

ABSTRACT

The 2014 Scottish #IndyRef: How Failure is Still Progress for Scottish Nationalism

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In September of 2014, Scots voted in a referendum on Scottish independence from the United Kingdom. Though the unionist vote won by a slim margin, the campaign had become much closer than expected. In a last-minute effort to maintain the union, the British government promised further devolution of power, what they called “devo-max,” to Scotland if they voted to stay a part of the union. In this thesis, I analyze the development of the Scottish nationalist movement and the progress of the 2014 independence referendum to draw conclusions about what economic and cultural factors affected Scottish support for independence. Then, I explore how the results of the referendum—the promised plan for “devo max”—will likely affect the British state, especially with respect the development of federalism. Finally, I will look toward the future of the Scottish nationalism and identify how broad shifts in political attitudes and values might affect progress of the Scottish nationalist movement going forward.

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THE 2014 SCOTTISH #INDYREF: HOW FAILURE IS STILL PROGRESS FOR
SCOTTISH NATIONALISM

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CHAPTER ONE

An Economic Interpretation of the 2014 IndyRef

The British parliamentary elections of 1974 were a pivotal moment for Scottish nationalism. Scottish nationalism was mobilized seemingly overnight when the Scottish National Party (SNP) transformed from a fringe party to a party representing almost one-third of Scottish voters in the elections of 1974. Since its founding more than seventy years ago, the Scottish National Party has worked toward full Scottish independence, but was not a politically salient party until the early 1970s. Forty years later, the Scottish National Party would again garner a surprising amount of support, this time for a referendum on Scottish independence from the United Kingdom. How can we explain the rise in popular support for the SNP, both long-term and during the run-up to the referendum? What factors can we see influencing support for the Scottish independence movement, and how can we interpret the close results of a referendum that was not expected to legitimately threaten the 300-year-old United Kingdom?

Modern scholarship on independence and separatist movements often debates the relative influence of economic incentives to independence on support for separatist parties and the influence of the cultural or ethnic identity of the independence-minded group. Most point to economic incentives as the driving force behind success of separatist movements, even if those incentives are rhetorically hidden behind romantic ideas of cultural or ethnic identity. In the case of Scottish independence, economic incentives like North Sea oil revenues undoubtedly influenced the levels of popular support for the SNP.

But we cannot marginalize questions of ethnic and cultural identity and their role in the progress of Scottish independence, especially because of its unique history as a nation.

In order to more fully examine the questions raised above, I will divide the factors affecting Scottish independence into two groups: economic factors, including particular discussion of North Sea oil revenues, and non-economic factors of cultural and national identity. This first chapter will examine the economic factors which may have affected support for independence by introducing a regional-central bargaining model, variations on which are common in scholarly discussion about separatist movements. In the next chapter, I will address some significant non-economic factors which help us understand how the Scottish national or cultural identity affected the success of the independence movement and how connection between both these factors—economic and cultural—particularly affected the 2014 independence referendum.

How do Economic Conditions Affect the Scottish Nationalist Movement?

The 2014 Scottish independence referendum in many ways represents the culmination of decades of work led by the Scottish National Party. But in reviewing the political ascension of the SNP and the progress of Scottish nationalism as a whole, a few questions loom large. Why was Scottish nationalism mobilized seemingly overnight in the election of 1974, when the Scottish National Party transformed from a fringe party to a party representing almost one-third of Scottish voters? Why, since then, has it retained moderate support but only recently won majorities in Scottish Parliament? How did economic concerns affect voting during the 2014 independence referendum? In this

chapter, I will demonstrate the importance of certain economic factors in building support for Scottish independence, both long-term and in the more recent run-up to the independence referendum. First, I will introduce a regional-central bargaining model which produces correlations between successful regional autonomy movements and certain economic conditions. Then, I will explain how these economic conditions might be seen to apply to Scotland. Finally, I will analyze an alternative model which provides a similar but alternative economic account for the development of the Scottish nationalist movement that focuses on the importance of the North Sea oil revenues.

How Was Scotland Able to Secure An Independence Referendum?

In their paper about regional autonomy movements, scholars James Fearon and Pieter van Houten (2002) address the question of why some regions have seen the emergence of active regional autonomy movements while others have not. In trying to answer this question, Fearon and van Houten create a bargaining model to help understand the process by which a region seeks greater autonomy or full independence. In simple terms, their model predicts that if the regional political party garners enough support from the regional voters, the central government will offer concessions to the region in order to avoid the region's secession. Though the model predicts secession in rare cases, the mere threat of secession allows the region to gain more autonomy through bargaining with the center (Fearon and van Houten 2002).

From this bargaining model, using empirical analysis of regional autonomy movements around the world, Fearon and van Houten produce three economic conditions

and one non-economic, cultural condition which correlate strongly with successful independence movements. The presence of these conditions make it much more likely that the central government takes the regional party's demands seriously. In other words, if these conditions hold, the regional party is likely to be sitting at the independence bargaining table with the central government, discussing the conditions under which the region would be willing to remain a part of the country. Before we see whether Fearon and van Houten's economic conditions hold, we will examine whether their bargaining model—the foundation for the economic correlations—applies to the Scottish nationalist movement.

