

**POL13: The Politics of Europe**  
**Paper guide 2023-24**  
Updated 4<sup>th</sup> October 2023

**Course organiser**

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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 in SG1 and Tuesdays at 11am in Room 7 Sidgwick lecture block*

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
12. The constitution (III): Parliament in the twenty-first century
13. The constitution (IV): Constitutional reform
14. Public policy (I): Immigration and integration
15. Public policy (II): The Treasury and economic policy
16. Conclusion: British politics in 2023

## General and background readings

### *Historical background*

- Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000* (2004)
- John Davis, *Waterloo Sunrise: London from the Sixties to Thatcher* (Princeton, NJ, 2022)
- Edmund Dell, *The Chancellors: A History of the Chancellors of the Exchequer, 1945-90* (1996)
- David Edgerton, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation: A Twentieth-Century History* (2018)
- Peter Hennessy, *The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945* (2000)
- Ross McKibbin, *Parties and People: England, 1914-1951* (Oxford, 2010)
- James Mitchell, *The Scottish Question* (Oxford, 2014)
- Ian Sanjay Patel, *We're Here Because You Were There: Immigration and the End of Empire* (2021)
- Susan Pedersen, *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience* (New Haven, CT, 2004)
- Robert Saunders, *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain* (Cambridge, 2018)
- Camilla Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge, 2013)
- Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, *Class, Politics, and the Decline of Deference in England, 1968-2000* (Oxford, 2018)
- Jim Tomlinson, *Managing the Economy, Managing the People: Narratives of Economic Life in Britain from Beveridge to Brexit* (Oxford, 2017)
- Richard Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain: The Political and Social Upheavals of the 1980s* (2009)

### *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>
- Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris (eds.), *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective* (1999)
- Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)
- Bill Jones et al. (eds.), *Politics UK* (tenth edition, 2021)
- Iain McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?* (Oxford, 2010)
- R.A.W. Rhodes, *Everyday Life in British Government* (Oxford, 2011)

### *Diaries and memoirs*

- Gavin Barwell, *Chief of Staff: Notes from Downing Street* (2021)
- Gyles Brandreth, *Breaking the Code: Westminster Diaries, 1992-97* (1999)
- Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell Diaries* (6 vols., 2010-17)
- Barbara Castle, *The Castle Diaries, 1964-70* (1984)
- Douglas Hurd, *An End to Promises: Sketch of a Government, 1970-74* (1979)
- Oona King, *House Music: The Oona King Diaries* (2008)
- David Laws, *Coalition Diaries: 2012-2015* (2017)
- Damian McBride, *Power Trip: A Decade of Policy, Plots and Spin* (2013)
- Steve Richards, *Whatever it Takes: The Real Story of Gordon Brown and New Labour* (2010)
- Sir Douglas Wass, *Decline to Fall: The Making of British Macro-Economic Policy and the 1976 IMF Crisis* (Oxford, 2008)

## 1. Post-war Britain: from 'austerity' to 'affluence', 1945-64

(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

\*Ross McKibbin, *Parties and People: England, 1914-1951* (Oxford, 2010), chapters 4-6  
Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945. British Politics and the Second World War* (1975; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. with epilogue, 1993), esp. introduction and chapters 6, 9 and 10

Kevin Jeffreys, 'British politics and social policy during the Second World War', *Historical Journal*, 30 (1987)

Rodney Lowe, 'The Second World War, consensus, and the foundation of the welfare state', *Twentieth Century British History*, 1 (1990)

Steven Fielding, 'What did "the people" want? The meaning of the 1945 general election', *Historical Journal*, 35 (1992)

Stephen Brooke, 'The Labour Party and the 1945 general election', *Contemporary Record*, 9 (1995)

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

### ii. The Attlee governments, 1945-51

\*Kenneth O. Morgan, *Labour in Power. 1945-1951* (Oxford, 1984), chapters 1-4, 11

OR \*Henry Pelling, *The Labour Governments, 1945-51* (Basingstoke, 1984), chapters 1-2, 5-6 and conclusion

OR \*Martin Francis, *Ideas and Policies under Labour 1945-51: Building a New Britain* (Manchester, 1997), chapters 1-4

\*Jim Tomlinson, 'Planning: Debate and policy in the 1940s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 3 (1992)

Jim Tomlinson, *Democratic Socialism and Economic Policy: The Attlee Years, 1945-1951* (Cambridge, 1996)

Alan Booth, 'The "Keynesian revolution" in economic policy-making', *Economic History Review*, 36 (1983), with response by Jim Tomlinson (1984)

Alan Booth, 'How long are "light years" in British politics? The Labour Party's economic ideas in the 1930s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 7 (1996)

Stephen Brooke, 'Revisionists and fundamentalists: The Labour Party and economic policy during the Second World War', *Historical Journal*, 32 (1989)

\*Charles Webster, 'Conflict and consensus: Explaining the British Health Service', *Twentieth Century British History*, 1 (1990)

Martin Francis, 'A socialist policy for education? Labour and the secondary school, 1945-51', *History of Education*, 24 (1995)

### iii. The Conservative governments, 1951-64

Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000* (2004), chapters 7 and 8  
 John Turner, *Macmillan* (1994)  
 Samuel Brittan, *The Treasury Under the Tories, 1951-1964* (Harmondsworth, 1964), later republished as *Steering the Economy: The Role of the Treasury* (1969)  
 \*Alan Booth, 'Inflation, expectations, and the political economy of Conservative Britain, 1951-1964', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000)  
 Harriet Jones, 'New tricks for an old dog? The Conservatives and social policy, 1951-5', in Anthony Gorst, Lewis Johnman, and W. Scott Lucas (eds.), *Contemporary British History, 1931-61* (1991)  
 Harriet Jones, "'This is magnificent!' 300,000 houses a year and the Tory revival after 1945', *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000)  
 \*Peter Weiler, 'The rise and fall of the Conservatives' "grand design for housing", 1951-64', *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000)  
 Rodney Lowe, 'The replanning of the welfare state, 1957-1964', in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880-1980* (Cardiff, 1996)  
 E.H.H. Green, 'The Conservative Party and Keynes', in E.H.H. Green and Duncan Tanner (eds.), *The Strange Survival of Liberal England* (Cambridge, 2007)  
 Jim Tomlinson, 'Conservative modernisation, 1960-64: Too little, too late?', *Contemporary British History*, 11 (1997)  
 Hugh Pemberton, 'Relative decline and British economic policy in the 1960s', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004)  
 David Butler et al., 'Symposium 1961-1964: Did the Conservatives lose direction?', *Contemporary Record*, 2 (1989)  
 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*

