"We Are a Family of Nations":

The Effects of the 2014 Scottish Quest for Independence

on the United Kingdom's Soft Power

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9 July 2015

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<u>Introduction</u>

On 16 May 2013, the British House of Lords commissioned a select committee to examine the soft power of the United Kingdom. In a lengthy report released on 28 March 2014, the committee states that it is important for the UK to "maintain its sense of purpose and direction: the British need to feel confident in knowing who we are and what our role is in a transformed and turbulent world"[1]. The question of British identity – of "who we are" – appears to be especially valid in the aftermath of the 2014 Scottish Referendum. Although 55% of the Scots voted against Scottish independence, nearly half of the Scots backed the Yes-campaign on Thursday 18 September 2014 and thus favoured an independent Scotland over a united family of nations. The British Prime Minister, David Cameron, was a fierce supporter of the "Better Together"-campaign, stressing the fact that the UK as a whole is "the soft power super power"[2] in a speech on 7 February 2014. However, has the recent Scottish Referendum harmed Great Britain's power in this respect and can the UK maintain the vital sense of purpose and direction necessary to better deploy its soft power if part of the UK's population do not and cannot identify themselves as British?

In this thesis it will be aimed to uncover if and how the debate surrounding the Scottish referendum and its outcome has affected and will affect the soft power of the United Kingdom. The main research question in this thesis will, therefore, be: to what extent has the debate surrounding the 2014 Scottish Referendum and its outcome affected the soft power exerted by the United Kingdom? In order to answer this question, the notion of soft power, as defined by Joseph S. Nye Jr., will be examined in the first chapter of this thesis. Consequently, the soft power resources employed by the United Kingdom will be discussed.

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[1] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 6.
[2] "David Cameron Speech Begging Scotland not to Split from the UK (07Feb14)", [Video File], Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrEVnUFnToo.

In the second chapter, British and Scottish national identity will be evaluated thus taking into account the fact that national identity can be present outside of nation states, such as Scotland. In the third chapter, the Scottish Referendum and the use of soft power resources in the "Better Together"-campaign will be examined, whereas the final chapter of this thesis will explore the international responses to the Scottish Referendum held on 18 September 2014 and will discuss whether the attraction of the United Kingdom abroad has decreased due to the events leading up to and following this day.

Chapter 1: Soft Power and the United Kingdom

Joseph S. Nye Jr. first explored the concept of soft power in his *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* published in 1990. Yet, although the term became more widely used just over two decades ago, the behaviour that denotes soft power is "as old as human history"[3] and should be seen as "a dance that requires partners"[4]. In contrast to hard power, which is the use of military and economic means to influence the behaviour or interests of other political bodies, soft power can be described as a state's ability to attract and persuade others through co-operation rather than through payment and coercion. In other words, soft power eschews traditional foreign policy, such as the threat of force or the inducement of payment, in favour of reliance on a state's institutions, culture, foreign policy and politics when attempting to shape the preferences of others[5]. According to Nye (2011), a country's soft power stems from three basic resources: its culture, its political values and its

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[3] Nye, 2011, 81.
[4] Nye, 2011, 84.
[5] McClory, 2010, 1.

foreign policies[6]. However, a state's economic resources – usually denoted as hard power

behaviour – can also be regarded as a resource of a state's soft power[7]. The Select Committee

on Soft Power and the UK's Influence has described soft power as "vital for modern nations'

security and prosperity"[8] and has urged the UK government to widen its public diplomacy in

various ways[9]. In this chapter, the soft power behaviour produced and exerted by the United

Kingdom and its government will be examined.

1.1 The UK's Employment of Soft Power Resources

In a speech on 7 February 2014, the current UK Prime Minister – David Cameron – named

the UK the "soft power super power", referencing the country's cultural resources – its music,

fashion, film and television – as well as its shared values: "freedom, solidarity,

compassion"[10]. Moreover, in a final emotional plea to the Scots to save the Union, given on

16 September 2014, David Cameron states that not economic might or military prowess

makes the United Kingdom great, but it's values: "British values. Fairness. Freedom.

Justice"[11]. These origins of the UK's soft power are echoed in a report on Britain's soft power

released on 28 March 2014 by the Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence.

In this report, the committee writes that soft power behaviour is essential due to the fact that

"military coercion alone is proving insufficient for defending nations' interests"[12]. The

committee furthermore argues that soft power impacts, influences and attracts others, because

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[6] Nye, 2011, 84.
[7] Nye, 2011, 84.
[8] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 5.
[9] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 7.
[10] "David Cameron Speech Begging Scotland not to Split from the UK (07Feb14)", [Video File], Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrEVnUFnToo.
[11] Lizzie Dearden. "Scottish Independence: Full Text of David Cameron's 'No Going Back' Speech", *The Independent*, Tuesday 16 September 2014, Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk.
[12] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 40.

"it relies to a significant degree on popular perceptions"[13]. However, by its very nature, soft power is "a relative and intangible concept that is inherently difficult to quantify"[14].

Although difficult to assess, two recent trends have caused the increased value of a soft power approach to foreign policy in the United Kingdom as well as in other states. According to McClory (2010), Britain's sources of traditional influence on a global scale have diminished due to the fact that the state has been facing significant cuts to its public spending[15]. As a consequence, traditional resources are diminished and the use of hard power resources is, therefore, no longer sufficient in the exertion of influence on others. Other resources thus need to be employed in order for the state to maintain its international influence. Moreover, the present nature of global affairs is more suited to a soft power approach. As argued by McClory (2010), today's global public is better informed and more involved in international politics than ever before, leading to the fact that public opinion changes frequently in the present world[16]. The so-called 'information revolution' has increased the abilities to communicate on an international scale as well as to access international information through the international media[17]. Therefore, the employment of soft power behaviour in the UK as well as in other states has become more important, since the exertion of soft power behaviour is suited better to the present nature of international affairs as well as to the domestic policies of the United Kingdom.

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[13] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 40.
[14] McClory, 2010, 1.
[15] McClory, 2010, 2.
[16] McClory, 2010, 2-3.
[17] Vickers, 2004, 183.

