POL13: The Politics of Europe
Paper guide 2019-20 (October 2019)

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Introduction to the paper

European politics has always been a vibrant subject, and one that has been in considerable flux in recent years. In fact, the word ‘crisis’ is frequently used to describe various aspects of European politics – from the ‘crisis of the post-war settlement’ and the ‘crisis of the welfare state’ to the ‘crisis of political parties’, the ‘Eurozone crisis’, and the ‘migration crisis’. Most recently, the UK’s vote to leave the European Union has raised profound questions about the relationship between Britain and continental Europe, the effectiveness of the UK’s political institutions, and the long-term prospects of both the UK and the EU.

POL13 examines these questions through two modules, one on British Politics and one on the Politics of the European Union: the examination takes the form of an undivided paper, so students can specialize in one module or study them in combination. The British Politics module explores political developments in the UK since 1945, including the rise of Thatcherism and New Labour, devolution and constitutional reform, economic and social policy, and changes in electoral behaviour up to the 2017 general election. The Politics of the European Union module examines key aspects of the process of European integration, such as the nature of the European Union, the distribution of power within (and political mobilisation against) the EU, monetary integration and its problems, EU enlargement, and the EU’s role in international affairs. The paper will enable students to engage critically with the scholarly literature in these fields and to develop a comparative and historical perspective on British and European politics.
Prerequisites and Background Reading

There are no formal prerequisites for this paper, but students who took either the Western Europe module or the United States and United Kingdom module in the POL4 paper last year will find that they provide some useful background information.

Students are strongly encouraged to develop their general understanding of the post-war political history of Britain and/or the European Union (as appropriate) before the start of Michaelmas Term, so that they are ready to engage with the supervision topics at an appropriate level of sophistication. Reading textbooks and general histories is one way of doing this, but diaries and memoirs can also provide valuable insights into how politics and policy-making worked.

Teaching arrangements

The teaching for this paper consists of lectures and supervisions spread across Michaelmas and Lent Terms, and one or more Easter Term revision classes. There will be 32 lectures in total – 16 on British Politics and 16 on The Politics of the European Union.

Students must answer three questions (drawn from either section) in the three-hour written examination. Students will be asked to indicate at the start of Michaelmas Term whether they wish to focus entirely on British Politics or the Politics of the European Union, or to have three supervisions in each module.

Mock written examination

Students taking the written exam should answer three questions, which may be taken from either section. Note that the structure of POL13 has changed a number of times in recent years, in response to academic availability and student feedback; the mock exam paper below has been designed with this year’s paper in mind. On the British Politics side, there will be one question on each of the 10 supervision topics, though students should note that some of these topics are very broad, and the questions may therefore be rather different to those which they have tackled for supervision essays. On the EU side, there will be 10 questions which will broadly correspond to the 8 supervision topics, though they may not map exactly onto them. For instance, there may be more than one question on the very extensive topic of EU policy-making.

Section A: British Politics

1. ‘The gap between Butlerism and Gaitskellism is too small to drive a Rotary Club, yet alone a major national party between.’ (The Economist, 1954) Has the case for a ‘Butskellite’ consensus been exaggerated?
2. Is the collapse of the post-war settlement in 1970s Britain best explained by economic crisis, social change, or political malaise?
3. What, if anything, was conservative about ‘Thatcherism’?
4. Did the Labour governments of 1997-2010 succeed in their objectives?
5. Do recent election results in Britain suggest that parties should focus on winning the ‘median voter’?
6. How and why has the ‘core executive’ changed since 1997? You may, if you wish, focus your answer on one or more prime ministers.
7. ‘The concept of parliamentary sovereignty was fatally weakened, not by EU membership, but by constitutional reality.’ (Fergal Davis) Do you agree?
8. What lessons can we learn from comparing devolved governance in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland?
9. Has the impact of immigration on post-war British politics been overstated?
10. Does the role of household debt in the UK economy amount to a form of ‘privatized Keynesianism’?