Fearon and van Houten's bargaining model seems to have great explanatory power in examining the progress of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. Since the party's inception more than 70 years ago, the Scottish National Party has made Scottish independence a cornerstone of its political platform. For the first time since the reconstitution of the Scottish parliament in 1999, the SNP defeated the Scottish Labour Party (a regional extension of the UK-wide Labour Party) in the 2007 parliamentary elections and formed a coalition government (Scottish Government 2007). Almost immediately, the SNP-led Scottish government produced a referendum bill draft which was followed in 2009 by a white paper formally proposing a referendum bill. This referendum bill included two questions: (1) whether Scotland should have more devolved powers and (2) whether Scotland should be fully independent (Scottish Government 2009). In 2010, however, when First Minister Alex Salmond proposed the referendum

bill, it did not pass, as the SNP was a minority government, and unionist parties refused support (Scottish Government 2010).

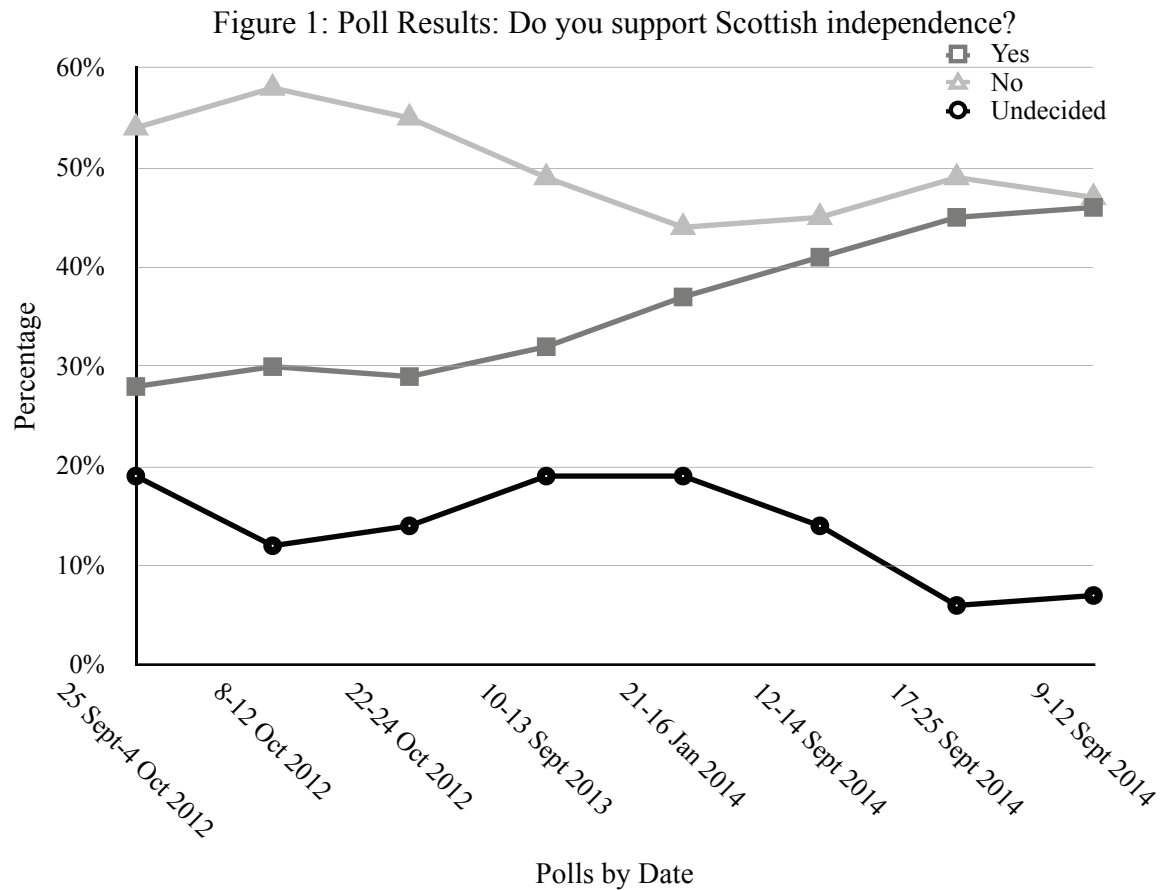
Subsequently, in the Scottish parliamentary elections of May 2011, the Scottish National Party won an outright majority and wasted little time in passing the referendum bill (Scottish Government 2011). Disagreements about the legal power to hold the referendum, the wording of the referendum, and the timing of the referendum led to nearly a year of debate and discussion between Edinburgh and London. Finally, in October 2012, British and Scottish governments reached an agreement—the Edinburgh Agreement—allowing for a referendum which would ask for a single yes/no response to independence to be held in autumn of 2014 (United Kingdom Government 2012).

