



**University of Edinburgh
School of Social & Political Science
Politics and International Relations
2018-2019**

**PARLIAMENTARY STUDIES
PLIT10091
Years 3 and 4, Semester 2**

Key Information

Course Organisers

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Location

Semester 2
Fridays, 10.00-10.50 and 11.10-13.00
Chrystal Macmillan Building, Seminar Rooms 1 and 4

Course Secretary

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Undergraduate Teaching Office

**Assessment
Deadlines**

- Research Briefing Paper: 27 February 2019, 12 noon
- Essay: 24 April 2019, 12 noon



Aims and Objectives

Despite recent concerns about a crisis of democracy and the rise of ‘anti-politics’, parliaments and legislatures continue to be the central political arenas in any democratic system. They provide the critical linkages between, for instance, government and the public, government and civil society, and government and backbenchers. This course is designed to provide students with a policy-relevant and theoretically informed examination of parliaments in the United Kingdom. It is therefore concerned both with the formal processes and (perhaps more importantly) the cultures, traditions and relationships that make these institutions work. Although our institutional focus will be on the UK Parliament and the Scottish Parliament, students will be encouraged to think comparatively and to situate these cases in a wider context.

The course is intended to be of particular value to those students considering a career in politics. Uniquely, it is taught in association with the Houses of Parliament Outreach Service, the Speaker of the House of Commons and the Scottish Parliament. Students will develop a detailed knowledge of both parliaments and they will situate this alongside wider concerns about scrutiny, democratic engagement and multi-level governance.

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Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course, students should be able to:

- demonstrate an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the structures and processes of the UK and Scottish Parliaments;
- critically appraise key theoretical concepts and approaches used to analyse legislatures and legislative processes;
- compare and contrast UK and Scottish variants of the Westminster parliamentary tradition;
- understand and engage in contemporary debates surrounding the functioning of the UK and Scottish Parliaments, including the institutions' evolution and reform;
- demonstrate research skills that allow navigation and robust research of the UK, Scottish and other parliaments;
- demonstrate appropriate communicative and transferable skills, including making effective oral and written presentations, utilising specialist primary and secondary resources;
- and effectively apply knowledge and skills developed on the course to the contemporary work of either parliament.

Teaching Methods

This course is uniquely taught in association with parliamentary officials from the UK Parliament and the Scottish Parliament. Teaching consists of mixed formats, but predominantly through seminars. Please consult the course outline and detailed seminar information about the format of teaching (it will change on a week-by-week basis).

Small-Group Seminars (led by academic staff)

In most weeks, students will meet in small seminar groups to discuss (i) the main theme of the week and (ii) examine the key readings in detail. The required reading list for each seminar should be considered the minimum preparation. These seminars are preparation for large-group seminars with parliamentary staff.

Large-Group Seminars (led by parliamentary officials)

In addition to small-group seminars, all students on this course will attend a large-group seminar, which will take the form of a discussion between students and guest speakers in most weeks (chaired by academic staff). **Guest speakers are senior politicians and parliamentary officials, and so it is essential that students come fully prepared.**

Please note that the UK Parliament reviews this course on a continuous basis. If parliamentary officials do not feel that there is sufficient engagement from students, then it is likely that Parliament will no longer deliver this module.

Finally, please also note that these discussions take place under Chatham House rule (i.e. insights from speakers are non-attributable). This means that there will be no recordings of teaching.

Parliamentary Visits

These are a further unique and voluntary component of the course. Visits are carefully tailored to our requirements and go considerably beyond what normal parliamentary visitors are offered. It is expected that students will make a special effort to attend both visits. In addition to offering further insights into the topics we are studying, they are

also enormous fun! Students give particularly enthusiastic feedback about these trips because of the unique opportunities it provides.

Details for the two visits:

- Scottish Parliament: Thursday, 21 February (from approx. 2pm until 3.30pm).
- UK Parliament: Wednesday, 06 March (from approx. 10.30am until 5.30pm).

A full itinerary for each visit will be circulated closer to the time, but it is likely that the visits will include a welcome talk from parliamentary officials, a tour of the buildings, briefings and reflections from officials, observation of parliamentary proceedings, and a meeting with an elected official and/or party political staff.

Unfortunately, the costs of these trips (including travel, accommodation and meals) have to be met by each student. So, students are strongly encouraged to make arrangements as early as possible. However, we do not want cost to be a barrier to taking part. We have a small number of travel bursaries available. Please do not hesitate to contact the course organisers for further details.

Assessment

Students will be assessed by:

Assessment	Word count limit Do not exceed the word limit or penalties will be applied	Weighting	Submission date	Return of feedback
Research Briefing Paper	1,500	40%	27 February 2019, 12 noon	20 March 2019
Essay	3,000	50%	24 April 2019, 12 noon	15 May 2019
Seminar Participation	N/A	10%	N/A	On request (and anytime)

Note: All coursework is submitted electronically through ELMA. Please read the School Policies and Coursework Submission Procedures that you will find [here](#).

Research Briefing Paper

The first component of assessment is a parliamentary briefing paper. This will be 1,500 words. The aim of this assessment is to test students' capacity to apply their research skills and knowledge to the task of producing an informative, relevant and user-friendly document. Crucially, we want students to use a mixture of academic (journal articles, books, etc.) and parliamentary (briefing papers, Hansard, etc.) sources.

A briefing paper is not an essay and should not be written in that format. It is a brief document that presents and highlights findings, including recommendations, to a non-specialist audience. It aims to provide policy advice that is based on evidence that is sourced (meaning that references are important!).

Briefing papers have lots of different styles, and may include: boxes, timelines, bullet points, graphs, sidebars, highlights, charts and diagrams, etc. A key skill here is to know how much and where it is appropriate to use different formats. The key reason for using alternative formats is to distil information that would otherwise require a lot of words and space.