\*Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Rationing, austerity, and the Conservative Party recovery after 1945', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994)  
 \*E.H.H. Green, 'The Conservative Party, the state and the electorate', in Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor, *Party, State and Society: Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1820* (Aldershot, 1997)  
 John Ramsden, "'A Party for owners or a party for earners?' How far did the British Conservative Party really change after 1945?", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 37 (1987)  
 Andrew J. Taylor, "'The record of the 1950s is irrelevant": The Conservative Party, electoral strategy and opinion research, 1945-64', *Contemporary British History*, 17 (2003)  
 Amy Black and Stephen Brooke, 'The Labour Party, women, and the problem of gender, 1951-1966', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997)

## **2. Governing the 'affluent society', 1964-79**

(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*

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

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

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

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

Jon Lawrence, ‘Paternalism, class, and the British path to modernity’, in Simon Gunn and James Vernon (eds.), *The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity in Imperial Britain* (Berkeley, CA, 2011)

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

Camilla Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge, 2013)

*ii. The Wilson government, 1964-70*

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

\*Glen O’Hara, “‘Dynamic, exciting, thrilling change”: The Wilson government’s economic policies’, *Contemporary British History*, 20 (2006)

Hugh Pemberton, ‘Taxation and Labour’s modernisation programme’, *Contemporary British History*, 20 (2006)

Stephen Thornton, ‘A case of confusion and incoherence: Social security under Wilson, 1964-70’, *Contemporary British History*, 20 (2006)

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

Ilaria Favretto, “‘Wilsonism” reconsidered: Labour Party revisionism 1952-64’, *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000)

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

Tim Bale, *Sacred Cows and Common Sense: The Symbolic Statecraft and Political Culture of the British Labour Party* (Aldershot, 1999)

Ben Pimlott, *Harold Wilson* (1992)

*iii. The Heath government, 1970-74*

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

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

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

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

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

Peter Sloman, ‘Harold Wilson, “Selsdon Man”, and the defence of social democracy in 1970s Britain’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 33 (2022)

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Peter Sloman, "'Take power – vote Liberal!": Jeremy Thorpe, the 1974 Liberal revival, and the politics of 1970s Britain', *English Historical Review*, 137 (2022)

### 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)

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

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

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

John Campbell, "'The eyes of Caligula, the mouth of Marilyn Monroe" – the femininity of Margaret Thatcher', in Alistair Horne (ed.), *Telling Lives* (2000)

Ben Jackson, 'Intellectual histories of neoliberalism and their limits', in Aled Davies, Ben Jackson, and Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite (eds.), *The Neoliberal Age? Britain since the 1970s* (2022) – available at <https://www.uclpress.co.uk/products/126996>

#### *ii. Thatcherism and the Conservative Party*

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

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

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

Andrew Adonis, 'The transformation of the Conservative Party in the 1980s', in Andrew Adonis and Tim Hames (eds.), *A Conservative Revolution? The Thatcher-Reagan Decade in Perspective* (Manchester, 1994)  
 Mark Garnett and Ian Gilmour, 'Thatcherism and the Conservative tradition', in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880–1990* (Cardiff, 1996)

### *iii. The Thatcher governments and their policies*

Stephen Farrall and Colin Hay (eds.), *The Legacy of Thatcherism: Assessing and Exploring Thatcherite Social and Economic Policies* (Oxford, 2014)  
 Christopher Dow, *Major Recessions: Britain and the World 1920-1995* (Oxford, 2000), chapters on the 1980s and 1990s  
 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)  
 Bernhard Rieger, 'Making Britain work again: Unemployment and the remaking of British social policy in the Eighties', *English Historical Review*, 133 (2018)  
 Aled Davies et al., "'Everyman a capitalist" or "Free to choose"? Exploring the tensions within Thatcherite individualism', *Historical Journal*, 61 (2018)  
 David Marsh and R.A.W. Rhodes (eds.), *Implementing Thatcherite Policies: Audit of an Era* (Buckingham, 1992)  
 Adrian Williamson, *Conservative Economic Policymaking and the Birth of Thatcherism, 1964-1979* (Basingstoke, 2015)

## **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*

\*Andrew Gamble, 'New Labour and political change', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63 (2010)  
 \*Colin Hay, *The Political Economy of New Labour* (Manchester, 1999), chapters 1-3  
 \*Steven Fielding, *The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of "New" Labour* (Basingstoke, 2003)  
 Matt Beech, 'New Labour', in Raymond Plant et al. (eds.), *The Struggle for Labour's Soul: Understanding Labour's Political Thought since 1945* (2004)  
 David Coates, *Prolonged Labour: The Slow Birth of New Labour Britain* (Basingstoke, 2005)  
 Mark Bevir, *New Labour: A Critique* (Abingdon, 2005)  
 Jon Davies and John Rentoul, *Heroes or Villains? The Blair Government Reconsidered* (Oxford, 2019)  
 Anthony F. Heath et al., *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices* (Oxford, 2001)  
 Stuart White and Martin O'Neill, 'That was the New Labour that wasn't', *Fabian Review*, 125 (2013) (available online at <http://philpapers.org/archive/WHITWT>)

Mark Wickham-Jones, 'Neoliberalism and the Labour Party', in Aled Davies, Ben Jackson, and Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite (eds.), *The Neoliberal Age? Britain since the 1970s* (2022) – available at <https://www.uclpress.co.uk/products/126996>

Mark Wickham-Jones, 'Signaling credibility: Electoral strategy and New Labour in Britain', *Political Science Quarterly*, 120 (2005)

Colm Murphy, *Futures of Socialism: 'Modernisation', the Labour Party, and the British Left, 1973-1997* (Cambridge, 2023)

## 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

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

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

Andrew Glyn and Stewart Wood, 'New Labour's economic policy', in Andrew Glyn (ed.), *Social Democracy in Neoliberal Times: The Left and Economic Policy since 1980* (Oxford, 2001)

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

Matt Beech and Simon Lee (eds.), *The Brown Government: A Policy Evaluation* (Abingdon, 2010)

