

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
2. British government in the ‘golden age’, 1945-73
3. Party politics in the ‘golden age’, 1945-73
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
12. The constitution (III): Parliament in the twenty-first century
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

- John Bew, *Citizen Clem: A Biography of Attlee* (2016)
Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000* (2004)
Edmund Dell, *The Chancellors: A History of the Chancellors of the Exchequer, 1945-90* (1996)
David Edgerton, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation: A Twentieth-Century History* (2018)
Peter Hennessy, *The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945* (2000)
Ross McKibbin, *Parties and People: England, 1914-1951* (Oxford, 2010)
James Mitchell, *The Scottish Question* (Oxford, 2014)
Susan Pedersen, *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience* (New Haven, CT, 2004)
David Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the Twentieth Century* (second edition, 2000)
Camilla Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge, 2013)
Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives* (1986)
Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, *Class, Politics, and the Decline of Deference in England, 1968-2000* (Oxford, 2018)
Jim Tomlinson, *Managing the Economy, Managing the People: Narratives of Economic Life in Britain from Beveridge to Brexit* (Oxford, 2017)
James Vernon, *Modern Britain, 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2017)
Richard Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain: The Political and Social Upheavals of the 1980s* (2009)

General readings and reference works

- Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris (eds.), *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective* (1999)
Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)
Anthony King and Ivor Crewe, *The Blunders of our Governments* (2013)
Iain McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?* (Oxford, 2010)
R.A.W. Rhodes, *Everyday Life in British Government* (Oxford, 2011)

Diaries and memoirs

- Gyles Brandreth, *Breaking the Code: Westminster Diaries, 1992-97* (1999)
Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell Diaries* (6 vols., 2010-17)
Barbara Castle, *The Castle Diaries, 1964-70* (1984)
Douglas Hurd, *An End to Promises: Sketch of a Government, 1970-74* (1979)
Oona King, *House Music: The Oona King Diaries* (2008)
David Laws, *Coalition Diaries: 2012-2015* (2017)
Damian McBride, *Power Trip: A Decade of Policy, Plots and Spin* (2013)
Steve Richards, *Whatever it Takes: The Real Story of Gordon Brown and New Labour* (2010)
Sir Douglas Wass, *Decline to Fall: The Making of British Macro-Economic Policy and the 1976 IMF Crisis* (Oxford, 2008)

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

*Ross McKibbin, *Parties and People: England, 1914-1951* (Oxford, 2010), chapters 4-6
*Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945. British Politics and the Second World War* (1975; 2nd edn. with epilogue, 1993), esp. introduction and chapters 6, 9 and 10
Kevin Jeffreys, ‘British politics and social policy during the Second World War’, *Historical Journal*, 30 (1987)
Rodney Lowe, ‘The Second World War, consensus, and the foundation of the welfare state’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 1 (1990)
Steven Fielding, ‘What did “the people” want? The meaning of the 1945 general election’, *Historical Journal*, 35 (1992)
Stephen Brooke, ‘The Labour Party and the 1945 general election’, *Contemporary Record*, 9 (1995)

ii. The Attlee government, 1945-51

*Kenneth O. Morgan, *Labour in Power. 1945-1951* (Oxford, 1984), chapters 1-4, 11
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)
*Jim Tomlinson, ‘Planning: Debate and policy in the 1940s’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 3 (1992)
Jim Tomlinson, *Democratic Socialism and Economic Policy: The Attlee Years, 1945-1951* (Cambridge, 1996)
Alan Booth, ‘The “Keynesian revolution” in economic policy-making’, *Economic History Review*, 36 (1983), with response by Jim Tomlinson (1984)
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)
Samuel Brittan, *The Treasury Under the Tories, 1951-1964* (Harmondsworth, 1964), later republished as *Steering the Economy: The Role of the Treasury* (1969)
Alan Booth, ‘Inflation, expectations, and the political economy of Conservative Britain, 1951-1964’, *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000)

Harriet Jones, 'New tricks for an old dog? The Conservatives and social policy, 1951-5', in Anthony Gorst, Lewis Johnman, and W. Scott Lucas (eds.), *Contemporary British History, 1931-61* (1991)

R.C. Whiting, 'Income tax, the working class, and party politics, 1948-52', *Twentieth Century British History*, 8 (1997)

Harriet Jones, "'This is magnificent!' 300,000 houses a year and the Tory revival after 1945", *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000)

Peter Weiler, 'The rise and fall of the Conservatives' "grand design for housing", 1951-64', *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000)

Rodney Lowe, 'The replanning of the welfare state, 1957-1964', in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880-1980* (Cardiff, 1996)

E.H.H. Green, 'The Conservative Party and Keynes', in E.H.H. Green and Duncan Tanner (eds.), *The Strange Survival of Liberal England* (Cambridge, 2007)

Jim Tomlinson, 'Conservative modernisation, 1960-64: Too little, too late?', *Contemporary British History*, 11 (1997)

Mark Jarvis, *Conservative Governments: Morality and Social Change in Affluent Britain, 1957-64* (Manchester, 2005)

David Butler et al., 'Symposium 1961-1964: Did the Conservatives lose direction?', *Contemporary Record*, 2 (1989)

iv. The Conservative Party and its electoral strategies during the 1940s and 50s

*E.H.H. Green, 'The Conservative Party, the state and the electorate', in Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor, *Party, State and Society: Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1820* (Aldershot, 1997)

*Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Rationing, austerity, and the Conservative Party recovery after 1945', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994)

E.H.H. Green, 'Thatcherism: An historical perspective', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 9 (1999)

John Ramsden, "'A Party for owners or a party for earners?' How far did the British Conservative Party really change after 1945?", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 37 (1987)

Andrew J. Taylor, "'The record of the 1950s is irrelevant": The Conservative Party, electoral strategy and opinion research, 1945-64', *Contemporary British History*, 17 (2003)

Amy Black and Stephen Brooke, 'The Labour Party, women, and the problem of gender, 1951-1966', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997)

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

*Robert Saunders, "'Crisis? What Crisis?" Thatcherism and the seventies', in Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge, 2012)

*Emily Robinson et al., 'Telling stories about post-war Britain: Popular individualism and the "crisis" of the 1970s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 28 (2017)

Anthony King, 'Overload: Problems of governing in the 1970s', *Political Studies*, 23 (1975)

John H. Goldthorpe, 'The current inflation: Towards a sociological account', in Fred Hirsch and John H. Goldthorpe (eds.), *The Political Economy of Inflation* (Cambridge, MA, 1978)

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)

Colin Hay, 'Chronicles of a death foretold: the Winter of Discontent and construction of the crisis of British Keynesianism', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63 (2010)

Keith Middlemas, *Power, Competition and the State* (3 vols., Basingstoke, 1986-91), introductions to vols. II and III

ii. The Wilson government, 1964-70

*Lewis Baston, 'The age of Wilson, 1955-1979', in Brian Brivati and Richard Heffernan (eds.), *The Labour Party: A Centenary History* (2000)

*Glen O'Hara, "'Dynamic, exciting, thrilling change": The Wilson government's economic policies', *Contemporary British History*, 20 (2006)