Section B: The Politics of the European Union

11. What explains EITHER the origins OR the development of the European Union?
12. What is the value of integration theory?
13. Who or what drives the integration process?
14. How have inter-institutional relations changed over time?
15. Is the EU democratic?
16. ‘Economic and monetary union is a political not an economic project.’ Discuss.
17. How effective is European foreign policy? OR What are the impediments to European asylum and immigration policy?
18. Have the benefits of EU enlargement policy been overstated?
19. Have crises strengthened or weakened the European Union?
20. ‘Bad for the UK, good for Europe.’ How far does this capture the potential impact of Brexit?
Section A. British Politics

This section of the paper explores politics and government in modern Britain from four different perspectives. Firstly, it examines the historical background to contemporary British politics, from the apparent stability of the post-war ‘golden age’, through the multiple crises of the 1970s, to the social and economic changes associated with Margaret Thatcher and the emergence of New Labour. Secondly, it considers what these changes have meant for the British constitution, the distribution of power within (and between) Whitehall and Westminster, and the making of public policy. Thirdly, it explores the political implications of the devolution settlement and the challenges which Scottish, Welsh, and Irish nationalism pose to the future of the United Kingdom. Finally, it examines recent developments in electoral politics – including the 2015 and 2017 general elections and the EU referendum – and asks how they might prompt us to refine existing theories about voting behaviour and the changing role of parties. The section thus enables students to develop a detailed understanding of post-war British political history and to set contemporary academic debates in a wider context.

Lectures (by Dr Peter Sloman)

Michaelmas Term
Mondays and Wednesdays, 12 noon
Alison Richard Building room SG1

1. Introduction: British politics in theory and practice
4. Political ideas in the ‘golden age’, 1945-73
5. The crisis of the post-war settlement: Britain in the 1970s
6. Thatcherism
7. New Labour
8. The Cameron-Clegg coalition
9. Electoral behaviour and the changing party system
10. The constitution (I): Inside Whitehall
11. The constitution (II): Devolution and nationalism: Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland
13. The constitution (IV): Constitutional reform
14. Public policy (I): Immigration and integration
15. Public policy (II): The Treasury and economic policy
16. Public policy (III): The welfare state

Students may also wish to attend some of the following lectures on related topics given by the Faculty of History:

- Dr Pedro Ramos Pinto – ‘Economics for historians’ (Thursdays at 10am in Michaelmas Term in the History Faculty)
- Dr Niamh Gallagher and others – ‘British political history since 1880’ (Tuesdays and Wednesdays at 11am in Michaelmas Term, and Mondays and Tuesdays at 12 noon in Lent Term, weeks 1-7 only, in the History Faculty). For the full list of topics, see the paper guide at https://www.hist.cam.ac.uk/undergraduate/hist-tripos/part-i/part-i-papers-current/paper6.
General and background readings

Historical background

Peter Hennessy, *The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945* (2000)

General readings and reference works

Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)
Anthony King and Ivor Crewe, *The Blunders of our Governments* (2013)

Diaries and memoirs

Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell Diaries* (6 vols., 2010-17)
1. Post-war Britain: from ‘austerity’ to ‘affluence’, 1945-64

What did the Attlee government’s achievements owe to the Second World War? (i, ii)
OR Why did Labour lose power in 1951 despite fulfilling its 1945 manifesto? (ii, iv)
OR What were the objectives of the 1951-64 Conservative governments, and how far did they achieve them? (iii, iv)

i. The Second World War and the 1945 general election


ii. The Attlee government, 1945-51

OR *Henry Pelling, The Labour Governments, 1945-51 (Basingstoke, 1984), chapters 1-2, 5-6 and conclusion
OR *Martin Francis, Ideas and Policies under Labour 1945-51: Building a New Britain (Manchester, 1997), chapters 1-4
*Charles Webster, ‘Conflict and consensus: Explaining the British Health Service’, Twentieth Century British History, 1 (1990)
Alan Booth, ‘How long are “light years” in British politics? The Labour Party’s economic ideas in the 1930s’, Twentieth Century British History, 7 (1996)

iii. The Conservative governments, 1951-64

Peter Clarke, Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000 (2004), chapters 7 and 8
John Turner, Macmillan (1994)
iv. The Conservative Party and its electoral strategies during the 1940s and 50s