1.2 Origins of the UK's Soft Power

According to McClory (2010), two of Great Britains' key diplomacy assets are The British Council and the BBC World Service[18]. These organisations can be stored under one of the primary resources of a state's soft power, as argued by Nye (2011): culture[19]. Power can be measured in behavioural terms as well as in terms of resources and three of its basic resources, as previously argued in the first paragraph to this chapter, are culture, political values and foreign policies[20]. Public diplomacy plays an important part in the employment of these resources, since this can be viewed as an instrument which a government can use to exercise these resources in order to communicate with and attract the attention of the population of other states, rather than that of governments alone[21]. When discussing the resources of soft power, culture should be seen as "the set of practices that create meaning for a society"[22]. A distinction, however, should be made between high culture, such as literature, art and education, and popular culture, which focusses on mass entertainment. The two remaining basic resources of soft power – political values and foreign policies – should also be defined and explained in the context of soft power. For example, when a state upholds political values of a universally acknowledged moral standard, such as transparency, justice and equality, this nation becomes more attractive abroad. Moreover, a state's foreign policy is about "a state maintaining legitimacy and moral authority in its conduct abroad", which could furthermore produce attraction to the state employing these foreign policies[23].

The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence argues that a state's soft power assets and resources require a "fresh recognition" and a "fresh thinking about how best

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[18] McClory, 2010, 3.
[19] Nye, 2011, 81.
[20] Nye, 2008, 95.
[21] Nye, 2008, 95.
[22] Nye, 2008, 96.
[23] McClory, 2010, 4.

these assets and tools should be used"[24]. Since, if the UK aims to promote its interests and purposes, "new, softer and smarter methods" need to be combined with older approaches to international relations[25]. Although much of the UK's soft power resources lie outside of the government's sphere of influence, an essential precondition for the preservation and strengthening of a nation's soft power behaviour is the recognition of those assets which can secure the UK's legitimacy and moral authority abroad[26]. However, according to the Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, the benefits which stem from a strong soft power policy are not merely related to the relationship of the UK with those abroad. Rather, it may also support "the UK's internal cohesion and social stability"[27].

      As David Cameron argued in his speech on 7 February 2014, the UK is "an intricate tapestry", which is about more than just military might[28]. On the contrary, the UK's Prime Minister stated that the UK is a powerful brand supported by its soft power assets. According to the Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, the UK's soft power behaviour stems from various resources. Although Nye (2011) argues that a state's soft power stems from three basic resources, McClory (2010) expands on this framework by assessing a state's soft power based on five categories: business/innovation, culture, government, diplomacy and education[29]. Although Nye (2011) includes most of these categories in his framework of three basic resources, McClory's (2010) categories will be used in this thesis in order to assess the UK's soft power resources more effectively.

      The first of the categories to be discussed is the government. According to The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, the UK government has a key role in a

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[24] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 58.
[25] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 58.
[26] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 58.
[27] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 59.
[28] "David Cameron Speech Begging Scotland not to Split from the UK (07Feb14)", [Video File], Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrEVnUFnToo.
[29] Nye, 2011, 84; McClory, 2010, 4.

successful employment of the state's soft power behaviour due to the fact that the government can uphold its political values and implement its foreign policies[30]. In other words, soft power – and thus attraction and influence – ensues if "ethical, democratic, transparent and accountable principles" are endorsed[31]. Traditionally, the UK has been respected for its moral conduct and standing, especially related to themes such as rule of law, protection of human rights and engagement with the international society[32]. Since a state's actions can thus increase its influence on and attractiveness to those abroad, the UK government needs to continue to demonstrate its willingness to remain a global power.

Related to McClory's (2010) category of government is the category of diplomacy. According to Nye (2008), public diplomacy should be seen as a governmental instrument to "attract the public of other countries, rather than merely their governments"[33]. Public diplomacy can be used to draw attention to potential soft power resources via broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports and arranging exchanges[34]. McClory (2010) furthermore states that the execution of a successful diplomatic infrastructure increases a state's "ability to shape a favourable national narrative for international audiences"[35]. According to The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, the UK possesses a strong diplomatic network[36]. The UK is, for example, the only European state to have diplomatic ties with all ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries. The UK's embassies are often seen as "super-facilitators", since they facilitate contacts abroad for British businesses and other organisations[37].

Although McClory's (2010) category of business and innovation may come across as

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[30] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 60.
[31] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 60.
[32] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 60.
[33] Nye, 2008, 95.
[34] Nye, 2008, 95.
[35] McClory, 2010, 5.
[36] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 63.
[37] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 64.

a hard power instrument, it rather should be seen in the light of soft power behaviour, since "the attractiveness of a country's economy in terms of openness, capacity for innovation and regulation" can influence others[38]. Similarly, Nye (2011) also believes that economic power can sometimes be used to produce soft power behaviour. He argues, for example, that the European Union succeeded in attracting former Communist states in Eastern Europe to emulate its example[39]. Although a state's presence of strong economic resources has thus traditionally been considered hard power behaviour, it can also possess "the soft power gravitational pull of attraction"[40]. Therefore, not only absolute gain should be considered when taking a state's economic power into account, but also the attraction it may result in. The City of London, for example, has been regarded as a "financial and commercial hub" around the world[41]. Yet, it should be noted that a large part of the attraction of the UK's financial world relies on soft power assets outside of its own sphere, such as the English language and the UK's political system and values[42].

