

Constitutional Change in Canada and the UK - Challenges to Devolution and Federalism

14–15 September 2015



FREE event

Being held at

The Royal Society of Edinburgh
22–26 George Street,
Edinburgh, EH2 2PQ

For more information contact

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Canadian federalism and British devolution face new challenges. There are questions over the right level for social solidarity and welfare. There are disputes about fiscal decentralisation and transfers. Policy issues cut across the levels of government, calling for new forms of intergovernmental cooperation. Party politics is reconfiguring at different levels. The courts play an increasing role in settling disputes amongst levels of government. There are questions of national recognition and the place of Scotland and Quebec. The conference will bring together scholars from Canada and Scotland for a comparative analysis of these questions and what each country can learn from the other.

Conference Programme

Monday 14 September

8.30

Registration/Tea/Coffee

9.00 – 9.15

RSE Welcome/Introduction

Professor Dame Jocelyn Bell Burnell DBE FRS PRSE MRIA
President, Royal Society of Edinburgh

Professor Michael Keating FBA FRSE

Professor of Politics, University of Aberdeen and Director, Centre on Constitutional Change

Professor Guy Laforest FRSC

Professor in the Department of Political Science at Université Laval, Québec

9.15 – 10.45

Welfare

Professor Keith Banting FRSC

*Professor of Political Studies and Policy Studies; and
Queen's Research Chair in Public Policy, Queen's University*

Professor Nicola McEwen

*Professor of Territorial Politics, University of Edinburgh and
Associate Director, Centre on Constitutional Change*

10.45 – 11.15

Tea/Coffee

11.15 – 12.45

Multilevel Party Systems

Dr. Lori Thorlakson

*Director, European Union Centre of Excellence; Associate Professor and
Jean Monnet Chair, Department of Political Science, University of Alberta*

Speaker TBC

12.45 – 13.45

Lunch

13.45 – 15.15

Fiscal Federalism

Professor François Vaillancourt FRSC

Fellow CIRANO and Emeritus Professor (economics), Université de Montréal

Professor David Bell FRSE

Professor of Economics, University of Stirling

15.15 – 16.45

Plurinational Federalism and Constitutional Accommodation

Professor Guy Laforest FRSC

Professor in the Department of Political Science at Université Laval, Québec

Professor Michael Keating FBA FRSE

Professor of Politics, University of Aberdeen and Director, Centre on Constitutional Change

16.45

Close

Conference Programme

Tuesday 15 September

- 8.30** **Registration**
- 9.00 – 10.30** **Processes of Constitutional Reform—Referendums, Citizens’ Assemblies and Other Means**
Professor Ailsa Henderson
Professor of Political Science and Head of Politics & International Relations, University of Edinburgh
- Professor Stephen Tierney
Professor of Constitutional Theory, Director of the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law
- 10.30 – 11.00** **Tea/Coffee**
- 11.00 – 12.30** **Intergovernmental Relations**
George Anderson
Fellow at the Institute on Democracy and Diversity, Queen’s University, Ontario
- Dr Bettina Petersohn
Post-doc Research Fellow, Centre on Constitutional Change, University of Edinburgh
- 12.30 – 13.30** **Lunch**
- 13.30 – 15.00** **Legal Issues and Constitutional Jurisprudence**
Professeure Eugénie Brouillet
Professor, Lawyer and Dean of the Faculty of Law, Université Laval, Québec
- Professor Tom Mullen
Professor of Law, University of Glasgow
- 15.00** **Closing Remarks/Vote of Thanks**
Dr Jeremy McNeil
Foreign Secretary, Royal Society of Canada
- 15.10** **CLOSE**
- 15.30 – 16.30** **Future Plans**
(Session for Speakers and Organisers)

Talk Abstracts

Welfare

Inequality and Federalism in Canada

Professor Keith Banting FRSC

Professor of Political Studies and Policy Studies; and Queen's Research Chair in Public Policy, Queen's University