2. Governing the ‘affluent society’, 1964-79

Why did social democracy flourish in Britain in the 1940s and 50s, but struggle in the 1960s and 70s? (i, ii, iv)
OR Why did governments between 1964 and 1979 find it so difficult to win re-election? (i, ii, iii)
OR Did the 1970s witness a crisis of capitalism or a crisis of social democracy? (i, iii, iv)

i. Politics and social change in the 1960s and 70s

Jon Lawrence, ‘Paternalism, class, and the British path to modernity’, in Simon Gunn and James Vernon (eds.), The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity in Imperial Britain (Berkeley, CA, 2011)
Keith Middlemas, Power, Competition and the State (3 vols., Basingstoke, 1986-91), introductions to vols. II and III

ii. The Wilson government, 1964-70

David Howell, British Social Democracy: A Study in Development and Decay (1976), chapters 8-10
Richard Tyler, ““Victims of our history”? Barbara Castle and In Place of Strife”, Contemporary British History, 20 (2006)

iii. The Heath government, 1970-74


iv. The ‘crisis’ of social democracy, 1974-79

Gareth Stedman Jones, ‘Why is the Labour Party in a mess?’, in his Languages of Class (1983)

3. Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative governments, 1979-97

‘For Thatcher, the goal was not to engineer a short-term improvement in the economy, but to eliminate socialism from British political culture.’ (Robert Saunders) How, and how far, did the Thatcher governments achieve this? (i, ii, iv)
OR ‘The first Thatcher Administration was designed primarily as an experiment in government survival rather than in economic or political theory.’ (Jim Bulpitt) Discuss. (i, iii, iv)
OR Did ‘Thatcherism’ amount to anything more than a revival of traditional Conservatism? (i, ii, iv)

i. Introductions, interpretations and biographies

*E.H.H. Green, Thatcher (Oxford, 2006)
Charles Moore, Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography (2 vols. to date, 2013-)

ii. Thatcherism and the Conservative Party

Stephen Evans, ‘The not so odd couple: Margaret Thatcher and One Nation Conservatism’, Contemporary British History, 23 (2009)
Anthony Quinton, The Politics of Imperfection (1978)

iii. The Conservatives in opposition, 1974-79


iv. The Thatcher governments and their policies

Dennis Kavanagh and Anthony Seldon (eds.), The Thatcher Effect: A Decade of Change (1989)
Matthew Francis, “‘A crusade to enfranchise the many’; Thatcherism and the “property-owning democracy’”, Twentieth Century British History, 23 (2012)
Aled Davies et al., “‘Everyman a capitalist” or “Free to choose”? Exploring the tensions within Thatcherite individualism’, Historical Journal, 61 (2018)

v. Conservatism after Thatcher

Peter Riddell, ‘The lasting impact of Mrs. Thatcher’, in Simon James and Virginia Preston (eds.), British Politics since 1945: The Dynamics of Historical Change (Basingstoke, 2001)
Dennis Kavanagh and Anthony Seldon (eds.), The Major Effect (1994)
Kevin Hickson and Ben Williams (eds.), John Major: An Unsuccessful Prime Minister? (2017)

4. New Labour

Did ‘New Labour’ amount to anything more than an electoral strategy? (i, ii, iii)
OR How successful were Tony Blair and Gordon Brown’s governments in achieving their economic and social policy objectives? (i, ii, iii)
i. General readings and interpretations

*Colin Hay, *The Political Economy of New Labour* (Manchester, 1999), chapters 1-3

ii. Economic policy and other domestic policies

*Patrick Diamond and Michael Kenny, *Reassessing New Labour: Market, State and Society under Blair and Brown* (Chichester, 2011; also published as a special issue of *Political Quarterly*, September 2010) esp. introduction and essays by Corry, Horton and Brivati
*Stuart White and Martin O’Neill, ‘That was the New Labour that wasn’t’, *Fabian Review*, 125 (2013) (available online at http://philpapers.org/archive/WHITWT)

iii. Social policy


iv. Foreign policy

Oliver Daddow and Jamie Gaskarth (eds.), British Foreign Policy: The New Labour Years (Basingstoke, 2011)

v. Contemporary sources and journalism

Damian McBride, Power Trip: A Decade of Policy, Plots and Spin (2013)
Chris Mullin, A View from the Foothills (2009)
Alastair Campbell, The Alastair Campbell Diaries (6 vols., 2010-17)

