

**Master: International Relations**  
**Track: International Studies**  
**Subject: devolution and sovereignty in Scotland**  
**Student: Mick Kreefft**  
**Studentnr.: s1289233**  
**Instructor: dr. Kern**

**Give them a finger and they will want the entire hand.**

From devolution towards a call for independence in Scotland, 1997-2014.



An independent Scotland - like all countries - will face challenges, and we will have our ups and downs. But the decisions about how we use our wealth will be ours.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Nicola Sturgeon, URL: <https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/n/nicolastur710899.html> retrieved 29-5-2017.

**Index**

Introduction..... 3

Scotland within the United Kingdom ..... 6

The origins of a civic nationalist movement..... 9

From Union to devolution ..... 12

The end of Britishness ..... 17

The first steps of devolution..... 18

Devolution under minority leadership ..... 21

The Growth of Identity ..... 24

From devolution towards independence? ..... 26

Post 2014: Growth of an independence movement in Scottish society ..... 30

Conclusion ..... 32

Bibliography..... 35

## Introduction

In March 2017 Scottish Prime Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, won a debate in Parliament about holding a referendum on Scottish Independence somewhere in 2018 or 2019. This latest attempt was fuelled among others by the Brexit vote of the United Kingdom, something the Scottish are very much opposed to.<sup>2</sup> However, Brexit is clearly not the only reason for this independence call since the last referendum for independence only dates back to 2014. The goal of the forthcoming thesis will be to give an insight into why Scotland has such a strong independence movement and why this is both a very strong societal, civic and political phenomenon. But before we get into details about the societal and political implications the research question will be put forward as well as how the research will be conducted and on what grounds it will be vested. This will then be concluded by specifying which sources will be used to do the research.

As specified earlier the main aim of this thesis lies in identifying the strength of the Scottish independence movement. However, this being such a broad topic the research will focus more thoroughly on the process of devolution that started in the late nineties and led up to an independence referendum in 2014. That's why I came up with the following research question;

*“How did the process from devolution towards an independence referendum take place, in the period 1997-2014. And how was this formed by the Scottish civil society, the growth of national identity and the advent of the Scottish National Party”*

The first part of the research question is rather straight forward, so I'll specify the second part a bit more. No political decision can be made without the consent of the people that are represented. And clearly something as enormous as an independence referendum cannot just be the will of one political party, there needs to be a political majority to get such proposal through parliament and if there is a political majority there will be a large societal component that supports this as well. Then of course people who feel connected to one country will not ask for independence, so there has to be a different identity for those Scottish people that they actually want independence. It is this combination between society, politics and identity that will allow politicians to come up with a call for independence and that is why I want to incorporate that into the research question and thus the thesis.

In the first section historical the background of the current, lively, Scottish independence movement shall be researched. The first issue that arises in case of an independence movement is that of why do they want to become a sovereign state and what does it imply? If Scotland wants to become an independent country it will have to secede from the United Kingdom, the current sovereign state that Scotland is a part of. Ersun Kurtulus claims that sovereignty itself is sometimes difficult to explain but it will always focus on the state and its institutions.<sup>3</sup> In the case of Scotland one could argue that both the Scottish state and its institutions and the UK and its institutions could both become the focus of this thesis. However the focus will remain on the Scottish elements since this thesis will focus on Scotland, by doing so I am not disregarding the legal right of the UK as sovereign state but it is simply not my focus in this thesis. The UK as sovereign state will feature however, for the historical background of the UK and its current political system will be key in the

---

<sup>2</sup> Scottish Parliament backs bid for new independence referendum. URL: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-scotland-idUSKBN16Z2AD> retrieved 15-5-2017.

<sup>3</sup> Ersun N. Kurtulus, *State Sovereignty. Concept, Phenomenon and Ramifications*, New York (2005) 1-2.

first chapter. The focuses will then move towards the establishment of the Scottish civil society, and explain what relevance this has towards Scotland and its current state. We will follow up on this by describing the formation of the devolution era up until the first process of devolution in 1997 for Scotland. This period also coincides with the end of Britishness and more specifically the growth of Scottishness.

After the background story the focus will switch towards Scotland. The starting point here will be the end of the first process of devolution in 1997 and the establishment of Parliament. From this point onwards the development of the Scottish politics into the current era and the establishment and growth of pro independence movements will be researched. This includes the establishment of an own parliament, a government, Scottish rules and laws, taxation powers and social security. The political phenomenon of a growing independence movement and the factual establishment of a more devolved Scotland coincides or may very well be an instigator into a growing social awareness of Scottish identity in the civil society, which will be covered following the political developments and it will look at the growing societal awareness. This will ultimately cumulate with the independence referendum in 2014. This will thus focus on the road leading up to the actual referendum, so how a political majority had to be formed, how there was a campaign to win over people, as well as the drafting of a proper independence bill. Logically this road up to the independence referendum will be completed by looking at the actual independence referendum and its negative outcome toward Scottish independence. This will also feature the political reasoning behind certain people voting Yes or No and the precedent this has shaped for a continued Scottish independence movement. As some sort of an epilogue one section will be focused on the growth of the independence movement after the referendum of 2014.

The sources that will be used in this thesis are primary Scottish government sources, primary sources through the newspapers, the pro independence political parties in Scotland and by using rhetoric of Scottish National Party politicians. The newspapers will give insight into part of the perception of how independence could work, but by using both Scottish quality newspapers and British quality news papers it will be possible to give a nuanced perception on how society views the independence movement. The views of society will also come forward through government research projects that are widely available and will be combined with the other sources to find a proper structure in the thesis. Further sources that will be used are mainly secondary sources about the history of Scotland, the UK, the devolution processes, political representation and works on self-determination, statehood and nations. These will include amongst others Azar Gat and Hobsbawm as well as documentation through the UN.

The relevance of this research will lie in the focus on both political and societal growth of identity and autonomy. Politicians in a democracy can only get something done when they have the backing of the population. This is even more important when it concerns big social issues like an independence referendum. However, it is not just the approval that I find intriguing; it is the growth of the independence movement amongst the population that is more important. Since the first proper steps into devolution Scotland has gained ever more powers, and only the true sovereign powers like engaging in international relations and maintaining an army are left to the UK. And the only reason for this is that both the society and the politicians have experienced a surge towards independence, because of the ongoing process of devolution. This idea plays into the notion of give them a finger and they will want a hand, this basically means that people will always want more. You

give them a glass of soda and they want the entire bottle, you give them devolved powers and they will want to gain more powers. Slowly but steadily Scotland is gaining more powers, at the expense of the UK, until there is only one option left, independence.

## Scotland within the United Kingdom.

Although the introduction might give the impression that a Scottish independence movement is a recent phenomenon that is by no means the case. In fact, Scotland had been an independent country throughout the *Dark Ages* all the way up to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> So truth be told, any current independence movement could just as well be envisioned as a reactionary one, one that is longing back for a past long gone. On the other hand was Scotland really an independent nation or merely an independent state during these times? Neil Davidson argues for example that it is obvious that a Scottish state was present, but the divide within that state was so enormous that it might be very difficult to speak about a Scottish nation back then. Until the Act of Union in 1707 Scotland was very much divided in the Lowlands and the Highlands, and although the Lowlands were developing a sense of nationhood by the latter date, this was not the case for the Highlands, and in any case it was cut short by the failure of the Darien Venture\* and the thereafter unavoidable Act of Union.<sup>5</sup> So Scottish national consciousness only grew through the institutions the Union created after 1707, which is also why Scottish nationalism is a civic form of nationalism, it has not been embedded in its own state since. It is this form of nationalism that drives the current movement and it is also why I shall focus on this form of nationalism later on in this thesis.

Although the current nationalism in Scotland has its origins in civic nationalism, this civic nationalism created a national myth, which tries to create the idea that Scotland had been a nation and not merely a state before the Act of Union. And it clearly worked; a large part of Scottish society adheres to the idea of being Scottish, and also adheres to the common, albeit created, history. By doing so it is clear that Scottish nationalism is an artificial historical construct built on older and more natural feelings of love for one's place, language and customs.<sup>6</sup> Eric Hobsbawm holds a similar view towards this formation of nationalism. He claims that nationalism mobilized earlier, "proto-national" sentiments, such as a shared religion, language and ethnicity.<sup>7</sup> Both scholars also realize that this artificially constructed nationalism did have a certain predecessor, as Kohn calls it a weaker national sentiment that existed here and there before modernity. And Hobsbawm, despite a great deal of argumentation, concludes that "a proto-national base may be desirable, perhaps even essential, for the formation of serious state-aspiring national movements."<sup>8</sup>

So the creation of a common Scottish background created the civic Scottish nationalism we know today and one of the most intriguing elements of this nationalism is that it was only created after the Union in 1707 and thus the establishment of the United Kingdom, but that its Scottish identity places it outside of the UK and made England a common enemy in its past. It is true though that Scotland's relations with its larger neighbor have often been difficult, none more so than in the "wars of independence" 700 years ago led by William Wallace and then Robert the Bruce. After the Scottish King died and his only heir died before producing or appointing another heir, Scotland fell into a civil war between nobles. They tried to overcome this by asking the help of the English King,

---

<sup>4</sup> G.W.S Barrow, *Robert the Bruce And the Community Of The Realm Of Scotland*, (Edinburgh 1976) 424-430.

<sup>5</sup> Neil Davidson, *the Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, (London 2000) 3-4.

<sup>6</sup> Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A study of its Origins and Background*, (New York 1944) 4-6.

<sup>7</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge 1990) ch. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, 6; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 78.

\*The Darien Venture was Scotland's attempt of creating a colony in Panama. Were goods could be traded over land from the Pacific towards the Caribbean and thus the Atlantic. However, there plan failed and in bankrupted the Scottish state, giving it no other option then uniting with England.

how then took over as Lord Paramount. The subsequent uprising eventually led to the battle at Bannockburn on June the 24<sup>th</sup> 1314 where the Scots defeated the English and managed to regain their independence. This battle still plays a big role in the independence movement of Scotland today. Fergus Ewing, the Scottish Tourism Minister, said during a commemoration that would celebrate Robert the Bruce's defeat of the English army in 1314 that it would not be political.<sup>9</sup> However, by doing so he might have just done that. He made the link between the current independence movement and the decisive battle during the war of independence.

