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**The 2014 Scottish independence Referendum:
An Ongoing Process towards Sovereignty**

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master
Degree in Literature and Civilization

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Dedication

To the dearest people to my heart:

To my sweetheart father who I proudly bear his name.

To my source of patience, optimism and hope, to the dearest person in the world after the almighty Allah and our prophet Mohammed peace and blessing be upon him; to my mother.

To my beloved brothers: Fateh, Hichem and Wassim.

To my beloved sisters: Djihene and Hanine.

To my darling grandmothers: Khadidja and Fiala.

To my dear grandfather: Mohammed Tayeb.

To my dear uncles: Salah and Hakim.

To my best friends ever, to my beloved: Radia, Rahma, Hakima, Ikram, Ilhem, and Farida.

To my dearest classmates: Belkacem, Safia, Mona, Sonia, and Sékou.

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Abstract

This dissertation titled “2014 Scottish Independence Referendum: An Ongoing Process Towards Sovereignty” aims to investigate the Scottish struggle for independence; it traces back the main stages through which the Scottish arrived at holding the Independence Referendum in the 18th of September, 2014, after more than three centuries of alliance with Britain. This work emphasizes the major reactions of the Anglo-Scottish union. This paper also sheds light on the main motives behind this desire for independence, and it provides the main arguments that support it. Moreover, it provides the available options for Scotland to continue its march on the independence path mainly, the opportunity of holding a second referendum.

ملخص

هذه المذكرة التي تحمل عنوان "2014 Scottish Independence Referendum: An Ongoing Process Towards Sovereignty" تهدف إلى دراسة الصراع الاسكتلندي من اجل الاستقلال بحيث ترجع بنا إلى أهم المراحل التي عبرها توصل الاسكتلنديون إلى تنظيم استفتاء من اجل الاستقلال في 18 سبتمبر 2014 بعد أكثر من ثلاثة قرون من الاتحاد مع بريطانيا. وتركز على ابرز ردات الفعل ضد هذا الاتحاد. هذا العمل يسلط الضوء أيضا على الدوافع الأساسية التي تقف وراء رغبة الاسكتلنديين في الاستقلال. كما تزودنا بأهم الحجج التي تدعمه. في الأخير هذا العمل يقترح الاختيارات المتاحة لاسكتلندا لتكمل مسيرتها في طريق الحرية بصفة خاصة الفرصة في تنظيم استفتاء ثاني حول الاستقلال.

List of Acronyms

CCO:	Chief Counting Officer
CO:	Counting Officer
EMB:	Electoral Management Board
EU:	European Union
FCWG:	Fiscal Commission Working Group
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GVA:	Gross Value Added
MP:	Member of Parliament
MSP:	Minister of the Scottish Parliament
SNP:	The Scottish National Party
SSP:	Scottish Socialist Party
UK:	The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
WWII:	The Second World War
NWFZ :	Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgment.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
List of Abbreviations.....	v
General Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Path Towards Scottish Independence Referendum	
Introduction	
I. The Foundation of Anglo-Scottish Union.....	6
II. Major Reactions to the Union.....	9
II.1. The Jacobite Rebellions	9
II.1.1. The First Rebellion.....	9
II.1.2. The Second Rebellion.....	10
II.1.3. The Third Rebellion.....	10
II.1.4. The Last Rebellion.....	11
III. The Scottish National Party.....	11
III.1. The SNP's Performance in the Scottish parliamentary Elections.....	13
IV. Towards the 1979 Referendum.....	13
V. Thatcherism Era and the Rise of Nationalism.....	16
VI. Towards the 1997 Referendum.....	17
VII. The Scottish Parliament.....	19
VII.1. Foundation.....	19
VII.2. The Proportional System of Representing.....	19
VIII. The Scottish General Elections.....	20
VIII.1. The 1999 Election.....	20
VIII.2. The 2003 Elections.....	21
VIII.3. The 2007 Election.....	22

VIII.4. The 2011 Election.....	24
IX. Independence Referendum.....	25

Conclusion

Chapter Two: The Motives of Scottish Desire for Independence

Introduction

I. National Identity.....	29
I.1. The Scottish Evolution of the Public Opinion Towards Nationalism.....	29
I.2. Gaelic Language.....	30
II. The Major Motives of Scotland's Debate for Independence.....	31
II.1. For a More Democratic Scotland.....	33
II.1.1. A Written Constitution for Scotland.....	34
II.2. For a Non-Nuclear Weapon State.....	35
II.3. For a More Prosperous Scotland.....	34
II.3.1. Scottish Economy.....	36
II.3.2. British Economy.....	36
II.3.3. Scotland's economic strengths and privileges.....	37
II.3.3.1. Scotland's Natural Resources.....	36
II.3.3.2. North Sea Oil and Gas.....	38
II.3.3.3. Human Resources.....	39
II.3.3.4. Tourism.....	39
II.3.3.5. Food and Drink.....	40
II.3.4. Cases similar to Scotland.....	41
II.3.5. Social Justice.....	40
II.3.5.1. Inequality.....	40

Conclusion

Chapter Three: The Scottish Independence Referendum 2014

Introduction	
I. The Legislative Framework of the Referendum	44
I.1. “Your Scotland Your Referendum”	45
I.2. The Edinburgh Agreement	47
I.2.1. The Chief Counting Officer	47
I.2.2. The Electoral Commission	48
II. The Scottish Independence Referendum and the Right of Self-Determination	48
III. Referendum Campaigns	50
III.1. Yes Scotland	50
III.1.1. Yes Scotland Team	51
III.1.2. The Narratives of Yes Scotland	51
III.1.2.1. The Democracy Narrative	51
III.1.2.2. The Fairness Narrative	53
III.1.2.3. The Devolution Narrative	53
III.2. Better Together	54
III.2.1. Formation and Activities	54
III.2.2. Better Together Discourse	56
IV. Campaigning materials and focus	57
V. Campaigning Tone and Impact	58
VI. The Referendum Results	58
VII. Further Options for Independence	58
VII.1. Europe	59
VII.2. A second Referendum	59
Conclusion	
General Conclusion	61
Works Cited	63

General Introduction

Background

Scotland was founded during the rule of Kenneth MacAlpin¹ in 843 as an independent nation, but its authority was always threatened by English invasions. However, the Scots fought furiously to defend their land. In 1603, King James VI ruled both England and Scotland. Later in 1707, they were unified by the *Treaty of Union*, a union that was forced on Scotland because of a financial crisis. The Scots raised many proposals to the United Kingdom Government to gain their home rule, but their attempts were doomed to failure, particularly the devolution referendum of 1979.

In 1999, the Scottish Parliament was established in Edinburgh after the devolution referendum of 1979. Recently in 2011, the Scottish National Party; which was created in 1934, won parliamentary elections with 69 seats, taking control over the Scottish parliament, and thus permitting the first minister to demand the first Scottish Independence Referendum. This latter was held on the last 18th, September, 2014.

Problematic

When the kingdoms of Scotland and England were joined in 1707, they formed what is called “Great Britain”. Since then, nationalist Scots tried to obtain their home rule. After several attempts and a long struggle, they succeeded in settling a Scottish Parliament within the United Kingdom, after the devolution referendum of 1979. This parliament could make key decisions in many areas such as: schooling and health.

However, the devolution was not enough for the Scots. It has just paved the path

¹ **Kenneth MacAlpin** (810-858), son of King Alpin II of Dalriada. He was the first king of the Kingdom of Scotland which he ruled from 843 to 858, at the time he was referred to as king of the Picts.

to ask for a complete autonomy and independence. This achievement was realized only when the Scottish National Party won the parliamentary elections of 2011. Nevertheless, they decided on organizing the independence referendum, after more than three centuries of union with England. Thus, the questions that should be raised are, why are Scots seeking for independence after this very long period of alliance? How did they reach the independence referendum? And what did it add for the Scottish debate of independence?

Aims and Objectives

In this work, we will try to set out a detailed examination of the Scottish struggle for independence, starting with the devolution to reach the recent Independence Referendum. This dissertation will shed light on the reasons that make Scots hanker for sovereignty, even after centuries of unification with England. It will also attempt to provide an analysis of the independence Referendum and its outcomes and impacts on the United Kingdom as well as on the future of Scotland as a separate nation.

This work deals with a very crucial issue which is self-determination. It reveals that although we are in the twenty-first century, there are countries which still do not have the right of self-rule, and Scotland is one prominent example. The work also emphasizes the idea that Scotland is a distinguishable nation so it has the right of self-rule and to be an independent country. Moreover, the dissertation will attempt to demonstrate that the Scots are thirsty for a complete independence through what they have done all over centuries, since the unification to the last Independence Referendum.

Methodology

Since the topic deals with a historical subject, that is the Scottish independence from the UK, this dissertation will take in consideration the changes and the development of relationships between Scotland and England throughout three

centuries. It will try to provide the reader with historical facts and evidences; therefore it will employ the historical method. Since the topic is also of a political nature, the research will adopt another paradigms, namely the descriptive and analytical methods in order to illustrate the outcomes of the Independence Referendum.

Limitations

The Scottish Independence debate is a vast area of research that has many aspects and implications; thus, it is too hard to fully cover our topic from all perspectives in such limited dissertation. Our study is only concerned with the process which the Scots followed to come at the result of an independence referendum. For that reason, it will only expose the major events that marked the Scottish history of independence, starting from the Treaty of Union in 1707. In addition, this dissertation will focus only on the significant impacts and outcomes and impacts of the referendum on the Scottish independence question.

Literature Review

The debate about The Scottish Independence Question escalated when the Scottish National Party won a majority of seats in the parliamentary elections in 2011 allowing the first Independence referendum to be set. Many English and Scottish authors wrote about the Scottish Independence from different aspects, using overlapping perspectives: with and against independence.

Several writers assumed that Scotland would gain its independence easily, so they have written about its consequences on Scotland and Great Britain. In his book *“Transition to a new Scottish state”*, Patrick Dunleavy argues that independence will immediately cost Scotland 200 million£. He argued that “voters in Scotland are not choosing at the referendum what kind of economy to develop, or what kind of welfare

state or tax regime to live under. Those decisions will come later and be decided or varied at multiple stages”. (5)

On the other hand, David Sinclair claimed in his book “*Issues around Scottish Independence*” that although the other parties in Scotland argued that the costs of Independence for Scotland will outweigh its profits, the debate over sovereignty will always take place in the Scottish political area. He focuses on the necessity of solving the economic issues during the debate over Independence. However, this dissertation will attempt to demonstrate that the Scots are on the way to achieve their independence and that independence is their best choice.