5. Elections and party strategies since 1979

Which model of voting behaviour (sociological, spatial, or valence) best explains recent electoral outcomes in Britain? (i-iii)
OR ‘In opposition, you move to the centre. In government, you move the centre.’ (George Osborne) Is this still the best recipe for electoral success in Britain? (i, iii, v)
OR How and why has the British party system changed since 1997? (ii-iv)

i. Elections and voting behaviour

OR David Denver et al., Elections and Voters in Britain (multiple editions, most recently 2011)
Geoffrey Evans and Kat Chzhen, ‘Re-evaluating the valence model of electoral choice’, Political Science Research and Methods, 4 (2016)
Geoffrey Evans and James Tilley, ‘How parties shape class politics: Explaining the decline of the class basis of party support’, British Journal of Political Science, 42 (2011)
Maria Teresa Grasso et al., ‘Thatcher’s children, Blair’s babies, political socialization and trickle-down value change: An age, period and cohort analysis’, *British Journal of Political Science*, early view (2017)

Patrick Dunleavy, *Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Public Choice* (1990), chapter 5

**ii. Recent general elections, 1997-2015**


Paul Whiteley et al., *Affluence, Austerity and Electoral Change in Britain* (Cambridge, 2013)


Harold D. Clarke et al., *Austerity and Political Choice in Britain* (Basingstoke, 2016)


**iii. The 2017 general election**


Jonathan Tonge et al. (eds.), *Britain Votes 2017* (Oxford, 2018; also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71 (2018))

Nicholas Allen and John Bartle (eds.) *None Past the Post: Britain at the Polls, 2017* (Manchester UP, 2018)


**iv. Changes in the UK party system**


*Thomas Quinn ‘From two-partism to alternating predominance: The changing UK party system, 1950-2010’, *Political Studies*, 61 (2013)*

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6. The British executive

Has the ‘presidentialization’ of British politics been exaggerated? (i, ii)
OR How well does Rod Rhodes’ ‘core executive’ model explain the dynamics of Whitehall policy-making? (ii, iii)
OR Does the experience of 2010-15 suggest that there are significant differences in policy-making between a coalition and a single-party government?

i. The Prime Minister

*Peter Hennessy, The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945 (2000)
Richard Rose, *The Prime Minister in a Shrinking World* (Cambridge, 2001)


**ii. Cabinet and core executive**


*Rod Rhodes, ‘From prime ministerial power to core executive’, in Rod Rhodes and Patrick Dunleavy (eds.), *Prime Minister, Cabinet and Core Executive* (1995)


**iii. Histories and case studies of policy-making**

Peter A. Hall, ‘Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state: The case of economic policymaking in Britain’, *Comparative Politics*, 25 (1992-3)


Michael Barber, *Instruction to Deliver: Fighting to Transform Britain’s Public Services* (2007)

Anthony King and Ivor Crewe, *The Blunders of our Governments* (2013)
iv. The 2010-15 coalition

*Charles Lees, ‘How unusual is the United Kingdom coalition (and what are the chances of it happening again?)’, *Political Quarterly*, 82 (2011)

*Ben Yong and Tim Bale, ‘Britain’s experience of coalition government: Continuity and change’, in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)


7. Parliament and the constitution

What, if anything, is wrong with the British constitution? (i-iv)

Does Parliament have any meaningful impact on British public policy? (i, ii)

(See also the section on devolution below)

i. General readings on the constitution and constitutional reform


*Iain McLean, *What’s Wrong with the British Constitution*? (Oxford, 2010), esp. introduction


Robert Hazell (ed.), *Constitutional Futures Revisited: Britain’s Constitution to 2020* (Basingstoke, 2008)


Thomas Bingham, *The Rule of Law* (2011)
Matt Qvortup (ed.), *The British Constitution: Continuity and Change* (Oxford, 2013), esp. essays by Finn and Seldon and by Riddell

**ii. Parliament**


**iii. The English question**


**iv. Constitutional implications of the 2016 EU referendum**


**8. Devolution**

Is asymmetric devolution fundamentally unstable? (i-iv)
OR Why has nationalism been so much more successful since 1999 in Scotland than in Wales? (ii, iii)
OR Why has the power of English local government declined, and how might this be reversed? (v)

i. Devolution

*James Mitchell, *Devolution in the UK* (Manchester, 2009)


