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**The Scottish National Party and the Prospect of Independence: The
Case Study of 2014 Referendum**

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Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master Degree in Language and Culture.**

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DEDICATION

To my dearest parents Toufik and Gana Assia, the candle that enlightens my darkness, source of help, patience, happiness, and success, may God guard them.

To my father, whom I proud to bear his name.

To my mother, who is the source of my life.

To my beloved brothers: Raid, Fares, and Akram Dia Eddin, my God protect them.

To my grandfathers, grandmothers, aunts, uncles, cousins, best friends, classmates, to all the people who support, believed, and loved me.

To the teachers who taught me.

To everyone who stood by my side.

Thank you very much.

Talhi Sara Yassmine

DEDICATION

To my Family

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Abu Huraira reported: The Prophet, peace, and blessings be upon him, said, “Whoever is not thankful to the people, then he is not thankful to Allah.”

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates and scrutinizes the historical and contemporary profile of the Scottish National Party being an influential and trendy party that shaped the local politics of Scotland. The present work also focuses on “Scottish Nationalism” which constitutes the driving force behind the party’s struggle for full independence and sovereignty. This dissertation takes the 2014 Scottish independence referendum as a case study to illustrate the previously mentioned items. Indeed the 2014 referendum represented an unprecedented event in Scotland since the SNP’s principle of “independence” was for the first time put in direct evaluation and estimation. In this ballot the majority of the Scottish people voted for the “union” at the expense of “independence.” In this respect, this research project seeks to understand the main reasons behind the failure of the referendum especially that the SNP usually takes the majority seats in the Scottish Parliament and forms the local government. This paradox is exposed in this dissertation with at least two main suppositions as an attempt to understand the failure of the referendum and to envision the future of the SNP and therefore of nationalism in Scotland.

ملخص

تقوم هذه الرسالة بالتحقيق والتدقيق في الصورة التاريخية والمعاصرة للحزب الوطني الاسكتلندي باعتباره حزبًا مؤثرًا وعصريًا شكل السياسة المحلية في اسكتلندا. يركز العمل الحالي أيضًا على "القومية الاسكتلندية" التي تشكل القوة الدافعة وراء نضال الحزب من أجل الاستقلال الكامل والسيادة. تأخذ هذه الأطروحة استفتاء الاستقلال الاسكتلندي لعام 2014 كدراسة حالة لتوضيح البنود المذكورة سابقًا. والواقع أن استفتاء عام 2014 مثل حدثًا غير مسبوق في اسكتلندا منذ أن كان مبدأ "الاستقلال" الذي أعلنه الحزب الوطني الاسكتلندي لأول مرة موضع تقييم وتقدير مباشرين. في هذا الاقتراح صوتت غالبية الشعب الاسكتلندي لصالح "الاتحاد" على حساب "الاستقلال". في هذا الصدد، يسعى هذا المشروع البحثي إلى فهم الأسباب الرئيسية وراء فشل الاستفتاء خاصة أن الحزب الوطني الاسكتلندي عادة ما يشغل مقاعد الأغلبية في البرلمان الاسكتلندي ويشكل الحكومة المحلية. يتم الكشف عن هذه المفارقة في هذه الرسالة مع افتراضين رئيسيين على الأقل كمحاولة لفهم فشل الاستفتاء وتصور مستقبل الحزب الوطني الاسكتلندي وبالتالي القومية في اسكتلندا.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CFP	Common Fisheries Policy
EU	European Union
MSPs	Members of Scottish Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
NHS	National Health Service
SNP	Scottish National Party
UK	United Kingdom
WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction

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Figure1: "Analysis of 118 polls since the 2014 Independence Referendum"

(Smith).....40

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Introduction

A closer look at Scottish history suggests that Scotland does not prefer being within the British crown. In this respect, the Scottish National Party was formed to claim the reality of an independent Scotland. After more than 300 years of union, those necessities disappeared leading the people of Scotland to develop a sense of nationalism and a desire for full autonomy which finally resulted in an independence referendum in 2014 in which the majority voted “No” for independence. The event was considered as a precedent in the political history of Scotland and gained considerable attention from national and international researchers and academics including this dissertation. In fact, this work chose to study what hindered the SNP from winning that referendum despite the influence and popularity of the party, and presents many assumptions with concrete evidence. This work assumes that the media coverage of the referendum has partly affected the results and takes the BBC coverage as a case study.

This research project examines the rise of nationalism in Scotland and its impact on Scottish politics after tracking the evolution of Scotland before the union with England and as part of the United Kingdom with a focus on political phases of “home rule” and “devolution.” The aim is to provide descriptive information on Scottish nationalism focusing on the 2014 referendum and the factors behind the unexpected results.

Some questions relevant to the topic will be addressed in this research including: What are the achievements of the SNP in Scotland? How did the Scottish National Party influence the Scottish public opinion? How did the SNP affect the Scottish nationalism? What are the roles of SNP in developing the political institution in Scotland? Why did the SNP fail to get the majority of “Yes” in the 2014 referendum? Will the SNP organise a second independence referendum?

The thesis includes three chapters, the first deals with the history of Scotland from The Act of Union to the 1998 devolution. The second chapter presents a detailed portrayal of the SNP, and the rise of nationalism in Scotland. Finally, the third chapter discusses the 2014 referendum and the barriers that hinder the SNP from getting independence, and whether SNP will be able to organise a second independence referendum in the post Brexit era.

Literature concerning Scottish nationalism and whether it has a relation with SNP was found in the dubbed Book *Identity and the Scottish National Party: A Study Into the Use Of Nationaland State Identity In Modern Scottish Political Nationalism* of Stephan Leewis. In this book Leewis claimed that the SNP as they propagated for independence sparked Nationalist sentiments among the Scottish people. The referendum campaign came with many controversies concerning media biases. *The Independent* reported Paul Mason's criticism of the BBC coverage. He wrote on his Facebook page, "Not since Iraq have I seen BBC News working at propaganda strength like this. So glad I'm out of there."

Historical analyses is used in this present work to track the chronological progress of the Union between England and Scotland. Beginning by the 1707 Union Act, passing by the Scotland Act 1998, which created the Scottish Parliament and Executive, and finally coming to the landslide victory of Nationalists in 2011, and the rising calls to repeal the Union and get independence. To scheme essence and depth related to the research, an interpretative and qualitative research methodology is conducted, which typically focuses on British and TV political shows debating Scottish independence before and after the referendum. At this level, discourse analysis is used as a method, since the data used necessitates a focus on language and the communication of ideas.

The choice of the topic is generally motivated by a desire to build a full understanding of the circumstances and the reasons behind the failure of the 2014 independence referendum, and the incompetence of the SNP in gaining full support from the Scottish people for its

separatist agenda. The work aims at investigating the constraints that undermined the formation of an independent Scottish State in 2014, and the impact of this vain endeavour on the evolution of the nationalism in Scotland.

Chapter One

Scotland from the Union of 1707 to the Devolution of 1998

This chapter will tackle the main events and episodes that shaped the Scottish history and precisely those of which paved the way for the creation of the Scottish National Assembly or Parliament. Moreover, the chapter tracks the historical events that were behind the creation of the United Kingdom or the Union of Scotland with England, and the series of discontent that followed the Union. The chapter later moves to identify the political activities that resulted in the status of "home rule" and "devolution" for Scotland. In the end, the chapter sheds light on the 1999 first Scottish Parliamentary Elections and its embedding motives and objectives, and the decline of the Labour Party in Scotland, which at that time noticed the rise of the Scottish National Party as the new political force.

1.1. Scotland's Profile

The United Kingdom is an umbrella that includes England, Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland. England and Wales were unified politically, administratively, and legally through the Act of Union of 1536. In 1707 Scotland joined the Union to form Great Britain, which had been ruled by the Parliament of London. Scotland is a part of the United Kingdom whose flag, "the Union Jack," contains three crosses, including the white diagonal cross of St Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland. Scotland, with its islands, comprises the northern part of the U.K., and 790 islands. Its total area is 78,789km². Edinburgh city is the capital, while other cities like Glasgow, and Aberdeen are industrial cities. Dundee is the material source of European oil (Whamond10-138).

1.2. The Union with England: Action and Reaction

1.2.1. The Union of the Crowns 1603

The Union of the crown is one of the significant events in the British Isles history, and its importance lies under the fact that it was a fundamental building block of what is known

now as the United Kingdom. From that point in history, the future of a nation had been defined and shaped accordingly. After a long time of hostiles between the two countries, England and Scotland were unified on July 25, 1603, under the rule of a single King, James VI of Scotland who became James I of England. James VI was the son of Mary, the Queen of Scot's, and the cousin of Elizabeth I (Oliver 270-72).