While the government plays a crucial part in the production of soft power behaviour, the final components of McClory's (2010) category also stress the vital role which is played by extra-governmental bodies in connecting the UK to the population of other countries. As argued by the Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, the whole of the UK's civil society should be seen as a source of soft power[43]. The categories of culture and education play a large part in this respect. The monarchy, a defining cultural aspect of the UK, can be seen as one of the UK's most successful ambassadors with the Queen serving as a symbol of "the long-term continuity" of Great Britain[44]. Moreover, the UK's education sector

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[38] McClory, 2010, 5.
[39] Nye, 2011, 52.
[40] Nye, 2011, 52.
[41] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 88.
[42] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 90.
[43] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 76.
[44] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 77.

can also be considered to be a major contributor to the UK's attraction abroad, since the education sector has a reputation of excellence in learning around the globe[45] with three of its universities – Oxford, Cambridge and the Imperial College London – in the top ten of the *Times Higher Education*'s "World University Ranking of 2014-15"[46]. Furthermore, institutions such as the British Council and the BBC World Service also produce soft power behaviour. However, perhaps the English language itself should be seen as the greatest asset to the UK's soft power. Due to the fact that English is the leading language around the globe, overseas English speakers have an unlimited access to the UK's soft power assets, such as – amongst others – its creative industries[47].

Although provided with many tools and resources which can serve as preconditions for the preservation and strengthening of a state's soft power potential, "both neglect and negative policy measures have certainly played a part in weakening the UK's performance in the past"[48]. For example, according to McClory (2010), the current UK government has caused a "fiscal storm" among key diplomacy assets, such as The British Council and the BBC World Service, by placing constraints on their resources and altering their funding structures[49]. The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence subscribes to McClory's (2010) opinion, arguing that the UK's government needs to work together with its population in order to create a strong and strategic national narrative; "a story about what values the UK stands for and where it should be heading"[50]. However, the question remains whether the UK can indeed form such a shared, national, grand strategy if part of its

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[45] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 98.
[46] *Times Higher Education*, "World University Rankings 2014-15", Retrieved from http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk.
[47] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 103.
[48] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 58.
[49] McClory, 2010, 3.
[50] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 129.

population may not happily support what the UK stands for.

1.3 Critiques of Nye's Ideas on Soft Power

While the premise that soft power plays a significant role in the wold of international relations will be leading in this thesis, the limitations of the theory also need to be discussed and considered. According to Hall (2010), for example, soft power can be useful in policy debates, but cannot be seen as an analytic tool[51]. The concept of soft power, Hall (2010) argues, has so far led a "dual existence as a category of practice and a category of analysis"[52]. Although most academics do agree that a focus on merely military power impoverishes our understanding of the productive role other forms of power play in world politics, the soft power concept – as also argued by McClory (2010) – needs to be placed into separate sources of soft power with each their own "discrete pathway of influence"[53]. States, however, value soft power mostly by promoting and preserving a narrative of "national selfhood" and more often than not, soft power has thus become a validation and reaffirmation of the policies and national discourses that a state's political practitioners advocate[54]. Therefore, soft power approaches to a certain extent subscribe to "the political needs, beliefs and possible biases" of state actors who adopt soft power policies[55].

Nye's soft power concept, however, is not merely critiqued for its possibility to be used as a validation or reaffirmation of a state's soft power politics. Rather, Nye's theory is also assessed on its failure to inquire into its own core concept, namely attraction[56]. While

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[51] Hall, 2010, 190.
[52] Hall, 2010, 195.
[53] Hall, 2010, 191.
[54] Hall, 2010, 196.
[55] Hall, 2010, 197.
[56] Bílgín and Berívan, 2008, 11.

Nye (2011) in his works names a state's culture, political values and policies as resources of soft power and, thus, as attraction, Nye does not truly develop the reasons behind this attraction. Why, for example, are inhabitants outside the United Kingdom attracted to the country's educational system? In other words, how and through which processes is soft power produced? Nye's theory thus needs to be pushed further towards generating a useful analytic tool for academics in order to make the soft power concept measurable and more realistic.

Chapter 2: National Identity and Imagined Communities

According to Anthony D. Smith (1991), there are several roles of which each individual self is normally composed. An individual human being can identify him- or herself by prescribing to categories such as gender, space, social class, religion, ethnicity and nationality[57]. For the purposes of this thesis, identity will be placed in the context of the latter. Smith (1991) argues that a nation can be defined as "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members"[58]. National identity thus is a complex, abstract and multi-dimensional construct, which cannot simply be reduced to one single element. The construct can perhaps best be defined as a sense of the nation as a cohesive whole, which is represented by distinctive traditions, culture, linguistic or political features.

The national identities which this thesis will focus on are the British and Scottish national identity. Although Scotland is part of the United Kingdom, it can be questioned

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[57] Smith, 1991, 4-8.
[58] Smith, 1991, 14.

whether such a thing as the British national identity truly exists in this part of Great Britain. According to Christina Julios (2008), the essence of British national identity or citizenship is the "English-speaking model"[59]. If such a definition of British national identity is applied, one could argue that the separate parts of the United Kingdom do share a sense of the nation as a cohesive whole. However, although common values are certainly reflected and shared all over the United Kingdom, the notion of identity can best be defined as "'self-ascription' to a particular group"[60]. Therefore, it remains to be seen if individual human beings from England, Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland truly and first and foremost see themselves as part of Great Britain or whether they are rather largely influenced by feelings of regional nationalism. This chapter will, therefore, examine the questions of the existence of a British as well as a Scottish identity in the United Kingdom and Scotland respectively.

2.1 A British National Identity?

Article 1 of the Act of Union composed in 1707 states "that the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England shall upon the first day of May next ensuing the date hereof, and for ever after, be united into One Kingdom by the Name of Great Britain" . Although the Union of Scotland and England was met with "little popular ardour" in Scotland, the countries were to be united by their newly founded national identity of Britishness. Moreover, although met with scepticism by some, the Union was perceived by others as "fore-ordained by a benignant fate"[61]. Yet, there appears to be a general lack of unionist vision in contemporary Britain, which is best reflected in the absence of an annual anniversary of the Union with Scotland as well as Northern Ireland[62]. Instead the United Kingdom today, according to Robert Colls

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[59] Julios, 2008, 4.
[60] Julios, 2008, 9.
[61] Jackson, 2012, 339.
[62] Jackson, 2012, 340.

