

ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS SINCE 1914
A Symposium organised by the
British Academy and the Royal Society of Edinburgh
held at
The Royal Society of Edinburgh
6-7 November, 2003

**With the support of the Devolution and Constitutional Change Research Programme
of the Economic and Social Research Council**

The Royal Society of Edinburgh is joining with the British Academy to mark the 400th Anniversary of the Union of the Crowns with a two-part conference in London and Edinburgh. The first session of the conference (17-18 September 2003) will focus on Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1918. The second session, in Edinburgh (6-7 November 2003) will focus on Anglo-Scottish Relations since 1918 with particular emphasis on the very recent Past, the Present and the Future.

Devolution was not an event but an important part of a process leading to an uncertain future for Anglo-Scottish Relations. A wide range of speakers will review the impact of developments in the Constitution, Politics, Economy and Society on the evolving relationship between Scotland and England.

Provisional Programme

Thurs 6 Nov 2003	
1.30-2.00pm	Opening
2-3.30pm	Session 1: An Evolving Union: Scotland and England in the 20 th Century
4-5.30pm	Session 2: Reformulating the Union: the Declaration of Perth and Beyond
7pm	Conference dinner
Fri 7 Nov 2003	
9-9.30am	Opening
9.30-11.00am	Session 3: Devolved Governance: Transparent and Accountable – but Subsidised?
11.30am-1pm	Session 4: The New Politics of Identity
1pm	Conference lunch
2-3.30pm	Session 5: The Impact of Devolution on Future Anglo-Scottish Relations

Thursday 6th November

1.30-2.00pm: Opening

Christopher Smout (St Andrews)

Brief report on the findings of the first part of the Symposium (London: September 17-18th) on Anglo – Scottish relations 1603 – 1914."

2.00-3.30pm: Session 1

An Evolving Union: Scotland and England in the 20th Century

Richard Findlay (Strathclyde)

"Scotland and the Monarchy in the Twentieth Century?" This paper will examine the changing relationship between the monarchy and Scottish society in the twentieth century. Queen Victoria was very successful in presenting the British monarchy in a Scottish guise. In so doing demonstrated the importance of a Scottish dimension to the British monarchy. By examining the public reaction to monarchy and its need from time to time to accommodate Scottish national sensitivity, it is possible to detect changes in the relationship between Scottish and British national identities in Scotland during the twentieth century.

James Mitchell (Strathclyde)

"The Diceyan Constitution and devolution" A.V. Dicey's writings on territorial politics are to be found in his four books against Irish home rule and many articles. At its core, three 'watchwords' guided his thinking: unity of government; equality of political rights; and diversity of institutions. These nineteenth century ideas still had relevance to the welfare state in the twentieth century and even the devolved system of government in the twenty-first century. At the core of understanding the nature of the Union lies an understanding of the operation of the 'centre'. This paper will consider the continuing relevance of Diceyan thinking on the Union in the twentieth and twenty-first century arguing that talk of his demise is premature.

Angela McCarthy (Aberdeen)

"Scottish Migrants in England Since 1921" From 1921 onwards estimates indicate that the net loss of population as a result of migration from Scotland was somewhere in the region of 1.5 million people. Yet compared with movement during the previous century, twentieth-century Scottish migration remains an overwhelmingly neglected area of investigation. Such studies that do exist primarily focus on the movement and settlement of Scots overseas. But what of those Scots who relocated to England? Drawing primarily upon oral interviews and autobiographies, the proposed paper will probe the personal experience of migration for Scots arriving in England after 1921. It will examine their reasons for settling in England, the existence of informal personal networks, perceptions of the English by the Scots, alleged perceptions of the Scots by the English, and issues surrounding Scottish identity.