James I became the king of two massive kingdoms; he settled in London; he was fascinated by the style of life of that city and the new country as a whole. James noticed that it is a bigger world of the one which he used to live in and rule. For that, he tried to unify the Scottish and the English parliaments. However, he faced s strong opposition from both sides (Lapsley and Brown 164-66). James was able to name himself as the king of Great Britain and was behind the creation of the British flag "the Union Jack" (Wormald 126-27).

1.2.2. The Act of Union 1707

By the Act of Union, the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Scotland united under the name of Great Britain on May 1, 1707. On this day, the Parliaments of both Scotland and England met to form the Parliament of Great Britain situated in the Palace of Westminster in London. The process of the unification of the Scottish and English Parliament led to the formation of Great Britain in 1707 (Robertson 129-30).

The 18th century is considered as a significant period in Scottish history. During this era, the Act of Union took place, and many historians tackled it as an issue. Some of them considered it as a middle solution for both British and Scottish interests. In contrast, others saw it as a natural terminate of the Union of Crowns1603 (Union of Parliament).

According to the English perspective, the Union is the best solution to protect their land from the European threat especially that Scotland seemed to be like a strategic point to attack England. While for the Scots, the Union is the only choice to escape from the darkest age of the Scottish history that happened previously; during this period, a series of disasters occurred

such famine, population, economic problem, for that reasons, signing the treaty of Union was the only option (Whatley 1-7).

1.2.3. The Battle of Culloden

After the unification of the parliaments in 1707, many wars and battles took place. One of them was the Battle of the Culloden. It occurred on April 16, 1746. That battle was a result of a dramatic story, which started with the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The Revolution was about a rebellion against the Catholic King James II; protestant politicians led it; James II was replaced by his protestant daughter "Anne." After she died in 1714, the Parliament brought her German Hanoverian cousin; this action was rejected by James Francis Edward, the son of James II, and by the Jacobite, James Francis asked for his right of the throne ("Battle of Culloden").

Subsequently, many attempts to regain the throne failed. Francis Edward had eventually managed to reach Scotland and gathered the support of the Scottish highland clans; he was called the "Young Pretender," he led his army until he reached England. When he found no serious help and support, he retreated to Scotland, and when the time of the battle arrived, the Jacobites forces were less equipped and not ready enough for the fight. On the other side, the government army led by William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland was powerful, trained, and well equipped. The battle lasted less than an hour with a devastating and bloody defeat for the highlanders. In the aftermath of the action, the defeated army was hunted and killed, the highlanders were to be assimilated in the British society by issuing policies against their clan system, and forcing them to leave some of their traditions, that battle was not only the end of the Jacobites but the end of the Stuart Dynasty forever too, it was also the last battle that fought above the British Isles lands ("Battle of Culloden").

The Jacobites were the ultimate political and military power that challenged the Union authorities, and they had their reasons to fight the monarch and Parliament. However, they

were not necessarily against the Union of 1707, which was threatened at that time (Robertson).

1.2.4. The Age of Rebellion

The 18th century witnessed the formation of the United Kingdom or the Union of Scotland with England for political, social, and economic reasons. But some Scottish people saw it as an alienation from their origins and identity. These people accused London of domination and control, and their dissatisfaction was translated into a series of rebellions. The first rebellion took place in 1708 when James Francis Edward wanted to re-establish the Stuart dynasty, but the uprising failed because the dominant force banned him. The second rebellion was in 1715. It was conducted by both Jacobites and Earl of Mar John Erskine; it also failed due to the resistance of Duke of Argyll. The last Act of rebellion took place when Charles Edward Stuart's son of James went to Scotland, almost all the Scottish people supported him, and consequently, he conquered Edinburgh. With the help of the Jacobites, his motives were to restore the Stuart dynasty and recover the British throne. They were defeated in 1746 by the British Royal Army, and thus, leading to the termination of the Jacobite surge (Plchova 18).

1.3.Scotland: the Path to Devolution

1.3.1. "Home Rule" for Scotland

Scotland's Home Rule movement goes back to the 19th century with the foundation of The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights in 1853. This movement sought to attract the attention of the central government towards Scotland, especially that Ireland was getting a better treatment (Devine 2). Later in 1886, a second movement was established; it was the Scottish Office, which was concerned with small interior matters like agriculture ("Scottish Government Record After 1707"). Scottish desire for home rule received greater attention after the foundation of "The Scottish Home Rule Association" in

1886. The S.H.R.A. aimed to establish a Scottish Parliament; its close relations with the Labour Party helped it create the Scottish Home Rule Council in 1904(Barberis et al. 399-400).

The late 19th and early 20th century witnessed the submission of many Home Rule Bills for Scotland; they were all stopped when the Great War started (Gay 6). The last notable home rule movement was the Scottish Covenant Association, founded in 1942 by John MacCormick. The Scottish Covenant Association was neither a parliamentary association nor a political party. Yet, it created the Scottish Assembly, which is credited for empowering the sense of national identity among the Scottish people. The Scottish Assembly raised a petition to Westminster asking for a devolved Scottish Parliament, with a controversial number of almost two million signers (Leith and Soule 18-20).

1.3.2. 1979, the First Devolution Referendum

The first devolution referendum was inspired from the Scotland Bill of 1978; this bill shed light on the Scottish devolution, and generally, both the legislative and executive degenerated from Westminster. It means that some of the provided powers and responsibilities should be shifted from the Scottish office to the Scottish legislative (Deacon 63-66).

The Scotland Act 1978 provided the Scottish Assembly with limited powers, such as education, social services, health, and environment. This Act caused a debate between members of Parliament; some of them agreed, others disagreed; finally, they decided that the referendum will occur on March 1, 1979. At that time, when the Scottish people were asked: "Do you want the Scotland Act to be put into effect?" the "Yes" campaign and the "No" campaign began. The followers of "Yes" are the Labor party, the Scottish National Party, the Liberals, and the Communists, besides the other new groups who emerged during this campaign in addition to the student organization and Conservatives. On the other side, there

were the "No" campaign followers; this second group believed that Scotland could not work without England and call for "No Vote." Even though 51.6% of voters voted "Yes," the referendum was rejected because it broke the Cunningham Amendment, which stated that the devolution should reach at least 40 percent of the Scottish Electorate, and the result showed 32.8 %. This devolution was a failed attempt that led to another referendum in 1997 (Krejcove 18).

In fact, before the 1707 Act of Union, the Scottish people enjoyed sovereignty under the rule of their own Parliament. This privilege was passed to Westminster Parliament after the Union. In the wake of the 19th century, nationalist voices called for the reinstatement of an elected body in Scotland that would rule and govern instead of Westminster. In 1997 Scottish nationalists asked the Scottish people again if they want to have a devolved parliament, and this time the "yes" exceeded the "no."

1.3.3. 1997, the Second Devolution Referendum

For Scotland, the devolution referendum of September 11, 1997, is the official separation from the U.K. Parliament. There were two ballot papers, which contained two questions. Should there be a Scottish Parliament? And Should the Parliament have Tax Varying Powers? The turnout was 60.2%. Peoples who voted "Yes" were 74.3%, and those who voted for the Tax Varying Powers were 63.5% (Dewdney5- 9).

The early hints of a devolved parliamentary discourse date back to the Thatcherism era; specifically, when the poll tax was introduced. The Scottish felt that the Conservative Party is against them, and that led to the creation of the Constitutional Convention through which it worked to organize and plan for a future Scottish Parliament. The SNP did not participate in that Convention because it did not have confidence in the Labour Party; from 1996, the Labour Party revealed its desire to carry out the Parliament referendum, and that what happened in the next year. When Tony Blair became Prime Minister, he introduced the White

Paper, which expressed the devolved powers and the functions that can be passed to the Scottish Parliament. The Labour Party campaigned the referendum, together with the Liberal Democrats and the Scottish National Party, while opposed by the Conservative Party (Mitchell et al.166-181).

1.4. Devolution for Scotland: The Birth of a Scottish Parliament

1.4.1. 1998, the Scotland Act

In 1998, the Scotland Bill, which was introduced to the House of Common on December 17, 1997, became an Act; the latter officially established the elected Scottish Parliament (Torrance 71). Thus, the Scotland Act 1998 transferred many tasks and responsibilities from the British Parliament to the new Scottish Parliament, which included legislative and tax laying powers.