Eventually in 1603 King James VI of Scotland became overall monarch of the British Isles. This was because Queen Elizabeth I died without issue and the next heir to the throne would be the King of Scotland. So James became King of England and King of Scotland.<sup>10</sup> However, James was not satisfied with the arrangement. He wanted a complete or perfect union that brought the two kingdoms into a single, enlarged and unified state. A commission of English and Scottish MPs was set up in October 1604 to consider how a perfect union might be created. James was quick to realize that it could not be achieved overnight, and that only modest steps should be taken at first. But the idea of the unification of the laws, parliaments and economies of both kingdoms met with little enthusiasm at Westminster. Although there was agreement on the repeal of hostile laws against the Scots, there was none on union. James accepted defeat on the issue, but never forgave the English Parliament, describing it as "barren by preconceived opinions". James's failure to win hearts and minds with his vision of a single British kingdom under one imperial crown meant that he had to be content with symbolic reforms and gestures. One of these followed in October 1604 when he decreed that he would in future be known by the style and title of King of Great Britain and not by the divided names of England and Scotland. In 1606 he gave orders for a British flag to be created which bore the combined crosses of St George and of St Andrew. The result was the Union Jack, Jack being a shortening of Jacobus, the Latin version of James.<sup>11</sup>

The Act of Union of 1707 merged England and Scotland into a single state of Great Britain and created a single Parliament at Westminster but Scotland retained its own legal system, churches and universities. But little thought had been given to how the Union would actually work in practice, or how Scotland would be governed in its new relationship with England. This had to be worked out in practice in the decades that followed. Responsibility for Scottish government now lay with ministers in London. But it was soon clear that this small, distant bureaucracy was not equipped to manage either the collection of revenue, or the maintenance of internal order, in Scotland.<sup>12</sup> To make matters worse, in 1708 Parliament abolished the Scottish Privy Council, the executive body formerly responsible for overseeing government in Scotland.<sup>13</sup> Almost by default, therefore, the pre-existing, largely local structures of Scottish governance were left to look after themselves, with barely any supervision from London. Scotland, or North Britain as it was officially known in this period, did not adapt easily to this new relationship with England. Two key factors complicated its

---

<sup>9</sup> URL: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/10709250/SNP-Bannockburn-celebration-will-not-be-political.html> retrieved 15-5-2017.

<sup>10</sup> Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the outbreak of the civil war, 1603-1642*. (Cambridge 2012) 33-55. Original print 1884.

<sup>11</sup> URL: <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislative/act-of-union-1707/overview/union-of-the-crowns/> retrieved 15-5-2017.

<sup>12</sup> URL: <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislative/act-of-union-1707/overview/united-into-one-kingdom/> retrieved 15-5-2017.

<sup>13</sup> URL: <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/privy-council-records> retrieved 15-5-2017.

internal administration. One was the prevalence of Jacobitism in the Highlands, and parts of Lowland Scotland, which posed a threat - at times grave - to the internal stability not just of Scotland, but of the British state as a whole. In 1745, the pretender to the British throne, Bonnie Prince Charlie, led the Jacobite revolt against Hanoverian rule by London. Despite reaching as far south as Derby, that ended in crushing defeat at Culloden in 1746.<sup>14</sup> The other was the unpopularity of new taxes imposed in Scotland on basic commodities - to bring them into line with those levied in England - and the heavy-handed fashion in which revenue officials enforced them. Nonetheless, the Scottish nobles and merchants did support the Union because it provided them with the possibility of free trade with England and with the Realm it already possessed overseas.<sup>15</sup>

In the 1800s, Scotland's economy strengthened, its cities boomed and its citizens took a leading role in the British empire. But proposals to give Scotland some form of "home rule" within the UK have been live since William Gladstone's era as Liberal leader in the 1880s. During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and until the crisis of the 1930's a new form of Scottish nationalism did arise. This time founded in a political party, the Scottish National Party of 1934. However, due to the crisis and the subsequent Second World War no political power could be gained. It was only after the Second World War that the SNP managed to get an ever increasing part of the population to support their cause. This led the ruling party of Scotland (Labour) to change its policies and support the idea of Home Rule for Scotland. After a failed attempt at Westminster in 1979, a Scottish parliament was finally reestablished in 1999 in Edinburgh with wide-ranging policy making and legal powers but dependent on a direct grant from London.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Geoffrey G. Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire*, (Philadelphia 2006) 1-26.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Keating, *Nations against the State. The new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland*, (2001) 199.

<sup>16</sup> Daniël P.J. Soule & Murray S. Leith, *Political Discourse and National Identity in Scotland*. (Cambridge 2011) 15-37.



## The origins of a civic nationalist movement

As indicated before the Scottish nationalist movement is a civic one, because it was never embedded into a state and its institutions. Its civic nature can also be seen in the political structure of the new Union, the unitary parliament and government of Great Britain would be located in London, while preserving many of the features of the Scottish civil society and administration. These included Scots law, educational system, churches, local government systems - including the clan based Highlanders - and matters of private right that could only be legislated within Scotland.<sup>17</sup> By ensuring that Scotland retained these civil features an idea of being Scottish could be created alongside the new Union. This was only further intensified because the British government did not pursue policies of forced assimilation unlike France in the nineteenth century. However, the Scottish Highlands, with their Jacobite rebellions during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, were seen as a security threat and their culture and clan system was put down after 1745 with the support of the Scottish Lowlanders. Interestingly enough this only strengthened Scottish identity by lessening an internal ethnic division and Highland symbols were then appropriated to create a sense of being Scottish, like tartan, kilt and the Great Scottish bagpipe.<sup>18</sup> Although Scotland was no longer independent, from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards the markers that were once important elements of the Scottish state were left intact and other were added over time. The role of the Presbyterian reformed Church of Scotland (or Kirk) has diminished in importance for example as Scotland is now a highly secular state.<sup>19</sup> But during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century it were these features of Scottish social life that helped to create a Scottish national identity.

Important to realize though is that it was not only a Scottish identity that grew or was constructed during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century there was also a new British identity that had to be constructed during these same period. Colley argues that Britishness was constructed between 1707 and 1837 from four interconnected elements.<sup>20</sup> The first was popular mobilization behind the British state in the recurrent conflict with its French rival. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century and until the battle of Waterloo the French and British fought some very dangerous wars, including the wars for Spanish and Austrian succession and the 7 years war in North-America.<sup>21</sup> The second was the identification of the French as the Catholic 'other' or 'them' to British Protestantism or 'us'. This does not mean that the wars with France were fought over religious elements, but they helped in creating an ideological difference between the two rivals. Besides that Protestantism in England and Scotland was and is very different, with the Anglican Church and the Kirk. The third was the monarchy, adoration of which consolidated the other elements into an essentially conservative national identity. The fourth was the Empire.<sup>22</sup> This British nationality did not off course displace but coexisted en grew with the Scottish forms of national identity. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were some efforts to submerge Scottish identity altogether into the British, but from the mid-century the distinctiveness of Scotland within the Union was again being emphasized. The Empire allowed Scots to acquire a British identity which

---

<sup>17</sup> S, Rokkan &D, Urwin, *Economy, Territory, Identity. Politics of West European Peripheries* (London 1983)

<sup>18</sup> Keating, *Nations against the State*, 200.

<sup>19</sup> URL: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/church-of-scotland-struggling-to-stay-alive-1-3391152> retrieved 23-5-2017.

<sup>20</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London 1992).

<sup>21</sup> William M. Fowler, *Empires at war: the French and Indian War and the struggle for North America 1754-1763* (New York 2005); John B. Hattendorf, *England in the war of the Spanish Succession: a Study of the English view and Grand Strategy, 1702-1712* (New York 1987)

<sup>22</sup> L. Colley, *Britons* (London 1992) Ch1-5. In these chapters the arguments Colley uses are explained.

was not specifically English and provided upward social mobility and they made a disproportionate contribution to the ranks of imperial administrators, soldiers, teachers, doctors and missionaries.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the fact that the French Revolution had little direct impact on Scotland, it had set the stage for reformist ideas and the government had to react to people's discontent. The established ruling order was challenged in Scotland by those people from the middle class who had had commercial success: they were insisting that such success would also have to be translated into more political power. The Reform Act of 1832 was central because it extended the vote and helped to emancipate the middle class. This extension of the franchise democratized Scottish local government, but "the road to freedom [for the Scottish middle class] lay through assimilation to the English franchise."<sup>24</sup> Only with the help of these reforms could the Scottish middle class strengthen its role in civil society which in turn was vital for maintaining a distinctly Scottish identity. I have already hinted at the role that civil society in Scotland played after the Union, through the Kirk, education and legal systems. But what actually is civil society? Ernest Gellner provides a most useful definition:

*"Civil society is that set of diverse non-governmental institutions, which is strong enough to counterbalance the state, and, whilst not preventing the state from fulfilling its role as keeper of the peace and arbiter between major interests, can nevertheless prevent the state from dominating and atomizing the rest of society."*<sup>25</sup>

It is clear that, in the end, the central British state had the final say, but Scottish civil society practically was a form of local self-government used for the day-to-day governing of Scotland and as such, helped to maintain a marked Scottish identity because in Scottish local life, local issues were dealt with on a local level and were given local solutions.<sup>26</sup> In like manner, voluntary societies were central to Scottish civil society: they reached their peak in the 1840s and complemented local administration. It was the idea of piety that had led to the establishment of voluntary self-help and charitable organizations which aimed at tackling the social effects of industrialization and urban expansion: "In the key period of minimalist and regulatory action by the local state in the 1830s and 1840s, these voluntary societies commanded substantial local resources."<sup>27</sup> These resources were utilized to build schools or to provide medical treatment for the poor and were directly used to meet people's needs. The societies operated both on a local and on a transcending national level, but they developed most prominently in the bigger Scottish cities. Middle class hegemonic social power was maintained through voluntary societies and municipal government and could safeguard municipal democracy. Civil society strengthened Scottish virtual autonomy because the middle class could mediate between the central state and the Scottish nation.<sup>28</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century, Scotland still rested on its strong and distinct civil society which facilitated the development of a relatively independent local government in a fairly decentralized British state: civil society functioned like a buffer. Through the Union of 1707, the British state enshrined Scottish civil society and created the frame for a distinctly Scottish local government. The middle class "were incorporated into the

---

<sup>23</sup> Keating, *Nations against the State*, 202.

<sup>24</sup> C. Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 to the Present* (London 2000) 14.

<sup>25</sup> G. Morton, Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1830-1860, *Scottish Historical Review Monograph Series* No.6 1999, 8.

<sup>26</sup> G. Morton, 'Scottish Rights and Centralisation in the mid nineteenth Century', *Nations and Nationalism* 2 (2) 1996, 260-261.

<sup>27</sup> G. Morton, Unionist Nationalism, *Scottish Historical Review*, 47.

<sup>28</sup> G. Morton, 'Scottish Rights and Centralisation', *Nations and Nationalism* 2, 262.

expanding infrastructure” of local administration. Under such conditions, the legitimacy of the central British state was not notably challenged, but in fact maintained through the empowerment of local government and the middle class. Through the institutions of civil society, the Scots could perceive and ‘make’ mid-nineteenth century Scotland. For Scottish identity, the governance from within was central in that it underpinned national loyalties rather than only state loyalties.<sup>29</sup> Because the UK kept these institutions in place Scotland never lost its autonomy, and with the larger idea of the finger and the hand in mind, one could argue that this was already an important finger to maintain.

---

<sup>29</sup> R.J. Morris & G. Morton, ‘Where was Nineteenth-Century Scotland?’, *Scottish Historical Review* 73 1994, 96.

