## Contents

Lis	st of Figures	X
Pr	eface	xii
Lis	st of Abbreviations	xiv
No	otes on Contributors	xvi
1	Introduction: Forecasting Constitutional Futures  Mark Glover and Robert Hazell	1
	Introduction	1
	The constitution in flux	1
	The reform programmes of the parties	3
	The unfinished business of constitutional reform	4
	The main forecasts made in Constitutional Futures in 1998	6
	Forecasting techniques	10
	Constitutional scenarios	11
	The four constitutional scenarios	16
	Dispersed Constitutionalism the most likely future scenario	18
	Structure of the book	19
	Appendix	19
	Future studies and forecasting techniques	19
	Notes	25
Pa	rt I: The Decentralised State	
2	Scotland and Wales: The Evolution of Devolution  Alan Trench	29
	Introduction	29
	The drivers of constitution-making in Scotland and Wales	31
	Outcomes	36
	Conclusion	42
	Notes	42
3	Tying the UK Together? Intergovernmental Relations and the Financial Constitution of the UK	43
	Alan Trench	
	Introduction	43
	Starting points	44

	Financial arrangements in decentralised states	47
	Territorial constitutional futures for the United Kingdom	49
	Restructuring the intergovernmental finance system	51
	Outcomes	53
	Conclusion: Britain's devolved constitutional futures	54
	Notes	55
4	Northern Ireland: Polarisation or Normalisation? Robin Wilson and Rick Wilford	56
	Recent trends	56
	Drivers of change	58
	Constraints on change	62
	The matrix	64
	The scenarios	67
	Comparative evidence	69
	Conclusions	71
	Notes	72
5	Answering the English Question Alan Harding, Robert Hazell, Martin Burch and James Rees	73
	What is the English question?	73
	Answers to the English Question: The options	74
	The future of devolution for or in England	80
	Conclusions	88
	Notes	89
6	The Future of Britishness	90
	Arthur Aughey	
	Scenario axes: Identifying the 'steady state' Union	91
	Devolution as a modification of 'steady state' Union	93
	The end of Britishness: The future as separation	94
	The new Britishness: The future as adaptation	99
	Conclusion	104
_		
Pa	art II: The Central State	
7	The Judiciary	109
	Andrew Le Sueur and Kate Malleson	
	Drivers of change	109
	Possible future scenarios	114
	'Back to the Future': Political constitution and consensual	
	decision-making	116
	'Dialogue of the Deaf': Political constitution and unilateral	
	decision-making	117
	'A problem shared is a problem halved': Legal constitution	
	and consensual decision-making	118

		Contents	vii
	'Judges on Top': Legal constitution and unilateral		
	decision-making		119
	Conclusions: The relative likelihood of the scenarios		122
8	Whitehall Scott L. Greer		123
	Drivers of change		124
	Countervailing drivers		131
	Scenarios		132
	Not going to happen		137
	Conclusion		137
	Notes		138
9	The Future of the Monarchy: The Reign of		
	King Charles III		139
	R.M. Morris Working assumptions		139
	The present position		140
	Drivers of change		143
	Turning points		150
	Scenarios		153
	Conclusion		154
	Notes		155
Pai	rt III: New Forms of Accountability		
10	The New Human Rights Culture		159
	Colm O'Cinneide		
	Introduction		159
	Drivers of change		162
	The axes of change		170
	Possible outcomes		172
	Final predictions		175
	Notes		176
11	Downward Slope? FOI and Access to		
	Government Information		178
	Mark Glover and Sarah Holsen		0
	Introduction		178
	Drivers toward greater access to information		180
	Drivers toward less access to information		184
	Axes		187
	Scenarios		191
	Conclusion		195
	Notes		196

12	Watchdogs of the Constitution – the Biters Bit?  Oonagh Gay and Barry K. Winetrobe	197
	Introductory	197
	Issues and trends	199
	Drivers of change	202
	Scenarios	205
	Wider impact	211
	Conclusion	212
	Notes	214
13	Media Pressures on Politics	215
	Peter Riddell	
	Drivers of change	215
	Main constraints on change	223
	Likely future changes	225
	Matrix and four scenarios	226
	Conclusions	230
Pai	rt IV: Representation	
14	Majoritarianism under Pressure: The Electoral	
	and Party Systems	233
	Adrian Blau	222
	Introduction The gradual decline of the British electoral	233
	system	234
	Initiating and enacting reform	237
	Parliamentary obstacles to electoral reform	238
	What electoral system might be chosen?	239
	Majoritarian futures?	242
	Conclusion	247
	Acknowledgements	248
	Notes	248
15	Whither the Parties?	249
	Justin Fisher	
	Introduction	249
	Recent trends	249
	Main issues in the next ten years	252
	Drivers of change	253
	Main constraints on change	256
	Four scenarios	256
	How plausible are each of these scenarios?	264
	Conclusions	265
	Notes	266

16	Parliament: Emasculated or Emancipated?  Meg Russell	267
	Context	267
	Drivers of change	269
	Constraints on change	272
	Matrix	273
- 1	Plausibility of the four scenarios	274
	Conclusions	283
	Notes	284
17	Conclusion: Where Will the Westminster Model End up? Robert Hazell	285
	Introduction	285
	Continuing dynamism of constitutional reform	285
	More tightly constrained UK executive	287
	Further big constitutional changes unlikely	287
	Devolution will loosen but not break the bonds of the United	
	Kingdom	289
	More assertive Parliament and judiciary	290
	Delegation to independent bodies to restore trust in politics	291
	Where will the Westminster Model end up?	293
	Westminster Unchanged	295
	Westminster Devolved	296
	Westminster Constitutionalised	296
	Westminster Transformed	297
	Which scenarios are most likely?	297
	How majoritarian will the Westminster Model be in future?	298
Tab	le of Cases	301
Tab	le of Legislation	302
Bibliography		303
Inde	$e_{X}$	326