Charlie Jeffery, ‘The United Kingdom after the Scottish referendum’, in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)


Derek Birrell, *Comparing Devolved Governance* (Basingstoke, 2012)


Akash Paun and Sam Macrory, *Has Devolution Worked? The First 20 Years* (2019) – available online at [https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/has-devolution-worked](https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/has-devolution-worked)

ii. Scotland


I.C.G. Hutchison, *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke, 2001)


iii. Wales


iv. Northern Ireland

Catherine McGlynn et al., ‘The party politics of post-devolution identity in Northern Ireland’, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 16 (2014)

v. Local government

David Blunkett, Matthew Flinders, and Brendon Prosser, ‘Devolution, evolution, revolution… democracy? What’s really happening to English local governance?’, *Political Quarterly*, 87 (2016)

9. Immigration and ethnicity in British politics

Why has immigration been such a divisive issue in British politics since the 1950s?
OR Is opposition to immigration in British politics inextricably linked to Euroscepticism?

i. The making of immigration policy

*Will Somerville, Immigration Under New Labour* (Bristol, 2007)

ii. Race, ethnicity, and empire in British politics


iii. UKIP, immigration, and the 2016 EU referendum


10. Political economy

Have the shortcomings of post-war British economic policy-making been exaggerated? (i, ii) OR Why has the UK found it so difficult to recover from the 2008 financial crisis? (iii, iv)
i. The Treasury and the making of economic policy

*Wyn Grant, *Economic Policy in Britain* (Basingstoke, 2002)
Peter A. Hall, ‘Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state: The case of economic policymaking in Britain’, *Comparative Politics*, 25 (1992-3)

ii. Post-war economic performance


iii. An ‘Anglo-Liberal model’?


*iv. Economic policy since the crash*

*Deborah Mabbett, ‘Governing in times of austerity’, in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)*
Section B. The Politics of the European Union

This section of the paper seeks to provide students with an understanding of the origins and development of the European Union, why it was created and the forces that led to its expansion and increasing role in a variety of policy areas. It covers the institutions and decision-making arrangements in the EU, the role of Member States and looks at key aspects of policy-making before turning to the vexed issues of the EU’s difficulties in facing the range of crises that have faced it over the last decade, including the Eurozone and refugee crises and the prospect of the first state ever leaving the Union thanks to the UK’s 2016 referendum on EU membership.

Lectures (by Dr Julie Smith)

All lectures will take place on Monday at 10am in Alison Richard Building room SG1, except Lecture 1, which will take place at 9am on Monday 21st October in SG2 immediately before Lecture 2

1. Origins of European Integration (Monday 21st October, 9am)
2. Development of the European Union (Monday 21st October, 10am)
3. Theorising European Integration (Monday 28th October; lecture by Dr Geoffrey Edwards)
4. Institutional Aspects of European Integration (Monday 4th November)
5. The EU and its Member States (Monday 11th November)
6. EU enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy (Monday 18th November)
7. Democracy in the EU (Monday 25th November)
8. Rise of Illiberal Democracy and ‘Backsliding’ (Monday 2nd December)
9. Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) (Monday 20th January)
10. Energy and Environment Policy (Monday 27th January)
11. Foreign and Security Policy (Monday 3rd February)
12. Justice and Home Affairs Policy (Monday 10th February)
13. Dealing with Crises I – Eurozone (Monday 17th February)
14. Dealing with Crises II – Refugee Crisis (Monday 24th February)
15. Brexit I – Choosing to Leave (Monday 2nd March)
16. Brexit II – Trying to Leave (Monday 9th March)

Recommended Textbooks

The following books cover many of the issues raised in the course and form a good starting point for more specialised reading.

- Michelle Cini and Nieves Péres-Solórzano Borragán, eds., European Union Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 6th edition, 2019), includes chapters of relevance to several topics in this part of the paper
1. Origins and Development of the EU (Lectures 1 and 2)

Was security or prosperity more important in the decision of the Six to create the three founding European Communities?
OR What accounts for the EU’s repeated decision to engage in Treaty change?

