THE BREXIT EFFECT

What Leaving the EU Means for British Politics

Gianfranco Baldini, Edoardo Bressanelli, and Emanuele Massetti



CONTENTS

List	st of figures st of tables knowledgements		
	Intro	oduction	1
		ne of the book 6 9	
1		Westminster model and the UK political system re 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		10
	1.3	Lijphart's analytical framework: discussion and adaptation 23	
	1.4		
	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	Und	erstanding the Brexit effect	39
	2.1	Introduction 39	
	2.2	The Brexit process: periodisation and analytical issues 40	

2.3 2.4 2.5 Note:	Europeanisation and the weakening of the Westminster system 42 Back to Westminster? The impact of exiting the EU 45 2.4.1 Dimension 1: elections and the party system 46 2.4.2 Dimension 2: executive—legislative relations 47 2.4.3 Dimension 3: centre—periphery relations 49 2.4.4 Institutional change and stickiness 50 Research design and data 51	
	tminster preserved: Elections, party system, and the orption of the Brexit shock	53
3.1	Introduction 53	
3.2	Before Brexit: the British party system and voter alignment —	
J. Z	from stability to turmoil 55	
3.3	The institutional pillar of the two-party system: SMP and electoral	
	legislation at other territorial levels of government 58	
3.4	The Brexit effect on electoral alignments and the party system 62	
	3.4.1 Cleavage politics: are there new alignments and Brexit	
	identities in the place of party identities? 64	
	3.4.2 The classification of party systems 65	
	3.4.3 One or many party systems? The importance of horizontal, vertical, and functional divisions 66	
3.5	Data and analysis: Brexit as an electoral shock 67	
	3.5.1 Electoral alignments and cleavages 68	
	3.5.2 Party system classification 74	
	3.5.3 Multiple party systems? 76	
3.6	J X X X	
3.7		
N.T	Conservative predominance 79	
Notes	s 80	
	tminster challenged: The constrained dominance of	0.2
tne e	executive	83
4.1	Introduction 83	
4.2	Executive-legislative relationships before Brexit 85	
4.3	Rebellions and government defeats in the House of Commons 88	
	4.3.1 Rebels and the EU issue 88	
	4.3.2 After the Brexit referendum: the beginning of the withdrawal process 90	
	4.3.3 From the 2017 general election to the end of	
	May's premiership 92	
4,4	Taking back control: Parliament and the strains of Brexit 96	
	4.4.1 The interpretation of the standing orders and	
	parliamentary procedure 96	
	4.4.2 Controlling the business of the House of Commons 98	

			The role of the House of Lords 100				
	4 5		Johnson's government and the final battle with Parliament issions: the 2019 general election and the role of Parliament	101			
	4.5	post-B					
	Notes	-					
5	West	minst	er reasserted: A unitary but disunited state	107			
	5.1	Ethnoi	national identities, party politics, and institutional reforms				
		before .					
		5.1.1	"Anglo-Saxon" centre and "Celtic" peripheries 109				
		5.1.2	The rise and consolidation of centre–periphery politics (1969–99) 110				
		5.1.3	Devolution as process and the contested territorial constitution (1999–2015) 112				
	5.2	The in	npact of Brexit on the centre–periphery dimension 115				
		5.2.1	33	5			
		5.2.2	Brexit and devolved self-rule: between expansion of powers and (temporary) recentralisation 119				
		523	Brexit and devolved shared-rule: a constitutional clarification	123			
		5.2.4	-	123			
	5.3	Brexit.	secessionist backlashes, and ethno-territorial tensions 130				
		5.3.1					
		5.3.2	Wales: firmly in the UK 134				
		5.3.3	Northern Ireland: between republican galvanising and loyalist anxiety 135				
	5.4	Conch	isions: a unitary but disunited state 137				
	Notes						
6	Understanding the Brexit strains during the Covid crisis 140						
	6.1		al parties in the aftermath of Brexit Day: looking beyond vident truths" 140				
	6.2		tive–legislative relations: Johnson's difficult leadership amidst				
		the par					
	6.3	Centre	e-periphery relations: recentralisation and contestation 145				
		6.3.1		146			
		6.3.2	Further backlashes in the Celtic peripheries 148				
	Notes	6.3.3	Latest reforms 150				
7	Con	clusion	ns: British politics after Brexit	153			
	- .1	How I	Westminster changed during the Brexit years 153				
		7.1.1	Elections and the party system 154				
		7.1.2	Executive-legislative relations 156				
		7.1.3	Centre–periphery relations 158				

x Contents

7.2

Index

7.2.1

Beyond the domestic domain

perspective 164

7.3 Westminster strikes back: British democracy after Brexit Notes 174	169
Bibliography	175
Appendix	206
A. List of interviews 206	
Appendix	209
R Timeline of events 209	

212

Sovereignty and interdependence: taking back control?

Going comparative: challenges to British democracy in