

POL13: British and European Politics

Paper guide 2020-21

Course organiser

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Introduction to the paper

European politics has always been a vibrant subject, and one that has been in considerable flux in recent years. In fact, the word 'crisis' is frequently used to describe various aspects of European politics – from the 'crisis of the post-war settlement' and the 'crisis of the welfare state' to the 'crisis of political parties', the 'Eurozone crisis', and the 'migration crisis'. Most recently, the UK's vote to leave the European Union has raised profound questions about the relationship between Britain and continental Europe, the effectiveness of the UK's political institutions, and the long-term prospects of both the UK and the EU.

POL13 examines these questions through two modules, one on British Politics and one on the Politics of the European Union: the examination takes the form of an undivided paper, so students can specialize in one module or study them in combination. The British Politics module explores political developments in the UK since 1945, including the rise of Thatcherism and New Labour, devolution and constitutional reform, economic and social policy, and changes in electoral behaviour up to the 2017 general election. The Politics of the European Union module examines key aspects of the process of European integration, such as the nature of the European Union, the distribution of power within (and political mobilisation against) the EU, monetary integration and its problems, EU enlargement, and the EU's role in international affairs. The paper will enable students to engage critically with the scholarly literature in these fields and to develop a comparative and historical perspective on British and European politics.

Prerequisites and Background Reading

There are no formal prerequisites for this paper, but students who took either the Western Europe module or the United States and United Kingdom module in the POL4 paper last year will find that they provide some useful background information.

Students are strongly encouraged to develop their general understanding of the post-war political history of Britain and/or the European Union (as appropriate) before the start of Michaelmas Term, so that they are ready to engage with the supervision topics at an appropriate level of sophistication. Reading textbooks and general histories is one way of doing this, but diaries and memoirs can also provide valuable insights into how politics and policy-making worked.

Section A. British Politics

This section of the paper covers politics and government in modern Britain. It is divided into four mini-sections: British Political History since 1945, The Political Economy of Britain since 1945, The British Political System and Policymaking in Britain. There are four key cross-cutting themes to the approach taken to teaching this section of the paper:

1. It is empirical. It focuses on the concrete reality of what has happened, and is happening, in British politics. At times, theoretical models are used but this is generally to further

understanding of British politics or highlight how the British case fits within broader political scholarship.

2. It is historical. It looks back to look forward, setting contemporary academic and political debates in a longer context.
3. It is current. It will examine very recent developments in British politics, including evaluating recent political science.
4. It acknowledges the broader, international context. This is not a comparative paper, however, it will at times provide some brief context on how the British case fits with broader comparative (generally western European) developments.

Lecture Topics

Michaelmas Term

British Political History since 1945 (Dr Mitya Pearson)

1. Post-War British Politics: New Jerusalem, Austerity and Affluence, 1945-1964
2. British Politics in Decline? 1964-1979
3. Thatcherism, 1979-1997
4. New Labour, 1997-2010

The Political Economy of Britain since 1945 (Dr Jeremy Green)

5. The City of London and British Capitalism
6. The IMF Crisis of 1976 and the Crisis of Keynesianism
7. Thatcher, Monetarism and the Politics of Financial Liberalisation
8. British Capitalism after the Financial Crisis

Lent Term

The British Political System (Dr Mitya Pearson)

9. The Westminster Model and the British Constitution
10. The Union and Devolution
11. Party Politics
12. Elections and Voting

Policymaking in Britain (Dr Mitya Pearson)

13. Policymaking and the Executive
14. Policymaking and Parliament
15. Policymaking and Whitehall
16. Case Study Lecture: Environmental Policy

Supervision Topics

Michaelmas Term

1. Post-War British Politics: New Jerusalem, Consensus and Keynesianism, 1945-1964
2. British Politics: Decline and Crisis? 1964-1979
3. Thatcherism and Financialisation, 1979-1997
4. New Labour and the Financial Crisis, 1997-2010

Lent Term

5. The Union and Devolution
6. Party Politics and Voting
7. Policymaking in Britain (the Executive, Parliament and Whitehall)