## From Union to devolution

Scotland's constitutional status has been sporadically debated since the Treaty of Union in 1707. During the course of this century, the debate has focused on proposals for a Scottish Parliament. A variety of pressure groups have made the case for change, starting with the original Scottish Home Rule Association in 1886. The three main British parties have all at some time supported a Scottish Parliament and it is the *raison d'etre* of the Scottish National Party (SNP). Public support has also been high. An opinion poll commissioned for the *Scottish Daily Express* in 1947 found that 76% of Scots supported the establishment of a Parliament.<sup>30</sup> Over the years, polls have shown that public opinion remained remarkably consistent, at least in terms of support for the broad principle of devolving power, though this did not translate into support for the specific measure on offer in the devolution referendum in 1979. However, for most of this century, the issue was of low political salience. The rise of the SNP in the 1960s, in particular its 1967 by-election victory in Hamilton, forced the issue up the political agenda.<sup>31</sup> In response, Ted Heath announced a change of policy to the 1968 Scottish Conservative Party conference in his 'Declaration of Perth'. Having been vehemently opposed to devolution, the Conservatives became supporters under Heath.<sup>32</sup> Though the SNP vote rose in 1970, expectations of the party making a major breakthrough did not materialize and this was interpreted as a setback for it. Home rule fell down the agenda until the SNP once more started advancing in the run up to the elections of 1974. As Prime Minister, Heath made no effort to devolve power within the UK; he was succeeded as party leader in 1975 by Margaret Thatcher, who gradually returned the Conservatives to their traditional policy of hard-line opposition to devolution.<sup>33</sup>

Labour, back in power in 1974, was left to deal with the issue during the late 1970s. These were difficult years, since in addition to having no overall majority for most of the Parliament, Labour was divided on the issue and the government faced severe industrial unrest, as well as a succession of economic crises.<sup>34</sup> As on Europe, Labour's device for managing the devolution issue was the referendum. Labour opponents of devolution agreed to support the government after a promise that the final decision would be made in a referendum. This concession allowed them to express their views without undermining the government. Moreover, a successful amendment, the result of a rebellion on Labour's backbenches, required the government to move a repeal order on the devolution legislation if the devolution proposals were not supported by 40% of the eligible electorate. This proved too high a hurdle. Opponents spent more money than supporters and had a better coordinated and more effective campaign. In the event, the majority of those who voted, voted 'Yes' (51.6%) but on the turnout of 62.9%, this was only 33% of the eligible electorate, well

---

<sup>30</sup> James Mitchell et al, The 1997 Devolution Referendum, *Parliamentary affairs* 51.2 (1998) 166.

<sup>31</sup> URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/snp-winifred-ewing-hamilton-byelection-victory-1967> retrieved 25-5-2017.

<sup>32</sup> URL: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/four-decades-on-declaration-of-perth-is-still-fuelling-debate-1-1169195> retrieved 25-5-2017.

<sup>33</sup> URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/sep/10/scottish-independence-effing-tories-pariah-devolution> retrieved 25-5-2017.

<sup>34</sup> Colin Hay, The Winter of discontent Thirty years on, *The Political Quarterly* 80.4 (2009) 545-552.

below the 40% which had been stipulated by Parliament.<sup>35</sup> During this time the popular support for independence only stood at 6% of the population.<sup>36</sup>

The 1979 Scottish referendum campaign was fought in the aftermath of the 'winter of discontent' in industrial relations, the SNP was badly weakened in the UK General Elections and the devolution proposal had been rejected. It was also a twist of political irony that the SNP supported the downfall of the devolution-supporting Labour government, effectively ushering in almost two decades of further UK state centralization of power and a fervently anti-devolution Conservative government. This period is an important one for understanding the contemporary politics of nationalism in Scotland. The Conservative Party of Margaret Thatcher and John Major was one which pursued an agenda which a majority of Scots did not support, and Conservative success in Scotland declined to the extreme of losing every Scottish seat in the 1997 Labour landslide. While Westminster politics became more Unionist and centralized the non-Tory parties in Scotland managed to align centre-left politics with the national Scottish interest in the public mind.<sup>37</sup> The 1980s, although a period of infighting and decline for the SNP, saw nationalism active in other areas of society and politics and this period witnessed growing support for constitutional reform. This has to do with the historical background of Scotland and is manifested twofold. First, nationalism in Scotland operates within a wider unitary state of four constituent nations, and, historically speaking, Scotland and England are partners in that union. As such, for historical reasons, Scots and their national identity have since 1707 been bound up with the wider unitary state's interests and its associated identity of Britishness.<sup>38</sup> Resultantly, the second significant feature of nationalism is that it is not the purview of one political party or specific movement. Instead, all Scotland's politicians are nationalist in their outlook but the UK state has provided a context in which a variety of constitutional and policy preferences have been claimed to be in the interest of Scotland, and resultantly said to be in the national interest.<sup>39</sup> These can vary from: strict anti-devolution-unionism (formally the Conservative Party position); unionism which supports devolution as a means to preserve the integrity of the unitary state (the Labour Party); symmetrical federalism for all four nations in the UK (the Liberal Democrats); and to complete independence and separatism (the SNP and Scottish Greens).<sup>40</sup> The practicalities of British politics and the voting system ensured that it remained the only party able to actually deliver any form of devolution to Scotland, as the Conservatives remained opposed, and the Lib Dems and the SNP remained marginal political forces within the UK parliamentary system. Alongside that continuing political activity in Scotland was a growing academic interest in Scottish identity and nationalism, as the issues of nationalism and national identity stepped firmly back into the arena of wider academic analysis, with events around the world, especially in Eastern and Central Europe, driving such interest.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Sir Patrick Nairne et al, *Report of the Commission on the Conduct of Referendums* (1996) 41-42.

<sup>36</sup> URL: <http://whatscotlandthinks.org/questions/how-should-scotland-be-governed-1979-scottish-election-study> retrieved 25-5-2017.

<sup>37</sup> McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a nation* (London 2001)

<sup>38</sup> Colley, *Britons*, Ch1-5.

<sup>39</sup> McCrone 2001, 126.

<sup>40</sup> Manifesto's on the future of Scotland by the five big parties in Scotland. Their links are found in the bibliography.

<sup>41</sup> Daniel P.J. Soule & Murray S. Leith, *Political Discourse and National Identity in Scotland*, (Edinburgh 2011) 142.

However, the coordination of this movement towards the development of how a Scottish Parliament would work and the building of consensus and support for a referendum did not, again perhaps ironically, include the SNP. The SNP did finally come on side to support the 'Yes' campaign for the 1997 referendum on devolution, briefly joining forces with their long-time Scottish enemy, the Labour Party.<sup>42</sup> A White Paper, *Scotland's Parliament*, was published in late July. It followed Labour's policy as set out in the general election though there were some changes, while other matters avoided earlier were dealt with. The definition of powers was altered. Whereas the original intention had been to list the powers of the new Parliament, the White Paper proposed instead to define those that would be retained at Westminster.<sup>43</sup> The issue of Scottish representation at Westminster was finally confronted. The White Paper proposed that the statutorily defined criteria providing Scotland with more seats than its population warranted would be removed: in effect, there would be a reduction on the number of Scottish MPs at Westminster following the next revision of boundaries by the Boundary Commission. The reserved powers would cover the constitution of the United Kingdom, UK foreign policy, defense and national security, fiscal, economic and monetary system, common markets for goods and services, employment law, social security.<sup>44</sup> Though the government intended that all but reserved powers would be devolved, there was a list of subjects on which the Scottish Parliament would be able to legislate. It included health, education, training, local government, many aspects of transport, social work, housing, economic development, the legal system, law and order, the environment, agriculture, fisheries and forestry, sport, the arts. The Scottish Parliament would have 129 members elected by a proportional additional-member system. Electors would have two votes. One would be first-past-the-post for the 73 constituency Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSP) (one in each Westminster constituency plus one each for Orkney and Shetland). A further 56 MSPs would be elected by party lists in the eight European Parliament constituencies, each returning seven MSPs: these seats would be allocated to create proportionality of votes and seats.<sup>45</sup> The most controversial aspect of the proposals concerned the financial arrangements. The Parliament would have two sources of income. The bulk would come from a grant based on a formula broadly similar to that used for determining the Scottish Office's budget in the past, scope for altering this over time taking account of population and other changes. In addition, there would be power to vary levels of income taxation within a limit of 3p in the pound.<sup>46</sup>

The referendum passed with a clear majority, with 74.3% voting in favor of the Parliament and 63.5% voting in favor of tax-varying powers at an overall turnout of 60.4%.<sup>47</sup> This led to the first change in the political system of the Union. No longer would the UK be a unitary state with one Parliament it would become decentralized, and now faced the establishment of devolved Parliaments in Scotland and Wales.<sup>48</sup> For Scotland the definite powers the Parliament would become were drawn up in 'The Scotland act 1998'.<sup>49</sup> The Act creates the Scottish Parliament and sets out how the Parliament shall be funded, how members of the Scottish Parliament are to be elected,

---

<sup>42</sup> URL: [https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/scottish\\_devolution\\_0.pdf](https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/scottish_devolution_0.pdf) retrieved 22-5-2017.

<sup>43</sup> The Scotland Bill, *Research Paper 98.1 (House of commons library)* (1998), 3.

<sup>44</sup> The Scotland Bill, *Research Paper 98.1* (1998), 3, 13-17.

<sup>45</sup> The Scotland Bill, *Research Paper 98.1* (1998), 3, 18-19.

<sup>46</sup> The Scotland Bill, *Research Paper 98.1* (1998), 3, 17-18.

<sup>47</sup> URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/devolution/scotland/live/index.shtml> retrieved 25-5-2017.

<sup>48</sup> URL: <https://www.gov.uk/topic/government/devolution> retrieved 25-5-2017.

<sup>49</sup> Scotland Act 1998.

makes provision about the internal operation of the Parliament and sets out the process for the Parliament to consider and pass Bills which become Acts of the Scottish Parliament once they receive royal assent. The Act specifically declares the continued power of the UK Parliament to legislate in respect of Scotland; thereby upholding the concept of Westminster's absolute Parliamentary sovereignty.<sup>50</sup> The Act also provides for the creation of a 'Scottish Executive', although this has been rebranded into the Scottish Government in 2007, Despite the re-branding, the 'Scottish Executive' still uses the original description for a number of purposes (section 44 of the Scotland Act defines the nature of the body but does not use the words "shall be known as" with regard to a name as is the case with various other bodies whose names are thus fixed by statute). It consists of a First Minister and other Ministers appointed by the Queen with the approval of the Parliament, including the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor General for Scotland.<sup>51</sup> The Act was passed on 17 November 1998, and received royal assent two days later on 19 November. The first elections were held in May 1999 and the Scottish Parliament and Executive assumed their full powers on 1 July 1999.<sup>52</sup> By this act the Scottish regained their long lost Parliament and a now vibrant Scottish nationalism saw a devolved Scotland taking matters into their own hand. During this time support for independence had risen from 6% to 27%.<sup>53</sup>

This rise of devolution as a political and policy solution to issues which affected Scotland within the UK and not as a piece of pure identity politics, but devolution can also be seen as a 'shibboleth for the political difference of Scotland within the Union, with a need to do things differently'.<sup>54</sup> Because the Act of Union left all Scottish institutions intact the Scottish civil society became responsible for governing the country and implementing rules made in Westminster. This system proved to work and remained intact until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was only as the central British state grew as a more welfare oriented one that things started to change, not a process of centralization though but a process of giving even more powers to the already existing organizations.<sup>55</sup> However, during the 1950's and 1960's the power of the Scottish institutions eroded. This was in part due to the economic downturn the heavy Scottish industry experienced in coal and steel, because of this the power of the Conservative industrial elite diminished along with the power of Labour to attract the workers of the industrial companies. On the other hand the growth of the welfare state diminished the influence of former civil society organizations and also changed the way Scotland politics. The SNP made good use of these changes by portraying them, not as class struggle but as one of identity.<sup>56</sup> And it hit the Conservatives hard, from 1955 to 1997 support for them shrank from 50% to 17.5%, while the SNP grew at their expense.<sup>57</sup> Signaling the growth of more Scottish demands, because the distinct Scottish institutions became less visible people became more intrigued by the idea of an autonomous Scotland.