4.00-5.30pm: Session 2

Reformulating the Union: the Declaration of Perth and Beyond

- Neil MacCormick FBA FRSE (MEP) **"New Unions for Old"** Historic Union of Crowns unsuccessful because Monarch was also Chief Executive. With figurehead constitutional monarchy, union of crowns works well - e.g. UK/New Zealand. 1707 Union is now problematic and should give way to common membership of EU of Scotland with present UK neighbours.
- James Kellas (Glasgow) **"After the Declaration of Perth: All Change!"** Ted Heath's declaration of support for devolution in 1968 was negated by Margaret Thatcher in 1976. Meanwhile, Labour's opposition to devolution was reversed in 1974. The SNP's support for a constitutional convention was abandoned when one was set up in 1989. Why all these changes?
- Iain McLean (Oxford) **"Public Finance in a Union State: Goschen, Barnett and beyond"** Gladstone's Home Rule Bills failed to deal adequately with the finance of devolution. George Goschen's formula for allocating a public spending block to Scotland dates back to 1888. Joel Barnett made it more dynamic in 1978. It solves some problems for unionist politicians, but creates others, which are probably insoluble. Formula funding of the Scottish Executive should continue, but based on a different formula.

7pm: Conference dinner – Speaker TBA

Friday 7th November

9.00-9.30am: Opening

Charlie Jeffery (Birmingham & ESRC Devolution Prog Director)	The ESRC Devolution Programme – key research questions and significant findings.
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9.30-11.00am: Session 3

Devolved Governance: Transparent and Accountable – but Subsidised?

Robert Hazell (UCL London) with Barry Winetrobe (UCL London)

"What has the Scottish Parliament achieved, and what can it teach Westminster?"

The Scottish Parliament has received a bad press, particularly in Scotland. But its best work has been done out of the limelight, especially in the subject committees. In all the main functions – scrutiny of legislation, approving the budget, calling the executive to account, redress of grievances - the Scottish Parliament has pioneered new procedures which are a significant improvement on Westminster. The paper attempts an audit of the Scottish Parliament in its first term, identifies areas of improvement for the second term, and draws out some of the lessons for Westminster, and for Westminster-style parliaments generally.

David Heald (Aberdeen)

"Scotland's Fiscal Relationships with England and the United Kingdom"

Scotland's fiscal relationships with England and the United Kingdom have long been shaped by relative trends in economic performance and in demography. Typically, these fiscal relationships have been non-transparent, partly because the machinery that might generate relevant data has been missing, though this has sometimes been reinforced by governmental unwillingness to expose the fiscal relationships to public view. Debates about the constitutional status of Scotland have revived interest in both fiscal numbers and processes. The striking feature on the expenditure side of the budget is the durability of mechanisms such as the Goschen formula (1888 until the late 1950s) and the Barnett formula (1978 to the present). With devolution in place, such mechanisms attract far greater attention, in England and across the United Kingdom. Continuing controversies about Scotland's fiscal relationships with England and the United Kingdom can therefore be expected.

Charlie Jeffery (Birmingham)

"Equity and Diversity: Devolution, Territorial Finance and Policy Variation"

The rhetoric on need associated with the Barnett debate strikes at the heart of a conundrum facing the UK as it does all decentralised states. A claim for higher per capita funding in Scotland in order to meet higher/different Scottish needs is, put bluntly, a claim on the tax revenues paid in south-east England (as, indeed, are similar claims about need in Northern Ireland, Wales and various English regions). Why should south-east Englanders help fund Scottish needs? The answer presumably lies in a commitment to a shared UK citizenship in which all citizens should have access to minimum common standards of public services despite territorial variations in economic and social conditions. However, none of the key political actors across the UK are putting across credible arguments for maintaining UK wide common standards. Arguments stressing diversity and competition of provision are, by contrast, much more fully and vigorously made around the UK. This celebration of diversity stands in tension with arguments about need. What the UK devolution process needs is a debate which addresses much more explicitly the balance to strike between territorial diversity and UK-wide common standards.