*Ilaria Favretto, "'Wilsonism" reconsidered: Labour Party revisionism 1952-64', *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000)

David Howell, *British Social Democracy: A Study in Development and Decay* (1976), chapters 8-10

Jim Tomlinson, *The Labour Governments 1964-1970, vol. 3: Economic Policy* (2004), chapters 1-3

Richard Tyler, "'Victims of our history"? Barbara Castle and *In Place of Strife*', *Contemporary British History*, 20 (2006)

iii. The Heath government, 1970-74

Stuart Ball and Anthony Seldon (eds.), *The Heath Government 1970-1974: A Reappraisal* (Harlow, 1996), esp. essays by Seldon, Cairncross, Ball and Bogdanor

John Campbell, *Edward Heath: A Biography* (1993)

Douglas Hurd, *An End to Promises: Sketch of a Government, 1970-74* (1979)

Adrian Williamson, *Conservative Economic Policymaking and the Birth of Thatcherism, 1964-1979* (Basingstoke, 2015)

Michael Kandiah et al., 'The Heath government: Witness seminar', *Contemporary Record*, 9 (1995)

iv. The 'crisis' of social democracy, 1974-79

*Andrew Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* (Basingstoke, 1988; second edition, 1994), chapters 1-3

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

*Jim Tomlinson, 'Tale of a death exaggerated: How Keynesian policies survived the 1970s', *Contemporary British History*, 21 (2007)

Ben Jackson, 'Social democracy', in Michael Freeden and Marc Stears (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (Oxford, 2013)

Martin Rhodes, 'Desperately seeking a solution: Social democracy, Thatcherism and the "Third Way" in British welfare', in Maurizio Ferrera and Martin Rhodes (eds.), *Recasting European Welfare States* (2000)

Noel Thompson, 'Economic ideas and the development of economic opinion', in Richard Coopey and N.W.C. Woodward (eds.), *Britain in the 1970s: The Troubled Economy* (1996)

Michael Artis et al., 'Social democracy in hard times: The economic policy of the Labour government, 1974-1979', *Twentieth Century British History*, 3 (1992)

Raymond Plant, 'Political thought: Socialism in a cold climate', in Anthony Seldon and Kevin Hickson (eds.), *New Labour, Old Labour: The Wilson and Callaghan Governments, 1974-79* (2004)

Eric Hobsbawm, 'The forward march of Labour halted', *Marxism Today*, Sept. 1978 (available online at www.amielandmelburn.org.uk/collections/mt/pdf/78_09_hobsbawm.pdf)

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

*Andrew Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* (Basingstoke, 1988; second edition, 1994)

*E.H.H. Green, *Thatcher* (Oxford, 2006)

*Jim Bulpitt, 'The discipline of the new democracy: Mrs Thatcher's domestic statecraft', *Political Studies*, 34 (1986)

*Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. introduction and essays by Saunders, Tomlinson, Grimley, and Lawrence and Sutcliffe-Braithwaite

Richard Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the 1980s* (2009)

Robert Saunders, 'The many lives of Margaret Thatcher', *English Historical Review*, 132 (2017)

John Campbell, *Margaret Thatcher* (2 vols., 2000-2003)

Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography* (2 vols. to date, 2013-)

ii. Thatcherism and the Conservative Party

*E.H.H. Green, 'Thatcherism: An historical perspective', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 9 (1999)

*Andrew Adonis, 'The transformation of the Conservative Party in the 1980s', in Andrew Adonis and Tim Hames (eds.), *A Conservative Revolution? The Thatcher-Reagan Decade in Perspective* (Manchester, 1994)

*Mark Garnett and Ian Gilmour, 'Thatcherism and the Conservative tradition', in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880–1990* (Cardiff, 1996)
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

Mark Wickham-Jones, 'Right turn: A revisionist account of the 1975 Conservative Party leadership election', *Twentieth Century British History*, 8 (1997)
Adrian Williamson, *Conservative Economic Policymaking and the Birth of Thatcherism, 1964-1979* (Basingstoke, 2015)
Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 'Neo-liberalism and morality in the making of Thatcherite social policy', *Historical Journal*, 55 (2012)

iv. The Thatcher governments and their policies

Stephen Farrall and Colin Hay (eds.), *The Legacy of Thatcherism: Assessing and Exploring Thatcherite Social and Economic Policies* (Oxford, 2014)
David Marsh and R.A.W. Rhodes (eds.), *Implementing Thatcherite Policies: Audit of an Era* (Buckingham, 1992)
Dennis Kavanagh and Anthony Seldon (eds.), *The Thatcher Effect: A Decade of Change* (1989)
Christopher Dow, 'The credit expansion of the late 1980s and the recession of the early 1990s', in Christopher Dow, *Major Recessions: Britain and the World 1920-1995* (Oxford, 2000)
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)
David Sanders, Hugh Ward, and David Marsh (with Tony Fletcher), 'Government popularity and the Falklands War: A reassessment', *British Journal of Political Science*, 17 (1987)

v. Conservatism after Thatcher

Tim Bale, *The Conservative Party from Thatcher to Cameron* (Cambridge, 2010; second edition, 2016)
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

- *Andrew Gamble, 'New Labour and political change', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63 (2010)
- *Colin Hay, *The Political Economy of New Labour* (Manchester, 1999), chapters 1-3
- *Steven Fielding, *The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of "New" Labour* (Basingstoke, 2003)
- *Matt Beech, 'New Labour', in Raymond Plant et al. (eds.), *The Struggle for Labour's Soul: Understanding Labour's Political Thought since 1945* (2004)
- David Coates, *Prolonged Labour: The Slow Birth of New Labour Britain* (Basingstoke, 2005)
- Mark Bevir, *New Labour: A Critique* (Abingdon, 2005)
- Jon Davies and John Rentoul, *Heroes or Villians? The Blair Government Reconsidered* (Oxford, 2019)
- Anthony F. Heath et al., *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices* (Oxford, 2001)

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
- *Jim Tomlinson, 'Tale of a death exaggerated: How Keynesian policies survived the 1970s', *Contemporary British History*, 21 (2007)
- Andrew Glyn and Stewart Wood, 'New Labour's economic policy', in Andrew Glyn (ed.), *Social Democracy in Neoliberal Times: The Left and Economic Policy since 1980* (Oxford, 2001)
- Stuart White (ed.), *New Labour: The Progressive Future?* (2001)
- 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>)
- *Matthew Flinders and Dion Curry, 'Bi-constitutionality: Unravelling New Labour's constitutional orientations', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 61 (2008)
- Matt Beech and Simon Lee (eds.), *The Brown Government: A Policy Evaluation* (Abingdon, 2010)

iii. Social policy

- *Martin Rhodes, 'Desperately seeking a solution: Social democracy, Thatcherism and the "Third Way" in British welfare', in Maurizio Ferrera and Martin Rhodes (eds.), *Recasting European Welfare States* (2000)
- *Glen O'Hara, *New Labour's Domestic Policies: Neoliberal, Social Democratic, or a Unique Blend?* (2018) – available online at <https://institute.global/news/new-labours-domestic-policies-neoliberal-social-democratic-or-unique-blend>
- Bob Jessop, 'From Thatcherism to New Labour: Neo-liberalism, workfarism and labour-market regulation', in Henk Overbeck (ed.), *The Political Economy of European Employment* (2003)
- Carol Johnson and Fran Tonkiss, 'The third influence: The Blair government and Australian Labor', *Policy & Politics*, 30 (2002)
- Ruth Lupton et al., *Labour's Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010* (2013 – available online at <http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/spcc/rr01.pdf>)

