POL13: The Politics of Britain and Europe
Paper guide 2020-2021 (September 2020)

Course organiser
Dr Julie Smith (jes42@cam.ac.uk)

Supervisors

British Politics
Justin Jackson (jj390@cam.ac.uk)
Dr Mitya Pearson (msp49@cam.ac.uk)
Jack Sheldon (js2395@cam.ac.uk)

The Politics of the European Union
Dr Barry Colfer (bc384@cam.ac.uk)
Julien Dumont (jd863@cam.ac.uk)
Dr Geoffrey Edwards (gre1000@cam.ac.uk)
Jakob Lundwall (jal210@cam.ac.uk)
Maria Chiara Vinciguerra (mcv27@cam.ac.uk)

Introduction to the paper

European politics has been in considerable flux in recent years. Indeed, the word ‘crisis’ is frequently used to describe various aspects of British and 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 History and Politics of the European Union. 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. 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, before turning to the often contested issues of democracy in the EU, policy-making and how the Union responds to crisis, including the Eurozone crisis, Brexit and COVID-19. 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. The Tripos examination for POL 13 takes the form of an undivided paper, so students can specialize in one module or study them in combination.

NB: Students may opt to study: i) both British and EU politics; ii) British politics only; iii) EU politics only. In order to allocate you an appropriate supervisor, please tell Rosalie Vanderpant (rv352@cam.ac.uk) which option you would prefer to take by 9th October. NB: this can be changed, but will assist the Course Director with making supervision arrangements in a timely fashion.
Background Reading
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. Exceptionally in 2020-21, all lectures will be on-line, either live-streamed or pre-recorded. They will then be stored on Moodle allowing you to (re-)watch them at a convenient time. There will be 40 lectures in total – 16 on British Politics and 24 on The Politics of the European Union. Most of the EU lectures will be given in real time at 10am on Monday mornings in termtime. However, you are encouraged to watch the pre-recorded initial EU lectures (1 to 4 inclusive) before undertaking your first EU supervision, as these will provide background information for the whole module.

Assessment
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 on 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.

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? Answer with reference to TWO or more crises.
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 covers politics and government in modern Britain. It is divided into four mini-sections: British Political History since 1945, The Political Economy of Britain since 1945, The British Political System and Policymaking in Britain. There are four key cross-cutting themes to the approach taken to teaching this section of the paper:

1. It is empirical. It focuses on the concrete reality of what has happened, and is happening, in British politics. At times, theoretical models are used but this is generally to further understanding of British politics or highlight how the British case fits within broader political scholarship.
2. It is historical. It looks back to look forward, setting contemporary academic and political debates in a longer context.
3. It is current. It will examine very recent developments in British politics, including evaluating recent political science.
4. It acknowledges the broader, international context. This is not a comparative paper, however, it will at times provide some brief context on how the British case fits with broader comparative (generally western European) developments.

Lecture Topics

Michaelmas Term

British Political History since 1945 (Dr Mitya Pearson)

3. Thatcherism, 1979-1997
4. New Labour, 1997-2010

The Political Economy of Britain since 1945 (Dr Jeremy Green)

5. The City of London and British Capitalism
6. The IMF Crisis of 1976 and the Crisis of Keynesianism
7. Thatcher, Monetarism and the Politics of Financial Liberalisation
8. British Capitalism after the Financial Crisis

Lent Term

The British Political System (Dr Mitya Pearson)

10. The Union and Devolution
11. Party Politics
12. Elections and Voting

Policymaking in Britain (Dr Mitya Pearson)

13. Policymaking and the Executive
14. Policymaking and Parliament
15. Policymaking and Whitehall
16. Case Study Lecture: Environmental Policy

**Supervision Topics**

**Michaelmas Term**

4. New Labour and the Financial Crisis, 1997-2010

**Lent Term**

5. The Union and Devolution
6. Party Politics and Voting
7. Policymaking in Britain (the Executive, Parliament and Whitehall)

**Some General Background Readings**


Meg Russell et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (2016)


Andrew Gamble, *Britain in decline: economic policy, political strategy and the British state* (1994)


Jeremy Green, *The Political Economy of the Special Relationship* (2020)

**Diaries and Memoirs**


Sir Douglas Wass, *Decline to Fall* (2008)


Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell Diaries* (6 vols., 2010-17)


Questions

‘The Labour Party is a Socialist Party, and proud of it. Its ultimate purpose at home is the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain – free, democratic, efficient, progressive, public-spirited, its material resources organised in the service of the British people.’ (LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO, 1945) Discuss with reference to the record of the 1945-51 Labour governments.