\*Glen O'Hara, *New Labour's Domestic Policies: Neoliberal, Social Democratic, or a Unique Blend?* (2018) – available online at <https://institute.global/news/new-labours-domestic-policies-neoliberal-social-democratic-or-unique-blend>

Carol Johnson and Fran Tonkiss, 'The third influence: The Blair government and Australian Labor', *Policy & Politics*, 30 (2002)

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)

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

Steven Kettell, *Dirty Politics? New Labour, British Democracy and the Invasion of Iraq* (2006)

## iv. Contemporary sources and journalism

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

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

# 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*

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

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

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*

David Denver and Mark Garnett, *British General Elections since 1964: Diversity, Dealignment and Disillusion* (second edition, Oxford, 2021)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*iii. The 2017 and 2019 general elections*

\*Ed Fieldhouse et al., *Electoral Shocks: The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World* (Oxford, 2019)

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

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)

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

\*Anna Sanders and Rosalind Shorrock, 'All in this together? Austerity and the gender-age gap in the 2015 and 2017 British general elections', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 21 (2019)

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

#### *iv. Major-party electoral strategies*

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

\*Patrick Dunleavy, *Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Public Choice* (1990), chapter 5

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mike Finn, 'The promise of "Liberal Democracy", c. 1981-2010', in David Thackeray and Richard Toye (eds.), *Electoral Pledges in Britain since 1918: The Politics of Promises* (2020)

Peter Sloman, 'Squeezed out? The Liberal Democrats in the 2019 general election', *Political Quarterly*, 91 (2020)

James Dennison, 'How niche parties react to losing their niche: The cases of the Brexit Party, the Green Party and Change UK', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 73S (2020)

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

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

## **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*

\*Mark Garnett, *The British Prime Minister in an Age of Upheaval* (Cambridge, 2021)

\*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)

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

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

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

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

## ii. Cabinet and core executive

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ben Yong and Tim Bale, 'Britain's experience of coalition government: Continuity and change', in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)

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

## iii. Understanding policy-making

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

\*Will Jennings et al., 'Comparing blunders in government', *European Journal of Political Research*, 57 (2018)

Paul Cairney, 'The UK government's COVID-19 policy: Assessing evidence-informed policy analysis in real time', *British Politics*, 16 (2021)

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)

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

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

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, *The Most Expensive Breakfast in History: Revisiting the Wanless Review 20 Years On* (2021), available online at

[https://www.health.org.uk/sites/default/files/upload/publications/2021/20210611\\_Revisiting\\_the\\_Wanless\\_review\\_PDF.pdf](https://www.health.org.uk/sites/default/files/upload/publications/2021/20210611_Revisiting_the_Wanless_review_PDF.pdf)

Nicholas Timmins, *Never Again? The Story of the Health and Social Care Act 2012* (2012), available online at <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/never-again>

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

## 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nevil Johnson, *Reshaping the British Constitution: Essays in Political Interpretation* (Basingstoke, 2004)

### ii. Parliament

\*Meg Russell and Philip Cowley, 'The policy power of the Westminster Parliament: The "parliamentary state" and the empirical evidence', *Governance*, 29 (2016)

\*Meg Russell, 'Brexit and Parliament: The anatomy of a perfect storm', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 74 (2021)

Meg Russell and Daniel Gover, *Legislation at Westminster: Parliamentary Actors and Influence in the Making of British Law* (Oxford, 2017)

Meg Russell and Philip Cowley, 'Modes of UK executive-legislative relations revisited', *Political Quarterly*, 89 (2018)

Philip Norton, *Parliament in British Politics* (second edition: Basingstoke, 2013)

Meg Russell, *The Contemporary House of Lords: Westminster Bicameralism Revisited* (Oxford, 2013)

Philip Cowley, *The Rebels: How Blair Misled his Majority* (2005)

Philip Norton, 'Is the House of Commons too powerful?', *Parliamentary Affairs* (2019)



### iii. The English question

\*Michael Kenny, *The Politics of English Nationhood* (Oxford, 2014)  
Michael Kenny, 'Englishness politicised? Unpicking the normative implications of the McKay Commission', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 17 (2015)  
Daniel Gover and Michael Kenny, *Finding the Good in EVEL* (2016), available online at [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/news/EVEL\\_Report\\_A4\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/news/EVEL_Report_A4_FINAL.pdf)

### iv. Constitutional implications of the 2016 EU referendum and Brexit

\*Julie Smith, 'Parliament in the light of Brexit', in Bill Jones et al. (eds.), *Politics UK* (tenth edition, 2021)  
Stuart White, 'Brexit and the future of the UK constitution', *International Political Science Review*, early view (2021)  
Alison L. Young, 'The constitutional implications of Brexit', *European Public Law*, 23 (2017)  
Michael Gordon, 'Referendums in the UK constitution: Authority, sovereignty and democracy after Brexit', *European Constitutional Law Review*, 16 (2020)  
Gianfranco Baldini et al., 'Back to the Westminster model? The Brexit process and the UK political system', *International Political Science Review*, early view (2021)

## 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, 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a piecemeal approach to constitutional change', *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 39 (2009)  
Charlie Jeffery, 'The United Kingdom after the Scottish referendum', in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)  
Stephen Tierney, 'Federalism in a unitary state: A paradox too far?', *Regional and Federal Studies*, 19 (2009)  
Derek Birrell, *Comparing Devolved Governance* (Basingstoke, 2012)  
Christopher Harvie, 'The Moment of British Nationalism, 1939-1970', *Political Quarterly*, 71 (2000)  
Michael Keating et al., 'Policy convergence, transfer and learning in the UK under devolution', *Regional and Federal Studies*, 22 (2012)  
Derek Birrell and Ann Marie Gray, 'Devolution: The social, political and policy implications of Brexit for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland', *Journal of Social Policy*, 46 (2017)  
Akash Paun and Sam Macrory, *Has Devolution Worked? The First 20 Years* (2019) – available online at <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/has-devolution-worked>



Leighton Andrews, 'The forward march of devolution halted – and the limits of progressive unionism', *Political Quarterly*, 92 (2021)

## ii. Scotland

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

Malcolm Petrie, *Politics and the People: Scotland, 1945-1979* (Edinburgh, 2022)

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

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

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

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

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

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

## iii. Wales

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

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

Rhodri Morgan, *Rhodri: A Political Life in Wales and Westminster* (Cardiff, 2017)

