

POL13: British Politics

Paper guide 2024-25

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Introduction

POL13 usually consists of two modules, one on the UK and the other on the European Union, but in 2024/25 it will focus entirely on British politics because Professor Julie Smith is on research leave. The paper is designed to enable students to develop a detailed understanding of British political history since 1945, to engage critically with the political science literature on the UK, and to set contemporary debates over UK government and politics in a historical and comparative perspective.

Four general points are worth noting:

- i. There are no formal prerequisites for this paper, though students who took the module on UK and US political economy in POL4 will find that it provides 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.
- ii. Students are strongly encouraged to develop their general understanding of twentieth-century British history and of the institutional structure of UK politics before the start of Michaelmas Term, so that they are ready to engage with the supervision topics at an appropriate level of sophistication. Reading textbooks and general histories is one

way of doing this, but diaries and memoirs can also provide valuable insights into how politics and policy-making worked.

- iii. The reading list for this paper is long, but students should not be intimidated by this. The goal is to enable you to dig deeply into the six topics you choose to write essays on, and to provide enough reading suggestions to allow you to develop your own interests (including when revising). Many of the 13 supervision topics contain multiple sub-topics, and in every case there is a choice of essay questions. The most important readings in each section have been marked with an asterisk, but supervisors will also be happy to provide guidance on what readings to start with.
- iv. Macroeconomic policy is inherently complex, but it is difficult to understand some key debates in post-war British politics (particularly in the 1960s and 1970s) without engaging with it. Partly for this reason, there is a dedicated lecture on 'Economic policy-making in post-war Britain' (lecture 7) which will be given by Dr Labarca. The History Faculty also runs an introductory lecture series on 'Economics with Historians', which you might find useful if you haven't studied Economics before.

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 24 lectures in total, and each student should have six supervisions.

- Supervisions for HSPS and History and Politics students will be organized centrally by the paper organizer; supervisions for Economics students and visiting students should be organized by the student's college.
- The lectures will take place in Michaelmas Term and in weeks 1-4 of Lent Term, so that as far as possible students will be able to attend the relevant lectures before writing their supervision essays.
- Many students study three of the historical topics in Michaelmas Term (topics 1-5) and three of the thematic and contemporary topics in Lent Term (topics 6-13), though this is not compulsory. You should discuss your interests with your supervisor at an early stage in order to plan out a pathway through the paper.

Lectures

Michaelmas Term

Fridays at 11am in SG1, Alison Richard Building (weeks 1, 2, 4 and 7)

Fridays at 11am in the Hopkinson Lecture Theatre, Phoenix Building (weeks 3, 5, 6 and 8)

Tuesdays at 11am in SG1, Alison Richard Building

1. Introduction: British politics in theory and practice (Prof. Sloman)
2. Studying British politics: Diverse perspectives (Dr Labarca)
3. The Second World War and the Attlee governments (Prof. Sloman)
4. Party politics in the post-war era, 1945-73 (Prof. Sloman)
5. Political ideas in the post-war era, 1945-73 (Prof. Sloman)
6. British politics in the 1950s and 1960s (Dr Labarca)
7. Economic policy-making in post-war Britain (Dr Labarca)
8. The crisis of the post-war settlement? Britain in the 1970s (Prof. Sloman)
9. Thatcherism (Prof. Sloman)
10. New Labour (Prof. Sloman)
11. The Cameron-Clegg coalition, 2010-15 (Prof. Sloman)
12. Contemporary economic policy issues (Dr Labarca)
13. Parties, voters, and elections I: Theory (Dr Labarca)
14. Parties, voters, and elections II: Empirical analysis (Prof. Sloman)
15. Devolution and nationalism I: The UK as a multi-national state (Prof. Sloman)
16. Devolution and nationalism II: Multi-level governance since 1999 (Dr Labarca)

Lent Term

Fridays at 9am in SG2, Alison Richard Building (weeks 1-4)

and Tuesdays at 4pm in SG1, Alison Richard Building (weeks 1-4)

17. Parliament in the twenty-first century (Prof. Sloman)
18. Constitutional reform (Prof. Sloman)
19. Public policy I: Whitehall and contemporary politics (Dr Labarca)
20. Public policy II: Immigration and integration (Prof. Sloman)
21. Public Policy III: The welfare state (Prof. Sloman)
22. Britain in the world (Dr Labarca)
23. Britain and Europe (Prof. Sloman)
24. British politics in the 2020s (Prof. Sloman)

Mock written examination for 2024/25

Students taking the written exam should answer three questions.

