

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N°:.....



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES
STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**The Disunited Kingdom: The Rise of Scottish
Nationalism.**

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Master Degree**

Submitted by :
Hellal wahiba & Kouriche Hanane

Supervised by
Mrs. Ferrah Sabah

Publically defended before the following jury:

Miss. Cheriet	University Mohamed Boudiaf	Chairperson
Mrs. Farrah Sabah	University Mohamed Boudiaf. M 'sila	Supervisor
Mrs. Habi	University Mohamed Boudiaf	Examiner

Academic Year : 2016 /2017

Declaration

Declaration

We sincerely declare that the work we are going to present under the title “**Disunited Kingdom: The Rise of Scottish Nationalism**” is the result of our efforts of reading and collecting information from different sources which have complete references, and to the limits of our knowledge. We selected it since it had not been tackled before, this topic is to be submitted and completed at University of Mohamed Boudiaf.

Acknowledgement

Acknowledgement

We would like to express extreme gratitude and thanks to our dear Supervisor **Mrs. Sabah Farrah** for her encouragement, support and her patience with us to complete our work.

Besides our supervisor, we offer full respect and blessings to **all the teachers of our department** who supported us directly or indirectly, we express special thanks to **Mr. Senoussi Mohamed** for his guidance and advice to engage this topic.

Our deep regards go to **the jury** members, who were kind enough to correct our modest thesis, we are equally grateful to all our teachers who helped us from the early beginnings of our study.

Eventually, it is important to say that we are proud because we continued our study in the Faculty of Letters and Languages “Mohamed Boudiaf University” especially in our great **English Department**.

Dedication

Dedication

Praise to Allah who guided us and gave us strength to finish our work and to our prophet Mohamed peace be upon him.

To the Dearest people to our hearts. To our great fathers “Ahmad and Mahfoud” , our source of support and love who we proudly bear their names. To our sweetest and ideal mothers “Soltana and Hafida” our source of patience, love and hope.

To all our beloved Sisters and Brothers one by one who helped us to face difficulties and hard times.

To our best friends Chaima, Mobaraka, Basma, Wahiba, Amal, Fatima.

Table of content

Table of content	Page numbers
Declaration	I
Acknowledgement	II
Dedication	III
Table of content	IV
Abstract	VII
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England	
I-1- Scottish Wars of Independence	5
I-2- Roots Towards Parliamentary Union	7
I-2- 1 Starting Negotiation for the Union	8
I-2-2 The Formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain	8
I-2-3 The Most Important Articles of the Union	9
I-3- Devolution in Scotland	10
I-3-1 Scottish's referendums on Devolution	10
I-3-2 Scotland Act of 1989	11
I-3-3 Calman Commission and Scotland Act 2012	12
I-3-4 Scotland Act of 2012	12
I-4- The Path Towards Transforming Devolution into Independence	13
Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence	
II-1- The sense of Independence for Scottish People	16

Table of content

II-2- Motives behind Scottish Desire to Call for Independence and Nationalism	17
II-2-1 National Identity	18
II-2-2 Scottish Economy	19
II-2-2-1 The Case of Independence	19
II-2-2-2 Scottish Economic privileges	20
II-2-3 Democracy	21
II-2-3-1 For More Democratic Scotland	21
II-2-3-2 A Written Constitution for Independent Scotland	22
II-2-4 Prosperity	24
II-2-5 Fairness	24
II-3 The Debate over Scottish Independence	25
II-3-1 Supporters	25
II-3-2 Opponents	26
Chapter Three: Scottish Independence Referendum and its Impact on UK	
III-1 The Road to Scottish Independence Referendum	29
III-1-1 The Edinburgh Agreement	30
III-1-2 The Rise of Scottish Nationalism	31
III-2 Scottish Independence Referendum	32
III-2-1 The Yes Campaign versus No Campaign	33
III-2-1-1 Yes Scotland	33
III-2-1-2 Better Together	34
III-2-2 The Results of Scottish Referendum	35
III-3 The Effect of Scottish Independence Referendum on the Rest of UK	35
III-3-1 Disunited Kingdom	36

Table of content

III-3-2 The Future of an Independent Scotland	38
Conclusion	40
Works cited	43
Glossary	49

Abstract

Abstract

The current study is an attempt to spot light on the growth of the consciousness among Scottish people about the necessity of independence. It represents the struggle which was between England and Scotland before 1707. This year that marked the birth of new relation among them under the name of UK. This latter lasted for more than three centuries till the emergence of the idea of devolution which later transformed into the need for full independence. The thesis reflects its real sense for Scots also it sheds light on the most important arguments that increased their desire to gain it. The work aims at exploring the rise of Scottish nationalism and its role in holding the referendum of 2014. It represents its results and to what extent they affected the UK where they revealed its real image not as it appeared to the world as one unit.

Introduction

Introduction

What has been called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was not achieved until 1707. The years that preceded were characterized by circumstances where England and Scotland were in conflict called “Wars of Scottish Independence”. It was a period of enmity, but this enmity came to an end when the two countries started looking for new relationship of partnership; this latter was achieved only in the year that was mentioned before 1707, the beginning of the United Kingdom. The creation of that union made Scotland and England under one parliament with shared monarch. It was an era of stability, working together until when Scottish people woke up and started their journey to change the position of their country. This was the initial step towards the birth of the idea “Devolution”. its objective was to establish Scottish parliament.

However, the idea of devolution completely changed into the need for full independence. They realized the fact of independence would be the only way which can achieve them their demands as well as to show Scotland as an independent nation in its own right. Actually, they launched their claim from the point that they were not satisfied when Scotland was under another country’s control. Their desire was fueled by different motives ; As a primary factor was the need for National identity, it was clear that people of Scotland were proud of their situation of being Scottish from the early times, and that independence would be the only source to acknowledge them as people who have their own and distinguishable identity. Besides the economic reason because Scotland indeed was an economic energetic power, UK used it to show off in the whole world and the most benefits were for it rather than for the owner one Scotland, Coming to another encouraging factors those of: Democracy, Fairness, prosperity in order to create new face of an independent

Introduction

Scotland all its people having the ability to practice their duties of citizenship better than as it was a part from a large union.

Furthermore, those motives increased the debate between Nationalists and Unionists. After a period of time, the governments of Scotland and United Kingdom arrived to the decision that only a referendum on independence would close the debate, but the early years of Scottish claim were not strong enough just in recent years when Scottish National Party(SNP) gained more power. In addition to that the rise of Scottish Nationalism. This movement really supported the process to hold the latest referendum which took realistic place before the end of 2014, where voters were asked to reflect their choice whether Scotland would remain or leave the union. But unfortunately it ended with the success of No vote, this result left considerable effect on the whole United Kingdom .More importantly it showed the real content of UK which appeared as one nation all its parts were working together hand in hand and enjoying relations of co-operation, but in reality it was not since England was the dominant nation among the four nations.

The struggle for Scottish independence was an interesting issue for different researchers, also huge amount of books and works tackled it under various titles. **Montserrat** in his book “Devolution in The United Kingdom: The Case for Scotland”, stated that Scottish attempts towards self- determination is not new; indeed it took place years ago as a form of devolution. In addition to that, another work “The Roots and Development of the Scottish Independence”; that latter provided description of Scotland’s situation when formed with England the union of parliaments 1707, and how Scotland remained autonomous in its nationality also it included Scottish process towards holding a referendum. In addition to this, some essayists and journalists tackled the topic of Scottish independence in their essays and articles such as: “Scottish Independence and Referendum”, which was written by **McLean** who stated the political and historical events that led to 2013 agreement to hold a referendum

Introduction

on Scottish independence. He maintained the year of 1707; where Scotland and England unified and their partnership lasted for centuries until the beginning of Scottish attempt to break up their relations.

This thesis is an attempt to shed light on the historical events which shaped the years when Scotland and England were fighting against each other in series of wars, then coming to the year when Scotland became a constituent part of UK. Within the three centuries, the power and achievements of that country were limited and under the control of the supreme “England”. This main reason led to the request for self identity and the growth of nationalism, besides the emergence of separatists’ great desire who faced oppositions from unionists, but at last they ended their disagreement that only vote would reach a result about Scotland’s future.