(2002), demonstrates that there is "more than one way of being national, even in the same nation"[63]. Yet, although several connecting senses of nationality appear to exist in Great Britain, it could be questioned whether one sense of nationality could be more powerful than the other. For, while the fact that a person is British may have created a concept of citizenship, this feeling may not be ethnic and may not have created the "powerful emotional attachments" that spring from being Scottish, English, Welsh or Irish[64]. While a British national identity thus exists, the question remains whether this identity is fore-fronted by all of Great Britain's subjects and whether the British national identity is the dominant one in all parts of the United Kingdom.

According to Colls (2002), an identity must be learned and he argues that it took a long time before the British identity was learned as well as recognised by all of Great Britain's subjects[65]. While all of the parts of the United Kingdom are tied together by a shared history built in the past three hundred years, it is remarkably difficult to define or locate Britishness as an entity or to secularise the whole of the United Kingdom in general. A national identity can be approached in three different ways: in terms of ethnicity, in terms of civic identity and "through a more elusive route of myths, values and customs"[66]. The British national identity, according to many scholars, should be explored solely from a civic dimension, since "Britishness is essentially a political and legal construct", while "Englishness, Scottishness and Welshness is what people actually feel"[67]. Yet, it would be too narrow a view to regard Britishness as a mere political and legal construct, since the whole of Great Britain, as a shared entity, has much to be proud of. Most notably, the united nation states share one of the greatest literatures of the world as well as the creative achievements of

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[63] Colls, 2002, 43.
[64] Colls, 2002, 43.
[65] Colls, 2002, 43.
[66] Bradley, 2007, 33.
[67] Bradley, 2007, 34.

the British people[68]. Moreover, especially the united front which the United Kingdom presented in both the first and the second world war, tightened and secured the relationships between all separate parts of Great Britain. Still, Bradley (2007) argues that British identity should rather be seen as a spiritual identity to which all different parts of the United Kingdom have contributed to create a whole[69]. An identity, he argues, which is best reflected within the Union Jack. The flag is composed of three overlapping crosses, which were taken up as the symbols of three of the four patron saints of the states that together make up the United Kingdom[70]. In many ways, the Union Jack serves as fitting imagery for the British national identity as a whole, which can be "conceived of and explored as a series of overlapping identities, constantly changing, adapting and expanding"[71]. Rather, Britishness should, therefore, perhaps be seen as a hyphenated identity in which it is possible for its subjects to embrace more than one identity – whether ethnic, national or religious.

If the concept, idea or identity of Britishness should thus be seen as a hyphenated identity, the British national identity can be considered to be "the glue that has held diversity together and connected those from different backgrounds"[72]. However, Bradley (2007) notes that Britishness is slowly disappearing from the minds of the subjects of Great Britain[73]. This disappearance of the notion has been accompanied by the growth of separatist feelings in all nations that together form the United Kingdom, including Scotland[74]. Yet, while the assertion of a British identity may be decreasing in all parts of Great Britain, it cannot be denied that the notion of Britishness is still very much present outside of the United Kingdom. Due to the fact that Britain is often successfully presented as a marketable commodity, its transnational

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[68] Samuel, 1989, 4.
[69] Bradley, 2007, 59.
[70] Bradley, 2007, 64.
[71] Bradley, 2007, 201.
[72] Bradley, 2007, 201.
[73] Bradley, 2007, 1.
[74] Bradley, 2012, 3.

as well as Continental neighbours often perceive the country and, consequently, its nationality as a cohesive whole. To regard Britain as a secular state or entity, however, would give an incomplete image of the diversity in the state. Therefore, the United Kingdom should not be seen as a cohesive whole, but rather as "an embodiment of unity through diversity with spiritual roots and foundations" in which multiple identities coexist[75].

2.2 Scottish National Identity – Identity in a Stateless Nation

The notion that Western Europe is composed of nation states is, as Julius W. Friend (2012) states, a myth: "most of its large countries contain substantial and ancient minorities that often consider themselves nations"[76]. One of Europe's stateless nations is Scotland. The country emerged as a distinct kingdom at the beginning of the tenth century and – to the disappointment of many contemporary Scots – joined England when the Act of Union came into effect in May 1707[77]. Although a sense of British patriotism followed in the years after the Union, a strong sense of Scottish national identity continued to exist within Scotland, which, in the past few decades, has only grown stronger due to increased separatist feelings in all parts belonging to the United Kingdom. Remarkably, however, it was the Scottish King James VI – King James I of both England and Scotland after the Union – who initiated the union of England and Scotland and in the first few years following the union of 1707, it was the Scots rather than the English who strongly "espoused the notion of Britishness, often describing themselves as North Britons"[78]. Yet, the fact remains that today "the Scots

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[75] Bradley, 2007, 11.
[76] Friend, 2012, 4.
[77] Friend, 2012, 19.
[78] Bradley, 2007, 41.

forefront being Scottish over being British"[79] and this is – amongst others – exemplified by the fact that the Scottish National Party (SNP) won the overall majority of Scottish parliament seats in the 2011 elections[80]. Moreover, the outcome of the Scottish Referendum on 18 September 2014 indicates that 45% of the Scots would prefer the emergence of Scotland as an independent state over the existing union with the other parts of the United Kingdom. Therefore, the Union of 1707 appears to be have been more of "marriage of convenience", suiting the ruling elites in Scotland as well as in England[81].

According to McCrone (1992), Scotland differs from its Southern neighbour and, as a consequence, from the other parts of the United Kingdom in that their cultural expressions as well as the patterns in the country's political behaviour have become distinct from the other parts of Great Britain[82]. Yet, McCrone (1992) similarly notes that Scotland "has far more similarities with than differences from its Southern neighbour"[83]. As was already briefly mentioned in the former paragraph, however, many Scots were in favour of the union in the first few centuries after its creation with authors as well as poets recognising a "paradigm of diversity in unity" in the assertion of Britishness[84]. However, this rhetoric may stem from the fact that Scotland needed the union due to the failure of the Darien scheme. The Scottish endeavour to form its own colony on Darien, Panama was an economic disaster, leaving the nation impoverished[85]. Scotland, therefore, needed the stronger English economy in order for their own economy to recover and flourish again. The union between England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland appeared especially successful at the end of the Second World War, since – united – they withstood the German threat. However, Margaret Thatcher's

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[79] McCrone and Bechhofer, 2010, 922.
[80] McCrone, 2012, 69.
[81] McCrone, 2012, 72.
[82] McCrone, 1992, 198.
[83] McCrone, 1992, 198.
[84] Bradley, 2007, 145.
[85] Paul, 2009, 1.

political reign and the market reforms she introduced, caused a violent unpopularity of Westminster in Scotland and, as a consequence, the voices of those in favour of a separate state have grown stronger and stronger[86]. This has resulted in the fact that a large proportion of the Scottish citizens have edged away from the adjective "British", choosing to identify with their Scottish ancestry over their ties to the rest of the United Kingdom.