The last two decades have witnessed two trends that have reshaped the social policy sector in Canada. The first is rising inequality, reflecting both rising inequality in market incomes and the declining redistributive impact of the tax-transfer system. A major study by the OECD found that in the period between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s, the redistributive impact of the tax-transfer system was strongest in Canada, Denmark, Finland and Sweden. But by the period between the mid-1990s and the mid-2000s, Canada had joined Switzerland and the United States as the countries with the smallest redistributive impact (OECD 2011: 271). The second trend has been greater decentralization in social policy. This trend can be seen in which level of government defines the parameters of key programs and which level of government is the locus of energy and innovation. This decentralizing trend, ongoing for some time, accelerated during the 1990s, Canada's neoliberal moment when the sharpest program retrenchment took place, and has been reinforced by the current federal Conservative government.

This paper asks whether these two trends are related. In doing so, the paper looks at the relationship between federalism and inequality in two directions. First, it asks whether decentralization has contributed to the weakening of redistribution in the country, noting that despite the more egalitarian policies in Quebec, redistribution has weakened more at the provincial than the federal level. But following Beramendi (2012), the paper also asks whether growing inequality, especially across regions, has contributed to the political pressures that led to greater decentralization.

Rescaling welfare? Assessing the Prospects and Implications of the Devolution of UK Social Security

Professor Nicola McEwen

Professor of Territorial Politics, University of Edinburgh and Associate Director, Centre on Constitutional Change

Drawing on the literature on the territorial politics of welfare (Obinger, *et al.*, 2005; McEwen and Moreno, 2005; Béland and Lecours, 2008) and broader debates about the effect of decentralising social security and social entitlements, this paper will explore implications of decentralising social welfare in the UK, with a primary focus on Scotland. The Scottish Independence Referendum was set against the backdrop of debates over the capacity of UK welfare to reflect social solidarity and provide adequate social protection. Pro-independence campaigners argued that solidarity could best be preserved and reinforced if the Scottish Government had full powers to enable them to develop Nordic style welfare systems, while many pro-Union campaigners argued that one of the reasons why Scotland and the rest of the UK were 'better together' was that the UK was a 'social union' which pools and shares resources and risks among citizens across the UK. The constitutional reform proposals to emerge in the wake of the Scottish independence Referendum may test both of these claims. They include a transfer of competence over a significant area of social security, focused mainly on benefits for people with disabilities and their carers, and non-contributory benefits for the elderly. Additional competence is also provided for in the design of the housing element and the delivery of the UK Government's flagship Universal Credit programme, which combines a range of benefits and tax credits for working-age claimants. This paper will have three themes. First, it will examine the extent to which the competences to be transferred in the Scotland Bill 2015/16 are likely to generate distinctive entitlements based on geography rather than need, and to provide scope for the Scottish government to forge a distinctive approach to welfare. Second, it will analyse the administrative, financial and constitutional constraints which will condition welfare policy development and policy options in the Scottish context. Third, it will consider the implications of the partial rescaling of welfare for the UK as a whole, questioning the effect of welfare rescaling on UK citizenship entitlements and inter-regional solidarity, and the depiction of the UK as a risk-sharing 'social union'.



Multilevel Party Systems

Dr. Lori Thorlakson

*Director, European Union Centre of Excellence; Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair,
Department of Political Science, University of Alberta*

This talk examines how the party systems of Canadian federalism play a key role in maintaining the federal balance. It examines the recent dynamics of multilevel party competition in Canada, including dynamics of regionalism in the Canadian party system at both the party and voter level. I discuss the means by which multilevel party systems in Canada, chiefly characterized by statewide parties at the federal level with often-weak linkages to provincial parties, accommodate pressure for regional representation. I draw on data from the Comparative Provincial Elections Project to identify the attitudinal foundations of regionalism.