Even in this brief history, the essence of Fearon and van Houten’s bargaining model is apparent. The Scottish National Party-led coalition government that formed following the 2007 Scottish parliamentary elections pursued an agenda which proved the party’s commitment to the cause of greater regional autonomy and independence. The party’s outright majority win in the following election demonstrates the Scottish public’s support for these policies of regional autonomy (Scottish Government 2011). And because the Scottish public clearly endorsed the SNP’s push for more regional autonomy—whether through devolution or independence—the British government had to take the Scottish government’s demands for a referendum seriously. Interestingly, however, the first referendum bill proposed by the SNP included two questions, one asking about independence and the other about further devolution (Scottish Government 2009). It was the British government who refused to allow the question of devolution on the ballot

(*Economist* 2014). Around the time negotiations between the UK government and the Scottish government began following the SNP's majority win, an April 2011 YouGov poll put support for independence at 28%. It is likely that the British government saw it as an unnecessary concession to allow the Scots to vote for further devolved powers when pro-union sentiment enjoyed so much greater support than did independence. Perhaps this indicates that the British government did not take the threat of Scottish independence seriously, as if granting the referendum would allow them to say that they offered Scots a chance at independence without really worrying about the consequences of such an offer.

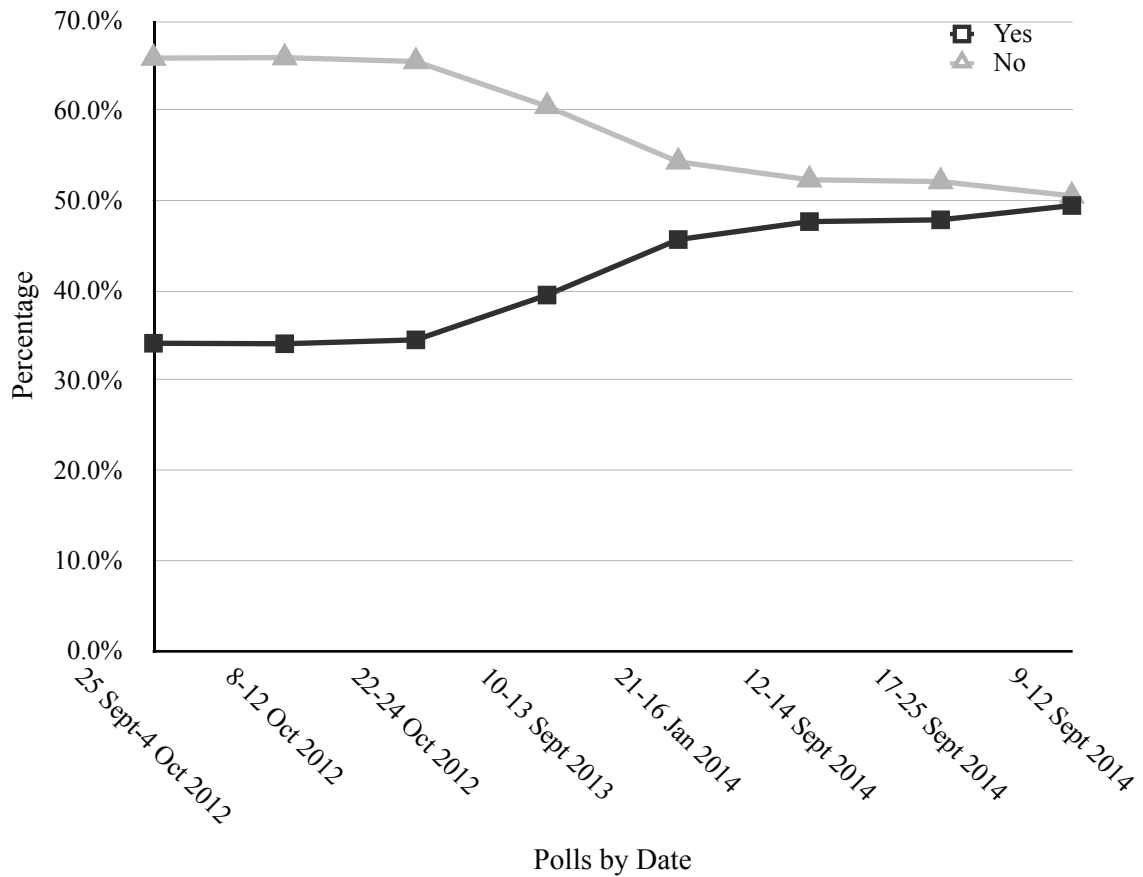
Fearon and van Houten's model applies even more closely when examining the weeks leading up to the Scottish independence vote. Prior to the publishing of the Scottish government's white paper outlining the government's plans and expected benefits of independence, an ICM Research poll completed in September 2013 showed 32% support for independence, 49% against, and 19% undecided. Excluding the undecided, less than 40% of those polled supported independence while slightly more than 60% were against it. After the white paper, published in November 2013, polls began showing a gradual shift in favor of independence (Curtice 2014). A poll conducted by ICM Research on January 24, 2014, showed support for independence at 46% while pro-Union support was 54%, when those who were still undecided were excluded. Including the undecided, the results were 37/44/19 for yes/no/undecided, respectively, representing a five point swing toward supporting independence. As 2014 progressed toward the independence referendum, the polls continued to tighten, and by September, just a couple weeks before the vote, polls consistently indicated the lead of the pro-union

campaign had sunk to single digits (See Figure 1 for graphical summary of poll results discussed above, and Figure 2 for same poll results, with undecided responses excluded).¹



¹ See polls conducted by ICM Research, September 12-16, 2014; YouGov, September 15-17, 2014; Panelbase, September 9-12, 2014. All reported less than 5% lead for unionist campaign.

