics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2018).

329.

Clarke, N., Jennings, W., Moss, J., Stoker, G.: The Good Politician Folk Theories, Political Interaction, and the Rise of Anti-Politics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2018).

330.

Anwar, M.: The participation of ethnic minorities in British politics. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. 27, 533–549 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1080/136918301200266220>.

331.

Nielsen, J.S. ed: Muslim Political Participation in Europe. Edinburgh University Press,

Edinburgh (2014).

332.

Bynner, J., Ashford, S.: Politics and participation: Some antecedents of young people's attitudes to the political system and political activity. *European Journal of Social Psychology*. 24, 223–236 (1994). <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420240202>.

333.

CHILDS, S.: A British Gender Gap? Gender and Political Participation. *The Political Quarterly*. 75, 422–424 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2004.00646.x>.

334.

Hay, C., Stoker, G.: REVITALISING POLITICS: HAVE WE LOST THE PLOT? *Representation*. 45, 225–236 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890903129681>.

335.

Henn, M., Foard, N.: Social differentiation in young people's political participation: the impact of social and educational factors on youth political engagement in Britain. *Journal of Youth Studies*. 1–21 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2013.830704>.

336.

Henn, M., Weinstein, M.: Young people and political (in)activism: why don't young people vote? *Policy & Politics*. 34, 517–534 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557306777695316>.

337.

HENN, M., WEINSTEIN, M., WRING, D.: A generation apart? Youth and political participation in Britain. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 4, 167–192 (2002). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.t01-1-00001>.

338.

Youthquake 2017: how the rise of young cosmopolitans in Britain could transform politics : Democratic Audit,
<http://www.democraticaudit.com/2018/10/29/youthquake-2017-how-the-rise-of-young-cosmopolitans-in-britain-could-transform-politics/>.

339.

Huhne, C.: REVITALISING POLITICS: RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGE. Representation. 45, 325–335 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890903129608>.

340.

KELSO, A.: Parliament and Political Disengagement: Neither Waving nor Drowning. The Political Quarterly. 78, 364–373 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2007.00865.x>.

341.

Kimberlee, R.H.: Why Don't British Young People Vote at General Elections? Journal of Youth Studies. 5, 85–98 (2002). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260120111788>.

342.

Lowndes, V.: Getting On or Getting By? Women, Social Capital and Political Participation. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations. 6, 45–64 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2004.00126.x>.

343.

Norris, P.: Gender Differences in Political Participation in Britain: Traditional, Radical and Revisionist Models. Government and Opposition. 26, 56–74 (1991). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.1991.tb01124.x>.

344.

Marsh, David, O'Toole, Therese, Jones, Su: Young people and politics in the UK: apathy or alienation? Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2007).

345.

O'Toole, T., Lister, M., Marsh, D., Jones, S., McDonagh, A.: Tuning out or left out? Participation and non-participation among young people. *Contemporary Politics*. 9, 45–61 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1356977032000072477>.

346.

Lee, L., Young, P.: A disengaged Britain? Political interest and participation over 30 years. In: Park, A., Bryson, C., Clery, E., Curtice, J., and Phillips, M. (eds.) *British Social Attitudes 30*. NatCen (2013).

347.

Butt, S., Fitzgerald, R.: Critical consensus? Britain's expectations and evaluations of democracy. In: Park, A., Bryson, C., and Curtice, J. (eds.) *British Social Attitudes 31*. NatCen (2014).

348.

Simpson, I., Phillips, M.: Disengaged and disconnected? Trends in attitudes towards politics. In: Ormston, R. and Curtice, J. (eds.) *British Social Attitudes 32*. NatCen (2015).

349.

Park, Alison: *British social attitudes: the 21st report : continuity and change over two decades*. SAGE, London (2004).

350.

Jowell, Roger, National Centre for Social Research: *British social attitudes: The 16th report: Who shares the New Labour values?* Ashgate, Aldershot (1999).

