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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’. More recently, the UK’s departure from the European Union 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 issues through two modules, one on British Politics and one on the 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, and changes in electoral behaviour. The Politics of the European Union module examines key aspects of the history and politics of European integration, such as the nature of the European Union, its policy-making structures, and the EU’s responses to crises. 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 paper is undivided, so students may opt to focus entirely on British Politics or the European Union or to take three supervisions in each module.
Prerequisites and Background Reading

There are no formal prerequisites for this paper, but students who took a module on Western Europe or the United States and the United Kingdom in POL4 will find that they provide some useful background information. History and Politics students who have studied modern British history and Economics students who have studied British economic policy at Part I are not constrained by formal overlap rules, but should alert their supervisor and should aim to study new topics in order to get the most out of the paper.

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 work.

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 will be asked to indicate by 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. Supervision capacity on this paper is limited, so we may not be able to accommodate late changes.

Mock written examination for 2023/24

Students taking the written exam should answer three questions, which may be taken from either section.

Note that the structure of POL13 has changed several times in recent years, to take account of student feedback and academic leave patterns; 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.

Section A: British Politics

1. How far does ‘class politics’ explain the policies pursued by EITHER the Labour governments of 1945-51 OR the Conservative governments of 1951-64?
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. How far did the Labour governments of 1997-2010 fulfil what they had promised?
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. Why has the Conservative Party dominated British politics since 2010?

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. How do national interests impact the integration process?

14. How have inter-institutional relations changed over time?

15. EITHER Is the EU democratic? OR Is democratic backsliding in the EU reversible?

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. What accounts for EU enlargement?

19. Have crises strengthened or weakened the European Union? Answer with reference to two or more crises.

20. Is the time ripe for institutional reform in Europe?
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 2017 and 2019 general elections) 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 Professor Peter Sloman)

Michaelmas Term
Fridays at 11am and Tuesdays at 11am in SG1

1. Introduction: British politics in theory and practice
2. British government in the post-war era, 1945-73
3. Party politics in the post-war era, 1945-73
4. Political ideas in the post-war era, 1945-73
5. The crisis of the post-war settlement? Britain in the 1970s
6. Thatcherism
7. New Labour
8. Coalition government, 2010-15
9. Electoral behaviour and the changing party system
10. The constitution (I): Inside Whitehall
11. The constitution (II): Devolution and nationalism: Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland
13. The constitution (IV): Constitutional reform
14. Public policy (I): Immigration and integration
15. Public policy (II): The Treasury and economic policy
16. Conclusion: British politics in 2023
General and background readings

Historical background

Peter Hennessy, *The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945* (2000)
Ian Sanjay Patel, *We're Here Because You Were There: Immigration and the End of Empire* (2021)
Robert Saunders, *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain* (Cambridge, 2018)

General readings and reference works

Aled Davies, Ben Jackson, and Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite (eds.), *The Neoliberal Age? Britain since the 1970s* (2022) – available as a free pdf download at [https://www.uclpress.co.uk/products/126996](https://www.uclpress.co.uk/products/126996)
Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)
Bill Jones et al. (eds.), *Politics UK* (tenth edition, 2021)

Diaries and memoirs

Gavin Barwell, *Chief of Staff: Notes from Downing Street* (2021)
Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell Diaries* (6 vols., 2010-17)
1. Post-war Britain: from ‘austerity’ to ‘affluence’, 1945-64

(a) What do the results of the 1945, 1950, and 1951 elections tell us about British voters’ attitudes to ‘socialism’? (i, ii, iv)
OR (b) What were the objectives of the Attlee governments, and how far did they achieve them? (i, ii)
OR (c) What, if anything, did the Conservative governments of 1951-64 seek to conserve? (ii, iv)

i. The Second World War and the 1945 general election

Andrew Thorpe, Parties at War: Political Organisation in Second World War Britain (Oxford, 2009)

ii. The Attlee governments, 1945-51

OR *Henry Pelling, The Labour Governments, 1945-51 (Basingstoke, 1984), chapters 1-2, 5-6 and conclusion
OR *Martin Francis, Ideas and Policies under Labour 1945-51: Building a New Britain (Manchester, 1997), chapters 1-4
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)
*Charles Webster, ‘Conflict and consensus: Explaining the British Health Service’, Twentieth Century British History, 1 (1990)

iii. The Conservative governments, 1951-64
Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000* (2004), chapters 7 and 8