Possible structure (note that not all of these may be relevant/appropriate):

- **Executive summary (alternative titles: 'abstract', 'topic' or 'purpose')**: a concise statement of the issue or problem. This section should explain why the paper matters to the reader. It is usually no more than one paragraph and gives the key takeaway lines. It may also set out the key question to be discussed in the briefing.
- **Background**: the details the reader needs to know in order to understand what follows. For example, how a situation arose, previous decisions/problems, actions leading up to the current situation, when and why a particular proposal is under discussion, etc. Typically, this section summarises the history/evolution of the topic and explains what has led to this problem/issue/proposal.
- **Current status**: describes the current or recent situation; who is involved; what is happening now; the current state of the matter, issue, situation, etc. This is a very descriptive section, so normally kept short.
- **Key considerations**: a summary of important facts, considerations and developments. While you will have to decide what to include and what to leave out, this section should be unbiased if possible but remain analytical. Your aim is to present all details required for the reader to be informed or to make an informed decision. Keep the reader's needs in mind when selecting and presenting the facts. You can use this section to identify strengths or weaknesses, advantages/disadvantages, conduct a SWOT analysis, etc.
- **Conclusion and/or recommendations**: this section should summarise what you want your reader to infer from your paper. Do not introduce anything new and offer the best and most sound advice you can offer. Make sure any recommendations are clear, direct and substantiated by facts.

As noted, we want to see a mixture of academic and parliamentary sources (please see other sections with suggestions for sources). We want to see you synthesise the best of these sources in a concise and readable manner. References should be made in Harvard format (as with essays).

A common question is about the role of description and analysis in briefing papers. While you will need to describe key facts and information, this does not mean that you should give up your critical faculties. We expect you to analyse source material, evaluate policy proposals, and scrutinise different arguments.

The briefing paper will be marked according to a holistic assessment of the briefing as a whole. Markers will consider the following questions:

- Does the briefing address the question set, and with sufficient focus?
- Does the briefing show a grasp of the relevant concepts and knowledge?
- Does the briefing have a logical and clear structure?
- Does the briefing support its points with relevant, accurate and effective evidence?
- Does the briefing demonstrate reflexivity and critical thinking?
- Does the briefing effectively synthesise academic and parliamentary sources?
- Is the briefing adequately presented in terms of style, referencing, grammar, etc.?

Briefing paper questions:

1. For the Speaker of the House of Commons: How well have the new procedures for 'English Votes for English Laws' worked in practice?
2. For the Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament: Should the conveners of Scottish Parliament committees be elected by MSPs?

3. For a new Member of the House of Commons, elected in 2017: Has the impact of the Wright Reforms been exaggerated?
4. For a new Member of the Scottish Parliament, elected in 2016: How effective are Scottish Parliament committees at holding the government to account?

If you would like to choose a different topic for a briefing paper, please consult the course organisers.

Essays

The second component of assessment for Parliamentary Studies is the essay. This is 3,000 words long and will count towards 50% of the mark for the course. The essay is designed to allow you to demonstrate detailed knowledge that you have gained over the course in an extended and scholarly piece of work. In particular, we want to see the synthesis of academic and parliamentary sources (where appropriate) in an analytical and theoretical framework.

The essay will be marked according to a holistic assessment of the essay as a whole. Markers will consider the following questions:

- Does the essay address the question set, and with sufficient focus?
- Does the essay show a grasp of the relevant concepts and knowledge?
- Does the essay have a logical and clear structure?
- Does the essay support its points with relevant, accurate and effective evidence?
- Does the essay demonstrate reflexivity and critical thinking?
- Does the essay effectively synthesise academic and parliamentary sources?
- Is the essay adequately presented in terms of style, referencing, grammar, etc.?

There are no set essay questions for this course. Students are expected to conduct independent research and discuss their ideas with course organisers to develop an appropriate essay question (some ideas for research are suggested on p.21 (Thematic Issues in Parliamentary Studies)).

All students must discuss and confirm their essay question with the course organisers **at least three weeks before the essay deadline**, though we encourage students to think about their topic from the very beginning of the course.

The best essay will be eligible for submission to a national essay competition run by the Political Studies Association's Parliaments Group. The winner will be presented with a prize of £100 and the runner-up with a prize of £50. Previous winners were presented their awards by the Clerk of the House of Commons and Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament. Please speak to the course organisers for further details, or look at the [PSA Parliaments Group website](#).

Seminar Participation

Each student will be given a mark for their participation at seminars.

The aim of this form of assessment is to demonstrate the student's analytical capabilities, ability to synthesise academic and parliamentary sources as part of class discussion, and communication skills. This form of assessment is not about the frequency of your participation nor the rhetorical tone of it. It is about the quality of your interventions, judged by the extent to which you are able to push discussion forward with new and interesting ideas (ideally using research/reading). While the mark is graded according to a holistic assessment of the student's performance throughout the semester, markers will consider the following:

- Has the student prepared thoroughly by demonstrating knowledge of the

- required readings?
- Does the student demonstrate knowledge of sources beyond the required readings?
 - Does the student ask questions that are based on a detailed reading of the scholarly and parliamentary sources?
 - Does the student respond well to others' arguments and questions?

Successful seminar contributions consist of:

- Regular participating (and thereby attendance)
- Clear and detailed preparation for seminars
- Engaging with other students' ideas
- Asking challenging and thoughtful questions to guest speakers
- Making informed contributions based on relevant sources
- Making contributions that bring forward the discussion of the seminar

Your presence and active participation are evidence required for this assessment and being absent may negatively affect the mark (if you are not there to demonstrate your participation – how can we judge it?). **So, if you are absent from more than three seminars during weeks 3-10, you will fail the oral participation component of assessment.** Students with learning adjustments that relate to participation will be supported to fully participate. If you have not been able to attend due to special circumstances out of your control, contact your SSO and course organiser at the earliest opportunity.

Course organisers are more than happy to discuss your developing performance as the semester progresses during their guidance and feedback hours.

For all forms of assessment: pressure of work or problems of time management are not considered acceptable reasons for non-attendance at seminars nor for late submissions of work.

Readings and Resource List

This course uses an electronic reading list by [clicking here](#).

All compulsory readings are listed in this Handbook **and** on the electronic list. We will not change these readings. We may add further readings to the additional reading section as the course progresses.

For each seminar, you are expected to read at least two out of three core readings (and we would encourage you to read all three). We also recommend that you go beyond the core readings and (i) supplement core readings from the additional reading list or (ii) conduct your own, independent research. This will be rewarded in relevant forms of assessment.