Peter Sloman, 'Redistribution in an age of neoliberalism: Market economics, "poverty knowledge", and the growth of working-age benefits in Britain, c. 1979-2010', *Political Studies*, 67 (2019)

iv. Foreign policy

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

Simon Bulmer, 'New Labour, new European policy? Blair, Brown, and utilitarian supranationalism', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 61 (2009)

v. Contemporary sources and journalism

Steve Richards, *Whatever It Takes: The Real Story of Gordon Brown and New Labour* (2010)

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)

Andrew Rawnsley, *Servants of the People: The Inside Story of New Labour* (2000; second edition, 2001)

John Rentoul, 'Andrew Adonis on the evolution of Blairism', *The Independent* blog, 22 March 2016 (available online at <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/andrew-adonis-on-the-evolution-of-blairism-a6944606.html>)

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

*Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris (eds.), *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective* (1999)

OR David Denver et al., *Elections and Voters in Britain* (multiple editions, most recently 2011)

*Harold D. Clarke et al., 'Theories and models of voter support', in Harold D. Clarke et al., *Political Choice in Britain* (Oxford, 2004)

Geoffrey Evans and James Tilley, *The New Politics of Class: The Political Exclusion of the British Working Class* (Oxford, 2017)

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)

Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor, 'Introduction: Electoral sociology and the historians' in Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor (eds.), *Party, State and Society: Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1820* (Aldershot, 1997)

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

Anthony F. Heath et al., *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices* (Oxford, 2001)

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

Geoffrey Evans and Kat Chzhen, 'Explaining voters' defection from Labour over the 2005-2010 electoral cycle: Leadership, economics and the rising importance of immigration', *Political Studies*, 61 (2013)

Philip Cowley and Dennis Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 2015* (Basingstoke, 2016)

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

Andrew Geddes and Jonathan Tonge (eds.), *Britain Votes 2015* (Oxford, 2015; also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68 (2015)), esp. chapters by Curtice, Fisher, Flinders, and Tonge and Geddes

iii. The 2017 general election

Philip Cowley and Dennis Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 2017* (2018)

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)

*Jonathan Mellon et al., 'Brexit or Corbyn? Campaign and inter-election vote switching in the 2017 UK general election', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71 (2018)

*Anna Sanders and Rosalind Shorrocks, 'All in this together? Austerity and the gender-age gap in the 2015 and 2017 British general elections', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, early view (2019)

Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker, 'The bifurcation of politics: Two Englands', *Political Quarterly*, 87 (2016)

Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker, 'Tilting towards the cosmopolitan axis? Political change in England and the 2017 general election', *Political Quarterly*, 88 (2017)

Ron Johnston et al., 'Coming full circle: The 2017 UK general election and the changing electoral map', *Geographical Journal*, 184 (2018)

Sara B. Hobolt 'Brexit and the 2017 general election' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56 (2018)

Tim Ross and Tom McTague, *Betting the House: The Inside Story of the 2017 Election* (2017)

iv. Changes in the UK party system

*Ross McKibbin, 'A brief supremacy: The fragmentation of the two-party system in British politics, c. 1950-2015', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27 (2016)

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

*Patrick Dunleavy, 'Facing up to multi-party politics: How partisan dealignment and PR voting have fundamentally changed Britain's party systems', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58 (2005)

Paul Webb, 'The party system: Turbulent multipartyism or duopolistic competition', in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)

Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin, *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (2014)

Ailsa Henderson and James Mitchell, 'Referendums as critical junctures? Scottish voting in British elections', in Jonathan Tonge et al. (eds.), *Britain Votes 2017* (Oxford, 2018; also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71 (2018))

Tim Bale, Paul Webb, and Monica Poletti, *Grassroots. Britain's Party Members: Who They Are, What They Think and What They Do* (2018), available online at

https://escrcpartymembersprojectorg.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/grassroots-pmp_final.pdf

Paul Webb, 'Are British parties in decline?', *Party Politics*, 1 (1995)

v. Party strategies

*Paul Webb, 'Party responses to the changing electoral market in Britain', in Peter Mair, Wolfgang Muller and Fritz Plasser (eds.), *Political Parties and Electoral Change* (2004)

*Colin Hay, *The Political Economy of New Labour* (Manchester, 1999), chapter 3

Tim Bale, *The Conservative Party from Thatcher to Cameron* (Cambridge, 2010; second edition, 2016)

Thomas Quinn, 'Third-party strategy under plurality rule: The British Liberal Democrats and the New Zealand Social Credit Party', *Political Studies*, 65 (2017)

Katharine Dommett, 'The theory and practice of party modernisation: The Conservative Party under David Cameron, 2005-2015', *British Politics*, 10 (2015)

Elizabeth Evans and Emma Sanderson-Nash, 'From sandals to suits: Professionalization, coalition and the Liberal Democrats', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13 (2011)

Jack H. Nagel and Christopher Wlezein, 'Centre-party strength and major-party divergence in Britain, 1945-2005', *British Journal of Political Science*, 40 (2010)

Jane Green, 'When voters and parties agree: Valence issues and party competition', *Political Studies*, 55 (2007)

Anwen Elias, 'Making the economic case for independence: The Scottish National Party's electoral strategy in post-devolution Scotland', *Regional & Federal Studies*, 29 (2019)

Emanuele Massetti, 'Left-wing regionalist populism in the "Celtic" peripheries: *Plaid Cymru* and the Scottish National Party's anti-austerity challenge against the British elites', *Comparative European Politics*, 16 (2018)

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)

*Michael Foley, *The British Presidency: Tony Blair and the Politics of Public Leadership* (Manchester, 2000)

Richard Heffernan, 'Exploring (and explaining) the prime minister', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7 (2005)

*Richard Heffernan, 'Why the prime minister cannot be a president: Comparing institutional imperatives in Britain and the US', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58 (2005)

Mark Bennister and Richard Heffernan, 'The limits to prime ministerial autonomy: Cameron and the constraints of coalition', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68 (2015)

Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader: Political Leadership in the Modern Age* (2014), chapters 1-3

Nigel Bowles, Desmond King, and Fiona Ross, 'Political centralization and policy constraint in British executive leadership: Lessons from American presidential studies in the era of sofa politics', *British Politics*, 2 (2007)

Chris Byrne, Nick Randall and Kevin Theakston, 'Evaluating British prime ministerial performance: David Cameron's premiership in political time', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19 (2017)

ii. Cabinet and core executive

Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (1887; edited and with an introduction by R.H.S. Crossman, 1963)