Two key features of twentieth century politics are relevant in understanding how the Scottish base came to be mobilized in favor of autonomy. The first was the changing nature of the state. An

---

<sup>50</sup> Scotland Act 1998, section 28 (legislation).

<sup>51</sup> Scotland Act 1998, sections 44-51 (Ministers and their staff).

<sup>52</sup> Bryan Morgan, Scottish Parliament elections: 6 May 1999, *Research Paper 99.50 (house of commons library)* (1999)

<sup>53</sup> ScotCen, *Scottish Social Attitudes. The State of Nationalism in Scotland*, (2017) 5.

<sup>54</sup> M.S. Leith & D.P.J. Soule, *Political discourse and national identity in Scotland*. (Edinburgh 2011) Xii.

<sup>55</sup> Scott Greer, *Nationalism and Self-Government*, (New York 2007) 44.

<sup>56</sup> J. Brand, *The National Movement in Scotland*, (London 1978).

<sup>57</sup> Hutchinson, *Scottish Politics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, (Basingstoke 2001) 156.

interventionist welfare state developed. This intervention was often, though not always, articulated via Scottish institutions. Important areas of public policy, affecting the daily lives of people living in Scotland, were delivered via Scottish institutions contributing to the sense that Scotland continued to be a distinct entity. The other key development was democratization. Politics was no longer the prerogative of the elites but of a growing body of people. The combination of democracy and welfare intervention, operating within a structure of government that acknowledged a strong Scottish dimension, provided the basis for the mobilization of greater demands for more resources for Scotland (essentially more public expenditure) and also calls for Scottish control of Scottish affairs.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, the very term 'Scottish control of Scottish affairs', or some variant, was used at various intervals in the twentieth century by all main political parties including those hostile to a Scottish Parliament.<sup>59</sup> Scottish nationalism did not so much emerge in the latter half of the twentieth century but evolved into a new form, demanding autonomy as well as more resources which they got through the devolved Parliament in 1999. After the civil society and its institutions that created and facilitated Scottish identity remained in place until the 1960's their function was lost, but with a now devolved Parliament Scotland regained some of its autonomy it had never surrendered. But it is also another finger the UK gave to Scotland.

---

<sup>58</sup> Paolo Dardanelli & James Mitchell (2014) An Independent Scotland? The Scottish National Party's Bid for Independence and its Prospects, *The International Spectator* 49:3, 88-105.

<sup>59</sup> J. Mitchell, *The Scottish Question*, (Oxford 2014)



## The end of Britishness

Unfortunately, it is not possible to chart a long time-series of British identity, because a sense of British identity was largely taken for granted by early survey researchers (Sundas and Heath 2013). Only in recent years, as support for devolution increased, has the measurement of national identity become a matter of academic and government research. Available data shows that there has been a decline in British identity and a corresponding increase in separate English and Scottish identities since the end of the 20th century.

The waning of British identity has also been strongly influenced by more recent economic factors that played a role in increasing support for the SNP in the early 1970s, and for subsequently altering the devolution debate. In 1970, vast oil fields were discovered in the North Sea, much of which would have been located in Scottish territorial waters had Scotland been an independent state. The SNP quickly took advantage of this discovery in their new slogan “Its Scotland’s Oil,” a tactic that brought electoral success. The party returned its greatest ever number of MPs to the British Parliament in 1974.<sup>60</sup> Just as important were the economic and political factors that coalesced during the 1980s and 1990s to strengthen support for greater autonomy for Scotland. Especially influential were the policies pursued by the UK government under Margaret Thatcher and her successor John Major. Not only did the Conservative government reject the idea of devolution, it also began to test unpopular neoliberal policies in Scotland. In the first two years of the Thatcher administration Scotland lost one fifth of its workforce, as the government prioritized inflation control and advanced that policy through cuts in public spending, privatization, and the deliberate weakening of trade union bargaining power. These policies hit the north of Britain particularly hard (including England) and it became increasingly apparent that regional economic divisions between the north and the south-east of Britain were widening.<sup>61</sup> At the same time, Scotland’s rejection of the Conservative Party had little impact within the British political system because of its much smaller electorate; as a result, an increasing number of Scots felt disenfranchised and turned towards Scotland and its Scottish identity. Ever since 1979 the national identity surveys show a growth of Scottish identity and a decline in British identity. In 1979 38% of Scots felt British, in 1999 this figure had gone down to 17%, but for those who felt solely Scottish there had been a growth towards 61% by 1999.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Hart Mechlin, *It’s Scotland’s Oil. Energy and national identity in newspaper coverage of Scottish independence*. (Middlebury College 2015)

<sup>61</sup> URL: <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21576385-one-margaret-thatchers-legacies-has-grown-more-troubling-electoral-reform-and-devolution> retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>62</sup> David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland the sociology of a nation – second edition* (New York, 2001), 31-53.

### The first steps of devolution

The first of July 1999 saw a big change coming for the UK and more specifically its now devolved countries of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland since each of them was now capable of governing themselves. Funding of the new Parliament was to be achieved through the so-called block grant, which uses the Barnett formula in determining the allocation of money for public expenditure in Scotland.<sup>63</sup> The new Scottish Parliament was composed of 129 members, allocated through a voting system that uses a type of proportional representation known as the Additional Member System (AMS). With one vote, people choose between candidates standing in their constituency. The candidate winning the largest number of votes will gain the constituency seat. There is a total of 73 constituency MSPs. The other vote is for a political party, or for a candidate standing as an individual, within a larger electoral area called a Scottish Parliament region. There are eight Scottish Parliament regions. Each region has seven seats in the Parliament. In each region, parties are allocated seats depending on the number of votes they receive in this regional ballot, and taking into account the number of constituency seats they win in the region. The members chosen to fill these additional 56 seats are known as regional MSPs.<sup>64</sup> The first Parliament was composed of the Scottish Conservative Party, Scottish Labour Party, Scottish Lib-Dem, Scottish National Party, Scottish Socialist Party the Scottish Green Party and one additional member. This led to the following distribution of the seats.<sup>65</sup>

<b>Scottish Conservative Party</b>	<b>18 seats</b>
<b>Scottish Labour Party</b>	56 seats
<b>Scottish Liberal-Democrat Party</b>	17 seats
<b>Scottish Nationalist Party</b>	35 seats
<b>Scottish Socialist Party</b>	1 seat
<b>Scottish Green Party</b>	1 seat
<b>Independent</b>	1 seat

Table 1: First session of the Scottish Parliament

The first Scottish government that was formed was a coalition between Labour and Lib-Dem, this Dewar government only lasted until October 2000 due to the First Ministers tragic death.<sup>66</sup> Under the new First minister the coalition continued into November 2001 when the officagate scandal forced the then First minister to resign.<sup>67</sup> Again the former coalition was continued and this time lasted until the end of Parliament in 2003. This government, called McConnell I, was very popular and got a second spell after the elections in 2003. However, during the second session of Parliament there was however less government support for McConnell II. Labour lost 6 seats and the Liberal-Democrats did not win any, the SNP also lost 8 of its seats. All of these seats lost went toward the Scottish Socialists and the Scottish Greens. Whose seats rose to 6 and 7 respectively.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> House of Lords, *The Barnett Formula. Report with evidence.* (London 2009)

<sup>64</sup> The Scottish Parliament, *How the Scottish Parliament works*, 6-7; [http://www.parliament.scot/PublicInformationdocuments/SP\\_HTSPW\\_English\\_Oct\\_14\\_web.pdf](http://www.parliament.scot/PublicInformationdocuments/SP_HTSPW_English_Oct_14_web.pdf)

<sup>65</sup> Bryan Morgan, Scottish Parliament elections: 6 May 1999, *Research Paper 99.50 (house of commons library)* (1999) 6; URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/19172.aspx> retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>66</sup> URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/966880.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/966880.stm) retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>67</sup> URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/1645556.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/1645556.stm) retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>68</sup> URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/19171.aspx> retrieved 2-6-2017.

Despite this McConnell II proved to be a decent Government once more leading the country throughout the second session of Parliament only to be replaced after the election of 2007.<sup>69</sup> During the governments of McConnell the first amendments towards the Scotland Act 1998 were initiated. These included the transfer of power over the Scottish Railways, the Scottish Parliament Constituencies Act 2004 and the Constitutional Reform Act 2005. The latter was an Act by the Parliament at Westminster to: “make provision for modifying the office of Lord Chancellor, and to make provision relating to the functions of that office; to establish a Supreme Court of the United Kingdom, and to abolish the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords; to make provision about the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the judicial functions of the President of the Council; to make other provision about the judiciary, their appointment and discipline; and for connected purposes.”<sup>70</sup> Since this was an Act by Westminster for the whole of the UK it amended the Scotland Act but the government of McConnell had no say in it.

The transfer of power over the Scottish Railways (ScotRail) was another big event taking place during McConnell government and he described it as “The most significant devolution of new powers to Scottish Ministers since 1999”.<sup>71</sup> Under the new Railways Bill, powers are being transferred to the executive from the Department of Transport. Scottish ministers now hold the power to determine Scottish railway strategies, manage the ScotRail franchise and specify rail infrastructure needs. It will also be able to set fares and fund improvements to the railroads. The Minister for Scottish Transport Nicol Stephen said: “This is a good deal for Scotland. These new powers and funding will allow our new transport agency to deliver our ambitious program for improving the rail network. We want to work closely with the rail industry to provide a better deal for passengers.”<sup>72</sup> ScotRail also welcomed the move. A spokesman for First ScotRail said: “First ScotRail supports this devolution of rail responsibilities to the Scottish Executive and believes it will bring long term benefits to Scotland’s railways. With these new powers, and the new Transport Scotland agency, there is now an excellent framework for the future strategic planning of rail services with a Scottish focus.”<sup>73</sup> The immense impact of the devolution of the Railroad to Scotland lies in the fact that it is worth £325 million and that Westminster wanted to hand this over to Scotland without Scotland bargaining for it.