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

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

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

Gregory Davies and Daniel Wincott, 'Ripening time? The Welsh Labour government between Brexit and parliamentary sovereignty', *BJPIR*, early view (2022)

Coreee 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

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

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

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*

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

Steve Leach, John Stewart and George Jones, *Centralisation, Devolution and the Future of Local Government in England* (2018)

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

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

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

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

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

**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*

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

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

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

Zig Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration* (Oxford, 1992)

Shamit Sagar, 'Immigration and the politics of public opinion', *Political Quarterly*, 74 (supplement) (2003)

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

James Hampshire and Tim Bale, 'New administration, new immigration regime: Do parties matter after all? A UK case study', *West European Politics*, 38 (2015)

Tim Bale, 'Policy, office, votes – and integrity: The British Conservative Party, Brexit, and immigration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48/2 (2022)

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)

Shamit Saggar, *Race and Representation: Electoral Politics and Ethnic Pluralism in Britain* (Manchester, 2000)

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)

Camilla Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge, 2013)

John Davis, 'Rents and race in 1960s London: New light on Rachmanism', *Twentieth Century British History*, 12 (2001)

Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca, NY, 1997)

David Feldman, 'Why the English like turbans: Multicultural politics in British history', in David Feldman and Jon Lawrence (eds.), *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge, 2011)

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*

\*Maria Sobolewska and Robert Ford, 'The politics of immigration: Old and new', in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)

Maria Sobolewska and Robert Ford, *Brexitland: Identity, Diversity and the Reshaping of British Politics* (Cambridge, 2020)

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

James Dennison and Matthew Goodwin, 'Immigration, issue ownership and the rise of UKIP', in Andrew Geddes and Jonathan Tonge (eds.), *Britain Votes 2015* (Oxford, 2015; also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68 (2015))

Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin and Paul Whiteley, *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union* (Cambridge, 2017)

Matthew Goodwin and Oliver Heath, 'The 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 tell 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)

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

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

Richard Hayton, 'Conservative Party statecraft and the politics of coalition', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 67 (2014)

Richard Hayton, 'British conservatism after the vote for Brexit: The ideological legacy of David Cameron', *BJPIR*, 20 (2018)

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

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

## ii. The politics of austerity

\*Andrew Gamble, 'Austerity as statecraft', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 86 (2015)

\*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)

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

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

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

Ben Clift, *The IMF and the Politics of Austerity in the Wake of the Global Financial Crisis* (Oxford, 2018), chapter 6

Anna Sanders and Rosalind Shorrocks, 'All in this together? Austerity and the gender-age gap in the 2015 and 2017 British general elections', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 21 (2019)

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

Tim Bale, *The Conservative Party after Brexit: Turmoil and Transformation* (Cambridge, 2023)

Richard Hayton, 'The United Kingdom: The Conservative Party and their competitors in the post-Thatcher era', in Tim Bale and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (eds.), *Riding the Populist Wave: Europe's Mainstream Right in Crisis* (2021)

Nicholas Allen, '"Brexit means Brexit": Theresa May and post-referendum British politics', *British Politics*, 13 (2018)

Judi Atkins and John Gaffney, 'Narrative, persona and performance: The case of Theresa May 2016-2017', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 22 (2020)

Kevin Hickson, Robert Page and Ben Williams, 'Strangled at birth: The One Nation ideology of Theresa May', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 25 (2020)

Allan McConnell and Simon Tormey, 'Explanations for the Brexit policy fiasco: Near-impossible challenge, leadership failure or Westminster pathology?', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5 (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)  
 Richard Hayton, 'Brexit and party change: The Conservatives and Labour at Westminster', *International Political Science Review*, 43 (2022)

#### iv. 'Johnsonism' in government

Andrew Gamble, 'The remaking of Conservatism: Boris Johnson and the politics of Brexit', *Political Quarterly*, 92 (2021)  
 Will Jennings, Lawrence McKay, and Gerry Stoker, 'The politics of levelling up', *Political Quarterly*, 92 (2021)  
 Richard Hayton, 'Conservative Party statecraft and the Johnson government', *Political Quarterly*, 92 (2021)  
 Robert Saunders, "'Let them eat cake": Conservatism in the age of Boris Johnson', *Renewal*, 30 (2022)  
 Richard Hayton, 'The not-so-Conservative Party in European perspective', *Renewal*, 30 (2022)  
 Vernon Bogdanor, 'Choosing the Conservative leader: Lessons from history', *Political Quarterly*, 93 (2022)

#### v. Labour and the left since 2010

Tim Bale, *Five Year Mission: The Labour Party under Ed Miliband* (2015)  
 Eunice Goes, *The Labour Party under Ed Miliband: Trying but Failing to Renew Social Democracy* (2016)  
 Eunice Goes, 'Ideas and policy change: The role of predistribution in Labour's ideological renewal', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 26 (2021)  
 Dimitri Batrouni, *The Battle of Ideas in the Labour Party: From Attlee to Corbyn and Brexit* (2020), chapters 3 and 5  
 Paul Whiteley et al., 'Oh Jeremy Corbyn! Why did Labour Party membership soar after the 2015 general election?', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 21 (2019)  
 Jake Watts and Tim Bale, 'Populism as an intra-party phenomenon: The British Labour Party under Jeremy Corbyn', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 21 (2019)  
 Karl Pike and Patrick Diamond, 'Myth and meaning: "Corbynism" and the interpretation of political leadership', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23 (2021)  
 Laura Finlayson, 'The Corbyn context', in Mark Perryman (ed.), *Corbynism from Below* (2019)  
 Andrew Roe-Crines (ed.), *Corbynism in Perspective* (2021)  
 Patrick Diamond, 'New Jerusalems? The Labour Party's economic policy-making in hard times', *Political Quarterly*, 92 (2021)  
 Eunice Goes, 'The Labour Party under Keir Starmer: "Thanks, but no 'isms', please!'", *Political Quarterly*, 92 (2021)  
 Steven Fielding, 'Looking for Starmerism', *Political Quarterly*, 92 (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 with Lisa Fenner)**