‘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?

How did the revival of the City’s international role from the 1950s challenge the UK’s Keynesian economic model?

The Second World War and the 1945 General Election


The Attlee Government, 1945-51


Henry Pelling, *The Labour Governments, 1945-51* (1984), Chapters 1-2, 5-6 and Conclusion

Charles Webster, ‘Conflict and consensus: Explaining the British Health Service’, *Twentieth Century British History* (1990)


Alan Booth, ‘How long are “light years” in British politics? The Labour Party’s economic ideas in the 1930s’, *Twentieth Century British History* (1996)

**The Conservative Governments, 1951-64**

Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000* (2004), Chapters 7 and 8


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

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


**Consensus**

Ben Pimlott et al., ‘Is the “Post War Consensus” a myth?’, *Contemporary British History* (1989)


David Edgerton, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation: A Twentieth-Century History* (2018), Chapter 14 (Two Classes, Two Parties, One Nation)

**The City and Keynesianism**


Questions

Why did governments between 1964 and 1979 find it so difficult to win re-election?

Has the ‘crisis’ in British government during the 1970s been exaggerated?

How transformative was the 1976 IMF Crisis for Britain’s political economy?

Politics and Social Change in the 1960s and 1970s


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 (2011)


Keith Middlemas, Power, Competition and the State (3 vols., 1986-91), Introductions to vols. II and III
The Wilson Government, 1964-70


Richard Tyler, ‘“Victims of our history”? Barbara Castle and In Place of Strife’, Contemporary British History (2006)

The Heath Government, 1970-74


The ‘Crisis’ of Social Democracy, 1974-79


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


1976 IMF Crisis


3. Thatcherism and Financialisation, 1979-1997

Questions

What, if anything, was conservative about ‘Thatcherism’?

‘The first Thatcher Administration was designed primarily as an experiment in government survival rather than in economic or political theory.’ (Jim Bulpitt) Discuss.

What motivated the transformation of monetary policy and financial regulation under the Thatcher government?

Introductions, Interpretations and Biographies


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


Thatcherism and the Conservative Party


Stephen Evans, ‘The not so odd couple: Margaret Thatcher and One Nation Conservatism’, Contemporary British History (2009)

The Conservatives in Opposition, 1974-79


Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, ‘Neo-liberalism and morality in the making of Thatcherite social policy’, Historical Journal (2012)

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 (2012)

Aled Davies et al., “Everyman a capitalist” or “Free to choose”? Exploring the tensions within Thatcherite individualism’, Historical Journal (2018)

Monetary Policy and Financial Regulation


Ben Clift, ‘The hollowing out of monetarism: the rise of rules-based monetary policy-making in the UK and USA and problems with the paradigm change framework’, *Comparative European Politics* (2019)


4. New Labour and the Financial Crisis, 1997-2010

Questions

What was New Labour’s electoral strategy, and did it take working class voters for granted?

‘Instead of thinking of “New” Labour as a deviation from the party’s past, it is better understood to be a reworking of Labour’s dominant “revisionist” tradition’ (FIELDING). Do you agree?

Did the Global Financial crisis transform or reinforce the main features of Britain’s pre-crisis political economy?

General Readings and Interpretations


New Labour Electoral Strategy

Peter Kilfoyle Articles in *Tribune*, 8 March and 9 September (1996)


Economic Policy


Social Policy


**Foreign policy**

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


**Financial Crisis**


5. **The Union and Devolution**

**Questions**

How far have efforts to devolve power from Westminster and Whitehall been driven by public demand? Answer with reference to ANY ONE OR MORE parts of the United Kingdom.

To what extent has Brexit exposed the fundamental instability of the union of the United Kingdom?

Is the UK’s devolution settlement deeply flawed?