Structure of the Dissertation

This work will be divided into three main chapters: the first one is entitled “*The Path Towards Scottish Independence Referendum*” in which the focus will be on the most important steps followed by nationalist Scots to gain a partial self-rule particularly the devolution referendums, the establishment of the Scottish parliament, and the Parliamentary elections of 2011. In other words, this chapter will trace back the most significant events that lead to the Independence Referendum. The second chapter which is entitled “*The Motives of Scottish Desire for Independence*” will emphasize the main reasons and arguments that made the Scots eager to get rid of the union with the UK, since the beginning of the alliance. The third chapter “*The Scottish Independence Referendum*” is an analytical chapter; it will analyze the Independence Referendum results and impacts on the future of the Scottish Struggle for sovereignty. It will also highlight what this Referendum added to the Scottish Independence Question, and how it was considered as a victory for Scottish Nationalism.

Chapter One:

**The Path towards Scottish
Independence Referendum**

The Path towards the Scottish Independence Referendum

Introduction

The dissertation's first chapter is entitled "The Path towards the Scottish Independence Referendum" provides the historical account of the development of the Anglo-Scottish relations; it sheds light on the Union of Crowns and the political union. It also demonstrates the Scottish dissatisfaction with that union and their reactions to it.

This chapter focuses on the development of the Scottish Nationalism movement; led by the Scottish National Party, which leads to the devolution then to the reestablishment of the Scottish Parliament after more than 290 years. Moreover it examines the process of the rising of nationalism especially during Thatcherism, and the public support for SNP during the Scottish general elections, which at last resulted in the formation of an SNP majority government and then the Independence Referendum.

Ultimately this chapter highlights every essential step in the path that ended in organizing the Independence Referendum in 18th September, 2014.

I. The Foundation of the Anglo-Scottish Union

The death of Queen Elizabeth I of England in 1603 announced the end of the English Tudor dynasty and left the throne with no heirs because she was the last, unmarried, and childless monarch in the Tudor line of succession. Therefore her cousin King James VI of Scotland, who had a Stuart grandfather (James IV) and a Tudor grandmother (Margaret Tudor), accessed to the throne. Although the two

countries shared one monarch, they maintained independent parliaments, so that it was called the “*Union of Crowns*”. (Wormald 121)

Since his accession to the English throne, king James I showed his intention to unite the two kingdoms which he clearly stated in his accession speech to Parliament:

*But the Union of these two princely houses is nothing
comparable to the union of two ancient and famous
kingdoms which is the other inward peace annexed to
my person...Has not God first united these two kingdoms,
both in language, religion, and similitude of manners?
Yes, has he not made us all in one island compassed
with one sea, and of itself by nature so indivisible.²*

(Historical Royal Speeches and Writing)

There had been many attempts to unite politically the two realms between 1606 and 1689, but the parliament failed to join them until the early years of the eighteenth century. The English Parliament was concerned about the identity of the successor who was to succeed the throne after Queen Anne’s death, and it was afraid that the line of succession would transfer to the Catholic Stuart dynasty which could make a threat upon the English security in case the Scots renewed their old alliance with

² See The British Monarchy web site <<http://www.royal.gov.uk>>

France. So it decided to pass the Act of Settlement in 1701 to guarantee that the heir of Anne would be the Sophia of Hannover.³

In response to this act, the Scottish Parliament passed two acts in 1703. The first act was the Act Anent Peace in which Scotland claimed its control over its foreign policy and expressed its refute to wage war for England's benefits. Yet the second act was the Act of security which affirmed that Scotland was not obliged to agree with England's selection of the Hanoverian successor. Queen Anne refused to assent on this act, so the Scots replied by passing it to law in 1704. In return, the English Parliament responded in 1705 with the Alien's Act that banned the Scottish imports to England and proposed to consider the Scots not inhabitants in England but as aliens if not Scotland agreed on the terms of the Act of Settlement and get back to the union negotiations.

England succeeded in making the representatives of the Scottish parliament carry on the discussions over the union issue in 1706; these led to the unification of the Scottish and the English Parliaments and formed the Parliament of Great Britain in 1707. (Robertson 129-130)

Many debates raised on the causes that lead to this union. Some historians considered it as "inevitable" because of the economic and social growth of the island of Great Britain, and saw it as a middle solution for both English and Scottish interests. Others considered it as a result of self-interest and bribery of some members of the last Scottish Parliament, while other group of historians saw it as a natural termination of the Union of Crowns of 1603. These interpretations overwhelmed the Scottish politics since 1707.

³ *Sophia of Hannover*: a granddaughter of James VI of Scotland and I of England, niece of Charles I of Scotland and England.

From the English perspectives, the Anglo-Scottish union aimed at securing the Hanoverian succession and was the best and the only choice to protect their land from the European threat especially that of France, because Scotland was considered as a strategic base to attack England.

From the Scottish perspective, Scotland was obliged to agree on the union because it needed to access to the English domestic market, which was ten times bigger than the Scottish one, to save the country from the desperate economic situation. The 1690s was not Scotland's high days, Hugh Trevor-Roper describes it as "The darkest age of the Scottish history"; it was a harsh period marked by a number of disasters, particularly the failed harvests from 1696 to 1699, which caused a severe famine and depopulation in the country. In addition to this, her plan to acquire a colony at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama failed because of the bad organization and the English interference. These economic problems of the late seventeenth century left no choice to the Scottish Parliament but to sign the treaty of Union, giving up their sovereignty (Hugh 85).

II. Major Reactions to the Union

After the Union, there was a growing dissatisfaction from the Scottish side, mainly because of the unfair distribution of the Parliamentary seats between the English and Scottish representatives. This latter had the lower number. Many Scottish establishments were abolished and new taxes were imposed. As a result, a proposal was raised in 1713 to abolish the union unfortunately it was a failed attempt. The

opponents of the Union thought the best way to improve the situation was the restoration of the Stuart dynasty to power, so they fought the Jacobite rebellions.⁴

II.1. The Jacobite Rebellions

II.1.1. The First Rebellion

James Francis Edward Stuart, son of King James VII, profited from the situation. He considered it as a perfect opportunity to restore the Stuart dynasty to rule again. He was in exile in France, his desire was supported by both France and Spain. He also received a strong support from Scottish Nationalists who were against the Hanoverian ascension to the British throne after Queen Anne's death.

In 1708, the French King Louis XIV provided James with an armada in his attempt to restore Rule. The armada sailed towards Scotland, but the Royal Navy prohibited it from landing on Scottish lands so it went back to France (Plchová 17).

II.1.2. The Second Rebellion

The second rebellion was held in September, 1715. Its leader was the Earl of Mar John Erskine. Several clans of Highlands and opponents of Union joined the Jacobites. Erskine prepared an army of 12,000 men, and planned to seize the North of Scotland. The rebellion extended also to the Southwest and north-east of England. Although the Jacobites were very powerful and had the most numerous armies, they failed conquering Edinburgh; they also failed in the north-east of England. This failure was caused by the furious resistance of Duke of Argyll, who led the English Army at the Battle of Sheriffmuir on 13th November, 1715. James Francis arrived later to help Erskine, however, they were brought back to exile in France (Plchová 18).

⁴ **Jacobite:** (Latin: Jacobus) a supporter of the exiled Stuart king James II and who wanted the restoration of the Stuart dynasty to rule.

II.1.3. The Third Rebellion

After a second unsuccessful rebellion, the Spanish Succession ended. Thus, James lost the French support but gained the Spanish support on his side. He started a third rebellion in which only 1000 highlanders joined him. However, it reached and invaded northern Scotland. yet they were defeated at Glenshiel Battle on 10th June, 1719 (Plchová 18).

II.1.4. The Last Jacobite Rebellion

In 1745, James's, son Charles Edward Stuart, arrived at the Scottish Highlands, where the Scottish clans joined him. He defeated the English army and invaded Edinburgh. This successful beginning made him very excited to continue his mission that is the restoration of the Stuart rule.

Charles decided to conquer England, thus he led his Jacobite army to the South in December 1745. They arrived to Derby which was 200 km far away from London. Charles' plan was to recover the British throne with the aid of English Jacobites, who did not show up as the Army proceeded south; therefore, Charles decided to withdraw back to Scotland.

After one year, Britain sent its Royal Army led by the Duke of Cumberland; the Jacobites were defeated in a harsh battle at Culloden on the 16th April, 1746. This battle marked the end of Jacobite Resistance (Plchová 19).

III. The Scottish National Party (SNP)

The Scottish National Party was founded in 1934 as a fusion of the National Party of Scotland (founded in 1928) and the Scottish Party (1932) under the name of nationalism. But since its early beginnings, its members disagreed on the way to

achieve the Scottish exceptionality. Their opinions differed between devolution and complete Independence, as well as on the strategy the party should follow: whether to just compete for seats in the elections or to be a leading power and influence other political parties to achieve constitutional changes. In addition to these conflicts about its relationships with other political parties existed among its members, especially the Labor Party. After the WWII the party made efforts to distribute petitions demanding a Scottish parliament. During this epoch the SNP settled a clear goal which was the Scottish Independence from UK. But until the 1960s it did not realize any success. Meanwhile the party developed and progressed, in spite of the internal conflicts and the unprofessional headship. (Lynch 5)

In the 1950s and 1960s the Scottish National Party became more popular with the increase of disapproval of the British control over the Scottish affairs. During the 1970s and '80s, and with the production of North Sea oil in the Scottish waters, the party's nationalist attitude was more shaped.

The SNP achieved a victory in 1974 general elections with more than 30 percent of the Scottish vote taking 11 of the 71 Scottish seats in the British Parliament. In late years the opinion polls showed an increased support for the party with 20 to 25 percent of votes, making it the second most popular party in Scotland after the Labor Party.

In the late 1990s, the SNP attempted to gain support from groups like the Trade Unions which enabled it to enter strongly in the mainstream of the Scottish political area. It also made clear attempts to strengthen the party's formation and strategies. Even with the sustained popularity of the Labor Party, the SNP was still marking its presence in the Scottish politics.