In his *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that the nation is an imagined community, "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"[87]. Many of the Scots strongly identify with all those born within the Scottish borders and – although true cultural distinctiveness from England lacks – ascribe to a powerful sense of difference in relation to the other parts of the United Kingdom[88]. Although often downplayed, the strong sense of Scottish identity present in Scotland proves that a "non-civic, ancestral aspect of belonging" is an important part of the individual's connection to a nation[89]. The Union between Scotland and England has often been perceived as asymmetric and unequal and, to this day, Scotland remains "a distinct geo-political entity comprising eight per cent of the UK's population and 30 per cent of its landmass, 500 miles distant from the power elite in London and further still from European markets"[90]. Therefore, the Scots may not truly connect to the nation that the United Kingdom is and may thus be persuaded to consider themselves Scottish rather than British.

While the outcome of the 2014 Scottish Referendum and the rise of the Scottish nationalists imply a sudden increase of the sense of Scottish national identity in the decades post-1945, Whatley (2014) argues that the present debates about the Union between England

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[86] Friend, 2012, 35.
[87] Anderson, 1991, 6.
[88] Friend, 2012, 42.
[89] Stewart and Soule, 2012 ,150.
[90] Carty and Clyde, 2014,327.

and Scotland resemble those of the eighteenth century[91]. According to Whatley (2014), the present debates about disunion are not primarily concerned with romantic or metaphysical notions of identity, but rather – as in the eighteenth century – economic concerns play a large part in the current debates[92]. However, the importance of cultural differences, language, religion and ethnicity – which has in the past spurred on nationalists movements elsewhere – should not be dismissed[93]. Polls have shown that voters were prompted to vote as they did either because they strongly assert to a certain identity or because of (fear of) likely consequences of independence[94]. The 2014 Scottish Social Attitudes survey shows the following results when asking the Scottish about their sense of identity:

	2011	2012	2013	2014
Scottish not British	29%	23%	25%	23%
More Scottish than British	33%	30%	29%	26%
Equally Scottish and British	23%	30%	29%	32%
More British than Scottish	5%	5%	4%	5%
British not Scottish	5%	6%	6%	6%

[95]

As little as 11 per cent of the Scots feel more British than Scottish, whereas 49 per cent of the Scots have a dominantly Scottish sense of identity. Therefore, it may be concluded that, while part of the Union, Scotland simply continued as a stateless nation within the liberal confines of the British state and, as a consequence, preserved a strong sense of identity as indicated by

[91] Whatley, 2014, 414.
[92] Whatley, 2014, 418.
[93] Whatley, 2014, 418.
[94] Mullen, 2014, 633.
[95] Results taken from ScotCen Social Research, "Has the Referendum Campaign Made a Difference?", 2014, 4.

the table above[96]. In other words, while the Scots thus embraced Britishness "as and when appropriate" as their state identity, the majority of the Scots remained Scottish in terms of national identity[97].

Chapter 3: Soft Power and the 2014 Scottish Referendum

According to McCrone (2012), the rise of the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) can be seen as "the greatest challenge to the British state since Ireland was partitioned in 1921"[98]. SNP's major win in the Scottish elections of May 2011 came as a shock to Westminster, since the Labour party had been in a favourable position up until a month before the elections took place. Labour, however, appears to have focussed on the wrong 'enemy' during the campaign leading up to the May 2011 elections. While the Conservative party was targeted by the Labour party as the political menace, the real threat turned out to be the Scottish nationalists[99]. This landslide victory of the SNP can be attributed to a rise of Scottish nationalism as well as to a changing British political environment. Historically and fundamentally, British politics are uniform and structured around two political parties: Conservative and Labour. While it was originally thought that the Scots' votes for the SNP in May 2011 should be considered protest votes, recent years has seen the number of supporters of the Scottish nationalists grow and, as a consequence, the conclusion may be drawn that Scottish politics have diverged from British politics. Although, it can as well be argued that Scottish and British politics never truly converged due to the fact that the Scots remained in charge of their domestic affairs after the

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[96] Carty and Clyde, 2014, 317.
[97] McCrone, 2012, 73.
[98] McCrone, 2012, 69.
[99] McCrone, 2012, 70.

Union[100]. Even after the Union, distinctive aspects of both Scottish government and society were thus preserved and the United Kingdom, therefore, appeared to function as "a stable entity which successfully accommodated internal differences by permitting a degree of territorial differentiation"[101].

Although seemingly secure, attachment to the Union appears to have slowly lessened from the 1960s onwards with several nationalist parties in Wales as well as Scotland winning seats in their domestic governments[102]. For Scotland, the elections of May 2011 meant a turning point, since the SNP won the overall majority of parliament seats. This victory caused the Scottish Parliament to pledge to a referendum on the possible future of Scotland as an independent state. While Westminster did – albeit reluctantly – accept that the Scottish people were entitled to have a referendum, it was not until October 2012 – with the signing of the Edinburgh Agreement – that Scotland was granted permission to hold a referendum[103]. Part of this agreement was the decision that no campaigning for the 2014 Scottish Referendum should take place before May 2014. However, eventually the whole period between the adoption of the Edinburgh Agreement up until the Scottish Referendum on 18 September 2014 was in fact part of a long campaign during which a win for the Yes-campaign did not become likely until late August 2014[104]. This chapter will from this point onwards focus on the use of soft power in the "Better Together"-campaign – also referred to as the No-campaign.