**Devolution**

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

Vernon Bogdanor, *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (second edition, 2001)


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


**Brexit, Devolution and the Union**


Mark Sandford and Cathy Gormley-Heenan, "'Taking back control', the UK’s constitutional narrative and Schrodinger’s devolution’, *Parliamentary Affairs* (2020)

UK in a Changing Europe, *Brexit and the Union* (2020)


**England**


Scotland


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


Ben Jackson, ‘The political thought of Scottish nationalism’, *Political Quarterly* (2014)


Wales


Northern Ireland


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


Katy Hayward, ‘The 2019 general election in Northern Ireland: The rise of the centre ground?’, *Political Quarterly* (2020)

6. Party Politics and Voting

Questions

Which model of voting behaviour (sociological, spatial, or valence) best explains recent electoral outcomes in Britain?

Is social class still relevant to the study of British electoral politics?

How and why has the British party system changed since 1997?

Voting Behaviour


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* (2016)

Long-Run Changes in the UK Party System

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

John Curtice, ‘So what went wrong with the electoral system? The 2010 election result and the debate about electoral reform’, *Parliamentary Affairs* (2010)

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


Recent General Elections, 1997-2019


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


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

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


Jonathan Tonge et al. (eds.), *Britain Votes 2017* (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* (2018)


David Cutts et al., ‘Brexit, the 2019 general election and the realignment of British politics’, *Political Quarterly* (2020)

Recent Developments in Voting and Party Politics

Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin, Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain (2014), esp. Chapters 3, 4 and 5


UK in a Changing Europe, ‘Mind the Values Gap’ (2020)

Rob Ford and Maria Sobolewska, Brexitland (2020)

7. Policymaking in Britain (the Executive, Parliament and Whitehall)

Questions

Is the British Prime Minister only as powerful as their ‘cabinet colleagues let him or her be’ (Jones, 2016)?

Following the 2019 General Election, the UK Parliament is as weak as it has always been. Evaluate this statement.

To what extent is policymaking in Whitehall ‘programmed to go wrong’ (Dominic Cummings, 2014)?

The Prime Minister and the Executive


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


Andrew Blick and George Jones, *Premiership* (2010), esp. Chapter 2 - Recurring Errors


Robert Elgie, ‘Core executive studies two decades on’, *Public Administration* (2011)

**Parliament**


**Whitehall**


Policy Areas

In answering the three questions above, one potential option is to focus on a specific policy area or case study. Some sources for this are listed below.

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


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


Peter Malpass, Housing & the Welfare State: The Development of Housing Policy (2005)


Neil Carter and Mike Childs, ‘Friends of the Earth as a policy entrepreneur: “The Big Ask” campaign for a UK Climate Change Act’, Environmental Politics (2018)

Nicholas Timmins, Universal Credit: From Disaster to Recovery? (2016), available online at https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/universal-credit-disaster-recovery

Wendy Williams, Windrush
Section B. The History and Politics of the European Union (Dr Julie Smith)

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 the theories used to explain them. It then 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 following the UK’s 2016 referendum on membership.

Lectures (by Dr Julie Smith except where stated)
- Monday 10am

Michaelmas Term

1. Origins of European Integration (1945-1958)
2. Development of the European Communities - from Rome to the SEA (1957-1986)
3. From Community to Union and beyond (1989-2000)
4. Treaty Reform from Nice to Lisbon (2000-2010)
5. Institutional Aspects of European Integration I (lecture by Dr Barry Colfer) – 12th Oct
6. Institutional Aspects of European Integration II (lecture by Dr Barry Colfer) – 19th Oct
7. The EU and its Member States - 26th Oct
8. Theorising European Integration I - 2nd Nov
9. Theorising European Integration II – 9th Nov
10. Democracy in the EU I – elections to the European Parliament – 16th Nov
11. Democracy in Europe II – European referendums – 23rd Nov

[Lectures 1-4 will be uploaded to Moodle by Thursday 8th October; Lectures 5-12 will be live-streamed on Mondays at 10am starting on Monday 12th October and will then be uploaded to Moodle]

Lent Term

13. Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)
14. Financing Europe – Budgetary Politics
15. Energy and Environment Policy
16. Foreign and Security Policy
17. EU enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy
18. Justice and Home Affairs Policy
19. Dealing with Crises I – Eurozone (Monday 17th February)
20. Dealing with Crises II – Refugee Crisis (Monday 24th February)
21. Brexit I – Choosing to Leave
22. Brexit II – Trying to Leave
23. Dealing with Crises III - COVID-19 (lecture by Dr Barry Colfer)
24. The Future of Europe – Wrap-up

[Some of the lectures will be uploaded to Moodle by Thursday 20th January 2020; the remainder will be live-streamed on Mondays at 10am – dates of specific lectures tbc]
Recommended Textbooks

The following books cover many of the issues raised in the EU module 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. The Origins and Evolution Development of the EU (Lectures 1-4)

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)


*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. Institutions (Lectures 6 & 7)

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*


*European Parliament*


*European Council/Council of Ministers*


3. The Member States (Lecture 7)

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

Readings


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


4. Theorising European Integration (Lectures 8-9)
What lessons, if any, does neofunctionalism offer to students of European integration in the 21st Century?