The Scotland Act 1998 introduces the legislative body of the Scottish Parliament; it sets a variety of subject and permits a Scottish parliament to act freely. These actions are written in the form of a list, divided into several parts that deal with areas related to a parliament's powers, for instance, elections, taxation, finance, and administration. In this context, the Scotland Act states that:

To provide the establishment of a Scotland parliament and the administration and other changes in the government of Scotland; to provide for changes in the constitution and functions of certain public authorities, to provide for the variation of the basic rate of incoming tax to the income of Scottish taxpayers following a resolution of the Scottish Parliament; to amend the law about parliamentary constituencies in Scotland and for connected purposes ("Scotland Act 1998 –chapter 46").

1.4.2. 1999, Scotland First Parliament Elections

On May 6, 1999, the people of Scotland voted for the first time for almost three hundred years for their parliament members and their government. That Election gained the attention of the world because it was an unprecedented event in the history of Scotland. Indeed, the Scottish people voted for two members of the Scottish Parliament M.S.P.s, one for their constituency and one for their region. The Parliament contains 129 seats, divided between constituencies and regional members, 73 represented the constituencies, and the rest are regional members. Each M.S.P. can win by gaining the majority of votes in any given constituency, and that is called the first-past-the-post system. The Vote results showed the success of the Labour with an overall 56 Seats. In comparison, the SNP got only 35 seats; later on, the Labour formed a coalition government with The Liberal Democrats (Denver and MacAllister 10-31). The first meeting of the new Parliament was on May 12, 1999, and the famous politician Winnie Ewing gave a spectacular speech; its opening ceremony was on July 1 of the same year with the presence of the first Scottish Prime Minister Donald Dewar and the Queen ("The First Days 1999").

The Labour Party, throughout its recent history, took the leadership in Scotland for five decades but without any considerable achievement. Dissatisfaction with the Labour Party appeared when the latter showed little enthusiasm to the idea of an independent Scotland, which was then held by the Scottish National Party. In its campaigns, the Labour called for the Union because independence would cause harmful consequences to the Scottish economy. In contrast, the Scottish national party demanded a referendum on independence in its campaigns, and the idea started to gain considerable support at the political level.

A Poll published by the *Sunday Times* in 2006 and conducted by a U.K. Public Opinion Data Collector called YouGov showed that 29% of the constituency voters would vote for the SNP, just after the Labour Party, which is backed by 30% of the Electorate share. With this in mind, 29% of Scottish, whom they represent the high share of voters, were believed to be with

the SNP at the level of the regional vote. The poll also showed that 40% of the Scottish saw Alex Salmond as a better First Minister than Jack McConnell, the Labour Party leader at that time. Moreover, it indicated that 44% of voters were in favor of independence, whereas only 42% were against it ("YouGov 2006").

1.5.The Decline of the Labour Party in Scotland

The Scottish Parliament Election of 2007 was the third one under the new devolved Parliament and has executed by using the additional member electing system, held on May 3, 2007, with a total of 27 Political Parties, 1044 candidates, and nine independent candidates. The SNP gained the lead by winning 47 seats. That Election saw a great rising of the SNP representation in the Parliament; the Liberal Democrats declined by one seat from the 2003 election and won 16 seats; it also saw seats decline of Labour and Conservatives, in comparison to previous elections. The SNP won a total share of 32%, the Labour 30,6%, the conservative 15,2%, and the liberal democrats 13,7%. The high number of Spoiled Ballots characterized that Election (Tetteh 7-9).

People voted for the SNP in the Scotland Parliament Elections of 2007 for many reasons. In his famous book *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power*, the British writer, commentator and academic Gary Hassan argued that the Scottish voting system was very beneficial for the SNP to win the Election. Moreover, he suggested that the Scottish people used voting for the SNP tactically as an objection instrument against the U.K. Labour government and that the Scottish saw the SNP as the most capable party that can bring about a prosperous Scotland. For Hassan, those who have a high feeling of nationalism are more likely to vote for the SNP and favor independence (60-64). Consequently, the 2007 parliamentary election marked the deterioration and the decline of the Labour Party in Scotland, and the rising of the Scottish National Party. Alex Salmond, SNP's leader, said in

the wake of the elections: 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 (Wintour).

Following the 2007 election, the SNP demanded a coalition with the Green Party to form a minority government. They declared that they share common points of view toward nuclear weapons and the independence referendum, especially to broader the parliament responsibilities (Scottish Green Party). The aim behind the minority government was to make independence possible for Scotland; it was the predominant subject during that political era. To achieve this objective, the government prepared a White Paper, which emphasized the necessity of changing the Scottish Constitution under the slogan "Choosing Scotland's Future." The White Paper called for giving more powers to the Scottish Parliament, providing fiscal power to the Legislature body, and ultimately total independence. The British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, the Scottish Labour Party, Liberal Democrats, and the Conservatives challenged independence and formed a commission on Scottish devolution ("Choosing Scotland's Future...").

The SNP White Paper was also opposed by other parties that supported the Union. The U.K. government formed a commission in April 2008 called the Calman Commission, under the leadership of Sir Kenneth Calman. Calman, who defended the Union, asserted that: Our radical and innovative proposals to introduce a new Scottish rate of income tax will significantly strengthen the accountability of the Scottish Parliament and enable it to serve the people of Scotland better, with a union secure for the future (Holdon 4-15).

The fourth Scottish Parliament election took place on May 5, 2011, and once again, the SNP won a decisive victory. The SNP won 69 seats, followed by the Labour 37 seats, the Conservatives gained only 15 seats, and the Liberal Democrats had five seats. That Election resulted in the resignation of The Labour and Conservative leaders. The SNP had critical

pledges in the campaign; they promised to keep university study without tuition-fees and to initiate a referendum Bill for independence (Herbert et al. 3-10).

The history of Scotland is full of significant events. Scotland did not appear in the world recently; its roots are buried in the history of the world, from long wars with its south neighbour England, to the whole creation of Great Britain. The people of Scotland did not have any rest. They fought for their interests' generation after generation. After a long history of peace and prospect under that Union, Scottish developed sentiment of born nationalist ideas, which culminated in obtaining devolved powers in 1997 under the supervision of their local Party: The Scottish National Party.

This chapter dealt with the key historical events of Scotland, tackled the political sphere, and especially the Scottish desire to be independent of the U.K. since Scotland is a Nation, it has a right to have its sovereignty over its activities and institution, though the first devolution failed. Nevertheless, the second referendum was successful and considered a crucial path toward the organization of the 2014 referendum. Its success is shown in the uprising of the SNP, which played an essential role in changing the Scottish situation on the national and international levels.

Chapter Two

The Scottish National Party and the Rise of Nationalism in Scotland

This chapter first tries to elaborate a well-detailed description of the philosophy of Scottish nationalism. In fact, at this level, it is quite elementary to describe and define the concept of nationalism and its derivatives such as Nation and National Identity. This process sets the platform to understand the specificity surrounding the Scottish National and Cultural identity.

The second major concern of this chapter is to track the historical evolution of the Scottish National Party (SNP) by shedding light on the different fundamental events concerning the SNP starting from the post-devolution era, passing by the 2007 parliament election, and ending with the 2011 election landslide. The chapter also takes a closer look at the contextual background of the 2014 independence referendum.

2.1. What is Nationalism?

According to Peri from the Association of European Universities, nationalism is a political ideology bid for sovereignty or a group of people that seeks cultural, social, economic, or political privileges; it could even be in the form of united people campaign against unacceptable state plans (3–19). Whereas the politician Davidson argues that nationalism is a sentiment that has to do with attachments to a homeland, a common language, ideals, values and traditions, and also the identification of a group with symbols (a flag, a particular song, piece of music or design) which defines it as "different" from others (16). The expert in British politics and comparative politics Birch asserts that nationalism is the most successful political ideology in human history (3), while the British political theorist Bhikhu

assumes that nationalism refers to a homogeneous and collectively self-conscious ethno-cultural unit, a spiritual whole that shapes the substance and identity of its members (2).

As demonstrated above, nationalism is basically a collective feeling shared by a group of people who share a common culture; these people are called a "Nation." For Renan the French scholar and Orientalist, a Nation is:

A soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form (1882).

2.2. The Origin of Scottish Nationalism

As revealed in the first chapter, the early signs of nationalism in Scotland can be traced back to the aftermath of Union with England in 1707, when some Scottish refused the Act of Union and revolted against it in the form of series of unsuccessful rebellions led by the Jacobites in 1708, 1715, 1745 and 1746 (Harvie 17-18).

After the Union with Scotland, the United Kingdom became exceedingly prosperous; life was great, causing some scholars to believe that nationalism in Scotland before the twentieth century was almost absent. At the same time, others, including Morton the Lecturer in Politics at the University of the West of Scotland, he argued that Scottish nationalism was there, and it existed in the form of "Union nationalism" that supported the U.K. by the thriving Scottish middle class (Leith 63). While the Lecturer in the Department of history Glass challenged them by claiming that it was not nationalism it was Scots self-respect and self-appreciation since they were significant contributors to the British Empire (6).