Note that the structure of POL13 has changed several times in recent years, to take account of student feedback and academic leave patterns, and will change again for 2024/25; the mock exam paper below has been designed with this year's paper in mind. There will be one question on each of the 13 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.

1. How far does 'class politics' explain the policies pursued by the Labour governments of 1945-51?
2. What were the goals of the 1951-64 Conservative governments, and how far did they achieve them?
3. Is the collapse of the 'post-war settlement' in 1970s Britain best explained by economic crisis, social change, or political malaise?
4. 'The Conservative Party owed its remarkable dominance of the politics of the 1980s to luck more than to skill or conscious design.' (Peter Dorey et al.) Do you agree?
5. 'New Labour underestimated its room for manoeuvre: despite securing unprecedented parliamentary majorities, Blair and Brown were terrified that Britain remained a fundamentally Conservative country.' (Patrick Diamond) Is this a convincing analysis of the New Labour governments?
6. Do recent election results in Britain suggest that parties should focus on winning the 'median voter'?
7. How and why has the 'core executive' changed since 1997? You may, if you wish, focus your answer on one or more prime ministers.
8. In what sense, if any, is the UK Parliament 'sovereign'?
9. EITHER What makes a successful First Minister? OR Why have some 'metro mayors' been more prominent and effective than others?
10. Has the impact of immigration on post-war British politics been overstated?
11. Is the UK's entry into the European Communities in the 1970s best understood as a response to geopolitical decline?
12. How has Bank of England independence reshaped British economic policy?
13. How has the legacy of the 2008 financial crisis shaped EITHER the Conservative Party's approach to government since 2010 OR the Labour Party's policy development in opposition?

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)

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)
Norman Fowler, *The Best of Enemies: Diaries 1980-1997* (2023)
Douglas Hurd, *An End to Promises: Sketch of a Government, 1970-74* (1979)
Oona King, *House Music: The Oona King Diaries* (2008)
Tim Lankester, *Inside Thatcher's Monetarism Experiment* (2024)
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)

1. The Second World War and the Attlee governments

[Note: the supervision questions and exam question will focus on the 1945 election and the Attlee governments, but it is important to know something about political developments during the Second World War in order to contextualise what happened afterwards.]

(a) What do the results of the 1945, 1950, and 1951 elections tell us about British voters' attitudes to 'socialism'?

OR (b) What were the objectives of the Attlee governments, and how far did they achieve them?

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; 2nd 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)

José Harris, 'War and social history: Britain and the home front during the Second World War', *Contemporary European History*, 1 (1992)

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

Kit Kowol, 'The Conservative movement and dreams of Britain's post-war future', *Historical Journal*, 62 (2019)

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)

Rebecca Goldsmith, 'Mass-Observation and vernacular politics at the 1945 general election', *Twentieth Century British History*, 34 (2023)

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)

Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Rationing, austerity, and the Conservative Party recovery after 1945', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994)

D.E. Butler, *The British General Election of 1951* (1952)

2. From 'austerity' to 'affluence': The Conservative governments, 1951-64

(a) How far was 'affluence' the foundation of the Conservatives' political success in the 1950s?

OR (b) What, if anything, did the Conservative governments of 1951-64 seek to conserve?

i. General works and interpretations

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

John Turner, *Macmillan* (1994)

D.R. Thorpe, *Supremacy: The Life of Harold Macmillan* (2010), parts III and IV

Lawrence Black and Hugh Pemberton (eds.), *An Affluent Society? Britain's Post-War 'Golden Age' Revisited* (Aldershot, 2004), esp. introduction

David Butler et al., 'Symposium 1961-1964: Did the Conservatives lose direction?', *Contemporary Record*, 2 (1989)

Martin Francis, 'Tears, tantrums, and bared teeth: The emotional economy of three Conservative prime ministers, 1951-1963', *Journal of British Studies*, 41 (2002)

ii. 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)