Figure 2: Poll Results with “Undecided” Excluded: Do you support Scottish independence?



The threat of Scotland actually voting for independence prompted a frenzied response from UK government leaders, including Prime Minister David Cameron. During the week leading up to the vote, these leaders headed to Scotland to try to drum up support for the languishing “Better Together” campaign. In their attempts to sway the Scottish voters, UK leaders made promises to pursue “devo-max,” or maximum devolution, if Scots would vote no. This was the very same plan of devo-max that Cameron had insisted *not* be put on the ballot in the Edinburgh Agreement. But in a last-ditch effort to save the Union, he fundamentally changed the referendum vote. Instead of

allowing voters to vote for independence, for devo-max, or for maintenance of the status quo, as Scottish First Minister Alex Salmond had wanted, Cameron transformed a simple yes/no question of independence into a question of degree: would Scots support greater autonomy through further devolution, or would they vote for full independence.

This is precisely the type of bargaining that Fearon and van Houten's model would anticipate. Initial support for independence at the time the referendum was announced seemed to be stable at about 30%.² The central UK government felt confident in their position, and therefore offered a binary choice—either yes or no to full independence. There seemed little real threat that the regional Scottish National Party could muster enough support to achieve full independence. But, as the vote approached, the voters seemed to be increasingly in favor of independence, and the threat to the Union became quite real. This increased threat from the regional party led the central government to offer a more substantial “package of transfers,” as Fearon and van Houten describe it, in the form of greater, though unspecified, devolved powers. Though we do not know whether or to what extent the last minute offer of devo-max influenced voters, Fearon and van Houten's model indicates that after each round of bargaining, voters will reevaluate their expected costs and benefits from supporting the regional party. Thus, it is likely that some voters were influenced to vote no—in essence, to vote for devo-max—by Cameron's promise to pursue devo-max if the referendum did not pass. How many were

² See polls conducted by YouGov, October 22-24, 2012, where support was 29%; Ipsos MORI, October 8-15, 2012, where support was 30%; and TNS BMRB, September 26-October 4, where support was 28%.

influenced in this way, and whether they were numerous enough to swing the vote toward unionism, is an open question.

How Did Economic Conditions Support Scottish Independence Bargaining Power?

Fearon and van Houten's model predicts that if a regional political party garners enough support from the regional voters, the central government will offer concessions to the region in order to avoid the region's secession. This short review of the progress of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum shows how the bargaining model worked in this case and how the Scottish National Party was able to win concessions from the central UK government. But how did the regional party garner enough support to successfully bargain with the center, as the condition of Fearon and van Houten's model requires?

The scholars identify three economic factors (and one non-economic, cultural factor, discussed in a subsequent chapter) which correlate with a strong regional autonomy movement: (1) "there should be no clear relationship between per capita income of the region and its bargaining power;" (2) "support for a regional party should be greater the larger the aggregate GDP of the region;" and (3) "support for a regional party should be less likely for richer countries" (Fearon and van Houten 2002, 2). To see how economic considerations affected support for the SNP and Scottish independence more broadly, we need to see how these conditions apply to Scotland and how they might have changed to improve the economic incentives toward independence.

First, Fearon and van Houten's most surprising economic condition: per capita income has no clear relationship to the success of a regional party. This result is contrary to the widely accepted idea that per capita income affects the success of regional autonomy movements. However, Fearon and van Houten's empirical analysis indicates that no such relationship actually exists.

The second of Fearon and van Houten's economic associations—that support for regional autonomy increases with the region's aggregate GDP—would tend to favor the Scottish independence movement. To understand why a higher regional aggregate GDP favors regional autonomy, one must understand that underlying these economic associations is an essential economic tradeoff between economies of scale in providing public goods and services and the ability of smaller jurisdictions to provide public goods and services which are closer to the preferences of the population. Thus, the greater a region's aggregate GDP, the greater the likelihood that an autonomous region would be able to provide the same or better public goods (Fearon and van Houten 2002). A quick look at regions with very active autonomy movements indicates that this association has validity. Scotland, Catalonia, and Quebec each have GDPs above \$250 billion USD, and each has had a very close independence referendum (whether officially recognized or not) within recent memory. Of course, this economic factor does not entirely explain why these regions have had successful regional parties, as regions like England or California far eclipse them in aggregate GDP yet do not have strong regional autonomy movements.

Interestingly, Fearon and van Houten's second economic condition runs contrary what other scholars have argued is a condition favorable to autonomy movements. These

scholars argue that what sociologist Susan Olzak calls “internal colonialism,” where “a richer and culturally dominant core exploits and dominates an ethnically identified periphery,” is more favorable to regional autonomy movements (Olzak 1983, 359). In particular, Hechter (1975) relies on an analysis of voting patterns in the United Kingdom’s Celtic fringe to argue that relatively under-industrialized, poorer regions which are also culturally distinct from the center will be more likely to develop regional autonomy movements. Hechter’s conclusions are diametrically opposite of Fearon and van Houten’s findings.

