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 departure from 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. 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, policy-making 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.
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 36 lectures in total – 16 on British Politics and 20 on The Politics of the European Union. Most of the EU lectures will be given in real time at 10am on Mondays in Michaelmas and Lent. However, you are strongly encouraged to watch the pre-recorded initial EU lectures (1 to 4 inclusive) before undertaking your first EU supervision, as these will provide essential background information and preparation for the whole module.

Students must answer three questions (drawn from either section) in the three-hour written examination. 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

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, in response to academic availability and student feedback; the mock exam paper below has been designed with this year’s paper in mind. On the British Politics side, there will be one question on each of the 10 supervision topics, though students should note that some of these topics are very broad, and the questions may therefore be rather different to those which they have tackled for supervision essays.

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 in the 1950s 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. What accounts for EU enlargement?
19. Have crises strengthened or weakened the European Union?
20. ‘Bad for the UK, good for Europe.’ How far does this capture the potential impact of Brexit?
Section A. British Politics

This section of the paper explores politics and government in modern Britain from four different perspectives. Firstly, it examines the historical background to contemporary British politics, from the apparent stability of the post-war ‘golden age’, through the multiple crises of the 1970s, to the social and economic changes associated with Margaret Thatcher and the emergence of New Labour. Secondly, it considers what these changes have meant for the British constitution, the distribution of power within (and between) Whitehall and Westminster, and the making of public policy. Thirdly, it explores the political implications of the devolution settlement and the challenges which Scottish, Welsh, and Irish nationalism pose to the future of the United Kingdom. Finally, it examines recent developments in electoral politics (including the 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 Dr Peter Sloman)

Michaelmas Term
Fridays at 11am and Mondays at 12 noon 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. Public policy (III): The welfare state

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

- Dr Pedro Ramos Pinto – ‘Economics for historians’ (Thursdays at 10am in Michaelmas Term on Zoom)
- Dr Niamh Gallagher and others – ‘British political history since 1880’
General and background readings

Historical background

Peter Hennessy, *The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945* (2000)
Robert Saunders, *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain* (Cambridge, 2018)

General readings and reference works

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

Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell Diaries* (6 vols., 2010-17)
Alan Duncan, *In The Thick of It: The Private Diaries of a Minister* (2021)
1. Post-war Britain: from ‘austerity’ to ‘affluence’, 1945-64

(a) How important was ‘socialism’ to Labour’s 1945 election victory and the policies which the party pursued in office? (i, ii)
OR (b) Why did Labour lose power in 1951 despite fulfilling most of the objectives set out in its 1945 manifesto? (ii, iv)
OR (c) What were the objectives of the 1951-64 Conservative governments, and how far did they achieve them? (iii, iv)

i. The Second World War and the 1945 general election

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

ii. The Attlee government, 1945-51

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

iii. The Conservative governments, 1951-64
Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000* (2004), chapters 7 and 8
Harriet Jones, ‘“This is magnificent!” 300,000 houses a year and the Tory revival after 1945’, *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000)
*Peter Weiler, ‘The rise and fall of the Conservatives’ “grand design for housing”, 1951-64’, *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000)*

**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 British governments find it so difficult to satisfy voters’ expectations during the 1960s and 1970s? (i, ii, iii)
OR (b) Has the ‘crisis’ in British government during the 1970s been exaggerated? (i, iii, iv)
OR (c) What did the experience of the Wilson and Callaghan governments reveal about the Labour Party’s approach to politics and policy? (i, ii, iv)

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

ii. The Wilson government, 1964-70

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

iii. The Heath government, 1970-74


iv. The 1974-9 Labour governments and the politics of ‘crisis’


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

(a) ‘For Thatcher, the goal was not to engineer a short-term improvement in the economy, but to eliminate socialism from British political culture.’ (Robert Saunders) How did the Thatcher governments achieve this? (i, ii, ii)
OR (b) What, if anything, was conservative about ‘Thatcherism’? (i, ii, iii)

i. Introductions, interpretations and biographies


ii. Thatcherism and the Conservative Party


ii. The Thatcher governments and their policies

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

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
*Steven Fielding, The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of “New” Labour (Basingstoke, 2003)
David Coates, Prolonged Labour: The Slow Birth of New Labour Britain (Basingstoke, 2005)
Jon Davies and John Rentoul, Heroes or Villians? The Blair Government Reconsidered (Oxford, 2019)
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


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)