Speaker TBC

Fiscal Federalism

Professor François Vaillancourt FRSC

Fellow CIRANO and Emeritus Professor (economics), Université de Montréal

The presentation will first recall the main features of tax field sharing and debt by levels of government, as well as federal–provincial/local transfers. That done, it will examine both changes planned in the near term to these various arrangements and a few challenges to these arrangements driven by demographic and economic factors. Finally it will point out relevant features of Canadian fiscal federalism arrangements for Scotland.

Professor David Bell FRSE

Professor of Economics, University of Stirling

This talk will track the shift in fiscal responsibilities from the UK to the Scottish Government. Thus it will focus attention on the Scotland Act 2012 and the Scotland Bill 2015. It will put these changes in an international context. Next it will consider the adjustment mechanisms that are being put in place in response to these change in fiscal arrangements. These are being achieved through variations in Scotland's block grant. This is the first major adjustment to the Barnett Formula which has determined the level of public spending in Scotland since 1979. How will these changes redistribute risk across the UK and what opportunities, threats and incentives do they provide for the Scottish Government? And, given the range of new powers available, how do the Scottish people wish them to be applied?

Plurinational Federalism and Constitutional Accommodation

Professor Guy Laforest FRSC

Professor in the Department of Political Science at Université Laval, Québec

The Meech Lake Accord sought to reconcile Quebec to the Canadian constitution, notably by recognizing it as a 'distinct society'. 25 years after its failure, I examine whether or not the spirit of Meech is still present in the main speeches of our Premier elected in 2014, Philippe Couillard, as well as those of his Minister in charge of intergovernmental affairs, J.M. Fournier. My assessment so far: the new Québec Government is federalist, but very much also nationalist and autonomist. Technically, Meech Lake is dead, but much of its spirit is alive in Québec. It remains to be seen how our major federalist parties, Conservatives, Liberals and New Democrats, will articulate their own visions of Canada as a political community and as a federation in our electoral campaign in September and October 2015.

Professor Michael Keating FBA FRSE

Professor of Politics, University of Aberdeen and Director, Centre on Constitutional Change

A longstanding tradition in federal studies holds that federalism is possible only in nationally homogeneous societies and should be symmetrical (J.S. Mill, Tarleton, Dicey). Otherwise, there would be no demos, the necessary trust would be lacking, and there would be institutional instability. National entities endowed with institutional power would always seek to secede.

Thinking has now changed and there is a large literature on multinational federalism. Social scientists, however, almost all now agree that nations are constructed and malleable. This raises the question of whether such types of federation can be constitutionalized. For this reason, I use the term 'plurinational' to indicate that the concept of nation is itself multifaceted and contested and can take different forms within the same state.

In plurinational federalism, ideas of sovereignty and the foundations of authority are often not shared. Historiographical arguments about the origins of the state abound. There are arguments about symbolic recognition alongside those about the division of powers.

The United Kingdom and Canada have historically addressed this in different ways. The UK has conceded symbolic recognition to nations but, until recently, was reluctant to combine this with substantive powers. In Canada, it has been the other way around. Now both countries face the challenges of symbolic recognition, substantive devolution and asymmetry.

Processes of Constitutional Reform—Referendums, Citizens’ Assemblies and Other Means

Referendums and Losers’ Consent: Referendum Process and Voter Satisfaction in Canada and the United Kingdom

Professor Ailsa Henderson

Professor of Political Science and Head of Politics & International Relations, University of Edinburgh

The continued health of democracies depends in large part on the ability of losers to continue to provide system support. While there is a well-developed literature on losers’ consent in elections, there is comparatively little on losers’ consent in the context of referendums. There is reason to believe that referendums, particularly those on binary, emotive issues, present challenges to the formation of losers’ consent. This paper compares referendums on independence (Quebec, Scotland) with those on constitutional change (Charlottetown, Belfast Agreement, devolution) and explores how winners and losers react to referendum losses. It distinguishes between pro-change and *status quo* losers and identifies how the stakes of referendum losses are different (higher) for status quo losers. Drawing on literature from political behaviour and prospect theory and using data from referendums in Scotland (1997), Quebec (1995), Northern Ireland (1998) and Canada (1992), the paper models democratic satisfaction and the link between referendum process, engagement and losers’ consent. The results show that satisfaction with the perceived fairness of the referendum process is a key determinant of democratic satisfaction.

