Constitution Unit Monitor 61 / October 2015



The new government's constitutional reform programme

The extent of the government's programme of constitutional reforms, guided by a new Cabinet Committee on Constitutional Reform chaired by Oliver Letwin, is not generally appreciated. The agenda includes a referendum on Britain's membership of the EU, ka_f &[Yfl 'mjl`]j hgo]jk 'gj S[gld'f\, Yf\ 'mjl`]j powers for Wales, for Northern Ireland, and for city regions in England. The government has also promised to introduce English votes for English laws; repeal the Human Rights Act, and replace it with a British bill of rights; and reduce the size of the House of Commons

The Calak Yf\ Lg[YdGgn]jfe]flD]ngdhlagf Baddhas been passed by the Lords, and had its second reading in I`] Cge e gfk gf 14 O[IgZ]j. Bmadkaf_gf D)ngMYf[O the deal agreed with Greater Manchester last year, it g]jk\]ngdhlagf Ig gl`]j [alqj]_agfk af Ef_dYf\, Zml only to areas willing to form combined authorities with a directly elected metro mayor. The bill of itself devolves fgl`af_, Zml hjgnak]k Y 'JYe]o gjc 'gj hgo]jk Ig Z] devolved, with details of which powers depending on each area agreement.

The government also intended an early start for English votes for English laws, with plans set out in the Conservative manifesto. T`] Sh]Yc]j o gmt jmt gf which bills, or provisions in bills, are England (or England and Wales) only. The new Leader of the Commons, Chris Grayling, published proposed amendments to standing orders in July, but when it became clear that the Conservatives were split, the debate to approve the new SOk o Yk hgklhgf]\. AhYjl jge \a [mtl kgf l`] j go f side, the government may also face opposition from the SNP, o`g o addo Yfl lg ngl] gf Yfql`af_ D]kh][a'ddt lYp, and spending – which might have implications

A constitutional convention?

 $T`] h]jag\ Z]lo]]fl`] S[gllak`af\]h]f\]f[]\\ j]']j]f\ me af S]hl]e Z]j 2014 Yf\ l`] _]f]jYd]d][lagf af MYq 2015 kYo e m[`lYot g^l`]]klYZ ak`e]fl g^kge] caf\ g^[gfklalmlagfYd[gfn]flagf lg [gfka\]j hgkkaZd] future reforms in the round. The election brought to hgo]j l`] gf] ka_fab[Yfl hgcala[YdhYjlq l`Yl`Y\ fgl [ge e all]\ lg`gd\af_km[`Y[gfn]flagf, kg Yf g [aYd [gfn]flagf af l`] f]Yj 'mlmj] ak mfabc]db, Dak[mkkagf`Yk, however, remained lively.$

A <u>Constitutional Convention Bill</u> was introduced in the Lgj\k af Jmf] Yk Y hjanYl] h]]j@ ZaddZqLaZ]jYdD]e g[jYl Lgj\ Pmjnak g^To]]\. II hjgna\]k 'gj Y [gfn]flagf, Y majority of whose members would not be politicians, which would address a broad constitutional agenda. At its <u>second reading</u> gf 17 Jmdql'] Zaddj][]an]\ ZjgY\ support away from the government benches. But the minister, Lord Bridges of Headley, suggested that such a convention was incompatible with the constitution's organic evolution.

An identical private member's bill was also introduced in the Commons in July by a cross-party group of members, including Jeremy Corbyn. In forming his S`Y\go CYZaf]I, CgjZqf YhhgafI]\ Jgf Tja[c]II Yk (\$\frac{C}{S}`Y\go MafakI]j 'gj I`] CgfklamagfYdCgfn]flagfO Tja[c]II`Yk kYa\ I`YI LYZgmj afI]f\k Ig]kIYZak`Y constitutional convention with a broad remit, albeit o al`gml g [aYd_gn]jfe]fl ZY[caf_. Sh]Ycaf_YII`] LYZgmj PYjIq[gf']j]f[]`] set out an ambitious vision Ig (\$\hat{Q}\$]\ka_f gmj hgala[k\hat{O}Yf\ kYa\ I`YI`] o gmd\ abc] to see meetings in 'town, village and church halls up and down the land'. He also announced that '[t]he Cgfn]flagf o addZ] Y e Ylajj hdYfc g^\$LYZgmj@UY[Ianalq af the coming years'; however, there are as yet no details of what this will entail.