The last big change was the Scottish Parliament Constituencies Act was initiated for Scotland by the Scottish government. In the Scotland Act the first section provides for the establishment of a Parliament using the same constituencies (known also as *Holyrood* constituencies) as for the UK general elections (Westminster), except that Orkney and Shetland would be separate constituencies.<sup>74</sup> The Scotland Act also provided that the Boundary Commission for Scotland when reviewing the Westminster constituencies should use the same (larger) electoral quota as used in England. This has reduced the number of Scottish Westminster constituencies from 72 to 59. That in turn would have resulted in a reduction in the number of Holyrood constituencies and, because of

---

<sup>69</sup> URL:

[http://www.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/Ministers\\_Law\\_Officers\\_Ministerial\\_Parliamentary\\_Aides\\_by\\_Cabinet\\_Session\\_2.pdf](http://www.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/Ministers_Law_Officers_Ministerial_Parliamentary_Aides_by_Cabinet_Session_2.pdf) retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>70</sup> Constitutional Reform Act 2005 (March 24<sup>th</sup> 2005)

<sup>71</sup> URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/4185185.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/4185185.stm) retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>72</sup> URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/4185185.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/4185185.stm) retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>73</sup> URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/4185185.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/4185185.stm) retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>74</sup> Scotland Act 1998, section 1.

the requirement in the Scotland Act for proportionality between constituency and regional additional-member seats, a reduction in the number of regional additional members.<sup>75</sup> As a consequence of this linkage in the Scotland Act there would therefore have been an automatic reduction in the size of the Scottish Parliament when the number of MPs at Westminster representing Scottish constituencies would be reduced at the 2005 general election. That is why the Scottish Parliament Constituencies Act altered the Holyrood constituencies in order to keep 73 constituencies and 8 regional constituencies, to keep the Parliament at 129 members after the 2007 Scottish election.

---

<sup>75</sup> Scotland Act 1998, section 1.

## Devolution under minority leadership

The election of 2007 saw major changes happening in Scottish politics. Not only did the Scottish Socialist lose all of their seats, Labour lost another 4 seats reducing them to 46 seats and they were no longer the biggest party in Scotland. The Scottish National Party won on a landslide victory winning 20 seats to move past Labour and get in on 47 seats, for the first time in history did a party that supported Scottish independence win the Scottish elections.<sup>76</sup> SNP leader Salmond made the following statement

*"Scotland has changed forever and for good. Never again will we say that the Labour party assumes it has a divine right to rule Scotland."*<sup>77</sup>

The SNP wanted to govern together with Lib-Dem but talks failed and the SNP became a minority government under the leadership of Alex Salmond, with the support of the Scottish Greens. This government proved a stable one since it lasted until the end of Parliaments third session in 2011. One of the first acts of the new government was the launch of the National Conversation for Scotland. This was a public consultation exercise regarding possible future changes in the power of the devolved Scottish Parliament and the possibility of Scottish independence. It ran until November 2009 and involved Ministers being quizzed by the public and was set up with a white paper, titled Choosing Scotland's Future, and a website encouraging people to comment on the white paper so it could be amended. With this program the Scottish government gave people the option to take part into deciding on Scotland's future, either in devolution or as a truly independent state.<sup>78</sup> As a culmination of these two years of consultation another white paper for the Referendum Scotland Bill, 2010 was issued.<sup>79</sup> Its name was Your Scotland, Your Voice and the paper detailed four possible scenarios for Scotland's future. The scenarios were: No Change, Devolution per the Calman Review, Full Devolution, and Full Independence.<sup>80</sup>

During this minority government the Calman commission was set up as well "To review the provisions of the Scotland Act 1998 in the light of experience and to recommend any changes to the present constitutional arrangements that would enable the Scottish Parliament to serve the people of Scotland better, improve the financial accountability of the Scottish Parliament and continue to secure the position of Scotland within the United Kingdom."<sup>81</sup> The outcome of the Calman Commission was that funding should be devolved through taxes, including a Scottish income tax, VAT, Stamp duty, Land tax and Air Passenger Duty. It was their opinion that Scotland could become more financially responsible and accountable which would also reduce the block grants from the United Kingdom. On a political level the commission states that both the Scottish and UK Parliaments and government should cooperate more on the matter of devolving fiscal powers. This should, in the long run, also increase the devolved powers of the Scottish Parliament and government, one of which should be the power to borrow money in order to find new ways of financing a devolved

---

<sup>76</sup> URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/19169.aspx> retrieved 2-6-2017

<sup>77</sup> URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/may/04/scotland.devolution> retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>78</sup> URL: <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/constitution/a-national-conversation> retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>79</sup> The Scottish Government, *Your Scotland, Your Voice: A National Conversation*, (2009)

<sup>80</sup> URL: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/snp-reveals-vision-for-independence-referendum-1831469.html> retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>81</sup> Helen Holden, *The Commission on Scottish Devolution – The Calman Commission*, (House of Commons library) 1.

Scotland.<sup>82</sup> It is important to mention that the SNP government was opposed to the creation of this Commission, but since the SNP was a minority it could not prevent the other parties from establishing the commission.<sup>83</sup>

Although the recommendations put forward by the Calman Commission seem to fit into the devolution process of Scotland it was not widely accepted by the Scottish government. The Scottish government stated that the fiscal points did not offer real or effective fiscal levers for the Scottish government and it would definitely create less transparency and accountability. However, devolved powers over Land tax and Stamp duties were met with a favorable reaction. It created new possibilities of income for Scotland without having to change much in the organizations responsible.<sup>84</sup> The Scottish government was very much in favor of more cooperation to facilitate further devolution on the matter of fiscal powers, but also countered the Commission by stating that it was not up to them, but up to the UK government and the Treasury to engage properly and discussing this further devolution.<sup>85</sup> In response to the right of borrowing money the Scottish government was very much in favor. However they only see this happening through the establishment of a robust fiscal framework which ensures responsible management of government borrowing and financial planning, is vital to the long term sustainability of the public finances. Such reform must be developed, agreed and when in operation, managed and monitored, jointly by the Scottish and UK Governments. In the interests of efficiency, accountability and transparency, any revised framework cannot be determined solely by the UK Treasury.<sup>86</sup> The majority of the Calman recommendations were welcomed by the Scottish government, but it were especially the major fiscal points that could not convince the government, mainly because they would not devolve power enough and they would bring a difficult fiscal system into place. All this aside the UK Conservative-Libdem government of 2010 did pledge to take the findings of the Calman Commission and implement them into a further devolved plan for Scotland.<sup>87</sup> During the time of the Calman Commission polling suggested that independence support hovered around 28%, showing no increase since 1999.<sup>88</sup>

A more striking devolution achievement during this session of Parliament was the landing of a sea planning role for Scotland. The Scottish Government gained the responsibility for all planning and nature conservation matters at sea up to 200 miles from the Scottish coast. This change in responsibility also affects offshore industry, wind and wave power and the fishery. Minister of Environment Richard Lochhead said: "*This is excellent news for Scotland and for Scotland's economy. We will now be responsible for planning and conservation up to 200 nautical miles out to sea from our shores. Further devolution of powers on the marine environment will help us safeguard our seas for generations to come.*"<sup>89</sup> Although the matters on fishery quotas remain reserved for the EU and

---

<sup>82</sup> The Commission on Scottish Devolution, *Serving Scotland Better: Scotland and the United Kingdom in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, 15.

<sup>83</sup> URL: <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/glasgow-university-chancellor-to-chair-scottish-972464> retrieved 2-6-2017.

<sup>84</sup> The Scottish Government, *The Scottish Government Response to the Recommendations of the Commission on Scottish Devolution*, (Edinburgh 2009) 7-8.

<sup>85</sup> The Scottish Government, *The Scottish Government Response to Scottish Devolution*, (Edinburgh 2009) 9.

<sup>86</sup> Scottish Government, *Response to Devolution*, 9-10.

<sup>87</sup> URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/8693832.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/8693832.stm) retrieved 5-6-2017.

<sup>88</sup> ScotCen, *Scottish Social Attitudes. The State of Nationalism in Scotland*, (2017) 5.

<sup>89</sup> URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/north\\_east/7752324.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/north_east/7752324.stm) retrieved 2-6-2017.

the matters concerning oil and gas are reserved for Westminster it again devolved more responsibility towards Scotland and its government.

## The Growth of Identity

The increasingly nationalist rhetorical activity among the Scottish political elite culminated in delivery of a Scottish parliament and marked a new period in Scottish politics. The first decade of legislative devolution has witnessed not only an expansion of academic interest in Scottish politics but also an increase in the study and everyday awareness of Scottish national identity. As devolution has continued to alter the political stage upon which the nations of the UK act, Scotland has begun to develop a presence on the international stage that is built around the idea of Scotland as a nation rather than simply a 'sub-national' component of the UK. The Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Executives/Government, have, over the past ten years, begun to more openly employ, through actions and discourse, the symbolic trappings of a nation, as Scotland operates as a distinct and particular political unit. This embracing of the nation and the associated imagery, downplayed by political parties and actors of the past, has been embraced by First Ministers and party leaders of all persuasions.<sup>90</sup>

The majority elite conception of the Scottish nation is one with a wide-ranging membership not premised on any non-civic or ancestral sense of belonging, allowing individuals to self-select membership, with residence as the primary (if not sole) component. Reflecting the position of each political party, the sense of Scotland the place, rather than Scotland the tribe, was the direction in which the majority directed their arguments and ideas and nowhere was this more evident than among the individual sense of identity of the interviewees themselves. Overall, being Scottish was seen as an individual choice. Any individual living in Scotland and identifying with the Scottish nation should be, according to the majority of elites, considered a member of that nation.<sup>91</sup> Even when the individuals concerned shared their Scottish identity with other forms, such as British, this dual identity was not seen as invalidating their claim to being Scottish, although others took a contrary position on this point. In a similar vein, some members of the elite focused on ancestral, ethnic or historical aspects of belonging, admitting, yet challenging the majority view of a civic based sense of identity. This civic sense of identity gleaned from elite subjects strongly reflected the perceptions of identity portrayed within the party manifestos. To be Scottish is to have a civic-based identity within the territory of Scotland.<sup>92</sup>

The major political parties in Scotland present an inclusive sense of identity that is not predicated on any sense of birth, ethnicity or history. The elite members of those parties agree firmly, also generally accepting the idea that a dual identity, being Scottish and being British, existed and presented few, if any, problems for individuals. Being Scottish and being British is a standard theme throughout the major unionist party manifestos. It is a theme that remained present even when a greater sense of Scottishness and Scotland emerged during the late 1980s and 1990s. Furthermore, it is a theme that also became evident again after the devolution settlement came into force, and British politics returned to more 'traditional' policies as a focus. Labour, the governing party of the UK for the first ten years of legislative devolution, emphasized a strong link between being Scottish and being British. Even when continually emphasizing its commitment to Scotland and providing an evident sense of Scottish national identity, Labour has ensured that a firm commitment to Britain and Britishness remained.

---

<sup>90</sup> Murray S. Leith, *Nationalism and National identity in Scottish politics*, (Glasgow 2006) 201-227.

<sup>91</sup> Murray S. Letih, Scottish National Identity as an elite concept, *National Identities 14:1* (2012) 39-51.