Some General Background Readings

- Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000* (2004)
- Martin Loughlin, *The British Constitution: A Very Short Introduction* (2013)
- David Edgerton, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation: A Twentieth-Century History* (2018)
- Meg Russell et al. (eds.), *Developments in British Politics Ten* (2016)
- Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris (eds.), *Critical Elections* (1999)
- Tim Bale, *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction* (4th Edition, 2017)
- Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (2005)
- Andrew Gamble, *Britain in decline: economic policy, political strategy and the British state* (1994)
- Geoffrey Ingham, *Capitalism Divided? The City & Industry in British Social Development* (1984)
- Phillip Williamson, *The City of London and government in modern Britain: debates and politics* (2004)
- Jeremy Green, *The Political Economy of the Special Relationship* (2020)

Diaries and Memoirs

- Barbara Castle, *The Castle Diaries, 1964-70* (1984)
- Sir Douglas Wass, *Decline to Fall* (2008)
- Douglas Hurd, *An End to Promises: Sketch of a Government, 1970-74* (1979)
- Gyles Brandreth, *Breaking the Code: Westminster Diaries, 1992-97* (1999)
- Oona King, *House Music: The Oona King Diaries* (2008)
- Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell Diaries* (6 vols., 2010-17)
- Damian McBride, *Power Trip: A Decade of Policy, Plots and Spin* (2013)
- David Laws, *Coalition Diaries: 2012-2015* (2017)

1. Post-War British Politics: New Jerusalem, Austerity and Affluence, 1945-1964

Questions

'The Labour Party is a Socialist Party, and proud of it. Its ultimate purpose at home is the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain – free, democratic, efficient,

progressive, public-spirited, its material resources organised in the service of the British people.' (LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO, 1945) Discuss with reference to the record of the 1945-51 Labour governments.

'The gap between Butlerism and Gaitskellism is too small to drive a Rotary Club, yet alone a major national party between.' (THE ECONOMIST, 1954) Has the case for a 'Butskellite' consensus been exaggerated?

How did the revival of the City's international role from the 1950s challenge the UK's Keynesian economic model?

The Second World War and the 1945 General Election

Ross McKibbin, *Parties and People: England, 1914-1951* (2010), Chapters 4-6

Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War* (1975; 2nd edn., 1993), Chapters 1 (Introduction), 6, 9 and 10

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

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

The Attlee Government, 1945-51

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

Henry Pelling, *The Labour Governments, 1945-51* (1984), Chapters 1-2, 5-6 and Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

The Conservative Governments, 1951-64

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

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

R.C. Whiting, 'Income tax, the working class, and party politics, 1948-52', *Twentieth Century British History* (1997)

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

Rodney Lowe, ‘The Re-planning of the Welfare State, 1957-1964’, in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880-1980* (1996)

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

Consensus

Ben Pimlott et al., ‘Is the “Post War Consensus” a myth?’, *Contemporary British History* (1989)

Harriet Jones and Michael Kandiah, *The Myth of Consensus: New Views on British History, 1945–64* (1996)

David Edgerton, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation: A Twentieth-Century History* (2018), Chapter 14 (Two Classes, Two Parties, One Nation)

The City and Keynesianism

Aled Davies, *The City of London and Social Democracy: The Political Economy of Finance in Britain, 1959-1979* (2017)

Jeremy Green, *The Political Economy of the Special Relationship: Anglo-American Development from the Gold Standard to the Financial Crisis* (2020)

Ronald Michie (2004), “The City of London and the British Government: The Changing Relationship,” in R. Michie and P. Williamson, eds., *The British Government and the City of London in the Twentieth Century*, pp.31–56.

Michael Moran (1986). *Politics of banking* (1986), Chapters 2 and 3.

Robert Skidelsky, “The Decline of Keynesian politics,” in C. Crouch, ed., *State and Economy in Contemporary Capitalism* (1979)

E.H.H. Green, ‘The Conservative Party and Keynes’, in E.H.H. Green and Duncan Tanner (eds.), *The Strange Survival of Liberal England* (2007)

Alan Booth, ‘The “Keynesian revolution” in economic policy-making’, *Economic History Review* (1983), with response by Jim Tomlinson (1984)

2. British Politics: Decline and Crisis? 1964-1979

Questions

Why did governments between 1964 and 1979 find it so difficult to win re-election?