[100] McCrone, 2012, 72.
[101] Mullen, 2014, 628-9.
[102] Mullen, 2014, 629.
[103] Casanas Adam, 2014, 53.
[104] Mullen, 2014, 632.

3.1 The Use of Soft Power in the "Better Together"-Campaign

In a speech given on 7 February 2014, David Cameron addressed the fact that the United Kingdom is much more than a military power and that the UK could be seen as "the soft power super power. […] Sometimes we can forget about just how big our reputation is. That the world over, the letters UK stand for unique, brilliant, creative, eccentric, ingenious. We come as a brand and a powerful brand"[105]. The "Better Together"-campaign was first established in 2012, uniting the three Scottish unionist parties: Labour, Conservative and the Liberal Democrats. As was previously mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Edinburgh Agreement stated that both the No- and the Yes-campaign were not to start before May 2014. Therefore, the "Better Together"-campaign did not introduce its slogan – "No, thanks" – to the world until June 2014. The campaign was often critiqued by both those supporting the Yes-campaign as well as by several newspapers, since the campaign was said to be targeted mostly towards the Scottish women. Especially, a video released on 26 August 2014 named "The woman who made up her mind" was regarded as patronising and sexist. The fact remains, however, that a definite gender gap in the voting on 18 September 2014 existed with more men than women voting for Scotland's independence[106].

However, as the quote from David Cameron's speech on 7 February 2014 exemplifies, the "Better Together"-campaign was not merely targeted towards the Scottish women. Rather, the campaign was meant to emphasise the united strength of Great Britain by stressing Scotland's shared history and heritage with the other parts of the United Kingdom as well as the shared successes over the course of three hundred years of working and belonging together. In several speeches, the British Prime Minister placed emphasis on the achievements

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[105] "David Cameron Speech Begging Scotland not to Split from the UK (07Feb14)", [Video File], Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrEVnUFnToo.
[106] Mullen, 2014, 633.

of the United Kingdom as a whole: "our UK-wide celebrations and commemorations… in our UK sporting teams from the Olympics to the British Lions. […] [We are] a country that launched the Enlightenment, that abolished slavery… that drove the industrial revolution, that defeated fascism…"[107]. Moreover, the "Better Together"-campaign also stressed that the Union provides Scotland as well as the remainder of the United Kingdom with "the best of both worlds" by stressing the possibility of a sense of Scottish identity whilst feeling "a connection to something bigger"[108].

The No-campaign, as the previous paragraph has shown, placed emphasis on the things that tie all the parts of Great Britain together in an attempt to convince the Scottish voters to vote to stay part of the Union. In effect, the "Better Together"-campaign aimed to attract the Scottish voters to remain inside the United Kingdom by reminding them of the soft power resources of all parts of Great Britain combined. As was discussed in chapter 1.2 on the origins of the UK's soft power, the Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence argued that a strong soft power policy may contribute to "the UK's internal cohesion and social stability" and those behind the No-campaign appear to have taken note of this fact[109]. By using a strong soft power policy internally or, in other words, within the state itself, the relationship between the state and its people may improve and as a consequence social stability and internal cohesion may be brought about. It cannot be denied that the campaign leading up to the Scottish Referendum in September 2014 caused social anxiety within Scotland itself as well as in the other parts of Great Britain. Especially the final weeks of the campaign were conducted in "a high state of excitement" due to the fact that the Yes-campaign was now at the No-campaign's heals, having eaten away the No-campaign's comfortable lead and leading to the conclusion that the results would be much closer than

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[107] David Cameron, "Scottish Independence Speech in Aberdeen, 15 September 2014".
[108] BetterTogetherUK, "The Best of Both Worlds", 12 May 2014.
[109] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 59.

could have been predicted in May 2014[110]. In this context, David Cameron's plea to the

Scottish people on 16 September 2014 – two days before the voting would take place – can be

understood. Due to the fact that the final weeks leading up to the Scottish Referendum

suggested that the possible break-up of a "family of nations" [111] had become much more likely

than originally anticipated, the "technically competent but emotionally empty" Yes-campaign

needed a boost[112].

 As was argued in chapter 1.2, the whole of the UK's civil society should be seen as a

source of soft power and, with regard to this, the categories of culture and education

especially play a large role[113]. These resources of soft power were referenced as well as used

in the "Better Together"-campaign in an attempt to show the greatness of the United Kingdom

as a united whole. For not only did the campaign attempt to win over women – as was argued

in a previous paragraph – the younger generation of Scots was also targeted by stressing the

easy access of education all over Great Britain if the Union stayed in place[114]. Moreover, in

several speeches Cameron mentioned the greatness of British high and popular culture as well

as the contribution Scotland has made to the worldwide popularity of the UK's cultural

exports:

 You get teenagers in Tokyo and Sydney listening to Emily Sande. You get people in

 Kazachstan and Taiwan watching BBC exports like Sherlock. There's a good

 example: written by a Scot a hundred years ago and played by an Englishman today

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[110] Mullen, 2014, 632.
[111] David Cameron, "Scottish Independence Speech in Aberdeen, 15 September 2014".
[112] Walker, 2014, 751.
[113] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 76.
[114] BetterTogetherUK, "Why we are better together", 30 October 2012.

and created for TV by a Scotsman. […] And the BBC was itself, founded by a Scotsman[115].

The Scottish creative industry has especially become an important industry for the Scottish economy and, as a consequence, for the rest of Great Britain[116]. By placing emphasis on easy access to education as well as on the united creativity of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, those behind the "Better Together"-campaign created a sense that – together – Great Britain is more successful in the hope that this would persuade the Scots to stay inside the Union and to vote no in the Scottish Referendum on 18 September 2014. The "Better Together"-campaign thus used soft power resources in their campaign in an attempt to preserve or recreate social stability and internal cohesion inside of the UK.