In the general elections of 1997, the Labor party achieved a massive victory while the SNP took six seats in the parliament which was its best achievement in 25 years. The SNP, the Labors and the Liberal Democratic Party joined together in a campaign to propose a second referendum demanding the establishment of a Scottish parliament. The Referendum was passed successfully. Across the country 74 percent voted in favor and 64 percent accepted giving it tax liabilities⁵. (Lynch 6)

III.1. The SNP's Performance in the Scottish Parliamentary Elections

The Scottish National party could enlarge its power thanks to the proportional representation system⁶ which the government established despite the rejection of the Conservatives and the House of the Lords. At the first Scottish parliamentary elections in May 1999, the SNP recognized itself as an opposition to the Labor and its governing alliance with the Liberal Democrats. The Scottish National Party reached 29 percent votes taking 35 of 129 seats. In the general elections of 2003, the SNP's vote dropped to 21 percent and its seats to 27 percent.

In the 2007 elections, the SNP put an end to the Labor Party's supremacy in Scotland by winning a majority of seats considered of 47, forming a minority administration. This victory allowed its leader Alex Salmond to be elected as the first minister of Scotland. The Scottish National Party improved its performance in 2011, elections establishing the first majority government in the history of the Scottish Parliament. As a result Salmond promised to hold a referendum on independence within five years. Actually in 2012, he signed an accord with the British Prime

⁵ **Tax liability:** The total amount of tax that an entity is legally obligated to pay to an authority as the result of the occurrence of a taxable event. Tax liability can be calculated by applying the appropriate tax rate to the taxable event's tax base. Taxable events include, but are not limited to, annual income, the sale of an asset, a fiscal year-end or an inheritance.

⁶ **The proportional representation system:** a system in which the number of seats held by members of a political party in a legislature (such as a parliament) is determined by the number of votes its candidates receive in an election.

Minister, David Cameron, to hold it. Eventually, it was programmed for September 2014. (Broughton)

IV. Towards the 1979 Referendum

The success which the Scottish National Party achieved in the 1967 elections resulted from the enormous economic and social changes in the 1960s which influenced deeply the Scottish Politics. Many factors internal and international contributed in the vanishing of the British sense of “Uniqueness”, amongst the international we mention: the post-war decolonization which led to a loss in power in the international ground also the French opposition to the UK positive stand towards the European communities. The internal factors were more social; the Scottish society became more permissive and tolerant and gave less importance to religion and social class. This change had a great impact on the Conservative Party, which gradually started in losing its Scottish identity and exchanged it with the English one (Krejcovà 16).

The Conservative Party lost its popularity amongst the people for whom it was the representative of unionism, Protestantism and imperial identity, but the fall of the empire and unionism contributed in the decrease of the importance of both Protestantism and the imperial identity. Yet the Conservative Party could win the 1970 general elections.

In the mid 1960s, the public spending grew under the Labor government, mainly because the Prime Minister took a decision to advance technology. The Scottish public expenditure was higher than the British one. The Prime minister supported the union and disagreed with the SNP ideologies, therefore he defended the idea that Scotland’s best choice is to remain part of UK.

The enormous spending was beneficial for Scotland at the beginning but it was not sustained; soon the budget faced problems. As a solution the government implemented tariffs on foreign imports which led to strikes and to sterling drop. On the other hand, the discovery of oil in the North Sea played a major role in rising the Scottish national party power and influence, it used this finding and its benefits on Scotland in its campaign for 1974 elections, from which the party highlighted the possibility that Scotland would be a rich, independent country if it used the oil fields.

The SNP walked constantly on the road of success and prosperity. After the elections of 1974 were held, second elections were necessary to provide a majority government, which the first elections failed to realize. The Prime Minister of the Labor party Harold Wilson⁷ seek support from the SNP and the Liberal Party which were devoted for Devolution, as a consequence Nationalism became a fashionable topic and number one in the political calendar (Krejcovà 17).

The Labor Party started to devote devolution owing to the electoral rise of the SNP. In 1975 it offered a white paper about devolution entitled “*Our Changing Democracy: Devolution to Scotland and Wales*”, and in which it rejected both separatism and federalism, and asked for a Scottish Assembly voted by Scottish people and which would have been responsible for specific areas. Some MPs agreed and some others disagreed and suggested instead to organize a post-legislative Devolution Referendum. The date was scheduled on 1, March 1979. The Labor Party joined the SNP to form pro-devolutionist camp while the Conservative party was the only anti-devolutionist party. Subsequently, there were two campaigns “Yes for Scotland” and “Scotland is British” campaign which was later on renamed” Scotland

⁷ **James Harold Wilson**, Baron Wilson of Rievaulx, (11 March 1916 – 24 May 1995) was a British Labour Party politician who served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1964 to 1970 and 1974 to 1976. He won four general elections, and is the most recent British Prime Minister to have served non-consecutive terms.

says No”, this latter focused on the idea of “Britishness” and asked for the rejection of the Scotland Bill⁸.

Even though the majority of voters, 51.6 percent voted in favor of the establishment of the Scottish assembly, it was rejected because this percentage formed only 32.8 percent of the Scottish electorate, which would, broke the Cunningham Amendment⁹ (Krejcovà 18).

V. The Thatcherism Era and the Rise of Nationalism

Thatcherism era was named after Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative Governments which ruled from 1979 to 1990; Thatcher was a politician whose principal interest was economy. She did not show any concern about the Scottish interests in home rule rather she considered Scotland as a piece of UK (Szolnoki 3).

Scotland suffered during this era from many problems caused by the economic reform which the Conservative Party accomplished. Such troubles were the increase of unemployment and large privatization. In addition to this, the focus put on individuality and private ownership had a severe impact on Scotland. In other words this period did not fit Scotland, thus the Scottish nationalism started to rise again.

Although the situation improved by the first half of the 1980s, the Conservatives lost support in Scotland. At the 1987 general elections they lost 11 seats. The results of these elections were different in other parts of the UK; the Conservative Party won

⁸ **The Scotland Bill:** is an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom which transfers control of some taxes and other powers from Westminster to the Scottish Parliament. It received Royal Assent in 2012.

⁹ **The Cunningham Amendment:** named after George Cunningham, who belonged to the Labor Party. Cunningham strongly opposed Scottish devolution. At his prompting the House accepted an amendment to the 1978 Scotland Act that a majority voting "yes" in the devolution referendum would have to constitute at least 40% of the Scottish electorate.

again in England. Many referred this victory to the economic transformation which was advantageous to England.

In the second half of 1980s, Thatcher attempted at presenting her position towards devolution in Scotland. Despite the efforts she made to emphasize common conservative and Scotland values of self reliance and hard work she failed, Conservatives were seen as English Nationalists rather than Scottish ones. (Kejcovà 19).

Campaigning for the Scottish Assembly, a pressure group emerged during Thatcherism later its name changed to Scottish Steering Committee. It sought support from many groups in the Scottish society for home rule and asked for a Constitutional Convention¹⁰. This movement came out with an essential document: A Claim of Right for Scotland which emphasized the Scots right to choose the form of Government that serves their needs, thus either a Scottish Assembly or a Parliament should be set up to feed their requirements. Different groups and parties attended the Convention such as: Labor Party, Scottish Liberals, Scottish Green Party, Trade Union Congress and Scottish Churches. However, the Conservatives and the SNP representatives were both absent because for Conservatives a Scottish Assembly was too much for Scotland, while for the SNP it was nothing since its main goal was independence.

Two documents were discussed in the Convention. The Assembly they suggested was different from the one of 1974 in the electoral system. The document became later the basis of Scotland Act of 1998. (Krejcovà 20)

¹⁰ **A constitutional convention:** is a gathering for the purpose of writing a new constitution or revising an existing constitution.

VI. Towards the 1997 Referendum

After eighteen years of Conservative domination from 1979, the Labor Party led by Tony Blair won the General elections of 1997. During the Conservative era Labors changed their minds about devolution. They had to protect their position especially from the SNP which emerged as the second biggest party after the Labors. It reached this position due to the rise of nationalism during Thatcherism.

The prosperity of the SNP showed that nationalism was still a fashionable issue in the Scottish society. Thus, the Labors started to adopt a more devolutionist strategy. This shift was initiated by its leader in the beginning of the 90s, John Smith¹¹, after his death, his successor, Tony Blair, continued on his path and claimed loyalty to the proposal of the Scottish Constitutional Convention, which asked for the establishment of a Scottish Parliament with more powers. So, it pledged to arrange Devolution Referendums in both Scotland and Wales. The Referendum consisted of two separate questions: the first about setting up a parliament and the second about its liabilities.

The desire of Devolution was quickly realized. In the autumn of 1997 the Referendum was held. Even SNP, whose main goal was Independence, joined the pro-devolutionist trend. The results were in favor. A majority of 74 percent agreed on the creation of the Scottish parliament and another majority of 63 percent agreed on giving it extra powers concerning taxes. Devolution was a postponed goal since 1979 and which could be achieved by 1997 Referendum, an achievement that was considered as a victory of nationalism. (Plchová 24)

¹¹ **John Smith** : (13 September 1938 – 12 May 1994) was a British Labor Party politician who served as Leader of the Labor Party from July 1992 until his death from a heart attack in May 1994.

VII. The Scottish Parliament

VII.1. Foundation

Following the 1997 Referendum, the UK Parliament passed the Scotland Act in 1998, by which a Scottish parliament was established as a legislative body. This act defined its powers as well as the Scottish executive powers, the electoral system, and the funding of administration. The Scottish Parliament was founded on May, 1999, in Holyrood, Edinburgh. The parliament is elected democratically every four years, it consists of 129 members.

According to the Scotland Act 1998, the areas in which the Scottish Parliament can make laws and key decisions are the “Devolved Matters” such as: education, health and housing; while the “Reserved Matters” such as: defense, foreign policy and trade remained under the authority of the UK Parliament. (Szolnoki 5)

VII.2. The Proportional System of Representing

The Devolution Referendum had a major impact on the Scottish political institutions; Scotland has now a unicameral legislature at Holyrood, and an executive which is formed by the majority in the Parliament.