To explain these opposite conclusions, we must understand the relatively new framework from which GDP and provision of public goods has been understood. Fearon and van Houten relate that “this new political economy literature developed out of the public finance and fiscal federalism literatures” and relies on the tradeoff between economies of scale which favors larger jurisdictions and the ability to tailor the provision of public goods to local tastes which favors smaller jurisdictions (Fearon and van Houten 2002, 5). With the continued rise of the welfare state even since Hechter (1975) and Olzak (1983) wrote, it is likely that this economic tradeoff has become an even more effective framework from which to understand the economic incentives of regional autonomy. Moreover, Hechter’s analysis relies on the presence of a certain level of both economic and cultural distinction between region and center, perhaps muddying the water as to whether the economic distinction or the cultural distinction was more significant. Fearon and van Houten’s analysis produced conditions which, independently of each other, favor a strong regional autonomy movement.

The last of Fearon and van Houten's economic criteria would, at first glance, seem to indicate a weaker Scottish independence movement, but a closer look at the economic conditions of an independent Scotland reveals potentially huge economic basis for supporting independence. Fearon and van Houten noted a correlation between the wealth of the country and the success of the regional party: the richer the country, the less successful the regional party, if the region's per capita income is similar to that of the center (Fearon and van Houten 2002). Essentially, citizens in a richer country will be able to substitute private goods for public goods more easily and therefore achieve for themselves what greater autonomy would achieve by more closely tailoring public goods to public preferences. For the Scottish case, the key to this economic association is the "if"—*if* the region's per capita income is similar to that of the center. According to the SNP's analysis of figures released by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an independent Scotland's per capita income could be radically different from the UK's per capita income, perhaps more than 10% greater (Scottish Government 2014). Given this potentially substantial difference between Scotland's GDP and the rump UK's GDP, this second of Fearon and van Houten's economic factors would indicate strong support for Scottish independence.

The potential for a radical economic difference between Scotland as part of the United Kingdom and Scotland as an independent state, especially as a result of the North Sea oil reserves, was a significant topic of discussion throughout the campaign. Scotland's onshore GDP is 132 billion pounds (Scottish Government 2015). But aggregate GDP is a tricky and, during the campaign, highly contested number because of

the revenue Scotland produces offshore from the North Sea oil operations. Thus, including offshore revenue, Scotland's GDP is 134 billion pounds, if that revenue is distributed across the British population evenly, with Scotland representing 8.4% of the British population (Office for National Statistics 2014). Or, if the offshore revenue is distributed geographically (i.e. based on the percentage of British land Scotland accounts for, 33%), then Scotland's GDP is 150 billion pounds (Scottish Government 2015). A geographical allocation of the North Sea oil revenues would dramatically increase the aggregate GDP of Scotland, and this was one of the major economic selling points of the SNP's campaign. The SNP used an analysis of the geographical allocation of North Sea oil revenues to show that an independent Scotland would have a per capita GDP that is 2,300 pounds more than the UK per capita GDP (more than 10% higher) and 14th among OECD countries, above countries like France, Italy, and Japan (Scottish Government 2014). An independent Scotland would enjoy a geographical rather than a per capita distribution of oil revenue and would have, even with conservative estimates of North Sea oil production, a significantly greater per capita GDP as a result (Mufson 2014).

The possibility of this kind of "new" wealth for the Scottish would undoubtedly be enticing to voters, two-thirds of whom responded that they would vote for independence if it made them better off by just 500 pounds a year (Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2011). If independence could be bought for the price of an iPad, would Scots jump at the opportunity to capture more of the North Sea oil revenues for themselves? Perhaps, but it is a mistake to dilute Scotland's economic prospects as an independent country to questions about North Sea oil. As the "Better Together" campaign

tried to convey to voters leading up to the referendum, there would be deep, difficult economic effects which may not leave Scotland economically better off. They argued that the SNP was providing a utopian vision of an independent Scotland's economic prospects while ignoring questions about currency, property, and the possibility of major businesses leaving Scotland (Carrell 2014). Whether Scotland would have the dramatically improved per capita GDP that the SNP promised is a question to which we still do not have an answer.

Just How Important is Scotland's North Sea Oil?: Another Interpretation

While Fearon and van Houten's model produces both economic and non-economic correlations among regions with strong autonomy movements (with the non-economic correlation to be discussed in the next chapter), Collier and Hoeffler (2002) take economic incentives to be the foundation and driving force behind secessionist movements. Like Fearon and van Houten, Collier and Hoeffler analyzed the relative success of secessionist movements and develop a model which emphasizes the importance of economic incentives. Unlike Fearon and van Houten, however, Collier and Hoeffler argue that a regional national or cultural identity is only politically mobilized when there is an economic incentive to do so; in other words, economic advantage determines political identity. In their model, the perception of economic advantage, especially through natural resources, is the impetus for the development of most secessionist movements.

Collier and Hoeffler (2002) argue that a politically-savvy minority, having perceived an economic advantage, seek to politically mobilize a cultural identity for which they attract support through romantic ideas of cultural community. Autonomy movements adopt ethnic or cultural identity as the differentiating feature of their political community because it cuts across other social cleavages like class or religion (Nielsen 1982). A political movement bound by cultural identity could bring together enough support to capitalize on the perceived economic advantage. For Collier and Hoeffler, secessionist movements are particularly likely to occur where allocation of revenue from natural resources is at stake, as it is in the case of the Scottish nationalist movement.