The present study is important since it tries to pinpoint the necessity of independence for Scottish people, to emphasize the real sense of nationalism, national identity and the economic situation of Scotland, more than that it aims to explain exactly the referendum and its results. It contains appropriate questions that seem to serve the context, they are as follows:

- 1- How was the relationship between England and Scotland before the union?
- 2- Why independence became necessary for Scottish people?
- 3- What were the most important motives that led them to call for their independence?
- 4- **Alex Salmond** said “should Scotland be an independent nation”
what were the results of that question in the referendum of 18 September 2014?
- 5-What were the effects of that referendum on UK and Scotland?

This study is historical, descriptive and analytical. It mentions the historical events that happened among England and Scotland within different times. besides describing the facts

Introduction

that helped Scottish to go on towards their independence, and the analytical method is used to analyze the concept of nationalism also to analyze results of the referendum in a sense that those affected UK. Therefore the main information is taken from “books of Scotland’s history”, articles and reports.

Our work is divided into three main chapters: the first chapter contains general background about wars of Scottish independence, the formation of the union and the idea of devolution. The second chapter focuses mainly on the concept of independence and its importance, the facts that encouraged Scottish people to defend for it, its opponents and supporters. Then the third chapter which provides overview about the referendum, its campaigns, its results and its impact on UK and on the future of Scotland even after its failure.

Chapter One

Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

Dates way back in history, Scotland and England were two independent kingdoms each one had its position as a self governed nation. Between the late 13 century and early 14 century they engaged in a series of wars because of their occupation of the same island. It was a period of enmity but the following years and exactly in 1603 which marked starting point of their relationship when they share the same monarch. Coming to 1707 when they formed the United Kingdom of Great Britain. However in recent years it became under the threat to be dissolved since Scotland wanted to be separated and independent nation in its own right.

I-1 Scottish Wars of Independence

During the late 13 century and early 14 century England and Scotland were engaged in a series of wars named as Scottish wars of independence. The main reason for the wars based on England's attention to overtake Scotland as its own new state. The wars were fought into two phases: The first war of Scottish of independence (1296-1328) and the second war between (1332-1357).

The first war of Scottish independence started in 1296. The main factors which led for the war based on the fighting over whom take the Scottish would throne after the death of Alexander the great last heir Margaret, maid of Norway. Her death had brought Scotland to break into civil war as two claimants struggled for Scottish's throne John Balliol and Robert Bruce. Adding to that The English King Edward I' wish to gain Scotland was obvious. His interfering in Scottish affairs and demanding its army to fight in France anger the Scottish and resulted in aggressive fighting between the two sides. The fighting started with the English's destruction of Berwick's a Scottish town. The earlier years of the war characterized by the English dominance to the battlefield, but the Scottish victory on the battle of Bannockburn had totally changed the path of the war for Scotland to enter from it as a victorious. Finally,

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

the conflicts came to its end in 1328 with the two sides' agreement of giving the Scottish their independence. (The wars of Independence BBC Scotland's History)

Generally, the second war was internal conflict between the two rivals: Edward Balliol and David Bruce struggling for Scottish throne. It also rose as a reaction of group of people who were deprived from their lands in Scotland. Those were a group of Scots noble who supported the English side during the first Scottish war and were lost their lands by demand from the Scottish king at that time Robert Bruce .They named as "Disinherited". The later under the leadership of Robert Balliol and with the support of the English king Edward III led a strong invasion to Scotland in 1332.The fighting began with the defeat of David Bruce army in the battle of Dupplin Moor which resulted in his loss of the throne to be given to his competitive enemy Robert Balliol. Shortly, after he crowned the Scottish throne, Edward III led a strong invasion to Scotland and he could win in the battle of Halidon Hill and gained control over Scotland. Moreover, the year of 1337 witnessed the begging of the severe wars between England and France, named as the hundred year's war. Therefore, David II took the opportunity and led other invasion to England, but unfortunately he fell in captivity .Besides, different attempts made by Robert Bruce to regain authority over Scotland were failed. The war came to its end when the English accepted to grant independence to Scotland and realize David II from the captivity in condition the Scottish should pay high ransom to English government. Finally, the second Scottish War of Independence was officially ended in 1357. (The Second Scottish War of Independence History in five).

I-2 Roots Towards Parliamentary Union

The 18 century was a turning point in relationship between Scotland and England .It shifted from enmity towards partnership as uniting the two kingdoms under one parliament

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

was achieved in 1707 after the union of crowns in 1603. About the union **Simon Schama** said: “*What began as a hostile merger, Would end in a full partnership. In The most powerful going concern in World...it was one of most astonishing transformation in the European History*”.(3)

What really began as a fear of being England state in 14 century would be achieved in 1707 with the union of the two kingdoms under one parliament of Great Britain. In 1603 Scotland and England were united under one monarch. It happened when James VI of Scotland became James I of England. The following years different attempts to unite both parliament was interrupted by revolutions and civil war. It was until the 18 century a call for urgent union started to be existed and this was due to many factors (Macinnes3).

The poor situation of Scottish economy as they were deprived from the right to trade with English colonies by the navigation act which passed by England, adding to that the failure of their adventure to establish colony in Panama in order to make overseas trade had encouraged the Scottish to support the union as a solution to recover the position of its economy (Mason 4).

For England, since it was at that time engaged in a series of wars, union with Scotland would provide to her military forces and army to fight especially in France. (Macinnes3) .These factors play an essential role in opening free air to negotiation. It firstly began when William III wrote to the deliberation of the covenanted parliament in Edinburgh of his desire to make parliamentary union as many favored the proposal since both nations shared the same landmass, language and religion. Unfortunately, William III died before he realizes his desire of uniting the two nations under one parliament. Shortly after his death both parliament

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

of Scotland and England appointed commissioners to negotiate the treaty of union. (Parliament UK)

I-2-1 Starting Negotiation for the Union

Before passing the final draft of the act of union different negotiation was made. In 1702 negotiation for the union failed because of the English commissioners refused to give Scotland right to trade with its colonies. England also wanted the Scottish to pay taxes as the English did, however Scots were in poor economic situation and they did not want the English taxes to impose on them. In addition to that, religion was an important issue during that meeting many questions were asked about which notional church to be adopted by Scots either Presbyterian or Episcopal. Moreover, in 1705 other negotiation was re-opened this time negotiator agreed for the Alien act which call for incorporating union with a single parliament and unified free trade. The British negotiator put the condition of unless the Scottish accept the Hanoverian succession there would be no union and their products will be banned in England.(parliament. UK)

I-2-2The Formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain

Discussions for the union continued to be held. In 1607 negotiation came to the assent of setting a treaty of union named as Act of union. This Act contained 25 articles which settled different issues including: taxation, religion, Scottish representation in parliament and unified flag. The act then passed to both parliament to vote on it and with queen Anne gave her assent the Act finally came into effect in 1 May, 1707. Under this Act Scotland and England became under single Kingdom and one parliament named as Great Britain . Trade, coinage, taxation and flag became one. However, Scottish were allowed to remain their legal system and their church (www.parliamentUK)

I-2-3The Most Important Articles of the Union

There were considerable that led to the birth of new nation between Scotland and England.

The most important articles of union are as following:

Article 1 :From 1 May the kingdoms of Scotland and England were to be united into one” kingdom of Great Britain” the flag of St George and St Andrew were to be combined.

The first article is about the formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

Article 2: the succession of the monarchy of Great Britain was to pass to the princess Sophia and her heirs. All Catholics and people marring Catholics would be excelled from the throne. The second article is about the prohibition of Catholicism succession.

Article 3: the people of Great Britain were to be represented by one parliament known as the parliament of Great Britain .The third article is about the foundation of unified single parliament.

Article 4: That all of the subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, shall after and from and after the union have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation. The fourth article gave full freedom on trade to the membership of United Kingdom.

Article 16: that, from and after the union, the coin should be the same standard and value, through the United Kingdom. The article is about the adaption of unified currency.

Article 22: Scottish representation at Westminster would be 16 Scottish peers in lords and 45 in commons. This article is about Scottish representation in U K parliament.

Article23: Scottish and English peers were to have the same privilege. All peers of Scotland were to be deemed peers of Great Britain.