Abstract from paper: ‘Popular Constitutional Amendment’: Referendums and Constitutional Change in Canada and the United Kingdom

Professor Stephen Tierney

Professor of Constitutional Theory, Director of the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law

The referendum has been sparingly used at national level in both the UK, where the only national referendums were held in 1975 and 2011, and Canada, where the Referendum on the 1992 draft Charlottetown Accord is the only recent example. Referendums are in fact more common at the provincial/sub-state level, where the dramatic issue of secession has been bound up with direct democracy in each country. The paper argues that referendums on secession are in some sense in a category of their own for the way in which they present the referendum as an expression of constituent power. It compares the sovereignty referendums held in Quebec, particularly that in 1995, with the Scottish Independence Referendum of 2014. Constitutional silence in both countries on the issue of secession has meant that the referendum enters the ‘amendment’ process as a wild card, one which required the Supreme Court of Canada to confront the fundamental values of the constitution of Canada and which has led the UK Government to concede the principle of secession in relation to Scotland.

But another key issue is referendum due process. The constituent nature of secession referendums also establishes a challenge to those advocating the use of such referendums to prove that they satisfy fundamental democratic credentials. Here, the Scottish Independence Referendum seems to offer lessons to Canada on good practice. But in a more prosaic context, the Canadian referendum experience is also instructive to the UK and elsewhere for the experiments in deliberative democracy which preceded the referendums on electoral reform in British Columbia and Ontario. The paper compares the benefits of these provincial citizens’ assembly processes with the much more ‘top-down’ Referendum on electoral reform in the UK in 2011. In both countries, the referendum is a dramatic outlier in the constitutional amendment process. It brings citizens to the front and centre of constitutional decision making. For this reason, efforts within Canada to equip citizens with the deliberative tools necessary to take these fundamental decisions are innovative and instructive. It may be that referendums are in fact better used in issues of the most fundamental constitutional importance; but it is also in these events that the full engagement of citizens, which has been bravely attempted at the Canadian provincial level, would appear to be most acutely needed.

Intergovernmental Relations

Intergovernmental Relations in Canada

George Anderson

Fellow at the Institute on Democracy and Diversity, Queen's University, Ontario

Intergovernmental relations in Canada are characterised by: dominance by the federal and provincial executives; very weak institutionalization; the leadership role of the federal government on major issues and processes; greatly varying political salience, according to the issues of the day; weak cooperation amongst provinces, which often have very different objectives; and, pressures to broaden participation. The Harper Government has favoured a clear distinction of federal and provincial roles, combined with a minimal social agenda, which has been a main domain of past federal-provincial engagement. It has avoided high profile federal-provincial meetings and issues and deftly handled some contentious issues, such as fiscal transfers, though often in a unilateral fashion. Its economic agenda around financial institutions and trade (both international and interprovincial) have led it to innovate on some intergovernmental processes and policies. The provinces have reacted to federal unilateralism and disengagement by trying, with some limited success, to develop enhanced cooperation amongst themselves. Intergovernmental relations as such have limited political salience electorally. The approach of all federal governments to intergovernmental relations has been more a function of their policy objectives than of any principled philosophy regarding the management of the federation.