How important are North Sea oil revenues to the success of the Scottish nationalist movement? Looking back at the history of the Scottish nationalist movement, North Sea oil revenues appear to be directly related to the rise of the Scottish National Party. The SNP formed from a variety of interest groups during the 1930s and 40s, but until the early 1970s, it did not attract much support from Scottish voters. In fact, in the 1970 British parliamentary election, the SNP won only one seat and garnered 11% of the Scottish vote (Parline 1970). Just four years later, the SNP won 11 seats and received nearly one-third of the Scottish vote (Parline 1974). What changed? Why did Scots begin politically identifying as Scottish instead of along traditional Labour-Conservative class lines? The most apparent change is the dramatic spike in oil prices in 1973.

Within a decade of discovering oil reserves off the coast of Scotland in the North Sea, the oil crisis of 1973 nearly quadrupled the price of oil internationally. This economic windfall, however, benefitted the British government which imposed taxes to

capture about 90% of the additional oil revenues via taxes on the oil companies. The next year, the SNP ran under the slogan “It’s Scotland’s Oil,” and campaigned on a platform that oil revenues should be dispersed among the Scottish rather than among the British. Seemingly overnight, the Scottish National Party transformed from a fringe party to a legitimate political force due to the dispute about how revenues from natural resources should be distributed.

Collier and Hoeffler point to this Scottish example as an illustration of their overall thesis. According to their interpretation, a “romantic” Scottish cultural identity was invented by writers like Sir Walter Scott during the nineteenth century, but this identity was not politically salient until culturally identifying as Scottish became economically advantageous. The independence movement, they argue, draws support from a wider public based on shared cultural community and inflated ideas about the economic advantage of independence (Collier and Hoeffler 2002). The secessionist party exaggerates the expected economic benefit of secession, and like one would at the prospect of winning the lottery, the public rallies around the party. Certainly, in the 1970s, the chance of retaining the newfound oil wealth would have garnered support for the SNP. And even in the recent campaign for independence, the potential windfall oil revenues were a highly disputed and common point of discussion.

It does appear that the Scottish National Party offered a simplistic and idealized picture of the economic future of an independent Scotland, focused, as Collier and Hoeffler predict, on the anticipated benefit from natural resource revenue. The Better Together campaign offered a more complete and more complex analysis of the potential

economic effects of independence, but these arguments were largely ignored by the Scots. As *The Economist* (2014) noted just days before the referendum vote, “the cross-party Better Together campaign has been dominated by such dry and, to many, incomprehensible policy arguments, concerning the economic risks that independence would entail. Scots are bored by them. The Yes surge suggests many are ignoring them.” Favoring the simple, probably exaggerated promises of oil wealth over the complexities of other economic concerns, it does seem that the Scots exemplify Collier and Hoeffler’s model of a public led to support secession by utopian economic predictions.

While Collier and Hoeffler’s model seems to explain much about the Scottish independence movement, it overemphasizes the role of economic factors in analyzing secessionist movements. For them, support for independence comes from perceived economic advantage. Cultural identity is then mobilized as a political force to try to capture this economic advantage, thus clothing an economic goal in the clothes of romantic cultural and nationalist ideas. In this idea that political communities can be created by appealing to a shared identity, Collier and Hoeffler are supported by the work of Anderson (1983). Anderson’s well-known work on “imagined communities” argues that political parties which attract votes by drawing on a shared identity must, in some sense, create that identity, since it does not rely on objective social interaction. Collier and Hoeffler (2002) take this a step farther by arguing the cultural identity is created, or at the very least adapted, to serve the economic purpose. Economic incentives are most important for Collier and Hoeffler, and cultural distinctions are completely secondary and

almost irrelevant except as a means to attract enough support from the common people to achieve the economic goals.

Conclusion

Economic considerations are important to understanding the Scottish independence movement, but they are not the only considerations. Collier and Hoeffler (2002) claim too much significance for economic factors, and ignore the importance many scholars have placed on cultural identity in shaping separatist movements. Olzak and others consider economic factors equally alongside questions of cultural or ethnic identity (Olzak 1983; Hechter 1975). Even Fearon and van Houten (2002) acknowledge the significance of cultural identity and include a cultural factor alongside their three economic factors which favor strong regional independence movements.

Scottish independence is about more than just economic considerations. As a part of the United Kingdom, however, questions about cultural and national identity are confusing and usually do not have straightforward answers. Yet cultural identity may have as much to do with the outcome of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum as any economic consideration.

CHAPTER TWO

Scottish National Identity: A Look At Some Non-Economic Factors Affecting Scottish Independence

Every two years, hundreds of millions of people from around the world tune in to the biggest international soccer tournaments, alternating between the Summer Olympics and the FIFA World Cup. During these events, London is alive with activity, as the hustle and bustle of regular business dies down, replaced with energy of people gathered around TVs in pubs and living rooms, all energetically supporting their team. But while the Americans wave their red, white, and blue, and the Spanish wear their red and yellow jerseys every other summer, the scene in London changes each time. During the Olympics, Union Jacks are seen everywhere, and people from all across the United Kingdom hope for a Team GB win. Two years later, London is bursting in anticipation again, but the flags and the face paint are different. During the World Cup, the English flag is ubiquitous. And while London eagerly anticipates an England victory, four hours north, in Edinburgh, the Scots watch ambivalently, some even actively rooting for another country.