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

*David Marsh, David Richards, and Martin Smith, 'Unequal plurality: Towards an asymmetric power model of British politics', *Government and Opposition*, 38 (2003)

*Robert Elgie, 'Core executive studies two decades on', *Public Administration*, 89 (2011)

*Martin Smith, 'The paradoxes of Britain's strong centre: Delegating decisions and reclaiming control', in Carl Dahlström, B. Guy Peters, and Jon Pierre (eds.), *Steering from the Centre: Strengthening Political Control in Western Democracies* (Toronto, 2011)

Martin Burch and Ian Holliday 'The Blair Government and the core executive', *Government and Opposition*, 39 (2004)

R.A.W. Rhodes, *Everyday Life in British Government* (Oxford, 2011)

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)

Hugh Pemberton, 'Policy networks and policy learning: UK economic policy in the 1960s and 1970s', *Public Administration*, 78 (2000)

Hugh Heclo and Aaron Wildavsky, *The Private Government of Public Money: Community and Policy inside British Politics* (1974)

Glen O'Hara, *Governing Post-War Britain: The Paradoxes of Progress, 1951-1973* (Basingstoke, 2013)

Martin B. Carstensen and Matthias Matthijs, 'Of paradigms and power: British economic policy since Thatcher', *Governance*, 31 (2018)

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

Anthony King and Ivor Crewe, *The Blunders of our Governments* (2013)

Christopher Hood and Ruth Dixon, *A Government that Worked Better and Cost Less? Evaluating Three Decades of Reform and Change in UK Central Government* (Oxford, 2015)
Nicholas Timmins, *Never Again? The Story of the Health and Social Care Act 2012* (2012), available online at <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/never-again>
Nicholas Timmins, *Universal Credit: From Disaster to Recovery?* (2016), available online at <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/universal-credit-disaster-recovery>

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)

*Robert Hazell and Ben Yong, *The Politics of Coalition: How the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government Works* (Oxford, 2012)

Anthony Seldon and Mike Finn (eds.), *The Coalition Effect, 2010-2015* (Cambridge, 2015)

Elizabeth Evans and Emma Sanderson-Nash, 'From sandals to suits: Professionalization, coalition and the Liberal Democrats', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13 (2011)

'Ministers Reflect: Nick Clegg', Institute for Government Blog, 19 April 2018, available online at <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/ministers-reflect/person/nick-clegg/>

Nick Harvey, *After the Rose Garden: Harsh Lessons for the Smaller Coalition Party about How to be Seen and Heard in Government* (2015), available online at

http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/After%20the%20rose%20garden_0.pdf

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*

*Vernon Bogdanor, *The New British Constitution* (Oxford, 2009)

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

*Matthew Flinders and Dion Curry, 'Bi-constitutionality: Unravelling New Labour's constitutional orientations', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 61 (2008)

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

Peter Catterall, "'Efficiency with freedom?'" Debates about the British constitution in the twentieth century', in Peter Catterall, Wolfram Kaiser and Ulrike Walton-Jordan (eds.), *Reforming the Constitution: Debates in Twentieth-Century Britain* (2000)

David Erdos, 'Charter 88 and the constitutional reform movement: A retrospective', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 62 (2009)

David Richards and Martin J. Smith, 'In defence of British politics against the British political tradition', *Political Quarterly*, 86 (2015)

Nevil Johnson, *Reshaping the British Constitution: Essays in Political Interpretation* (Basingstoke, 2004)
Thomas Bingham, *The Rule of Law* (2011)
John Laws, *The Common Law Constitution* (Cambridge, 2014)
Colin Turpin and Adam Tomkins, *British Government and the Constitution* (seventh edition, Cambridge, 2011)
Matt Qvortup (ed.), *The British Constitution: Continuity and Change* (Oxford, 2013), esp. essays by Finn and Seldon and by Riddell

ii. Parliament

*Meg Russell and Philip Cowley, 'The policy power of the Westminster Parliament: The "parliamentary state" and the empirical evidence', *Governance*, 29 (2016)
Meg Russell and Daniel Gover, *Legislation at Westminster: Parliamentary Actors and Influence in the Making of British Law* (Oxford, 2017)
Meg Russell, 'Parliament: A significant constraint on government', in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)
Meg Russell and Philip Cowley, 'Modes of UK executive-legislative relations revisited', *Political Quarterly*, 89 (2018)
Philip Norton, *Parliament in British Politics* (second edition: Basingstoke, 2013)
Meg Russell, *The Contemporary House of Lords: Westminster Bicameralism Revisited* (Oxford, 2013)
Philip Cowley, *The Rebels: How Blair Mislaid his Majority* (2005)
Philip Norton, 'Is the House of Commons too powerful?', *Parliamentary Affairs*, early view (2019)

iii. The English question

*Michael Kenny, *The Politics of English Nationhood* (Oxford, 2014)
Michael Kenny, 'Englishness politicised? Unpicking the normative implications of the McKay Commission', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 17 (2015)
Daniel Gover and Michael Kenny, *Finding the Good in EVEL* (2016), available online at https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/news/EVEL_Report_A4_FINAL.pdf

iv. Constitutional implications of the 2016 EU referendum

*Alison L. Young, 'The constitutional implications of Brexit', *European Public Law*, 23 (2017)
Alan Greer, 'Brexit and devolution', *Political Quarterly*, 89 (2018)
Michael Gordon, 'The UK's sovereignty situation: Brexit, bewilderment and beyond', *King's Law Journal*, 27 (2016)
House of Commons Exiting the European Union Committee, *The Process for Exiting the European Union and the Government's Negotiating Objectives* (2017), available online at <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmexeu/815/815.pdf>

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)

OR Vernon Bogdanor, *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (Oxford, 1999; second edition, 2001)

*Charlie Jeffery, 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a piecemeal approach to constitutional change', *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 39 (2009)

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

Stephen Tierney, 'Federalism in a unitary state: A paradox too far?', *Regional and Federal Studies*, 19 (2009)

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

Christopher Harvie, 'The Moment of British Nationalism, 1939-1970', *Political Quarterly*, 71 (2000)

Michael Keating et al., 'Policy convergence, transfer and learning in the UK under devolution', *Regional and Federal Studies*, 22 (2012)

Derek Birrell and Ann Marie Gray, 'Devolution: The social, political and policy implications of Brexit for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland', *Journal of Social Policy*, 46 (2017)

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>

ii. Scotland

James Mitchell, *The Scottish Question* (Oxford, 2014)

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

Richard Finlay, 'Thatcherism, Unionism and Nationalism: A Comparative Study of Scotland and Wales', in Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Oxford, 2012)

James Mitchell, Lynn Bennie, and Rob Johns, *The Scottish National Party: Transition to Power* (2012)

Ben Jackson, 'The political thought of Scottish nationalism', *Political Quarterly*, 84 (2014)

Anwen Elias, 'Making the economic case for independence: The Scottish National Party's electoral strategy in post-devolution Scotland', *Regional & Federal Studies*, 29 (2019)

Craig McAngus, 'Party elites and the search for credibility: Plaid Cymru and the SNP as new parties of government', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 18 (2016)

iii. Wales

*Alan Trench, 'Wales and the Westminster model', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63 (2010)

