Introduction to the Paper

European politics has always been a vibrant subject, and has clearly been in considerable flux in recent years. In fact, the word ‘crisis’ is frequently used to describe various aspects of European politics – examples include the ‘crisis and breakdown of the post-war settlement in Europe’, the ‘crisis of the welfare state’, the ‘crisis of political parties’, the ‘crisis of the British constitution’, the ‘Eurozone crisis’, the ‘Brexit crisis’, and the ‘migration crisis’. How can we understand the causes and possible consequences of these (alleged) crises? Does it, indeed, make sense to refer to these phenomena as ‘crises’? More generally, what patterns of political governance and policies were established in the post-World War II period in (Western) Europe and how have these been challenged and changed in more recent years?

This paper looks at several areas of the politics of Europe to help students address and think about these questions. The paper consists of three sections. The first section looks at several important issues in the politics of Western European states: economic policy and the politics of austerity, immigration and the integration of migrants, decentralisation and territorial movements, challenges to the welfare state, and (as conclusion) the current transformation of Western European states. It draws on examples from a variety of Western European countries, and invites students to take a comparative approach to the issues. The second section focuses on several fundamental and contested aspects of the process of European integration, such as the nature of the European Union, the distribution of power within and political mobilisation against the EU, monetary integration and its problems, the record and further prospects of EU enlargement, and the EU’s role in international affairs. The third section focuses on Britain. It provides background on the alleged post-war ‘golden age’ of British politics, and then addresses political and ideological developments since the 1970s, constitutional changes such as devolution, several policy areas, contemporary challenges such as relations with Europe and immigration, and the most recent elections and governments.

While these three sections are taught separately, there is some overlap and commonalities in the issues that are addressed, and students should try to ‘think across’ the sections to gain a more comprehensive understanding of contemporary European politics. (We will make sure to set the exam paper such that overlap will not be a problem.)

After completing this paper, students will have gained a good understanding of the political arrangements (both in terms of governance and policy content) in Europe and the contemporary challenges to and changes in these arrangements. They will be able to engage critically with the broader debates on these issues and with the academic literature on British and European politics.

Prerequisites and Background Reading

There are no formal prerequisites for this paper, but students who took the Western Europe module in the POL4 paper last year (on populism and political parties) will be able to draw on materials from this module on some occasions as background information. If other students want to do some background reading on this topic too, then they should look at this year’s POL4 paper guide for guidance.
The descriptions of each of the sections below indicate background readings for the topics covered in these sections. There is no single reading that can serve as background to all the topics that can be studied in this paper. It is, however, highly advisable to do some background on the general post-war political history of Europe. Two good sources are:


**Teaching Format and Assessment**

The teaching for this paper consists of lectures, supervisions, and one or more Easter term revisions classes. There are 36 lectures in total: 12 for the section on issues in Western European politics (in Michaelmas term), 8 for the section on European integration (in Michaelmas term), and 16 for the section on British politics (in Lent term).

Students are expected to do six supervisions for this paper, and – given the nature of the exam (see below) – they should cover at least two sections in these supervisions. The course organiser will contact students at the start of term with more information on supervision arrangements.

Assessment consists of a three-hour exam, in which students have to answer three questions. The exam will be divided into three sections, and candidates have to answer questions from at least two sections.

**Mock Exam**

Candidates have to answer three questions, taken from at least two sections.

**Section A.** [Issues in the Domestic Politics of Western Europe]

1. To what extent can the adoption of austerity policies by governments in Western European countries be explained by external factors?
2. Is the increased salience of immigration as a political issue a cause or a consequence of the rise of populist right-wing parties in Western Europe?
3. Why have some Western European states decentralised more than others?
4. Have welfare states in Western Europe been fundamentally changed in recent years?

**Section B.** [European Integration]

5. How useful are analogies in defining the European Union? Answer with reference to at least one analogy.
6. Is the EU good for workers? Answer with reference to one or more policy areas.
7. Was the 2004 ‘big bang’ enlargement a mistake?
8. Do citizens play enough of a role in EU decision-making?