*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)

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)

Amy Black and Stephen Brooke, 'The Labour Party, women, and the problem of gender, 1951-1966', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997)

iii. Economic policy

Alec Cairncross, 'Economic policy and performance, 1945-1964', in Roderick Floud and D.N. McCloskey (eds.), *The Economic History of Britain since 1700, vol. 3: 1939-1992* (1994)

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)

Alan Booth, 'Inflation, expectations, and the political economy of Conservative Britain, 1951-1964', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000)

Samuel Brittan, *The Treasury Under the Tories, 1951-1964* (Harmondsworth, 1964), later republished as *Steering the Economy: The Role of the Treasury* (1969)
 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)

iv. Social policy

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

3. Governing Britain, 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?
 OR (b) Has the 'crisis' in British government during the 1970s been exaggerated?

i. Social change and the politics of 'crisis'

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

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

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

*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)

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

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

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

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)

*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)

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

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)

David Marsh and R.A.W. Rhodes (eds.), *Implementing Thatcherite Policies: Audit of an Era* (Buckingham, 1992)

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)

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

5. New Labour

(a) What, if anything, was distinctively 'Labour' about the Blair government's domestic policies?

OR (b) 'Modernisation is about adapting to conditions that have objectively changed, and not reacting to polls' (Tony Blair and Gerhard Schroeder, 1998). Is this an accurate description of New Labour's political strategy?

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

*Glen O'Hara, 'New Labour in power: Five problems of contemporary history', *Political Quarterly*, 94 (2023)

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)

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*, 2010) esp. introduction and essays by Corry, Horton and Brivati

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>

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)

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

Tom O'Grady, *The Transformation of British Welfare Policy* (Oxford, 2022), chapter 7 on welfare politics

Peter Sloman, *Transfer State* (Oxford, 2019), chapter 7 on tax credits

iii. 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)

6. 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?

OR (b) Is it possible to generalize about what makes for a successful electoral strategy for Labour and the Conservatives?

OR (c) What explains the changing fortunes of parties other than Labour and the Conservatives since 1997?

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)

Jamie Furlong and Will Jennings, *The Changing Electoral Map of England and Wales* (Oxford, 2024)

iii. The 2017 and 2019 general elections

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

*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)

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

Robert Ford et al., *The British General Election of 2019* (2021)

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

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

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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

*Thomas Quinn, 'From two-partism to alternating predominance: The changing UK party system, 1950-2010', *Political Studies*, 61 (2013)

*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)

David Cutts et al., *The Liberal Democrats: From Hope to Despair to Where?* (Manchester, 2023)

Geoffrey Evans and Jonathan Mellon, 'Immigration, Euroscepticism, and the rise and fall of UKIP', *Party Politics*, 25 (2020)

James Dennison, *The Greens in British Politics: Protest, Anti-Austerity and the Divided Left* (Cham, Switzerland, 2017)

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)

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

7. The British executive

(a) Why are some British prime ministers more powerful and effective than others?
OR (b) In what ways, if any, is policy-making in UK government distinctively dysfunctional?

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

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>

8. Parliament and the constitution

- (a) Does Parliament have any meaningful impact on British public policy? If so, what is it?
- (b) What, if anything, is wrong with the British constitution?

(See also the section on devolution below)

i. The UK 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)

Michael Kenny, *Fractured Union: Politics, Sovereignty and the Fight to Save the UK* (2024)

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)

Julie Smith, 'Parliament in the light of Brexit', in Bill Jones et al. (eds.), *Politics UK* (tenth edition, 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

9. Devolution and territorial politics

(a) Is asymmetric devolution fundamentally unstable?