From the end of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, nationalism in Scotland was insubstantial, and it had no room to appear; its first glimpses came from the

creation of the SNP between the two world war periods. Nevertheless, it was not very strong because the Scottish people were busy fighting for the empire (McCrone 14-16). However, things have dramatically changed at the onset of the Suez Crisis, which was a fatal shot to the empire and a fresh start for the SNP (Pittock 115-16).

According to Nairn, the 1960s and 1970s marked the rise of nationalism in Scotland. It was due to a feeling that Scotland had become weak, in the same context, the empire power was fading; to some extent, nationalists craved to substitute the empire with an international organization such as the European Community. That aspiration lived till today (qtd in Glass 4. 127). Others like the academists Rokkan, and D, Urwin, assume that although the Scottish community lives in peace and harmony with others, it finds itself in states with a constitutional regime that automatically serves the majority of the community (1983).

The sense of nationalism among the Scottish people can be seen through the Moreno question for National Identity of 2012, where the Scots tended to answer how they feel. The outcome showed that: 23% considered themselves as "Scottish," 30% saw themselves "More Scottish," 30% choose "Equally Scottish and British," 6% answered "British," and 5% were "More British," this meant that the sense of Scottish identity is the predominant (Curtice et al.). For the Scottish people, National consciousness is not used for its own sake but sequentially used to achieve economic, social, and political changes (Davidson 1-2).

Scottish nationalism was extraordinary in many aspects. A modernist interpretation explicitly reveals that it is progressive and positively civic, not based on ethnicities, it is practiced at the political level and stimulated by social democratic features, it is not like the nationalism of communist nations, and thus it was considered as Neo-Nationalism (Leith 66-67).

The British writer Gerry Hassan argues that Scottish nationalism is not radical or violent; it seems very reasonable; it did not take the shape of a Scottish pole against the U.K.

pole; it is just a process in the Scottish history. Scottish nationalism is also a Center-Left which met with the ideological trend of the SNP (Hassan 214-127). In this sense, Davidson affirms that Scottish nationalism of contemporary times is a creation of Post-Union society (Hassan 24).

For no doubt, Scottish nationalism is thriving, but it is still being challenged by Scottish Unionism, which indeed won in the 2014 independence referendum under the slogan "Better Together." The term Scottish Unionism was coined by the philosopher John Mair in the 1520s to label a third space of relations between the rivals; Scotland and England (Torrance 38). Scotland shared historical ties with the other members of the United Kingdom; some parties believed in the doctrine of Unionism and disagreed with the ideology of independence, and accordingly, the Conservative and the Liberal Parties formed the Scottish Union Association (Kidd 10).

Some academics designate the Unionism ideology as a set of ideas implemented by the English Empire to assimilate the Scottish within the framework of their system of life and values (Kidd 1-4). Before that, Scottish nationalism and Unionism were cohesive and blended within the same partnership pretext (Devine 110).

In contemporary Scotland, Unionism rhetoric has been adjusted to meet the new political demands by focusing on identity and distancing itself from unpatriotism; the outcome was a mixture in Scotland's character, as Unionists and Nationalists both have the legitimacy to voice the sound of the country (Ichijo 26-35). For the Scottish political scientist Michael Keating, both Conservative and Labour parties are Union advocates yet, they conceived it differently. For Conservative Unionism tends to be traditionalist; on the Labour side, Unionism is linked to a denigration of Nationalism, the need for broader forms of solidarity, and an emphasis on class (368). While the SNP proposed the "Social Union"

concept to represent their vision of Union in a post-independent Scotland, similar to the Union of the Crowns, but not to the Act of Union (Kidd 2013)

2.3. Scottish Cultural Identity

Every Nation in this world has its own culture that it is known and practiced by its people. It works in preserving their collective identity and in differentiating them from other national cultural practices, and there is no exception for Scotland or Alba as so-called in the Gaelic language.

Scotland's Cultural identity is one of the fundamental pillars of Scottish nationalism, and it consists of many practices, symbols, and living heritages. It is also one of the most unique and salient cultures in the world. The traditional Highland Clans System is significant in Scottish culture. Thereby, it was the means to distinguish families and to organize the fragment societies. There is also the Gaelic language, which is deeply rooted deep in Scottish culture. It was the means of communication in the early days of Scotland. However, only a small proportion of people speak it nowadays, but it is still celebrated under the culture of Scotland ("Scottish Culture and Traditions").

Another element of Scottish culture is the Highland Games, which traced back to the fourteenth century; they were meant to help to choose the toughest men to work for the Chief of the clan; they are mostly activities of lifting heavy subjects and carrying trees. The "Kilt" was the official dress of the ancient Highlanders, it is a very famous dress, and it is dressed in today Scotland, habitually at weddings, national celebrations, or in some other important events. Scotland culture is also noticeable by the famous "Bagpipes," which is a musical tool with an epic sound played in the national event or on special occasions ("Scottish Culture...").

Each culture has its exceptional food and drinks; for Scotland, it has an outstanding traditional food called the "Haggis." For drinking, the Whisky, and another soft drink named "Irn-Bru," are considered as the famous national drinks. The Scots also have their cultural

gathering called the "Ceilidh," it is very entertaining that it matches with their traditional music and dancing. Religion has a significant part in the Scottish culture; the Roman Catholic Church of Scotland is the most considerable religious symbol. Sports like golf, which originated in Scotland, Soccer, and other games, are inseparable from the Scottish culture ("Scottish Culture...").

Scottish modern culture has rigid links to the soccer game, music, and the celebrated international festival, especially that of Edinburgh ("Scottish Cultural Interests"). All that traditional heritage, in addition to literature, art, and music, have been fundamentally preserved by the Scottish. They tend to show satisfaction and appreciation to their nationhood through different means, including the establishment of the Scottish Poetry Library and other organizations (McCracken-Flesher 33-34).

2.4.Scottish Political Culture

Scotland's political culture before devolution is described in Miller, et al. extensive study as having to a certain degree the same political culture with other parts of Britain despite having different national identities. They pointed out that Scotland has a unique Law system, Education, Media, Political Parties, and Church. He also indicated that the Scottish social background, which ranges from culture to values, had resulted in a national sense balancing to egalitarian, collectivism, and generally overlapped with left and Centre left Wing (366-73).

The media have had an immense outcome on the national and cultural identity of Scotland by helping to develop the sense of "Scottishness," which contributed to the flourishing of the collective feeling of distinctiveness from other parts of the U.K., especially during the 1997 election (Schlesinger 1998).

Emily Denny, the Lecturer in Public Policy from the University of Stirling, has argued that what is known as the New Scottish Politics is a name originated to label the period of

devolution and beyond, or the disintegration from Westminster old politics and to enter into a new Scottish political era. After devolution, the political sphere was characterized by promoting uniqueness politics under the Union in the pre-referendum period. However, the discourse changed to the side of encouraging independence. Denny also pointed out that the SNP depoliticized the referendum dispute to meet its campaign preferences (2014).

For the modern time, an article published by the official website of the French international news Channel *France 24* entitled "Two Different Political Cultures: a divided Scotland braces for Brexit" the article was posted to discuss the aftermath of the 2016 Brexit referendum. In this referendum, 62% of the Scottish electorate voted for staying in the E.U. This result emphasized the idea that there is a resonant breakup between the political culture of the U.K., which became more Euroscepticism and the Political culture of Scotland, which is pro-European Union or Europhilia (Wheeldon).

2.5. The SNP and the Prospect of a Scottish State

2.5.1. The SNP: a Historical Overview

In 1934 the SNP was formed under the *raison d'être* of self-government; it passed through a series of achievements; including in the 1980s when the SNP called for a "divorce" of Scotland from the United Kingdom. The SNP showed great interest to integrate with the European Union at the level of economic and monetary, besides to the ability to manage the social and economic changes. The SNP then was able to hold an influential position in decision making concerning Scotland. The SNP participated in the formation of the Committee of Region in 1993, likewise helped in the creation of Scotland House; the Scottish Minister for European and External affairs. Besides, the SNP had generous support for The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and Common Fisheries Policy (CFP); what is more important is the publication of "White Paper" after the success of 2007, which discussed

issues related to an independent Scotland. This set of realisations made the party influential and stronger (Hassan 191-96).

During the 1970s, a historical change in the atmosphere between the U.K. and Scotland was catalyzed by the SNP. As they propagated for independence, they sparked Nationalist sentiments among the Scottish people. National identity also affected the political spectrum in-favor of the SNP as it gradually growing up. In a study made by Rossie& Bond in 2002 it showed that those who have higher self-identification of Scottishness are more willing to vote for the SNP. Thus, nationalism and national identity are both interconnected entities triggered by the SNP, which became the head of the Scottish nationalism (Leewis 4-5, 9).