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

Article 24: The great seals of Scotland and England were to be replaced by a seals of United Kingdom of Great Britain. The article is about the unification of both seals. (Articles of Union)

I-3 Devolution in Scotland

In less than two decades, parliamentary union between Scotland and England became under the threat of being dissolved as many had criticized the union as a cessation of Scottish parliament rather than an agreement which gave equal powers to both establishment. The Scottish's desire of being separate from the United Kingdom had greatly developed since the Scottish parties hugely supported the idea as a begging step towards Home rule. This means shifting the power from central authority to the regional one i.e.: turn it from Westminster domination to be in the hand of Scottish parliament to deal with its domestic country s' issues.

I-3-1 The Scottish's Referendums on Devolution

The first official discussions on devolution started with the Scottish proposal of holding a referendum on devolution by passing "Scotland act on devolution" of 1978 which aimed at establishing Scottish assembly with limited powers such as: having the authority over education, environment, health, home affairs, legal matters and social service. The act then passed to the parliament of the United Kingdom in order to give its assent. However, George Cunningham opposed the proposal by introducing an amendment in which the voters in favor to this referendum should not be less than 40percent otherwise the referendum would be rejected. The coming year the referendum was held and only 32.9 percent of the electorate voted in favor. As a result, the first Scottish referendum failed because the number of citizens voted "yes" was fewer than 40 percent. (The Experiences of Scottish of Devolution 4).

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

After the failure of the first referendum of 1979 , the Scottish were given another chance to vote on issues concerning devolution and this time on decisive proposal made by Scottish constitutional convention towards establishing Scottish 's parliament . The referendum held on 11 September 1979. It resulted in strong victory for "yes" with 74.3 for the establishment of Scottish devolved parliament and 60.2 percent voted for giving the new institution tax raising power. This great "yes" victory paved the way the Scottish parliament to be established and Scotland act of 1979 to be passed.(white and yon win 3).

I-3-2 Scotland Act of 1979

The Act of 1979 was passed after the success of Scottish referendum of 1979. It sets a plan for the establishment of the new devolved Scottish parliament which given the power to run certain issue named as devolved matters. These matters are:

Health, education, training, Housing, planning, environment, Agriculture, forestry a fishing, Sports, arts, Law, home affairs, the police, fire service, and Transport system. Whereas, certain issues retained to the United Kingdom to deal with it named as reserved matters including:

The constitution, Defense , national security, Fiscal , economic , monetary system, Trade , industry, Social security ,Foreign affairs, The civil service, Immigration and national identity, Energy ,electricity , coal, oil, gas ,nuclear energy ,Employment, and Equal opportunities.

Consequently, according to the Act of 1979 Scottish parliament had limited sovereignty only to pass legislation on devolved subject and it could not do so with the reserved issues which retained under the authority of Westminster parliament to deal with it.

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

In addition to that, the new parliament can only deal with Scottish domestic matters rather than interfering in external subject such as: constitution, economic matters, forging affairs and immigration .The parliament came into effect on 12 May 1999. (White and yon win 4 5).

I-3-3 Calman Commission and The Scotland Act of 2012

In 2009, further demand for devolution in Scotland extends to include fiscal matters. Although Scots votes” yes” on second question of the referendum of 1997 on tax raising powers, but they only giving a little power on that subject in the Act of 1998. As result Calman Commission introduced in order to raise some responsibilities for Scottish parliament especially over tax income rate (Hazell14). The Bill recommendations include:

- Giving Scottish parliament the ability to raise or lower income tax rate and reducing the rate of tax income collected by Scottish government.
- Giving the Scottish parliament the control over the stamp duty, land tax, landfill tax, and Air passenger duty.
- More devolved powers for extra issues such as: drink-driving, speed limits, administrative election and air guns.
- Giving Scottish ministers further powers to include the ability to borrow money for country’s project.
- Developing the inter-relationship of discussing and dialogue between ministers of both sides. (Simon the Telegraph).

I-3-4 The Scotland Act of 2012

The recommendations of Calman officially become the Scotland Act of 2012 after getting the royal assent. The Act of 2012 is passed in accordance with Calman

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

recommendations .It described by **the office of Scotland** as “*the biggest transfer of fiscal power in 300 years*”. That means it is the first time since the union of 1707 the Scottish parliament gets the role over certain financial matters. Under this act Scottish parliament is able to put the rate of income tax .The act also reduces the rate of Scottish income collected by the United Kingdom ‘s parliament . In addition to that, it wholly devolved the stamp duty, land tax and landfill tax to be under the responsibility of Scottish parliament .Moreover, this legislation gave Holy rood the ability to borrow money for the country’ s project. (Hazel 14-15).

I-4 The Path Towards Transforming Devolution into Independence

Scots' attitude totally shifted from devolution on certain matters to include holding a referendum towards full independence. With the great support of Scottish National party Scottish people were given other chance to vote for the future of the country on the question “should Scotland be an independent country”? The day of the manifesto fixed to be hold on 18 September 2014.(The Experiences of Scottish Devolution 5) .

Chapter One : Historical Development of Relationship between Scotland and England

To conclude, The Anglo-Scottish relationship had historically developed through time. It witnessed a very aggressive tension during the middle ages, moving to the 18 century where it totally changed to be more corporative relations realized through the political union between the two parliaments under a single kingdom named as The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. However, in recent years the Scottish's awareness about their sovereignty over their country's issues had widely increased to include their demand for full independence.

Chapter Two

**The Winds of Change in
Scottish Nation about the
Necessity of Independence**

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

The second chapter is entitled: “The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence”. It focuses mainly on the concept of independence and its real sense for Scottish people; it also sheds light on the most important facts and motives that led them to call for it, besides presenting those opponents who were against and their arguments. A Tight relationship and shared history among England and Scotland lasted for more than 300 hundred years within a union, this latter just in recent years came to trouble when Scottish people took their first step to withdraw from the UK, and at the same time their keen desire to build their nation and to represent a country in its own right among other countries from all over the world. Moreover, their attempts towards self- determination and the struggle to maintain Scotland’ independence from its closest neighbor were not only supported but also opposed and each side represents their arguments behind their choice whether Scotland remains or leaves the union.

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

II-1 The Sense of Independence for Scottish People

In recent years, Scottish people became aware about the real sense and the great issue of independence, this latter is the only way which can provide and create better life for all, underlying and controlling all the fundamental aspects of life also any international affair or relation in order to lead the country towards change.

The concept of Independence is the corner stone of any independent country; when it comes to mind's people it is clear that an independent country is the one that has sovereign statehood. But in the case of an independent Scotland it would mean a lot since its need for independence became super necessary for its entire people. It means an end of the United Kingdom authority and beginning of Scotland's own supremacy; as well as new birth of new nation where Scottish parliament would control all aspects of domestic and international affairs in a way that feeds all Scottish people needs. (Foly7)

In the report "Future of Scotland"; it is considered as the most significant one since it maintained Scotland's independence as a new future of the country. Its preface by **MPs Alex Salmond** who pinpointed the issue of independence as the best way that can make this country and its people take decisions by themselves, and he stated that a vote on this can be the first step towards gaining more power, energy and leading to transformation in a way that can catch Scottish ambitions and hopes. At the same time was the Scottish Government that maintained the power of independence in its real sense where its society , its individuals live better, share benefits and work together hand in hand in order to push their nation to go ahead, develop more to earn great power especially with new era of independence.

More than that, Independence is considered as great change since it would mark the beginning, or in a more appropriate word the birth of new Scotland with its own control and

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

behind keeping all its people's interests and domains of life socially and politically...etc far from the dominion of England which kept all of those denied and limited for many years, besides achieving own identity and sovereignty where also developing the most important values such as: Democracy, freedom and Equality. More significantly, this can happen only if it does vote for independence since this help in shaping new Scotland and bringing an image of an independent nation to the world. (Bin Uzayr2)

As **Alex Salmond** said: *"I believe in independence because it will be better for all of us if decisions about Scotland are taken by the people who care most about Scotland, the people who live and work here"*(8). This means that He and other Scottish people believe that if all decisions about Scotland are in their hands is the best to achieve benefits for it because no one can care more by both; either those who live or work in the country itself.

II-2 Motives behind Scottish Desire to Call for Independence and Nationalism

The claim for Scottish independence is considered as a great challenge to the cohesion of the unitary Union. Indeed, the starting point of Scots step is their dissatisfaction of the country's situation within the United Kingdom since at that time all its achievements were ignored or overshadowed. There were important reasons or more exactly motives which made the people of Scotland bear in their minds that it is time for their country to take the responsibility of its future to control of all aspects of life.