#### **Mondays 12 noon in SG1**

##### *Michaelmas Term*

1. Origins and Development of European Integration – the Cold War Years - 9<sup>th</sup> October
2. From Community to Union, Integration from 1989 to 2010 – 16<sup>th</sup> Oct
3. Institutional Aspects of European Integration – 23<sup>rd</sup> Oct
4. The EU and its Member States – 30<sup>th</sup> Oct
5. Theorising European Integration – 6<sup>th</sup> Nov
6. Democracy in the EU I – elections to the European Parliament (by Lisa Fenner) 13<sup>th</sup> Nov
7. Democracy in Europe II – European referendums (by Lisa Fenner) – 20<sup>th</sup> Nov
8. Democracy in Europe III - Rise of Illiberal Democracy and 'Backsliding' – 27<sup>th</sup> Nov

#### **Tuesdays 11am room tbc**

##### *Lent Term*

9. EU Enlargement Policy – 23<sup>rd</sup> Jan
10. Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) – 30<sup>th</sup> Jan
11. Foreign, Security and Defence Policy – 6<sup>th</sup> Feb
12. Energy and Environment Policy – 13<sup>th</sup> Feb
13. Justice and Home Affairs Policy - 20<sup>th</sup> Feb
14. Dealing with Crises I – Eurozone; Refugee; Brexit – 27<sup>th</sup> Feb
15. Dealing with Crises II – Covid; Ukraine; Energy – 5<sup>th</sup> March
16. The Future of Europe – 12<sup>th</sup> 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 Péres-Solórzano Borragán, eds, *European Union Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, 2022), includes chapters of relevance to several topics in this part of the paper
- Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, Christilla Roederer-Rynning and Alasdair R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union* (Oxford: OUP, 8<sup>th</sup> edition, 2020). This

book offers scholarly analyses of an extensive range of EU policies and at the same time gives theoretical insights into the integration process.

- Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 8<sup>th</sup> edition, 2017)

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:

Samuel B. H. Faure and Christian Lequesne, eds (2023), *The Elgar Companion to the European Union* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited)

## **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*

\*Erik Jones and Anand Menon (2019) 'Europe: between dream and reality?', *International Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 1, pp. 161-180

Jonathan White (2020), 'European ideologies', *JEPP*, 27(9), pp. 1287-1306

\*Desmond Dinan, ed., *Origins and Evolution of the European Union* (Oxford: OUP, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2014) (not completely up-to-date – none of the histories are; that's what the lectures are for)

\*Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast – A History of the European Union* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2014)

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

\*Alan Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, (London: Routledge, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1999), chs 1, 2, 6 and 'envoi'

Alan Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51* (London: Routledge, 1984), Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2. 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)

Dermot Hodson, Uwe Puetter, Sabine Saurugger, and John Peterson (2021) *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 5<sup>th</sup> edition)

Mareike Kleine, Javier Arregui and Robert Thomson (2022) 'The impact of national democratic representation on decision-making in the European Union', *JEPP*, 29(1), pp. 1-11. Introductory article to a Special Issue of *JEPP*

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

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

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

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

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

### Commission

Buket Oztas and Amie Kreppel (2022) 'Power or Luck? The Limitations of the European Commission's Agenda Setting Power and Autonomous Policy Influence', *JCMS*, Vol. 60, No. 2, pp. 408-426

Pamela Pansardi and Pier Domenico Tortola (2022), 'A "More Political" Commission? Reassessing EC Politicization through Language', Vol. 60, No. 4, pp. 1047-1068

Steffen Hurka and Yves Steinebach (2021), 'Legal Instrument Choice in the European Union', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 278-296

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



Neill Nugent and Mark Rhinard, 'Is the European Commission *Really* in Decline', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016, Vol. 54, No. 5, pp. 1199-1215  
Neill Nugent and Mark Rhinard, *The European Commission* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition 2015); also exists as an e-book

### *European Parliament*

Rory Costello (2022) 'How does the composition of the European Parliament shape its role in EU decision-making?', *JEPP*, 29(1), pp. 117-135  
Thomas Winzen (2022) 'The institutional position of national parliaments in the European Union: developments, explanations, effects', *JEPP*, 29(6), pp. 994-1008  
Ben Crum (2022) 'Why the European Parliament lost the Spitzenkandidaten-process', *JEPP*, online Jan 2022  
Ludvig Norman and Wouter Wolfs (2022), 'Is the Governance of Europe's Transnational Party System Contributing to EU Democracy?', *JCMS*, Vol. 60, No. 2, pp.463-479  
Special Issue of *Journal of European Integration* on 'Power Without Influence? Explaining the Impact of the European Parliament Post-Lisbon', Vol. 41, No.3, 2019  
Michael Shackleton, 'Transforming representative democracy in the EU? The role of the European Parliament', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol 39, No. 2, 2017, pp. 191-205  
Natalie Brack, *Opposing Europe in the European Parliament; Rebels and Radicals in the Chamber* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)  
Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs and Darren Neville, *The European Parliament* (London: John Harper Publishing, 9<sup>th</sup> edition, 2016; previous editions by Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs and Michael Shackleton)  
Manfred Kohler, 'European Governance and the European Parliament: From Talking Shop to Legislative Powerhouse', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 3, May 2014, pp. 600-15.

### *European Council/Council of Ministers*

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)  
Frank Häge, 'Coalition Building and Consensus in the Council of the European Union', *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 481-504.  
Pierre de Boisseau et al, *National Leaders and the Making of Europe – Key Episodes in the Life of the European Council* (John Harper, 2015)

## **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*

\*Ulrich Krotz and Lucas Schramm (2022), 'Embedded Bilateralism, Integration Theory, and European Crisis Politics: France, Germany, and the Birth of the EU Corona Recovery Fund', *JCMS*, Vol. 60, No. 3, pp. 526-544

\*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

\*Ulrich Krotz and Joachim Schild, 'Back to the future? Franco-German bilateralism in Europe's post-Brexit union', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2018, pp. 1174-1193

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

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

Catherin De Vries, Sara B. Hobolt, Sven-Oliver Proksch and Jonathan B. Slapin, *Foundations of European Politics: A Comparative Approach* (Oxford: OUP, 2021)

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

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

Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne, *The Member States of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2020).