Chapter 4: A Changing UK: Perceptions around the World

While soft power resources were thus referenced and used throughout the "Better Together"-campaign in order to persuade and attract the Scottish voter, the United Kingdom's external soft power behaviour will be examined in this chapter. The United Kingdom has always been perceived by the rest of the world as one of the most successful, powerful and influential states around the globe with a French magazine on global affairs naming Britain the most influential state in its annual soft power survey in 2012 due mostly to the successful marketing as well as the athletic prowess of the state during the 2012 Olympics[117]. The years

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[115] "David Cameron Speech Begging Scotland not to Split from the UK (07Feb14)", [Video File], Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrEVnUFnToo.
[116] Behr and Brennan, 2014, 171.
[117] *Monocle*, "Soft Power Survey – 2012".

following 2012 has seen the United Kingdom drop from second place in 2013 to third place in 2014/15[118]. Although still belonging to the top three of the most powerful nations around the globe, the United Kingdom's soft power resources have become less effective around the world. Since the debates surrounding the 2014 Scottish Referendum took place during 2012-2014, a connection between Great Britain's diminished attraction and the state's internal political instability could be possible. Therefore, in this chapter of the thesis the international responses to the 2014 Scottish Referendum will be discussed and the effects of the Scottish quest for independence on the exertion of the UK's soft power abroad will be examined.

4.1 International Responses to the 2014 Scottish Referendum

Although most states inside of the European Union as well as outside it perceived the 2014 Scottish Referendum as a domestic affair which should be decided on by domestic players using domestic political processes, the absence of intervention – by the EU especially – should not be seen as an indication of the absence of international concern over the matter[119]. The announcement of the 2014 Scottish Referendum as well as the victory of the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) raised "awareness abroad that something unusual and serious is happening in the UK"[120]. Moreover, the European Union realised that a "yes"-vote from the Scottish people would turn the domestic issue into an international one. Britain's allies – including the EU and the United States of America – viewed the referendum as an unnecessary risk on Prime Minister David Cameron's side, since it would put both the future of the United Kingdom as well as the European Union at stake with the ongoing 'Brexit'

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[118] *Monocle*, "Soft Power Survey – 2013"; *Monocle*, Soft Power Survey -2014/15".
[119] Walker, 2014, 743.
[120] Walker, 2014, 743.

debate[121]. Furthermore, the Scottish quest for independence caused other states to ask one fundamental question: "why was there a desire to exchange the comfort of belonging to a large, influential state for a small state's more precarious and marginal existence?"[122]. In other words, other states started to view Great Britain differently due to the apparent lack of social cohesion and the political instability present in the UK.

Although foreign governments acted as bystanders in the debate surrounding Scottish independence for a considerable period of time due to the existence of other crises around the globe, Scottish independence could have had serious consequences for the international – and, especially, the European – society. The possibility of Britain's withdrawal from the European Union had become more likely ever since the UK Independence Party's popularity surged from 2009 onwards. Scotland has, however, traditionally been pro-Europe and to the SNP EU membership for Scotland after secession was, therefore, no question, even though the nationalists did assume that the remainder of the United Kingdom would automatically remain a part of the European Union, whereas Scotland would have to reapply in case of a victory on their side[123]. For the European Union, however, this made Scotland's presence inside of the United Kingdom nearly invaluable with the ongoing 'Brexit'-debate and a possible referendum on EU membership for the UK to be held in 2017. Due to the fact that Great Britain is no minor player within international organisations such as the EU and NATO, members of these organisations started to realise that their collective – as well as their individual – interests could be harmed if the referendum were to have the unprecedented outcome of a break-up of the United Kingdom[124].

Yet, even though Scottish independence would not have been a minor event in the international society, foreign governments did not truly pay attention to the 2014 Scottish

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[121] Erlanger, 2014, 40.
[122] Walker, 2014, 749.
[123] Keating, 2015, 203.
[124] Walker, 2014, 747.

Referendum until the spring of 2014 when a shift occurred and the Yes-campaign appeared to be "outperforming" the "Better Together"-campaign[125]. Moreover, states which similarly faced secession issues, such as Canada, Spain, Italy and Belgium, were afraid Scottish independence could encourage the secession movements in their own countries with the Spanish prime minister, García-Margallo, declaring on 17 September 2014 that

> for Scotland, secession would be a catastrophe. […] It would end up in a Balkanisation process that nobody in Europe wants right now. […] The UK, for its part, would be damaged, its political-economic prestige undermined in the world, and the EU needs the UK[126].

Beyond the issue of secession, the United States of America as well as the UK's European partners became increasingly aware of and concerned about the 2014 Scottish Referendum's impact on their own interests as well as the fear that an independent Scotland would mean the loss of a "dependable and influential ally"[127]. Although, this outcome did not seem plausible to many of Britain's foreign allies until the very end, foreign governments started to see Scottish independence as a real and frightening possibility in the spring of 2014[128]. The eventual win for the "Better Together"-campaign on 18 September 2014 was, therefore, a relief to many of the world's leaders with the German Chancellor Angela Merkel declaring that she would not comment on the results, "but just smile"[129].

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[125] Walker, 2014, 744.
[126] Roberts, "Spain Says Scottish Independence Would Be 'Catastrophe'", 17 September 2014.
[127] Walker, 2014, 747.
[128] Walker, 2014, 752.
[129] BBC News, "How Scotland's 'No' Vote Resonates Around the World", 19 September 2014.

4.2. The UK Abroad: A Decreased Attraction?

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the UK has dropped from first to third place in *Monocle*'s annual soft power survey in the past two years. Although still one of the most powerful countries around the globe with regards to soft power, Great Britain has become less attractive to foreign governments as well as to inhabitants of foreign states in the past two years. The height of the UK's popularity came in 2012 with the successful hosting of the Olympic Games as well as the triumph of Team Britain at this same event. In the past two years, however, something appears to have lessened Britain's attraction to those outside of the Commonwealth. This diminished power does not appear to have been caused by the UK's creative industries, which in recent years has seen record growth figures[130]. Britain's cultural exports, therefore, appear to have gained an increased influence around the globe. The diminished soft power of the United Kingdom should, therefore, stem from a soft power resource other than the state's culture.