Scottish call for independence especially the last referendum represents an unforgettable event in the United Kingdom's history and their debate was not in vain but due to major issues; the most considerable ones are their question for identity, economy, prosperity and democracy also the need for written constitution (Curtice1)

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

II-2-1 National Identity

National Identity is main argument of Scottish people. What comes to mind about this is that it is the sense of place, history and more importantly the sense of self. For them; it is the real state of being Scottish and building modern Scotland where its entire people fully participate in skittish society .

In fact, Scotland had existed as an independent kingdom till the 18 century, but even after uniting with England it remained autonomous in Nationalism. Recently the growing sense of National Identity took place within the United Kingdom, the Scots were the first who became conscious about the threat of dual identity and the need for self-identity totally different from the English one which is the dominant one of four nationalisms of the UK; regarding their distinctive histories and the tensions that happened as a result an identity is conditional for Scottish people. (Oakland 52)

Also, to speak about Scottish national identity it is important to mention SNP which is the largest party in Scotland and it helped in shaping the defense of the country's nationalism from 1930s. It is also the party that took the role of the movement towards gaining independence in order to bring clear image of an independent Scotland with new position in the world as a state owning identity between other countries. (DrMcconaghy5)

Furthermore, the choice that may led the Scots to choose "yes" in the coming referendum is "National identity" since the situation under the UK which combines four nations was not comfortable in general, and in particular Scotland was a separate Kingdom until its union with England in 1707. Even therefore, it kept its distinct religion, culture and even its system of Education, all of those seem to be enough to make people of this country support independence in order to have own identity which is the only thing that can make them distinguishable from

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

other nations (Curtice 2) .So what can be said that those who feel strong sense of Scottish identity led them to recognize their wish of making an independent state among other countries from the rest of Europe.

II-2-2 Scottish Economy

Scotland as an economic energetic power, its life sciences, technological advantages and creative industries would make it great rival in the competitive world of economy.

II-2-2-1 The Case of Independence

In the book **Scotland's Economy “The case for independence»**. **Alex Salmond** examined how the Scots make people from all over the world use tools of entertainment such as: Television and phone. Going back to history, it is clear that they had skills and technological advantages which can make their economy better in the future of independence rather than behind the UK, it means Scotland as an independent country can take the responsibility of its economy as well as natural resources.

There was a report made by a group of eminent economists: “*By international standards Scotland is a wealthy and productive country, there is no doubt that this country has the potential to be successful independent nation*”. This means that this country not only can stand independent but also can go towards a path where it can build more prosperous and fairer country; since it has an economy that will make higher growth, and at the same time provide more jobs, high amount of employment to its people who are indeed looking for it. In fact nowadays world is competitive that is why it is fundamental for Scotland to take control of its economic powers where the benefits will come by first to it and to its people (2. 3).

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

But we are rich in human talent and natural resources. We are one of the wealthiest nations in the world. With independence we can build the kind of country. We want to be (Alex Salmond 11).

By his saying he emphasized that their country is in good economic position where the two sides which will led it to growth are available: Talented population and Natural resources, besides that Scotland is a rich nation and with independence it will appear as a great and new rival country in the world of economy.

II-2-2-2 Scottish Economic Privileges

Scotland has different economic advantages such as: food, drink, creative industries and life sciences. It is a wealthy country and in the case of independence its wealth, economic incomes will come by first to its people. Behind the union, Scotland as an economic power is marginalized and all what have a relationship with benefits, jobs, taxes are under Westminster' domination, within that moment Scottish parliament controls only 7 percent of Scotland's taxes but with independence it will take the responsibility of 100 percent of its resources; and even excluding North sea Oil and Gas, its economy is bigger than UK as a whole (so oil and gas is a bonus), (Scotland's future 5).

In addition to that, Scotland is an energetic-rich nation especially Oil and Gas; consequently in the future of independence, it will enjoy all their revenues besides ensuring that it will serve Scottish public services (18).

Due to the fact that country has those economic strengths and resources, it is better to keep the country far from the larger unit since its ability to govern and lead its economy towards change and transition where all concerns of economic management move from local to central or

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

more exactly not sharing with UK but instead to the people who live and work in the country itself (Curtice 2).

II-2-3 Democracy

The Scottish Government's White paper by **Dr Nicola McEwen** which examined the different issues surrounding independence and considering three over-riding reasons that may encourage all people to support independence, they may be listed as follows: Democracy, fairness and prosperity.

Firstly, Democracy is a word but by sense it means a lot, it is the state that makes Scotland self-governed and lead it towards self-determination and become fully responsible of its future. The United Kingdom still controls all Scottish political and social levels and aspects of lives, but the situation of independent and democratic Scotland means that it would make the Scottish parliament itself rule all standards of living; including health, education, environment, economic and cultural opportunities, social welfare as well as political rights and citizenship, and even international affairs. It was the Scottish National Party which claimed that all of those can be guaranteed only if they can be exercised within the country ensuring that the democratic situation is listed as a great argument that can make their ambition for independence achieved (1).

II-2-3-1 For More Democratic Scotland

The Scottish parliament and The Scottish Government two sides with the same goal is to create better life for all especially to make more democratic Scotland where making decisions is in their hands rather than at Westminster; because they believe that they are the only ones who

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

care most about Scottish interests and needs ,besides issues such as: defense, tax system and social security.

Since 1945, Scotland has been kept under the rule of another part from the union “England” and this resulted in the threat of economic recovery and spending more in nuclear weapons; which make instability, inequality and child poverty in its society. All in all, those considerable facts may push it to choose and decide that having own government can happen if all people vote in favor for independence. It will be a turning point in country’s politics where creating successful democratic country, rich society and maintaining that the future would be totally different for all families, individuals and for themselves (Scotland’s Future 41)

II-2-3-2 A Written Constitution for Independent Scotland

Scotland as a successful European country has keen desire of creating an image of new nation not similar at all to the current one; reflecting its people values and interests who in their turn participate and engage in all what would lead to the flourish of the country’s domains and aspects. Under the light of this point, what comes to mind is the operation by which the government and citizens are working in relative harmony: it is “Written Constitution” following independence for Scotland.

Democracy means by first that Scotland would have a written constitution where the government and citizenship will be controlled within that country. It is also where people of Scotland, politicians as well as other forms of organizations such as: trade unions, local authorities help by first in the process of shaping modern constitution. It is the Scottish government that has the voice for this latter since it is found more important to consider concepts of equality, living free from discrimination and prejudice, support rights of education and health

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

care, protection of children and ban of nuclear weapons all those can be achieved by new constitution for the country (22).

Deputy First Minister **Nicola Sturgeon** stated independence will be a birth to their nation, it is the considerable situation that can help in creating permanent constitution to Scotland, and it is the platforms that form the starting point where all fundamental principles and issues will be operated within Scottish government accompanied by the fact that it will have its own sovereignty. People who are thriving and eager to build the kind of country they want and rule it the way they want can be realized only with their vote.

There was a Scottish independence Bill introduced in Scottish parliament including:

- § How Scotland become an independent state after referendum 2014 arriving to 24 march 2016
- § From independence referendum coming to written constitution
- § From the establishment of constitution till the permanent one (2).

Moreover, **Nicola Sturgeon** in another time emphasized that in order to bring it into practice and into real existence may be achieved by vote in support of independence. The newly constitution contains seemingly goals that among them: Scotland will appear and take an important place in the world, transfer of power from UK government to both Scottish government and parliament, protect individuals' rights, keep the country away from illegal wars, prevent weapon ensuring that no expenditure for both. More importantly, the need for this constitution and the opportunity of owning it may encourage Scots in the independence referendum because of the belief that according to this process the country will establish its authority, contribute in the strength of its powers on the basis that it will gain the place that it deserves like other similar countries but not with effective privileges that Scotland has (2).

II-2-4 Prosperity

Another main reason that can increase ambitions of Scots is to create more prosperous Scotland throughout taking total control over its economic and natural resources. It was during 1970s when the Scottish National party discovered that the country has great wealth in the North sea especially Oil, therefore it found it the relevant time for Scotland to take the responsibility over its wealth and economy and keep them far from the domination of Westminster which kept most of them in its hands for long time, taking into consideration that all of those are better exercised and managed in the center in the country itself where all benefits come only to its people and serve their interests instead of share with whole of UK (Curtice 2). As a result, this is the only way which enhances the country's level of prosperity. People can enjoy the state of well-being, all economic powers such as: industry, business and taxation can be transformed to Scotland' government and parliament (Scotreferendum.com).