The Ministers of the Scottish Parliament (MSP) do not represent a constituency alone as the case in the British Parliament. Scotland followed a proportional system of representation also known as the Additional Member System. That is in the Scottish general elections one vote equals two votes; one is for a constituency member who in case wins the majority of votes will be the candidate in that constituency, while the second vote is for a Party or an independent candidate within a Scottish Parliament region which is a larger electoral area. Scotland consists of eight parliament regions

namely: Highlands and Islands, North East Scotland, mid Scotland and Fife, West of Scotland, Glasgow, Central Scotland Lothians and South of Scotland. (Szolnoki 6)

VIII. The Scottish General Elections

VIII.1. The 1999 Election

Before the election, an opinion poll was held to figure out the voters attitudes towards two issues which are: national identity and the advance to Independence. The results did assert neither an anti-English feeling nor a great support for independence. (Krejcovà 23)

The first election of the re-established Scottish Parliament took place on the 6th May, 1999. The percentage of participation was only 58 percent; lesser than the one of 1997 General Elections. The Labor Party won the election with 56 seats followed by the SNP with 35 seats, then the Scottish Conservatives with 18 seats and the Scottish Liberal Democrats with 17 seats. At last were both the Scottish Green Party and the Scottish Socialist Party with one seat for each. (Krejcovà 23)

Labors did not reach the required number of seats (65) to form a majority government. Thus it had to accept the coalition with another party and this was a new form of government in the Scottish political area. One week after the election Labors chose the Liberal Democrats for alliance that lasted for a four years term despite differences in opinions between them. The Scottish National Party did not share the same thoughts on the future independence matter with the Labors thus it became an opposition party.

The Scottish people were not interested in the constitutional affairs. Two main issues grasped their attention. The first was the tuition fees which was a divisive topic

in the Government. The Liberal Democrats promised to abolish it, while Labors supported it. The second issue that magnetized public attention was homosexuality. This interest appeared with the declaration of the planned repeal of Clause 2A¹², which bans the promotion of homosexuality in schools. Brian Souter¹³ arranged a campaign to demand the preserving of the Clause; he also organized a referendum on the repeal in which the majority voted against it. However the Referendum was meaningless for the parties thus it vanished in 2000. These two actions proved that at the beginnings of the Scottish Parliament, the constitutional arrangements were not at the center of the Scottish people's consideration.

The Scottish Parliament renewed its social strategy through establishing free higher education unlike the rest of UK, and a more tolerant position towards homosexuality. Despite the above mentioned efforts, the Scots were not satisfied about the performance of their Parliament, because they made great expectations on it. However they supported the idea of giving it extra powers to improve the situation in Scotland. (Krejcovà 24)

VIII. 2. The 2003 Elections

The second election was held on the 1st May, 2003. 49.4 of voters participated. Due to Scottish people's dissatisfaction on the work of the previous government, it was expected that voters would not vote or just give their votes to unpopular parties. yet the results were shocking; the Labor Party won again with 50 seats; which is lesser

¹² **Clause 2A:** The Section 2A was added by Section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988 to the Local Government Act 1986 (affecting England and Wales and Scotland and Northern Ireland), enacted on 24 May 1988. The amendment stated that a local authority "shall not intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality" or "promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship". It was repealed on 21 June 2000 in Scotland as one of the first pieces of legislation enacted by the new Scottish Parliament.

¹³ **Sir Brian Souter:** was born on the 5th May 1954. He is a Scottish businessman and philanthropist, he has also been politically active in Scotland, and supports the Scottish National Party financially. In 2000, Souter started the "Keep the Clause campaign" to prevent the repeal of Clause 2A.

number than the one of 1999 election. (Plchová 25) This result showed that Labors was still a popular party. It was followed by the Scottish National Party with 27 seats, which in turn witnessed a decrease in the number of seats in comparison with the previous election. The third place was taken by the Conservatives which kept the same number of seats of 1999 election (18). Then it came the Liberal Democrats also with the same number of seats. The Scottish Socialist Party and the Green Party got 7 seats. At last the Scottish Senior Citizens Unity Party with one seat. It is noticed, according to the above mentioned results that the minor parties' performance improved during the four years term. (Plchová 26)

After the election, the Labors had no option except renewing their previous coalition with Liberal Democrats to form a Government because the option of minority Labor Government was not legitimate. As a result the parties signed a "Partnership Agreement"¹⁴ in which they promised to fulfill Scottish people's economic interests and to improve public services, however Liberal Democrats were unsuccessful. The party was not an active part of the coalition unlike the Labors which applied several ministerial changes. However the coalition was not considered as an effective executive, mainly because it missed the central leadership and ministers' liabilities were not obvious. (Krejčová 26)

VIII. 3. The 2007 Election

A severe competition rose between the Labor Party and the Scottish National Party before the election took place. Despite being a major party in the Scottish political area for more than five decades, the Labor Party was in a harsh situation

¹⁴ **Partnership Agreement:** is a contract between partners in a partnership which sets out the terms and conditions of the relationship between the partners.

because it had an empty account of achievements during its rule. As a result its support collapsed, it was obvious that it was against independence since in its campaign the Labor Party emphasized its bad consequences on the Scottish economy. As a reaction, the Scottish National Party in its campaign promised to hold a referendum on independence.

Opinion Polls showed a higher support for the SNP which won the election with an appropriate number of seats that allowed it to form a minor Government. This election was a turning point in the Scottish politics. It made things upside-down, the SNP became the biggest party and the Labor Party dropped to the second place. Also voters had only one ballot for both majority and proportional system. Moreover the operation of counting votes was electronic. (Krejcovà 27)

The participation of voters in this time increased to 51.72 percent despite the large number of invalid votes. Actually the failure of Labors was not extreme. The SNP exceeded them by only one seat 47 to 46. The Labor Party's votes decreased with 2.4 percent. The Scottish National Party was the only party which gained more seats than 2003. It added 20 seats to its account, while all other parties lost seats in this election. Starting with the Labors which lost 4 seats, the Liberal Democrats and Conservatives lost 1 seat, and the Green Party 5 seats. (Plchová 27)

After the results, the SNP started discussions with the other parties mainly: the Green Party and Liberal Democrats to form the coalition. The first party had not enough seats for a majority government, while the second party had different attitudes than of the SNP towards the independence referendum. Accordingly, the SNP formed a minor government with a slight support of the Green Party despite the divergence in opinions between them in issues such as: nuclear weapons and the independence referendum.

During the SNP government and despite the refute of opposition parties, the matter of an independence referendum dominated the political scene. The SNP government produced a white paper, seeking through it a national debate about the constitutional future of Scotland. The Paper emphasized the necessity of changing the Scottish Constitution, and it provided three options: the first was the preservation of devolution with giving the Parliament extra powers when needed, the second choice was providing the Parliament with fiscal powers, while the third option was the complete independence. (Krejcovà 28)

The dispute of an independence referendum between the SNP Government and the opposition parties motivated the establishment of a commission on the Scottish Devolution. Yet within the framework of the United Kingdom, this movement resulted in a report which suggested the strengthening of the parliament powers in different areas. However, the question of Independence was not included within the report, which became the source of the Scotland Bill.

Despite being a minor government, the SNP was considered as a model of a successful and constant government. It could rule for the whole term and passed laws without the help of the Parliament. Rather it relied on secondary legislations. (Krejcovà 29)

VIII. 4. The 2011 Election

The political parties' campaigns of 2011 election focused on issues, such as: jobs, education, and health. Even the voters were interested in such issues; they did not give big importance to the Independence Referendum.

Campaigns differed from one party to another. The SNP transferred its optimistic view about Scotland's future and invited Scottish people to vote for "Scottish

Government working for Scotland” (Krejcovà 30) Whereas the Labors led a negative campaign, at first against the Conservatives, and with the close of elections, it targeted the SNP because of its stance towards independence.

The Scottish National Party won the election with a majority of seats; 69 of 129 which meant 22 more seats. Consequently it formed a majority government for the first time in Scotland. This success showed that the SNP was on the right way, and that its popularity was keeping on increasing steadily. Unlike all other parties which lost seats, Labors kept on declining. It gained 37 seats; 9 seats lesser than the previous election. Conservatives got 15 seats, and the Liberal Democrats, which was the biggest loser, with a loss of 11 seats. (Krejcovà 31)

IX. Independence Referendum

Following the extraordinary victory of the SNP, Alex Salmond, its leader decided to add more powers for the Scottish Parliament to the already existed powers stated in the Scotland Bill. And he declared that the independence referendum will take place in the latter half of government term. (Krejcovà 32)

The Scotland Act of 2012 was passed. The act augmented the fiscal powers of the Scottish Parliament, and it created a new rate of income tax and borrowing powers. In addition to this, it produced new devolved powers over air-guns, drink driving and speed limits.

The SNP Government initiated its “Your Scotland, Your Future” campaign to realize its goal in settling up an independence referendum. In response, the Liberal Democrats posed a Home Rule commission. In which they demanded to ensure extra powers for the Scottish Parliament. Their justification for this step was that the

Scottish people needed fiscal federalism more than independence; for them, it was a priority.

Since the SNP have not fixed a date or a specific question for the Referendum, the UK showed its intention to help them in timing and content aspects, and this was clearly stated by David Cameron UK Prime Minister” *the greater clarity on the timing of the vote is needed ... because we owe the Scottish people something that is fair, legal and decisive*”. (Krejcovà 33) Accordingly, discussion between the Scottish Secretary Michael Moore and First Minister Alex Salmond started to regulate those issues. They came out with a consultation paper “Your Scotland, Your Referendum” which consisted of the timing of the Referendum, the autumn of 2014, and the question to be asked on voters “Should Scotland be an independent country?” (Krejcovà 34)

Both Scottish and British governments signed the Edinburgh Agreement in the autumn of 2012. This agreement granted more powers for Scotland to hold the referendum and determined that there will be only one question for voters to answer. It also allowed 16 and 17 years old citizens to participate in the vote. The date was announced by Alex Salmond in March, 2013, and the referendum was held on the 18 of September 2014. (Krejcovà 35)

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter and with the data it provides, we arrive at the fact that the Scottish people were not satisfied with the Union since the beginning as it was forced on Scotland for the previously stated reasons, their dissatisfaction was clearly shown in the Jacobite Rebellions along the eighteenth century.

This chapter also shed light on the Scottish National Party, the hero of Scotland that played a major role in raising the sense of “Nationalism”. And thanks to its policies and successful strategies in the general elections campaigns, its public support increased steadily, as well as its parliamentary seats, which enabled the party to form a majority government in 2011. Consequently it achieved its primary goal in holding the 2014 Independence Referendum by which it came closer from achieving its desire of autonomy.

Chapter Two:

The Motives of the Scottish Desire for

Independence

The Motives of the Scottish Desire for Independence

Introduction

The second chapter of this dissertation holds the title: “The Motives of the Scottish Desire for Independence”, it deals with the main arguments which the Scottish Government based on in its debate for independence.

This chapter focuses mainly on the economic arguments for independence. It highlights the economic strengths of Scotland, which allow it to stand as an independent country, as well as the weaknesses of Westminster’s policies, which have negative impact on Scotland.