The SNP appeared as the hegemonic force not only politically but also on the economic side. It also added to the social life; the SNP well-thought-out that the Gaelic language as a part of the national heritage should be recognized as a significant component of the Scottish identity (Verdugo and Milne 98-104).

The party worked hard to promote a civic nationalist version of Scottish politics, which can be grasped by local and external public opinion, far from radicalism and extremism (Clayton 830-33). The SNP also helped in transforming Scotland from a small state covered politically by the shadow of Westminster to a worldwide developed and progressed international Nation (Torrance 52). Pat Kane, a prominent Scottish political writer, explained the core of the SNP's nationalism as modern, intellectual, and progressive, through which simultaneously maintained the sense of nationhood and connected it with other European cultures (Torrance 36).

The different achievements of the SNP are well illustrated in the official website of the party. Accordingly, the SNP affirms that their Government has achieved many advancements, such as the improvement and development of the Scottish Health Care System and Education. Therefore, Scotland has become more prosperous by promoting social democratic policies

that helped in decreasing the poverty rates. In other domains, they claim that they expanded funding for the security forces. The SNP has also worked on investments in the Scottish infrastructures and similarly addressed the environmental issues by relying on renewable energy, stressing the role of community involvement in all of the vigorous matters, also they claim that they established a well-connected transporting web through which it linked the Scottish Isles and country sides with the rest of the country. Finally, the successive SNP governments also promoted tourism investments in different areas by empowering the national heritage and the genial organizing of festivals and creative activities ("Delivering Progress").

Contrary to the SNP leaders claims, some commentators believe that after 13 years of governance, the SNP had a debacle in maintaining effective health care systems, besides resulting in a disappointing achievement at the educational level. Moreover, a social catastrophe coming straight from the spread of drugs, which demonstrates their weak social policies, as well as a tragedy in Local Councils. They believe the Government had failed, notwithstanding the high revenue per capita in Scotland in contrast to other parts of the U.K. (Gramer et al.).

It must be highlighted that the Scottish National Party did not become a political phenomenon by accident. Indeed, it was accountable for crashing the Labour Party and becoming the leading opposite Party in Scotland by making successful steps; from a good organization, increasing membership, choosing the leaders wisely, to framing effective policies that led to a qualified government (Camp). The third election transformed the SNP to be an influential and popular party in the Scottish political spectrum, and it witnessed a decisive victory. Winning a sizable share of seats on the Scottish Parliament helped in the spread of independence ideas among the Scottish people with significant support (Crickhowel et al. 5-7).

2.5.2. The SNP as a Trendy Party

During the 2011 Elections, the SNP efficiently used modern technologies to convince the Electorate. Their campaign was made via web platforms, high tech video editing, YouTube, Facebook; they distributed their persuasive content of the campaign to the maximum share of Electorate, which resulted in a real-life benefit to their party, demonstrated in people donation and volunteering ("How the SNP is using...").

The Market Research Company "Ipsos" published an article entitled "The SNP's Social Media Success," which showed that the SNP is a ubiquitous trendy party, and people are discussing its policies well beyond other parties. Therefore, by successfully using social media in parallel with the traditional media, the SNP was able to influence public opinion, gaining voters, and promoting their independence ideas among the Scottish Nation.

Additionally, during the 2011 elections, the Scottish Parliament used the manifesto of the SNP as an instrument to hold the referendum on independence. The SNP's 2011 manifesto clearly stated that:

Independence will only happen when the people in Scotland vote for it... We think the people of Scotland should decide our Nation's future in a democratic referendum...

We will, therefore, bring forward our referendum Bill in this next Parliament. A "yes" vote will mean Scotland becomes an independent nation.

Whether the SNP will be able to convince the Scottish people to vote for independence is the concern of the third chapter. So far, the main elements that had been dealt with in this part of the dissertation are the doctrine of nationalism and how the latter has become the underlying principle of the SNP. Indeed, nationalism as a political philosophy is being adopted by the Scottish National Party since its focus goes hand in hand with that of the party. The merging has resulted in what became known as Scottish nationalism. This concept is seeking to promote Scottish national and cultural identity throughout an independent state.

Nevertheless, the idea of an independent Scottish state is being challenged by Unionism both in Scotland and Britain. The SNP is the leading party in Scotland. For many decades, the party did not hide its separatist inclinations, and is determined to get complete independence but only with the full consent of the Scottish people. In this respect, the SNP organized an independence referendum in 2014, where the Scottish voted "No" for independence. This obviously meant that Independence is still being distrusted by the majority of the Scottish who explicitly favour Unionism. So, what is impeding independence in Scotland, especially that the Scottish usually give their votes to the SNP in most Parliament Elections since devolution in 1998, but they did not do the same in the party's independence referendum in 2014?

Chapter Three

The 2014 Independence Referendum and its Impediments

This chapter basically seeks to investigate the possible reasons behind the inability to gain independence despite the SNP's influence in the Scottish political sphere. Besides, the chapter will explore the 2014 independence referendum throughout the examination of the different phases it passed through with an emphasis on the SNP's campaign and the means used to reach its underlying objectives. Meanwhile, this chapter discusses the role of media and its impact on shaping political views and loyalty and sheds light on the aftermath of the referendum and its impact on the SNP political future.

Since the 1998 devolution, the political center of gravity had shifted dramatically from the hands of the U.K. government to the side of Scotland, which indicated a transformation in the political awareness of the Scottish people who became Scottish-centered. When the SNP won a majority government in 2011, it became a matter of time before they organise an independence referendum as a mark of reaching the climax of sovereignty aspiration. To achieve that goal, they had to arrange some legal administrative issues that would make it more straightforward and transparent for both regimes.

3.1. Pre-Referendum Scotland

3.1.1. Debates and Discussions

Debates over the referendum have taken place all over the kingdom and especially in Scotland. By 2013, the public opinion gathered by poles indicated that those who favoured independence ranged from 30% to 40% of the Scottish population despite some controversies.

The debate has developed from nationalism and identity to an extensive list of themes and concerns. Economists from the "Yes" block suggested that an independent Scotland would try to create a union currency with the rest of the kingdom while holding the banking system as it is to facilitate and keep the economy running. They further claimed that they could create a thriving marketplace for an independent Scotland sustained by oil and gas revenue. The opposite block arguers contended that there is no guarantee for a successful agreement between an independent Scotland and the rest of the U.K. They also argued that the gas and oil revenue does not have a fixed price ("Wales and the Scottish independence Referendum" 10-13).

At the level of energy, the "Yes" flank proclaimed that they would place new regulations and strategies which would serve the specific needs of Scotland. On the opposite side, the Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change, the Rt. Hon Ed Davey MP reasoned that Scotland energy could not be continued successfully without the supervision of the Union advising. He further claimed that Scotland's energy could not be built from the start without the contributions of all the Union and would only be prosperous in the Union marketplace ("Wales and the Scottish..." 14-15).

Another debate erected on the premises that an independent Scotland would have an independent voice on its defense and army affairs, especially when it comes to the W.M.D., which are based on the Scottish lands. It is acclaimed that Scotland could not afford to build and bear a well-equipped army or defend its abroad interest and its views over the world. The "written constitution" was also a central theme in the pre-referendum consideration, as the "Yes" block argued that the first thing passed by the Parliament of an independent Scotland is to write a modern constitution able to protect the Scottish values and demands. That did not find an opposition from the contradictory stream ("Wales and the Scottish..." 16-19).

The "Yes" side has argued that an independent Scotland would join the E.U. and would work to find suitable and accessible ways to pursue that goal. In contrast, the opposition's side claimed that it is challenging legally for a newly born state to join the E.U. or fulfill the membership requirements. Among other disputed themes, what was called the "social union," which is the symbols of the shared history between Scotland and the rest of the U.K. When it comes to the YES team, they believed that there should be one monarchy, shared broadcasting, and shared customs and defense ("Wales and the Scottish..." 20-22).

3.1.2. The Edinburgh Agreement

For BBC, the year 2007 was a turning in the political history of Scotland, for it was the starting point for many events and especially meetings that would lead to a historic agreement ("Timeline: Scottish Independence Referendum"). On October 15, 2012, Alex Salmond as the Scottish First Minister together with Nicola Sturgeon as Deputy First Minister and the Prime Minister of the U.K. David Cameron with the Secretary of State of Scotland Michael Moore agreed to pass legal legislation under the Section 30 from the Scotland Act of 1998 to allow or prompt the Scottish Government with a devolved power that enables it to organise a single-question independence referendum before the end of 2014 legally. The team would finally agree on significant common points about having a clear legal base on the referendum legislated by the Scottish Parliament; it would deliver a fair test and a decisive expression of people's views in Scotland and a result that everyone will respect. This agreement became known as the Edinburgh Agreement. In other words, the agreement would allow the Scottish Government to decide who can vote. Also, it allowed it to choose the precise date for the referendum. Likewise, it permits the two governments to agree upon particular regulations such as referendum campaign broad-casts, free of charge mail-shot, and campaign finance (Edinburgh Agreement).