Mark Drakeford, 'Wales in the age of austerity', *Critical Social Policy*, 32 (2012)

Kenneth O. Morgan, *The Rebirth of a Nation: A History of Modern Wales* (Oxford, 1998)

Leon Gooberman, *From Depression to Devolution: Economy and Government in Wales, 1934-2006* (Cardiff, 2017)

Craig McAngus, 'Office and policy at the expense of votes: Plaid Cymru and the One Wales Government', *Regional & Federal Studies*, 24 (2014)

David Moon, 'Welsh Labour in power – “One Wales” vs. “One Nation”?', *Renewal*, 21 (2013), available online at <http://www.renewal.org.uk/articles/welsh-labour-in-power-one-wales-vs.-one-nation>

iv. Northern Ireland

Paul Dixon, *Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace* (2001)

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

Derek Birrell and Deirdre Heenan, 'The continuing volatility of devolution in Northern Ireland: The shadow of direct rule', *Political Quarterly*, 88 (2017)

Jonathan Tonge, 'Supplying confidence or trouble? The deal between the Democratic Unionist Party and the Conservative Party', *Political Quarterly*, 88 (2017)

Deirdre Heenan and Derek Birrell, 'Between devolution and direct rule: Implications of a political vacuum in Northern Ireland?', *Political Quarterly*, 89 (2018)

v. Local government

David Wilson and Chris Game, *Local Government in the United Kingdom* (fifth edition, Basingstoke, 2011)

Colin Copus et al., *Local Government in England: Centralisation, Autonomy and Control* (2017)

Andrew Coulson, 'Local politics, central power: The future of representative local government in England', *Local Government Studies*, 30 (2004)

Vivien Lowndes and Lawrence Pratchett, 'Local governance under the coalition government: Austerity, localism and the “Big Society”', *Local Government Studies*, 38 (2012)

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

Daniel Bailey and Matthew Wood, 'The metagovernance of English devolution', *Local Government Studies*, 43 (2017)

Sarah Ayres, Matthew Flinders, and Mark Sandford, 'Territory, power and statecraft: Understanding English devolution', *Regional Studies*, 52 (2018)

Mark Sandford, 'Where do you draw the line? Local administrative boundaries in England' (2019) – House of Commons Library briefing paper, available online at <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-8619#fullreport>

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

*Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain* (Oxford, 2000)

OR Ian R.G. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain* (1997)

Anthony M. Messina, 'The impacts of post-WWII migration to Britain: Policy constraints, political opportunism and the alteration of representational politics', *The Review of Politics*, 63 (2001)

Zig Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration* (Oxford, 1992)
Shamit Sagar, 'Immigration and the politics of public opinion', *Political Quarterly*, 74 (supplement) (2003)
*Will Somerville, *Immigration Under New Labour* (Bristol, 2007)
James Hampshire and Tim Bale, 'New administration, new immigration regime: Do parties matter after all? A UK case study', *West European Politics*, 38 (2015)

ii. Race, ethnicity, and empire in British politics

Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack': The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (1987)
Shamit Sagar, *Race and Representation: Electoral Politics and Ethnic Pluralism in Britain* (Manchester, 2000)
Camilla Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge, 2013)
Jodi Burkett, *Constructing Post-Imperial Britain: Britishness, 'Race' and the Radical Left in the 1960s* (Basingstoke, 2013)
John Davis, 'Rents and race in 1960s London: New light on Rachmanism', *Twentieth Century British History*, 12 (2001)
Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca, NY, 1997)
David Feldman, 'Why the English Like Turbans: Multicultural Politics in British History', in David Feldman and Jon Lawrence (eds.), *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge, 2011)

iii. UKIP, immigration, and the 2016 EU referendum

*Maria Sobolewska and Robert Ford, 'The politics of immigration: Old and new', in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)
Maria Sobolewska and Robert Ford, 'British culture wars? Brexit and the future politics of immigration and ethnic diversity', *Political Quarterly*, early view (2019)
Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin, *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (2014)
James Dennison and Matthew Goodwin, 'Immigration, issue ownership and the rise of UKIP', in Andrew Geddes and Jonathan Tonge (eds.), *Britain Votes 2015* (Oxford, 2015; also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68 (2015))
Tim Shipman, *All Out War: The Full Story of How Brexit Sank Britain's Political Class* (2016)
Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin and Paul Whiteley, *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union* (Cambridge, 2017)
Matthew Goodwin and Oliver Heath, 'The 2015 referendum, Brexit and the left behind', *Political Quarterly*, 87 (2016)
Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker, 'The bifurcation of politics: Two Englands', *Political Quarterly*, 87 (2016)
William Outhwaite (ed.), *Brexit: Sociological Responses* (2017)

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)

Edmund Dell, *The Chancellors* (1997)

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

Peter Burnham, 'New Labour and the politics of depoliticisation', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 3 (2001)

Samuel Brittan, *Steering the Economy: The Role of the Treasury* (1969)

Douglas Wass, *Decline to Fall: The Making of British Macroeconomic Policy and the 1976 IMF Crisis* (Oxford, 2008)

Andrew Britton, *Macroeconomic Policy in Britain, 1974-87* (1991)

Steven Kettell, 'Does depoliticisation work? Evidence from Britain's membership of the Exchange Rate Mechanism, 1990-92', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 10 (2008)

Martin B. Carstensen and Matthias Matthijs, 'Of paradigms and power: British economic policy since Thatcher', *Governance*, 31 (2018)

Sir Nicholas Macpherson, 'The Treasury view: a testament of experience', speech to the Mile End Group, 15 Jan. 2014, available online at <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/speech-by-the-permanent-secretary-to-the-treasury-the-treasury-view-a-testament-of-experience>

Jill Rutter, 'Ministers Reflect: On the Treasury', Institute for Government Blog, 30 Dec. 2015, available online at <http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/blog/12952/ministers-reflect-on-the-treasury/>

ii. *Post-war economic performance*

*Jim Tomlinson, 'De-industrialization not decline: A new meta-narrative for post-war British history', *Twentieth Century British History* advance access (2015)

Jim Tomlinson, *The Politics of Decline: Understanding Post-War Britain* (Harlow, 2000)

Sidney Pollard, *The Wasting of the British Economy* (1982)

Alan Booth, 'The manufacturing failure hypothesis and the performance of British industry during the long boom', *Economic History Review*, 56 (2003)

Stephen Broadberry and Nicholas Crafts, 'UK productivity performance from 1950 to 1979: A restatement of the Broadberry-Crafts view', *Economic History Review*, 56 (2003)

Alan Booth, 'The Broadberry-Crafts view and the evidence: A reply', *Economic History Review*, 56 (2003)

iii. *An 'Anglo-Liberal model'?*

*Colin Hay, *The Failure of Anglo-Liberal Capitalism* (Basingstoke, 2013)

*Colin Crouch, 'Privatised Keynesianism: An unacknowledged policy regime', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 11 (2009)