**Section C.** [British Politics]

9. What determines the power of a British prime minister?
10. How new was ‘New Labour’?
11. Why didn’t devolution ‘kill nationalism stone dead’ (George Robertson)?
12. Why is (a) immigration OR (b) European integration so divisive in British politics?
13. Is class still the most important determinant of British voting behaviour?
Structure of the Paper and Reading Lists

I. CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN WESTERN EUROPEAN POLITICS [Pieter van Houten]

This part of the paper focuses on several contemporary issues and debates in the domestic politics of Western European states. More specifically, it focuses on economic policy (and the role of the state in it) and the politics of austerity, issues surrounding immigration policy and the integration of immigrant populations, territorial politics and the apparent rise of regional/independence movements, the alleged crisis of the welfare state, and the current transformation of Western European states.

After the devastation of World War II, Western European states rebuilt their political systems and economies. Although there was – and continues to be – considerable variation between states, it can be argued that there were certain common aspects among the political and policy frameworks that developed in these states. These aspects include the central role of political parties, the emphasis on stability and consensus politics, the centralisation of state capacities and responsibilities, and the increased role of the state in economic policy and the provision of social welfare (the welfare state). However, these aspects have become increasingly challenged. This arguably started already in the 1970s, but has become particularly pronounced in more recent years. Aspects and manifestations of these challenges are the increased political disillusionment and disengagement among the public, the alleged crisis of mainstream political parties, the rise of populism, the ‘neoliberal’ challenge to the role of the state in the economy, the ‘threats’ to the territorial integrity of states, and the perceived need to make drastic cuts to the welfare state.

This section focuses on these challenges and changes in several key areas. It will discuss and analyse current debates with reference to the patterns established in the earlier post-war period and the extent to which these patterns still survive or have changed.

Lectures

1. Introduction (I): post-war reconstruction and consensus
2. Introduction (II): the evolution of and challenges to the post-war consensus
3. Political economy (I): the role of the state in economic policy
4. Political economy (II): economic crisis and the politics of austerity
5. Political economy (III): the consequences of the politics of austerity
6. Immigration (I): development and challenges of immigration and integration policy
7. Immigration (II): an increasingly politicised issue
8. Territorial politics (I): decentralisation/devolution of the state
9. Territorial politics (II): regional and independence movements
10. Welfare state (I): features of and challenges to the post-war welfare state
11. Welfare state (II): the welfare state in permanent crisis?
12. The transformation of Western European states

Readings and Supervision Questions

General and background readings

To do well in the essays and the exam, students need to develop a good empirical knowledge of post-war European political developments and the governance and politics of some states. They are, therefore, strongly encouraged to read some of the books listed in this section (if they haven’t done this in the past already), in addition to the more specific readings for their supervision essays.

Possible readings on the post-war political history of Western Europe (and Europe more generally; some of these were already mentioned on p. 2 of the paper guide):


Possible readings on the domestic politics of particular European states:


For general and broad surveys of features of Western European states:


The topics discussed in this section are all in flux and part of the current political debate. The reading list will be updated in the course of the year as new publications become available. Students are also encouraged to look for more materials in academic journals and news sources. Possibly useful journals focusing on European politics are *West European Politics*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *German Politics*, *French Politics*, *British Politics*, *South European Society and Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, and *Comparative European Politics*. In addition, prominent journals that may regularly feature articles on comparative and European politics are: *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *European Political Science Review*, *Government and Opposition*, *International Affairs*, *International Organization*, *Party Politics*, *Political Studies*, *Politics and Society*, *Regional and Federal Studies*, *Scandinavian Political Studies* and *World Politics*. As for news sources, *The Economist* ([www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com)), *Financial Times* ([www.ft.com](http://www.ft.com)), and *International New York Times* ([http://international.nytimes.com/](http://international.nytimes.com/)) are particularly useful.
Introduction  [lectures 1-2]

These lectures set the scene for this section by looking at the key features of (as well as some important variation in) post-war governance and policy-making patterns in Western Europe. They start with a brief discussion of post-war reconstruction in Western Europe, and then give an overview of the main features of the ‘post-war consensus’ and how those features started to be challenged from the 1970s on. This will include some references to the development of European integration, so these lectures are also useful as introduction to Section II of this paper.

The books by Judt, Hitchcock, Urwin and Berend (see ‘General and background readings’ above) describe various aspects of the post-WWII political consensus in Western Europe. Try to read at least one of these books! There are no supervisions related to these lectures.