Available textbooks

The following textbook has been developed in association with parliamentary clerks and academic staff that have taught and developed this course at UK institutions:

- Leston-Bandeira, C. and Thompson, L. (eds) (2018) *Exploring Parliament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Other useful textbooks include:

- Rogers, R. and Walters, R. (2018) *How Parliament Works* (eighth edition). London: Routledge.
- Norton, P. (2013) *Parliament in British Politics* (second edition). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mitchell, J. and Jeffery, C. (eds) (2009) *The Scottish Parliament 1999-2009: the first decade*. Edinburgh: Hansard Society.
- McFadden, J. and Lazarowicz, M. (2010) *The Scottish Parliament: an introduction*. London: Bloomsbury Professional.

In addition to academic sources, we expect regular engagement with current affairs, such as the following radio programmes: Westminster Hour, Today in Parliament, the Week in Westminster, and the Today Programme (all on BBC Radio 4 or available as podcasts). We also recommend watching BBC Parliament, which broadcasts parliamentary proceedings and bespoke political programmes.

Parliamentary resources

There is a huge wealth of resources made available by parliaments. The first starting point should be parliament.uk for the UK Parliament and parliament.scot for the Scottish Parliament. Beyond this, we suggest:

- [Parliament Live TV](#)
- [Hansard \(the Official Report\)](#)
- [Briefings from UK Parliament](#)
- [House of Commons Library](#)
- [Briefings from the Scottish Parliament](#)
- [Scottish Parliament Official Report](#)
- [Hansard Society](#)
- [Institute for Government](#)
- [Political Studies Association Parliaments Group](#)

Course Outline

Week	Date	Seminar	Speaker(s)
01	18.01	Introduction to Parliamentary Studies: The Parliamentary State	Dr Marc Geddes and Dr Alan Convery
		11.10-12.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1 12.10-13.00: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 12.10-13.00: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 6	
02	25.01	The Legislative Process at Westminster	House of Commons Clerk/Staff
		10.00-10.50: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 10.00-10.50: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 4 11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
03	01.02	The Legislative Process at Holyrood	Scottish Parliament Clerks/Staff
		10.00-10.50: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 10.00-10.50: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 4 11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
04	08.02	Diversity and Representation	Dr Meryl Kenny et al.
		10.00-10.50: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 10.00-10.50: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 4 11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
05	15.02	The Role and Reform of Committees	House of Commons Clerk/Staff Scottish Parliament Clerk/Staff
		10.00-10.50: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 10.00-10.50: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 4 11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
Holyrood Visit: Thursday, 22 February, 2pm-3.30pm (approximate timings)			
Research Briefing Paper Deadline: Wednesday, 27 February at 12 noon			
06	01.03	The Role and Reform of the House of Lords	House of Commons Clerk/Staff

		10.00-10.50: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 10.00-10.50: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 4 11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
Westminster Visit: Wednesday, 06 March, 10.30am-5.30pm (approximate timings)			
07	08.03	Opening Up Parliament: Citizens, public participation and beyond	Scottish Parliament Clerks/Staff
		10.00-10.50: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 10.00-10.50: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 4 11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
08	15.03	Brexit and the Parliamentary Process	House of Commons Clerk/Staff
		10.00-10.50: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 10.00-10.50: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 4 11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
09	22.03	Representation: What does it mean to be an MP?	Joanna Cherry QC MP (SNP)
		10.00-10.50: Seminar Group A, CMB SR 1 10.00-10.50: Seminar Group B, CMB SR 4 11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
10	29.03	Parliamentary Reform and the Future of Parliamentary Politics	Dr Marc Geddes and Dr Alan Convery
		11.10-13.00: Large-Group Seminar, CMB SR 1	
Course Essay Deadline: Wednesday, 24 April at 12 noon			

Detailed Seminar Information

Week 01: Introduction to Parliamentary Studies: The Parliamentary State Led by Dr Marc Geddes and Dr Alan Convery

Seminar aims:

- To introduce key issues and questions related to the study of parliaments
- To understand the historical development of the UK Parliament
- To place the UK and Scottish parliaments in their wider constitutional contexts

In the first half of the seminar, the course organisers will introduce the main themes of the course, how we expect you to prepare and what you can expect from the course, forms of assessment, and tips for successful study (e.g. types of resources, using parliamentary material, etc.). We will go through the central issues related to parliamentary studies, such as the relationship between government and legislature; the policy powers of legislatures; and public perceptions around parliaments.

In the second half of the seminar (in two smaller groups), we will examine the constitutional development of the UK Parliament and Scottish Parliament. Specifically, we will closely examine David Judge's (1993) concept of 'the parliamentary state'. We will consider the key features of how this has developed and why this historical development matters for British politics today.

In the second half of the seminar, we will also examine public perceptions around parliaments and why the public holds these views; the extent to which public perceptions around parliaments are justified; and the place of parliaments in wider UK politics.

Core readings:

- Judge, D. (1993) *The Parliamentary State*. London: SAGE. Chapter 2.
- Norton, P. (2017) 'Speaking for Parliament'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 70:2, pp.191-206.
- Flinders, M. and Kelso, A. (2011) 'Mind the Gap: Political analysis, public expectations and the parliamentary decline thesis'. *The British Journal of Politics and IR* 13:2, pp.249-68.

Please consult the online reading list for further reading suggestions.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- What are your impressions and views of the UK and/or Scottish parliaments?
- More generally, what are the views of the public of the UK/Scottish parliaments?
- Are the public's views of the UK/Scottish parliaments fair?
- How and why did parliamentary sovereignty get established in the UK political system?
- What are the core elements of the UK's political system and where does Parliament fit in?

Important: in Week 01, we will split students into two seminar groups, which will remain valid for the duration of the course.