In addition to the economic arguments, this chapter deals with political and social issues such as: democracy and inequality. Finally it demonstrates the vitality of the Scottish National Identity as the most important motive for independence.

I. National Identity

National identity is the main argument for the Scottish people who are in favor of independence. Their claim is that Scotland is a nation. Which has a distinct identity; thus it has the right to be independent and rule itself by itself like most nations do. (Curtice 3)

The Scottish National Party was the first to claim the right of “home rule” for Scotland in the 1970s. Since its victory in 1974 elections, nationalism became a very popular issue. The Labor Party also contributed in the rise of nationalism. As a result, attitudes towards devolution for Scotland changed. This latter prepared the perfect environment in which the Scottish Parliament could be reestablished after more than 290 years. Since then, nationalism continued to be a dominant power on the Scottish

political agenda until it resulted in the Independence Referendum due to the victory of the SNP in the general election which allowed it to form a majority government in 2011 (Leewis 4)

For Kevin Williamson the Scottish identity had always occupied an essential part of SNP's agenda, this latter had always promoted that key cultural element and tried to strengthen it, through supporting its symbols, such as the Scottish National Anthem. Williamson asserts the SNP's sense of national identity as "positive" in his book "Breaking up Britain" he describes the perfect environment for independence to emerge in "When a positive and self-confident sense of Scottish identity is forged to a desire for democratic self-Government and social justice then Scottish Independence will become an irresistible force". (Williamson 65)

I.1.The Scottish Evolution of the Public Opinion towards Nationalism

The sense of nationalism was clearly observed among public in surveys mainly the "Moreno National Identity Question", 1988, about whether the inhabitants of Scotland feel themselves "Scottish", "British", "more Scottish than British", "more British than Scottish" or "equally Scottish and British". This survey indicates that 23 percent considered themselves as "Scottish", 30 percent considered themselves "more Scottish than British", 30 percent saw themselves "equally Scottish and British" while only 6% considered themselves "British" and other 5 percent answered with "more British than Scottish" (Curtice 4)

More precised research, in 1997, showed that 61 percent of the assessed people described themselves as only Scottish or more Scottish than British. These surveys about national identification showed that Scots have been progressively more recognizing themselves as solely Scottish (Leewis 4)

Ewing divided Nationalism into three forms Cultural, economic, and social under which he highlighted the arguments supporting Scottish Independence. Cultural nationalists claimed that since the Scottish people have a unique and separate national identity they should rule themselves by themselves. They believe that Independence is the rational situation for Scotland and any other country.

Economic nationalists claimed that Scotland would be a very rich and prosperous country if it takes control over its economic affairs rather than remaining a part of United Kingdom. They believe that “Independence” is the solution to improve the economic situation, especially in the depressed areas, like Glasgow which suffers from unemployment, and the Highlands where life is very expensive.

Social nationalists believed that independence will make the Scottish people more sympathetic and helpful with each other, and, consequently, strengthen the fiber of the Scottish society (Ewing, Erickson 92)

I.2.Gaelic Language

The Scottish National Party considers Gaelic as a part of the Scottish identity; since it encouraging Gaelic would take the Scottish identity to prosperity. In SNP’s manifesto of 1983 which was under the slogan” Safeguarding Scotland’s Identity”, the party aimed at conditioning a frame in which the Scotland culture could prosper and develop thus it focused on three areas: education, Gaelic, and, arts and media. It suggested a Scottish independent press.

The Scottish National Party also called for refreshing the use of Gaelic like the old days when it was largely spoken in Scotland and considered a part of the national heritage, the SNP figured up some solutions in order to support Gaelic amongst:

depending on a bilingual system, establishing a Gaelic national library and a Gaelic university.

The manifesto shed lights on education in general but it focused on teaching history. The party viewed this latter as not successful in conveying and teaching the children the history and past of their nation, referring the causes of this failure to the English culture, and history shadows and dominance. The SNP asserted that by teaching the national history, the national identity would stay alive for the next generations (Leewis 59)

II. The Major Motives of Scotland's Debate for Independence

The fundamental goal of independence is to create a better life for the Scottish people within their country. The Scottish Government argues that both the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Government are the only bodies that care most about Scotland and the Scottish interests, it adds that after the devolution of 1997 and the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, the parliament performed very well in the devolved areas, and the decisions it took were beneficial for the Scottish people. However concerning the reserved areas, the Scottish people suffered from the Westminster decisions.

The main principles of the debate for the Scottish Independence are democracy, prosperity and fairness. For the Scottish Government, independence is the ability of the Scottish people to rule their country the way that feeds their needs, and when they gain the economic and social powers, the Scottish people will be able to lead their nation to prosperity and social justice because if the powers of decision-making are transferred from Westminster to Holyrood the policies and strategies the government will follow will fit the values and the principles of the Scottish people. Consequently

will reduce the gap between the rich and the poor, and will provide more opportunities for every inhabitant in Scotland. Eventually, a better and strong society will emerge. (www.scotreferendum.com)

II. 1. For a More Democratic Scotland

The Scottish Government believes that no one can rule Scotland better than the Scottish themselves. It argues that it is not necessary to get every decision right. It also insists that the decisions they made for their economy and society will be more suitable and much better for Scotland's sake than the decisions made by Westminster.

In addition, the Scottish Government admits the success the Scottish Parliament achieved. Even with limited powers, it proved its abilities through its achievements: it provided free personal care for the elderly, as well as free education for the Scottish students. In this regard, the Scottish Government claims that, if the Scottish Parliament gains the remaining powers over taxation system, social security and defense, it will do a great job and make the better decisions for Scotland.

Moreover, independence will allow the Scottish people to get the government they choose and vote for. Previously, Scotland has suffered from a democratic deficit for 34 years since 1945 till 1979. It had not a majority government. Instead it was governed by Westminster, which forced its policies and strategies on Scotland even when the Scottish elected Westminster MPs, they opposed them.

The images of democratic deficit can be seen in present Westminster Government, amongst: the unfair welfare changes like "The Bedroom Tax" such decisions made by Westminster Government are paid costly by Scottish families and communities. The Scottish Government assumes that the consequences of these decisions will last for long time. And it argues that this is happening because Scotland

is governed by a government it did not choose and vote for, and this situation will change only under independence. (www.scotreferendum.com)

III. 1. 1. A Written Constitution for Scotland

The deputy First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, argued that independence is an opportunity for Scotland to settle down a written constitution that, as she states, *“embodies the values of the nation, secures the rights of citizens, provides a clear distinction between the state and the government of the day, and guarantees a relationship of respect and trust between the institutions of the nation and its people”*. (www.scotland.gov.uk)

The Scottish Government argued that Scotland should have its own written constitution which is to be established according to the values and principles of its people, and which protects and strengthens Scottish individuals rights in different areas. It also considers it as a linking tool between different institutions of state and the Scottish people. In other words, the written constitution will define how the country works. (www.scotland.gov.uk)

Furthermore, the Scottish Government insisted in its debate on the results and the advantages of the written constitution for Scotland, which are: improving transparency and full democracy, and securing individuals rights, even from Parliament itself i.e. the rights stated by the constitution cannot be abolished by a parliament decision. Nevertheless The Scottish Government promised to include certain provisions to the written constitution after achieving independence, to spread democracy in Scotland, amongst: ensuring equality of opportunity for all Scottish individuals, as well as tolerance and fairness, in addition to this, securing individuals dignity and self-respect. (www.scotland.gov.uk)

II. 2. For a Non-Nuclear Weapon State

Scotland contains about 200 nuclear bombs. The majority of them are found on the Trident¹⁵. The SNP is seeking a country with no nuclear weapons. The “Yes Scotland” campaign argues that Britain is spending millions of pounds from Scottish people money on nuclear weapons.

In 2013, the SNP decided to include a provision in the written constitution of an independent Scotland that bans the nuclear weapons, and it shows its intention to join Nuclear Weapons Free Zones (NWFZ).¹⁶

The SNP’s plan, after removing the Trident from the Scottish waters, is to use the saved money which was spent on weapons on conventional defense and social welfare. (www.banthebomb.org)

II. 3. For a More Prosperous Scotland

Westminster kept the key economic powers even after devolution. It controls taxations system, the public spending limits, and business and industry affairs. Although these powers are the responsible for Scotland’s growth and prosperity, but they remained under Westminster domination. Even though the successive devolved Scottish governments had major roles in increasing employment rate in the Scottish society, as well as encouraging inward investment. The Scottish Government argues that this success will enlarge as soon as the main economic decisions will be

¹⁵ **Trident:** is an American system. The missiles are leased from the US Navy. All of the equipment required to launch the missiles, and the computer software to target them, is purchased from the United States.

¹⁶ **Nuclear Weapons Free Zones (NWFZ):** is a specified region in which countries commit themselves not to manufacture, acquire, test, or possess nuclear weapons. Five such zones exist today, with four of them spanning the entire Southern Hemisphere. The regions currently covered under NWFZ agreements include: Latin America (the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco), the South Pacific (the 1985 Treaty of Rarotonga), Southeast Asia (the 1995 Treaty of Bangkok) Africa (the 1996 Treaty of Pelindaba) and Central Asia (the 2006 Treaty of Semipalatinsk).

transferred from Westminster to Holyrood. It also asserted Scotland's wealth and economic strengths that enable it to stand as an independent country. (www.scotreferendum.com)

II.3.1. The Scottish Economy

A report on Scotland's microeconomic framework done by the Fiscal Commission Working Group (FCWG) resulted in considering Scotland a very rich and productive country by international standards, even if the North Sea oil is omitted the GVA¹⁷ per head is 99 percent of UK average and considered the uppermost in the United Kingdom besides London and the South East.

On the international level key indicators show that Scotland's economy is performing vigorously; however some of its competitors exceed it in some areas, yet it is able to improve in such areas like business development. While within UK Scotland is classified the third highest region in term of GDP¹⁸ per capita in 2011 after London and South East, on other key economic indicators it is also doing much better than other zones in UK; what is paradoxical is that although Scotland is performing well economically within UK yet it remains beyond its international competitors in main fields. (<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0041/00414291.pdf>)

II. 3. 2. The British Economy

The Scottish Government argued that UK economy is facing many challenges; the United Kingdom has an ageing population which will affect negatively the public resources, in addition to this, the economic policy followed by UK successive governments decreased its resistance to economic shocks. Annually since 1984 UK

¹⁷**GVA** : Gross Value added is a measure of the contribution of an industry to economic activity and approximates to total turnover minus inputs purchased.