Most proposals for a convention involve a mixed body comprising politicians and ordinary citizens – as advocated Zql`] Cgfklamagf Ufa@AdYf R]foacaf Ahjad2014. H] ak Ye gf_Y_jgmh g^Y[Y\]e a[k Yf\ others joining forces this autumn to pilot the operation of such an assembly.

Parliament

House of Lords rows

 $Cghqja^* I Hgmk] g^Lgj^k 2015 / P^*glg_j^h^* q Zq Rg_]j HYjj \&. T^*\& image is subject to <u>parliamentary copyright</u>. <u>o o o .hYj &] f I.mc</u>$

Over the summer, the chamber was in the news for all the wrong reasons. In July the Chairman of Committees, Lgj\S]o]dj]ka_f]\gn]j Yddj_Ylagfk g^ae hjghjdlq II afalaYddq Yhh]Yj]\I`YIS]o]de a_`IZ][ge] I`]
Pjkl na[lae g^I`] f]o ...CICQ lags this beeicahoritiebef0 gs/TT2e6...V] VMÀOL 00'LKYPC

calls for major reform, and led to numerous negative headlines about the Lords. These were further fuelled af Am_mkl Zql`] Pjæ] Mafakl]j@ <u>latest peerage list</u>, af[arman] + 45 f Ye k + 26 Cgf k jn Ylan + 11 LaZ j YdD]eg[jYlYf\]a_`lLYZgmj.Fgottpoaf_Yffgmf[]e]fl of four new independent peers in October, the size of the [`Ye Z]j o addj]Y[` Yhhjgpae Yl] dq 830 (gj 870 af [dh\ af _ l`gk] gf d]Yn] g^YZk]f[] gj l]e hgjYjaxdq \aki mYda⊅]\). Ak frequently reported here, and documented in our **Enough** is Enough report (and prior to that House Full), there are widespread concerns both in the chamber and outside about the growth in numbers – which now seem to have reached fever pitch. In August, Labour leadership $[Yf \land YI] On]II] Cggh]j Y[[mk] \land I`] Pjæ] Mafakl]j$ of <u>'vandalising democracy'</u>, while Conservative London Mayor Boris Johnson described the chamber as <u>'out of</u> control' and called for its numbers to be cut by half.

There are now suspicions that the discrediting of the chamber resulting from repeated large numbers of appointments could even be a deliberate government move. If the chamber's reputation declines this strengthens the government's hand in the face of Lords defeats. New research published by the Unit in S]hl]e Z]j demonstrated clearly that media attitudes $[g] \ [g] \ kaf[] \ 2010 \ D \ mjaf_o \ ak \ kar] \ Yk$ _jgofZqo]ddgn]j 100, o al`cfg[c-gf]][lk /gjZgl` f]_Ylan]. T`] hj]k]f[] g^gn]j 100 LaZ]jYdD]e g[jYl peers (to reach approximately 110, following new appointments) is particularly controversial, placing the third party in a very delicate position. At the Liberal D] e g[jYl [gf $^{\prime}$ j]f[] Zgl $^{\cdot}$ l $^{\cdot}$] hYjlq \tilde{Q} [$^{\cdot}$ d $^{\cdot}$ o $^{\cdot}$ dh, Lord Newby, and their new leader, Tim Farron, stated their intention Ig mk] I`] Lgj\k Ig Zotj[c []jIYaf Conservative policies. But if their pivotal status is not mk] \ [Yj] ^mooth ale Yq, ajgfa[Yooth, o] Yc] f Zgl`l`] hYjlq $Yf \setminus I$] $Lgj \setminus k$. $LaZ D] e k e a_ I Yj_m ZY[c, go]n]j,$ that it is the Conservatives who need to adjust. Labour was defeated frequently in the Lords, but generally reached accommodation with peers to get most of its programme through.