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


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

iv. 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

(a) Why did EITHER the 1964-70 Wilson government OR the 1970-74 Heath government find it so difficult to satisfy voters’ expectations? (i, but especially ii OR iii)

OR (b) Has the ‘crisis’ in British government during the 1970s been exaggerated? (i, iii, iv)

OR (c) What lessons should we learn from the experience of British governments in the 1970s? (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)
Camilla Schofield, Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain (Cambridge, 2013)

ii. The Wilson government, 1964-70

Richard Tyler, “‘Victims of our history’? Barbara Castle and In Place of Strife’, Contemporary British History, 20 (2006)
Ben Pimlott, Harold Wilson (1992)

iii. The Heath government, 1970-74


iv. The 1974-9 Labour governments and the politics of ‘crisis’
3. Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative governments, 1979-97

(a) Did ‘Thatcherism’ have a coherent ideological core? If so, what was it? (i, ii, iii)
OR (b) How far, and how, did Margaret Thatcher create new bases of support for the Conservative Party? (i, ii, iii)

i. Introductions, interpretations and biographies

*Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), Making Thatcher’s Britain (Cambridge, 2012), esp. introduction and essays by Saunders, Tomlinson, Grimley, Beers (on ‘Thatcher and the women’s vote’), and Lawrence and Sutcliffe-Braithwaite
*E.H.H. Green, Thatcher (Oxford, 2006)

ii. Thatcherism and the Conservative Party

iii. The Thatcher governments and their policies


Matthew Francis, “‘A crusade to enfranchise the many’: Thatcherism and the “property-owning democracy””, *Twentieth Century British History*, 23 (2012)

Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, ‘Neo-liberalism and morality in the making of Thatcherite social policy’, *Historical Journal*, 55 (2012)


Aled Davies et al., “‘Everyman a capitalist” or “Free to choose”? Exploring the tensions within Thatcherite individualism’, *Historical Journal*, 61 (2018)


4. New Labour

(a) Did ‘New Labour’ amount to anything more than an electoral strategy? (i, ii, iii)

OR (b) How successful were Tony Blair and Gordon Brown’s governments in achieving their economic and social policy objectives? (i, ii, iii)

i. General readings and interpretations

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


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)
ii. Economic and social 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
Peter Sloman, Transfer State (Oxford, 2019), chapter 7 on tax credits

iii. Foreign policy

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

iv. Contemporary sources and journalism

Damian McBride, Power Trip: A Decade of Policy, Plots and Spin (2013)

5. Elections and party strategies since 1979

(a) Why did the Conservatives gain the clear victory in 2019 which had eluded them in the 2017 election? (i, iii)
OR (b) Is it possible to generalize about what makes for a successful electoral strategy for Labour and the Conservatives? (ii-iv)
OR (c) What explains the changing fortunes of parties other than Labour and the Conservatives since 1997? (v)

i. Approaches to voting behaviour

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)
Geoffrey Evans and Kat Chzhen, ‘Re-evaluating the valence model of electoral choice’, Political Science Research and Methods, 4 (2016)
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 (2019)

ii. 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)

iii. The 2017 and 2019 general elections

Robert Ford et al., The British General Election of 2019 (2021)
Jonathan Tonge et al. (eds.), Britain Votes 2017 (Oxford, 2018; also available as a supplement to Parliamentary Affairs, 71 (2018))
Jonathan Tonge et al. (eds.), Britain Votes 2019 (Oxford, 2020; also available as a supplement to Parliamentary Affairs, 73 (2020))
Nicholas Allen and John Bartle (eds.) None Past the Post: Britain at the Polls, 2017 (Manchester UP, 2018)


David Cutts et al., ‘Brexit, the 2019 general election and the realignment of British politics’, *Political Quarterly*, 91 (2020)

iv. Major-party electoral strategies

*Patrick Dunleavy, *Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Public Choice* (1990), chapter 5
Colin Hay, *The Political Economy of New Labour* (Manchester, 1999), chapter 3

v. Party system change and the decline of two-party politics

*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)