¹⁸**GDP**: Gross Domestic Product is a measure of the output of an economy; it is used to compare different countries globally. GDP growth is the key indicator of the health of the country.

was recording accounts deficit in payments balance and since 2007 the trade-weighted value of Sterling decreased by 24 percent. These challenges are damaging UK economy, and not serving the Scottish one as well; UK unsuccessful economic policy prevents it from developing and flourishing. Thus the Scottish Government argued that independence would create devices and opportunities to enhance the Scottish economy and push it to higher level of international competition and consequently it would provide better chances for all. (www.scotland.gov.uk)

II.3.3. Scotland's Economic Strengths and Privileges

The Scottish Government based on a main economic argument to support its debate over Independence which is: that Scotland would be a successful independent country. It claims that Scotland's ability to meet the expense of independence is undoubted due to its strong financial foundations and its fiscal position relying on the Prime Minister David Cameron's statement: "*Supporters of Independence will always be able to cite examples of small independent and thriving economies across Europe such as Finland, Switzerland and Norway. It would be wrong to suggest that Scotland could not be another such successful, independent country*". (www.scotland.gov.uk) it stated a number of economic privileges and strengths Scotland is characterized by mainly:

II.3.3.1. Scotland's Natural Resources

Scotland is a very rich country with energy resources it is expected that 24 billion barrels to be dig out from the North Sea although some industry experts believe that this number could be higher. Scotland has 25% of Europe's off-shore wind and 10% of Europe's wave resource in addition to tidal resources Scotland covers one third of

its electricity needs from renewable power what make it one of the best regions in the world for investment in renewable technology. (www.scotland.gov.uk)

II.3.3.2. North Sea Oil and Gas

The North Sea oil was discovered in 1960s and began to be extracted by the 1970s. The Scottish National party based on that economic advantage it in its campaign for the 1974 general elections. And since then this issue took a very important place in the SNP's political agenda. For several decades it used the North Sea oil as a strong argument to defend the economic arguments for Scottish Independence in 2014 referendum campaign. (Liddell 3)

The Hydrocarbon sector has a great contribution in the Scottish economy. Since 1970s, it has added around 300£ billion in tax receipts to the British exchequer. According to the Scottish Government, if the Scottish shares of North Sea output are counted the GDP per head raises to 118 percent, and even if it is omitted, the GDP per head is 99 percent which is considered the highest within UK, outside the South East and London. The Scottish Government argues that the number of changes in tax imposed by Westminster had negative impact on production and investment in this sector. (Liddell 5)

The Scottish Government also defines its duties and responsibility in meeting the needs and interests of Scottish individuals, communities, as well as business. Thus with the transfer of decision-making powers to the Scottish Government, it promised to cover the needs of this sector and improves it so that it can grow and compete internationally. In addition to this, it added that North Sea oil is a Scottish ownership, thus the Scottish people has the right to benefit from. (Liddell 6)

The main argument presented by the Scottish Government to defend its position is that Scotland can afford to be independent due to the oil and gas revenues which have contributed for four decades to the Scottish economy. It also provided jobs for 200.000 people. This is why it is considered as a fertile field for investment. This sector is also considered as the highest contributor, among the other industrial sectors to GDP. (Liddell 8)

The Scottish Government focuses on the significant success of the successive Scottish governments in this sector in spite of its limited powers. It argues that with independence and the full Scottish control over this sector, the Scottish Government will be able to address the needs of Scotland's oil and gas sector, and accordingly, it will grow and flourish and benefit the Scottish people. (Liddell 9)

II.3.3.3. Human Resources

In addition to the richness of their land with natural resources, the Scottish people are well known to be a talented people in all domains especially in the scientific field due to their discoveries and creativity.

The Scottish Government asserts the “uniqueness” of Scotland since it combines talent and resources; and suggests that independence would allow Scots to invest their abilities in order to mobilize the natural resources in the way which best fit their country and society. (www.scotland.gov.uk)

II.3.3.4. Tourism

Scotland has a global reputation as a very attractive touristic destination. Tourism sector is a vital driver for the Scottish economy. It employs 200.000 people in 20.000 different jobs. It secures 9 percent of employment in Scotland. Moreover it provides

the Scottish economy with their over £4 billion returns. This sector has an important contribution to other sectors, such as transport, and food and drink.

Scotland has many environmental characteristics as well as social interaction and safety, which tourism depended on and prospered due to, for 200 years. Despite both World Wars and depression, this sector has flourished unlike other sectors. (www.visitscotland.org)

Scotland has specific features that attract visitors and tourists from all over the world to spend their holidays in. Its distinctive and colorful landscapes and cultures, in addition to this rich environment, visitors have numerous activities to do and enjoy while they are visiting Scotland, amongst: golf, sports, and exploring the richness of the Scottish history through visiting castles and historical sites. (www.visitscotland.org)

II.3.3.5. Food and Drink

Scotland has an international reputation as being a producer of good quality food and drink. Richard Lochhead; the Cabinet Secretary for Rural Affairs and the Environment, describes Scotland as the land of food and drink. This sector has largely contributed to the Scottish economy; it employs about 360.000 people and generates around £ 9.5 billion for Scotland. In addition to this overseas exportation achieves £5 annually, with whisky as the major exporter for Scotland. The success of this sector is increasing as the demand of Scottish food and drink is rising internationally. And with independence this sector will become more prosperous and comes with all the benefits for the Scottish people. (www.skilldevelopmentscotland.co.uk)

II.3.4. Cases Similar to Scotland

The Scottish Government provided examples of countries similar to Scotland to support its arguments for independence such as: Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway; these are amongst the richest countries in the world, mainly because they are independent and take the decisions that best suit their economies. Unlike Scotland's economic key powers are left to be taken by the British parliament which does not take the Scottish interests as a priority.

The Scottish Government argues that those countries have used the advantage of independence to boost their economies and to create better lives for the people living there. (www.scotland.gov.uk)

II.3.5. Social Justice

II.3.5.1. Inequality

The United Kingdom's economic policy caused income inequality within the Scottish society; which is high by international standards, this inequality is increasing and the gap between the rich and the poor is widening "*Inequality within the UK has increased in recent decades. Such patterns of inequality will continue to have a negative impact on growth and prosperity over the long-term*". (Bell, Eiser 4) Consequently the Scottish Government affirms that independence is the key solution to reduce this inequality, through the economic changes and developments it will bring mainly on taxation system David Bell and David Eiser argue in their book "Inequality in Scotland: trends, drivers, and implications for the independence debate" that by reducing inequality, social justice will be achieved. (6)

The Scottish Government is seeking to build a fairer Scottish society, claiming that the more fair society is, the more prosperous it will be. It also admits the progress under devolution but it wants more to be achieved under independence.

Independence will give a complete control upon economic powers to the Scottish Parliament and Government. The taxation system, employment law, and all other economic decisions will be taken by the Scots, and the needs and interests of Scottish people will be a priority. (8)

The Scottish Government argues that the main aim of independence is to secure its right of making its own decisions which will boost the economy. And consequently, it will improve their living standards; reduce poverty, unemployment, and inequality. In other words, independence will create a democratic, fairer, and prosperous nation. (Bell, Eiser 14)

Conclusion

Scotland is a powerful country economically and culturally; it has many privileges and economic privileges that give it the ability to survive as an independent country like other countries.

One major finding is that, the failure of UK's successive governments in adopting successful policies for both UK and Scotland had a negative impact on Scotland and how they prevent it from developing and prospering as a separate nation.

The Scottish increasing sense of national identity has strongly contributed to the debate over independence, the debate also based on three main principles, democracy, prosperity, and fairness, which are considered as main rights for the Scottish people.

Chapter Three:

The Scottish Independence Referendum

The Scottish Independence Referendum

Introduction

The third chapter of this dissertation holds the title “The Scottish Independence Referendum 2014”. It presents a descriptive and analytical account of the Scottish Independence Referendum, which was held on the last 18th September. This account started from the referendum legislative framework which includes: the Consultation Paper of January 2012, and the Edinburgh Agreement between the governments of Scotland and UK.

This chapter focuses mainly on the campaigning of this referendum, especially the campaign in favor of independence “Yes Scotland”: its activities, and the narratives it produced.

At the end, this chapter provides options and strategies for Scotland after the “No” vote in order to carry on in the road of complete independence.

I. The Legislative Framework of the Referendum

The constitutional future of Scotland has occupied an important position in the Scottish political agenda since the SNP won a thin majority of seats in the Scottish parliamentary elections of 2007. Then after it achieved a majority of seats in 2011 general elections, and formed a majority government. The issue flat, the Scottish Government consequently had a mandate, and the needed legislative means to hold a referendum on their self-determination. (Harvey, Lynch 2)

The SNP government put the bases for this referendum during its service as a minority government via the three year consultation, this consultation involved a national conversation and resulted in the production of “Scotland’s Future” and

through the Draft Referendum Bill Consultation paper in February 2010, This latter enabled the SNP to raise the public awareness about the referendum. In early 2012 the majority SNP government published “ Your Scotland , Your Referendum “, second consultation paper which made the road towards the referendum clearer. Both consultations were seen as blueprint for the legislation of the referendum.

Another legislation for the referendum was the Edinburgh Agreement which was signed between Scotland and UK governments. In this agreement, they agreed to put hand in hand to successfully hold the referendum on the Scottish Independence. The governments decided on certain points concerning the referendum. (Harvey, Lynch 3)

I.1. “Your Scotland Your Referendum”

After being elected in 2011, the Scottish Government had authorization to hold an independence referendum during the term (2011-2016), which would define Scotland’s constitutional future. The Scottish independence question was the subject of many debates by different public figures, including politicians, businessmen, and academics.

To prepare for the Independence Referendum, the Scottish Government introduced a public consultation on January 2012, to collect people’s views and opinions about its proposals and suggestions for the Referendum on the Scottish Independence. The consultation paper is called “Your Scotland, Your Referendum”. It was published on 25th January 2012, and the public consultation lasted till 11 May 2012. The Scottish Government aimed from this consultation paper to make a Draft Referendum Bill, in which it set a suggested legal framework for carrying on the referendum. (Griesbach,Robertson,Waterton and Birch 6)

The consultation paper included nine open-ended questions, which seek answers and views about a number of issues, amongst: the phrasing of the referendum question, the design of the ballot paper, franchise, and campaign spending limits. The questions of “Your Scotland, Your Referendum” are stated below:

- Question 1: What are your views on the referendum question and the design of the ballot paper?
- Question 2: What are your views on the proposed timetable and voting arrangements?
- Question 3: What are your views on the inclusion of a second question in the Referendum and the voting system that could be used?
- Question 4: What are your views on the proposal to give the Electoral Management Board and its Convener responsibilities for the operational management of the Referendum?
- Question 5: What are your views on the proposal division of roles between the Electoral Management Board and the Electoral Commission?
- Question 6: What are your views on the idea that the Referendum could be held on a Saturday or on other days which would make voting easier?
- Question 7: What are your views on extending the franchise to those aged 16 and 17 years who are eligible to be registered on the electoral register?
- Question 8: What are your views on the proposed spending limits?
- Question 9: Do you have any other comments about the proposals in the draft Referendum Bill?

