



SANTANDER FELLOWSHIP IN IBERIAN AND EUROPEAN STUDIES

Conference

RESPONSES TO SECESSIONISM IN ADVANCED DEMOCRACIES: ACCOMMODATION INSTRUMENTS, INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND THE POLITICS OF FEDERAL REFORMS

**TO BE HELD AT THE ESC EUROPEAN STUDIES CENTRE, SAINT ANTONY'S
COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD (25-26 May 2017)**

Co-sponsored by the Gwilym Gibbon Centre for Public Policy, Nuffield College, The Elcano Institute, Madrid, the Forum of Federations; and the Centre on Constitutional Change

The Conference is conceived as one of the annual activities of the Santander Fellowship in Iberian and European Studies at the European Studies Centre and is co-sponsored by the Gwilym Gibbon Centre for Public Policy, Nuffield College Oxford; The Elcano Institute in Madrid; the Forum of Federations; and the Centre on Constitutional Change. It will bring together a number of first-class scholars from Europe and North America to deal with the issues raised by the current discussion in the political realm and academia about possible constitutional, institutional or political responses to secessionist demands in several advanced democracies such as UK, Spain, Belgium or Canada using an innovative approach. The conference will count on around 25 participants, both seasoned scholars and younger ones, with cutting-edge expertise in comparative federalism, constitutional change and reforms, secessionism and ethnic politics and nationalism, coming from Spain, UK, Germany, Belgium, and Canada. Several scholars of St Antony's, Nuffield, Worcester College or St Cross Colleges from Oxford University will also participate as discussants or chairing the panels.

The conference will address five main issues

1. What different paths do different multinational countries take, and with what effects, when they seek to respond to secessionist challenges and accommodate secessionist demands? Are there coherent national models of accommodation or are all governments muddling through amid short-term electoral and economic preoccupations that hinder reform initiatives and/or ratification?
2. Are there optimal constitutional, political or fiscal procedures that can facilitate the accommodation of secession demands? To what extent do states rely upon standard responses of devolution, fiscal appeasement, symbolic recognition, or participation at the centre, and how effective are these individually or in combination? Is there space for constitutional imagination and procedural innovation in accommodating territorial demands?
3. What are the effects of central policies of accommodation or non-accommodation vis-à-vis regional domestic conditions and developments, public opinion and party competition, or the

- interaction between the two? Do certain forms of accommodation or non-accommodation contain or exacerbate secessionist demands?
4. Can we reconcile the politics of secession with the politics of institutional reform? Are there procedures and mechanisms of accommodation which would see the defence of the state's territorial integrity with new statehoods and transnational partnerships? What are the prospects of successful reform?
 5. Do institutions and or/ideas and/or models applied elsewhere shape the accommodation instruments used in any given case, or are these *sui generis*?

PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME

Thursday 25 May

13:45-14:00

Welcome and presentation by organisers

14:00-15:00

PANEL The issues: secession in multinational democracies. Instruments, measures, federalism and national models of diversity management; viability of reforms and feasibility of accommodation

Chair: I. McLean, Nuffield College Oxford

Panellists:

N. McEwen University of Edinburgh

C. Colino, Saint Antony's College, Oxford

15:00-15:15

Coffee break

15:15-16:45

PANEL The nature and justice and of new secessionist demands and new proposals of accommodation. Self-rule and shared rule, types of devo-max, association and embedded independence

Chair: Ch. Powell Elcano Institute Madrid

Panellists:

A. Gagnon, Université du Québec à Montréal

M. Sanjaume IEA Barcelona

Discussant: N. McEwen, University of Edinburgh

16:45-18:15

PANEL Asymmetry, symbolic recognition, constitutional abeyances and trust-building: how much asymmetry is possible or desirable? How much recognition?

Chair: I. Molina

Panellists:

A. Hombrado, UNED, Madrid

K. Basta, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Discussant: K. Nicolaidis Saint Antony's College, Oxford

19:00 DINNER

Friday 26 May

9:00-9:10

Short breakfast coffee (Senior common Room ESC)

9:10-10:30

PANEL Fiscal federalism and accommodation of secessionism. Fiscal sovereignty? Does fiscal appeasement work?

Chair: F. Knüpling, Forum of Federations, Berlin

Panellists:

J. Sorens, Darsmouth College, USA

C. Gray, University of Liverpool

Discussant: I. McLean Nuffield College Oxford

10:30-11:45

PANEL Secession clauses, clarity Acts and territorial referendums as accommodation and framing devices

Chair: M. Pérez de Arcos, St Cross College, University of Oxford

Panellists:

F. Rocher, University of Ottawa

M. Qvortrup University of Coventry

Discussant: J. Gallagher, University of Glasgow and Nuffield College, Oxford

11:45-13:00

PANEL Reforms: the impact of procedures in success. New procedural possibilities to constitution building and ratification, deliberative approaches, conventions, public and experts' participation

Chair: P. Nolte Saint Antony's College, Oxford

Panellists:

A. Benz, TU Darmstadt, Germany

Andrew Blick, King's College London

Discussant: JM. Castellá, Universitat de Barcelona

13:00-14:00 LUNCH

14:00-15:15

PANEL Can secessionist parties be accommodated? The role of public opinion and media, party electoral competition and elite interaction in accommodation

Chair: C. Colino, Saint Antony's College, Oxford

Panellists:

D. Sinardet, Free University of Brussels (VUB)

Simon Toubreau, University of Nottingham

Discussant: A. Merdzanovic St Antony's College

15:15-15:30 Coffee break

15:30-16:45

PANEL International effects on secessionist processes and outcomes. The uses, and the role of, the EU in secession politics

Chair: G. Avery Saint Antony's College, Oxford

Panellists:

J. Ker-Lindsay, London School of Economics and Political Science

I. Molina Autonomous University Madrid/Instituto Elcano

Discussant: N. González Campaña, Worcester College, Law Faculty University of Oxford

16:45-17:15

PANEL Conclusions. What ideas for the future: general discussion

List of participants:

- Gagnon, Alain , Université du Québec à Montréal /l'Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris
- Avery, Graham, Saint Antony's College, Oxford
- Basta, Karlo, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada
- Benz, Arthur, TU Darmstadt, Germany
- Blick, Andrew, King's College London
- Castellá, Josep M., Universitat de Barcelona
- Colino, César, Saint Antony's College, Oxford
- Knüpling, Felix, Forum of Federations, Berlin
- Gallagher, Jim, University of Glasgow and Nuffield College, Oxford
- González Campaña, Nuria, Worcester College, University of Oxford.
- Gray, Caroline, University of Liverpool
- Hombrado, Angustias, UNED, Madrid
- Ker-Lindsay, James, LSE
- McEwen, Nicola, University of Edinburgh
- McLean, Iain, Nuffield College, Oxford
- Merdzanovic, Adis, St Antony's College, Oxford
- Molina, Ignacio, Autonomous University Madrid/Instituto Elcano
- Nicolaidis, Kalypso, Saint Antony's College, Oxford
- Nolte, Paul, Saint Antony's College, Oxford
- Pérez de Arcos, Marina, St Cross College, University of Oxford
- Powell, Charles, Elcano Institute Madrid
- Qvortrup, Matt, University of Coventry
- Rocher, Francois, University of Ottawa, Canada
- Sanjaume, Marc, Institut d'Estudis de l'Autogovern , Barcelona
- Sinardet, Dave, Free University of Brussels (VUB), Belgium
- Sorens, Jason, Darsmouth College, USA
- Toubeau, Simon, University of Nottingham