International sporting events like the Olympics and the World Cup are nation-building events, as people unite around their shared cultural identity as Americans or Italians or Germans. But for the people of the United Kingdom, these events bring up deep and difficult questions of national identity. For the Scottish nationalist movement and the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, cultural and national identity were

factors affecting whether Scots would support independence. How important were these non-economic factors? Because of the overlapping cultural and national identities and the powerful pragmatic, materialistic economic considerations, it appears that cultural and national factors played a small but important role in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. First, by returning to Fearon and van Houten's model, I will look at how a separate and distinct national identity might be necessary for a regional independence movement. Then I will examine some factors which illuminate the extent to which Scotland has a separate and distinct cultural identity. The factors include the link between Scottish identity and support for Scottish independence, the presence of Scottish-controlled civic institutions, and the incorporation of Scottish political and social elites. Finally, I will examine the interaction of the economic factors discussed in the previous chapter with the cultural factors identified here to see how a distinct Scottish cultural and national identity played a small but significant role in the 2014 independence referendum.

A Distinct Culture: Necessary but not Sufficient

As we saw in the previous chapter, Fearon and van Houten (2002) ground their analysis of the relative success of regional parties in a consideration of economic circumstances, though they do recognize the effect of one non-economic factor. That factor is a measure of ethnic or cultural difference based on language. Cultural differences between the center and the region like religion and language are widely assumed to be associated with regional nationalistic autonomy movements (Laitin 1991). Fearon and van Houten empirically analyze the effects of one of these cultural differences

on the outcomes of their model—linguistic difference between region and center. Languages can be classified in families, subfamilies, and continually small categories, similar to the way in which biological species are classified in ever more specific groups. Languages which are closely related indicate a close cultural and ethnic relationship between the regions which speak them. Thus, there is assumed to be much less cultural difference between the Spanish and the Argonese, whose languages are the same through eight levels of linguistic differentiation, than between the Spanish and the Basques, whose languages diverge at the first, broadest level of analysis (Fearon and van Houten 2002).

By assessing ethnic difference based on a quantifiable linguistic difference, Fearon and van Houten avoid the problem of endogeneity which often plagues the relationship between findings of ethnic differences and regional autonomy. When trying to find a quantifiable cultural distinction between region and center, there is often an endogenous relationship between empirical measurements of cultural differences and the presence of a regional autonomy movement (Petrella 1980; Olzak 1983). In other words, it is difficult to find a measurable cultural distinction “neither caused by regional autonomy movements nor more likely to be coded as present because a movement exists” (Fearon and van Houten 2002). This is because relative cultural difference is often assessed retrospectively: if a regional autonomy movement is successful, then there must have been relatively more cultural difference between region and center than when a regional autonomy movement is unsuccessful.

When analyzing the effects of language differences on the success of regional parties, Fearon and van Houten note that while language differences are important to whether or not a regional party emerges, the level of divergence of the language differences is not important. Fearon and van Houten go so far as to say that “the presence of a distinct historical language is almost a necessary condition for the presence of a regional party” (Fearon and van Houten 2002, 19). But because this claim is based on relatively minor language divergences, Fearon and van Houten are hesitant to claim that language differences are essential to the success of regional parties. Nevertheless, this is an interesting insight. Differences in language can indicate the presence of a cultural identity that could be politicized under the right circumstances (i.e. economic circumstances). Thus, Scotland, which has its own historical languages in the form of Scottish Gaelic and Scots, has the materials from which a distinct cultural identity could be mobilized under the right circumstances.

How Scottish are You?

Though Fearon and van Houten wanted to avoid discussion and analysis of markers of cultural difference that are either difficult to quantify or potentially endogenously related to regional autonomy movements, it is important for our examination of the Scottish independence movement to evaluate some of these markers. We must look at how and to what extent Scottish national or cultural identity diverges from British national or cultural identity. First, we will look at the results of Scottish Social Attitudes Surveys and other poll and survey data to help understand how national

identity is linked to income level, socioeconomic status, and support for independence. Then we will look at how the maintenance of separate Scottish civic institutions has helped preserve and develop Scottish cultural and national identity. Finally, we will look at the integration of Scottish and British cultural and political elites.

A number of researchers have analyzed data from the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey to draw conclusions about support for independence and national identity. The survey asks participants to identify along a spectrum: Scottish and not British; more Scottish than British; equally Scottish and British; more British than Scottish; or, British and not Scottish. Unsurprisingly, when asked about their national identity, those who identified as Scottish and not British, or more Scottish than British, were more likely to support independence than those who considered themselves equally Scottish and British (Niedzweidz and Kandlik-Eltanani 2014). Moreover, Ormston and Curtice (2013) find that the strength of the attachment to British identity is among the most important indicators of support for independence.

These analyses also address income and socioeconomic status alongside national identification and reveal interesting associations between economic status, national identity, and support for independence. Although Ormston and Curtis (2013) recognize national identity as one of the most significant factors indicating support for independence, the other two significant factors they identify are (1) concerns over post-independence economic security and (2) whether, under the pre-referendum status quo, the UK or Scotland receives the better deal. The second of these factors includes policy

questions as much as economic questions, but clearly, opinions on economic matters and materialistic concerns affect levels of support for independence.