Intergovernmental Relations in the UK

Dr Bettina Petersohn

Post-doc Research Fellow, Centre on Constitutional Change, University of Edinburgh

Intergovernmental relations in the UK after devolution have been characterised by informal cooperation and low level of institutionalisation. With devolution following the pattern of assigning exclusive jurisdiction and competences over the legislative and implementation processes to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the idea was to maximise opportunities for unilateral decisions and self-rule. In consequence, the devolution settlement did not provide for shared rule, for co-ordinated or even co-decided legislation and policy making. Secondly, the separately negotiated settlements for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland were followed by predominantly bilateral relations between individual regional and central government. With the devolution of powers over welfare and taxation to Scotland, the Smith Commission report has emphasised the need to increase intergovernmental relations due to the interconnectedness of devolved and central powers. The presentation will briefly highlight the current characteristics of intergovernmental relations, as well as the changes included in new devolution legislation. A second focus will be placed on the relations between executives and legislatures in the UK. Due to executive dominance, intergovernmental cooperation raises problems of accountability and parliamentary scrutiny, especially when agreements with implications for legislating are formed as a result of IGR. A greater degree of institutionalised intergovernmental cooperation will also affect the opportunities for parliamentarians to hold their respective governments accountable.

Legal Issues and Constitutional Jurisprudence

The federative balance and cooperative federalism in Canada: what does cooperation mean?

Professeure Eugénie Brouillet

Professor, Lawyer and Dean of the Faculty of Law, Université Laval, Québec

The last ten years have seen an abundance of jurisprudence from the Supreme Court of Canada in the area of federalism. Although, in the past, the Supreme Court rarely addressed the normative aspects of the federative principle, the situation changed significantly in the mid-2000s, as it gradually built up a denser theory of federalism, clearly grounded in the so-called cooperative approach to Canadian federalism. This presentation has three sections. First, after some brief comments on the federative principle, we will look at the cooperative approach to Canadian federalism developed by the Supreme Court, and its implications for the federative balance in general. Second, we will analyze the gradual emergence of the principle of subsidiarity as an emanation of cooperative federalism. And third, we will discuss a recent Supreme Court decision, in which major dissensions on the deeper meaning of cooperation in a federative regime begin to appear.

Professor Tom Mullen

Professor of Law, University of Glasgow

The courts have played a limited but significant role in Scottish devolution since 1999. The Scotland Act 1998 created the Scottish Parliament as a legislature of limited competence and gave the courts power to police the boundaries of both legislative and executive competence. In the first ten years of devolved government, most challenges to legislation or to executive decisions were based on human rights grounds. However, in the last few years, we have seen a broader range of challenges, including those based on the allocation of powers between devolved and central government and on European Union law. These are of much greater relevance to the UK's constitutional structure. Thus far, the performance by the courts of their constitutional competence-checking function has not excited great political controversy. That may not remain true in future. Further devolution, although it will expand the competence of devolved institutions, is unlikely to reduce the potential for conflict between different levels of government. The courts may, therefore, find that their competence-checking function will lead more often to political controversy and to more intense debate about the role of courts in a constitutional democracy.

Speaker Biographies

George Anderson

Fellow at the Institute on Democracy and Diversity, Queen's University, Ontario



George R.M. Anderson is currently a Fellow at the Institute on Democracy and Diversity, Queen's University. He advises the United Nations and NGOs on constitutional transitions. He held senior appointments in the Energy, Finance, Foreign Affairs and Finance departments of the Canadian Government before becoming Deputy Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (1996–2002) and of Natural Resources (2002–05). President of the Forum of Federations (2005–11). An expert member of the 2012 stand-by team of the Mediation Support Unit, United Nations. Educated at Queen's and Oxford universities and the École Nationale d'Administration in Paris. Fellow at Harvard's Center for International Affairs (1992–93) and Senior Fellow at the Center on Constitutional Transitions in the Faculty of Law at New York University (2013–14). Author of *Federalism: An Introduction* (2008) and *Fiscal Federalism: An Introduction* (2010), which have been translated into 23 and 13 languages respectively. Editor of *Oil and Gas in Federal Systems* and *Internal Markets and Multilevel Governance* (2012) and co-editor of *Fiscal Rivers* (2014). Currently co-editing *Constitutional Transitions and Territorial Cleavages* (2016). Trustee Emeritus of Queen's University; member of board of advisors, Mowat Centre, University of Toronto.