Attention in the Lords itself is now closely focused on the reputational damage being done, and the need for [`Yf_]. Of 15 S]hl]e Z]j, the chamber debated a e glagf Ig IYc] fgl] @r^l`] [Yk] 'gj 'mjl`]j af[j]e]fIYd reform of the House of Lords to address the size of the Hgmk] Q[gmhq]\ o al` l`j]] e gj] kh][aP[e glagf k. I\]Yk discussed included a cap on the size of the House, an

end to the hereditary by-elections, greater powers for the House of Lords Appointments Commission, an agreed balance between the parties for new appointments, and ^gj[]\j]Iaj]e]flg^h]]jk Yll`] Y_] g^80 Yf\/gj Yk Y proportion of each party group. The Unit's research was frequently referenced. Three groups are now considering l^{\prime}] o Yq ^gjo Yj\: gf]] klYZdk`]\ Zq l`] Lgj\ Sh] Yc]j, BYjgf]kk D(\$\figstar{G}\)gmrY, Yfgl`]j Zql`] (\$\figc{O}\)Ye hYa_f 'gj Yf E][Ian] S][$gf \ C \ Ye Z$] $j\tilde{O}[g-gj \ af Yl] \ Zq$ $Cgfk]jnYlan] Lgj\k Ngjlgf Yf\ Cgje Y[c, Yf\l`] l`aj\$ by the Leader of the House of Lords. The Leader was proposals to stem prime ministerial appointments Yf\km_]klaf_Đafdaf]oal`l`]Pjæ]Mafakl]j@igof comments – that this is a problem for the Lords to solve. $T^{'}$ jakc ak l'Yl a'l'] ['Ye Z]j k']\k fme Z]jk o al`gml dae alk gf l`] af Bgo al o and lf gl k`jafc, Yf\ o and Ydkg 'Yddhj] q to greater prime ministerial control.

English votes for English laws

$$\label{eq:continuous_problem} \begin{split} &T`]_gn]jfe]fl\ gja_afYodd afl]f\] \ l`Yl\ MPk\ o\ gmollows and light of the light of th$$

Executive

Central machinery for constitutional reform

Amongst the list of new cabinet committees is a Committee on Constitutional Reform chaired by Oliver

Jeremy Corbyn elected as Labour leader Image credit $^{\circ}$ DYna Hgd.

More important were the two other features. The old electoral college - which gave a third of the voting $hgo]j]Y[`lggj\afYjqhYjlqe]eZ]jk, MPkYf\MEPk,$ and trade unions - was replaced with 'one person one vote'. And voting was opened up to non-members who $j]_akl]j] \ Yk kmhhgjl]jk. If l`]]f\, 105,598 ngl]k o]j]$ cast by registered supporters – a quarter of the total. But fears that they would sway the result proved unfounded. $DakY_{j]_Y[] \setminus j] kmdlk hmZdak`] \setminus Zql`] hYjlqk`go] \setminus$ $CgjZqf oaffaf_49.6\% g^ngl]k Ye gf_e]e Z]jk (Y$ $[YI]_gjq f[oth f_MPk Yf \ MEPk) gf I^] Pjkl jgmf \,$ while all three other candidates were far behind, plus 83.8% Ye gf_j]_akl]j]\ kmhhgjl]jk Yf\ 57.6% Ye gf_ $af\ana.mYdljY\] mfagf Y aaYl]k. II ak hgkkaZdj, `go]n]j,$ that without the system's openness to non-party members, the bandwagon that generated this victory would not have gathered speed.

LYZgnj ak I`] Þjkl UK hYjlq lg`Yn] mk]\km[`Yf gh] f hjæ Yjq 'gj Y dJY\]jk`ah]dJ[lægf. Sæ að/j [gfl]klk have, however, long been a feature of elections in the Ufal]\SIYI]k (k]] hY_]k 12-13) Yf\`Yn] Ydkg Z][ge] commonplace in recent years in countries such as Fps048004E00in coes such as

‰0**∰**K:[TLp₽UVUBIYVTÄIVH[\$À)

JAPAGE—IXABANA'ABBOSAIQA'%QAPIN5'ESVENENTYXENSDAGYENB8%AAAHSAAAHSAAAHDIJAGENDANPARESILWVAKLXIZDWV BA

Ø

of emphasis with the new leader stressing in his speech that Labour would 'stand up for the vision of a social Europe, a Europe of unity and solidarity' – in the party's 2015 e Yfa'l klg economic arguments had been central to Labour's case for continued EU membership. On \] ngahagf, I`] g [a'dghhgkaagf remain supportive