Week 02: The Legislative Process at Westminster

Guest Speaker: House of Commons Clerk (TBC)

Seminar aims:

- To understand the key elements of the legislative process at Westminster
- To identify and explain the balance of power between government and Parliament
- To evaluate the effectiveness of formal and informal ways by which Parliament may influence legislation

In this seminar, we will focus on and discuss the central structures and processes in place in the UK Parliament to carry out one of its central functions: making legislation. There are questions here around the extent to which Parliament is actually a body that 'makes' legislation or 'passes' legislation, i.e. how influential and/or powerful we can consider Parliament in the legislative process. Traditionally, as covered in Week 01, scholars have interpreted the UK Parliament as a weak legislature and dominated by the executive. In other words, the UK Parliament plays a negligible role in the making of policy. However, more recent literature suggests that Parliament is a more powerful actor because of the informal ways and means by which MPs and peers can shape legislation. In the seminar, we will aim to unpack both the formal and informal processes that might be at play in informing and amending legislation.

In the first session of the day, we will focus on these issues by exploring the core readings (see below) and additional readings that you might have done (see online reading list). Note that these are not introductions to how legislation is done but looks at the effectiveness and influences on the processes – you might want to research the basic steps of the legislative process in a textbook.

In the second session of the day, we will have an interactive session with a parliamentary clerk from the House of Commons who has been involved in the legislative process.

Core readings:

- Russell, M., Gover, D. and Wollter, K. (2016) 'Does the Executive Dominate the Legislative Process?: Six Reasons for Doubt'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 69:2, pp.286-308.
- Thompson, L. (2013) 'More of the Same or a Period of Change? The Impact of Bill Committees in the Twenty-First Century House of Commons'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 66:3, pp.459-79.
- Crewe, E. (2017) 'Reading the Runes: Conflict, Culture and 'Evidence' in Law-making in the UK'. *Redescription: Political Thought, Conceptual History and Feminist Theory* 20:1, pp.32-48.

Please consult the online reading list for further reading suggestions.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- Why is Parliament perceived as a weak actor in the policy process?
- What is the evidence to demonstrate that Parliament is executive-dominated?
- How might parliamentary influence be measured?
- What are the different stages of the legislative process at Westminster?
- Which stage of the legislative process allows MPs/peers to influence legislation the most?
- Is legislation made on the basis of the best available evidence? What factors might influence the process?

Week 03: The Legislative Process at Holyrood

Guest Speakers: Mark Brough and Rea Cris (Scottish Parliament officials)

Seminar aims:

- To understand the key elements of the legislative process at Holyrood
- To identify and explain the balance of power between government and the SP
- To explore the similarities and differences of legislative processes at Westminster and Holyrood

In today's sessions, we move from the UK Parliament to explore the key structures and processes involved in the Scottish Parliament to make legislation. As with the UK Parliament, there are similar debates about the relationship of government and legislature, as well as about the effectiveness of the legislative processes in place.

It will quickly become clear that the Scottish Parliament was designed to be explicitly different from Westminster. So, one key theme of this week's seminar is to look at and explore the similarities and differences between the UK and Scottish parliaments. Most importantly, we will explore the impact of those similarities and differences and why those similarities and differences exist in the first place. This will be a very timely session because it is the twentieth anniversary of the Scottish Parliament.

In the first session of the day, we will look at the core readings and additional readings. Note that, as with last week, we will not cover the basic steps of the legislative process – we expect students to conduct independent research on this (e.g. see the Scottish Parliament website).

In the second session of the day, we will have an interactive session with a parliamentary clerk from the Scottish Parliament who has been involved in the legislative process.

Core readings:

- Shephard, M. and Cairney, P. (2005) 'The Impact of the Scottish Parliament in Amending Executive Legislation'. *Political Studies* 53:2, pp.303-19.
- Parker, D. and Richter, C. (2018) 'Back from Holyrood: How mixed-member proportional representation and ballot structure shape the personal vote'. *Journal of British Politics and International Relations* 30:3, pp.674-92.
- Johnston, J. (2009) 'The Legislative Process: The Parliament in Practice'. In: Mitchell, J. and Jeffery, C. (eds) (2009) *The Scottish Parliament 1999-2009: the first decade*. Edinburgh: Hansard Society, pp.29-36.

Please consult the online reading list for further reading suggestions.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- What are some of the key similarities/differences between Westminster and Holyrood?
- Why was Holyrood designed to be different from Westminster?
- What was meant by the 'new politics'?
- To what extent has a different political culture emerged in Holyrood since 1999?
- How effective is the Scottish Parliament's legislative process (especially compared to Westminster)?

Week 04: Diversity and Representation

Led by Dr Meryl Kenny and guest speakers

Seminar aims:

- To identify the ways in which parliamentary institutions are gendered
- To explore the facilitators and barriers to greater diversity in parliaments
- To evaluate the current means by which is sought

In this session, we shift the focus of analysis from the minutiae of procedures to look at how wider dynamics of representations. Specifically, we will explore the make-up of the UK and Scottish parliaments by looking at descriptive and substantive representative claims, and what factors explain the (lack of) diversity in parliaments.

Very few parliaments across the world have yet achieved gender parity. Does this matter? Why? Why not? We will explore some of the causes for this, including the structural barriers that women face in getting elected. Once elected, many women face further barriers to equal participation in debates and committee work. We will explore how representative institutions have been gendered and the impact that this has on the participation of men and women MPs in parliamentary processes. Beyond this, we will also explore other aspects of diversity, such as LGBT+ (the UK Parliament has one of the highest percentages of LGBT+ MPs in the world) and ethnicity.

In the first session of the day, we will look at the core readings and additional readings to answer some of the questions and issues covered above (see below for suggested preparatory questions). We will try to place these in a wider context to understand the importance of understanding diversity in representative institutions.

In the second session of the day, we will have an interactive session led by Dr Meryl Kenny, Senior Lecturer in Gender and Politics, and guest speakers from third sector organisations to discuss their perspectives on making parliaments more diversity-sensitive.

Core readings:

- Durose, C. *et al.* (2013) 'Acceptable Difference': Diversity, Representation and Pathways to UK Politics'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 66:2, pp.246-67.
- Kenny, M. and Mackay, F. (2014) 'When Is Contagion Not Very Contagious? Dynamics of Women's Political Representation in Scotland'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 67:4, pp.866-86.
- English, P. (2018) 'Visible, Elected, but Effectively Nominal: Visibility as a Barrier Maintaining the Political Underrepresentation of Britain's Immigrant Origin Communities'. *Parliamentary Affairs*. Early view.