11.30am-1.00pm: Session 4

The New Politics of Identity

Anthony Heath FBA (Oxford)

"National identities and attitudes to constitutional change in Scotland and England" This paper will focus on a comparison of the attitudes of the English and of the Scottish towards Scottish devolution, the maintenance of the union, and a sense of Britishness. The paper will be based on the surveys that have been carried out in England and Scotland as part of the ESRC's Devolution and Constitutional Change programme. The first part of the paper will map the distribution of attitudes and identities in the two countries. Broadly speaking, we are likely to find four main ideal types. Firstly, unionists (both in England and Scotland) who identify themselves as British, wish to see the maintenance of the union and are opposed to devolution or independence. Secondly, there will be minority Scottish nationalists (some living in England) who identify themselves primarily as Scots and favour devolution or independence for Scotland. Thirdly there will be English nationalists who are opposed to the union, prefer some degree of autonomy for England (and happy to see Scotland go its own way). And fourthly there are likely to be a group of people who are largely indifferent to devolution, the union, and for whom national identities have little salience. The second part of the paper will explore some of the theories and factors associated with these four types. Here we will look at theories of generational change (older generations who were brought up or were adults during the second world war being most likely to have a British identity and support the union). A second set of theories are those of writers such as Gellner, Hechter and Inglehart who have provided accounts of minority nationalism. And a third set are theories such as Merton's theories of locals and cosmopolitans which give some pointers as to which groups are indifferent towards issues of nationalism and devolution. A particular interest in this second part of the paper will be to explore whether the same kinds of factors operate in England as in Scotland. For example, are the factors that account for a sense of Britishness among Scots the same as those that account for Britishness among the English?

John Curtice (Strathclyde)

"Brought together or driven apart?" How England and Scotland are reacting to devolution. This paper will examine how the English and Scottish publics have reacted to devolution. It will examine what impact devolution has had on the two sides of the border on (i) attitudes towards the UK political system and (ii) national identity. Particular attention will be paid to the degree to which differences in public opinion on the two sides of the border about how the UK political system should be run do or do not appear to represent potential sources of future constitutional conflict.

Asifa Hussain (Glasgow) &
William Miller FBA
FRSE (Glasgow)

"Still at Home in the New Scotland? The English and other Minorities in Scotland After Devolution" Can Scotland move in a multiculturalist direction while simultaneously moving in a more nationalist direction? That question is best answered from the perspective of ethnic minorities themselves. We use focus-group discussions to discover views amongst two of the largest ethnic minorities in Scotland: Pakistanis and English. Devolution and nationalism significantly challenges the identities of both – though in very different ways.

2.00-3.30pm: Session 5

The Impact of Devolution on Future Anglo-Scottish Relations

David McCrone FRSE
(Edinburgh)

“W(h)ither the Union? Anglo-Scottish relations in the 21st century’.”

Assumptions about the impact of devolution on the future of the Union between Scotland and England have become part of the political currency in recent years. This paper will review the state of knowledge concerning the Union, and in particular how people view their territorial identities within the new constitutional settlement.

Philip Schlesinger FRSE
(Stirling)

"After the Communications Act" Devolution has underlined the distinctiveness of the relationships between the media and the political system north of the border. At the same time, Scotland is firmly part of the Great British communications order. Powers over communications are a reserved power and Scottish interests have lobbied for various amendments. As we move into a new framework under the regulation of OFCOM, with a new Act in place, how will policy issues concerning media ownership and concentration, the representation of the devolved nations in the regulatory system, support for broadcast production north of the border, and access to telecommunications services be handled?

John Tomaney (Newcastle)

"English-Scottish relations: a borderland perspective" This paper looks at the evolution of English-Scottish relations from the perspective of North East England. Its borderland character meant that in the past this region found itself on the frontline the conflict in Anglo-Scottish wars and means that today it finds itself at the leading edge of debates about English regionalism. This paper assesses this experience and asks what it might mean for the future of the region and English-Scottish relations.