Political economy  [lectures 3-5]

During the so-called ‘Keynesian’ era in post-war Europe (from the immediate post-war period until at least the 1970s), the state played an important role in guiding and managing the economy. These arrangements came under increasing pressure from the 1970s on, as economic problems mounted and neoliberal ideas and practices became more prominent. The recent economic crisis, in turn, appeared to show the limitations of these neoliberal practices. However, these ideas and practices appear to have survived the crisis, as ‘austerity’ became the prescribed policy option across Europe. These lectures describe and analyze the evolution of the role of the state in economic policy in post-war Europe, the immediate policy responses to the most recent economic crisis, the subsequent turn to austerity, and the economic and political consequences of the ‘politics of austerity’.

Readings:

• Armin Schäfer and Wolfgang Streeck (eds.), Politics in the age of austerity (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), esp. chapters 1, 2, 6, 7, 11.
• “Europe’s crisis: background, dimensions, solutions,” special issue of West European Politics, 37, 6 (2014), articles by Hall, Bulmer and Culpeper.


Wolfgang Streeck, Buying time: the delayed crisis of democratic capitalism (Verso, 2013).


‘Southern Europe and the financial earthquake: coping with the first phase of the international crisis’, special issue of *South European Society and Politics* 14, 1 (2009).


For background to the more recent developments:


Suggested supervision essay questions:

Are austerity economic policies now the only available option for Western European states?

What have been the main political effects of austerity policies in Western Europe?

Has the role of the state in economic policy-making decreased in Western Europe?

**Immigration** [lectures 6-7]

‘Immigration’ has become an increasingly politicized issue in Western Europe, and never more so than during the ‘migrant crisis’ in the summer of 2015. While this is largely the result of the sudden increase in asylum seekers, the politicization of the issue has been gaining steam for years, as exemplified by the rise of populist anti-immigrant parties. From a policy perspective, the issue relates to two separate policy areas: immigration and asylum policy, and policies related to the integration of non-native populations. These are, however, frequently conflated in political debates. These two lectures trace the development of immigration and integration policies in Western Europe, highlight some important historical differences between countries, and analyze the increased politicization of the issue and the recent ‘crisis’ (and what this may reveal about the political dynamics of this issue, as well as the limitations of the ‘European project’).

**Readings:**


Wouter van der Brug, Gianni D’Amato, Didier Ruiedin, and Joost Berkhout, eds., The politicisation of migration (London: Routledge, 2015).


More on specific cases:


Chapters in Baldwin-Edwards and Schain, eds., and in special issue of West European Politics (see above).

Suggested supervision essay question:

Which factors shape the immigration and integration policies of Western European states?

**Territorial politics** [lectures 8-9]

With some exceptions (e.g. Germany), post-war Western European states were considerably more centralized power than before. This has, however, changed in recent decades as most states have decentralized or devolved powers. The first lecture will look at these developments and the reasons for them. One of the reasons is the emergence of regional parties and movements, which have become significantly stronger in recent years in several European countries. The second lecture looks at these movements and the prospects of the break-up of certain European states in the near future.


More on specific cases:


“German federalism in transition?” special issue of *German Politics* 17, 4 (2008).


Wilfried Swenden and Maarten T. Jans, “‘Will it stay or will it go?’: federalism and the sustainability of Belgium,” *West European Politics* 29 (2006): 877-894.


Suggested supervision essay questions:

Why have Western European states become more decentralised?
Why have regional and independence movements become stronger in recent years?

**Welfare state** [lectures 10-11]

The expansion of the welfare state was a crucial development in post-war Western Europe. At the same time, there were important differences across states in the exact nature and scope of the welfare state. In recent decades, these welfare states have come under increasing pressures as a result of various internal and external processes. What are these challenges? How have the various welfare states coped with them so far? And, despite the often heard claim that welfare states are managing to adapt rather than decline, are the welfare states that we currently have in Western Europe sustainable in the longer term? These two lectures will focus on various aspects of these questions.

Readings:


Further readings on specific cases:


Achim Kemmerling and Oliver Bruttel, “‘New politics’ in German labour market policy?: the implications of the recent Hertz reforms for the German welfare state,” *West European Politics* 29 (2006): 90-112.


Suggested supervision essay questions:

Which type of welfare state can most successfully meet contemporary challenges?

Why have Western European states found it so difficult to make welfare state reforms?