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

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

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

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

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

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

What lessons, if any, does neofunctionalism offer to students of European integration in the 21<sup>st</sup> 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 European Public Policy*, Special Issue on 'Re-engaging Grand Theory: European Integration in the twenty-first Century', Vol. 26, No. 8, 2019, especially Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, 'Grand theories of European integration in the twenty-first century', pp. 1113-1133; Frank Schimmelfennig and Thomas Winzen, 'Grand theories, differentiated integration', pp. 1172-1192; Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse, 'Grand theories of integration and the challenges of comparative regionalism', pp. 1231-1252; and Dermot Hodson and Uwe Putter, 'The European Union in disequilibrium: new intergovernmentalism, postfunctionalism and integration theory in the post-Maastricht period', pp. 1153-1171

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

John Erik Fossum, 'European federalism: Pitfalls and possibilities', *European Law Journal*, Vol. 23, 2017, pp. 361-379

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

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

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

'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

Frank Schimmelfennig, Dirk Leuffen and Berthold Rittberger, 'The European Union as a system of differentiated integration: interdependence, politicization and differentiation', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2015, Vol. 22, No. 6, pp. 764-782.

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

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

## 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

Daniela Braun and Edgar Grande (2021), 'Politicizing Europe in Elections to the European Parliament (1994-2019): The Crucial Role of Mainstream Parties', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 5, pp. 1124-1141

Max Heermann and Dirk Leuffen (2020), 'No Representation without Integration! Why Differentiated Integration Challenges the Composition of the European Parliament', *JCMS*, Vol. 58, No. 4, pp. 1016-1033

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

Vivien Schmidt and Matthew Wood (2019), 'Conceptualizing throughput legitimacy: Procedural mechanisms of accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and openness in EU governance', Symposium Introduction, *Public Administration*, 97, pp. 727-740/

Oliver Treib (2021) 'Euro scepticism is here to stay: what cleavage theory can teach us about the 2019 European Parliament elections', *JEPP*, 28(2), pp. 174-189

Reinhard Heinisch, Duncan McDonnell and Annika Werner (2021), 'Equivocal Euro scepticism: How Populist Radical Right Parties Can Have Their Cake and Eat It', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 189-205

Yoav Raskin and Tal Sadeh (2022) 'Responsive voters – how European integration empowers Euro sceptic parties', *JEPP*, 29(8), pp. 1309-1329

Vivien A. Schmidt (2022) 'The discursive construction of discontent: varieties of populist anti-system ideas and discursive interactions in Europe', *Journal of European Integration*, published online 15 February 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)

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

\* Sylvia Kritzing, Carolina Plescia, Kolja Raube, James Wilhelm, Jan Wouters (eds.) *Assessing the 2019 European Parliament Elections* (Routledge, 2020)

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

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

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

Duncan McDonnell and Annika Werner, 'Respectable radicals: why some radical right parties in the European Parliament forsake policy congruence', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2017, Vol. 17, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2017.1298659

Ece Özlem Atıkcın, *Framing the European Union: The Power of Political Arguments in Shaping European Integration* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015) looks at referendums on EU matters

Olaf Cramme and Sara B. Hobolt, eds., *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); also relevant to the Crises topics

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

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

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

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

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 8 - Can also be consider under Crises)

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

Astrid Lorenz and Lisa H. Anders, eds, *Illiberal Trends and Anti EU Politics in East Central Europe* (Cham: Palgrave 2021 – nb open access volume)

Anna Gora and Pieter de Wilde (2022) 'The essence of democratic backsliding in the European Union: deliberation and rule of law', *JEPP*, 29(3), pp. 342-362

Roland Paris (2022), 'European populism and the return of "illiberal sovereignty": a case-study of Hungary', *International Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 2, pp. 529-547

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]

Olof Larsson (2021) Political and constitutional overrides: the case of the Court of Justice of the European Union', *JEPP*, 28(12), pp. 1932-1949

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

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

Milada Anna Vachudova, 'Ethnopolitism and democratic backsliding in Central Europe', *East European Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 318-340

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

Zsolt Enyedi, 'Right-wing authoritarian innovations in Central and Eastern Europe', *East European Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 363-377

Elzbieta Matynia, 'Is Liberal Democracy Already History?' *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, Vol. 34, No. 1, August 2020. Pp. 531-545

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 6. Policy-making in the EU (Lectures 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)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

### 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

Tom Delreux and Frauke Ohler (2021), 'Ego versus Alter: Internal and External Perceptions of the EU's Role in Global Environmental Negotiations', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 5, pp. 1284-1302

Silvia Weko (2022) 'Communitarians, cosmopolitans, and climate change: why identity matters for EU climate and energy policy', *JEPP*, 29(7), pp. 1072-1091

David Buchan and Malcolm Keay, *Europe's Long Energy Journey: Towards an Energy Union?* (Oxford: OUP, 2016)

Andrew Jordan and Camilla Adelle, eds. *Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, institutions and processes* 3rd Edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), Introduction and Part 1

Alexandra Bocse, 'European Gas Supply Security: Explaining the EU External Gas Pipeline Choices' in Slawomir Raszewski, ed. *The International Political Economy of Oil and Gas* (International Political Economy Series) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

Camilla Adelle, Katja Biedenkopf, and Diarmuid Torney, eds. *European Union External Environmental Policy: Rules, Regulation and Governance Beyond Borders* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

Hadfield, Amelia (2016) EU-Russia Strategic Energy Culture: Progressive Convergence or Regressive Dilemma?, *Geopolitics*, Vol.21(4), 779-798.

Herranz-Surrall  s, Anna (2016) 'An emerging EU energy diplomacy? Discursive shifts, enduring practices', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:9, 1386-1405.

Kelemen, R. Daniel and David Vogel (2010) Trading places: the role of the United States and the European Union in international environmental politics', *Comparative Political Studies*, 43:4, 427-456.

Kuzemko, Caroline (2014) 'Ideas, power and change: Explaining EU–Russia energy relations', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21:1, 58–75.

Maltby, Tomas (2013) 'European Union energy policy integration: a case of European Commission policy entrepreneurship and increasing supranationalism', *Energy Policy*, 55, 435–444.

Oberth  r, S., & Rabitz, F. (2014). On the EU's performance and leadership in global environmental governance: the case of the Nagoya Protocol. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(1), 39-57.

Oberth  r, Sebastian ; Groen, Lisanne (2017) The European Union and the Paris Agreement: leader, mediator, or bystander? *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (e445), 2017, 1-8.

Steinebach, Yves ; Knill, Christoph (2017) Still an entrepreneur? The changing role of the European Commission in EU environmental policy-making, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.24(3), 429-446.

Vogler, John and Hannes Stephan (2007) 'The European Union in global environmental governance: leadership in the making?', *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, 7:4, 389-413.

Zito, Anthony R. (2005) 'The European Union as an Environmental Leader in a Global Environment', *Globalizations*, 2:3, 363-375.