II-2-5 Fairness

But still another fascinating motive that may be listed beside the other ones, it is the need to build fairer Scotland. This is what **Nicola Sturgeon** emphasized when she received a letter of congratulation following her election as a First Minister, her message contained her encouraging words that everyone will enjoy better life living and working in fairer society of course following referendum in independence, she stated that she will make changes where no place of poverty and inequality, all individuals have chance to participate on politics as they never did before. As also a fairer step, she encouraged all women to represent themselves to have voice and like a best example to them when she was elected in a place of leadership. Her main aims are prosperity and fairness for all as her saying was *"I am committed to leading a government focused on*

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

prosperity, participation and fairness that puts people at the heart of its plans”. (Moffat Mr.)

(Cited in www.celticleague.net).

II-3 The Debate over Scottish Independence

Scottish claim for independence was not an easy task; it had its roots from long time as well as it faced challenges. Despite hardships with their road ahead but they did not stop or hesitate to endure their struggle to be independent and separated nation from its closest neighbor.

On one hand, there are opponents of the idea of independence, whereas on the other hand those supporters because of their belief and high desire to make it real not only by saying but by doing, not just by spirit but by action.

II-3-1 Supporters

Also called Separatists and Nationalists, those who have strong feelings made them think about the issue of independence seeking to withdraw from the union since they did not feel home in another country while in reality Scotland can offer them such feeling.

The former Chancellor **Alistair Darling** has said “*the question is not whether Scotland can survive as a separate state of course it could. The real question is what is best for Scotland’s future*” (5). It Means that the focus is not to what extent Scotland can stay independent since it reality it has the ability to do that but what is important is that it is better in such situation and what it can achieve in the future.

Moreover, those leaders of the claim emphasized that they need to have Scotland’s constitution besides the argument that Scotland’s Military forces and nuclear weapons which are

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

by now under the rule of UK, but after independence they would be in their hands also that will ensure the country's safety.

Adam Smith, David Hume and Alexander Graham Bell, those great characters of inventions in the history of Scotland, their achievements were closely linked to the whole union or more appropriately saying that they were not counted and even denied that is why independence became main purpose that Scottish people need to earn.(Bin Uzayr 2)

The concept of independence was strongly supported by Scottish national party which impressed many supporters to not leave the goal; it helped in making them confident. According to the idea that no need of conservative government, the real need is to move further and further to the right of making their country successful and independent.(Hazell 57)

II-3-2 Opponents

Also called unionists those who want Scotland to remain in the United Kingdom under the light of the argument that its strength is mostly linked with its existence in that union, as well as its economy is strong within that situation but it chooses to leave UK, it will be in lower status. Those opponents of Scottish independence stated that the country is powerful and influential as a part of UK and member of European union(EU) but with independence it will have no impact on the whole world especially that of trade.

Another argument which they pinpointed that Scotland benefits from the union and that those two countries England and Scotland are better together under the light of the point that because their distinctive identities and culture which can make their country in the high level of growth.(Zeleeeg 1)

Chapter Two: The Winds of Change in Scottish Nation about the Necessity of Independence

The Prime Minister of UK will be left heartbroken if Scotland chooses to leave the union (Bin Uzayr). He said “*I am passionate believer in our United Kingdom. I wanted more than anything for our United Kingdom to stay together*” his claim or belief that the union as a whole is better with all its parts together and his wish to not let Scotland exit from it.

At last the disagreement between the two sides came to an end when First Minister **Alex Salmond** and Prime Minister **David Cameron** signed the Edinburgh Agreement by which a Referendum would be held in September 2014 to answer the question “should Scotland be an independent country”.(Dr McConaghy 8).

In Conclusion, after 307 year of old relationship between England and Scotland, an event which marked perhaps a climatic movement of their shared history, when in recent years Scottish people started looking for their independence. Their pride of being Scottish and their need to build nation in its own right, all economic, social and political powers are under their country’s control. They took side to maintain their freedom and in order to support their attempt and to achieve their purpose despite all challenges they faced. At last both governments of England and Scotland arrived to reach an agreement that a referendum on independence where millions of people are allowed to decide for their country’s future if it is not its fate.

Chapter Three

The Scottish Independence Referendum and Its Impact on UK

Chapter Three: The Scottish Independence Referendum and Its Impact on UK

The third chapter focuses mainly on the recent referendum on Scottish referendum which was held in 2014 in response to Scottish people demands to answer the question whether they want their country to be independent leaving the United Kingdom or stay part from it. There were two sides; those with No and those with Yes means that Scotland in a state between two futures, the decision of voters would determine the shape of the country in the future and its position within the union and in the whole world.

It sheds light on the results of it where the success was in favor of No, but even after this referendum left considerable impact on the whole UK which is nowadays in situation to lose its parts because of the emergence of movements calling for separation and succession from the union that unified them for long years.

III-1 The Road to Scottish Independence Referendum

The process towards Scottish Independence Referendum took concern and debate within long years ago before, but the claim was not strong enough just in recent years. By first, it was when the Scottish National Party (SNP) succeeded in the election of 1960s and 1970s, also the huge amount of Oil that Scotland processed coincided with the decline of Britain as a super power. All those key issues caused wave of change in the country about its status and the need of Home Rule to become fully autonomous and take full independence. (Curtice 142)

In the years that followed exactly when SNP gained majority of seats in Scottish Parliament resulted in an idea of separation, and the debate about Scotland's power and position within the UK, its constitutional status, duties, responsibilities and rights. The year after, exactly in 2012; it was the Act of Scotland from UK parliament which emphasized that the Scottish Parliament took more power but this was not enough, but instead increased the desire of all to reach a result of the question of whether Scotland would leave or stay part from the Union. In the next two years this latter would be asked to all people in a referendum to reflect many choices, and in order to make a realistic decision about the unitary Union would be dissolved or not. (Curtice and Ormoston 117)

The Scottish National Party played an important role in shaping the passage towards holding that referendum, besides the victory of Scottish parliament in the elections of 2011, as SNP gained more seats its first aim was to start questioning Scotland's position behind the rule of another part from the union and to start preparing for that referendum. From that time, the debate begun between the UK government and Scottish government about when this latter can take place, the discussion contained different important elements like the relationship between those two sides either economically or politically. The UK government agreed that the

Chapter Three: The Scottish Independence Referendum and Its Impact on UK

referendum would be in January 2012, whereas the Scottish government stated that it should take place on autumn 2014. (Foly 6)

III-1-1 The Edinburgh Agreement

It was the agreement which was signed in October 2012 by the Prime Minister **David Cameron** and the First Minister **Alex Salmond** where they agreed that both governments would work together with an emphasis a referendum on Scottish independence would take place. But what have been expected totally changed and all attitudes turned to an idea of independence, to movement of succession from the basis that Scotland was a historic Nation and it would be a Nation again. (Currie 141)

Moreover, both governments agreed that the question would be simple, easy to understand and it should be before 2014. The principles of the agreement are as follows:

-The time of the referendum should be before 2014.

-Franchise: where the governments granted people who are over 16 years old are allowed to vote and both governments stated that all those who are included in the parliamentary and local governments' elections have the right to vote.

The Question: both emphasized that the question should be clear, fair where all accept it and can answer to find the result and command confidence, more than that including other rules that may serve the referendum.