**Transformation of Western European states** [lecture 12]

One way of looking at the various issues discussed in this section of the paper is that they represent (potential) changes to the features and functions of a particular type of state that developed in the post-war period in Western Europe. In addition, there are other developments which also challenge this type of state, such as European integration, the increased role of international organisations, and the transfer of government responsibilities to ‘depoliticised’ agencies. As a conclusion to this section, this lecture will look at this process of state transformation in Western Europe.
Readings:

- Philipp Genschel and Markus Jachtenfuchs, eds., *Beyond the regulatory polity?: the European integration of core state powers* (Oxford University Press, 2013)
II. EUROPEAN INTEGRATION  [Chris Bickerton]

The European Union was, for many years, of limited interest to European citizens. National struggles between the political left and right seemed unrelated to the technocratic policy discussions that dominate the EU institutions in Brussels. Political parties knew their views on the EU would not win or lose them elections and few discussed the EU in their election campaigns. As a former President of the European Commission once pointed out, “you don’t fall in love with a single market”. The EU was not an object of political passion or controversy.

In recent years, this has changed. The Eurozone crisis has brought the EU into the heart of domestic political debates. Referenda on European Treaty changes and on membership itself – from the ‘No’ votes in France and the Netherlands in 2005 to the forthcoming referendum on British membership in 2016/7 – have made EU more controversial than ever before. From being seen as inevitable by most of its citizens, the future of the EU is now seriously in doubt by both its critics and its supporters. And the EU has become a topic of conversation around dinner tables across Europe in a way that it never was before. This series of lectures covers the key themes that shape the contemporary European Union. It serves as an introductory series of lectures but one that presumes students are familiar with the very basics of the EU. By way of preparation, and in order to familiarize themselves with the EU’s many different institutions and its dizzying array of acronyms, students should read one of the introductory texts listed below. This series of lectures will put the contemporary debate around the EU into historical perspective and will draw out from these debates the key conceptual and analytical issues that are raised.

The lectures cover the following themes:

(1) Empire, state, federation or what? The identity of the EU as a political institution
(2) Who rules in Europe? The distribution of power and authority within the EU
(3) A neoliberal EU? The role of economic forces and interests in European integration
(4) Contesting Europe: political conflict, politicization and protest in European integration
(5) Where did it all go wrong? The origins of European monetary union and the on-going crisis of the Eurozone
(6) From Brezhnev to Brussels: the enlargement of the European Union
(7) Will the EU ever be a superpower? EU foreign policy and the EU’s role in global politics
(8) Democracy in Europe: With or without the EU?

Learning outcomes

After following these lectures and doing the associated reading and supervision work, students should be able to:

- Identify the main actors in the EU and understand their relations with one another
- Grasp the historical dimension to European integration, situating it in the post-war social democratic ‘Golden Age’ and its demise
- Evaluate the role of economic forces and political pressures in shaping the contemporary EU
- Understand the origins of the Eurozone crisis and critically evaluate the on-going discussions around the solutions to this crisis
- Critically appraise the impacts of the EU’s enlargement on the EU and on its new members
- Assess the nature of the EU’s contribution to global politics and identify the political, institutional and material limitations on EU foreign policy
- Engage critically in the debate about the EU’s relationship to democracy and the prospects for ‘democratizing’ the EU

Introductory readings

N. Copsey (2015) Rethinking the European Union (Basingstoke: Palgrave)

L. Van Middelaar (2013) *Passage to Europe: How a Continent Became a Union* (Yale, CT: Yale University Press)


Students looking to familiarize themselves with the EU would do well to systematically read some journalistic publications. The Charlemagne column in *The Economist* covers political life in Brussels (Twitter: @EconEurope). Good coverage of the EU can also be found by Bruno Waterfield writing for *The Times* (Twitter: @BrunoBrussels) and Peter Spiegel in the *Financial Times* (Twitter: @SpiegelPeter).

**Lectures**

1. **Empire, state, federation or what? The nature and identity of the EU as a political institution**

   Jacques Delors, a former President of the European Commission, once described the EU as a ‘non-identified political object’. There is a surprising amount of academic debate about what the EU is. For some scholars, it is a super-state in the making, for others it is a new kind of empire. Some think of it simply as an advanced form of trade integration, economically powerful but politically weak. Curiously, for its citizens the EU appears as both crucially important to their day-to-day lives and as a remote and obscure body that few have very strong feelings about. Why is there so much disagreement about this most basic of questions? Are there any clear answers to this debate about the nature of the EU?