Readings

*Desmond Dinan, ed., Origins and Evolution of the European Union (Oxford: OUP, 2nd edition, 2014) (not completely up-to-date – none of the histories are; that’s what the lectures are for)
*Desmond Dinan, Europe Recast – A History of the European Union (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), Chapters 3-6
*Alan Milward, The European Rescue of the Nation-State, (London: Routledge, 2nd edition, 1999), chs 1, 2, 6 and ‘envoi’
Alan Milward, The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51 (London: Routledge,1984), Conclusions

2. Theorising European Integration (Lecture 3)

What lessons, if any, does neofunctionalism offer to students of European integration in the 21st Century?
OR Can any theory of integration effectively challenge the dominance of Liberal Intergovernmentalism?
OR What purpose do theories of integration serve?

Readings

*Journal of European Public Policy, Special Issue on ‘Re-engaging Grand Theory: European Integration in the twenty-first Century’, Vol. 26, No. 8, 2019


*Journal of Common Market Studies, Special Issue on Liberal Intergovernmentalism and its Critics, Vol. 56, No 7, November 2018


‘Building better theoretical frameworks of the European Union's policy process’ Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 20, No. 6, 2013


‘The Disparity of European Integration: Revisiting Neofunctionalism in Honour of Ernst Haas’, Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, 2005, Vol. 12, No. 2

‘Towards a Federal Europe?’, Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, 2005, Vol. 12, No. 3


3. Institutions (Lecture 4)

Is the relationship between the central institutions best understood as cooperative or competitive?

OR Can the European Commission still be characterised as a ‘motor of integration’?

Readings


CJEU

Thomas Horsley, The Court of Justice of the European Union as an Institutional Actor: Judicial Lawmaking and its Limits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapters 1 & 2


**Commission**
Neill Nugent and Mark Rhinard, The European Commission (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2nd Edition 2015); also exists as an e-book

**European Parliament**
Natalie Brack, Opposing Europe in the European Parliament; Rebels and Radicals in the Chamber (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

**European Council/Council of Ministers**

### 4. The Member States (Lecture 5)

Do the Member States promote or impede integration?
OR Does the Franco-German axis still matter?

**Readings**
‘A New German Hegemony?’, Chapter 15 of Zimmermann and Dür (2016)
Andrew Geddes, *Britain and the European Union* (Palgrave 2013)
Christopher Bikerton, *European Integration: From Nation-State to Member State* (2012)

5. **Democracy and Legitimacy in the EU (lectures 7 & 8, with 15 of interest)**

‘Despite having a directly elected Parliament whose powers have been increased repeatedly, the European Union still lacks democratic legitimacy as shown by repeated referendum outcomes.’ Discuss.
OR Why have European citizens been so reluctant to support European treaty changes?
OR Why has the EU not done more to stop democratic backsliding?

*Readings*


Special Issue of *Government and Opposition* on *Democracy without Solidarity: Political Dysfunction in Hard Times*, Vol. 52, April 2017

Ece Özlem Atikcan, *Framing the European Union: The Power of Political Arguments in Shaping European Integration* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015) looks at referendums on EU matters
Olaf Cramme and Sara B. Hobolt, eds., *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); also relevant to the Crises topics
Special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* on ‘Political Representation and European Union’, 2010, Vol. 17, No. 1
Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart, ‘The Politics of European Referendum Outcomes and Turnout: Two Models’, *West European Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 4, September 2004, pp. 557-83, available on-line [If you are interested, you might wish to look at other articles in this volume, which is a Special Issue on European referenda]

*The rise of illiberal democracy and ‘backsliding’*

‘Rethinking “democratic backsliding” in Central and Eastern Europe – looking beyond Hungary and Poland’, Special Issue of *East European Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2018
6. Policy-making in the EU (Lectures 6 and 9-12)
Students may wish to do two supervisions from this section, which is extensive

A. Economic and Monetary Union (Lecture 9)

Did politics trump economics in the creation of EMU?
OR Does a single currency necessitate fiscal and political union?

Readings

Michele Chang, Economic and Monetary Union (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
Michele Chang, Monetary Integration in the European Union (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)
Gavin Hewitt, The Lost Continent – The BBC’s Europe Editor on Europe’s Darkest Hour since World War Two (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2013)

B. Energy and Environment Policy (Lecture 10)

Why has the EU found it so much harder to agree on energy policy than environmental policy?
OR How has the EU become a leader on climate change?

