POL13: The Politics of Europe

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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.

**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. Why have the EU treaties been revised so often?
14. How effective is European foreign policy?
15. What are the impediments to European asylum and immigration policy?
16. How has enlargement benefited the EU, if it all?
17. Why does the EU find it so hard to meet its aim of getting ‘closer to its citizens’?
18. How have inter-institutional relations changed over time?
19. What are the limits to European integration?
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: British politics and government since 1945
Monday 11am, Alison Richard Building room S1 (unless otherwise stated)

W1. Introduction: British politics in theory and practice
W4. Political ideas in the ‘golden age’, 1945-73 [Tuesday 30 October, 9am, S1]
W5. The crisis of the post-war settlement: Britain in the 1970s
W6. Thatcherism
W7. New Labour
W8. The Cameron-Clegg coalition

Lent Term: Themes in contemporary British politics
Wednesday 9am, Alison Richard Building room SG2

W9. Electoral behaviour and the changing party system
W10. The constitution (I): Inside Whitehall
W11. The constitution (II): Devolution and nationalism: Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland
W13. The constitution (IV): Constitutional reform
W15. Public policy (II): The Treasury and economic policy
W16. 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 Duncan Needham – ‘British economic history and economic policy since c. 1880’ (Lent Term, weeks 1-6, Monday 9am)
- Dr Niamh Gallagher and others – ‘British political history since 1880’ (Michaelmas Term, Tuesday 12 noon and Wednesday 11am; Lent Term, weeks 1-6, Monday 12 noon and Tuesday 12 noon)
General and background readings

Historical background

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

General readings and reference works

Matthew Flinders et al. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of British Politics* (Oxford, 2009)
Anthony King and Ivor Crewe, *The Blunders of our Governments* (2013)
Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)

Diaries and memoirs

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

What did the Attlee government’s achievements owe to the Second World War? (i, ii, iii) OR Why did the Attlee government lose power in 1951 despite fulfilling its 1945 manifesto? (ii, iii, v) OR Did the Conservative governments of 1951-64 become more or less effective over time? (iv, v)

i. The Second World War and the debate over ‘consensus’

Peter Hennessy, The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945 (2000) – useful introductory essays on the post-war prime ministers
Ben Pimlott, ‘Is the “postwar consensus” a myth?’, Contemporary Record, 2 (1989)

ii. The 1945 general election

Peter Sloman, ‘Rethinking a progressive moment: The Liberal and Labour parties in the 1945 general election’, Historical Research, 84 (2011)

iii. The Attlee government, 1945-51

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

iv. The Conservative governments, 1951-64

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

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

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)

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

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

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

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

ii. The Wilson government, 1964-70

*David Howell, British Social Democracy: A Study in Development and Decay (1976), chapters 8-10
Richard Tyler, “‘Victims of our history’? Barbara Castle and In Place of Strife’, Contemporary British History, 20 (2006)
Gareth Stedman Jones, ‘Why is the Labour Party in a mess?’, in his Languages of Class (1983)

iii. The Heath government, 1970-74


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

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

Why was the Conservative Party the main beneficiary of the crisis of the post-war settlement? (i, ii, iii)
‘Economics are the method. The object is to change the heart and soul.’ (Margaret Thatcher, 1981) How far does this explain the Thatcher government’s record? (i, ii, iv)
Did ‘Thatcherism’ amount to anything more than a revival of traditional Conservatism? (i, ii, iv)

i. Introductions, interpretations and biographies


ii. Thatcherism and the Conservative Party

Stephen Evans, ‘The not so odd couple: Margaret Thatcher and One Nation Conservatism’, *Contemporary British History*, 23 (2009)
iii. The Conservatives in opposition, 1974-79


iv. The Thatcher governments and their policies

Dennis Kavanagh and Anthony Seldon (eds.), The Thatcher Effect: A Decade of Change (1989)
Matthew Francis, “A crusade to enfranchise the many”: Thatcherism and the “property-owning democracy”, Twentieth Century British History, 23 (2012)

v. Conservatism after Thatcher

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

4. New Labour

Did New Labour represent a coherent ideology, or just an electoral strategy? (i, ii, iii)
OR ‘Tony [Blair] was essentially a social liberal with a strong imperialist streak.’ (Andrew Adonis, 2016) How far does this explain the strengths and weaknesses of his governments? (i, ii, iv)

i. General readings and interpretations

*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)
ii. Economic policy and other domestic policies