2. **Who rules in Europe? The distribution of power and authority within the EU**

   In national politics, we can usually identify a final authority invested in a sovereign power. In the United States, President Truman famously had a sign on his desk in the White House saying: ‘The Buck Stops Here’. In the EU, this is far more difficult. The EU is made up of many different institutions, each with their own history and set of acronyms. And each institution claims to have some final authority. What are the main institutions and what powers do they have? How does the legal division of powers set in the European Treaties correspond to the actual political distribution of powers? How has power shifted over the decades of European integration and what direction have these changes taken? Finally, it has become customary to declare that the EU is now run by Germany. What should we make of this claim of a ‘German Europe’? Is it right?


3. **A neoliberal EU? The political economy of European integration**
In the course of the economic and financial crisis that began in 2008, the EU has remained committed to fiscal and monetary austerity, dubbed ‘sado-moneta
ism’ by its critics. Recently, in the deal with the Greek government reached in July 2015, the Troika refused any debt relief and demanded further budget cuts in spite of the economic and social crisis in Greece. This gives us the impression of the EU as strongly committed to neoliberal economics: fiscal and monetary rectitude plus structural reforms aimed at achieving more flexible labour markets. Is the EU an agent of neoliberal economics? What role do economic interests play in European integration? Does a single European economy exist and if so, what does it look like? Is the EU in fact more of a ‘social Europe’, as many British conservatives seem to think?


4. Contesting Europe: political conflict, politicization and protest in European integration

European integration benefitted until the early 1990s from what academics called the ‘permissive consensus’: voters were generally uninterested in EU matters and happy for their political leaders to negotiate on their behalf. It was generally supposed that European populations were favourable to closer integration, in the name of guaranteeing peace and ensuring greater prosperity. This consensus was shaken by the events of the early 1990s, especially the rejection of the Maastricht Treaty in Denmark and the very close ‘Yes’ vote to this treaty in France. Since then, scholars have observed a growing politicization of European integration. This has taken the form of protests, dramatic referenda campaigns, treaty rejections, and the rise of Eurosceptic sentiment even in such traditionally pro-EU countries like Italy. Politicization of the EU has also taken place through a more powerful and ideologically-structured EU parliament. This lecture will look at all these trends. By way of a focus, it will take up the case of the UK Independence Party in order to study the origins and specific features of Eurosceptic movements.

M. Kaldor and S. Selchow (eds.) (2015) Subterranean Politics in Europe (Basingstoke: Palgrave) Chapters 1, 2 and Conclusion

5. A brief history of European monetary union

European monetary union has become the most politically divisive aspect of European integration. Some view it as a historical error whilst others as a progressive project desperately in need of completion. There is no doubt that EMU has had many unintended consequences, not least economic boom and bust in Southern European economies. What were the reasons for seeking a common European currency in the first place and who were the main actors? Is the Euro primarily a political project, as many commentators argue? If so, what kind of political project is it? What has been the impact of monetary union on the European economy and what are the root causes of the Eurozone’s current crisis? Will the Eurozone survive? Should the Euro be dismantled as its critics argue?

K. Dyson and K. Featherstone (1999) The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union (Oxford: Oxford University Press) [an exhaustive account of the negotiations leading to an agreement on monetary union]
6. From Brezhnev to Brussels? A critical analysis of EU enlargement

EU enlargement has been described as the EU’s most successful foreign policy. The 2004 enlargement was the single largest increase in EU membership ever. This lecture will consider the dynamics behind the enlargement process and it will also look at the consequences of enlargement on political life in the new member states in Eastern Europe. Has enlargement been an unequivocal success story in terms of consolidating democracy in countries that were formerly part of the Soviet bloc? Or has enlargement had negative consequences for the quality of democracy in these countries? A key conceptual issue is whether EU membership represents a surrender of national sovereignty or is a guarantor of it.