3.1.3. The Referendum Bill

The referendum Bill is a set of Scottish legislation that established the ground for the independence referendum; the First Minister Deputy Nicola Sturgeon submitted it on March 21, 2013, and was officially acclaimed on December 17, 2013 ("Scottish Independence Referendum Bill"). The Bill decided the date of the referendum to be on September 18, 2014, and the YES or NO question to be "Should Scotland be an independent country?" The SNP leaders, together with Labour, Conservative, and Liberal Democrats, welcomed the Bill but each with a different vision toward the Union (Black).

3.2. "Yes Scotland" vs. "Better Together"

The Scottish political sphere was divided into two camps, one with independence or the "Yes Scotland" and one for the Union or the "Better Together." "Yes Scotland" campaign was approved by the authorities on May 25, 2012, with the support of Social Democrats, Socialists, and Greens. The supporters of the SNP financed the campaign, which succeeded in grasping the public interest and in convincing the people to follow the movement and be campaigners and activists. The central core subject of the "Yes" campaign" is independence or the right of the Scottish community to be self-governed without any interference from Britain (Béland and Lecours 11-13).

In addition to independence, the "yes" campaign seeks to attain economic fairness, and only independence will help Scotland to become a more prosperous society since the Scottish economy is stable even without the North Sea oil reserves. Furthermore, the revenues of the latter will enable Scotland to finance social justice, and exclusively the NHS (Béland and Lecours14).

After a month from launching the "Yes" campaign, another campaign officially took place on June 25, 2012. It was formed under the support of the three parties: Labour, Conservative, and Liberal Democrats, who opposed the idea of an independent Scotland and prompted the positive image of the Union with the United Kingdom. The campaign was

known as "Better together." Most of the campaigners were older people who supported the Union because they feel more British than Scottish, and also because some of them worried about their pensions. For the "Better Together," the U.K. exists to ensure opportunity and security for all by sharing resources equitably (Béland and Lecours 18-21).

On September 18, 2014, the independence referendum was held. The Vote opened at 7 am. The result was declared on the next day at 9 am and concluded that 2,001,926 or 55.25 % of the people voted 'No' while 1,617,989 or 45.65 % of Scotland people voted 'Yes' (The Electoral Commission).

3.3. Scottish Electorates: "Yes" for the SNP "No" for Independence

It is very complicated and not easy to presume what exactly hindered the SNP from winning the referendum. However, an attempt was made to collect the data that would help in understanding and investigating what happened. Sources from the data collected showed that the majority of SNP voters voted for independence. In the aftermath of the referendum, primary research published on December 4, 2014, estimated that 80% of SNP voters measured from the data of the 2011 Parliamentary Election voted for independence, yet it was not enough. The finding also suggests that people were likely to vote "No" because they felt economically endangered in an independent Scotland (Mullen 633). Therefore, the silent majority of the Scottish who did not previously vote for SNP did not vote for independence. However, that study was not utterly reliable because it was conducted very soon after the referendum.

Many other factors restrained the SNP from its prospect of independence. In an article entitled "Votes for the SNP are not votes for independence," written by the Senior Lecturer in Social Policy Jan Eichhorn, where he discussed the 2015 U.K. general election and pointed to the SNP and independence concerning voters. Eichhorn argued that the voters made their

supportive decision according to rational economic, social, and political preferences, not because of the feeling of national identity.

The economic future of Scotland after independence was decisive in the referendum. The Scottish people were in doubt due to financial instability. That is why they prefer staying within the U.K. For the London-based freelance journalist David Nicholson, and the author of the article "5 Reasons Why Scottish independence would be an Economic Disaster," he maintained that independent currency might threaten trade and harm the Scottish monetary system. For Nicholson, the belief that Scotland should own the income from the North Sea oil and gas as the SNP proclaimed is totally false. Besides, independence would bring financial instability, chaos, and catastrophic losses. Due to the lack of natural resources. The Scottish industry, manufacturing, and finance would be weakened under the independence status (2014).

In his article "Why Scotland Said No to independence," Sam Ball argues that the poor persuading and addressing speeches of how an independent Scotland would be financially also played a key factor; he based his argument on the claims of the expert John Curtice which indicated that the win of "No" camp was very undesirable, and sudden destruction to the Scottish independence Movement, the adherents saw the changes as a dangerous choice and would bring a risk to the country and in particular, to the people themselves. In other words, the economists of the "Yes" camp failed to convince the Scottish with the independence orientation and suppose it got it wrong. Both campgrounds discussed the economic side. However, the "No" succeed in gaining the majority and won the challenge (Ball 2014).

In the *Oxford Handbook of Scottish Politics*, the historian Michael Keating explained that in the past, the religious element played a significant role in gaining support to parties; that is why Protestants support conservatives and Labour by Catholics, and the SNP looking

now for Muslims. However, this tendency diminished, and by the time the SNP succeeded in gaining support from all economic and socio-demographic groups. The SNP policy is based on a coalition of classes and interests: Catholics, working-class, manual workers, and young people; even some studies showed that men support SNP and independence more than women (Keating 291-92).

In an article published by the website *Open Learn* in 2015, the article entitled "The 2014 Scottish independence referendum Consequences for the main Scottish political parties" suggested that Labour supporters who voted for SNP beforehand has turned back to their original party affiliation and thus supported the Union since the Scottish people supported SNP to reach their interest within the U.K. not as a separate country, especially when it comes to gas and oil industry. While the political commentator Iain Macwhirter in his book *Disunited Kingdom-How Westminster Won a Referendum but Lost Scotland*, further reasoned that voting for the referendum did not go well as in the 2011 election. For Macwhirter, voting for the SNP has never been quite the same as voting for independence. He further adds that the Scots elected Alex Salmond on a landslide in 2011 not because they wanted to leave the U.K. but because they regarded the Scottish National Party as by far the best party to run the devolved Scottish Parliament (132).

3.4. The 2014 Independence Referendum Failure: between Media Conspiracy and the SNP Futility

Following the success of the "No" campaign or Unionists and the failure of the "Yes" campaign or Separatists in the Scottish independence referendum of 2014, investigations about the possible reasons behind this situation submerged the academic and political spectrums. Indeed, the results of the referendum became the concern of experts and analysts mainly due to the fact that the SNP as the organiser of the referendum, is also the leading political party in Scotland and the head of the Government. Speculations surrounding this

abnormal situation put in question the efficiency of the SNP campaign, and the inability of the party to reassure the Scottish people of their futures out of the Union. While others accused the British media of biased coverage of the "Yes Scotland," in this part of the research, an attempt was made to clarify this problem.

It should be first noted that the media determine the reality and condition pattern of social communication; it is time to understand the presence of media in reflecting the cultural and even social practices, and a part of the political sphere; it means that journals, newspapers, telegraph, etc. are used as instruments in the hand of politics (Hjarvard 3-6).

According to journalist Brain McNair, some oldest newspapers created in Scotland, including *The Daily Record*, *Sunday Mail*, *Scotsman*, *Scotland On Sunday*, *The Herald*, and *Sunday Herald*, in addition to others such as *West Highland*, *Free Press*, *Aberdeen Press*, and *Journals* had been used in the political framework from 1707 till the renewed sense of nationalism. However, these newspapers, which belong to the Scottish editions of London, supported Unionism and were called "pro-union," through which they glorified the U.K. and have never been Nationalists. McNair proclaims that up until the 2014 referendum, no Scottish newspaper openly editorialized in support of the SNP's key policy goal of independence" (2015).

Accordingly, the vital role of the media in the Scottish political debates is widely recorded and recognized. According to political scientist Michael Keating, the press played a significant role in constructing national culture and to what related to the public sphere. Scotland, for a long time, has had what is called "indigenous press," it has been considered as a vital part of the Scottish public consciousness, and it existed from an early age. For example, in the 18th century, it discussed the Union debate of 1707 and was used as a means in articulating the national and regional identities. Also, it helped in shaping the elite opinion

in the wake of the Scotland Act of 1998, in the same way, the establishment of the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament lead to new Scottish political media (158-59).