Professor Keith Banting FRSC

Professor of Political Studies and Policy Studies; and Queen's Research Chair in Public Policy, Queen's University, Ontario



Keith Banting (Queen's University) has had a long-standing interest in the politics of social policy in Canada. An early contribution was *The Welfare State and Canadian Federalism* (McGill Queen's University Press, 1987). Recent contributions include *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics* (UBC Press 2013), co-edited with John Myles, and *Framing the New Inequality: The Politics of Income Redistribution in Canada* (IRPP, forthcoming), also with John Myles. In 2004, Professor Banting was appointed as a member of the Order of Canada. In 2012, he was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by Stockholm University.

Professor David Bell FRSE

Professor of Economics, University of Stirling



David NF Bell MA, MSc, PhD, FRSE is Professor of Economics at the University of Stirling. He was educated at the University of Aberdeen and the London School of Economics. He has held posts at the universities of St Andrews, Strathclyde, Warwick, Glasgow and Stirling. His main research area has been in labour economics, where he has focused on conditions in the labour market including wages, unemployment, disability and working time. He is principal investigator on the Scottish longitudinal survey of ageing, which is known as HAGIS (Healthy AGEing In Scotland). He has advised many public bodies at national and international level. He is currently the special adviser to the House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs investigation into the funding of devolution.

Professor Dame Jocelyn Bell Burnell DBE FRS PRSE MRIA

President, Royal Society of Edinburgh



Jocelyn Bell Burnell inadvertently discovered pulsars as a graduate student in radio astronomy in Cambridge, opening up a new branch of astrophysics work recognised by the award of a Nobel Prize to her supervisor. She has subsequently worked in many roles in many branches of astronomy, working part-time while raising a family. She is much in demand as a speaker and broadcaster and is now a Visiting Professor at Oxford and a Pro-Chancellor of Trinity College Dublin. She has been President of the Royal Astronomical Society and of the Institute of Physics and is now the (first female) President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh – Scotland's National Academy of the Arts and Sciences. In her spare time she gardens, listens to choral music and is active in the Quakers. She has co-edited an anthology of poetry with an astronomical theme – *Dark Matter; Poems of Space*.

Professeure Eugénie Brouillet

Professor, Lawyer and Dean of the Faculty of Law, Université Laval, Québec



Eugénie Brouillet is a full professor, lawyer and Dean of the Faculty of Law at Université Laval. Her research focuses on constitutional law, more specifically Canadian federalism and the comparative study of federalism in a pluri-national context, and on the protection of human rights and freedoms. She is the author of *La négation de la nation. L'identité culturelle québécoise et le fédéralisme canadien* (Septentrion, 2005), which received the Prix Richard-Arès (2006) and the second Prix de la Présidence de la l'Assemblée nationale (2006). She has also written numerous articles and co-authored the treatise *Droit constitutionnel* (with Professors Henri Brun and Guy Tremblay, 6th edition, Yvon Blais, 2014). Ms. Brouillet is a member of the research group on pluri-national societies (Groupe de recherche sur les sociétés plurinationales, or GRSP) and Vice-Chair of the Québec constitutional law association (Association québécoise de droit constitutionnel, or AQDC).