Please consult the online reading list for further reading suggestions.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- What are some of the barriers and facilitators for different social groups to get elected to the UK/Scottish parliaments?
- In what ways are representative institutions gendered?
- Do different types of MP/MSP play different representative roles as a result of their social background?
- In what ways can (or should?) the diversity of parliaments be improved?

Week 05: The Role and Reform of Committees

Guest Speakers: Jim Johnston (SP Clerk), Jane Williams (SP Clerk), and House of Commons Clerk (TBC)

Seminar aims:

- To identify different types of committees that exist within/between parliaments
- To understand the formal and informal impact of committees
- To evaluate the wider role that committees may play in parliamentary life

This seminar will provide an introduction to the role and powers of different types of committee in the UK and Scottish parliaments. There is no single model or typology of committees – every parliament has organised their committees in different ways. So, committees might be used to initiate or manage legislation, scrutinise the government and associated arm’s-length bodies, represent constituency issues or regions of the country, etc. This non-exhaustive list suggests – as many academics have pointed out – that almost all parliaments across the world rely on committees to ensure the efficient and effective fulfilment of parliamentary functions.

The most well-known types of committee in the UK Parliament are public bill committees and departmental/cross-cutting select committees. While the former only consider legislation, the latter investigate wider policy issues. In the Scottish Parliament, meanwhile, these functions are combined into a single committee system (though other committees also exist). This raises interesting questions about why there are different types of committee, how they work and how effective they are in carrying out a diversity of roles that they have been assigned.

In the first session, we will look at what committees exist and what the academic literature has to say about them. We will also look at how they have been reformed and if these reforms have improved their effectiveness. In the second session, we will be joined by two clerks (one from each parliament). In this session, we will have an opportunity to directly compare and contrast the ways in which the two parliaments have sought to establish their committee systems.

Core readings:

- Cairney, P. (2006) ‘The analysis of Scottish Parliament committee influence: Beyond capacity and structure in comparing West European legislatures’. *European Journal of Political Research* 45:2, pp.181-208.
- White, H. (2015) *Select Committees Under Scrutiny: The impact of parliamentary committee inquiries on government*. London: Institute for Government.
- Bochel, H. et al. (2015) ‘New Mechanisms of Independent Accountability’: Select Committees and Parliamentary Scrutiny of the Intelligence Services’. *Parliamentary Affairs* 68:2, pp.314-31.

Please consult the online reading list for further reading suggestions.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- What are some of the similarities and differences between the UK and Scottish parliaments’ committee systems?
- How effective are committees at holding the executive to account in Westminster and Holyrood?
- Why have committees been reformed in the past, and to what effect?
- Can committees be reformed yet further in either Westminster or Holyrood (or both)? If so, in what ways?
What roles can committees play for MPs/MSPs beyond their core legislative/scrutiny roles?

Week 06: The Role and Reform of the House of Lords

Guest Speaker: House of Lords Clerk (TBC)

Seminar aims:

- To identify the unique place of the House of Lords in the UK constitution
- To understand the role and influence of the House of Lords
- To explore ways in which the House of Lords has been reformed (and/or might be reformed in future)

The House of Lords is arguably one of the most unique parts of any parliament in the world. It is one of the largest and one of the few unelected upper chambers that exist. It is often subject to significant debate about its (un)democratic nature and how it might be reformed. And although the Lords has been reformed periodically over the last 100 years, few reformers are happy with its current position in parliamentary politics.

In today's sessions, we will explore the role of the House of Lords in the UK's legislative system. We will look at the ways in which the House of Lords is institutionally similar and different from both the House of Commons and the Scottish Parliament. These institutional differences likely explain why there are very different dynamics at work in the House of Lords as compared to elected representative chambers and institutions. We will discuss the positive and negative aspects of this, particularly around the subsequent ways in which we can evaluate the effectiveness of the chamber. Depending on our conclusions about its effectiveness, this might affect the status we should give to the Lords in our politics: does this make it more or less important to reform the House of Lords? We will discuss this question with respect to why it is deemed necessary to reform it, and in what possible ways it can (or should be) reformed.

In the first seminar, we will cover the main issues raised in the preceding paragraph. After this, we will be joined by a clerk in the House of Lords, who will give their reflections on the role of the upper chamber in legislative politics in the UK.

Core readings:

- Kelso, A. (2006) 'Reforming the House of Lords: Navigating Representation, Democracy and Legitimacy at Westminster'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 59:4, pp.563-81.
- McLean, I. (2010) *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 11 (pp.223-50).
- Crewe, E. (2010) 'An Anthropology of the House of Lords: Socialisation, Relationships and Rituals'. *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 16:3, pp.313-24.

Please consult the online reading list for further reading suggestions.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- What are the institutional similarities/differences between the Commons and Lords?
- How does the Lords' unique institutional dynamics affect its workings?
- How effective is the Lords in carrying out its functions?
- To what extent is the House of Lords in need of reform? If so, in what ways?
- What are the challenges/barriers to reforming the House of Lords?
- Does the Scottish Parliament require an upper chamber?

**Week 07: Opening Up Parliament: Citizens, public participation and beyond
Guest Speakers: Gillian Baxendine and Emma Armstrong (Scottish Parliament officials)**

Seminar aims:

- To understand how parliaments seek to represent the public
- To explore ways in which parliaments seek to engage the public in their work
- To evaluate the extent to which parliaments listen to the wider public in parliamentary processes

One of the fundamental aims of parliaments is to represent the public. Most parliaments achieve this merely through general elections in the sense that MPs/MSPs exist to channel and embody their constituencies. However, parliaments also attempt to involve the public in a range of parliamentary processes, and we will look at this in today's sessions.