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

OR (c) Has the creation of 'metro mayors' brought about a revival in English local government?

i. Devolution

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

OR Vernon Bogdanor, *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (Oxford, 1999; second edition, 2001)

*Michael Kenny, *Fractured Union: Politics, Sovereignty and the Fight to Save the UK* (2024), chapter 1

*Charlie Jeffery, 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a piecemeal approach to constitutional change', *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 39 (2009)

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. Scottish politics

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)

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Gerry Hassan, 'From Donald Dewar to Humza Yousef: The role of Scotland's First Ministers and the importance of political leadership', *Political Quarterly*, 94 (2023)

iii. Welsh politics

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)

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*, 77 (2024)

Jonathan Bradbury and Andrew Davies, 'Regional economic development and the case of Wales: Theory and practice and problems of strategy and policy', *National Institute Economic Review*, 261 (2022)

iv. Politics in Northern Ireland

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

Niall Ó Dochartaigh, 'Beyond the dominant party system: The transformation of party politics in Northern Ireland', *Irish Political Studies*, 36 (2021)

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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. English local and regional 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)

Mark Sandford, 'Conceptualising "generative power": Evidence from the city-regions of England', *Urban Studies*, 57 (2020)

John Fenwick and Lorraine Johnston, 'Leading the combined authorities in England: A new future for elected mayors?', *Public Money & Management*, 40 (2020)

Janice Morphet and John Denham, 'Trailblazer devolution deals: The next oxymoron in the policy litany of sub-national governance in England?', *Local Economy*, early view (2024)

10. Immigration and ethnicity in British politics

(a) Has party competition been the main driver of changes in UK immigration policy since the 1960s?

OR (b) How have ethnic minority and immigrant voters reshaped post-war British politics since the 1960s?

OR (c) How, and with what effects, have British politicians mobilized racial identities for political purposes?

i. General and introductory works

*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)

*Ian Sanjay Patel, *We're Here Because You Were There: Immigration and the End of Empire* (2021)

*Liam Liburd, 'The politics of race and the future of British political history', *Political Quarterly*, 94 (2023)

Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (1987)

ii. Interpretations of immigration policy

- 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)
- Randall Hansen, 'Paradigm and policy shifts: British immigration policy, 1997-2011', in James Hollifield, Philip L. Martin and Pia Orrenius (eds), *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* (third edition, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014)
- Rosemary Sales, 'The deserving and the undeserving? Refugees, asylum seekers and welfare in Britain', *Critical Social Policy*, 22 (2002)
- 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)
- Pinar Donmez and Alex Sutton, 'British immigration policy, depoliticisation and Brexit', *Comparative European Politics*, 18 (2020)

iii. Immigration policy in the era of Brexit

- *Maria Sobelevska and Robert Ford, 'The politics of immigration: Old and new', in Richard Heffernan et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (Basingstoke, 2016)
- Tim Bale, 'Policy, office, votes – and integrity: The British Conservative Party, Brexit, and immigration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48/2 (2022)
- Robert Ford, 'Changing attitudes, changing coalitions: The politics of immigration before and after Brexit', *Political Quarterly*, 95 (2024)
- James Hampshire, "'Full-fat, semi-skimmed or skimmed?'" The political economy of immigration policy since Brexit', *Political Quarterly*, 95 (2024)
- Randall Hansen, 'Immigration and the Brexit catastrophe: Empire, citizenship and ignorance', *Political Quarterly*, 95 (2024)

iv. Race and ethnicity in British politics

- Shamit Saggar, *Race and Representation: Electoral Politics and Ethnic Pluralism in Britain* (Manchester, 2000)
- Camilla Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge, 2013)
- Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca, NY, 1997)
- Harry Goulbourne, *Race Relations in Britain since 1945* (Basingstoke, 1998)
- 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)
- Rob Waters, *Thinking Black: Britain, 1964-1985* (Oakland, 2018)
- Matthew Francis, 'Mrs Thatcher's peacock blue sari: Ethnic minorities, electoral politics and the Conservative Party, c. 1974-1986', *Contemporary British History*, 31 (2017)
- Colm Murphy, 'The "rainbow alliance" or the focus group? Sexuality and race in the Labour Party's electoral strategy, 1985-7', *Twentieth Century British History*, 31 (2020)
- Anna Marie Smith, *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality* (2009)

v. Legacies of empire

Stephen Howe, 'Internal decolonization? British politics since Thatcher as post-colonial trauma', *Twentieth Century British History*, 14 (2003)

Erik Lindstrum et al., 'Decolonizing Britain: An exchange', *Twentieth Century British History*, 33 (2022)

Mark Matera et al., 'Marking race: Empire, social democracy, deindustrialisation', *Twentieth Century British History*, 34 (2023)

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)

Charlotte Riley, *Imperial Island: A History of Empire in Modern Britain* (2023)

11. Foreign policy

(a) What have been the goals of British foreign policy since 1945?