Professor Ailsa Henderson

Professor of Political Science and Head of Politics & International Relations, University of Edinburgh



Ailsa Henderson (Bsocsc Université d'Ottawa, MSc, PhD Edin) is Professor of Political Science and Head of Politics & International Relations, University of Edinburgh. She is the principal investigator for the ESRC-funded 2014 Scottish Referendum Study, and led the behavioural arm of research conducted under the ESRC-funded Centre on Constitutional Change. She has published widely on comparative sub-state political behaviour and political culture (*Citizenship After the Nation State* (2012) Palgrave; *Why Regions Matter* (2011), Routledge) and in particular on Scotland and Quebec (*Hierarchies of Belonging* (2007), McGill-Queen's). In addition to various ESRC grants, she currently holds a SSHRCC grant with colleagues in Edinburgh and Canada on voters and parties in Scotland and Quebec, and is a co-investigator for the SSHRCC-funded Provincial Diversity Project. Previously the holder of an EU-funded Marie Curie International Incoming Fellowship (Canada to UK) she is currently a member of the Local Government Boundary Commission for Scotland.

Professor Michael Keating FBA FRSE

Professor of Politics, University of Aberdeen and Director, Centre on Constitutional Change



Michael Keating is Professor of Politics at the University of Aberdeen, part-time Professor at the University of Edinburgh and Director of the Centre on Constitutional Change. He holds a BA from the University of Oxford and in 1975 was the first PhD graduate of what is now Glasgow Caledonian University. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the British Academy, the Academy of Social Science and the European Academy. Michael has taught in universities in Scotland, England, Spain, France and the United States and at the European University Institute Florence. From 1988 to 1999, he was Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario. Among his publications are *The Independence of Scotland* (Oxford University Press, 2009) and *Rescaling the European State* (Oxford University Press, 2013). He currently holds a senior fellowship in the ESRC UK in a Changing Europe programme.

Professor Guy Laforest FRSC

Professor in the Department of Political Science at Université Laval, Québec



Guy Laforest is Full Professor in the Department of Political Science at Université Laval, Québec, Canada. His main areas of teaching and research are Political Theory, Intellectual History, Constitutional Politics in Canada, Theories of Federalism and Theories of Nationalism. His latest book is *Québec Exiled within the Federation: Selected Political Essays*, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2015. His current research projects deal with federalism and citizenship education, the parliaments of autonomous nations and the interpretation of Canadian federalism almost 150 years after its founding in 1867. He is married to Andrée Lapointe and has three children: Isabelle, Vincent, and Raphaël.

Professor Nicola McEwen

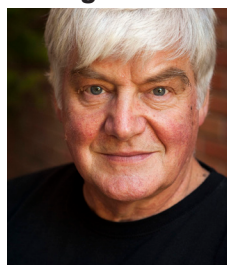
Professor of Territorial Politics, University of Edinburgh and Associate Director, Centre on Constitutional Change



Initially appointed as a lecturer in Politics at the University of Edinburgh in 2001, Nicola became Senior Lecturer in 2006, and Professor of Territorial Politics in 2014. She is Associate Director of the ESRC Centre on Constitutional Change, a key investment under the Future of the UK and Scotland programme. She is also Associate Director of Research for the School of Social and Political Science, with a leading role in promoting knowledge exchange and research impact. Prior to this, she was Director of Public Policy for the Academy of Government and Co-Director of the University's Institute of Governance. Nicola is Managing Editor of *Regional and Federal Studies*, the leading European journal in the field of territorial politics. Nicola supervises a wide range of Research Masters and PhD students exploring nationalism, devolution, multi-level government and policy, electoral politics and party politics.

Dr Jeremy McNeil

Foreign Secretary, Royal Society of Canada



Jeremy N. McNeil is a Distinguished University Professor and the H. Battle Professor of Chemical Ecology at Western University. He has published >200 papers and received numerous awards, including the Entomological Society of Canada's Gold Medal, the Canadian Society of Zoologists Fry Medal, the Silver Medal of the International Society of Chemical Ecology and the Delwart Prize in Chemical Ecology (Belgium). He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and currently serves as the Foreign Secretary. In 2014 he was appointed to the Order of Canada for his research and dedication to increasing public appreciation of science.