 $\label{eq:total_conditions} T`] e gkl jY\a[Ydhjgnakagfk Yj] gf o]dYj]. £2.5 Zandagf o gjl` g^Z]f] Plk o and Z] \] ngoth] \, Zml Hgothjgg\ o and Ydkg`Yn] l`] hgo]j lg lgh-mh UK Z]f] Plk 'jge alk go f j] kgmj[]k a^al \g]k fgl anc] l`] [mlk O]kle af kl]j e Yc]k.
<math display="block">T`] hgodla[k g^l` ak ak gZnagmk: l`] SNP o and `Yn] lg hml$

PYjdYe]fl Bmað\f_k g^Slgje gfl f B]dYkl, Ngjl`]jf lj]dYf\. Image credit © \underline{Ocfa} 194

With trust already in general decline, two recent murders in a gangland-type feud among IRA veterans were k]jagmk]fgm_`af[a\]flk lg khYjc Y mfagfakl o al`\jYo Yd from the power-sharing executive, with the smaller $Udkl]jUfaqfaklk \jY_af_l`]Za_]jDUP Y^l]jl`]e.$ $T^*a^Yhh]f]\setminus]n]fI^*gm_^ SaffF‡af^Y\setminus [gf\setminus]ef]\setminus$ the murders and called for co-operation with the police. However, the unionists insisted that toleration of a godfather role for old IRA leaders, whether acting on behalf of the movement or not, violated the pledge to employ exclusively peaceful means in politics. They $\[Yf \] \ I \ YI \ Saff \ F \neq af \ k \ gmod \]f \ kmj \ I \] \ IRA fgl gf \ dq$ j]eYafkafY[lan]Zml\akYhh]YjkYdlg_]l`]j.BmlSaff F‡afoaddfgl_gl`Yl^Yj.T`]j]akfgoYgl`Yll`]goadd denounce old warriors who are in some cases still part of the political leadership.

The question then arises as to whether the unionist [`Yodff_] Ig Saff F‡af]n]j `Y\ Yfq `gh] g^km[[]]\af_ Yf\ o Yk o gjl` jakcaf_l`] 'Minj] g^l`] Akk]e Zod 'gj. T`] answer to both questions is surely not. Internal unionist rivalries and frustration among the minor parties with DUP-Saff F]af \ge af Yf[] Y\\]\ Ig I`] e ge]fIme 'gj Executive withdrawal. The question now is whether that momentum can be reversed.

As the basis for restoring political order, the UK government with Irish support has drafted a SIgje gfl House Agreement Bill, ZYk]\gfl^] YZgjlan]\]YdÞjkl approved by all the parties last Christmas, but then \]fgmf[]\ZqSaffF‡afo`]fl`]qj]Yak]\ale]Yfl accepting Treasury cuts to the devolved welfare system.
T`] hYjlq[gmd\fgl Y gj\lg Y[[]hl [mlk o`ad] Yll`] same time mounting the main anti-austerity challenge in next year's elections in the Republic as well as the North.

OI`]j Ykh][Ik g^SIgje gf I Hgmk] o]j] dgcaf_e gj] hopeful, such as agreement over a beefed up independent Historic Investigations Unit into outstanding Troubles cases and a separate forum for revealing to victims' families what happened to their loved ones. In a single political reform the UK government proposes extending the time for executive formation from seven to 14 days. It is hoped that this will allow more time for the parties to agree a genuinely joint programme for government rather than head for \] Y\dg[cgn]jjanYdo & dk k.

 $\label{eq:continuous_problem} T`] _gn]jfe]fl@ afkakl]f[] gf dafcaf_l`] 'mf\af_ for a revived agreement to acceptance of the welfare [mk dggck hjgZd]e Ylal. T`] lae af_e Yql`]j] 'gj] Z] against early resolution. The government may yet have <math>[gd_akdYl] [gIYc] o]dYj] hgo]jk ZY[cl]e hgjYjadqlg$



Lord Thomas, LCJ, Judicial Independence closing conference Jmf] 2015. le Y_] [j]\a' © Constitution Unit

Yf\Saj JYe]k MmfZq^gj`akj]^gjekg^Yeadplomkla[], and his speech neatly dovetailed with one given by the Lord Chief Justice the day before.