Has the ‘crisis’ in British government during the 1970s been exaggerated?

How transformative was the 1976 IMF Crisis for Britain’s political economy?

Politics and Social Change in the 1960s and 1970s

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

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

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

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* (2011)

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

Keith Middlemas, *Power, Competition and the State* (3 vols., 1986-91), Introductions to vols. II and III

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* (2006)

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

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

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

The Heath Government, 1970-74

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

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

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

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

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

The ‘Crisis’ of Social Democracy, 1974-79

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

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

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

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

1976 IMF Crisis

Jeremy Green, *The Political Economy of the Special Relationship: Anglo-American Development from the Gold Standard to the Financial Crisis* (2002), Chapter 5

Mark D Harmon, 'The 1976 UK-IMF crisis: The markets, the Americans, and the IMF', *Contemporary British History* (1997)

Steve Ludlum, 'The Gnomes of Washington; four myths of the 1976 IMF crisis', *Political Studies* (1992)

Chris Rogers, 'The Politics of Economic Policy Making in Britain: A Re-assessment of the 1976 IMF Crisis', *Politics & Policy* (2009)

3. Thatcherism and Financialisation, 1979-1997

Questions

What, if anything, was conservative about 'Thatcherism'?

'The first Thatcher Administration was designed primarily as an experiment in government survival rather than in economic or political theory.' (Jim Bulpitt) Discuss.

What motivated the transformation of monetary policy and financial regulation under the Thatcher government?

Introductions, Interpretations and Biographies

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

E.H.H. Green, *Thatcher* (2006)

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

Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. Introduction and Essays by Saunders, Tomlinson, Grimley, and Lawrence and Sutcliffe-Braithwaite

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* (2017)

Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography* (3 vols. 2013-2019)

Thatcherism and the Conservative Party

E.H.H. Green, 'Thatcherism: An historical perspective', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series (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* (1994)

Mark Garnett and Ian Gilmour, 'Thatcherism and the Conservative tradition', in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880–1990* (1996)

Stephen Evans, 'The not so odd couple: Margaret Thatcher and One Nation Conservatism', *Contemporary British History* (2009)

The Conservatives in Opposition, 1974-79

Mark Wickham-Jones, 'Right turn: A revisionist account of the 1975 Conservative Party leadership election', *Twentieth Century British History* (1997)

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

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

The Thatcher Governments and their Policies

Stephen Farrall and Colin Hay (eds.), *The Legacy of Thatcherism: Assessing and Exploring Thatcherite Social and Economic Policies* (2014)

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

Dennis Kavanagh and Anthony Seldon (eds.), *The Thatcher Effect: A Decade of Change* (1989)

Christopher Dow, 'The credit expansion of the late 1980s and the recession of the early 1990s', in Christopher Dow, *Major Recessions: Britain and the World 1920-1995* (2000)

Matthew Francis, "'A crusade to enfranchise the many": Thatcherism and the "property owning democracy"', *Twentieth Century British History* (2012)

Aled Davies et al., "'Everyman a capitalist" or "Free to choose"? Exploring the tensions within Thatcherite individualism', *Historical Journal* (2018)

David Sanders, Hugh Ward, and David Marsh (with Tony Fletcher), 'Government popularity and the Falklands War: A reassessment', *British Journal of Political Science* (1987)

Monetary Policy and Financial Regulation

Jacqueline Best, 'The quiet failures of early neoliberalism: From rational expectations to Keynesianism in reverse', *Review of International Studies* (2020)

Ben Clift, 'The hollowing out of monetarism: the rise of rules-based monetary policy-making in the UK and USA and problems with the paradigm change framework', *Comparative European Politics* (2019)

Aled Davies, *The City of London and Social Democracy: The Political Economy of Finance in Britain, 1959-1979* (2017), Chapter 5.

Jeremy Green, *The Political Economy of the Special Relationship: Anglo-American Development from the Gold Standard to the Financial Crisis* (2020), Chapter 6.

4. New Labour and the Financial Crisis, 1997-2010

Questions

What was New Labour's electoral strategy, and did it take working class voters for granted?