Julia Griggs et al., 'Activation for all: Welfare reform in the United Kingdom, 1995-2009', in Ivar Lodemel and Amilcar Moreira (eds.), *Activation or Workfare? Governance and the Neo-Liberal Convergence* (Oxford, 2014)

Bob Jessop, 'From Thatcherism to New Labour: Neo-liberalism, workfarism and labour-market regulation', in Henk Overbeck (ed.), *The Political Economy of European Employment* (2003)

Edward Balls, 'Open macroeconomics in an open economy', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 45 (1998)

Ben Clift and Jim Tomlinson, 'Credible Keynesianism? New Labour macroeconomic policy and the political economy of coarse tuning', *British Journal of Political Science*, 37 (2007)

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)

*Dermot Hodson and Deborah Mabbett, 'UK economic policy and the global financial crisis: Paradigm lost?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47 (2009)

*Scott Lavery, 'The legitimation of post-crisis capitalism in the United Kingdom: Real wage decline, finance-led growth and the state', *New Political Economy*, 23 (2017)

Helen Thompson, 'UK debt in comparative perspective: The pernicious legacy of financial sector debt', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 15 (2013)

Jeremy Green and Scott Lavery, 'The regressive recovery: Distribution, inequality and state power in Britain's post-crisis political economy', *New Political Economy*, 20 (2015)

William Davies, 'Thoughts on the sociology of Brexit', Goldsmiths Political Economy Research Centre blog, 24 June 2016: http://www.perc.org.uk/project_posts/thoughts-on-the-sociology-of-brexite/

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
- Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack and Alasdair R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union* (Oxford: OUP, 7th edition, 2015). This book offers scholarly analyses of an extensive range of EU policies and at the same time gives theoretical insights into the integration process.
- Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 8th edition, 2017)

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

*Finn Laursen, ed., *Designing the European Union – From Paris to Lisbon* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

*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

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (London: UCL Press, 1998), Chapters 5 and 6

Special Issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy* on the theory and practice of treaty reform, Vol. 9, No. 1, February 2002, available on-line

Mark Gray and Alexander Stubb, 'The Treaty of Nice – Negotiating a Poisoned Chalice?', *Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review*, Vol. 39, 2001, pp. 523, available on-line

Anthony Forster, 'Britain and the Negotiation of the Maastricht Treaty: A Critique of Liberal Intergovernmentalism', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1998, pp. 347-68, available on-line

M. Baun, 'The Maastricht Treaty as High Politics: Germany, France, and European Integration,' *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 110, No. 4, 1995/6, pp. 605-624 (available on-line via JSTOR).

Andrew Moravcsik and Kalypso Nicolaidis, 'Explaining the Treaty of Amsterdam: interests, influence, institutions', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 1999, pp. 59-85, available on-line

Wolfgang Wessels, 'Nice Results: The Millennium IGC in the EU's Evolution', *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol 39, No 2, 2001 197-219, available on-line

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

*Antje Wiener, Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse, eds, *European Integration Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)

*Erik Jones, 'Towards a Theory of Disintegration', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2018, available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13501763.2017.1411381>

*Frank Schimmelfennig, 'European integration (theory) in times of crisis. A comparison of the euro and Schengen crises', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 25, 2018, available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13501763.2017.1421252?src=recsys>

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

Rebecca Adler-Nissen, *Opting Out of the European Union: Diplomacy, Sovereignty and European Integration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), esp. Chapter 2

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, 'A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus', in *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2009, pp.1-23

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

C. J. Bickerton et al, 'The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2015, Vol 53, No 4, pp. 703-22.

Frank Schimmelfennig, 'What's New in "New Intergovernmentalism"? A Critique of Bickerton, Hodson and Puetter', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2015, Vol. 53, No. 4, pp. 723-30.

C. J. Bickerton et al, eds, *The New Intergovernmentalism: States and Supranational Actors in the Post-Maastricht Era* (Oxford: OUP, 2015)

Christine Reh, 'The Convention on the Future of Europe and the Development of Integration Theory: a Lasting Imprint?' in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 5, August 2008, pp. 781-94

'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

Dirk Leuffen, Berthold Rittberger and Frank Schimmelfennig, *Differentiated Integration – Explaining Variation in the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

Paul Pierson, 'The Path to European Union: an historical institutionalist account' in Sandholtz and Sweet, eds. *European Integration and Supranational Governance* (Oxford: OUP, 1998)

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

Dermot Hodson and John Peterson (2017) *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

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

Sabine Saurugger and Fabien Terpan, *The Court of Justice of the European Union and the Politics of Law* (London: Palgrave 2016)

Diana Panke, 'The European Court of Justice as an agent of Europeanization? Restoring Compliance with EU Law', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol 14, No. 6, September 2007, pp. 847-66

Karen J. Alter, 'Who are the "Masters of the Treaty"? European Governments and the European Court of Justice', *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 1998, pp. 121-147, available via JSTOR.

Commission

Neill Nugent and Mark Rhinard, 'The "Political" Roles of the European Commission', in *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 2019, pp. 203-220

Neill Nugent and Mark Rhinard, 'Is the European Commission Really in Decline', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016, Vol. 54, No. 5, pp. 1199-1215

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

European Parliament

Special Issue of *Journal of European Integration* on 'Power Without Influence? Explaining the Impact of the European Parliament Post-Lisbon', Vol. 41, No.3, 2019

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

Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs and Darren Neville, *The European Parliament* (London: John Harper Publishing, 9th edition, 2016; previous editions by Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs and Michael Shackleton)

Manfred Kohler, 'European Governance and the European Parliament: From Talking Shop to Legislative Powerhouse', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 3, May 2014, pp. 600-15.

European Council/Council of Ministers

Frank Häge, 'Coalition Building and Consensus in the Council of the European Union', *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 481-504.

Pierre de Boisseau et al, *National Leaders and the Making of Europe – Key Episodes in the Life of the European Council* (John Harper, 2015)

4. The Member States (Lecture 5)

Do the Member States promote or impede integration?

OR Does the Franco-German axis still matter?

Readings

Sacha Garben, 'Competence Creep Revisited' in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 2, March 2019, pp 205-222

Sacha Garben and Inge Govaere, eds., *The Division of Competences Between the EU and the Member States: Reflections on the Past, the Present, and the Future* (Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, 2017)

Magnus G. Schoeller, 'The Rise and Fall of Merkozy: Franco-German Bilateralism as a Negotiation Strategy in Eurozone Crisis Management', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2018, Vol. 56, No. 5, pp. 1019-1035

Simon Bulmer and Willie Paterson, *Germany and the European Union: Europe's Reluctant Hegemon* (Palgrave, 2018)

Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne, *The Member States of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

'A New German Hegemony?', Chapter 15 of Zimmermann and Dür (2016)

W.E. Paterson, 'The Reluctant Hegemon? Germany Moves Centre Stage in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review*, 2011, Vol. 49, pp. 57-75

Maya Kluger Rasmussen, "'Heavy Fog in the Channel. Continent Cut Off'? British Diplomatic Relations in Brussels after 2010', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016, Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 709-24

Andrew Geddes, *Britain and the European Union* (Palgrave 2013)

Christopher Bickerton, *European Integration: From Nation-State to Member State* (2012)

Stanley Hoffmann, 'Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe,' *Daedalus*, Vol. 95, No. 3, 1966, pp. 862-915, reprinted in Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, ed., *Debates in European Integration* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Tanja Börzel, 'Member State Responses to Europeanization', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 2002, pp. 193-214, available on-line

Diana Panke, 'Small states in the European Union: structural disadvantages in EU policy-making and counter-strategies,' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2010, Vol. 17, No. 6, pp. 799-817

Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse, 'When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and Domestic Change', *European Integration Online Papers*, Vol. 4, No. 15, 2000 available at <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/>

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

*Vivien A. Schmidt, 'Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output and "Throughput"' in *Political Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 1, March 2013, pp. 2-22.