“Your Scotland, Your Referendum” also dealt with other issues, which were not the subject of questions amongst: giving the Scottish parliament the necessary powers

to legislate for the Scottish independence referendum. (Griesbach,Robertson,Waterton and Birch 7)

I.2. The Edinburgh Agreement

On the 15th October 2012, the Governments of the United Kingdom and Scotland signed the Edinburgh Agreement, in which they committed to collaborate to ensure that the referendum on Scottish independence would take place. The Parliaments of UK and Scotland made an order under Section 30 of the Scotland Act 1998, which allowed the Scottish Parliament to be the legislator of the referendum .i.e. it is its responsibility to select the timing and the question of the referendum, the franchise, and the finance of campaigning. Accordingly the Scottish Independence Referendum Act was passed by the Scottish Parliament. (www.electoralcommission.org.uk) The Act provided two roles which are summarized below:

I.2.1. The Chief Counting Officer

Mary Pitcaithly, the Convener of the Electoral Management Board for Scotland (EMB), was appointed by the Scottish Ministers as the Chief Counting Officer (CCO) for the referendum, in her turn she selected the Chief Executive of the city of Edinburgh, Sue Bruce as Deputy Chief Counting Officer, the CCO chose Counting Officers for the local governments areas in Scotland which are 32, in their turn, the Co_s selected deputies to help them in their work.

The CCO had many responsibilities; she had to conduct the Referendum, the poll, as well as the counting of votes. She was also responsible for appointing COs, and guiding them to do their functions appropriately. In addition to this, she had the mission of encouraging the Scottish people to participate and give their votes. And the

most important responsibility was to state officially the overall results of the Independence Referendum. (www.electoralcommission.org.uk)

I.2.2. The Electoral Commission

The Electoral Commission had numerous functions; it was responsible for: advising, registering the campaigners of the referendum, in addition to spending and donation matters, it was also its responsibility to raise public awareness towards the referendum, as well as making reports about how the referendum acts. Beside all these functions it had advised on the referendum question and the campaigning spending limits before the Scottish Independence Referendum was presented to the Scottish Parliament. (www.electoralcommission.org.uk)

II. The Scottish Independence Referendum and the Right of Self-Determination

The Scottish Independence referendum; which was held on the 18th, September 2014, and in which the Scottish expressed freely their will, presented one of the most ideal form of self-determination in the post colonial world. The Scottish people through this referendum have practiced their right of self-determination; which is a very strong core principle in Human Rights Law¹⁹, this legal principle has largely influenced the Scottish political area, and this impact appeared in the Devolution Referendums and the Independence Referendum. (Scheffer 5)

David Scheffer in his book *International Political and Legal Implications of Scottish Independence* considers Scotland as a model of modern self-determination

¹⁹ **Human Rights Law:** Universal human rights are often expressed and guaranteed by law, in the forms of treaties, customary international law, general principles and other sources of international law. International human rights law lays down obligations of Governments to act in certain ways or to refrain from certain acts, in order to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals or groups.

since it follows a non violent process. He describes the process as “stages of sophisticated and politically dynamic devolution” to reach the Independence Referendum. (6)

Scotland with its Independence Referendum is also a good example of sub-state self-determination, which adopts “Devolution” and is still a part of a historical union of previous independent nations, and which is seeking to restore its former sovereignty. Scheffer used the term “sub-state” self-determination to describe the attempts of a community within an existing state to break up, and establish an independent state due to historical, economic and many other factors. He also classified Scotland, beside Wales and Northern Ireland, as “sub-state self-determination movements” within the United Kingdom, each with different degree of power.

The Scottish people are noticed to be very active in the political field through their participation in the Devolution movement, by which they chose the form of government they desired. This is called the right of “Internal Self-Determination”, which is indicated mainly by the Scotland Act of 1998, and the establishment of the Scottish Parliament. While for the case of the Scottish Independence Referendum, this kind of self-determination is called “External self-determination” by which the Scottish people could choose sovereignty and complete independence from the domination of the United Kingdom.

The International Law does not prevent this kind of referendums because it was a peaceful attempt from the Scottish people to restore their sovereignty under the umbrella of “Modern Self-Determination”; accordingly the Scottish Independence Referendum was legitimate. (6)

III. The Referendum Campaigns

III.1. “Yes Scotland”

The campaign in support of the Scottish Independence, “Yes Scotland” started officially on the 25th, May 2012 within an event at a cinema in Edinburgh, with the participation of many celebrities and politicians, who gave supporting speeches for the Referendum. On the 27th June, a Chief Executive was appointed while the remained roles were appointed in the late summer 2012, allowing the organization to open its offices in Glasgow, on the 20th August.

“Yes Scotland” has established national campaign days; it also created local events throughout Scotland, as an attempt to make the organization emerge from local campaigners. The Campaign depended on traditional organizational techniques and social media to form local networks, not a party network. It did not only rely on political parties. “Yes Scotland” was financed by major supporters of SNP. It provided the necessary means: campaign materials, logos, and online designs for local campaigners to grasp public interest.

The leading members of this organization belong to the Green Party, the Scottish Socialist Party and also non party members mainly the Chief Executive of the organization: Blair Jenkins. The campaigners did their best to convince people to sign the “Yes Declaration”²⁰; those who signed it became automatically campaigners within “Yes Scotland”, and formed activist networks which conducted campaigning.

(Adamson, Lynch 6)

²⁰ “**Yes Declaration**”: a statement of intent to support the independence of Scotland. The “Yes campaign” aimed to have one million residents of Scotland sign it. Signatures could be input electronically by supporters using the campaign's website, and were also collected by grassroots activists who were encouraged to campaign in their local communities and around Scotland at appropriate events.

III.1.1. “Yes Scotland” Team

This organization embraces varied groups of independence supporters, with moderate and radical perspectives for independence. From the moderate point of view, those people support change meanwhile they agree that the Queen remains as, head of the state. On the other hand, the radicals were seeking for complete independence in order to shift the major powers to Scotland.

Independence is supported by official as well as unofficial parties. The SNP and the SSP proceeded and were followed by the Greens after their party’s meeting on the 6th October, in Glasgow, A Labor for Independence was also formed on the 27th July 2012. In addition to these groups, a group of non-aligned voters joined the campaign.

Many other organizations formed a part of the wide “Yes Scotland” amongst, the Radical Independence Conference, Women for Independence, and the National Collective (its members belong to the creative sector such as writers). (Adamson and Lynch 7)

III.1.2. The Narratives of Yes Scotland

Throughout its campaigning “Yes Scotland” has advanced three main narratives: the democracy narrative, the fairness narrative, and the devolution narrative.

III.1.2.1. The Democracy Narrative

“Yes Scotland” initiated its campaign with this narrative in 2012; it put democracy in the center of its political arguments. This narrative supports Scottish self-government, and shows the Scottish dissatisfaction from the idea that UK institutions are ruling their country. The democracy narrative was established according to facts

extracted from surveys, which showed that the Scottish people want their devolved government to have extra powers. (Adamson, Lynch 7)

In addition to publicity and raising public awareness, “Yes Scotland” used its major efforts to publish the “Yes Declaration” and convince people to sign it, the signatories then were gathered by local groups across Scotland to build a base of committed activists for Scotland’s independence.

The “Yes Declaration” is characterized by its democracy content:

“I believe it is fundamentally better for us all, if decisions about Scotland ‘futures are taken by the people who care most about Scotland, that is, by the people of Scotland.

Being independent means Scotland’s future will be in Scotland’s hands.

There is no doubt that Scotland has great potential. We are blessed with talent, resources and creativity. We have the opportunity to make our nation a better place to live, for this and future generations. We can build a greener, fairer and more prosperous society that is stronger and more successful than it is today”²¹

Adamson and Peter Lynch describe the discourse of the Yes Declaration by “sovereignist”, it has considerable antecedents with democracy narratives such as: the devolution campaigns of 1990s, which shed light on the success which would be achieved if the parliament was to be elected locally, and was concerned with the

²¹ The Yes Declaration 2012

Scottish issues, and the most important is to make it more democratic. (Adamson, Lynch 8)

III.1.2.2. The Fairness Narrative

The “Yes Campaign” with its groups and parties argue that independence is the key to create a fairer Scottish society as well as to develop the country’s economy, given the three main parties belonging to the “Yes Campaign” are: Social Democrats, Socialists, and Greens. The fairness narrative enhances together with the devolved powers and the abilities of the Scotland Act, in addition to some of the strategies followed by different Scottish Governments.

The main goal of this narrative is to activate the Scottish national identity according to the social democratic values, as well as to define the weaknesses within the society and fix them. In his speech, Alex Salmond describes Scotland as a “progressive beacon” within the United Kingdom due to its successful policies in many fields, such as: education and health.

This kind of narratives has a great significance, because of UK’s austerity program and spending cuts. Therefore, the fairness narrative was introduced to make boundaries between a social democratic Scotland and a conservative Britain. Moreover this narrative emphasizes the achievements made by the Scottish Labor’s transformation of position on devolved policies. (Adamson, Lynch 9)

III.1.2.3. The Devolution Narrative

The third narrative of “Yes Scotland” is the devolution narrative, through which it seeks to explain that potential independence is a development which is resulted from the achievements of devolution such as: free personal care and free higher education,

which are associated to the other two narratives. “Yes Campaign” has advanced this narrative to transfer a main idea to the Scottish voters, which is that “Independence is the natural extension of Devolution”. In other words, devolution is the mother of independence. Also this narrative’s aim is to warn them about the dangers which threaten the Scottish values and policies if Scotland remains a part of the United Kingdom. (Adamson, Lynch 9)

III.2. Better Together

III.2.1. Formation and Activities

The basis of “Better Together” campaign was established through a number of informal discussions between the Conservatives, Labors, and Liberal Democrats. It took place at the home of Alistair Darling in Edinburgh. The media covered them since February, 2012 onwards, in addition to discussions about a “Rainbow Coalition” between David McLetchie (a conservative), Willie Rennie (Scottish Liberal Democrat leader), and Anas Sarwar (Labor’s Scottish Deputy Leader). “Better Together” became a formal organization, its office was located in Edinburgh, with the Labor advisor: Blair McDougall as the campaign leader, and the Liberal Democrats: Alistair Darling, David MacLetchie, and Craig Harrow as directors of a registered company.