#### *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*

Monika Sus (2021), 'Supranational entrepreneurs: the High Representative and the EU global strategy', *International Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 3, pp. 823-840

Andrew Cottey (2020), 'Astrategic Europe', *JCMS*, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 276-291

Sophie Meunier and Milada Anna Vachudova (2018) 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union', *JCMS*, 56(7), pp. 1631-1647

Heidi Maurer and Nicholas Wright (2021), 'Still Governing in the Shadows? Member States and the Political and Security Committee in the Post-Lisbon EU Foreign Policy Architecture', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 856-872

Krenar Gashi (2021), 'Simulated Power and the Power of Simulations: The European Union in the Dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia', Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 206-221

Magnus Ekengren and Simon Hollis (2020) 'Explaining the European Union's Security Role in Practice', *JCMS*, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 616-635

Moritz Weiss and Felix Biermann (2022), 'Networked politics and the supply of European defence integration', *JEPP*, 29(6), pp. 910-931

Bruno Oliveira Martins and Jocelyn Mawdsley (2021), 'Sociotechnical Imaginaries of EU Defence: The Past and the Future of the European Defence Fund', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 6, pp. 1458-1474

Anna Michalski and August Danielson (2020), 'Overcoming Dissent: Socialization in the EU's Political and Security Committee in a Context of Crises', *JCMS*, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 328-344

If interested:

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Christopher Hill, Michael Smith and Sophie Vanhoonacker, eds., *International Relations and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 4<sup>th</sup> ed, 2023).

Sven Biscop, 'The Future of the Transatlantic Alliance: Not Without the European Union', *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Fall 2000, pp. 81-94/



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

[http://europa.eu/globalstrategy/sites/globalstrategy/files/about/eugs\\_review\\_web\\_4.pdf](http://europa.eu/globalstrategy/sites/globalstrategy/files/about/eugs_review_web_4.pdf)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ii. *Enlargement*

Marie-Eve Bélanger and Natasha Wunsch (2022), 'From Cohesion to Contagion? Populist Radical Right Contestation of EU Enlargement', *JCMS*, Vol. 60, No. 3, pp. 653-672

Alena Vieira (2021), 'The European Union's "Potential We" between Acceptance and Contestation: Assessing the Positioning of Six Eastern Partnership Countries', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 297-315

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

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

Ulrich Sedelmeier (2012), 'Is Europeanisation through Conditionality Sustainable? Lock-in of Institutional Change after EU Accession', in *West European Politics*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 20-38

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

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

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

Anna Herranz-Surrallés, 'Justifying Enlargement in a Multi-level Polity: A Discursive Institutional Analysis of the Elites-Public Gap over European Union Enlargement', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2012, Vol. 50, No. 3, pp. 385-402  
Florian Trauner, 'From membership conditionality to policy conditionality: EU external governance in South Eastern Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2009, Vol. 16, No. 5, pp. 774-90

### iii. Neighbourhood policy

Special issue of *East European Politics* on *Assessing the Performance of the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe and its Neighbourhood*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 2017, especially Tanja A. Börzel and Bidzina Lebanidze, "'The transformative power of Europe" beyond enlargement: the EU's performance in promoting democracy in its neighbourhood, pp. 17-35  
European Commission, 'A New Response to a Changing Neighbourhood: A review of the European Neighbourhood Policy,' (Brussels: European Commission 2011). Available online at [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com\\_11\\_303\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com_11_303_en.pdf).

See also the ENP's website, [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index\\_en.htm](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

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

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

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

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

'Europe requires a common immigration policy.' Discuss.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**7. Dealing with Crises (Lectures 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 Crises of the European Union* (London: Routledge, 2021)

Marianne Riddervold et al (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of European Crises* (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 Kreuder-Sonnen and Jonathan White (2022) 'Europe and the transnational politics of emergency', *JEPP*, 29(6), pp. 953-965

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.

\*Frank Schimmelfennig, 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism and the Crises of the European Union', in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Special Issue on Liberal

Intergovernmentalism and its Critics, Vol. 56, No 7, November 2018, pp. 1578-1594

Ramona Coman, Amandine Crespy and Vivien A. Schmidt, *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)

Frank Schimmelfennig, 'European integration (theory) in times of crisis. A comparison of the euro and Schengen crises', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2018, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 969-989

Felix Biermann, Nina Guérin, Stefan Jagdhuber, Berthold Rittberger and Moritz Weiss, 'Political (non-)reform in the euro crisis and the refugee crisis: a liberal intergovernmentalist explanation', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2019, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 246-266

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

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

*a. Eurozone crisis*

Special Issue: The Puzzle of National Preference Formation and the Study of the Euro Crisis, *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4, November 2020

Mai'a K. Davis Cross, *The Politics of Crisis in Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), Chapter 5

Oliver Höing and Tobias Kunstein, 'Political Science and the Eurozone Crisis. A Review of Scientific Journal Articles 2004-15' in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 2, March 2019, pp 298-316

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

Frank Schimmelfennig, 'European Integration in the Euro Crisis: The Limits of Postfunctionalism', *Journal of European Integration*, 2014, Vol 36, No. 3, pp. 321-337.

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

Ramunas Vilpišaukas, 'Eurozone Crisis and European Integration: Functional Spillover, Political Spillover?', *Journal of European Integration*, 2013, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 361-373

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)

Rosalind Cavaghan and Miureann O'Dwyer, 'European Economic Governance in 2017: A Recovery for Whom?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2018, Online First: <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12770>

House of Lords, 'The euro area crisis', *House of Lords European Union Committee, 25<sup>th</sup> Report of Session 2010-2012* (London: The Stationery Office Limited, 2012; also available on-line)

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

Schwarzer, Daniela, 'The Euro Area Crises, Shifting Power Relations and Institutional Change in the European Union' in *Global Policy*, December 2012, Vol. 3, Supplement 1, pp. 28-41

Arne Niemann and D Ioannou, 'European economic integration in times of crisis: a case of neofunctionalism?', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2015, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp.

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

Luuk van Middelaar, 'The Return of Politics – the European Union after the Crises in the eurozone and Ukraine', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016, Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 495-507 [NB – this refers to the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014, not the most recent crisis]

Dermot Hodson, 'Eurozone Governance: From the Greek Drama of 2015 to the Five Presidents' Report', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016, Vol. 54, Annual Review, pp. 150-66.