At the closing conference of the Unit's project on the Pgdlak g^Jm\a'dlf\]h]f\]f[] gf 22 Jmf], I`]

Lgj\ C`a' ^Jmkla'] Yf\ Saj T]j]f[] EI`]jlgf, `]Y\ g^
I`] C`Yf[]jq Danakagf, khgc] af kæ ad/j I]je k YZgml the 'most transformative court reform programme in a generation'. Modernising IT is central to improving the system, with plans for a common digital platform for criminal justice which will embrace the criminal courts Yf\ lm_]k, I`] Cjgo f Pjgk][mlagf S]jna[], I`] hgd[] Yf\ I`] hjgZYlagf k]jna[]. Sæ ad/jdu, af I`] [anad[gmjlk, there are plans to reduce the need for formal hearings, kh]]\ mh\][akagf e Ycaf_, Yf\ kmZe al 'Yj e gj] information on line. The courts estate will be further rationalised, supplemented by the use of video technology.

Lord Thomas's speech was titled Judicial Leadership. The Lord Chief Justice emphasised two things. First, that these reforms were being initiated by the judiciary, and their implementation was being led by the bm\d\d'jq, ogjcdf_df [gfbmf[lagf odi l']]p][mlan] Yf\hYjdle]fl. S][gf\, l'Yll']bm\d\d'jqfgo gh]jYl]\Y more collective form of leadership, through the Judicial Executive Board and the Judges' Council. In the past the Lord Chancellor would have led the way; but increasingly l']bm\d\d'jqYj]l']ek]dh]klYcdf_j]khgfkd\ddq'gj running the justice system. The LCJ accepted that with that responsibility went greater accountability, in particular to parliament.



Taking sides: The politics of the EU referendum

The political debate about the UK's EU membership is intensifying in the run-up to a potentially decisive Emjgh] Yf kme e at af D][]e Z]j. S`mld \andge Y[q between London and Brussels has increased, the campaigns are launching, and the political parties are positioning themselves during their annual conferences. O`ad I`] LaZ]jYdD]e g[jYlk Yj] Pje dq hdY[]\af I`] 'In' camp, and Labour continues to be supportive of continued EU membership in spite of initial tensions after its leadership election, the Conservatives continue Ig Z] \ana\lambda]\. O [aYddq I`] hYjIq o addkIYq f]mljYdaf I`] campaign, but a recent study by Open Europe suggests I`YI Yk e Yf q Yk 203 Tgjq MPk Yj] mf\][a\]\.

The domestic debate in Britain is playing out against I`] ZY[c\jgh g^afl]fk] hgala[Yd[`Ydlf_]k af I`] EU Yk $Y \circ gd, o' j l' SqiaYf j m_ [jakak Yf l' qhf_-$ I]je afklamlagfYdeYc]-mh g^l`] Emjgrgf] \ge afYl] the agenda. Both questions are of crucial importance for the Pjæ | Mafakl]j@YII]e hl lg i]-f]_glaYI] the UK's relationship with Europe. The refugee crisis has become entangled with the salient debate about immigration $Yf \ hg[]f[a']ddy \][[k]] (Ykg][mf\][a]\) [ae af_g^$ the referendum; recent proposals by France and the Emjgh] Yf Cge e akkagf 'gj Emjgrgf] j] 'gje [gmolk g]j an opportunity to accommodate British re-negotiation requests – even if formal EU Treaty change will not happen before the referendum. The goals and the process of the re-negotiation itself remain opaque and are driven by the tension between the politically feasible and the domestically 'sellable'. Recent calls by Labour and the trade unions for the continuation of a 'social Europe' also underline that what may count as a renegotiation success for the moderately Eurosceptic centre-right could cost support for continued EU membership on the centre-left.

The passage of the EU Referendum Bill

The bill enabling a referendum on the UK's EU membership completed its House of Commons kIY_] k af S]hl]e Z]j Yf\`Yk f go j]Y[`]\l`] Lords. Its Commons passage was, however, far from straightforward. The government was forced into a series of concessions relating to the referendum timing, the referendum question, and the rules governing the referendum campaign.