“Better Together” started officially on the 25th June 2012 after one month of the launch of “Yes Scotland” campaign. Its launch event was different from that of “Yes Scotland” in that it avoided the presence of celebrities. Either, it focused on politicians to serve its cross-party dimension. “Better Together” strategy was: focusing on ordinary people and why they support the union with the United Kingdom, via a collection of short movies and interviews with politicians, who asked them about their opinions and views on a Scotland within the United Kingdom.

The most interesting thing about this campaign is the choice of the name “Better Together” which is quite different from 1970s anti-devolution campaigns: “Scotland is British” or “Scotland says No”, and also different from 1997 “Think Twice” campaign. “Better Together” omitted being styled as the “No” campaign. Its title confirms this fact. (Adamson, Lynch 13)

Peter Lynch and Kevin Adamson suggested that “Better Together” reveals certain “Morenoisation”, as he describes, because it treats the national identity and, meanwhile, it focuses on the overlapping national identities of the Scottish people rather than stand as anti-Scottish. “Better Together” focused on its both facets the Scottish and the British. This is quite obvious in its name, logos, publicity material, and narratives.

Since its beginning, “Better Together” has functioned on a group of levels. Some of its activities were similar to those of “Yes Scotland”, in the way that it includes grassroots campaigners and relied on social media. This campaign has affected a number of campaign events; its aim was to create a grassroots network. “Better together”, like did “Yes Scotland” sought to strengthen its local campaigners, and provided them with the necessary finance to carry on their campaigning.

“Better Together” suggested to its supporters to design logos, and published leaflet ideas, it also distributed a petition in support of a Scotland within the United Kingdom, the petition allowed it to gather emails and addresses of signatories; and consequently, it generated a data-base of supporters.

On the political side, Lynch and Adamson argue that “Better Together” has a mixture of advantages and disadvantages, in both its structure and campaigning. The combination of Conservatives, Labors, and Liberal Democrats refrained the delivery

of its messages. It only produce “vague, mysterious, and general statements” about the role of Scotland within the United Kingdom, which means that these parties and the organization are united in their attitudes towards independence, and both attacked it negatively, but they failed in establishing a case in favor of the Anglo-Scottish union. The unity of these three political parties was undermined by many political messages. On the other hand, “Better Together” has the numerical superiority; three parties to one which allows the “No Campaign” to exceed the “Yes Campaign” in political attacks. (Adamson, Lynch 14)

III.2.2. Better Together Discourse

The narratives used by “Better Together” are related to chains of equivalence. This style works the same as the ones expressing the political speech of the “Yes Scotland” campaign. The narrative is based on making two chains of equivalence: the first one is concerned with the point of “union”, while the second is based on opposing the “Yes Campaign” point of “independence”, which the campaign changed it with the term “separation”, in order to underestimate Independence. (Adamson, Lynch 15)

In the first chain of equivalence “union”, the “Better Together” tried to shed light on the importance of the Scotland and United Kingdom’s union, and give it positive meaning. In doing so, it used a group of terms, amongst: security, stability, partnership, together, financial, strength, links, ties, social union, share, centuries, and pride. (Adamson and Lynch P16) Alistair Darling, its leader stated:

“There is much in Scotland and the UK today that needs to change. We need more growth, more jobs, and more prosperous Scotland. To argue, as I do, that Scotland is

better within the UK is not to deny that change needs to happen. Rather our argument is that we will have better choices open to us to make the changes we need as a strong part of the UK”²²

IV. Campaigning Materials and Focus

The tools and materials which the two campaigns depended on in their campaigning are: TV ads, online ads, direct email, leaflets through doors, events and social media. Many issues were present in the agenda of both campaigns, mainly: civil liberties, cost of living, currency, defense, economy, education, North Sea oil, and self-determination. But the degree of focus towards these issues differed between “Better Together” and “Yes Scotland”. (Randall 10)

A survey was carried on by Unlock Democracy, in which people were asked about the issues which each campaign has most focused on. The results showed that the “Better Together” campaign focused primarily on economic-related issues such as: currency, cost of living, and taxation, in addition to the defense issue. The “No Campaign”, according to respondents’ views, based more on personalities unlike the “Yes Campaign”.

On the other hand, the “Yes Scotland” campaign in its turn focused on a number of issues mainly: self-determination. Other issues also occupied a part of its agenda, we mention: civil liberties, education, and nuclear weapons. It is obvious from the survey results that “Better Together” has successfully tackled the issues which seem to be the most prominent for respondents during the campaign. (Randall 11)

²² See < www.bettertogether.net >

V. Campaigning Tone and Impact

In the survey about the impact campaigning; the respondents were asked to grade the tone of each campaign. Results showed that “Yes Scotland” was successful in conducting the more positive and effective campaign; it achieved 6.6 out of 9, while “Better Together” got 2.4. (Randall 14)

VI. The Referendum Results

In the polling day, the 18th September 2014, the vote was opened at 7 am, and the voting rates were steadily high throughout the day. Police and observers described the atmosphere in the polling centers to be good and calm despite some reports of incidents. The count of votes started as soon as the close of poll at 10pm and lasted along the night. (www.electoralcommission.org.uk)

On the 19th September 2014, at 9 am the CCO declared the results of the Referendum as they are stated below:

The turnout was about 84.6% of votes; 3.623.344 counted votes

2.001.926 people voted “No” (55.25%)

1.617.989 people voted “Yes” (44.65%) (www.electoralcommission.org.uk)

VII. Further Options for Independence

Despite the Referendum results and the wishes of the unionist parties, the issue of independence has not vanished, and this is quite obvious in the raising of the electoral support for the “Yes” Parties. Wilson argues that this situation is able to change unless there is an intelligent strategy to follow. He suggests the key areas by which the Scottish Government can reach independence. (Wilson 3)

VII.1. Europe

The UK will have to hold an “in-out” referendum on EU membership if the Tories²³ win as it is expected. Thus its EU membership depends on the English votes, giving the disproportion of populations between the parts of the United Kingdom.

If the referendum results in an “out” vote and in case, the SNP has campaigned for a mandate, a democratic majority will support EU membership via a declaration of independence, and as an introductory step to demand an immediate access to the European Economic Area. Consequently, the economic arguments will stand in favor of remaining with Europe and against risking with London. (Wilson 4)

VII.2. A Second Referendum

If the European outcome does not provide immediate independence, the Scottish Government has the opportunity to hold a second referendum in a period which extends from 5 to 20 years. Wilson argues that in case of a second referendum, the mistakes of 2014 should not be repeated, mainly the failure of the “Yes campaign” to win the economic arguments. He also emphasizes that there will be no third chance. Thus, the independence activists should not hold the referendum for the sake of just holding it either they should win it. Accordingly, it should be held if the support for independence exceeds 55 percent. (Wilson 4)

Wilson judges the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum because it did not provide a long-term vision of Scotland; it just gave it the vision of “fairness and social justice”. Also, it did not offer the long-term of Scotland as economically successful

²³ **Tories:** The Scottish Conservatives, officially the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party, and informally the Scottish Tories, is the section of the Conservative Party that operates in Scotland. Its leader in the Scottish Parliament is Ruth Davidson MSP, who has held the post since 2011.

and developing country, and this was the missing point since the Scottish people have the right to see the picture of their nation after a period of 5 to 20 years on, not after just one or two years.

The primary focus of the SNP agenda is to win elections. It puts all its efforts to achieve these short-term goals. It does not include a policy which serves its medium term aim of raising independence support, which would allow them to hold a second referendum and win it. Wilson suggests that the basis step for the next referendum is to establish an Independent Research and Communication Unit, which would project the case for independence to the “Yes” movement, and then to Scottish public. He adds that the SNP and other “Yes” political parties should gain back Scottish identity and self-confidence after the results of the last referendum. (Wilson 5)

Conclusion

The third chapter of this dissertation; “The Scottish Independence Referendum 2014”, sheds light on the legislative framework of the referendum starting with the Consultation Paper: “Your Scotland, Your Referendum”, and the Edinburgh Agreement. It also provides data about the campaigning of the referendum; the “No” campaign and the “Yes” campaign.

This chapter also explains how the Scottish people expressed an essential right through this referendum which is: self-determination. Moreover it gives the available options for Scotland after the decisive “No” result.

General Conclusion

Scotland was obliged to join Britain to form The United Kingdom because of financial difficulties, caused mainly by the failure of the Darien Scheme. Moreover, the ratification of the Treaty of Union itself was unanimous. The dissatisfaction of the Scottish people about the union was clearly obvious, firstly, in the attempt of 1713 to abolish the union, which was failed; secondly, in the Jacobite Rebellions of 1708, 1715, 1719, and 1745.

The Scottish National Party was the hero of the Scottish struggle for independence due to its role in increasing the sense of Scottish identity, and its achievements in the Scottish political scene, especially in 2011 general elections. This latter allowed it to form a majority government, and then to demand a referendum on independence, on September 2014.

The “Yes Campaign” was responsible of campaigning for the case in favor of independence; it provided powerful arguments for independence, it focused mainly on the economic strengths and the weaknesses of the United Kingdom’s economy which affect negatively Scotland, in addition to democracy, social justice and national identity.

The legal legislative framework of the Scottish Independence Referendum was largely based on the Consultation Paper, “Your Scotland Your Referendum”, and the Edinburgh Agreement. The Referendum was successfully held on the 18th September 2014, with a decisive “No” vote. However, the Scottish people practiced through it their right of self-determination, which is an essential right.

There must be kept in mind that, amongst all the strategic campaigning, the tactical objective of the Scottish National Party is to achieve complete independence.

The defeat of the 18th September 2014 must be considered only as a defeat in numbers, and not a defeat of a case. This result does not mean that the issue of Scottish Independence has gone for a generation; it is all about the Scottish people to make the decision of whether and when they want independence and the method they will follow in order to achieve their dream. And the question to be raised now is what will be the impact of Scottish independence on both Scotland and the United Kingdom.

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