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

iii. Social policy


iv. Foreign policy

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

v. Contemporary sources and journalism

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, vi)
OR Why is the British party system fragmenting? (iv, v, vii)

i. Elections and voting behaviour

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

ii. Recent general elections, 1997-2015

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

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)
Tim Ross and Tom McTague, Betting the House: The Inside Story of the 2017 election (2017)
Tim Shipman, Fall Out: A Year of Political Mayhem (2017)
Chris Curtis, ‘How Britain voted at the 2017 general election’, YouGov blog, 13 June 2017

iv. Party system change

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

v. The rise of the Scottish National Party and UKIP

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

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

vii. Parties and their members

Alan Ware, ‘Party organizational change in Britain: The iron law of centralization?’ in Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), How Parties Organize (1994)
Paul Whiteley, ‘Where have all the members gone? The dynamics of party membership in Britain’, Political Quarterly, 62 (2009)

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 coalition produces a better quality of government? (iv)

i. The Prime Minister

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

### ii. Cabinet and core executive

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

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

Peter A. Hall, ‘Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state: The case of economic policymaking in Britain’, *Comparative Politics*, 25 (1992-3)
Michael Barber, *Instruction to Deliver: Fighting to Transform Britain’s Public Services* (2007)
Anthony King and Ivor Crewe, *The Blunders of our Governments* (2013)
iv. The 2010-15 coalition

*Charles Lees, ‘How unusual is the United Kingdom coalition (and what are the chances of it happening again?)’, Political Quarterly, 82 (2011)
*Ben Yong and Tim Bale, ‘Britain’s experience of coalition government: Continuity and change’, in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), Developments in British Politics Ten (Basingstoke, 2016)
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

*Iain McLean, What’s Wrong with the British Constitution? (Oxford, 2010), esp. introduction
Robert Hazell (ed.), Constitutional Futures Revisited: Britain’s Constitution to 2020 (Basingstoke, 2008)
Nevil Johnson, Reshaping the British Constitution: Essays in Political Interpretation (Basingstoke, 2004)
Thomas Bingham, The Rule of Law (2011)
Matt Qvortup (ed.), The British Constitution: Continuity and Change (Oxford, 2013), esp. essays by Finn and Seldon and by Riddell
ii. Parliament


iii. The English question

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

iv. Constitutional implications of the 2016 EU referendum

*Alison L. Young, ‘The constitutional implications of Brexit’, European Public Law, 23 (2017)

8. Devolution

Is asymmetric devolution fundamentally unstable?
Why has nationalism been so much more successful since 1999 in Scotland than in Wales?
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, ‘The United Kingdom after the Scottish referendum’, in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), Developments in British Politics Ten (Basingstoke, 2016)  
Derek Birrell, Comparing Devolved Governance (Basingstoke, 2012)  

ii. Scotland

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

iii. Wales

vi. Northern Ireland

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

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


ii. Race, ethnicity, and empire in British politics

Jodi Burkett, *Constructing Post-Imperial Britain: Britishness, Race and the Radical Left in the 1960s* (Basingstoke, 2013)
iii. UKIP, immigration, and the 2016 EU referendum


10. Political economy

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

i. The Treasury and the making of economic policy

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

ii. Post-war economic performance


iii. An ‘Anglo-Liberal model’?

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

iv. Economic policy since the crash

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

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

Lectures (by Dr Julie Smith)

All lectures will take place on Fridays at 11am in Alison Richard Building room S1 (unless otherwise stated)

1. Origins of European Integration (5th October)
2. Development of the European Union (12th October)
3. Theorising European Integration (19th October)
4. Institutional Aspects of European Integration [Monday 29th October, 11am, S1]
5. The EU and its Member States (2nd November)
6. Democracy in the EU (9th November)
7. Budget/Multi-annual Financial Framework (17th November)
8. Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) (24th November)
9. Energy and Environment Policy (18th January)
10. Foreign and Security Policy (25th January)
11. EU enlargement (1st February)
12. European Neighbourhood Policy (8th February)
13. Dealing with Crises I – Eurozone (15th February)
14. Dealing with Crises II – Refugee (22nd February)
15. Euroscepticism and the Rise of Illiberal Democracy (1st March)
16. Brexit and Beyond (8th March)

Recommended Textbooks

The following books cover most 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, 5th edition, 2016), includes chapters of relevance to several topics in this part of the paper
• Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür, eds, Key Controversies in European Integration (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) This book contains chapters by a number of leading authors in the field and will offer useful pieces for many of the supervision topics.