III-1-2 The Rise of Scottish Nationalism

The starting point towards calling for Scottish independence referendum closely linked with the growing sense of Scottish Nationalism, even after Scotland's unification with England, millions of Scottish people kept their distinct identity which was "Scottish Nationalism" this latter played significant role in supporting independence and then holding a referendum on it. The context of nationalism is the fact of having nation all its people linked together with one identity, traditions as **Earnest Gellner** said "Nationalism is....primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent" it means that all people are satisfying tight relation. Indeed, Scottish nationalism for those who felt Scottish more than British, those who took pride of their situation of being Scots because after the union their country remained separated in civic, cultural and national identity as well as legal system of Education and independent church. All those facts, besides Scottish people's emotional link to their country and the continuity of having strong support for independence, led them to start their step to claim for it. (Glen 7)

More than that, nationalism had existed in Scotland as an element that cannot be replaced and in recent years it was considered as the main argument for independence. The growth of this movement was the main factor that helped the claim to maintain Scotland's independence and to secede from the union of 1707. The long process from that time till the recent referendum came by first to the belief of those Scots who had real sentiment towards Scottish identity. (McConaghy 3)

The 19th century, when the Scottish nationalism movement started, it was led by nationalists who had confidence of their national identity those who were not satisfied about the rules and management of the other part from the UK. This led the Scots to the latest situation to call for changing their country's position to demand autonomy and full independence; more than

that to regain what have been neglected for several years. In short, the manifestation of modern Scottish nationalism was the issue that made Scots to move on and to turn from only an idea to realistic process of independence. (Sunter 14, 15)

Recently, what characterizes the referendum of 2014 was the factor of the growing sense of nationalism. The main goal of that movement was the path towards self-determination in order to defend Scotland to be governed the way it wants, to look for future of the country far from the membership of the whole United Kingdom.(Mooney 171)

III-2-Scottish Independence Referendum

Alex Salmond, in his preface in the report of Scotland's Future, stated that the Scottish independence referendum is considered as a great challenge to the whole United Kingdom, where all Scottish people would be asked the question "should Scotland be an independent country". The answer of this question would shape new Scotland "who we are and what we could be"; means that Scotland after independence would be totally different from the ancient one. Its people within the referendum are integrated in a moment of decision about the future of their country as well as how all of them and the coming generation would live. It would not be easy at all since it is not only about simple issue, but rather it is a complex situation where millions would show their choice about what Scotland would be, which power it would gain behind independence, how it would be governed in a way that can bring new society; all its people would enjoy their values. (4).

Alex Salmond said " *the vote in September 2014 is about becoming independent from the parliamentary union of 1707 and passing to the Scottish parliament the powers Westminster has over matters such as taxation, welfare and the economy and securing for Scotland our own place in the world as an independent country*".(9)

Chapter Three: The Scottish Independence Referendum and Its Impact on UK

By his saying, he emphasized that the referendum would be the first step to change the center of powers of Scotland. It would be transition from Westminster to Scottish parliament. Therefore; all Scottish people should select the best decision for their country, and because this latter can bring new image for Scotland with new place in the world.

The Referendum on Scottish independence was considered really as an unforgettable event in the history of Scotland as well as in the whole United Kingdom. Exactly on 18 September, Scots would vote to determine Scotland's future, answering the question of whether Scotland would remain or leave its home that spent on it long years, and choosing whether it would be independent or not. Voters were divided; on one hand those who believed of the necessity of independence, and on the other hand those who believed that the best for Scotland was to stay part of UK. (Jeffery and Perman 2)

III-2-1 The Yes campaign versus No campaign

In the evening of the referendum, attitudes towards Scottish independence are divided into claimants with distinctive opinions. The "yes" campaign "yes Scotland" versus the "No" campaign "Better together". The campaigns major aim were to convince the Scottish people whether to stay as a part of the United Kingdom or to leave it to be an independent country.(Cortizas and Antunes7)

III-2-1-1Yes Scotland

The "Yes" campaign was headed by the Scottish National party under leadership of Alex Salmond as a strong supporter to Scottish independence. Its major focus was looking for Scottish full independence as a cornerstone towards self-government to run its social, economic and foreign affairs. The party's views were represented in two reports. The first one "Your Scotland your voice" whereas the second is "Scotland future: your guide to an independent Scotland. In

Chapter Three: The Scottish Independence Referendum and Its Impact on UK

the report of “Your Scotland your voice”, the party considered the process of devolution as a second choice to gain independence. However; in the report of “Scotland Future your Guide to An Independent Scotland”, the National party again strengthened its claim towards independence and calling for Self government with good governance. The latter wanted the Scottish future to be in the hand of Scottish people to be more responsible for their country domestic and internal issues. In addition to that, the campaign seeks also to keep its closer relationship with the UK even after the independence, through keeping the pound as its official currency, keeping the crown and creating equal power of pension and welfare. (Cortizes and Antunes 9, 10)

III-2-1-2 Better Together

The No campaign supported by the three unionist parties. Their claim stood as an opposition to Alex Salmond views about political independence. The parties promised for giving the Scottish parliament more powers in a condition to stay as a component in the United Kingdom. The no campaign claimed that the Scottish benefits are to stay in the union and vote no against independence. David Cameron speaking in Aberdeen for millions of people of United Kingdom argued that if Scottish would vote yes to be an independent country, this may lead to the end of the union which lasted for centuries and he described separation as a painful divorce which may resulted in the loss of all things we were shared together such as: currency .consequently, David Cameron called Scottish to vote against independence in order to protect the future of their country and families and he pledged for changes which may strength the Scottish parliament. Adding to that, He saw the United Kingdom as one family comprise from four nations, yes vote may lead to the destruction of this nations and it is better to stay together.(Dearden Scottish independence : full text of David Cameron “no going back”).

III-2-2 The Results of Scottish Referendum

On 18 September, the Scottish people were given a chance to vote on Scottish referendum of independence on the question: should Scotland be an independent country; to decide about the future of their country whether to stay in the United Kingdom or to be independent. The outcome of the manifesto resulted in the strong winning of no against the independence with 55.31 over yes with only 44.7.(Mcconaghy1). As a result to this failure, **Alex Salmond**, the great supporter of independence, had resigned from the leadership of National party. He said *“It is important to say that our referendum was agreed, and consented process and Scotland has by majority decided not at this stage to become an independent country”*. **Salmond** emphasis that the referendum was made by the agreement of people and by their agreement decided to stay as part of the United Kingdom (The Experiences of Scottish Independence19). Moreover, days before the referendum took place, the Scottish people were promised by David Cameron and other unionist parties to give the Scottish parliament more powers if they vote “no”. Consequently; just after the referendum, the Smith Commission formed for this aim. The lord Smith Kelvin with the help of the five Scottish parties came to the conclusion of expanding Scottish parliament powers on taxation, welfare and finance.(The Experiences of Scottish Devolution 21)

III-3 The Effect of Scottish Independence Referendum on the Rest of UK

The referendum on Scottish independence which ended with No vote left an impact on the United Kingdom and its parts. In some degree the current situation of it as a whole that it is not as before, and the evidence that the change of Scotland status, and also the tensions that appeared between UK and its other parts such as rise in nationalism “Irish one”.

Chapter Three: The Scottish Independence Referendum and Its Impact on UK

The outcome of the referendum was in favor of No vote means against Scotland's independence, but even after this result no return in Scotland's position to the UK as before, since just two days the three parties conservative, labor and liberal democrats promised in an agreement that if the success of the referendum would be against independence, in this case Scotland will gain more power. (Mcconaghy 2)

According to Moony and Sullivan, Scottish referendum means that what have been called United Kingdom would be dissolved. Despite the fact that the results were not of the benefits of Scotland but the situation of the whole union totally changed, the referendum affected by first its future, the UK that all the world knows it as one entity all its parts are in tight- tie relationship besides its composition of four nations as one nation. This was at least in the past, but now and for the future; who knows? Everything transformed and the evidence that the latest Scottish referendum which made the union under a position to be dissolved, led to debate around the issue of identity, freedom and being independent, separated nation in Scotland as well as the other parts.(2-3)

III-3-1The Disunited Kingdom

The deepest content of the United Kingdom is not at all as it appears to the whole world. In fact, its parts differ from one to another, each one kept a key factor that can make it totally obvious such as: Scotland had kept its system of education, Northern Ireland had kept its civil service and justice system, and currently Wales in its turn is on a step to make its cultural and religious distinctiveness. The fact that can be mentioned here is devolution, this latter expanded differences of governance and other systems and policies within the union. Since 2007, a lot has changed where forms of powers appeared such as economy, policy, also the light on SNP; those caused trouble, pressure and increased the debate of the UK itself.

