

CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of tables</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiii</i>

Introduction	1
Outline of the book	6
Note	9
1 The Westminster model and the UK political system before Brexit	10
1.1 Westminster, British politics, and the BPT	11
1.1.1 What's in a name? The Westminster model and British politics	12
1.1.2 The BPT, historical inheritance, and institutional persistence	16
1.2 The normative debate on the Westminster model	21
1.3 Lijphart's analytical framework: discussion and adaptation	23
1.4 The Brexit process as a case of constitutional and political change	26
1.5 The difficult Europeanisation of the UK political system	28
1.6 Referendums in the UK	32
1.7 Conclusions	36
Notes	37
2 Understanding the Brexit effect	39
2.1 Introduction	39
2.2 The Brexit process: periodisation and analytical issues	40

2.3	<i>Europeanisation and the weakening of the Westminster system</i>	42
2.4	<i>Back to Westminster? The impact of exiting the EU</i>	45
2.4.1	<i>Dimension 1: elections and the party system</i>	46
2.4.2	<i>Dimension 2: executive–legislative relations</i>	47
2.4.3	<i>Dimension 3: centre–periphery relations</i>	49
2.4.4	<i>Institutional change and stickiness</i>	50
2.5	<i>Research design and data</i>	51
	<i>Notes</i>	52

3 Westminster preserved: Elections, party system, and the absorption of the Brexit shock

53

3.1	<i>Introduction</i>	53
3.2	<i>Before Brexit: the British party system and voter alignment – from stability to turmoil</i>	55
3.3	<i>The institutional pillar of the two-party system: SMP and electoral legislation at other territorial levels of government</i>	58
3.4	<i>The Brexit effect on electoral alignments and the party system</i>	62
3.4.1	<i>Cleavage politics: are there new alignments and Brexit identities in the place of party identities?</i>	64
3.4.2	<i>The classification of party systems</i>	65
3.4.3	<i>One or many party systems? The importance of horizontal, vertical, and functional divisions</i>	66
3.5	<i>Data and analysis: Brexit as an electoral shock</i>	67
3.5.1	<i>Electoral alignments and cleavages</i>	68
3.5.2	<i>Party system classification</i>	74
3.5.3	<i>Multiple party systems?</i>	76
3.6	<i>The weak bases of the party system</i>	76
3.7	<i>Conclusion: a reaffirmed two-party game, with a very peculiar Conservative predominance</i>	79
	<i>Notes</i>	80

4 Westminster challenged: The constrained dominance of the executive

83

4.1	<i>Introduction</i>	83
4.2	<i>Executive–legislative relationships before Brexit</i>	85
4.3	<i>Rebellions and government defeats in the House of Commons</i>	88
4.3.1	<i>Rebels and the EU issue</i>	88
4.3.2	<i>After the Brexit referendum: the beginning of the withdrawal process</i>	90
4.3.3	<i>From the 2017 general election to the end of May's premiership</i>	92
4.4	<i>Taking back control: Parliament and the strains of Brexit</i>	96
4.4.1	<i>The interpretation of the standing orders and parliamentary procedure</i>	96
4.4.2	<i>Controlling the business of the House of Commons</i>	98

4.4.3	<i>The role of the House of Lords</i>	100
4.4.4	<i>Johnson's government and the final battle with Parliament</i>	101
4.5	<i>Conclusions: the 2019 general election and the role of Parliament post-Brexit</i>	103
	<i>Notes</i>	105
5	Westminster reasserted: A unitary but disunited state	107
5.1	<i>Ethnonational identities, party politics, and institutional reforms before Brexit</i>	109
5.1.1	<i>"Anglo-Saxon" centre and "Celtic" peripheries</i>	109
5.1.2	<i>The rise and consolidation of centre-periphery politics (1969–99)</i>	110
5.1.3	<i>Devolution as process and the contested territorial constitution (1999–2015)</i>	112
5.2	<i>The impact of Brexit on the centre-periphery dimension</i>	115
5.2.1	<i>The Brexit kick-off: a dis-United Kingdom (2015–16)</i>	115
5.2.2	<i>Brexit and devolved self-rule: between expansion of powers and (temporary) recentralisation</i>	119
5.2.3	<i>Brexit and devolved shared-rule: a constitutional clarification</i>	123
5.2.4	<i>Brexit and the territorial constitution: "unitary and decentralised"</i>	128
5.3	<i>Brexit, secessionist backlashes, and ethno-territorial tensions</i>	130
5.3.1	<i>Scotland: struggling for a second chance</i>	131
5.3.2	<i>Wales: firmly in the UK</i>	134
5.3.3	<i>Northern Ireland: between republican galvanising and loyalist anxiety</i>	135
5.4	<i>Conclusions: a unitary but disunited state</i>	137
	<i>Notes</i>	138
6	Understanding the Brexit strains during the Covid crisis	140
6.1	<i>Political parties in the aftermath of Brexit Day: looking beyond "self-evident truths"</i>	140
6.2	<i>Executive-legislative relations: Johnson's difficult leadership amidst the pandemic</i>	143
6.3	<i>Centre-periphery relations: recentralisation and contestation</i>	145
6.3.1	<i>The Internal Market Act 2020: Brexit against devolution?</i>	146
6.3.2	<i>Further backlashes in the Celtic peripheries</i>	148
6.3.3	<i>Latest reforms</i>	150
	<i>Notes</i>	152
7	Conclusions: British politics after Brexit	153
7.1	<i>How Westminster changed during the Brexit years</i>	153
7.1.1	<i>Elections and the party system</i>	154
7.1.2	<i>Executive-legislative relations</i>	156
7.1.3	<i>Centre-periphery relations</i>	158

x Contents

7.2	<i>Beyond the domestic domain</i>	160
7.2.1	<i>Sovereignty and interdependence: taking back control?</i>	161
7.2.2	<i>Going comparative: challenges to British democracy in perspective</i>	164
7.3	<i>Westminster strikes back: British democracy after Brexit</i>	169
Notes		174

<i>Bibliography</i>	175
<i>Appendix</i>	206
<i>A. List of interviews</i>	206
<i>Appendix</i>	209
<i>B. Timeline of events</i>	209
<i>Index</i>	212