<sup>92</sup> Murray S. Leith, *Nationalism and National identity in Scottish politics*, 175-201.



This Scottishness is also exemplified in the by survey data indicating very few Scots see themselves as primarily British whereas 83% considered themselves ‘mainly’ or ‘only’ Scottish.<sup>93</sup> In all, 3.2m or 61% of all Scotland’s residents claim White Scottish ethnicity as well as Scottish as their only national identity. 22% more either feel only Scottish although they are not of White Scottish ethnicity, or feel Scottish as well as British or another national identity. Thus in total, 83% included Scottish in their national identity. In Scotland, more of each Black and Asian minority claimed a Scottish-only national identity than claimed an English identity in England, while fewer claimed a British-only national identity than in England. The census results clearly suggest that Scottish national identity is currently more ethnically inclusive in Scotland than is English in England.<sup>94</sup>

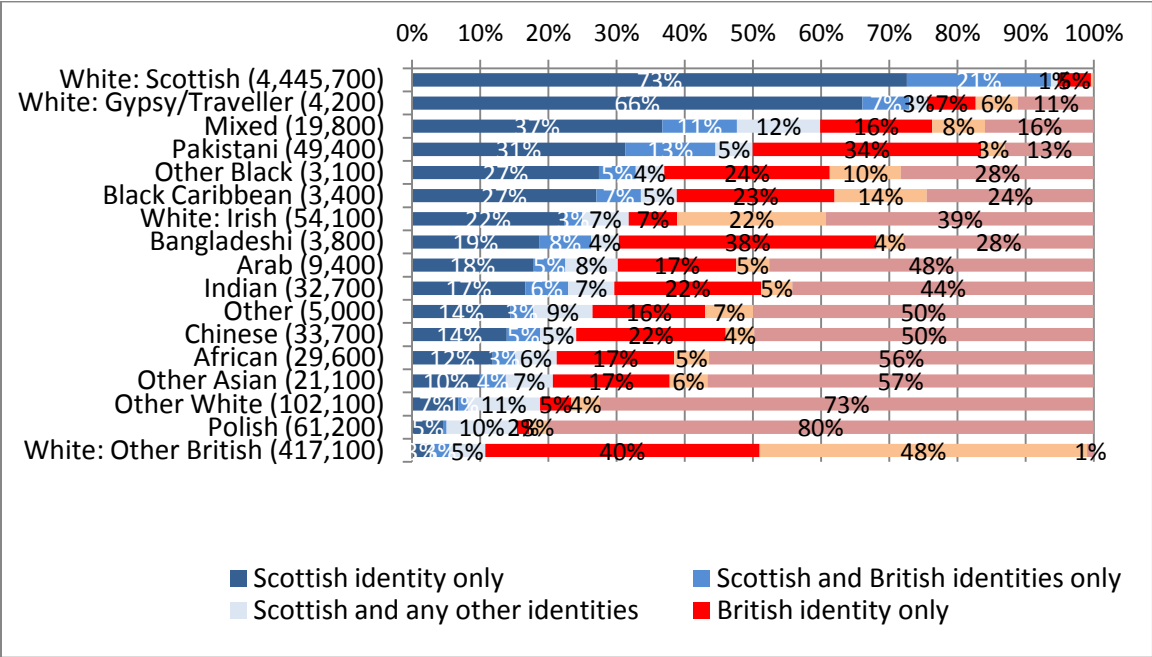


Table 2: 2011 survey on Scottish identity

Source: 2011 census

The results of this survey and the strong sense of being Scottish and not British gives a pro-independence party like the SNP more ground to pursue its goal of Scottish independence. However, during the time of this survey popular support for independence had decreased to just 23%.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Andrew Smith & Ludi Simpson, *Dynamics of Diversity: Evidence from the 2011 census* (2011)  
<sup>94</sup> Andrew Smith & Ludi Simpson, *Dynamics of Diversity: Evidence from the 2011 census* (2011)  
<sup>95</sup> ScotCen, *Scottish Social Attitudes. The State of Nationalism in Scotland*, (2017) 5.

**From devolution towards independence?**

The SNP minority government proved extremely popular not only winning the elections in May 2011, but taking a landslide victory once again. Winning another 23 seats the SNP came to a total of 69 seats and thus managed to become the first majority party in the history of the devolved Parliament.<sup>96</sup> Their win came at the expense of both Lib-Dem and Labour, who both lost 12 and 7 seats respectively.<sup>97</sup> More importantly though was the SNP’s pledge to hold a referendum on Scottish independence, they had made such pledges on many occasions but there was never a majority in Parliament, until now.<sup>98</sup> The minority government that had proven highly successful in ruling the country now became a one party majority government, a rarity since the Additional Member System was invented to prevent one party from gaining an absolute majority.<sup>99</sup>

<b>Scottish National Party</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Scottish Labour Party</b>	37
<b>Scottish Conservative Party</b>	15
<b>Scottish Liberal Democrats</b>	5
<b>Scottish Greens</b>	2

Table 3: Fourth session of the Scottish Parliament

Following their absolute majority in Parliament the SNP issued a statement in October of 2011 that they would hold a referendum on the matter of Scottish Independence with the aim of getting people from all political backgrounds to vote in favor.<sup>100</sup> The SNP has chosen to hold the referendum in the autumn of 2014 because it is both the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn, an iconic event for nationalists, and a year of significant cultural and sporting events in Scotland, including the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow, the Ryder cup golf tournament at Gleneagles and the Year of Homecoming, a celebration of Scottish culture and the Scots diaspora.<sup>101</sup>

At the beginning of the majority administration the Scotland Act 2012 came into effect. This Act was a result of the Calman Commission findings and the promise by the Cameron administration to take their recommendations into account. The Scotland Act 2012 gives the Scottish Parliament the power to set a Scottish rate of income tax to be administered by HM Revenue & Customs (HMRC) for Scottish taxpayers. It became effective from April 2016. The Act also fully devolves the power to raise taxes on land transactions and on waste disposal to landfill –this will take effect in April 2015, at which point the existing Stamp Duty Land Tax and Landfill Tax will not apply in Scotland and will be replaced with Land and Buildings Transaction Tax and Scottish Landfill Tax. The act also provides powers for new taxes to be created in Scotland and for additional taxes to be devolved. For example for employees and pensioners, the Income Tax change will be applied through PAYE (Pay As You Earn). HMRC will issue tax codes to employers in the months before April 2016 which will identify those employees who are Scottish taxpayers, and employers will deduct tax at the appropriate rates,

<sup>96</sup> URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/29393.aspx> retrieved 5-6-2017.  
<sup>97</sup> URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/29393.aspx> retrieved 5-6-2017.  
<sup>98</sup> URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-20546497> retrieved 5-6-2017.  
<sup>99</sup> URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20141129054933/http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/visitandlearn/Education/16285.aspx> retrieved 7-6-2017.  
<sup>100</sup> URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/may/06/snp-election-victory-scottish-independence> retrieved 11-6-2017.  
<sup>101</sup> URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/jan/11/scottish-independence-referendum-autumn-2014> retrieved 11-6-2017.

which may be higher or lower than or the same as those which apply in the rest of the UK. The definition of a Scottish taxpayer is based on the location of an individual's main place of residence.<sup>102</sup> However, the SNP opposed the initial Act because it was not far reaching enough. Because of their majority in Parliament they demanded changes to be made in order to vote the Act through Parliament. These included powers over corporation tax, the Crown Estate and broadcasting, among others to be devolved to Scotland. The other parties were not in favor of these changes since they feared it would only strengthen the pro-independence agenda of the SNP.<sup>103</sup> In the end an agreement between the Scottish and the UK government was reached and the Scotland Act 2012 was unanimously voted through Parliament, giving Scotland far reaching devolution powers.<sup>104</sup> The Act of 2012 can be seen as yet another finger that was being taken from the UK's hand, leaving the country with less leverage.

With even more devolved powers at Holyrood the SNP set out its Referendum Blue Print in November 2013. It included a draft bill that provides the interim constitutional platform which would serve as the basis for Scotland's government from Independence Day until a permanent constitution for Scotland has been agreed. It is combined with the guideline to set out the Independence Bill following a vote for independence on 18 September 2014. The Scottish Government would engage in discussions with the UK Government about the process and mechanisms for the transition to independence. The Scottish Government would negotiate, in the spirit of the Edinburgh Agreement, a transfer of legal powers from Westminster to Holyrood. That would enable the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament to take the lead in making preparations for independence, ensuring that independence is made in Scotland. The last important element of the Blue Print is the revision of the Scotland Act of 2012. It would be refreshed and rewritten, so that it can function effectively in the context of an independent Scotland, therefore giving the country all the means necessary to function properly once Independence is achieved.<sup>105</sup> At this time popular support had risen once again towards its stable level of 29%, but it would not stay there for long.<sup>106</sup>

With the Blue Print in place the SNP, the Scottish Socialists and the Scottish Greens joined forces in their Yes Scotland campaign trying to win over the majority of Scots into voting pro-independence. The campaign aimed to have one million residents of Scotland sign its "Yes Declaration", a statement of intent to support the independence of Scotland.<sup>107</sup> 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. The declaration read:

*"I believe it is fundamentally better for us all, if decisions about Scotland's future are taken by the people who care most about Scotland, that is, by the people of Scotland.*

---

<sup>102</sup> URL: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/scotland-act-2012> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>103</sup> URL: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/scotland-bill-parties-split-as-snp-threatens-to-block-transfer-of-powers-1-2012089> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>104</sup> URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-17458231> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>105</sup> The Scottish Government, *Scotland's Future, The Scottish Independence Bill: A Consultation on an Interim Constitution for Scotland*, (2013)

<sup>106</sup> ScotCen, *Scottish Social Attitudes. The State of Nationalism in Scotland*, (2017) 5.

<sup>107</sup> URL: <http://www.yesscotland.net/join-in/sign-the-declaration> retrieved 11-6-2017.