Kevin Featherstone, 'Conditionality, Democracy and Institutional Weakness: the Euro-crisis Trilemma', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016, Vol. 54, Annual Review, pp. 48-64

Special issue of *Journal of Common Market Studies* on 'European Perspectives on the Global Financial Crisis', 2009, Vol. 47, No. 5

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

Sandra Lavenex (2018) "'Failing Forward" Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System', *JCMS*, Vol. 56, No. 5, pp. 1195-1212

Bartek Pyltas (2021), 'Hijacking Europe: Counter-European Strategies and Radical Right Mainstreaming during the Humanitarian Crisis Debate 2015-16', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 335-353

Edgar Grande, Tobias Schwarzbözl & Matthias Fatke (2019) Politicizing immigration in Western Europe, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:10, 1444-1463, DOI:

[10.1080/13501763.2018.1531909](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2018.1531909)

Sandra Lavenex, "'Failing Forward" Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common Asylum System,' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2018, Vol. 56, No. 5, pp. 1195-1212

Marco Scipioni, 'Failing forward in EU migration policy? EU integration after the 2015 asylum and immigration crisis', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Pages 1357-1375 |

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S. Carrera et al, 'The EU's Response to the Refugee Crisis. Taking Stock and Setting Policy Priorities', in *CEPS Essay 20* (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2015)

Fabrizio Tassinari (2016) 'The Disintegration of European Security: Lessons from the Refugee Crisis' *PRISM* 6 2 pp 71-83 (available at:

[http://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism\\_6-2/Tassinari.pdf?ver=2016-07-05-104622-137](http://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_6-2/Tassinari.pdf?ver=2016-07-05-104622-137))

M. Tazzioli and W. Walters (2016) 'The Sight of Migration: Governmentality, Visibility and Europe's Contested Borders', *Global Society*, 30:3, 445-464

Alexander M. Danzer and Barbara Dietz, 'Labour Migration from Eastern Europe and the EU's Quest for Talents', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 2, March 2014, pp. 183-99

c. *Brexit*

*Readings*

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

\*John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lords, eds, *Handbook on the European Union and Brexit* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, 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

Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin and Paul Whiteley, *Brexit – Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union* (Cambridge University Press, 2017)

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

David Baker and Pauline Schnapper, *Britain and the Crisis of the European Union*

(Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), Part 1 and Chapter 11

Carlos Closa, ed., *Secession from a Member State and Withdrawal from the European Union: Troubled Membership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), Chapters 10, 11 & 12

Francis B. Jacobs, *The EU After Brexit: Institutional and Policy Implications* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2018)

Lee McGowan, *Preparing for Brexit- Actors, Negotiators and Consequences* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

Sara Hobolt, 'The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Sept 2016, Vol. 23, No. 9, pp. 1259-77

Julie Smith, 'David Cameron's EU Renegotiation and Referendum Pledge: A case of Déjà vu?' *British Politics*, First Online 30 May 2016 doi:10.1057/bp.2016.11

Nathaniel Copsey and Tim Haughton (2014) 'Farewell Britannia? "Issue Capture" and the Politics of David Cameron's 2013 EU Referendum Pledge', *Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review*, vol. 52, pp 74-89

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

Oliver Daddow, 'The UK media and "Europe": from permissive consensus to destructive dissent,' *International Affairs* Nov 2012, Vol. 88, Issue 6.

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

Ulrich Krotz and Lucas Schramm (2022), 'Embedded Bilateralism, Integration Theory, and European Crisis Politics: France, Germany, and the Birth of the EU Corona Recovery Fund', *JCMS*, Vol. 60, No. 3, pp. 526-544

Dionyssis G. Dimitrakopoulos and Georgette Lalis (2022) 'The EU's initial response to the COVID-19 pandemic: disintegration or "failing forward"?' *JEPP*, 29(9) pp. 1395-1413

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

Arjen Boin and Martin Lodge (2021) 'Responding to the COVID-19 crisis: a principled or pragmatist approach?', *JEPP*, 28(8), pp. 1131-1152

John Boswell, Jack Corbett, R.A.W. Rhodes and Heidi Houlberg Salomonsen (2021), 'The comparative "court politics" of Covid-19: explaining government responses to the pandemic', *JEPP*, 28(8), pp. 1258-1277

Will Jennings, Gerry Stoker, Viktor Valgardsson, Daniel Devine and Jennifer Gaskell (2021), 'How trust, mistrust and distrust shape the governance of the COVID-19 crisis', *JEPP*, 28(8), pp. 1174-1196

Philipp Genschel and Markus Jachtenfuchs (2021) 'Postfunctionalism reversed: solidarity and rebordering during the COVID-19 pandemic', *JEPP*, 28(3), pp. 350-369

Sharon Baute and Anniek de Ruijter (2022) 'EU health solidarity in times of crisis: explaining public preferences towards EU risk pooling for medicines', *JEPP*, 29(8), pp. 1183-1205

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



Public Policy Responses to Covid in Europe, Editorial to Special issue of *European Policy Analysis* Vol. 6, No. 2, 2021, plus various articles.

Esther Versluis et al, 'The Multilevel Regulation of Complex Policy Problems: Uncertainty and the Swine Flu Pandemic', *European Policy Analysis*, Available at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/epa2.1064>

Christopher Weible et al, 'Covid-19 and the Policy Sciences', *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 53, 2020, pp. 225-241: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11077-020-09381-4>

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)

Covid-19 articles published in the *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*: <https://read.dukeupress.edu/jhppl/pages/covid-19>

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*

Report of the Franco-German Working Group on EU Institutional Reform, *Sailing on High Seas: Reforming and Enlarging the EU for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

Sergio Fabbrini (2019) *Europe's Future – Decoupling and Reforming* (Cambridge: CUP)

Federico Fabbrini (2021) 'The Joint Declaration on the Conference on the Future of Europe: Process, Promises, Pitfalls', BRIDGE Network – Working Paper 13, April 2021

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

Special *Eurobarometer* 500, 'Future of Europe', 2021, available at:

<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/at-your-service/files/be-heard/eurobarometer/2021/future-of-europe-2021/en-report.pdf>

Andreas C. Goldberg, Erika J. Van Elsas and Claes H. De Vreese (2021), 'Eurovisions: An Exploration and Explanation of Public Preferences for Future EU Scenarios', *JCMS*, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 222-241