As was argued in the introduction to this chapter, a connection between Great Britain's diminished attraction and the state's internal political instability could be possible. The 2014 Scottish Referendum was announced in late 2012 and marked the beginning of a period of social anxiety and political unrest in the United Kingdom. Even though the 2014 Scottish Referendum did not truly gain the world's attention until early 2014, this relative social instability may have influenced the execution of a successful diplomatic infrastructure, which – in turn – could improve a state's "ability to shape a favourable national narrative for international audiences"[131]. Due to internal political unrest and social instability, the United Kingdom may thus have failed from 2013 to 2014/15 at what it so successfully did in 2012:

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[130] Department for Culture, Media and Sport, "Creative Industries Economic Estimates – January 2015: Statistical Release", 7.
[131] McClory, 2010, 5.

creating a strong and favourable national narrative which could attract international society.

According to the Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, soft power ensues

if "ethical, democratic, transparent and accountable principles" are endorsed[132]. Traditionally,

the UK has been respected for its moral conduct and standing, especially related to themes

such as rule of law, protection of human rights and engagement with the international

society[133]. Yet, the political unrest in the UK, caused by the Scottish call for independence

due to the Scottish nationalists' belief that the current union is asymmetric and unequal, may

have affected the outside's world's view of Great Britain as morally strong and unwavering.

Moreover, the fact that any part of the United Kingdom would wish to separate from one of

the most influential and most prosperous countries in the world, could have negatively

affected the way foreigners view the United Kingdom.

Whereas the 2012 Olympics thus presented an ideal and strongly united Great Britain

to the world, this image was shattered by the announcement of the 2014 Scottish Referendum

over which international concern arose. While previously seen as a united front, it became

clear that the United Kingdom was not the cohesive whole or the marketable commodity that

it is often perceived as by the rest of the world. The contemporary popularity of the 1939

governmental poster with the slogan "Keep Calm and Carry On" in Great Britain itself and

foreign countries alike may thus have concealed the reality of what is happening in the United

Kingdom in the 2010s; the state is not calm and fights to carry on. Although culturally strong,

the announcement of and the events leading up to the 2014 Scottish Referendum as well as

the results of the referendum itself exposed to the world that Great Britain is not as politically

or socially stable as had long been believed. Therefore, while culture as a tool of UK's soft

power abroad appears to have become stronger, other resources of the United Kingdom's soft

power behaviour, such as its political values, may have caused the decrease in the UK's

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[132] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 60.
[133] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 60.

attraction since its height in 2012. The 2014 Scottish Referendum may have played an important part in this respect, since it presented to the world that not all is well in the influential nation. The Scottish dissatisfaction over its current position in the United Kingdom harmed the UK's position in the world and lessened its attraction to the international society.

Conclusion

This thesis explored the extent to which the period between the announcement of the 2014 Scottish Referendum and the actual referendum on 18 September 2014 itself affected and shaped the soft power of the United Kingdom. While Great Britain appeared to be a strong family of nations, the announcement of the 2014 Scottish Referendum exposed to the world that not all was well in the powerful state. However, it was not until early 2014 that this situation started to gain serious international attention due to the fact that a break-up of the United Kingdom appeared to be imminent due to the successes of the Yes-campaign lead by Alex Salmond. Although the Union of May 1707 tied Scotland and England together, the recent successes of the Scottish National Party (SNP) prove that a strong sense of Scottish identity continued to exist within Scotland. Surveys have furthermore shown that many Scots first and foremost perceive themselves as Scottish rather than British with 49 per cent of the Scottish population declaring in 2014 that they identify as Scottish rather than British and only 11 per cent of the Scots identifying themselves as British[134].

The 2012 Olympic Games, which were hosted by the United Kingdom, made Great Britain the most powerful nation on earth with regard to soft power. The past two years, however, has seen the UK slip from first to third place on the popularity scale of states, while

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[134] ScotCen Social Research, "Has the Referendum Campaign Made a Difference?", 2014, 4.

the state's cultural exports – a resource of the UK's soft power – has grown over the past few years. Whereas the logical assumption would be that the United Kingdom's attraction abroad should have been maintained due to the consistent growth of the popularity of the UK's creative industry, the UK's soft power has decreased between 2012 and 2014/15. Although still highly popular and influential around the globe – Great Britain is the third most attractive country around the world in 2014/15[135] - the diminished soft power of the United Kingdom needs to be explained. One of the possible causes for Great Britain's slip in soft power may be the political instability and social anxiety in the UK, which was exposed by the 2014 Scottish Referendum. The referendum showed to the world that the United Kingdom is not the cohesive whole which it is often perceived as and, therefore, has diminished the attraction of other states to the UK – both on a governmental and a civil level – and has thus negatively affected the soft power of the United Kingdom.

Although the effects which the Scottish Referendum has had on the United Kingdom are ongoing and while the concept of soft power needs to be further developed in order to make it more realistic as well as measurable, it appears save to conclude that the political as well as social instability, which has been caused by the 2014 Scottish Referendum, has lessened the soft power of the United Kingdom. Foreign governments as well as international institutions, such as the EU, expressed their concern over the referendum and may, as a consequence, have less faith in the United Kingdom as a powerful entity and trustworthy ally than before the break-up of Great Britain became a real possibility. It will take time for the UK to re-establish its reputation as a "family of nations"[136] and the UK's elections of May 2015 showed that its problems with Scotland are not yet over[137]. If Great Britain thus aims to "maintain [their] sense of purpose and direction" and wishes to "feel confident in knowing

[135] *Monocle*, Soft Power Survey -2014/15".
[136] David Cameron, "Scottish Independence Speech in Aberdeen, 15 September 2014".
[137] BBC News, "Election 2015: SNP Wins 56 of 59 Seats in Scots Landslide", 8 May 2015.

who [they] are and what [their] role is in a transformed and turbulent world", the state thus needs to work on its internal cohesion in order to recreate a strong United Kingdom[138]. Only then will the nation once again become "the soft power super power"[139].

[138] The Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014, 6.
[139] "David Cameron Speech Begging Scotland not to Split from the UK (07Feb14)", [Video File], Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrEVnUFnToo.

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