'Instead of thinking of "New" Labour as a deviation from the party's past, it is better understood to be a reworking of Labour's dominant "revisionist" tradition' (FIELDING). Do you agree?

Did the Global Financial crisis transform or reinforce the main features of Britain's pre-crisis political economy?

General Readings and Interpretations

Andrew Gamble, 'New Labour and political change', *Parliamentary Affairs* (2010)

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

Steven Fielding, *The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of "New" Labour* (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* (2005)

Mark Bevir, *New Labour: A Critique* (2005)

Jon Davies and John Rentoul, *Heroes or Villians? The Blair Government Reconsidered* (2019)

New Labour Electoral Strategy

Peter Kilfoyle Articles in *Tribune*, 8 March and 9 September (1996)

Philip Gould, *The Unfinished Revolution* (1998)

David Rubinstein, 'A New Look at New Labour', *Politics* (2000)

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

Mark Wickham-Jones, 'Signalling Credibility: Electoral Strategy and New Labour in Britain', *Political Science Quarterly* (2005/2006)

Issues of *Parliamentary Affairs*: Volume 50, Issue 4, October 1997; Volume 54, Issue 4, 1 October 2001; Volume 58, Issue 4, October 2005; Volume 63, Issue 4, October 2010

Economic Policy

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

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* (2001)

Stuart White (ed.), *New Labour: The Progressive Future?* (2001)

Stuart White and Martin O'Neill, 'That was the New Labour that wasn't', *Fabian Review* (2013) (<http://philpapers.org/archive/WHITWT>)

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

Social Policy

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

Bob Jessop, 'From Thatcherism to New Labour: Neo-liberalism, workfarism and labour market regulation', in Henk Overbeck (ed.), *The Political Economy of European Employment* (2003)

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

Ruth Lupton et al., 'Labour's Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010', 2013, (<http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/spcc/rr01.pdf>)

Peter Sloman, 'Redistribution in an age of neoliberalism: Market economics, "poverty knowledge", and the growth of working-age benefits in Britain, c. 1979-2010', *Political Studies* (2019)

Foreign policy

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

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

Financial Crisis

Andrew Baker, 'Varieties of economic crisis, varieties of ideational change: How and why financial regulation and macroeconomic policy differ', *New Political Economy* (2015)

Stephen Bell and Andrew Hindmoor, 'Taming the city? Ideas, structural power and the evolution of British banking policy amidst the great financial meltdown', *New Political Economy* (2015)

Colin Crouch, 'Privatised Keynesianism: An unacknowledged policy regime', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* (2009)

Colin Hay, *The Failure of Anglo-liberal Capitalism* (2013)

Scott Lavery, 'The legitimization of post-crisis capitalism in the United Kingdom: Real wage decline, finance-led growth and the state', *New political economy* (2018)

5. The Union and Devolution

Questions

How far have efforts to devolve power from Westminster and Whitehall been driven by public demand? Answer with reference to ANY ONE OR MORE parts of the United Kingdom.

To what extent has Brexit exposed the fundamental instability of the union of the United Kingdom?

Is the UK's devolution settlement deeply flawed?

Devolution

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

Vernon Bogdanor, *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (second edition, 2001)

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

Stephen Tierney, 'Federalism in a unitary state: A paradox too far?', *Regional and Federal Studies* (2009)

Christopher Harvie, 'The Moment of British Nationalism, 1939-1970', *Political Quarterly* (2000)

Akash Paun and Sam Macrory, 'Has Devolution Worked? The First 20 Years' (2019) – available online at <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/has-devolutionworked>

Jason Sorens, 'The Partisan Logic of Decentralization in Europe', *Regional & Federal Studies* (2009)

Brexit, Devolution and the Union

Michael Keating, 'Brexit and the Nations', *Political Quarterly* (2018)

Mark Sandford and Cathy Gormley-Heenan, '"Taking back control", the UK's constitutional narrative and Schrodinger's devolution', *Parliamentary Affairs* (2020)

UK in a Changing Europe, *Brexit and the Union* (2020)

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* (2017)

Katy Hayward, 'The pivotal position of the Irish border in the UK's withdrawal from the European Union', *Space and Polity* (2018)