351.

Pattie, C., Johnston, R.: Power to the People Through 'Real Power and True Elections'? The Power Report and Revitalising British Democracy. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 60, 253–278 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsm005>.

352.

Power Inquiry: Power to the People: an independent inquiry into Britain's democracy - the full report | Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust,
<http://www.jrrt.org.uk/publications/power-people-independent-inquiry-britains-democracy-full-report>, (2006).

353.

Sloam, J.: The 'Outraged Young': Political Insight. 4, 4-7 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12003>.

354.

Sloam, J.: Rebooting Democracy: Youth Participation in Politics in the UK. Parliamentary Affairs. 60, 548-567 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsm035>.

355.

Stoker, G.: Different Routes to Reforming Politics. Political Insight. 4, 18-21 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12020>.

356.

Hay, Colin: New directions in political science: responding to the challenges of an interdependent world. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2010).

357.

Stoker, G.: Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work. Palgrave Macmillan (2017).

358.

Riddell, Peter: In defence of politicians: (in spite of themselves). Biteback, London (2011).

359.

Tonge, J.: REVITALISING POLITICS: ENGAGING YOUNG PEOPLE. *Representation*. 45, 237–246 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890903129418>.

360.

O'Toole, T., Marsh, D., Jones, S.: Political Literacy Cuts Both Ways: The Politics of Non-participation among Young People. *The Political Quarterly*. 74, 349–360 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.00544>.

361.

Briggs, J.: *Young people and political participation: teen players*. Palgrave Macmillan, [London, England] (2017).

362.

Garcia Albacete, G.: *Young People's Political Participation in Western Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2014).

363.

Pickard, S., Bessant, J.: *Young People Re-Generating Politics in Times of Crises*. Springer International Publishing AG, Cham (2017).

364.

How Momentum got Britain's youth interested in politics | British Politics and Policy at LSE, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/how-momentum-got-young-people-interested-in-formal-politics/>.

365.

Wring, D., Henn, M., Weinstein, M.: Young people and contemporary politics: Committed scepticism or engaged cynicism? *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*. 9, 200–216 (1999). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13689889908413029>.

366.

Whiteley, P.: GOVERNMENT EFFECTIVENESS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BRITAIN. Representation. 45, 247–257 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890903129459>.

367.

Whiteley, Paul: Political participation in Britain: the decline and revival of civic culture. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

368.

Park, Alison, National Centre for Social Research: British social attitudes: the 24th report. SAGE, London (2008).

369.

Henn, M., Foard, N.: Young People, Political Participation and Trust in Britain. Parliamentary Affairs. 65, 47–67 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsr046>.

370.

Furlong, A., Cartmel, F.: Social Change and Political Engagement Among Young People: Generation and the 2009/2010 British Election Survey. Parliamentary Affairs. 65, 13–28 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsr045>.

371.

Mycock, A., Tonge, J.: The Party Politics of Youth Citizenship and Democratic Engagement. Parliamentary Affairs. 65, 138–161 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsr053>.

372.

Campbell, R.: Leaders, footsoldiers and befrienders: The gendered nature of social capital and political participation in Britain. British Politics. 8, 28–50 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2012.21>.

373.

Why are political blogs dominated by men?,

<http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/why-are-political-blogs-dominated-by-men/>.

374.

Electoral Commission: Voter Engagement among black and minority ethnic communities, http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/electoral_commission_pdf_file/0020/16094/Ethnicfinalreport_11586-6190__E__N__S__W__.pdf, (2002).

375.

Henn, M., Weinstein, M., Hodgkinson, S.: Social Capital and Political Participation: Understanding the Dynamics of Young People's Political Disengagement in Contemporary Britain. *Social Policy and Society*. 6, (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746407003818>.

376.