Can any theory of integration effectively challenge the dominance of Liberal Intergovernmentalism?

What purpose do theories of integration serve?

Readings

Please note that this is an extensive reading list, including a lot of starred items. You should consider them as feeding into other topics for this module – don’t worry if you can’t read them all for one supervision on Theory, but do consider reading them over the course of the academic year, as they can help support an understanding of the wider integration process. Similarly, you may wish to return to the theory lectures at the end of the module. Please note also that some of the articles in the policy-making and crises sections are also theory-driven. You should see these topics as inter-connected.


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


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


5. **Democracy and Legitimacy in the EU (Lectures 10-12)**

‘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.

Why have European citizens been so reluctant to support European treaty changes?

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 Szcerbiak 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 13-18)**

Students may wish to do two supervisions from this section, which is extensive.

**A. Economic and Monetary Union** (Lecture 13)

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)
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. The Union Budget and Multiannual Financial Framework** (Lecture 14)

Why does the EU have its own budget?
OR Why are EU budgetary politics so contentious?

**Readings**
Giacomo Benedetto, Friedrich Heinemann and Fabian Zuleeg, ‘Strategies to overcome the “juste retour” perspective on the EU budget’, Briefing Requested by the BUDG Committee, Policy Department for Budgetary Affairs, European Parliament, PE 648.186 February 2020
Giacomo Benedetto and Simona Milio, eds, European Union Budget Reform: Institutions, Policy and Economic Crisis (Palgrave: 2012)

C. Energy and Environment Policy (Lecture 15)

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


**D. Foreign policy, enlargement and conditionality (Lectures 16 & 17)**

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


And in a slightly different vein of third country relations:
Mai’a K. Davis Cross, *The Politics of Crisis in Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), Chapters 1, 2 & 6

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

**E. Justice and Home Affairs and Migration policy (Lecture 18)**

Why has the EU found it so difficult to integration in JHA?

‘Europe requires a common immigration policy.’ Discuss.


**7. Dealing with Crises (Lectures 19, 20 and 23)**

Why is the EU so poor at tackling crises? Answer with reference to two or more crises.

How far have crises helped forge the modern EU?
*Mai’a K. Davis Cross, *The Politics of Crisis in Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), Chapters 1, 2 & 6


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**a. Eurozone crisis**


Francesco Nicoli, ‘Neofunctionalism revisited: integration theory and varieties of outcomes in the Eurocrisis’, *Journal of European Integration*, 2019


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)


Symposium on Economic and Monetary Union and the Crisis of the Eurozone in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 6, Nov 2012


Special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* on European Integration in Times of Crisis: Theoretical Perspectives, 2015, Vol. 22, No. 2


b. Refugee crisis


c. Covid-19

Provisional reading list – this will be updated as the academic publishing cycle catches up with the policy realities.

*Policy and Society*, Special Issue on Covid-19, particularly the introductory article: https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rpas20/39/3?nav=tocList


Viewpoint Symposium in *Public Administration Review*, Available at: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/toc/15406210/2020/80/4 (NB - scroll down to find the articles on that webpage)

For specific graphs and maps on COVID-19 in Europe [https://euromomo.eu/graphs-and-maps](https://euromomo.eu/graphs-and-maps)

**8. Brexit**

Why did the UK vote to leave the EU?

Why has the UK found it so difficult to leave the EU?

*Readings*

*Special Issue of British Journal of Politics and International Relations, August 2017, Vol 19, Issue 3

Special Issue of *British Politics* on ‘The Politics of Brexit’, Vol. 13, No. 1, April 2018


*Julie Smith, *The UK’s Journeys into and out of the EU: Destinations Unknown* (Routledge, 2017)

Sieglinde Gstöhl and David Phinnemore, ‘The future EU-UK partnership: a historical institutionalist perspective’, *Journal of European Integration*, 2020


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