OR (b) In what ways, if at all, has UK foreign policy been shaped by domestic political considerations?

OR (c) Why was the UK an 'awkward partner' in the EEC and European Union?

i. General and introductory works

*David Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the Twentieth Century* (second edition, 2000)

Jamie Gaskarth, *British Foreign Policy: Crises, Conflicts and Future Challenges* (Cambridge, 2013)

Mark Garnett, Simon Mabon and Robert Smith, *British Foreign Policy since 1945* (Abingdon, 2017)

Christopher Hill, *The Future of British Foreign Policy: Security and Diplomacy in a World after Brexit* (Cambridge, 2019)

Gill Bennett, *Six Moments of Crisis: Inside British Foreign Policy* (Oxford, 2013)

ii. Empire, decolonization, and the Anglo-American 'special relationship'

*John Darwin, 'The Fear of Falling: British Politics and Imperial Decline since 1900', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1986)

R.F. Holland, 'The Imperial Factor in British Strategies from Attlee to Macmillan, 1945-1963', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 12 (1984)

Nicholas Owen, 'Decolonisation and the Post-War Consensus', in H. Jones and M. Kandiah (eds.), *The Myth of Consensus* (1996)

David Edgerton, *Warfare State: Britain, 1920-1970* (Cambridge, 2005), esp. introduction

Andrew Gamble, 'Europe and America', in Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge, 2012)

William Wallace and Christopher Phillips, 'Reassessing the special relationship', *International Affairs*, 85 (2009)

Patrick Porter, 'Last charge of the knights? Iraq, Afghanistan and the special relationship', *International Affairs*, 86 (2010)

Patrick Porter, *Blunder: Britain's War in Iraq* (Oxford, 2018), esp. chapters 1 and 3

Andrew Hindmoor, *Haywire: A Political History of Britain since 2000* (2024), chapters 12-13

Ben Clements, *British Public Opinion on Foreign and Defence Policy, 1945-2017* (2019)

iii. The European Union in British politics

*Stephen George, *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community* (third edition, Oxford, 1998)

*Julie Smith, *The UK's Journeys in and out of the EU: Destinations Unknown* (Abingdon, 2017)

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

OR Hugo Young, *This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair* (1998)

*Anne Deighton, 'The past in the present: British imperial memories and the European question', in Jan-Werner Müller (ed.), *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe* (Cambridge, 2002)

Helen Parr, 'Britain, America, East of Suez and the EEC: Finding a Role in British Foreign Policy, 1964-67', *Contemporary British History*, 20 (2006)

O.J. Daddow, *Britain and Europe since 1945: Historiographical Perspectives on Integration* (2004)

Robert Saunders, *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain* (Cambridge, 2018)

James Dennison, 'Euphoria! Explaining Britain's pro-European moment, 1988-1992', *Political Studies*, early view (2024)

Anthony Forster, *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics: Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour Parties since 1945* (2002)

Mark Bevir, Oliver Daddow and Pauline Schnapper, 'Interpreting British European policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53 (2015)

Robert Saunders, 'Brexit and Empire: "Global Britain" and the myth of imperial nostalgia', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 48 (2020)

12. Economic governance and institutions

(a) How, why, and with what success have UK governments sought to 'depoliticize' economic policy since 1997?

OR (b) How far is the Treasury the dominant actor in British economic policy-making?

i. Economic governance, c. 1945-79 (NB this is mostly historical background and should be read selectively)

Edmund Dell, *The Chancellors* (1997)

Samuel Brittan, *Steering the Economy: The Role of the Treasury* (1969)

Douglas Wass, *Decline to Fall: The Making of British Macroeconomic Policy and the 1976 IMF Crisis* (Oxford, 2008)

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

Jeremy Green, *The political economy of the special relationship* (Princeton, 2020)

Catherine Schenk, *The decline of sterling: Managing the retreat of an international currency, 1945-1992* (Cambridge, 2010)