Regarding timing, the government initially proposed kae hold [YII'] j] 1 j] f\me o gmol [Yc] hold [ZqI']] f\g^2017. T`] Zandf go hjgna\] k I`YI al o andf gl [gaf [a\] o al`I'] nYjagmk MYq] d] [lagf k af] al`]j 2016 gj 2017. The government also accepted a four-month notice h]jag\ 1 gj []j|Yaf e YII]jk I`YI o andle Yc] al`Yj\ Ig [YodY snap poll.

Of I`] j] '[] f\me i m] klagf, Y @] k/NgÕi m] klagf Ykcaf_ @\$`gmd\ I`] Ufal]\ Kaf_\ge j] e Yaf Y e] e Z] j g^I`] European Union?' was initially proposed. Following advice from the Electoral Commission, however, this o Yk [`Yf_]\ Ig @\$`gmd\ I`] Ufal]\ Kaf_\ge j] e Yaf Y member of the European Union or leave the European Ufagf?ÕT`] [`Yf_] j] ß] [I]\ ZgI` 'g[mk_jgmh Þf\af_k and a successful campaign by advocates of 'Brexit', o`g Yj_m]\ I`YI Y Q] k/Ng i m] klagf o gmd\ Z] ZaYk]\. Smhhgjl]jk g^EU e] e Z]jk`ah 'Yad]\ Ig [gmfI]j I`ak, Yf\ now face the challenge of campaigning for an option called 'Remain'.

On campaign rules, the government proposed to increase the usual spending limits and this was agreed. But it faced bigger problems with its proposed relaxation of the so-called 'purdah' rules, which restrict the government's use of the Whitehall publicity machine during an election or referendum. They are intended to hj]n]fll`] _gn]jfe]fl'jge e Ycaf_ Yffgmf[]e]flk $g[hmZdk \cdot af_g] = g[hmZdk \cdot$ the outcome. The government had originally argued that there should be no restrictions on the way that ministers could campaign in the run-up to the EU referendum. But 'godqoaf_[jala[ake 'jge B]jfYj\J]fcaf MPYf\gl`]j $Emjgk[]hla[ZY[cZ]f[`]jk,l`]_gn]jfe]fleg\ab] \ dk$ position and accepted that purdah should be in place, but with an exemption that would allow ministers 'to communicate a position on the referendum in restrained and moderate terms'.

 $T^ak[gf[]kkagf Yad] \setminus [gim] ddYj]Z] ddagf Zq37$ Cgfk[inYlan] MPk, $Yf \setminus gf 7 S[hl] e Z[il] _gn[ife]fl$ km] j] \ ak Þjkl \] /] Yl af l`] Hgmk] g^Cge e gfk, obkaf_ $Y \, ngl] \, gf \, l`] \, hmj \ Y` \, jmq] \, k \, Zq \, 312 \, lg \, 285. \, T`] \, j] \, Z] \, dk$ argued that anything but the strict application of purdah rules meant that the referendum result would be 'rigged' and 'invalid', while the government maintained that klja[lhmj\Y`[gmd\eYc]_gn]jfe]fl\]Ydaf_koal`l`] EU 'impossible'. Ministers needed to continue to give an account of their day-to-day business with the EU, and also to explain the outcome of the government's membership renegotiations to the British public. Foreign O [] d/oq]jko]j] [gf[]jf]\YII`] jakc g^bm\a[a\/d] $j] na] o a^{1}] hmj \ Y jma] k o] j] fg | j] d'p] \, Yk Yfqg [a'd]$ statements made by ministers relating to the EU could be construed as potentially in breach of purdah.