However, the perspective discussed here is somewhat related to the negative role played by the British media during the Scottish referendum independence campaign, and how it succeeded in convincing the Scottish electorates to choose the Union instead of an independent national state. To illustrate the above speculations, the BBC is taken as a sample case in addition to the British social/digital media.

3.4.1. The British Media Impartiality and Pro-Union Discourse

Allegations about Britain's attempts to manipulate the Scottish public opinion are widely represented in the media coverage of the SNP 'Yes' campaign and the day of the referendum. The BBC, as the first watched channel in the U.K., gave little airtime hours to the 'Yes' campaign in comparison with the Unionist's 'No' or 'Better Together' campaign. Professor John Robertson from the University of West Scotland monitored news broadcast of the BBC Scotland and Scottish Television between September 17, 2012, and September 18, 2013. The study recorded and transcribed approximately 730 hours of evening T.V. news output broadcast; 317 news items broadcast favoured the 'No' campaign compared to just 211 favourable to the 'Yes' campaign. It concluded that there was a broadcaster bias favouring the 'No' campaign by a ratio of 3:2. In other words, there was 50 percent more favourable coverage to the 'No' campaign (Cromwell).

BBC impartiality became the subject of Britain's papers when thousands of angry nationalists surrounded the BBC's Scottish headquarters in Glasgow four days before the referendum. The demonstrators were accusing the corporation and its political editor, Nick Robinson, of broadcasting 'lies' and being 'biased' in favour of retaining the Union. Their anger centered on two events: an alleged failure of the BBC to broadcast the accurate scale of a 'Yes' rally in Glasgow on Sunday, and accusations that Mr. Robinson had combined with the

Treasury to spread lies about the dangers to business and financial services of an independent Scotland (Chris Green, *The Independent*).

This view was enhanced by Ben Riley-Smith from *The Telegraph*, who wrote: "Westminster tells Scots: Ignore anonymous sources, you won't keep the pound after independence." The article quotes Philip Hammond, the Defence Secretary, saying that the U.K. would not share the pound with a separate Scotland for a sound economic reason, because a currency union without deep fiscal and political Union does not work.

Many British papers also exposed BBC's presenters' impartiality. Simon Johnson from *The Telegraph* reported BBC presenter Andrew Marr's anti-independence views that he overtly expressed in an interview with Scotland's Prime Minister, Alex Salmond. Marr breached the corporation's guidelines and asserted that it would be "quite hard" for a separate Scotland to join the European Union. Marr's confident declaration irritated Salmond, who demanded whether it was "the Andrew Marr analysis" or expression of the BBC."

The *Sunday Times* wrote 'Better Together' tipped off' on BBC debates.' The article published on July 20, 2014, and questioned the BBC's approach to the independence referendum. It stated that emails from a senior member at Mentor Media, the production company organising debates for the BBC 'Question Time,' alerted a Better Together campaign organiser ten days ago of forthcoming televised debates. *The Scotsman*, Scotland's National Newspaper, exposed the huge criticism directed towards BBC Scotland for the appointment of Kezia Dugdale, Labour's education spokeswoman, in a paid role as a presenter of Crossfire, a Radio Scotland Show debating issues relating to the referendum.

In an interview with *The Sunday Herald*, Alex Salmond answers the question of whether the BBC's referendum coverage was biased, by saying: "Yes, absolutely, of course, it is. The problem is that they don't realize they're biased. It's the unconscious bias, which is the most extraordinary thing of all. If the BBC were covering, in my estimation, any referendum,

in any democracy, anywhere in the world, they would cover it impeccably, in a balanced fashion."

BBC impartiality did not remain a Nationalist charge; many journalists serving the corporation admitted the company's pro-Unionist standpoint and condemned the overt bias of the Scottish referendum coverage. *The Independent* reported Paul Mason's criticism of the BBC coverage. Mason, former Newsnight's economic editor at the BBC, now on Channel 4 News, wrote on his Facebook page, "Not since Iraq have I seen BBC News working at propaganda strength like this. So glad I'm out of there." And in another post on Twitter, he wrote: "BBC has been completely biased and unbalanced in their reporting of the referendum." The same article quotes a BBC spokesman saying: "We believe our coverage of the referendum has been rigorously impartial and in line with our guidelines on fairness and impartiality."

The BBC, together with other media Platforms, have had an immense effect on the referendum outcome. Concerning social media coverage, Brain McNair claimed in his article "The Scottish Media and independence referendum," that this type of media was not used as a tool of communication as usual; it was used as a weapon in the hands of political campaigns. This media space turned into an aggressive environment, mainly when the author JK Rowling was expressed in a wrong way as she donated money to the "No" camp, also some Scottish and British celebrities like Davide Bowie, who declared solidarity with the Scottish were attacked. Similarly, adherents of the U.K. were criticized online and denounced as traitors due to their blog posts and tweets. On the other hand, the pro-Union posts described independence supporters as "Nazis"(2015).

In his book *Scotland's Propaganda War: The Media and the 2014 Independence Referendum*, which was published in September 2015, Professor John Robertson argued that there is clear evidence of overwhelming, as it turned out, the bias in the broadcasting of the

news about independence on television and radio in Scotland in the two years before the actual Vote. (65). For Robertson, the U.K. press as a whole was heavily biased against the "Yes" campaign, and that bias is likely to have been a factor in influencing around 25% of the "No" vote to do so (77). In the *Scotsman*, Macdonald wrote:

The mainstream T.V. coverage of the first year of the independence referendum campaigns has not been fair or balanced... Taken together, we have evidence of coverage which seems likely to have damaged the "Yes" campaign (2014).

In *The Telegraph*, Simon Johnson claimed that there is a biased statement said by the presenter of a *BBC* show to Alex Salmond, whom he hosted. Through, the corporation had pledged to maintain balance and objectivity. Johnson also wrote that Scottish Nationalists had threatened Andrew Marr with "consequences" after accusing him of voicing anti-independence views during an interview with Alex Salmond.

In the days before the referendum, an example of broadcasting biases was found in the *YouTube* channel of *Sky News* in a video entitled "Vote Yes in the Scottish Referendum? I'm Not That Daft!" the channel reporter asked an old woman in the street whether she would vote "YES" or "NO", the woman replied, "of course not, I'm not I'm not that SOFT" However, in the title of the video, they purposely wrote, "I'm Not That Daft!"

3.4.2. Westminster Conspiracy and the SNP Maladministration

In the first paper of the series examining the legal implications of Scotland's independence, presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Scotland by Command of Her Majesty in 2013, independence is presented as a completely new situation for Scotland, and not as an extension of devolution. It clearly states that: "Legally and constitutionally, independence is a totally different proposition. independence would mean the end of devolution. Devolution ensures that Scotland has a strong position within the U.K.

independence would remove Scotland from the U.K., along with the benefits that devolution brings ("Scotland Analysis...").

The same paper affirms that there is no prospect that an independent Scottish state would automatically become a new member of the E.U. upon independence. Neither would an independent Scotland automatically 'inherit' the U.K.'s opt-outs. Conclusions from the legal opinion indicate that as the remainder of the U.K. would be the same state as the existing U.K. with the same international rights and obligations, its E.U. membership would continue (45).

There was correspondingly evidence of Westminster biases that have occurred through the use of its vital institution against the independence prospect. The National Institute of Economic and Social Research released a video on *YouTube* entitled "Scottish independence: The Big Money Question" on September 16, 2013. Throughout the video, the monetary system of Scotland as an independent state was stressed. However, the video mentioned only the uncertain adverse scenario and neglected any benefits for an independent Scotland while the speaker claimed neutrality at the end of the video.

In his book *Disunited Kingdom: How Westminster Won a Referendum But Lost Scotland*, Iain Macwhirter argued that the SNP failed to address the issues of currency and E.U. accurately during the referendum campaign. He further mentioned that the muscularity of Alex Salmond disturbed the eligible voting women while also addressed an issue at the level of coordination between the SNP and the "Yes" campaign about who is in charge. When it comes to the "No" camp, the author claimed that the Unionists used the media propaganda suitably to their side to spread what was designate as "Project Fear," which was about stressing the negative themes and news, especially in regards to the economy, therefore, extinguishing the positive and optimistic discourse of the SNP. According to Macwhirter, the show-up of the former respectable prime ministers Gordon Brown made a decisive turn at the threshold of the independence referendum. The minister made a vow to the Scottish that he

and the other three Unionists parties would grant further power for the Scottish Parliament or not less than "home rule" in case of a "No" Vote. When it comes to showing up and convincing the public opinion in the media, the author saw that the "Yes" campaign acted poorly and did not manage to craft a good image in the subconscious of the public in comparison to the "No" camp, whom they succeeded to introduce their opponent in the media in a very negative shape (15-17).