J. Zielonka, Europe as Empire, Chapters 1 and 2

7. Will the EU ever become a superpower? EU foreign policy and the EU’s role in global politics

The development of a common EU foreign policy dates from the 1970s and the formation of the European Political Cooperation (EPC). Since then, the debate about whether and how the EU can play a full role in international affairs has been raging. Some think the EU can only have influence if it is able to exercise military power; others think the EU’s contribution should not along the lines of traditional great powers. Many institutional changes have taken place and today the EU has a high representative for foreign and security policy. The debate about the scope and depth of its influence goes on however and will not end any time soon. What are the forces shaping the EU’s foreign policy and what sort of impact has the EU had thus far? As the US looks to Asia, will the EU become strategically irrelevant?


8. Democracy in Europe: With or without the EU?

A divisive issue for those studying the EU is the matter of its “democratic deficit”. Does the EU indeed suffer from such a deficit? If it does, what should we do about it? These questions rest heavily on the standard against which the EU is being assessed and the precise understanding we have of democracy. Might the EU be democratic in some respects but not in others? Should the EU prompt us to rethink our mainly national understanding of democracy or should it encourage us to defend national democracy from the threat of the EU? The ‘democratic deficit’ debate began as a largely scholarly debate but more recently political actors – from Alexis Tsipras in Greece to Pablo Iglesias in Spain – have begun to discuss explicitly the problem of democracy in the EU. The Eurozone crisis has, in the eyes of many, revealed the incompatibility between the
European single currency and democracy. This lecture will take up these explicitly normative debates as a way of ending the lecture series on European integration.


Suggested supervision essay questions

Is the European Union a state? If not, what is it?

How important are national boundaries in understanding the dynamics of the European economy?

‘The European Parliament faces a choice between representing European citizens and expanding its institutional power in Brussels; it cannot do both’. How accurate an assessment is this of the challenges facing the European Parliament?

Assess the growth of EU institutions since 1992. Which has gained most power and which has lost most?

Are more national referenda the solution to the EU’s democratic deficit?

Identify the main causes of the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis. Why has this crisis proven so difficult to solve?

‘Enlargement is the EU’s most successful foreign policy tool’. Do you agree?

Does the EU have a foreign policy?
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 economic and social 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 Conservative victory in the 2015 general election and the rise of UKIP and the SNP – 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 a major European polity and to set recent British developments in a comparative context.

Lectures

1. Introduction: British politics in theory and practice
4. The crisis of the post-war settlement: Britain in the 1970s
5. Thatcherism
6. New Labour
7. The Cameron-Clegg coalition
8. The 2015 general election and the changing party system
9. The constitution (I): Inside Whitehall
10. The constitution (II): Devolution and nationalism: Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland
12. The constitution (IV): Constitutional reform
13. Public policy (I): Britain and Europe
14. Public policy (II): Immigration and integration
15. Public policy (III): The Treasury and economic policy
16. Public policy (IV): The welfare state

General and background readings

Peter Hennessy, The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945 (2000)
Jon Lawrence, Electing Our Masters: The Hustings in British Politics from Hogarth to Blair (Oxford, 2009)
Iain McLean, What's Wrong with the British Constitution? (Oxford, 2010)
David Denver et al., Elections and Voters in Britain (third edition: Basingstoke, 2011)

Classic works from the ‘golden age’

Anthony H. Birch, Representative and Responsible Government (1964)
David Butler and Donald Stokes, Political Change in Britain: Forces Shaping Electoral Choice (1969)
Mark Abrams and Richard Rose, Must Labour Lose? (Harmondsworth, 1960)
John H. Goldthorpe et al., The Affluent Worker: Political Attitudes and Behaviour (Cambridge, 1968)
Anthony Sampson, The Anatomy of Britain (1962)
The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War (1975)

1. The 1970s and the coming of Thatcherism

Why did social democracy flourish in Britain in the 1940s and 50s, but struggle in the 1960s and 70s?

OR ‘Britain seems to have become so much harder to govern over the past ten or twenty years.’ (Anthony King, 1975)

Was this true, and if so, why?

OR Why were the Conservatives the main beneficiaries of the collapse of the post-war settlement?

_A post-war ‘consensus’?