For a wide range of seminal texts, see:
• Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, ed., Debates on European Integration – A Reader (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)
• Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (eds), The European Union (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003). A collection of some of the seminal texts in the theory and history of European integration. (NB. Previous editions of this book contain slightly different selections of seminal texts and are also well worth looking at as background in the field).

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, Europe Recast – A History of the European Union (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), Chapters 3-6
*Alan Milward, The European Rescue of the Nation-State, (London: Routledge, 2nd edition, 1999), chs 1, 2, 6 and ‘envoi’
Alan Milward, The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51 (London: Routledge, 1984), Conclusions
2. Theorising European Integration (lecture 3)

What lessons, if any, does neofunctionalism offer to students of European integration in the 21st Century?
OR What purpose do theories of integration serve?

Readings

* ‘Building better theoretical frameworks of the European Union's policy process’ Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 20, No. 6, 2013
Ben Rosamond, Theories of European Integration (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000) – this volume is now a little dated but offers a very accessible introduction to theories of integration
More complex is Dimitris N. Chryssochoou, Theorising European Integration (Oxford: Routledge, 2nd ed., 2009)
‘The Disparity of European Integration: Revisiting Neofunctionalism in Honour of Ernst Haas’, Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, 2005, Vol. 12, No. 2
‘Towards a Federal Europe?’, Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, 2005, Vol. 12, No. 3

3. Institutions (lecture 4)

Is the relationship between the central institutions best understood as cooperative or competitive?
OR Can the European Commission still be characterised as a ‘motor of integration’?

Readings

Derek Beach, *The Dynamics of European Integration - Why and when EU institutions matter* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), most chapters.


4. The Member States (lecture 5)

Do the Member States promote or impede integration?

OR Does the Franco-German axis still matter?

Readings


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


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


5. Democracy and Legitimacy in the EU (lectures 6, 15 & 16)

‘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?

Readings

Special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* on ‘Political Representation and European Union’, 2010, Vol. 17, No. 1
Aleks Szczepanik 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]
6. **Policy-making in the EU (lectures 7, 8 and 9)**

  a. **Budgetary policy**

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

  **Readings**


  b. **Economic and Monetary Union**

  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)

c. Energy and Environment Policy

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

7. Foreign policy, enlargement and conditionality (lectures 10, 11 and 12)

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

a. Foreign Policy


b. Enlargement

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


c. 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 Lebandidze, “’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:


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

8. **Dealing with Crises: Money, Migrants and Membership (lectures 13, 14, 15 and 16)**

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

OR What does the rise of illiberal democracy tell us about the success of EU enlargement and conditionality?

OR Why did the UK vote to leave the EU?

**Readings**

*a. Eurozone crisis*

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


b. Refugee crisis

c. The rise of Euroscepticism and illiberal democracy

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

d. Brexit and Beyond

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

There are numerous accounts of the referendum, some by academics, others by journalists and yet others by those who participated on one side or other of the campaigns. The following are a few of the volumes that are worth taking a look at. The list is not exhaustive but nor should you feel the need to read all of them. The idea would be to read one or two to get a sense of the dynamics of the referendum.

Tim Shipman, *All Out War – the Full Story of How Brexit Sank Britain’s Political Class* (William Collins, 2016) - the most detailed narrative on the referendum by respected *Sunday Times* journalist
Gary Gibbon, *Breaking Point – The UK Referendum on the EU and its Aftermath* (Haus Curiosities, 2016) - A short readable tract by a Channel Four journalist
Craig Oliver, *Unleashing Demons – The Bestselling Inside Story of Brexit* (Hodder and Stoughton, 2016) – an insider’s view written by former No 10 Director of Policy and Communications
Arron Banks, *The Bad Boys of Brexit – Tales of Mischief, Mayhem and Guerrilla Warfare in the EU Referendum Campaign* (Biteback Publishing, 2017; edited by Isabel Oakeshott) – diary of the chief backer of Leave.EU, an insurgent Leave grouping