One age-old mechanism by which parliaments listened to the concerns of citizens has been through petitions. Though these fell out of favour in the early part of the twentieth century, they have now become a key way by which parliaments are able to respond directly to issues that come up between elections. For example, if the House of Commons receives a petition with more than 100,000 signatories, it is eligible for debate in Westminster Hall. Meanwhile, the Scottish Parliament considers all petitions it receives. However, beyond this direct form of engagement, the public can also participate by giving evidence to committees in their evidence-gathering processes or participate in other events held by parliaments. This is not limited to individuals: lobby groups, interest groups, private businesses and a range of other organisations attempt to influence parliamentary processes.

In the first session of the day, we will explore some of the theoretical and practical issues that are involved when it comes to building stronger links between the public and parliaments by reviewing the relevant literature. The subsequent session will then be led by a Scottish Parliament clerk who has been involved in public engagement activities of the parliament.

Core readings:

- Leston-Bandeira, C. (2016) 'Why Symbolic Representation Frames Parliamentary Public Engagement'. *British Journal of Politics and IR* 18:2, pp.498-516.
- Mclaverty, P. and Macleod, I. (2012) 'Civic Participation in the Scottish Parliament Committees'. *International Journal of Public Administration* 35:7, pp.458-70.
- Hansard Society (2018) *Audit of Political Engagement 15*. London: Hansard Society.

Please consult the online reading list for further reading suggestions.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- In what ways can parliaments engage their citizens?
- What are some of the barriers for citizen engagement with parliaments?
- What are the similarities and differences between the UK and Scottish parliaments in their attitudes to supporting citizen involvement?
- To what extent is the evidence given to committees present a broad cross-section of society?
- Are parliaments listening to only certain sections of society at the expense of others?

Week 08: Brexit and the Parliamentary Process

Guest Speaker: House of Commons Clerk (TBC)

Seminar aims:

- To apply all our knowledge gained over the course so far to a detailed case study
- To explore how the UK/Scottish parliaments have traditionally dealt with the issue of Europe
- To understand the implications of Brexit for UK parliamentary democracy

Brexit is arguably the biggest policy and legislative challenge facing British politics for a generation. In today's sessions, we will try to explore what Brexit means for the UK and Scottish parliaments. Brexit throws up a huge challenge for the UK Parliament: there are questions over the extent of legislation required and the ability for the House of Commons and House of Lords to pass the required legislation. This brings in wider questions about the political parties and how the influence of the UK Parliament has grown as a result of the slim majority that the Conservative Party currently has with the DUP. There are additional questions: how can the Brexit process be adequately scrutinised? Has Parliament done enough so far? What mechanisms are in place to ensure that Parliament has a 'meaningful vote' or say on the final withdrawal agreement? In relation to the Scottish Parliament, there are also questions about devolution powers and questions about whether the Scottish Parliament has or should have any influence on Brexit negotiations. Most importantly for this seminar, we will ask what all the issues that we have studied so far on this course (e.g. the legislative process, the influence of select committees, the role of the House of Lords) adds up to: a strong voice for Parliament?

As Brexit is an ongoing process, there is little in terms of academic literature on the topic yet – but there is obviously lots of research and lots of reports being written. So, rather than providing you with core readings, we have given you a general reading list, from which we suggest you pick at least two (we have 'tagged' the most relevant ones on Resource List). We also *strongly* suggest that you **conduct your own, independent research on Brexit and the UK and Scottish parliaments**. Consider exploring the Exiting the EU Select Committee's work, watching parliamentary debates on Brexit, reading reports published by the Institute for Government and Hansard Society, taking a look at the analysis provided by the Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe) and the House of Commons Library, and beyond.

To guide your independent research, consider the following questions:

- To what extent have select committees (choose one or two to look at) heeded the advice of Hannah White and Jill Rutter in their insight paper?
- What mechanisms are in place to ensure adequate scrutiny of the government's approach to Brexit in Parliament?
- What concessions have MPs/MSPs achieved when it comes to Brexit in the UK/Scottish parliaments?
- What does this case study reveal about wider dynamics of power in Parliament? Does it suggest that the UK Parliament is weak, for example?
- To what extent has the Scottish Parliament been able to influence Brexit (e.g. through the Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Affairs Committee)?

**Week 09: Representation: What does it mean to be an MP/MSP?
Guest Speaker: Joanna Cherry QC MP**

Seminar aims:

- To understand the everyday life of an MP/MSP
- To explore the different priorities of and pressures on and MPs/MSPs in carrying out their role
- To evaluate how representative claims can be enacted in the twenty-first century

The idea of 'representation' is central to understanding parliaments, and the representatives that make up the institution. It has been debated for centuries, with Edmund Burke famously distinguishing between 'trustees' and 'delegates' as two different ways in which MPs/MSPs can represent their constituents. In today's sessions, we will explore this debate a little further by looking at how elected representatives have interpreted their role. We will explore the extent to which this age-old distinction is still relevant, and if new or different interpretations are more useful at explaining representation.

Aside from this theoretical issue about representation, today's sessions are also going to focus on the everyday lives of MPs and MSPs. So, we will look at how to get behind the frontstage of parliamentary politics and the drama of PMQs to look at the backstage of politics: how MPs/MSPs prioritise their roles, how they deal with competing pressures on their time, how they negotiate constituency workloads, and so on. A lot of these choices are affected by representatives' individual beliefs about and interpretations of 'representation', but also affected by wider traditions of parliamentary politics (e.g. parliamentary sovereignty) and structures (e.g. electoral system, referendums, etc.).

In the first session of the day, we will explore the theoretical issues and also touch on the day-to-day lives of MPs/MSPs as explained in academic studies/research and memoirs. We will put these issues to the test in the second session of the day, where we are privileged to welcome Joanna Cherry QC MP and question her about how she interprets her role.

Core readings:

- Wright, T. (2010) 'What are MPs for?'. *Political Quarterly* 81:3, pp.298-308.
- Urbinati, N. and Warren, M.E. (2008) 'The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory'. *Annual Review of Political Science* 11, pp.387-412.
- Kwiatkowski, R. (2012) 'Politicians and power: MPs in the UK parliament'. In: A. Weinberg (ed.) *The Psychology of Politicians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.39-58.