6. The British executive

(a) How can variations in the power and effectiveness of British prime ministers best be understood? (i, ii)
OR (b) In what ways, if any, is policy-making in UK government distinctively dysfunctional? (iii)

i. The Prime Minister

*Peter Hennessy, *The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945* (2000)
Anthony Seldon et al., *The Impossible Office? The History of the British Prime Minister* (Cambridge, 2021)

**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)
Robert Elgie, ‘Core executive studies two decades on’, *Public Administration*, 89 (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)

**iii. Understanding policy-making**

*Anthony King and Ivor Crewe, *The Blunders of our Governments* (2013)
Paul Cairney et al., ‘Fracking in the UK and Switzerland: Why differences in policymaking systems don’t always produce different outputs and outcomes’, *Policy and Politics*, 46 (2018)
Michael Barber, *Instruction to Deliver: Fighting to Transform Britain’s Public Services* (2007)


### 7. Parliament and the constitution

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

OR (b) 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)


#### ii. Parliament


iii. The English question


iv. Constitutional implications of the 2016 EU referendum and Brexit

Michael Gordon, ‘Referendums in the UK constitution: Authority, sovereignty and democracy after Brexit’, *European Constitutional Law Review*, 16 (2020)

8. Devolution

(a) Is asymmetric devolution fundamentally unstable? (i-iv)

OR (b) Why has the campaign for independence been so much more successful since 1999 in Scotland than in Wales? (ii, iii)

OR (c) Why has the power of English local government declined, and how might this be reversed? (v)

i. Devolution

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


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


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


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

**ii. Scotland**

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

**iii. Wales**

Gregory Davies and Daniel Wincott, ‘Ripening time? The Welsh Labour government between Brexit and parliamentary sovereignty’, *BJPIR*, early view (2022)
Coree Brown Swan and Michael Kenny, ‘“We can’t afford to be a branch office”: The territorial dynamics of the British Labour Party, 2015-2019’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, early view (2022)

**iv. Northern Ireland**

Catherine McGlynn et al., ‘The party politics of post-devolution identity in Northern Ireland’, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 16 (2014)
Katy Hayward, ‘The 2019 general election in Northern Ireland: The rise of the centre ground?’, *Political Quarterly*, 91 (2020)
Niall Ó Dochartaigh, ‘Beyond the dominant party system: The transformation of party politics in Northern Ireland’, *Irish Political Studies*, 36 (2021)
Deirdre Heenan and Derek Birrell, ‘Exploring responses to the collapse of devolution in Northern Ireland 2017-2020 through the lens of multi-level governance’, Parliamentary Affairs, 75 (2022)

v. Local government

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

9. Immigration and ethnicity in British politics

(a) Why has immigration been such a divisive issue in British politics since the 1950s? (i, ii)
OR (b) How and why did immigration become so central to the debate over the UK’s membership of the European Union? (i, iii)

i. The making of immigration policy

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

ii. Race, ethnicity, and empire in British politics

Ian Sanjay Patel, We’re Here Because You Were There: Immigration and the End of Empire (2021)
Gurminder K. Bhambra, ‘Relations of extraction, relations of redistribution: Empire, nation, and the construction of the British welfare state’, *British Journal of Sociology*, 73 (2022)
Liam Liburd, ‘The politics of race and the future of British political history’, *Political Quarterly*, 94 (2023)
Erik Lindstrum et al., ‘Decolonizing Britain: An exchange’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 33 (2022)

iii. UKIP, immigration, and the 2016 EU referendum

Matthew Goodwin and Oliver Heath, ‘The 2016 referendum, Brexit and the left behind’, *Political Quarterly*, 87 (2016)

10. Politics since 2010

(a) What lessons should we learn from the experience of the 2010-15 coalition? (i, ii)
OR (b) What does the rapid rise and fall of EITHER Boris Johnson OR Jeremy Corbyn tells us about contemporary British politics? (iii and iv for Johnson, v for Corbyn)

i. The 2010-2015 coalition

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

### ii. The politics of austerity

*Deborah Mabbett, ‘Governing in times of austerity’, in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)
*Tom Hunt and Liam Stanley, ‘From “there is no alternative” to “maybe there are alternatives”: Five challenges to economic orthodoxy after the crash’, *Political Quarterly*, 90 (2019)