Forrest Capie, *The Bank of England, 1950s to 1979* (Cambridge, 2010)

Alec Cairncross, *Managing the British economy in the 1960s* (Basingstoke, 1996)

José Tomás Labarca, 'Unintended institutionalization: How the politics of symbolic fiscal practices shapes economic policy', *Socio-Economic Review*, early view (2024)

ii. *Economic governance from the 1980s onwards: Institutions and general readings*

*Wyn Grant, *Economic Policy in Britain* (Basingstoke, 2002)

Howard Davies, *The Chancellors: Steering the British Economy in Crisis Times* (Cambridge, 2022)

Aeron Davis, *Bankruptcy, Bubbles, and Bailouts: The Inside History of the Treasury since 1976* (Manchester, 2022)

Harold James, *Making a Modern Central Bank. The Bank of England 1979-2003* (Cambridge, 2020)

Jim Tomlinson, 'The strange survival of "embedded liberalism": National economic management and globalization in Britain from 1944', *Twentieth Century British History*, 32 (2021)

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

Sir Nicholas Macpherson, 'The Treasury view: a testament of experience', speech to the Mile End Group, 15 Jan. 2014, available online at <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/speech-by-the-permanent-secretary-to-the-treasury-the-treasury-view-a-testament-of-experience>

Jill Rutter, 'Ministers Reflect: On the Treasury', Institute for Government Blog, 30 Dec. 2015, available online at <http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/blog/12952/ministers-reflect-on-the-treasury/>

Abby Innes, *Late Soviet Britain: Why materialist utopias fail* (Cambridge, 2023)

Colin Crouch, *The strange non-death of neoliberalism* (Cambridge, 2011), esp. chapter 5

iii. *Economic governance from the 1980s onwards: Approaches to fiscal and monetary policy*

*Tatiana Kirsanova, Campbell Leith and Simon Wren-Lewis, 'Monetary and fiscal policy interaction: The current consensus assignment in the light of recent developments', *The Economic Journal*, 119 (2009)

*Ed Balls and Gus O'Donnell, *Reforming Britain's economic and financial policy: towards greater economic stability* (London, 2002), esp. chapters 1-3, 8

*Ben Clift and Jim Tomlinson, 'Credible Keynesianism? New Labour Macroeconomic Policy and the Political Economy of Coarse Tuning', *British Journal of Political Science*, 37 (2007)

Adam Tooze, 'Of bond vigilantes, central bankers and the crisis of 2008', in Nicolas Barreyre and Nicolas Delalande (eds), *A World of Public Debts: A Political History* (Cham, Switzerland, 2020), pp. 453-78

Simon Wren-Lewis, 'Aggregate fiscal policy under the Labour government, 1997-2010', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 29 (2013)

Ed Balls, 'Open Macroeconomics in an Open Economy', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 45 (2) (1998)

Björn Bremer and Sean McDaniel, 'The ideational foundations of social democratic austerity in the context of the great recession', *Socio-Economic Review*, 18 (2020), 439-63

iv. *The politics of depoliticisation*

*Peter Burnham, 'New Labour and the politics of depoliticisation', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 3 (2001)

*Ben Clift, *The Office for Budget Responsibility and the politics of technocratic economic governance* (Oxford, 2023), esp. chapter 2

Steven Kettell, 'Does depoliticisation work? Evidence from Britain's membership of the Exchange Rate Mechanism, 1990-92', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 10 (2008)

Sebastian Dellepiane-Avellaneda, 'Gordon unbound: the heresthetic of central bank independence in Britain', *British Journal of Political Science*, 43 (2013)

Ben Clift, 'Technocratic economic governance and the politics of UK fiscal rules', *British Politics*, 18 (2022)

Carl Emmerson and Isabel Stockton, 'Rewriting the fiscal rules', in Carl Emmerson, Paul Johnson, and Ben Zaranko (eds), *IFS Green Budget: October 2021* (2021)

13. Politics since 2010

(a) What lessons should we learn from the experience of the 2010-15 coalition?

OR (b) Why did Conservative prime ministers find it so difficult to govern effectively after 2015?

OR (c) How should we explain the rise and fall of 'Corbynism'?

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)

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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)

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ii. The politics of austerity

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

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