*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.*

*I want a Scotland that speaks with her own voice and makes her own unique contribution to the world: a Scotland that stands alongside the other nations on these isles, as an independent nation.*<sup>108</sup>

The declaration was eventually signed by more than one million Scottish people giving a clear signal that a large part of the population was indeed in favor of an independent Scotland.<sup>109</sup> At the time of the Yes Scotland campaign more people became influenced by the idea of an independent Scotland, and the Blue Print for Independence also allowed people to see how the country would be governed and could sustain itself financially. At the end of the campaign some 33% of the people were in favor, but support was still rising with the upcoming referendum.<sup>110</sup> To counter the Yes Scotland campaign the Scottish Conservatives, Labour and Lib-Dem came up with the Better Together campaign. Their main focus was to get people on the No-side and claiming that Scotland within the UK would make more sense and be more viable. Although their focus was mainly negative in the beginning – only stating why independence was bad and not why remaining would be good – they did receive full support of the UK government.<sup>111</sup> The three main parties in the UK – not surprisingly the nationwide parties that also feature the Better Together campaign – all agreed on giving more devolved powers to Scotland if the countries would remain in the Union, by doing so they hoped to win over swing votes while keeping the Union in place.<sup>112</sup>

The 18<sup>th</sup> of September marked a very special moment in Scottish and British history. Never before had one of the founding members of the UK held a referendum on leaving, never before had the support for independence been so high (it had risen to at least 39% prior to the referendum) and it would be extremely decisive in determining the future of both Scotland and the UK. The result would either lead to independence for Scotland or more devolved powers for Scotland. The referendum on Scottish independence was intended to be ‘legal, fair and decisive’. Apart from some complaints about aspects of the media coverage, few question that the first two criteria were satisfied. But the referendum has not proven to be decisive. Although those who voted in favor of staying in the UK constituted a clear majority with 55% of the votes (2.001.926 people), at 45% (1.617.989 people) the level of support for independence was much higher than many had initially anticipated and was high enough to open up the prospect that there might be majority support for independence in the not too distant future.<sup>113</sup> In the end only the Glasgow area voted in favor of independence, while in every other regions the No vote was the biggest, but only with a small margin.<sup>114</sup> Despite the decline in traditional class-based voting in UK elections, results in the Scottish referendum highlighted some significant socio-economic distinctions. No less than 65 percent of those living in the bottom fifth of Scotland’s most deprived neighborhoods voted Yes, compared with just 36 percent of those in the top fifth of most affluent neighborhoods. Moreover, nothing

---

<sup>108</sup> URL: <http://www.yesscotland.net/join-in/sign-the-declaration> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>109</sup> URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-28894313> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>110</sup> ScotCen, *Scottish Social Attitudes. The State of Nationalism in Scotland*, (2017) 5.

<sup>111</sup> URL: <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/politics/indys-leap-faith-only-issue-1714284> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>112</sup> URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-29252899> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>113</sup> ScotCen, *Scottish Social Attitudes. The State of Nationalism in Scotland*, (2017) 3.

<sup>114</sup> URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2014/sep/18/-sp-scottish-independence-referendum-results-in-full> retrieved 11-6-2017.

correlated more strongly with the level of Yes support in each council area than the level of unemployment. In those areas with relatively high unemployment, Yes support averaged 51 percent, in those areas with low levels of unemployment it was just 39 percent (Curtice 2014). The Yes vote was highest in districts where support for the Labour Party has been traditionally strong, a clear rejection of the party's pro-unionist stance. The SNP has also found increasing electoral success in traditional Labour Party strongholds by advocating well-defined social democratic principles.

The result of the No vote was that Scotland remained in the UK, but would receive considerable devolved powers once again. They could now for example drill onshore, alter their own rights as Parliament and raise half the VAT in Scotland. What the act basically does is giving more powers to Scotland once again, eventually putting the country at a point where there is just one solution left, independence. Thinking about the fingers on the hand, Scotland had just gained its fourth finger, leaving the UK with just one.

## Post 2014: Growth of an independence movement in Scottish society

Every time that the SSA survey has been conducted since the creation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, the survey has asked the following question about how Scotland should be governed, providing a unique ability to trace the long-term evolution of attitudes to the constitutional question in Scotland: Which of these statements comes closest to your view?

- Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK and the European Union
- Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK but part of the European Union
- Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament which has some taxation powers
- Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament which has no taxation powers
- Scotland should remain part of the UK without an elected parliament.

The 2014 survey, conducted in the weeks and months immediately before the independence referendum, put support for independence at no more than 33%. However 45% of the people voted in favor of independence and the picture now looks very different. In 2015, when the survey was conducted after the general election that propelled 56 SNP MPs into the House of Commons, support for independence rose to an all-time high of 39%.<sup>115</sup> But now in the most recent survey it stands at 46%. For the first time independence is the single most popular of the three options.

Not only has the level of support for independence changed – so also has some of its character. It is evident that many people in Scotland feel a strong sense of Scottish national identity. However, many of those who felt that way did not necessarily feel that their Scottish identity should be reflected in the way they are governed. This is now much less the case. Those with a strong sense of Scottish identity have always been more likely to back independence. However, on the eve of the referendum campaign in 2012, that still meant that only around half of those who said they were ‘Scottish, not British’ said that they wanted Scotland to become independent. Now that figure is at least two thirds. Support for the idea has increased even more – from around a quarter to well over half – amongst those who say they are ‘more Scottish than British’. As a result, a clear majority of those who say they are exclusively or predominantly Scottish now back the idea of independence.<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> URL: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/generalelection/all-56-newly-elected-snp-politicians-to-fly-together-to-westminster-to-show-cameron-they-are-10239984.html> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>116</sup> ScotCen, *Scottish Social Attitudes. The State of Nationalism in Scotland*, (2017), 7-10.

### % of independence support

National Identity	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Change %
<b>Scottish, not British</b>	46	51	59	66	69	+23
<b>More Scottish</b>	23	34	44	47	56	+33
<b>Equally Scottish and British</b>	11	14	11	18	26	+15
<b>More British / British</b>	8	7	12	14	14	+6

Table 4: Support for Independence

Source: Moreno National Identity, 2012-16

The result of the 2014 referendum has pushed Nationalism in Scotland to a new era. First, it has resulted in a very substantial increase in support for independence, such that, however people are asked, nearly half are in favor of leaving the UK. Any initial apparent inconsistency that may have existed in how Yes voters expressed their views on the constitutional question seems to have disappeared. Moreover, the link between people's sense of national identity and people's views about how Scotland should be governed has strengthened, such that amongst those who feel wholly or primarily Scottish independence now seems by far the most popular option.<sup>117</sup> Second, the independence referendum has increased the salience of the constitutional question in Scotland's electoral politics. Not so long ago the SNP often struggled to persuade those who supported independence to vote for the party. Not anymore. People's willingness or otherwise to vote for the SNP now depends heavily – although not entirely – on their views about how Scotland should be governed.<sup>118</sup> And because the proportion of the electorate that backs independence is now so much higher, the SNP have what, at the moment at least, looks like an almost impregnable foundation for electoral success. All in all, nationalism in Scotland has never seemed to be in finer fettle. To that extent, it would seem that the nationalist movement will enter any second referendum in a much stronger position than the one it enjoyed before the September 2014 independence referendum. However, Ms Sturgeon is intending to hold the next ballot on the back of the claim that leaving the EU single market would be deleterious for Scotland's economic prospects and thus the country needs to become independent in order to avoid having to leave the EU along with the rest of the UK. In short, a vote for independence could well be presented as a vote for securing Scotland's future in the EU.<sup>119</sup> So maybe Brexit might prove to be the last push over the side for Scotland, Brexit might be the fifth finger that Scotland has to give up. And there is nothing the UK can do about it, they have started a movement and that movement is not going to stop, eventually Scotland will reach the point where independence is the only option left.

<sup>117</sup> Support for Independence by Moreno National Identity, 2012-16

<sup>118</sup> URL: <http://whatscotlandthinks.org/questions/how-important-is-a-political-partys-stance-on-scottish-independenceto-your-decis> retrieved 11-6-2017.

<sup>119</sup> URL: [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/01/world/europe/brexit-scotland-independence-vote.html?mcubz=1&\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/01/world/europe/brexit-scotland-independence-vote.html?mcubz=1&_r=0) retrieved 11-6-2017.

## Conclusion

Scotland was once an independent nation-state prior to the 1706 and 1707 Acts of the Scottish and English parliaments that brought about the union between the two countries. Therefore, according to Hobsbawm, Kohn and Davidson, for much of the historical period of nations Scotland has been a sub-state nation within the wider unitary British state, and as such it was the British state that took on many of the operational, as well as the symbolic, functions of the modern nation-state. Here, at a critical historical moment of national maturation, Scotland entered into a political union which, while providing many opportunities to Scots and Scotland, did not allow for the usual 'healthy' development of a fully modern national identity, as the organs of state power lay elsewhere. The dominant view of the condition of Scottish national identity post 1707 Union with England is that while sovereignty was no longer located in a Scottish parliament, a vibrant and distinctively Scottish civil society remained in Scotland. Scotland retained a separate judicial system, a very different educational system in schools and universities, and a separate Church, with its own variety of Protestantism. Therefore, in terms of public cultural activity, a continuity of Scottish institutions and traditions persisted enabling the Scottish middle class to continue to enact Scottish ways of being. The strength of this civil society not only created a practically self-governing Scotland it also gave the opportunity for Scottish identity, that through the governance from within national loyalties were underpinned rather than demanding state loyalties. By keeping all of these institutions Scotland never really lost its autonomy and this is where the first finger is already reached out. This system proved rather enduring it was not until the 1950's and 1960's that the power of the Scottish institutions eroded. This was in part due to the economic downturn the heavy Scottish industry experienced in coal and steel. On the other hand the growth of the welfare state diminished the influence of former civil society organizations and also changed the way Scotland politics. Because the distinct Scottish institutions became less visible people became more intrigued by the idea of an autonomous Scotland. The SNP made good use of these changes by portraying them, not as class struggle but as one of identity.

Taking Scotland from the 1960s, we see Scotland's national identity and constitutional change within the UK's postwar economic decline and increased centralization of state power. Heavily industrialized Scotland asymmetrically felt the negatives of economic decline, and cultural and political consequences followed. The post-war economic decline and the period in which the SNP grew from meagre beginnings to become a mainstream political party and eventually a party of government in Scotland form a clear correlation. This period is also significant because it marks the breaking up of Scotland's unionist hegemony, where both Labour and Conservative parties dominated the political landscape. The presence of a real vote winning Nationalist party changes everything and it required a new ways of governing Scotland, within the UK. The result of the changing political arena first became visible during the referendum of 1979. The majority of voters already wanted a devolved Parliament, but due to voting restrictions the result was overruled. However, the subsequent Conservative government of Thatcher created a divide between Scotland and the rest of the UK. Because of the economic hardship that Scotland already felt due to industrial downturn, the harsh economic policies by Thatcher only created more discontented people and the Conservative party lost its Unionist voters.

This hard policy by Thatcher on Scotland also created disenfranchised Scots who no longer felt connected to Britain, but became more focused on Scotland and a Scottish identity. Creating more ground for devolution policies in Scotland. Something Labour managed to step into. By



portraying itself more as a party for Scottish interest and putting another devolution referendum on the table they managed to create the first step towards a devolved Parliament. Following the referendum Scotland regained its Parliament after nearly 300 years. This was the second finger that Scotland took. After this process of devolution Scotland kept on devolving, the Parliament gained rights over the railways and it created different constituencies for Westminster and Holyrood.

It is at this moment in time that the SNP first came to power, already a questionable situation for the UK, since the main goal of the SNP is to create an independent Scotland. During the first SNP tenure, Scotland got a sea planning role, which allowed the country to make policies on issues regarding maritime right. This period also saw the creation of the National Convention. By using a white paper and a website for recommendations the SNP wanted to cooperate with the Scottish people to determine the next phase of the country. Out of the National Convention came the paper for *Scotland's future* setting out the possibilities for Scotland with the ultimate goal being independence. The majority opposition wanted Scotland's situation to be analyzed and be given recommendations for the future, out of this report it became clear that Scotland had to gain much more tax varying powers. This became finalized with the Scotland Act 2012. Because of this Act Scotland got much more devolved powers than it originally possessed. That was only intensified because Scotland got an SNP majority government in 2011 that did not agree with the original Act, so after negotiations it got altered. This was the third time that Scotland got more autonomy, so we are closing in on the entire hand. However, the biggest achievement was the independence referendum of 2014 that was only just overruled, but never before had Scots supported independence in such great numbers. By voting no Scotland also gained more devolved powers, this was a promise made by Prime Minister Cameron and with the Scotland Act of 2016 more rights had moved towards Edinburgh once again. With this act the UK gave Scotland the fourth finger of the hand, leaving the UK with hardly anything to bargain on, in the future.