Readings


C. Foreign policy, enlargement and conditionality (Lectures 6 & 11)

Is EU foreign policy anything more than rhetorical?
OR Has the EU reached the limits of enlargement?
OR ‘The ENP represents the EU’s continuing desire to exert leverage over its neighbours. As such, it is doomed to fail.’ Discuss.

Readings

i. Foreign Policy


**ii. Enlargement**

Haakon A. Ikonomon, Aurélie Audry and Rebekka Byberg eds., *European Enlargement Across Rounds and Beyond Borders* (Routledge, 2017)


iii. Neighbourhood policy

Special issue of *East European Politics* on *Assessing the Performance of the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe and its Neighbourhood*, Vol. 33, No. 1, especially Tanja A. Börzel and Bidzina Lebanidze, “‘The transformative power of Europe’ beyond enlargement: the EU’s performance in promoting democracy in its neighbourhood, pp. 17-35


See also the ENP’s website, [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm), for a detailed explanation of the policy and for the individual country Action Plans.

And in a slightly different vein of third country relations:


John Erik Fossum and Hans Petter Graver, *Squaring the Circle on Brexit – Could the Norway model work?* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2018)

**D. Justice and Home Affairs and Migration policy (Lecture 12)**

Why has the EU found it so difficult to achieve integration in Justice and Home Affairs?

OR ‘Europe requires a common immigration policy.’ Discuss.


7. Dealing with Crises (Lectures 13 & 14)

Why is the EU so poor at tackling crises? Answer with reference to two or more crises. OR How far have crises helped forge the modern EU?

Readings

Mai’a K. Davis Cross, *The Politics of Crisis in Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), Chapters 1, 2 & 6

a. Eurozone crisis

Paul James Cardwell and Holly Snaith, ‘”There’s a Brand New Talk, but it’s Not Very Clear”: Can the Contemporary EU really be Characterized as Ordoliberal?’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2018, Vol. 56, No. 5, pp. 1053-1069 (Important not the you understand Ordoliberalism but to understand the impact of Germany since the start of the crises)


b. Refugee crisis


8. Brexit
Why did the UK vote to leave the EU?
OR Why has the UK found it so difficult to leave the EU?

Special Issue of *British Politics* on ‘The Politics of Brexit’, Vol. 13, No. 1, April 2018
*Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin and Paul Whiteley, Brexit – Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union (Cambridge University Press, 2017)*
*Julie Smith, *The UK’s Journeys into and out of the EU: Destinations Unknown* (Routledge, 2017)

‘Should it stay or should it go?’ Chapter 16 of Zimmermann and Dür (2016); the case for by Alan Sked and against by Martin Rhodes
Tim Oliver, ‘To be or not to be in Europe: is that the question? Britain’s European question and an in/out referendum’, *International Affairs*, 2015 vol.1, no.1, pp.77-91
Hugo Young, *This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair* (London: Macmillan, 1998). This book provides an excellent background to the UK’s relations with the EU through a series of key figures whose attitudes have shaped the British debate over the years.

*There are numerous accounts of the referendum, some by academics, others by journalists and yet others by those who participated on one side or other of the campaigns. The following are a few of the volumes that are worth taking a look at. The list is not exhaustive but nor should you feel the need to read all of them. The idea would be to read one or two to get a sense of the dynamics of the referendum.*
Tim Shipman, *All Out War – the Full Story of How Brexit Sank Britain’s Political Class* (William Collins, 2016) - the most detailed narrative on the referendum by respected *Sunday Times* journalist
Gary Gibbon, *Breaking Point – The UK Referendum on the EU and its Aftermath* (Haus Curiosities, 2016) - A short readable tract by a Channel Four journalist
Craig Oliver, *Unleashing Demons – The Bestselling Inside Story of Brexit* (Hodder and Stoughton, 2016) – an insider’s view written by former No 10 Director of Policy and Communications
Arron Banks, *The Bad Boys of Brexit – Tales of Mischief, Mayhem and Guerrilla Warfare in the EU Referendum Campaign* (Biteback Publishing, 2017; edited by Isabel Oakeshott) – diary of the chief backer of Leave.EU, an insurgent Leave grouping