Chapter Three: The Scottish Independence Referendum and Its Impact on UK

One thing can be said here that the United Kingdom had never existed as a unitary union in its real sense before or even now. Its composition of four different nations, multiple powers make it in a state of threat of no continuity of their relationship or even breaking them all.(Paun, Randall, Munro, Shaddock 5-6)

Furthermore, despite the failure of the referendum means that Scotland would continue its position as a part of the UK, but this latter became under danger after that because of its promise of giving more power to the Scottish parliament. The question here is about what is coming next for both Scotland and the union, as for **David Cameron** who was extremely pleased about the outcome of the referendum since it was against Scottish independence, and since it was time for UK to move on to better change. But the case was totally different since that was a challenge from **Alex Salmond**, the leader and great supporter of independence who warned that the shift in Scotland's powers should take realistic place as it was promised, even after he quit, he left his encouraging words as He said "*For Scotland the campaign continues and the dream shall never die*" means that the UK still face oppositions because the demand and the dream of Scottish people to make their country independent will not stop.(First Minister on referendum outcome 3-4)

What might happen next, especially after the latest referendum which touched by first the UK as whole, its parts and its constitutional shape, following it there were movements in Wales and Scotland to gain more power this what increased the debate about UK's membership in the European Union(EU) and more exactly its future and its constituent countries. **Nicola Sturgeon**'s call for a second referendum on Scottish independence and the desire should never stop (Ormston 4) as she told reporters in Edinburgh "*I will now take the steps necessary so Scotland will have the choice at the end of this process*".

III-3-2 The Future of an Independent Scotland

The future of Scotland is extremely linked to the concept of independence, the question that was asked in the latest referendum was for that aim, but unfortunately the results were not in favor for it. If the success was for yes the first elections on Scottish parliament would take place in March 2016, where this latter could practice authority over country's issues. **Nicola Sturgeon** stated that independence will bring new image of an independent Scotland where all decisions will be under the responsibility of Scottish parliament; as well as it will make it completely the manager of the most important services and people's interests economically, socially and politically. In addition to that, the best for the country as well as for all generations is to reach independence. As a result, independent Scotland means Scottish government will take control over economy and natural resources and will create all what supports individuals, ensuring that they will enjoy their rights and values also reach the chance to participate and their duties within the country, independent Scotland means new form of country, more power and new place in the world.(5)

Since September 2014 the debate over independence did not stop, but indeed it increased because from that time most in Scotland started to think that only independence can give them the opportunity and provide more power for the country. Moreover the concept of inequality will have no place among them, more importantly independence will be the forefront of building new Scotland better than as it is a part from the whole union.(Mooney 173)

Alex Salmond said *“Our generations has the opportunity to stop imagining and wondering and start building the better Scotland we all know is possible This is our country. This is our Scotland. It is time to seize that future with both hands”*(13)

Chapter Three: The Scottish Independence Referendum and Its Impact on UK

To conclude, the desire of those who want independence for Scotland and who seek separation from the UK did not stop, despite the results which were against them, and despite the challenges during their process to realize their purpose “*No one is suggesting an independent Scotland would not face challenges, we would be unique if that was not the case*” (Salmond 13). This is the fact that reflects that all what faced Scottish people, they were really great supporters of their country where they did not withdraw or went away leaving their goal. It means that Scotland as a country is really different from the other parts of the union and It will be in the future.

Conclusion

Conclusion

Scotland was found as an independent nation from the early years, it kept its own national identity till the 18th century when it was obliged to join England by the treaty of union because of financial crisis; but even after this, its position of autonomy and nationalism remained distinctive from the other parts of the union. After years of forming the United Kingdom the Scottish people started their demand for Home Rule and more power for their Parliament, by the concept of Devolution which increased the idea of transforming the rule of governance to Scotland.

The dissatisfaction of Scottish people about their country's situation in a large union pushed them to call for full independence in order to maintain their nationalism which was really an important source that can acknowledge them as an extremely distinguishable one in the world and far from the three ones of UK. There was no relation between England and Scotland before the union; since the latter was always under the threat of invasion and attack from the English military. They were in struggle called wars of Scottish independence which was a period characterized by the absence of peace and cooperation among them. It lasted for long years till 1603 when they shared the same monarch; arriving to 1707 when they formed new year that gave birth to a relationship of friendship under the name of the United Kingdom. This latter lasted for three hundred years: until the birth of increasing sense of Scottish nationalism and the first step of claiming for independence which were totally supported by the hero of the struggle, the leader of Scottish National party **Alex Salmond** and the deputy **Nicola Sturgeon**.

The fate of independence became super necessary for Scots, because they discovered that it would be the corner stone that would lead their country to development; the best way that would bring new concept of sovereignty and self- determination, as well as the only source that

Conclusion

would cover all what have been denying them for long years, and which would create a new independent Scotland, all its people having their own national identity.

This issue was strongly guided by major reasons; the first and most important one was that of national identity, since it was clearly obvious that Scottish people were really fixed to the sense of nationalism from the founding days of Scottish one till nowadays, moving to another argument which was based on Scottish economy. Scotland had economic strengths, but besides the union it had not chance to take considerable place between other economic powers in the world, its need to take democratic situation to an extent of having written constitution, for more prosperous country and fairer society. Those elements really helped them to continue their claim to make all those factors exercised in the country itself caring about people's interests, reflecting their rights and values and doing their duties only for their Scotland far from UK.

The defeat for independence and nationalism resulted in adopting referendum which was successfully held on 18 September 2014 and was about becoming independent and separated from the parliamentary union. It ended with the victory of No Vote; this result left an impact on the UK and increased the debate about its future and future of Scotland too. On one hand it revealed the deepest shape of UK which kept a pure image to the whole world for long years as united nation; consequently waves and movements calling for independence and separation appeared besides the growth of the beliefs of those nationalists in its other parts seeking own nationalism; on the other hand Scotland's future became totally linked to independence. The failure of the referendum did not make an end to Scottish people attempts and their keen desire but instead their spirit about the necessity of independence grew more and more, they were really eager to catch their independence in order to represent Scotland as a country with its own freedom like many countries in the world do.

Conclusion

The rise of Scottish Nationalism and the debate over Scottish independence is considered as a large area of research, as an interesting topic; it has huge amount of reconditions. The questions that are need to be raised here: when a second referendum on Scottish independence will take another realistic place. What will be its results if Scots realize their dream of making their country fully independent with a new place in the world like other independent countries do.

Works Cited

BOOKS

Bell, David, et al Editors. *The Economic Consequences of Scottish Independence*. University of Stirling, 2014.

Bogdanor, Vernon, et al. *Future of the Union*. LEGATUM INSTITUTE, THE CULTURE of PROSPERITY, 2014.

Cortizas, Carols Neira and Sandrina Ferreira Antunes. “YES SCOTLAND” versus “BETTER TOGETHER” HOW DID IT ALL HAPPEN? 3rd Ed, Centre Maurice Coppieters CMC PAPERS, 2016.

Currie, Grame. *Broken Dreaming: The 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum*. OSCE Yearbook, 2014, 2015.

Curtice, Jhon. *How Scotland voted Economic Perception in the Scottish independence referendum*. University of Strathclyde, Glasgow press, 2013

_____. *Independence Referendum: A question of identity, economics or equality?* University of Strathclyde, Natcen Social Research.

Curtice, Jhon and Rachel ormston. *Scottish Independence. The state of the Union: public opinion and the Scottish question*. University of Strathclyde, Natcen Social Research.

Cuthbert, Margret and Jim. *Economic policy option for an independent Scotland*. The jimmy Ried Foundation, 2013.

Etain, Tannam. *Brexit and the Future of the United Kingdom*. Istituto Affari Internazionali IAI, 2016.

Fenwick, Toby. *Scottish Independence: a Political and Economic Appraisal*. CENTER: FORUM, 2004.

Gardiner, Michael. *TIME AND ACTION IN THE SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM*. 1st Ed, Palgrave Macmillan University of Warwick, UK, 2015.

Guibernou, Montserrat. *Devolution and independence in the United Kingdom: the case of Scotland*. University of London, 2010.

Hazell, Robert, Editor. *Devolution and the Future of the Union*. 1st Ed, the Constitution Unit University College London, 2015.

Harvie, Christopher. *SCOTLAND AND NATIONALISM: Scottish society and politics 1707 to the present*. 4th Ed. Rout ledge Taylor and Francis group, 2005.

Jeffery, Charlie and Ray Perman, Editors. *Scotland's Decision: 16 Questions about forth referendum on 18 September*. The David Hume Institute, 2014.

Keating, Michael. *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy making after Devolution*. Edinburgh University press, 2005.

Lynch, Peter. *Scottish Government and Policy*. Edinburgh University. (Year not found)

MacLennan, Duncan. *CONSTRUCTING FUTURE SCOTLAND: Rethinking Infrastructure Policies*. University of Glasgow, 1985, 2015.