T` ak kcaje ak` af_ YZgml I`] [Ye hYa_f jmd] k o addk]] e kljYf_] Ig gmlka\] gZk]jn]jk. Pjg']kkgj SYjY HgZgdl (LSE)` Yk [ge e]fl]\ I` Yl klja[l hmj\Y` jmd] k Yj] dj kk commonly applied in EU referendums in other European countries. In Irish referendums on the EU, ministers have not been prohibited from presenting their case in the jmf-ml $[g I^*]$ [ngl]. If [gf] [

International



The race is on in the US primaries

The race for the White House is in full swing. Over 40 Republicans have declared themselves candidates, Zml I`] 'g[mk`Yk Z]]f gf ZaddgfYaj] DgfYd\ Tjme h, gf son and brother of former Bush presidents Jeb Bush, Yf\ Đjakaf_af I`] hgdk Đj]Iaj]\ f]mjgkmj_]gf Dj B]f Carson and former businesswoman and current head of Good360 Carly Fiorina. Much of the attention has been on Trump's sizeable lead in the polls, despite clashes with fellow candidates and journalists, plus questionable performances in the two Republican debates held so far. It remains unclear whether Trump's populist policies and popularity are robust in light of increasing pressure and criticism from women and minority groups.

 $\label{eq:figure_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final_final$

Constitution Unit news

New leadership team, Associates and Fellows

The autumn has brought important changes at the top at the Constitution Unit. Robert Hazell, who founded the Uf a f 1995, stepped down Yk Dail[lqi qf 30 S]hlle Z]i and has entered semi-retirement. He is succeeded as Daj [lgj Zql`] hj] nagmk D] hmlq Daj [lgj, Meg Russell. If S]hl]e Z]j, AdYf R]fo ac joined UCL from the Ufan]jkalq g^R] Y a Y Y Z[ge] k l`] f] o D] hmlq $Dai[[qi(k)]] h[qpd] Z[qdo). If Y^{aqq}, loqql^]i UCL$ $Y[Y] = a[k Yn] | Yc] f gf | | k|Y|mk g^Akkg[aY|] SIY :$ Dj C`jaklaf] R]`, Yf EU kh][a'/akl af l`] D]hYjle]fl g^ Pgdala[YdS[a]f[]/S[`ggdg^PmZda[Pgda[q, Yf\ Di Cgde O'Cinneide, a human rights specialist from the Faculty of Laws. The changeover also saw the launch of our new _jgmh g^Cgfklalmlagf Ufal F] odbjo k, hjg Þgl\ gf hY_] 15. We are very happy to welcome them all.

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is due out with Oxford Ufan]jkalq Pj]kk af JYfmYjq, H] `Yk Ydkg j][]floq published on the conduct of referendums, and options for a constitutional convention for the UK. Alan is currently part of a collaborative project with the mfan]jkalajk g^S`]] d\ Yf\ Sgml` Ye hlgf lg jmf lo g pilot citizens' assemblies. The project is funded by the ESRC, $Yf \setminus Z]_{afk} i k e qfl . Uh \ Yl k qf ak h jq_j kk$ will appear in future issues.

Other staf changes

We are very sorry to say goodbye to several valued $e] e Z] jk g^l] Ufal. Dj JYe] k M] dlgf `Yk \] hYjl] \ UCL$ $[g j][m]f[g ak fYlan] US. Omj f]okd[l]j Yf Zety_] algj,$ SgfYdaCYe hagf, `Yk Ydkg e gn] \ gf lg Y f] o hgkalagf, $YID]eg[jYIa[Am\lambda a]UK. If `]jhdY[]o]Yj] \]da_`I] \$ lg o] d[ge] JY[cS`] d\gf, o`g lggc mh l`] hgkl af O[IgZ]j. T PCUK I] Ye Zak Yj] o] ddlg 'gje] j j] k] Yj[` YkkaklYfl MYj[g Mgjm[[ao`g`Yk e gn]\lgl`] US lg \g YP`DYIDmc] Ufan]jkalq, Yf\o]q[ge]kJYna]j SYbmjaY Yk Y j]k]Yj[`Ykkg[aYl] gf l`] ESRC R]hj]k]flYlan]Audit of Britain project. Javier is formally employed ZqSljYl`[dq\] Ufan]jkalqogjcaf_oal` hjglj[lhYjlf]j Wolfgang Rudig, but will spend part of his time at UCL o`]j]`] ak [mjj]flotq [ge hd]laf_`ak P`D. FafYott, otgf_læ] PCUK j]k]Yj[`Ykkg[aYl] Dj C`jqkY LYe hjafYcgm ljYn]dk Yddl`] o Yq \gof Ggo]j Slj]]l lg BajcZ][c Cgd[_], Zml [gflafm]k lg o gjc gf l`] R]hj]k]flYlan]

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Welcome to Alan Renwick

T`] Ufal@ f]o D]hmlq Daj][lgj, AdVf R]foa[c, logafk mk from the University of Reading, and has previously held positions at Oxford University. He has particular expertise in electoral systems and electoral reform, Yf\akl`] Yml`gj g^log Zggck:

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(Bai] ZY[c, 2011).