On an identity level being Scottish is seen as an individual choice. Any individual living in Scotland and identifying with the Scottish nation should be, according to the majority of elites, considered a member of that nation. And this notion is true for the majority of the Scottish population, in Scotland more people from foreign background identify with some sort of Scottish identity than in England, especially Pakistani people. In total 83% of the Scottish identify as some sort of Scottish. Of this people it was mostly the white 'Scottish' that identified with independence. After the referendum the amount of people supporting independence did not diminish, it actually remained at its referendum level, but the amount of people against leaving did diminish. The growth of support for independence is in part due to larger amounts of people how identify as Scottish supporting independence. If one feels more Scottish than British they are becoming majority pro-independence.

This brings us to the research question *"How did the process from devolution towards an independence referendum take place, in the period 1997-2014. And how was this formed by the Scottish civil society, the growth of national identity and the advent of the Scottish National Party"* The civil society is the main basis of Scottish identity, it lay its foundation during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, during the growth of the British welfare state these institutions became less important but this did create the need for a clear Scottish identity. After the economic downturn of the 1960's and 70's the major parties no longer could come up with a solution, something the SNP could. Because of the rise of the SNP Labour moved towards devolution and created the first devolved Parliament for

Scotland in 1999. And after this powers became more and more devolved towards Scotland, and with the SNP taking over Labour's place as a proper social-democratic party it got increasingly more votes until it became a majority government in 2011. After that moment it was relatively easy to hold a referendum and although the outcome of it was negative, Scotland gained more devolved powers once again.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources:

Campbell Commission, *Federalism: The best Future for Scotland*, (Edinburgh 2012)

Hay, Collin., The Winter of discontent Thirty years on, *The Political Quarterly* 80.4 (2009)

Holden, Helen., *The Commission on Scottish Devolution – The Calman Commission*, (House of Commons library)

House of Lords, *The Barnett Formula. Report with evidence*. (London 2009)

Manifesto's on the future of Scotland by the five big parties in Scotland.

- [SNP manifesto 2017](#) Stronger for Scotland (Edinburgh 2017).

- [Conservatives manifesto 2017](#) Forward together (Edinburgh 2017).

- [Labour manifesto 2017](#) For the many, not the few (Edinburgh 2017).

- [Liberal Democrats manifesto 2017](#) Change Britain's future (Edinburgh 2017).

- [Greens manifesto 2017](#) Our future is Green (Edinburgh 2017).

Morgan, Bryan., Scottish Parliament elections: 6 May 1999, *Research Paper 99.50 (house of commons library)* (1999)

Parliament of the United Kingdom, *Scotland Act 1998* (London 1998)

Parliament of the United Kingdom, *Constitutional Reform Act 2005* (March 24<sup>th</sup> 2005)

ScotCen, *Scottish Social Attitudes. The State of Nationalism in Scotland*, (2017)

Sir Patrick Nairne et al, *Report of the Commission on the Conduct of Referendums* (1996)

Smith, Andrew & Ludi Simpson, *Dynamics of Diversity: Evidence from the 2011 census* (2011)

The Commission on Scottish Devolution, *Serving Scotland Better: Scotland and the United Kingdom in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, 15.

The Scotland Bill, *Research Paper 98.1 (house of commons library)* (1998)

The Scottish Government, *Scotland's Future, The Scottish Independence Bill: A Consultation on an Interim Constitution for Scotland*, (2013)

The Scottish Government, *The Scottish Government Response to the Recommendations of the Commission on Scottish Devolution*, (Edinburgh 2009)

The Scottish Government, *Your Scotland, Your Voice: A National Conversation* (2009)

URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-28894313>

URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-17458231>

URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-29252899>

URL: <https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/n/nicolastur710899.html>

URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-20546497>

URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/devolution/scotland/live/index.shtml>

URL: <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/glasgow-university-chancellor-to-chair-scottish-972464>

URL: <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/politics/indys-leap-faith-only-issue-1714284>

URL: <https://devolutionmatters.wordpress.com/2011/11/03/the-scottish-lib-dems-home-rule-commission/>

URL: <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21576385-one-margaret-thatchers-legacies-has-grown-more-troubling-electoral-reform-and-devolution>

URL: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/scotland-act-2012>

URL: <https://www.gov.uk/topic/government/devolution>

URL: <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/constitution/a-national-conversation>

URL: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/snp-reveals-vision-for-independence-referendum-1831469.html>

URL: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/generalelection/all-56-newly-elected-snp-politicians-to-fly-together-to-westminster-to-show-cameron-they-are-10239984.html>

URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/4185185.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/4185185.stm)

URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/north\\_east/7752324.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/north_east/7752324.stm)

URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/8693832.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/8693832.stm)

URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/966880.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/966880.stm)

URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/1645556.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/1645556.stm)

URL: <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/privy-council-records>

URL: [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/01/world/europe/brexit-scotland-independence-vote.html?mcubz=1&\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/01/world/europe/brexit-scotland-independence-vote.html?mcubz=1&_r=0)

URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/29393.aspx>

URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/29393.aspx>

URL:  
[http://www.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/Ministers\\_Law\\_Officers\\_Ministerial\\_Parliamentary\\_Aides\\_by\\_Cabinet\\_Session\\_2.pdf](http://www.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/Ministers_Law_Officers_Ministerial_Parliamentary_Aides_by_Cabinet_Session_2.pdf)

The Scottish Parliament, *How the Scottish Parliament works*, 6-7;  
[http://www.parliament.scot/PublicInformationdocuments/SP\\_HTSPW\\_English\\_Oct\\_14\\_web.pdf](http://www.parliament.scot/PublicInformationdocuments/SP_HTSPW_English_Oct_14_web.pdf)

URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/19172.aspx>

URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/19171.aspx>

URL: <http://www.parliament.scot/msps/19169.aspx>

URL: <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislativescrutiny/act-of-union-1707/overview/union-of-the-crowns/>

URL: <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislativescrutiny/act-of-union-1707/overview/united-into-one-kingdom/>

URL: <http://www.quotehd.com/quotes/words/Scotland>

URL: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/scotland-bill-parties-split-as-snp-threatens-to-block-transfer-of-powers-1-2012089>

URL: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/four-decades-on-declaration-of-perth-is-still-fuelling-debate-1-1169195>

URL: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/church-of-scotland-struggling-to-stay-alive-1-3391152>

Scottish Parliament backs bid for new independence referendum. URL: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-scotland-idUSKBN16Z2AD>

Support for Independence by Moreno National Identity, 2012-16

URL: <http://www.ssa.natcen.ac.uk/media/38910/ssa16-2fr8m-1ndyref-2-1ndyr8f-tw0-two.pdf>

URL: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/10709250/SNP-Bannockburn-celebration-will-not-be-political.html>

URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2014/sep/18/-sp-scottish-independence-referendum-results-in-full>

URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/may/06/snp-election-victory-scottish-independence>

URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/jan/11/scottish-independence-referendum-autumn-2014>

URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/may/04/scotland.devolution>

URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/snp-winfred-ewing-hamilton-byelection-victory-1967>

URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/sep/10/scottish-independence-effing-tories-pariah-devolution>

URL:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20141129054933/http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/visitandlearn/Education/16285.aspx>

URL: <http://whatscotlandthinks.org/questions/how-important-is-a-political-partys-stance-on-scottish-independenceto-your-decis>

URL: <http://whatscotlandthinks.org/questions/how-should-scotland-be-governed-1979-scottish-election-study>

URL: <http://www.yesscotland.net/join-in/sign-the-declaration>

**Secondary Sources:**

Barrow, G.W.S., *Robert the Bruce And the Community Of The Realm Of Scotland*, (Edinburgh 1976)

Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London 1992)

Davidson, Neill, *the Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, (London 2000)

Dardanelli, Paolo & James Mitchell (2014) An Independent Scotland? The Scottish National Party's Bid for Independence and its Prospects, *The International Spectator* 49:3.

Fowler, William M., *Empires at war: the French and Indian War and the struggle for North America 1754-1763* (New York 2005)

Greer, Scott., *Nationalism and Self-Government*, (New York 2007)

Hattendorf, John B., *England in the war of the Spanish Succession: a Study of the English view and Grand Strategy, 1702-1712* (New York 1987)

Harvie, C., *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 to the Present* (London 2000)

Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge 1990)

Keating, Michael., *Nations against the State. The new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland*, (2001)

Kohn, Hans, *The Idea of Nationalism: A study of its Origins and Background*, (New York 1944)

Kurtulus, Ersun N., *State Sovereignty. Concept, Phenomenon and Ramifications*, New York (2005)

Leith, Murray S. & D.P.J. Soule, *Political discourse and national identity in Scotland*. (Edinburgh 2011)

Leith, Murray S., *Nationalism and National identity in Scottish politics*, (Glasgow 2006)

Leith, Murray S., Scottish National Identity as an elite concept, *National Identities* 14:1 (2012)

McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a nation* (London 2001)

Mechlin, Hart., It's Scotland's Oil. Energy and national identity in newspaper coverage of Scottish independence. (Middlebury College 2015)

Mitchell, J., *The Scottish Question*, (Oxford 2014)

Morton, G., Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1830-1860, *Scottish Historical Review Monograph Series* No.6 1999.

Morton, G., 'Scottish Rights and Centralisation in the mid nineteenth Century', *Nations and Nationalism* 2, 1996:2

Morton, G., Unionist Nationalism, *Scottish Historical Review*.

Morris, R.J.& G. Morton, 'Where was Nineteenth-Century Scotland?', *Scottish Historical Review* 73 1994.

Mitchell, James et al, The 1997 Devolution Referendum, *Parliamentary affairs* 51.2 (1998)

Plank, Geoffrey G., *Rebellion and Savagery: the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire*, (Philadelphia 2006)

Rawson Gardiner, Samuel, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the outbreak of the civil war , 1603-1642*. (Cambridge 2012). Original print 1884.

Rokkan, S.& D. Urwin, *Economy, Territory, Identity. Politics of West European Peripheries* (London 1983)

Soule, Daniël P.J.& Murray S. Leith, *Political Discourse and National Identity in Scotland*. (Cambridge 2011)

**List of Tables:**

Table 1: First session of the Scottish Parliament ..... 18

Table 2: 2011 survey on Scottish identity Source: 2011 census..... 25

Table 3: Fourth session of the Scottish Parliament..... 26

Table 4: Support for Independence Source: Moreno National Identity, 2012-16 ..... 31