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

iii. The 2017 and 2019 general elections

Jonathan Tonge et al. (eds.), *Britain Votes 2017* (Oxford, 2018; also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71 (2018))
Nicholas Allen and John Bartle (eds.) *None Past the Post: Britain at the Polls, 2017* (Manchester UP, 2018)
*Jonathan Tonge et al. (eds.), *Britain Votes 2019* (Oxford, 2020; also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 73 (2020))
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
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)
Grant Jordan and Paul Cairney, ‘What is the “dominant model” of British policymaking? Comparing majoritarian and policy community ideas’, British Politics, 8 (2013)
Michael Barber, Instruction to Deliver: Fighting to Transform Britain’s Public Services (2007)
Thomais Massala and Nick Pearce, ‘Statecraft and incremental change: Explaining the success of pension reforms in the United Kingdom’, British Journal of Politics and International Relations, early view (2021)
Nicholas Timmins, Universal Credit: From Disaster to Recovery? (2016), available online at https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/universal-credit-disaster-recovery

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)
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)


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

ii. Scotland


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


iii. Wales


iv. Northern Ireland

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

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

i. The Treasury and the making of economic policy

(a) Have the shortcomings of post-war British economic policy-making been exaggerated? (i, ii)

OR (b) 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
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)
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)
Section B. The History and Politics of the European Union (Prof. 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 Prof. Julie Smith except where stated)

Pre-recorded History Lectures
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)

Live lectures – Mondays 10am in SG1
Michaelmas Term
5. Institutional Aspects of European Integration – 11th Oct
6. The EU and its Member States – 18th Oct
7. Theorising European Integration - 25th Oct
8. EU enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy – 1st Nov
9. Financing Europe – Budgetary Politics - 8th Nov
11. Democracy in Europe II – European referendums – 22nd Nov

Lent Term
13. Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) – 24th Jan
15. Foreign and Security Policy – 7th Feb
16. Justice and Home Affairs Policy - 14th Feb
17. Dealing with Crises I – Eurozone – 21st Feb
18. Dealing with Crises II – Refugee Crisis – 28th Feb
20. Dealing with Crises III - COVID-19 – 14th 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.

- 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
time gives theoretical insights into the integration process.


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’


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 5)**

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

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

**Readings**

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

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

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

European Council/Council of Ministers
Wolfgang Wessels, The European Council (Palgrave, 2015)

3. The Member States (Lecture 6)

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

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

4. Theorising European Integration (Lecture 7)

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
‘Building better theoretical frameworks of the European Union's policy process’ Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 20, No. 6, 2013
‘The Disparity of European Integration: Revisiting Neofunctionalism in Honour of Ernst Haas’, Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, 2005, Vol. 12, No. 2
‘Towards a Federal Europe?’, Special Issue of Journal of European Public Policy, 2005, Vol. 12, No. 3

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.

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

* Julie Smith (ed.) The Palgrave Handbook of European Referendums (Palgrave, 2021), Various Chapters.
* 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
* Christopher Lord and Johannes Pollak, ‘Unequal but democratic? Equality according to Karlsruhe’ in Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2013, pp. 190-205


Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart, ‘The Politics of European Referendum Outcomes and Turnout: Two Models’, West European Politics, Vol. 27, No. 4, September 2004, pp. 557-83, available on-line [If you are interested, you might wish to look at other articles in this volume, which is a Special Issue on European referenda]


The rise of illiberal democracy and ‘backsliding’ (Lecture 12 - Can also be consider under Crises)

James Dawson and Sean Hanley, ‘Foreground Liberalism, Background Nationalism: A Discursive institutionalist Account of EU Leverage and “Democratic Backsliding” in East
‘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 8, 9, 13-16)**

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 9)

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 14)
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 8 & 15)

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

i. Foreign Policy


**ii. Enlargement**


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


**iii. Neighbourhood policy**

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


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

And in a slightly different vein of third country relations:

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 16)

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

‘Europe requires a common immigration policy.’ Discuss.
7. Dealing with Crises (Lectures 12, 17-20) (Again students may wish to do more than one supervision within this group)

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 Crises of the European Union* (London: Routledge, 2021)

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


a. Eurozone crisis (Lecture 17)

Mai’a K. Davis Cross, The Politics of Crisis in Europe (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), Chapter 5
Poul F. Kjaer and Niklas Olsen, eds, Critical Theories of Crisis in Europe (London: Rowman and Littlefield International Limited, 2016), Part IV on The Euro and the Crisis of Law and Democracy
Paul James Cardwell and Holly Snaith, “‘There’s a Brand New Talk, but it’s Not Very Clear”: Can the Contemporary EU really be Characterized as Ordoliberal?’, Journal of Common Market Studies, 2018, Vol. 56, No. 5, pp. 1053-1069 (Important not the you understand Ordoliberalism but to understand the impact of Germany since the start of the crises)
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 (Lecture 18)**


c. **Brexit (Lecture 19)**

Why did the UK vote to leave the EU?

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

*Readings*


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


‘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.

**d. Covid-19 – to be updated (Lecture 20)**

*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