Mooney, Gerry. *Defining Welfare and the Scottish Independence Debate*. The Open University in Scotland, 2014.

Mooney, Gerry and Philip O' Sullivan. *The Impact of the Scottish Independence Referendum on Devolution and Governance in the United Kingdom*. Ulster University, 2014.

Okland, Jhon. *British civilization: An introduction*. 5th Ed, Rout ledge London and New York, 2002.

Ormston, Rachel. *DISUNITED KINGDOM? ATTITUDES TO THE EU ACROSSTHE UK*. Economic and Social Research Council, Natcen Social Research, 2015.

Paun, Akash, et al. *Governing after the referendum: Future constitutional scenarios forScotland and the UK*. INSTITUTE FOR GOVERNMENT, 2008.

Secretary for state of London. *Scotland analysis Devolution and the implication of Scottish independence*. 3rd Edition: the stationery office: UK. 2013

Sinclair, David. *Issues around Scottish Independence*. 5th Ed, the Constitution Unit, 1999.

Sunter, Ronald M. *The Rise of Scottish Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*. Department of History: University of GUELF, 2008.

The Economic Implications for the United Kingdom of Scottish independence. The House of Lords: London, 2013.

The Experiences of Scottish Devolution: Constitutional and Parliamentary Mechanisms of Scottish Parliament. Democratic Progress Institute, 2016.

The Scottish Government Riaghaltasna h-Alba. *AGREEMENT between the United Kingdom Government and the Scottish Government on a Referendum on Independence for Scotland*. Edinburgh, 2015.

White, Isobel and Jessica yon win. *Devolution in Scotland*. House of Commons, 2004.

Reports

Foly, Beth. *SCOTLAND AND THE UNITED KINGDOM a conference report*“Fiscal Commission Working Group Report. The Royal Society of Edinburgh, 2012.

McConaghy, Kieran. *Scotland and Separatism: Reverberations of the Scottish Independence Referendum on Separatist Politics*. The Handa Centre for the study of Terrorism and Political Violence, 2015.

Scotland’s Future: From the Referendum to Independence and a Written Constitution. The Scottish Government, Edinburgh, 2013.

Scotland’s Future: You’re Guide to an Independent Scotland. The Scottish Government, Edinburgh, 2013.

Scottish Independence Referendum: Report on the referendum held on 18 September 2014. The Electoral Commission, 2014.

Scottish Independence Referendum Research. ICM Research on behalf of The Electoral Commission, 2014.

Scotland’s Economy: the case for independence. The Scottish Government, Edinburgh, 2013.

Articles

Baines, Rupert, “Why was the United Kingdom Created?” Quora, July 11, 2013.<http://www.quora.com> .Accessed on 15 February 2017, 23:12.

Bin Uzayr, Syfyan “Scotland Deserves to be Independent”, *Sufism: A brief History*, July 21, 2014. [fpif.org /Scotland-deserves independent](http://fpif.org/Scotland-deserves-independent). 20 December, 2015.

Carrell, Servin “Nick Clegg Urges Scottish Independence to State Case for Saying”, *The Guardian*, February 28, 2014. [Http//www. The guardian.Com](http://www.theguardian.com). Accessed on 18 December 2016, 11:30.

Deaden Lizzie, Scotland and independence: full text of David Cameron’s “No Going Back” speech, *INDEPENDENT*, September 16, 2014, [www.independent](http://www.independent.co.uk). Com. Accessed on 27 April 2017, 17:20.

“First Minister on referendum outcome” Scottish Government Riaghaltasna h –Alba Gov .scots, September 19, 2014, news .Gov .Scots /Speech –and briefings .Accessed on 25 February 2017, 15:54.

Jonshon, Simon “The Calman Commission’s Referendum at Glance”, *The Telegraph*, June 15, 2009. [Www.Telegraph.com](http://www.telegraph.com). Accessed on 28 March 2017, 10:55.

Maciness, Allan I, “Acts of Union: the Creation of the United Kingdom”, BBC History, February 17, 2011 .[www.bbc .com](http://www.bbc.com) UK /history /British /Empire /...../Acts of union- 01. Accessed on 22 february 2017, 13:00.

Mason, Emma, “pre-union Scotland: what life was like”, *BBC History Magazine*, [www.history extra.com/ featured/United –Kingdom/per-union -Scotland what was life like?](http://www.historyextra.com/featured/United-Kingdom/per-union-Scotland-what-was-life-like/) September 17th, 2014. Accessed on 24 February 2017, 12:30.

McEwen, Nicola, “Towards Scottish independence? Examining the Scottish Government’s White paper”, Centre of Constitutional Change University of Edinburgh, January 23, 2014, [www.centre constitutional change.ac, u](http://www.centreconstitutionalchange.ac.uk). Accessed on 12 january 2017, 22:17.

The wars of independence, Scotland’s history .[www.bbc .co. UK](http://www.bbc.co.uk) /History/ articles / The-wars- of –independence. Accessed on 25 february 2017, 09:13.

Website

John B. Moffat (Mr.) Director of information, 27/01/2015, [http:// www.Celtic league.net/news/ congratulations- Nicola-max-branch-welcome-appointment-of-new-first-minister/](http://www.Celtic_league.net/news/congratulations-Nicola-max-branch-welcome-appointment-of-new-first-minister/) 25/03/2017, 22:17.

Mclean, “Scottish Independence and the Referendum”, UK ESSAYS, <http://www.ukessays.com>. Accessed on 18 December 2016, 21:42.

www.Parilaiment.UK/...../obout/livingheritage/evolutionofparilaiment/ligislativescurtyny/act-of-union, 15 March 2017, 16:30.

[www.Parliament.UK/document / heritage /article of union PDF](http://www.Parliament.UK/document/heritage/article_of_union_PDF), 15March 2017.16:00

[www.gov.scot.outcome.natidentity. 13/03/2017](http://www.gov.scot.outcome.natidentity.13/03/2017), 10:14

The Second War of Scottish Independence, History in Five .<http://m.YouTube.com>. February 25, 2017 .09:13

Dissertations:

Giovanni, Benninto. Scottish independence nation identity. University Degli Studi Di Padova, 2012-2013.

Krejcová, Sona. The Roots and Development of the Scottish. Department of English and Literature. Masaryk University Brno , 2013.

Leith, Stewart .*Nationalism and national identity in Scottish politics* .University of Glasgow: department of politics, 2006.

Szlonki ,Andras . Scottish –An analysis of speeches made by Jack Mc. University of Troms Hosten, 2006.

Glossary

- Ø **Autonomy:** the right of an organization, region to govern or control its own affairs.
- Ø **Campaign:** A plan to do a number of things in order to achieve a special aim.
- Ø **Devolution:** the transfer of power from, especially from central to local government.
- Ø **Identity:** who or what a person or a thing is. A region has its own cultural identity is demanding more independence.
- Ø **Monarchy:** the system of government or rule by a monarch.
- Ø **Nationalism:** the strong feeling of love and pride that you feel for your own country.
- Ø **Referendum:** an occasion when all the people of a country are able to vote on a particular political question.
- Ø **Sovereign:** (used about a country) not controlled by any other country i.e.: “Independent.”
- Ø **Self-determination:** the right of a nation country, to decide what form of government it will have or whether it will be independent of another country or not.

ص د م

تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى تسليط الضوء على نمو الوعي الاسكتلندي بضرورة التحرر ، كما أنها تعمل على تقديم الصراع الذي كان بين انجلترا واسكتلندا قبل 1707، هذه السنة التي شكلت بداية علاقة جديدة بينهما تحت اسم المملكة المتحدة التي دامت أكثر من ثلاث قرون حتى ظهور فكرة الانقسام التي تحولت بعدها إلى الحاجة إلى استقلال كامل. يبين هذا العمل معناه الحقيقي لدي الاسكتلنديين، كما انه يسلط الضوء على أهم الحجج التي زادت من رغبتهم لتحقيق الاستقلال. يهدف هذا البحث لاستكشاف انتشار الروح الوطنية ومدى مساهمتها في استفتاء 2014، ويقدم نتائجه وإلى أي مدى أثرت في المملكة المتحدة أين كشفت صورتها الحقيقية بخلاف الاعتقاد السائد للعالم علي أنها وحدة واحدة.