### iii. The Conservative Party and the politics of Brexit, 2016-20

Kevin Hickson, Robert Page and Ben Williams, ‘Strangled at birth: The One Nation ideology of Theresa May’, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 25 (2020)
Sam Power, Tim Bale and Paul Webb, ‘“Mistake overturned, so I call it a lesson learned”: The Conservatives’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 73 (2020)
Agnès Alexandre-Collier, ‘David Cameron, Boris Johnson and the “populist hypothesis” in the British Conservative Party’, *Comparative European Politics* (2022)

Geoffrey Evans, Roosmarijn de Geus, and Jane Green, ‘Boris Johnson to the rescue? How the Conservatives won the radical right vote in the 2019 general election’, *Political Studies*, early view (2021)


iv. ‘Johnsonism’ in government


Will Jennings, Lawrence McKay, and Gerry Stoker, ‘The politics of levelling up’, *Political Quarterly*, 92 (2021)


Robert Saunders, “‘Let them eat cake”: Conservatism in the age of Boris Johnson’, *Renewal*, 30 (2022)


Vernon Bogdanor, ‘Choosing the Conservative leader: Lessons from history’, *Political Quarterly*, 93 (2022)

v. Labour and the left since 2010


Andrew Roe-Crines (ed.), *Corbynism in Perspective* (2021)


Section B. The History and Politics of the European Union (Professor 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 questions of democracy as well as 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 and a half, 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, the Covid pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Lectures (by Professor Julie Smith)

Mondays 12 noon in SG1

Michaelmas Term

1. Origins and Development of European Integration – the Cold War Years - 9th October
2. From Community to Union, Integration from 1989 to 2010 – 16th Oct
3. Institutional Aspects of European Integration – 23rd Oct
4. The EU and its Member States – 30th Oct
5. Theorising European Integration – 6th Nov
7. Democracy in Europe II – European referendums – 20th Nov

Lent Term

9. EU Enlargement Policy – 22nd Jan
10. Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) –29th Jan
11. Foreign, Security and Defence Policy – 5th Feb
13. Justice and Home Affairs Policy - 19th Feb
14. Dealing with Crises I – Eurozone; Refugee; Brexit – 26th Feb
15. Dealing with Crises II – Covid; Ukraine; Energy – 5th March
16. The Future of Europe – 12th March

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.

- Ramona Coman, Amandine Crespy and Vivien A. Schmidt, Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)
- Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, eds, European Union Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 7th edition, 2022) includes chapters of relevance to several topics in this part of the paper

If you have no background knowledge of the EU, you might wish to look at Daniel Kenealy, Amelia Hadfield, Richard Corbett, and John Peterson, eds., *The European Union – How does it work?* (Oxford: OUP, 2022)

For reference:


1. The Origins and Evolution Development of the EU (Lectures 1 & 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)
*Alan Milward, The European Rescue of the Nation-State,* (London: Routledge, 2nd edition, 1999), chs 1, 2, 6 and ‘envoi’
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

2. Institutions (Lecture 3)

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

Olivier Costa and Steven van Hecke, eds. (2023) *The EU Political System After the 2019 European Elections* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan)


For the individual institutions, the readings are listed in order of the most recent and, hence, most pertinent to the way the EU works in 2022 (indeed, post-Lisbon). What you should read and how much will depend on the questions you are addressing; the items have not been starred.

**CJEU**


**Commission**


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

European Parliament

Ben Crum (2022) ‘Why the European Parliament lost the Spitzenkandidaten-process’, JEPP, online Jan 2022

European Council/Council of Ministers
Sandrino Smeets and Derek Beach (2022) ‘“It takes three to tango”: new inter-institutional dynamics in managing major crisis reform’, JEPP, 29 (9), pp. 1414-1432. Looks at role of HS&G in reforming the Common European Asylum System.
Wolfgang Wessels, The European Council (Palgrave, 2015)

3. The Member States (Lecture 4)

Do the Member States promote or impede integration?
Does the Franco-German couple still matter?
Can small states influence the EU effectively?