Please consult the online reading list for further reading suggestions.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- What does it mean to be an MP/MSP in the twenty-first century?
- What different roles must an elected representative perform?
- How can MPs/MSPs balance the different roles that they have?
- What is the effect of institutional/ideational/structural factors on MPs'/MSPs' behaviour?
- To what extent do non-electoral claims (e.g. marches, protests, direct democracy) pose a challenge to parliaments?

Week 10: Parliamentary Reform and the Future of Parliamentary Politics Led by Dr Marc Geddes and Dr Alan Convery

Seminar aims:

- To explore the dynamics of parliamentary reform in the UK/Scottish parliaments
- To identify the contemporary challenges that parliaments face today
- To bring key themes of the course together to understand the place of the UK/Scottish parliaments in the wider UK/Scottish political systems

In the final session of the course, we will bring a number of key thematic issues to the fore. First, we will examine the core of the UK/Scottish parliamentary institutions to understand the extent to which the institutions have remained stable or changed, and to debate the merits of potential parliamentary reforms. We will also, in doing so, attempt to explain the facilitators and barriers to reforming parliaments.

Based on this discussion, we will tease out the broader challenges that the UK and Scottish parliaments face: the growth of distrust in politics and how parliaments can change this; the extent to which challenges to parliamentary authority can be overcome (e.g. growing role of the courts, impact of direct democracy, how devolution affects the powers of different elected institutions, etc.); some key policy issues that the UK Parliament and Scottish Parliament face (e.g. Brexit, Restoration and Renewal, Scottish independence, etc.); and, the future of parliamentary politics. From this, it will allow us to reflect more broadly on the place of the UK/Scottish parliaments in the UK/Scottish political systems.

Please note that today's seminar will be one large class.

Core readings:

- Commission on Parliamentary Reform (2017) *Report on the Scottish Parliament*. Edinburgh: Commission on Parliamentary Reform.
- Judge, D. et al. (2018) 'Conclusion: The Future of Parliamentary Politics'. In: Leston-Bandeira, C. and Thompson, L. (eds.) *Exploring Parliament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.347-55.

In addition to the above, please read at least ONE article from the electronic reading list about parliamentary reform.

Suggested preparatory questions:

- What factors facilitate or prevent parliamentary reform from taking place?
- In what ways should the UK Parliament/Scottish Parliament be reformed?
- How can challenges to parliamentary authority be overcome?
- What is the place and purpose of parliaments in the twenty-first century?
- How can parliaments challenge the growing decline of trust in them?

Thematic Issues in Parliamentary Studies

Parliaments are ubiquitous, yet our own knowledge of them is surprisingly thin in places (especially smaller legislatures, such as the Scottish Parliament). This surprise stems from at least two reasons: first, parliaments make lots of data available, so they should be prime targets for study (think about the number of debates and speeches held every day or the reports published by committees); second, parliaments are central to most political systems, so understanding how they work are incredibly important (we might also add a third reason: parliaments are really interesting places to study – but this is somewhat more subjective).

Over the past few years, this has given students a range of opportunities to study different topics. We have had the following dissertation topics in the recent past:

- The role of the Leader of the Opposition in Parliament
- Exploring gender and prime minister's questions/first minister's questions
- Formal and informal rules and how they impact gender
- LGBT+ representation in Parliament
- How women MPs affect legislation
- The effectiveness of Scottish Parliament committees

There are lots of issues that deserve more attention in parliamentary studies, and we list these as ideas that you might want to take forward in either a dissertation in Year 4 or to give food for thought to your chosen essay topic. So, some ideas include:

- The relationship between parliaments and (social) media
- The changing public role of select committees (e.g. growing media profile, growing prestige)
- The impact of Wright Reforms to strengthen the UK Parliament
- The role of 'evidence' in committee/parliamentary work
- The impact of committee hearings on the UK/Scottish governments
- The role of parliamentary staff in influencing or shaping legislative work at Westminster or Holyrood
- The role of the Speaker/Presiding Officer in parliamentary politics
- House of Lords committees and how they operate
- The extent to which a 'new politics' has been achieved in Scotland and/or the culture of the Scottish Parliament in fostering this
- The enduring similarities and differences between Westminster and Holyrood
- Inter-parliamentary relations between Westminster and devolved parliaments
- Impact of reforms/what UK parliaments can learn from each other
- Impact of different rhetorical styles in chambers
- The different roles that MPs/MSPs do, and how effectively
- How the Scottish Parliament compares to other devolved legislatures.

... and much much more.

It is possible to study these (and other) topics using a range of methods: analysis of parliamentary debates/speeches, use of committee hearings to analyse evidence, exploring written parliamentary questions (PQs), making use of Hansard, interviewing local MPs/MSPs/parliamentary staff, etc.

If you had an idea for a dissertation for Year 4, please get in touch with the course organisers.

Appendix 1 – General Information

Students with Disabilities

The School welcomes disabled students with disabilities (including those with specific learning difficulties such as dyslexia) and is working to make all its courses as accessible as possible. If you have a disability special needs which means that you may require adjustments to be made to ensure access to lectures, tutorials or exams, or any other aspect of your studies, you can discuss these with your Student Support Officer or Personal Tutor who will advise on the appropriate procedures.

You can also contact the Student Disability Service, based on the University of Edinburgh, Third Floor, Main Library, You can find their details as well as information on all of the support they can offer on their [website](#).

Learning Resources for Undergraduates

The Study Development Team at the Institute for Academic Development (IAD) provides resources and workshops aimed at helping all students to enhance their learning skills and develop effective study techniques. Resources and workshops cover a range of topics, such as managing your own learning, reading, note-making, essay and report writing, exam preparation and exam techniques.

The study development resources are housed on 'LearnBetter' (undergraduate), part of Learn, the University's virtual learning environment. Follow the link from the IAD Study Development web page to enrol by [clicking here](#).

Workshops are interactive: they will give you the chance to take part in activities, have discussions, exchange strategies, share ideas and ask questions. They are 90 minutes long and held on Wednesday afternoons at 1.30pm or 3.30pm. The schedule is available from the IAD Undergraduate web page (see above).

Workshops are open to all undergraduates but you need to book in advance, using the MyEd booking system. Each workshop opens for booking two weeks before the date of the workshop itself. If you book and then cannot attend, please cancel in advance through MyEd so that another student can have your place. (To be fair to all students, anyone who persistently books on workshops and fails to attend may be barred from signing up for future events).