Peter Hennessy, _The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945_ (2000) – useful introductory essays on the post-war prime ministers

Ben Pimlott, ‘Is the “postwar consensus” a myth?’, _Contemporary Record_, 2 (1989)


Keith Middledemas, _Power, Competition and the State_ (3 vols., Basingstoke, 1986-91), introductions to vols. II and III

_Governing in the 1970s_


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)


_The ‘crisis’ of social democracy in the 1970s_

*Andrew Gamble, _The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism_ (Basingstoke, 1988), chapters 1-3

*Peter A. Hall, ‘Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state: The case of economic policymaking in Britain’, _Comparative Politics_, 25 (1992-3)


_The rise of Thatcherism_


2. New Labour

Did New Labour represent a coherent ideology, or just an electoral strategy?

OR ‘Tony [Blair] was essentially a social liberal with a strong imperialist streak.’ (Andrew Adonis, 2016)

How far does this explain the strengths and weaknesses of his governments?

**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


**Domestic policies**

*Patrick Diamond and Michael Kenny, *Reassessing New Labour: Market, State and Society under Blair and Brown* (Chichester, 2011; also published as a special issue of *Political Quarterly*, September 2010) esp. introduction and essays by Corry, Horton and Brivati


Stuart White and Martin O’Neill, ‘That was the New Labour that wasn’t’, *Fabian Review*, 125 (2013) (available online at http://philpapers.org/archive/WHITWT)


**Foreign policy**

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


**Contemporary sources and journalism**


Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell Diaries* (4 vols., 2010-12)

3. Elections and party strategies

Which model of voting behaviour (sociological, spatial, or valence) best explains recent electoral outcomes in Britain?
OR ‘In opposition, you move to the centre. In government, you move the centre.’ (George Osborne) Is this still the best recipe for electoral success in Britain?
OR Why is the British party system fragmenting?

**Elections and voting behaviour**

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

OR *David Denver et al., Elections and Voters in Britain* (multiple editions, most recently 2011)


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)


**Elections in the New Labour era**


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


**The 2015 general election**

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

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


(You can also see the latest reports and data from the British Election Study at [www.britishelectionstudy.com](http://www.britishelectionstudy.com))

**The rise of the Scottish National Party and UKIP**


Ben Jackson, ‘The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism’, *Political Quarterly*, 84 (2014)


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

**Parties and their strategies**

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


**Parties and their members**


Alan Ware, ’Party organizational change in Britain: The iron law of centralization?’ in Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *How Parties Organize* (1994)

Paul Whiteley, ’Where have all the members gone? The dynamics of party membership in Britain’, *Political Quarterly*, 62 (2009)

**4. The British executive**

Does Britain still have Cabinet government? If not, what does it have?

OR Does the experience of 2010-15 suggest that coalition produces a better quality of government?

*The Prime Minister*

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

Richard Rose, *The Prime Minister in a Shrinking World* (Cambridge, 2001)


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


*Cabinet and core executive*


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

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

*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)

The 2010-15 coalition

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

5. Devolution and the constitution

What, if anything, is wrong with the British constitution?
OR Is asymmetric devolution fundamentally unstable?

General readings on the constitution and constitutional reform

*Iain McLean, What’s Wrong with the British Constitution? (Oxford, 2010), esp. introduction
*Robert Hazell (ed.), Constitutional Futures Revisited: Britain’s Constitution to 2020 (Basingstoke, 2008)
Nevil Johnson, Reshaping the British Constitution: Essays in Political Interpretation (Basingstoke, 2004)

Parliament


Devolution

*James Mitchell, Devolution in the UK (Manchester, 2009)
OR Vernon Bogdanor, Devolution in the United Kingdom (Oxford, 1999; second edition, 2001)
Derek Birrell, Comparing Devolved Governance (Basingstoke, 2012)
Scotland

I.C.G. Hutchison, *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke, 2001)
Ben Jackson, ‘The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism’, *Political Quarterly*, 84 (2014)

Wales


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)

The English question


6. Europe and immigration

Why did the British electorate become so Eurosceptic between 1975 and 2016?
OR Why has immigration been such a divisive issue in British politics since the 1950s?

The European Union in British politics

*Andrew Geddes, *Britain and the European Union* (Basingstoke, 2013)
OR Hugo Young, *This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair* (1998)

Immigration in British politics before 2004


*The rise of UKIP*


*The Brexit referendum and its implications*

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


Daniel Jackson, Einar Thorsen and Dominic Wring (eds.), *EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign* (Bournemouth, 2016; available online at www.referendumanalysis.eu).