Johnson, C., Marshall, B.: Political engagement among young people: an update, http://ec.clients.squiz.co.uk/__data/assets/electoral_commission_pdf_file/0016/16135/Politicalengagementamongyoungpeople_14096-10669__E__N__S__W__.pdf.

377.

Butt, S., Fitzgerald, R.: Democracy. In: Park, A., Curtice, J., and Bryson, C. (eds.) *British Social Attitudes* 31. pp. 1-23. NatCen, London (2014).

378.

Goerres, A.: *The political participation of older people in Europe: the greying of our democracies*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2009).

379.

Webb, P.: Who is willing to participate? Dissatisfied democrats, stealth democrats and populists in the United Kingdom. *European Journal of Political Research*. 52, 747-772 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12021>.

380.

Norris, P.: *Democratic deficit: critical citizens revisited*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2011).

381.

Sloam, J.: *New Voice, Less Equal: The Civic and Political Engagement of Young People in the United States and Europe*. *Comparative Political Studies*. 47, 663–688 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414012453441>.

382.

Seyd, B.: *Exploring Political Disappointment*. *Parliamentary Affairs*. (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv018>.

383.

Richards, D., Smith, M.J.: *In Defence of British Politics Against the British Political Tradition*. *Political Quarterly*. 86, 41–51 (2015).

384.

Curtice, J., Seyd, B.: *Constitutional reform: a recipe for restoring faith in our democracy?* In: Park, A., Clery, E., Curtice, J., Phillips, M., and Utting, D. (eds.) *British Social Attitudes* 29. NatCen (2012).

385.

Curtice, J.: *Politics*. In: Curtice, J., Phillips, M., and Clery, E. (eds.) *British Social Attitudes* 33. NatCen (2016).

386.

Norris, P.: *Digital Divide? Civic Engagement, Information Poverty and the Internet Worldwide*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2001).

387.

Lawrence, M., Birch, S.: *The Democracy Commission: Reforming Democracy to Combat*

Political Inequality,

http://www.ippr.org/files/publications/pdf/democracy-commission_Aug2015.pdf?noredirect=1.

388.

Sanders, D., Fisher, S.D., Heath, A., Sobolewska, M.: The democratic engagement of Britain's ethnic minorities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 37, 120–139 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.827795>.

389.

Flinders, M.: The Problem with Democracy. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 69, 181–203 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv008>.

390.

Marsh, I.: Democratic Discontents. Comment on: Flinders, M. (2015) The Problem with Democracy. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 69, 207–210 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv007>.

391.

Baldini, G.: Democracy, Golden Ages and Balancing Acts—Comment on Flinders, M. (2015) The Problem with Democracy. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 69, 451–463 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv048>.

392.

Jennings, W., Stoker, G., Twyman, J.: The Dimensions and Impact of Political Discontent in Britain. *Parliamentary Affairs*. (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv067>.

393.

Clarke, N., Jennings, W., Moss, J., Stoker, G.: Changing spaces of political encounter and the rise of anti-politics: Evidence from Mass Observation's General Election diaries. *Political Geography*. 56, 13–23 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2016.10.004>.

394.

Anti-politics and the left | Lawrence & Wishart,
<https://www.lwbooks.co.uk/renewal/24-2/anti-politics-and-the-left>.

395.

The rise of anti-politics in Britain.

396.

British politics in the Age of Uncertainty: the link between old, new, and anti-politics.

397.

Stoker, G., Hay, C.: Understanding and Challenging Populist Negativity towards Politics: The Perspectives of British Citizens. *Political Studies*. 65, 4–23 (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321715607511>.

398.

Marsh, D., Vines, E., Halupka, M.: Two Cheers for Richards and Smith: Beyond Anti-Politics? *The Political Quarterly*. 87, 383–388 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12247>.

399.

How should politicians reconnect with voters? - BBC News,
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2017-40000449>.

400.

Taylor, R.: *The UK's Changing Democracy: The 2018 Democratic Audit*. LSE Press (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.31389/book1>.