Study Development Advisors are also available for an individual consultation if you have specific questions about your own approach to studying, working more effectively, strategies for improving your learning and your academic work. Please note, however, that Study Development Advisors are not subject specialists so they cannot comment on the content of your work. They also do not check or proof read students' work.

Students can book a study skills consultation [here](#).

Academic English support can also be accessed [here](#).

Attendance Monitoring

In accordance with the University general degree regulations you are expected to attend all teaching and assessment events associated with all courses that you are enrolled on. The College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences undertakes routine monitoring of attendance at tutorials and seminars for all students enrolled on courses delivered by Schools within our College. We undertake monitoring of attendance and engagement to enable us to identify where individual students may be experiencing difficulties and to ensure that timely and appropriate intervention can be delivered to provide support and guidance. We also undertake monitoring for sponsored students specifically to meet our obligations to the UKVI. If you miss one or more of your tutorials and/or seminars you may be contacted by your local Student Support Team and be asked to provide an explanation for your absence.

All data is gathered and stored in line with the University policies and guidance on data handling and you can view the privacy statement [here](#).

External Examiner

The External Examiner for Politics and International Relations is Professor Matthew Goodwin, University of Kent.

Communications and Feedback

You are strongly encouraged to use email for routine communication with lecturers. We shall also use email to communicate with you, e.g., to assign readings for the second hour of each class. All students are provided with email addresses on the university system. If you are not sure of your address, which is based on your matric number, check your EUCLID database entry using the Student Portal.

This is the ONLY email address we shall use to communicate with you. Please note that we will NOT use 'private' email addresses such as Yahoo or Hotmail; it is therefore essential that you check your university email regularly, preferably each day.

Appendix 2 – Course Work Submission and Penalties

Penalties that can be applied to your work and how to avoid them.

Below is a list of penalties that can be applied to your course work and these are listed below. Students **must** read the full description on each of these [here](#).

Make sure you are aware of each of these penalties and know how to avoid them. Students are responsible for taking the time to read guidance and for ensuring their coursework submissions comply with guidance.

Lateness Penalty

If you miss the submission deadline for any piece of assessed work **5 marks will be deducted for each calendar day that work is late, up to a maximum of seven calendar days (35 marks)**. Thereafter, a mark of zero will be recorded. There is no grace period for lateness and penalties begin to apply immediately following the deadline.

Word Count Penalty

Your course handbook will specify the word length of your assessments. All coursework submitted by students must state the word count on the front page. All courses in the School have a standard penalty for going over the word length; if you are taking courses from other Schools, check with them what their penalties are.

The penalty for excessive word length in coursework is a 5-mark penalty. These 5 marks will be deducted regardless of how many words over the limit the work is (whether it is by 1 words or by 500!). In exceptional circumstances, a marker may also decide that any text beyond the word limit will be excluded from the assignment and it will be marked only on the text up to the word limit. In most cases, appendices and bibliography are not included in the word count whilst in-text references, tables, charts, graphs and footnotes are counted.

In most cases, appendices and bibliography are not included in the word count whilst in-text references, tables, charts, graphs and footnotes are counted. Make sure you know what is and what is not included in the word count. Again, check the course handbook for this information and if you are unsure, contact the Course Organiser to check.

You will not be penalised for submitting work below the word limit. However, you should note that shorter essays are unlikely to achieve the required depth and that this will be reflected in your mark.

ELMA: Submission and Return of Coursework

Coursework is submitted online using our electronic submission system, ELMA. You will not be required to submit a paper copy of your work. Marked coursework, grades and feedback will be returned to you via ELMA. You will not receive a paper copy of your marked course work or feedback. For details of how to submit your course work to ELMA, please see our webpages [here](#).

Please note that all submissions to ELMA should be formatted as a Word document (doc or.docx.). If you are permitted or required to submit in a different format, this will be detailed in your course handbook.

Any submission that is not in word format will be converted by the Undergraduate Teaching Office into word where possible. By submitting in any format other than word, you are accepting this process and the possibility that errors may occur during conversion. The UTO will do everything possible to ensure the integrity of any document converted but to avoid issue, please submit in Word format as requested.

Exam Feedback and Viewing Exam Scripts:

General exam feedback will be provided for all courses with an examination. General feedback will be uploaded to the relevant course learn page within 24 hours of the overall marks for the course being returned to Students.

Students who sit the exam will also receive individual feedback. The relevant Course Secretary will contact students to let them know when this is available and how to access it. If students wish to view their scripts for any reason, they must contact the relevant Course Secretary via email to arrange this.

Plagiarism Guidance for Students: Avoiding Plagiarism

Material you submit for assessment, such as your essays, must be your own work. You can, and should, draw upon published work, ideas from lectures and class discussions, and (if appropriate) even upon discussions with other students, but you must always make clear that you are doing so. **Passing off anyone else's work** (including another student's work or material from the Web or a published author) **as your own is plagiarism** and will be punished severely.

Copying part of one of your own assignments previously submitted for credit for the same or another course is **self-plagiarism**, which is also not allowed. This is an important consideration if you are retaking a course; an assignment submitted the previous year cannot be resubmitted the next, even for the same course.

When you upload your work to ELMA you will be asked to check a box to confirm the work is your own. All submissions will be run through 'Turnitin', our plagiarism detection software. Turnitin compares every essay against a constantly-updated database, which highlights all plagiarised work. Students who are found to have included plagiarised (including self-plagiarised) material in their work will be reported to an Academic Misconduct Officer for further investigation, and grade penalties can be applied. In extreme cases, assignment grades can be reduced to zero.

For further details on plagiarism see the Academic Services' [website](#).

Data Protection Guidance for Students

In most circumstances, students are responsible for ensuring that their work with information about living, identifiable individuals complies with the requirements of the Data Protection Act. The document, *Personal Data Processed by Students*, provides an explanation of why this is the case. It can be found, with advice on data protection compliance and ethical best practice in the handling of information about living, identifiable individuals, on the Records Management section of the University [website](#).