Consequently, the British media impartiality, together with Westminster conspiracy and the SNP clumsiness, influenced to a noticeable degree the voting intention of the Scottish people through the use of negative information that made voters anxious about their future, and the portraying of the "Yes" campaign and the SNP as radical Separatist Nationalists that will destroy the economic stability of Scotland and take it to an unknown destiny.

3.5. Post-Referendum Scotland: "No" to Brexit "Yes" to Independence

After the 2014 referendum independence, the United Kingdom announced to hold a referendum to leave the European Union while the Scottish leaders rejected that secession. June 23, 2016, was the day of the "Brexit" Referendum, 62% of the Scottish choose to remain in the E.U. to secure their place in the European Union. The SNP suggested that another independence referendum should be organised. The Scottish first minister stated that Scotland should be ready for another referendum, while the British Prime Minister Theresa May did not welcome this idea.

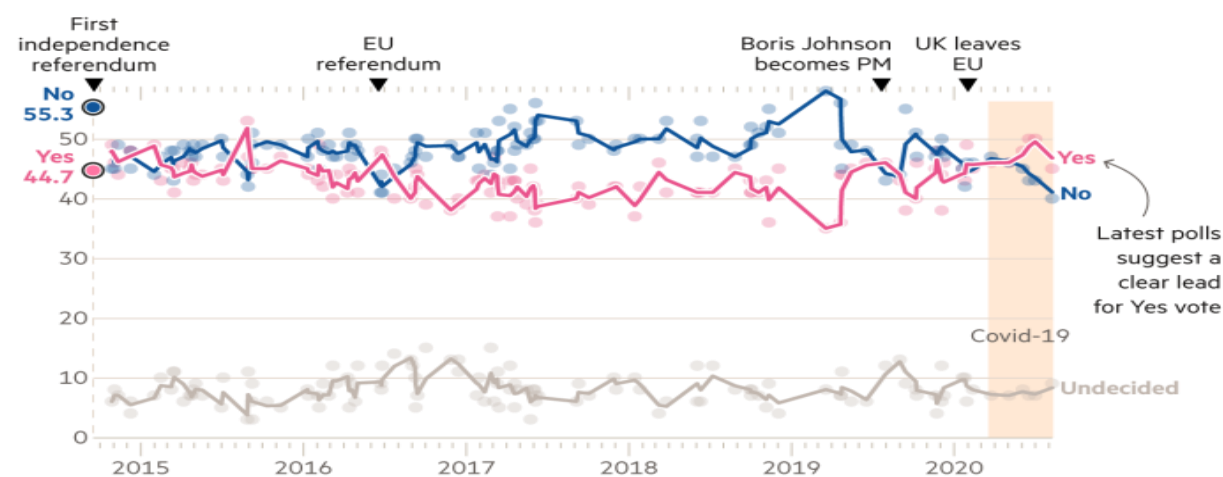
Moving forward to December 12, 2019 general elections, the SNP won a landslide victory in the Scottish Parliament with a manifesto calling for an "Indyref2". The SNP announced to hold a second referendum in 2020. However, similar to the model of 2014, a second referendum requires many legal approvals, agreements, times, preparations, and all that is not possible in the nearby future. Besides, it already faced opposition from the Conservatives in their manifesto entitled "No to Indyref2" (Paun et al.).

A very new Poll conducted in August showed a precedent increase in support for independence, a total of 55% with and 45% against, similar to the 2014 referendum but in the opposite; the SNP leader addressed that event confidently by stating that a second independence referendum the so-called "IndyRef2" will be included in the SNP's manifesto for the Holyrood election in 2021 (Forrest). The figure below illustrates another recent poll showing a rise in independence support in Scotland:

"Analysis of 118 polls since the 2014 Independence Referendum" (Smith).

Support for Scottish independence has risen this year

Opinion poll results, with weighted moving average (%)



Graphic: Alan Smith Source: FT analysis of 118 polls since the 2014 independence referendum © FT

Westminster started to accept the reality bit by bit, as Boris Jonson is being advised to grant Scotland a second independence referendum or risking to scratch the image of the Union (Zorzut). For Chris McCall, some ministers of the Westminster government realized that upholding an "IndyRef2" cannot be denied anymore (*Daily Record*). The Cabinet Office Minister Michael Gove saw that extending the franchise of voters to encompass the 795,000 Scots living elsewhere in the U.K. is an interesting idea (Johnson).

This last chapter has tried to shed light on the 2014 independence referendum process by starting with the motives that pushed the Scottish Government to organise an independence referendum. It also provided an analysis of the unexpected results and drew attention to the

essential role of the media in the referendum campaign. Many hidden critical aspects associated with economic, social and political preferences have been considered as relapses in the SNP road of independence.

Conclusion

This dissertation first dealt with Scotland before the Act of Union in 1707 when the latter used to have control over internal and external affairs, yet many circumstances drove it to form a union with its hostile southern neighbour England. Nevertheless, the union was far from being conventional which resulted in many unsuccessful rebellions against it. After years of the coalition between the British states, Scotland elites start to form some engagements called ‘home rule movements’ to regain the powers that were lost to the parliament of the U.K.; as a result, the Scottish National Party was formed to claim full independence.

This work then moved to highlight the first elections in a devolved Scotland. Actually, during the 20th century, attempts to create a legislative body gave birth to the 1997 Devolution referendum when the Scottish people thought that it is a good idea to have a local parliament. The Labour party was credited for its creation. Subsequently, people voted for the Labour Party as the leader of the Scottish government until 2007 when the SNP finally attained the political stage of Scotland in the landslide victory of 2011 Election. Thus, the road became clear to organize and reach an independence referendum, the preliminary plan that was behind the creation of the party from the beginning.

The next phase in this dissertation was concerned with “Scottish Nationalism,” indeed this issue was the centre of debate between scholars who agreed admitted that it appeared during the twentieth century after the Suez Crisis, and those who consider that the SNP was responsible for triggering the ideology of nationalism in Scotland, being compatible with the undelaying principals of the party. The SNP was also attributed for celebrating the cultural and national identity of Scotland. Besides, the SNP had many achievements that paved the way for it later to be the head of the Scottish government. The party became very famous in and out of Scotland, which helped it to gather the support needed to arrange an independence

referendum. However, the party failed in that vote. And thus, many speculation and questions were raised.

As mentioned earlier the main feature of this dissertation is the 2014 independence referendum and its impediments. Through the using of historical analysis and investigating the chronological events that took place, this topic was an attempt to understand why the SNP wins in general elections but lost the referendum. Actually, the 2014 referendum passed through many administrative stages in order to be transparent for both Scotland and the U.K to avoid any violent acts that would demonstrate misconception or a legal gap in the referendum. The Two opposite campaign blocks worked hard to persuade the Scottish for the orientation of staying or living the Union. However, the result was a big “No” for independence.

This work tried to illustrate the fact that the SNP though being a strong, popular and even trendy party failed to convince the majority of Scottish to separate and form their own state. The deep analysis of this results showed that the economy of an independent Scotland was the leading cause for the Scottish to avoid independence. People felt that sovereignty costs more than they can afford. In comparison to Parliament Elections where the Scottish voted for SNP as their government leader, the referendum was at a different level. Other assumptions were discussed in this study, mainly the media and Westminster favouritism interference in the referendum campaign. The data collected suggested a heavy Scottish and U.K. media bias against the “Yes” campaign. This study was made by a qualitative analysis of BBC outlining and allocating of the campaign. The results showed a close relation between biased coverage and the BBC in addition to critical evidence of Westminster partial interference through the use of its key institutions that went well for the Unionist as the SNP acted poorly during the referendum campaign. To conclude the party failed to address the main issues like the problem of E.U. and currency.

The final part of the dissertation tried to predict the future of Scottish nationalism in the aftermath of the referendum and the Brexit. The British government organized a referendum to leave the European Union. However, the Scottish people preferred staying within the E.U. They denounced the referendum result that seemed to ignore their will; as a result, the SNP started to raise the voice of independence once again, which it finds an echo within the Scottish public opinion that it was demonstrated in polls, a deduction can be made that the SNP will organize a second independence referendum because once again under the pretext of the Brexit referendum results.

This research was mainly chosen because of the significance of that referendum not just for the Scottish people but all around the world, as startles nations like Catalonia looked hopefully to get a referendum as the Scottish did. Accordingly, this study was fascinating to work on it. However, it came with many limitations. As a recommendation for researchers, the topic of the SNP aspiration for independence is endless with themes that would be great for higher academic studies. After six years from the 2014 referendum, the SNP is once more calling for a second referendum, a focus on the direct as well as the embedding reason that would be a possible relapse in the prospect of the SNP of independence would be a prodigious academic work.

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