*Francis Cheneval and Monica Ferrin, 'Referendums in the European Union: Defective by Birth?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2018, Vol. 56, No. 5, pp. 1178-1194

*Francis Cheneval and Frank Schimmelfennig, 'The Case for Democracy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2013, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 334-350

Petr Kratochvíl & Zdeněk Sychra, 'The end of democracy in the EU? The Eurozone crisis and the EU's democratic deficit', *Journal of European Integration*, 2019, Vol.41, No.2, 169-185, DOI: [10.1080/07036337.2019.1569001](https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2019.1569001)

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

Ece Özlem Atıkcın, *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

Andrew Moravcsik, 'Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, November 2002, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 603-24

Christopher Lord and Johannes Pollak, 'Unequal but democratic? Equality according to Karlsruhe' in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2013, pp. 190-205

Claudia Heffler, Christine Neuhold, Olivier Rozenberg and Julie Smith, eds, *The Palgrave Handbook of National Parliaments and the European Union* (London: Palgrave, 2015)

Donatella M. Viola, ed. *Routledge Handbook of European Elections* (2015) – readings on the European Parliament

Special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* on 'Political Representation and European Union', 2010, Vol. 17, No. 1

Christopher Lord and David Beetham, 'Legitimizing the EU: Is there a "Post-Parliamentary Basis" for its Legitimation?' in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 3, September 2001, pp. 443-62

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]

Joseph Weiler *et al.*, 'European Democracy and its Critique', *West European Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1995, pp. 4-39

The rise of illiberal democracy and 'backsliding'

James Dawson and Sean Hanley, 'Foreground Liberalism, Background Nationalism: A Discursive institutionalist Account of EU Leverage and "Democratic Backsliding" in East Central Europe', in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4, July 2019, pp. 710-728

R. Daniel Kelemen, 'Europe's Other Democratic Deficit: National Authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union', in *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 2017, pp. 211-38

Maurits J. Meurers and Harmen van der Veer, 'MEP Responses to Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Poland. An Analysis of Agenda-Setting and Voting Behaviour', in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4, July 2019, pp. 838-56

Ulrich Sedelmeier, 'Political Safeguards against Democratic Backsliding in the EU: The Limits of Material Sanctions and the Scope of Social Pressure', in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 337-51

Laurent Pech and Kim Scheppele, 'Illiberalism Within: Rule of Law Backsliding in the EU', in *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies*, Vol. 17, pp.3-47

'Rethinking "democratic backsliding" in Central and Eastern Europe – looking beyond Hungary and Poland', Special Issue of *East European Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2018

Special issue of *Politics* on 'The Populist Politics of Euroscepticism in Times of Crisis', edited by Andrea L. P. Pirro, Paul Taggart and Stijn van Kessel, Vol. 38, No. 3, August 2018

Where the law ends: The collapse of the rule of law in Poland -and what to do, Stefan Batory Foundation, May 2018, available at www.batory.org.pl

Fareed Zakaria, 'The Rise of Illiberal Democracy', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 6 (Nov-Dec 1997), pp. 22-43 (an early piece on what now appears a more widespread phenomenon)

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)

Paul Copeland and Mary Daly, 'The European Semester and EU Social Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2018, Vol.56, No. 5, pp. 1001-1018

Wayne Sandholtz, 'Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht,' *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 1, Winter 1993, pp. 1-40

Kenneth Dyson, ed., *European States and the Euro – Europeanization, Variation, and Convergence* (Oxford: OUP, 2002)

Gavin Hewitt, *The Lost Continent – The BBC's Europe Editor on Europe's Darkest Hour since World War Two* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2013)

Dermot Hodson, 'The Eurozone in 2011', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2012, Vol 50 Annual Review, pp. 178-94

Special issue of *Journal of Common Market Studies* on 'Economic Governance in EMU Revisited', 2006, Vol. 44, No. 4

Alexander Jung *et al*, 'How are the Eurosystem's Monetary Policy Decisions Prepared? A Roadmap', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2010, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 319-45

John Lewis and Karsten Staehr, 'The Maastricht Inflation Criterion: What is the Effect of European Union Enlargement?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2010, Vol. 48, No. 3, pp. 687-708

Hossein Askari and Joydeep Chatterjee, 'The Euro and Financial Market Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 2005, pp. 1-11

Kenneth Dyson, 'Euro Area Entry in East-Central Europe: Paradoxical Europeanisation and Clustered Convergence', *West European Politics*, 2007, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 417-422

Paul Grauwe and Mark-Alexandre S  n  gas (2004) 'Asymmetries in Monetary Policy Transmission: Some Implications for EMU and its Enlargement', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 4, 2004, pp. 757-773

Ivo Maes and Amy Verdun, 'Small States and the Creation of EMU: Belgium and the Netherlands, Pace-setters and Gate-keepers', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 2005, pp. 327-348

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

- David Buchan and Malcolm Keay, *Europe's Long Energy Journey: Towards an Energy Union?* (Oxford: OUP, 2016)
- Andrew Jordan and Camilla Adelle, eds. *Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, institutions and processes* 3rd Edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), Introduction and Part 1
- Alexandra Bocse, 'European Gas Supply Security: Explaining the EU External Gas Pipeline Choices' in Slawomir Raszewski, ed. *The International Political Economy of Oil and Gas* (International Political Economy Series) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)
- Camilla Adelle, Katja Biedenkopf, and Diarmuid Torney, eds. *European Union External Environmental Policy: Rules, Regulation and Governance Beyond Borders* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)
- Hadfield, Amelia (2016) EU-Russia Strategic Energy Culture: Progressive Convergence or Regressive Dilemma?, *Geopolitics*, Vol.21(4), 779-798.
- Herranz-Surrallés, Anna (2016) 'An emerging EU energy diplomacy? Discursive shifts, enduring practices', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:9, 1386-1405.
- Kelemen, R. Daniel and David Vogel (2010) Trading places: the role of the United States and the European Union in international environmental politics', *Comparative Political Studies*, 43:4, 427-456.
- Kuzemko, Caroline (2014) 'Ideas, power and change: Explaining EU–Russia energy relations', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21:1, 58–75.
- Maltby, Tomas (2013) 'European Union energy policy integration: a case of European Commission policy entrepreneurship and increasing supranationalism', *Energy Policy*, 55, 435–444.
- Oberthür, S., & Rabitz, F. (2014). On the EU's performance and leadership in global environmental governance: the case of the Nagoya Protocol. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(1), 39-57.
- Oberthür, Sebastian ; Groen, Lisanne (2017) The European Union and the Paris Agreement: leader, mediator, or bystander? *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (e445), 2017, 1-8.
- Steinebach, Yves ; Knill, Christoph (2017) Still an entrepreneur? The changing role of the European Commission in EU environmental policy-making, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.24(3), 429-446.
- Vogler, John and Hannes Stephan (2007) 'The European Union in global environmental governance: leadership in the making?', *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, 7:4, 389-413.
- Zito, Anthony R. (2005) 'The European Union as an Environmental Leader in a Global Environment', *Globalizations*, 2:3, 363-375.