Professor Tom Mullen

Professor of Law, University of Glasgow



Tom Mullen is Professor of Law at the University of Glasgow (since 2003). His research interests include constitutional law, administrative law and housing law, and he has written widely on these subjects. See, e.g. *Public Law in Scotland* (2006) (ed., with Aileen McHarg). In the last few years he has been working extensively on the constitutional change in the UK. He is a founder member of the Scottish Constitutional Futures Forum. Relevant publications include a series of reports on Scotland in European Public Law, *The Scottish Independence Referendum 2014*, *Journal of Law and Society* 41, 627–40 (2014) and, *The Framing of the Referendum Debate* in McHarg et al., (eds) *The Scottish Independence Referendum: Constitutional and Political Implications* (UOP, February 2016) which he is also co-editing.

Dr Bettina Petersohn

Post-doc Research Fellow, Centre on Constitutional Change, University of Edinburgh



Bettina Petersohn is a post-doc Research Fellow in the Centre on Constitutional Change of the University of Edinburgh, working on intergovernmental co-ordination and representation of Scotland in the UK and the EU. Prior to joining the University of Edinburgh, she was a Senior Researcher at the University of Konstanz in the externally-funded project on “Dynamics of group conflicts in multinational, multilevel systems”. Her main research interests lie in territorial politics, intergovernmental relations and the politics of accommodation, with a particular focus on negotiation processes and dynamics of constitutional change.

Dr. Lori Thorlakson

Director, European Union Centre of Excellence; Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair, Department of Political Science, University of Alberta



Lori Thorlakson is Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair in the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta in Canada and the director of the European Union Centre of Excellence at the University of Alberta. She researches party competition in multi-level systems, including federations and the European Union. Professor Thorlakson holds a PhD from the London School of Economics. Before coming to the University of Alberta in 2008, she was a lecturer at the University of Nottingham and a Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence.

Professor Stephen Tierney

Professor of Constitutional Theory, Director of the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law



Stephen Tierney is Professor of Constitutional Theory, Director of the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law and Legal Adviser to the House of Lords Constitution Committee. He was British Academy/Leverhulme Senior Research Fellow 2008–2009, leading to the monograph *Constitutional Referendums: The Theory and Practice of Republican Deliberation* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), and ESRC Senior Research Fellow 2013–2014, studying the democratic credentials of the Scottish Independence Referendum.

He served as independent adviser to the Scottish Government on the technical aspects of the Independence Referendum in 2012, and in January 2013 was appointed constitutional adviser to the Scottish Parliament’s Referendum (Scotland) Bill Committee, which reviewed the process rules for the Referendum. He is editor of the UK Constitutional Law blog.

Professor François Vaillancourt FRSC

Fellow CIRANO and Emeritus Professor (economics), Université de Montréal



François Vaillancourt is a Fellow CIRANO and an Emeritus Professor (economics) Université de Montréal. He has published extensively in the area of public policy, particularly on intergovernmental finance, taxation (compliance cost, incidence) and language policy. In his career he was a visiting scholar at the Federalism Research Centre, (ANU), a Shastri Visiting Lecturer (India), a Fulbright Canadian Research Scholar (USA), and a Visiting Professor at the Andrew Young School of Policy Studies, École Normale Supérieure de Cachan, FUCaM and Institute for Policy Analysis, University of Toronto. He has acted as a consultant on intergovernmental finance issues for the Canadian Advisory Panel on Fiscal Imbalance of the Council of the Federation; Expert Panel on Equalization and Territorial Formula Financing; Finance Canada; Finance Québec; Finance BC; and for international organisations (AFD, CIDA, OECD; UNDP, sida and the World Bank) in 25 countries.



Organising Committee

Professor Alan Alexander OBE FRSE
General Secretary, Royal Society of Edinburgh

Oonagh Carroll
Events Officer, Royal Society of Edinburgh

Professor Michael Keating FBA FRSE
Professor of Politics, University of Aberdeen and
Director, Centre on Constitutional Change

Professor Guy Laforest FRSC
Professor in the Department of Political
Science at Université Laval, Québec



Notes

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