New Constitution Unit Fellows

In October, alongside the change of leadership at the Unit, we are very pleased to welcome a new group of Constitution Unit Fellows. The eight Fellows are senior academics at other universities who will have strong dfck lg l`] Ufall`jgm_` [gfljalmiaf_lg gmj hm2dfYlagfk, research and events. Future editions of will provide occasional updates on their research.

Professor Justin Fisher



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Professor Michael Kenny



Ma^Y] dK] ffqak Daj] [Igj of the Mile End Institute at Queen Mary, University of London. He was awarded a Major Research Fellowship by the Leverhulme Trust in 2012D13 Ig [ge hd]] Y klm\q of the cultural, political and constitutional dimensions of the English question and

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_____. He is currently conducting a major project evaluating the implementation of 'English votes for English laws', and is a Visiting Research Fellow at the <u>Centre on Constitutional Change</u>.

Professor Cristina Leston-Bandeira



Cristina Leston-Bandeira

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in the area of comparative

legislatures. Cristina's research

has recently focused on parliament and public engagement and she is currently co-leading a project on how the UK parliament engages the public in the legislative process.

Professor Andrew Le Sueur



Af\j] o L] Sm] mj & Pjg/] kkgj of Constitutional Justice at the University of Essex and is involved in practical law reform issues as a member of the Jersey Law Commission. His interests span constitutional and administrative law, including courts and the 'justice infrastructure', judicial

review and the challenges faced by very small legal systems. He is part of the team leading development of the Nm] d. Fgmf\Ylagf @ [jgkk-\ak[ahdfYjqUK A\e afakljYlan] Justice Institute.

Professor Kate Malleson



KYI] MYdd kgf & Pjg'] kkgj of Law at Queen Mary, University of London. Her main research interests are the judiciary, the legal system Yf\I'] [gfklamlagf.S'] 'Yk a particular interest in judicial selection processes and the challenge of increasing diversity in the composition

g^l`] $bm \ a[a'jq S`] j][]flot [ge hd]l] \, o al` [god] Y_m] k from the Constitution Unit and Birmingham University, a three year AHRC funded project on 'The politics of judicial independence in the UK's changing constitution'. Its <math>bf \ a[k o]j] \ hmZ \ ak`] \ af \ Y \ Zggc g^l`] \ kYe] \ lad \ Zq \ CUP \ af \ 2015.$

Professor Nicola McEwen

Nágdy M[Eo]f ak Pjg/]kkgj g^T]jjagja'dPgdala k Yl l`] University of Edinburgh. S`] ak Akkg[a'l] Daj][lgj g^ l`] ESRC S[gllak` C]flj] gf Constitutional Change, and Managing Editor of Regional and Federal Slm\a'k, l`] d'Y\a'_Emjgh]Yf lgmjf Yda' l`] Þ] d\ g^l]jjagja'd

hgdla[k. S`] `Yk hmZdk`]\ o a\] dq af l`] P] d\ g^l]jjalgjaYd politics, multi-level government and nationalism, and is actively involved in informing debate within the wider hgdl[q Yf\ hgdla[Yd[ge e mfalq, l`jgm_` e]\aY o gjc, consultancy and public engagement.

Professor Petra Schleiter

P]ljY S[`dal]jak Pjg/]kkgj g^Cge hYjYlan] Pgala[k Yl l`] D]hYjle]fl g^Pgala[k and International Relations, Ufan]jkalqg^Op/gj\. P]ljY ak Y comparative political scientist whose research examines how political institutions shape representation and accountability. Her

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Unit publications

Graham Gee, Robert Hazell, Kate Malleson and PYIją́ c O®ją́ f. (CYe Zjak_] Ufan]jkalq Pj]kk, Jmf] 2015). Order online.

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