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

Christopher Hill, Michael Smith and Sophie Vanhoonacker, eds., *International Relations and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd ed, 2017).

Sophie Meunier and Milada Anna Vachudova, 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union', in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Special Issue on Liberal Intergovernmentalism and its Critics, Vol. 56, No 7, November 2018, pp. 1631-1647

European Commission, *A Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy for the European Union*, available at:

http://europa.eu/globalstrategy/sites/globalstrategy/files/about/eugs_review_web_4.pdf

Gezim Visoka and John Doyle, 'Neo-Functional Peace: The European Union Way of Resolving Conflicts', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 4, pp. 862-77; plus response by Julian Bergmann and Arne Niemann, 'From Neo-Functional Peace to a Logic of Spillover in EU External Policy: A Response to Visoka and Doyle', *JCMS*, Vol. 56, No. 2, pp. 420-438; and a follow-up riposte by Visoka and Doyle: 'Research Note: The Promise and Future of Neo-Functional Peace: A Reply to Bergmann and Niemann', *JCMS*, Vol. 56, No. 2, pp. 439-445

ECFR, *European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2015*, Jan 2015, available at

http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR125_SCORECARD_2015.pdf

Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006)

House of Lords European Union Committee, *The EU's External Action Service*, 11th Report of Session 2012-2013 (London: The Stationery Office Ltd, 19 March 2013). Available online at <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201213/ldselect/ldeucom/147/147.pdf>.

European Council, 'A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy,' (Brussels: European Council, 2003). Available online at

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>.

European Council, 'Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy – providing security in a changing world,' (Brussels: European Council, 2008). Available online at

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf.

Michael E. Smith, "A liberal grand strategy in a realist world?: power, purpose and the EU's changing global role," *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (2011): 144-163.

Thomas Christiansen and Ben Tonra, eds, *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

'What kind of power? European foreign policy in perspective', Special Issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, 2 (2006).

Sophie Vanhoonacker and Karolina Pomorska, 'The European External Action Service and agenda-setting in European Foreign Policy,' *Journal of European Public Policy* (2013).

Giovanni Grevi, Damien Helly and Daniel Keohane, eds, *European Security and Defence Policy: the First 10 Years (1999-2009)* (Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2010).

Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

'Security cooperation beyond the nation state: The EU's common security and defence policy,' Special Issue of *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49, 1 (2011).

ii. *Enlargement*

Ulrich Sedelmeier, 'Is Europeanisation through Conditionality Sustainable? Lock-in of Institutional Change after EU Accession', in *West European Politics*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 20-38

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

Special issue of *Journal of Common Market Studies* on Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East-West Divide?, Vol. 52, No. 1, Jan 2014

Special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* on ‘Beyond conditionality: international institutions in post-communist Europe after enlargement’, Vol. 15, Issue 6, 2008

Firat Cengiz and Lars Hoffmann, ‘Rethinking Conditionality: Turkey’s European Union Accession and the Kurdish Question’ in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 3, May 2013, pp. 416-32.

Rachid Azrout, Joost van Spanje, Claes de Vreese, ‘When News Matters: Media Effects on Public Support for European Union Enlargement in 21 Countries’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, September 2012, Vol. 50, No. 5, pp. 691-708

Anna Herranz-Surrallés, ‘Justifying Enlargement in a Multi-level Polity: A Discursive Institutional Analysis of the Elites-Public Gap over European Union Enlargement’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2012, Vol. 50, No. 3, pp. 385-402

Florian Trauner, ‘From membership conditionality to policy conditionality: EU external governance in South Eastern Europe’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2009, Vol. 16, No. 5, pp. 774-90

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

European Commission, ‘A New Response to a Changing Neighbourhood: A review of the European Neighbourhood Policy,’ (Brussels: European Commission 2011). Available online at http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com_11_303_en.pdf.

See also the ENP’s website, 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:

Erik O. Erikson and John Erik Fossum, *The European Union’s Non-Members – Independence under hegemony?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015)

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.

Jörg Monar, ‘Justice and Home Affairs’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016, Vol. 54, Annual Review, pp. 134-49

Andrew Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE, 2006)

Sandra Lavenex, ‘Migration and the EU’s new eastern border: between realism and liberalism,’ in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 1, February 2001, pp. 24-42, available on-line

Virginie Giraudon, 'The constitution of a European immigration policy domain: a political sociology approach', in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 2, April 2003, pp. 263-82, available on-line

Jef Huysmans (2000) 'The European Union and the Securitization of Migration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 5, 2000, pp. 751-777, available on-line

Virginie Guiraudon, 'European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-making as Venue Shopping' in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 38, No.2, June 2000, pp. 251-71, available on-line

Carl Levy, 'The European Union after 9/11: The Demise of a Liberal Democratic Asylum Regime?', *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 40, No. 1, January 2005, pp. 26-59, available on-line

Fiona B. Adamson, Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos & Aristide R. Zolberg, 'The Limits of the Liberal State: Migration, Identity and Belonging in Europe', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37: 6 (2011), pp 843-859

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

Frank Schimmelfennig, 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism and the Crises of the European Union', in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Special Issue on Liberal Intergovernmentalism and its Critics, Vol. 56, No 7, November 2018, pp. 1578-1594

Swen Hutter and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., *European Party Politics in Times of Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), Part 1 plus whichever countries you find of interest

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

Poul F. Kjaer and Niklas Olsen, eds, *Critical Theories of Crisis in Europe* (London: Rowman and Littlefield International Limited, 2016), Introduction, Part 1 and Chapter 4

a. Eurozone crisis

Mai'a K. Davis Cross, *The Politics of Crisis in Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), Chapter 5
Oliver Höing and Tobias Kunstein, 'Political Science and the Eurozone Crisis. A Review of Scientific Journal Articles 2004-15' in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 2, March 2019, pp 298-316

Sandrino Smeets, Alenka Jaschke and Derek Beach, 'The Role of the EU Institutions in Establishing the European Stability Mechanism: Institutional Leadership under a Veil of Intergovernmentalism' in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4, July 2019, pp. 675-691

Poul F. Kjaer and Niklas Olsen, eds, *Critical Theories of Crisis in Europe* (London: Rowman and Littlefield International Limited, 2016), Part IV on The Euro and the Crisis of Law and Democracy

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)

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8. Brexit

Why did the UK vote to leave the EU?
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- 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