England

Michael Kenny, Iain McLean and Akash Paun (eds.), *Governing England: English Identity and Institutions in a Changing United Kingdom* (2018),
<https://britishacademy.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.5871/bacad/9780197266465.001.001/upso-9780197266465>

Ailsa Henderson et al., 'How Brexit was made in England', *Political Studies Review* (2017)

Michael Kenny, *The Politics of English Nationhood* (2014)

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

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

Alisa Henderson et al., 'England, Englishness and Brexit', *Political Quarterly* (2016)

Mark Sandford, 'Where do you draw the line? Local administrative boundaries in England' (2019) – House of Commons Library briefing paper, available online at
<https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-8619#fullreport>

Scotland

James Mitchell, *The Scottish Question* (2014)

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

Nicola McEwen, 'Brexit and Scotland: between two unions', *British Politics* (2018)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wales

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

Mark Drakeford, 'Wales in the age of austerity', *Critical Social Policy* (2012)

Kenneth O. Morgan, *The Rebirth of a Nation: A History of Modern Wales* (1998)

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

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

Northern Ireland

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

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

Jonathan Tonge, 'Supplying confidence or trouble? The deal between the Democratic Unionist Party and the Conservative Party', *Political Quarterly* (2017)

Jonathan Tonge and Jocelyn Evans, 'Northern Ireland: Double Triumph for the Democratic Unionist Party', *Parliamentary Affairs* (2018)

Sean Haughey, 'Back to Stormont: The New Decade, New Approach Agreement and What it means for Northern Ireland', *Political Quarterly* (2020)

Katy Hayward, 'The 2019 general election in Northern Ireland: The rise of the centre ground?', *Political Quarterly* (2020)

6. Party Politics and Voting

Questions

Which model of voting behaviour (sociological, spatial, or valence) best explains recent electoral outcomes in Britain?

Is social class still relevant to the study of British electoral politics?

How and why has the British party system changed since 1997?

Voting Behaviour

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

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

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

Geoffrey Evans and James Tilley, *The New Politics of Class: The Political Exclusion of the British Working Class* (2017)

Geoffrey Evans and Kat Chzhen, 'Re-evaluating the valence model of electoral choice', *Political Science Research and Methods* (2016)

Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor, 'Introduction: Electoral sociology and the historians' in Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor (eds.), *Party, State and Society: Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1820* (1997)

Long-Run Changes in the UK Party System

Patrick Dunleavy, 'Facing up to multi-party politics: How partisan dealignment and PR voting have fundamentally changed Britain's party systems', *Parliamentary Affairs* (2005)

John Curtice, 'So what went wrong with the electoral system? The 2010 election result and the debate about electoral reform', *Parliamentary Affairs* (2010)

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

Ross McKibbin, 'A brief supremacy: The fragmentation of the two-party system in British politics, c. 1950-2015', *Twentieth Century British History* (2016)

Recent General Elections, 1997-2019

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

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

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

Andrew Geddes and Jonathan Tonge (eds.), *Britain Votes 2015* (2015); also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68 (2015), esp. Chapters by Curtice, Fisher, Flinders, and Tonge and Geddes

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

Jonathan Tonge et al. (eds.), *Britain Votes 2017* (2018); also available as a supplement to *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71 (2018)

Nicholas Allen and John Bartle (eds.) *None Past the Post: Britain at the Polls, 2017* (2018)

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

Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker, 'Tilting towards the cosmopolitan axis? Political change in England and the 2017 general election', *Political Quarterly*, 88 (2017)

Ron Johnston et al., 'Coming full circle: The 2017 UK general election and the changing electoral map', *Geographical Journal* (2018)

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7. Policymaking in Britain (the Executive, Parliament and Whitehall)

Questions

Is the British Prime Minister only as powerful as their 'cabinet colleagues let him or her be' (Jones, 2016)?

Following the 2019 General Election, the UK Parliament is as weak as it has always been. Evaluate this statement.

To what extent is policymaking in Whitehall 'programmed to go wrong' (Dominic Cummings, 2014)?

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Policy Areas

In answering the three questions above, one potential option is to focus on a specific policy area or case study. Some sources for this are listed below.

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Section B: The Politics of the European Union

This section will be updated shortly.