Readings

**Lucas Schramm and Wolfgang Wessels (2022),** *The European Council as a crisis manager and fusion driver: assessing the EU’s fiscal response to the COVID-19 pandemic,* Journal of European Integration, published online 10 August 2022


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


4. **Theorising European Integration (Lecture 5)**

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 6-8)**

‘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

*Ben Crum (2022) ‘Why the European Parliament lost the Spitzenkandidaten-process’, JEPP, online Jan 2022
Vivien A. Schmidt, Europe’s Crisis of Legitimacy (Oxford: OUP, 2020)

*Julie Smith (ed.) The Palgrave Handbook of European Referendums (Palgrave, 2021), Various Chapters.
Richard Rose, How Referendums Challenge European Democracy (Cham: Palgrave, 2020)
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


Alessandra Furlong 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’* (Lecture 8 - Can also be considered under Crises)

Marlene Laruelle (2022) ‘Illiberalism: a conceptual introduction’, *East European Politics*, published online 1 March 2022


Dimitry Vladimirovich Kochenov (2021) ‘Upgrading Rule of Law in Europe in Populist Times, *Pravni Zapisi, God. XII, br. 1* [module leader will upload a copy of this item to Moodle]


Juan A. Mayora and Marlene Wind (2022) ‘Unleashed dialogue or captured by politics? The impact of judicial independence on national higher courts’ cooperation with the CJEU’, *JEPP*, 29(9), pp. 1433-1453


6. Policy-making in the EU (Lectures 9-13)

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

A. Economic and Monetary Union (Lecture 10)

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

Readings

‘Germany, the “New Hanseatic League” and the Role of Smaller States in Economic and Monetary Union’ (2022), Special Issue of German Politics, edited by Magnus G. Schoeller and Gerda Falkner, Vol. 31, No. 2, June
Michele Chang, Economic and Monetary Union (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
Michele Chang, Monetary Integration in the European Union (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)
Gavin Hewitt, The Lost Continent – The BBC’s Europe Editor on Europe’s Darkest Hour since World War Two (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2013)

C. Energy and Environment Policy (Lecture 12)

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 9 & 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, Defence and Security Policy*
Moritz Weiss and Felix Biermann (2022), ‘Networked politics and the supply of European defence integration’, *JEPP*, 29(6), pp. 910-931

If interested:


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


ii. Enlargement


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


iii. Neighbourhood policy

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

*D. Justice and Home Affairs and Migration policy* (Lecture 13)

Why has the EU found it so difficult to integration in JHA?
‘Europe requires a common immigration policy.’ Discuss.

7. Dealing with Crises (Lectures 14 & 15) (Again students may wish to do more than one supervision within this group, as there is a range of crises to consider)

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?

General Crisis Readings

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

Natalie Brack and Seda Gürkan (eds), *Theorising the Crimes of the European Union* (London: Routledge, 2021)

Marianne Riddervold et al (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of European Crimes* (Cham, Ch.: Palgrave, 2021)

Erik Jones, R. Daniel Keleman and Sophie Meunier (2021), ’Failing forward? Crises and patterns of European integration’, *JEPP*, 28(10), pp. 1519-1536

Federico Maria Ferrara and Hanspeter Kriesi (2022) ’Crisis pressures and European integration’, *JEPP*, 29(9), pp. 1351-1373

Vivien A. Schmidt (2022) ‘European emergency politics and the question of legitimacy’, *JEPP*, 29(6), pp. 979-993


Christian Rauh (2022), ‘Supranational emergency politics? What executives’ public crisis communication may tell us’, *JEPP*, 29(6), pp. 966-978

*The JCMS Annual Review of the European Union in 2020* (2021) – all of the articles are relevant to the theme of crisis/emergency politics, with several also relevant to other topics. Well worth a look.


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
James Floyd Downes, Matthew Loveless and Andrew Lam (2021), ‘The Looming Refugee Crisis in the EU: Right-Wing Party Competition and Strategic Positioning’, JCMS, Vol. 59, No. 5, pp. 1103-1123

C. Brexit

Readings
* Brigid Laffan and Stefan Telle, The EU’s Response to Brexit (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023)

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)
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.

d. Covid-19 Crisis
Lucas Schramm and Wolfgang Wessels (2022) ,The European Council as a crisis manager and fusion driver: assessing the EU’s fiscal response to the COVID-19 pandemic, *Journal of European Integration*, published online 10 August 2022

*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

8. The Future of Europe (Lecture 16)
What factors determine the EU’s ability to reform?
Post-Brexit can the institutional arrangements to tackle the Eurozone crisis be constitutionalised?

*Readings*


Markus W. Gehring (2020) *Europe’s Second Constitution – Crisis, Courts and Community* (Cambridge: CUP) - a lawyer’s perspective