These economic opinions and materialistic concerns cannot be understood in a vacuum. They are associated with different income levels and socioeconomic statuses which are themselves related to national identity. Those from lower income levels and lower socioeconomic statuses are more likely to be optimistic about post-independence economic security and believe that Scotland is getting the worse end of the deal with the UK. The opposite holds true for those from higher income levels and socioeconomic statuses (Ormston and Curtice 2013). This association is not difficult to understand when we recognize that wealthy Scots simply have more to lose in the gamble on independence than do those who are less well-off. If the status quo has benefitted you, you are not as interested in upsetting the status quo, whereas, if life has been difficult, you are probably more willing to seek dramatic changes in hopes of some improvement in materialistic conditions.

Statistical evidence lends support to the argument that the poor will be more willing to support Scottish independence than the wealthy. In McLean and Thomson's study of socioeconomic and income effects on support for Scottish independence from 1999 to 2012, the relationship between socioeconomic status and support for independence was found to be "significant" (2014). Results from their statistical analysis indicated consistently higher support for independence among those from lower socioeconomic groups than those from higher socioeconomic groups, with about 35% and 25% supporting independence, respectively (McLean and Thomson 2014).

Also significant was the relationship between income and support for independence. McLean and Thomson found that those in the lowest income quarter were more likely to support independence than those in the highest income quarter. While support based on socioeconomic groups from 1999-2012 remained consistent, support based on income groups diverged, especially from 2005 on. Those in the lowest income quarter were about as likely to support independence throughout the whole period from 1999 to 2012, but after 2005, support from the highest income quarter dramatically declines by about 5% to hover just under 20% of the group in favor of Scottish independence compared with about 35% of those from the lowest income group. Of all the variables studied, being in the lowest income quarter was most strongly associated with support for independence (McLean and Thomson 2014). These statistical results give credence to the idea that those without much to lose and perhaps much to gain economically are most willing to pursue dramatic constitutional change.

Finally, researchers note that income and socioeconomic status are also correlated with national identity. Though the overall percentage of those who identify as Scottish and not British has declined since 1999, the gap between those in the lowest income quartile identifying as such (34% in 2012), and those in the highest income quartile identifying as such (14% in 2012) remained relatively constant (McLean and Thomson 2014). This income-based gap in national identity mirrors the income-based gap in support for independence. It appears from the data that income can be used to help explain both national identity and support for independence. Whether one considers oneself more Scottish than British may have less to do with support for Scottish

independence than one's income level. This seems to indicate that economic considerations rather than cultural or national identification are more significant to the outcome of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum and to support for the overall Scottish nationalist movement.

Though Scottish national identity seems to be influenced, at least in part, by materialistic considerations, Scottish nationalism displays elements of both civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism which are entirely distinct from British nationalism. Civic nationalism has to do with one's place within a particular social system and political constitution. Thus, being born in or even living in Scotland can make one Scottish, as one is a member of the civil society of Scotland. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, has to do with the more typical cultural understanding of nationalism (Weber n.d.). One can be ethnically Scottish by having Scottish ancestry, being taught Scottish Gaelic, or integrating oneself into Scottish cultural traditions. Scotland tends toward civic nationalism rather than ethnic nationalism, and it is civic institutions in particular which have helped maintain Scottish cultural identity since the union of Scotland and England.

Though the Acts of Union were meant to create a United Kingdom, not all Scottish civic institutions were integrated with those of England. By failing to fully integrate all civic institutions, the Acts of Union may have inadvertently set the stage for the rise of Scottish nationalism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Since the formation of the United Kingdom, Scotland has retained its own justice system, one that is fundamentally different from that of England (Olzak 1983). Scotland also retains some of its own financial institutions, as three different Scottish banks are allowed to

print currency with Scottish figures and cultural sights printed on it, and the Church of Scotland remains separate from the Church of England. Even more significantly, Scotland retains control over its education systems, from primary school through university (Weber n.d.). Scottish universities, unlike their English counterparts, are four-year undergraduate programs. Moreover, Scottish students (and because of EU law, other EU students) study for free, while non-Scottish, British students must pay tuition. Scottish control over these institutions has allowed them to build a unique Scottish identity around them. McCrone (2001, 47) argues for the significance of these Scottish civil institutions forcefully:

“The civil institutional apparatus of Scotland, whether it is the education system, the legal system, a distinctive press, financial system and so on, provides a social template which not only sustains Scotland as an idea, but has given it a social system of governance which only in the final year of the twentieth century reinstitute a formal parliament. Scotland is sustained as a nation through its institutional practices.”

Because these civic institutions were not absorbed by the union with England, they acted as a framework through which to preserve Scottish culture and a starting point from which to build Scottish political institutions like the reinstitution of the Scottish parliament in 1999.

The incomplete incorporation of Scottish civic institutions three hundred years ago has aided the development of Scottish nationalism in recent decades, helping to preserve the idea of Scotland as separate and distinct from the United Kingdom. Scottish

identity was developed further by the romantic nationalism of the 19th century, with figures like Robert Burns providing idealized visions of Scottish culture. But to say, as Collier and Hoeffler (2002) argue, that national cultural identities are romantic creations only adapted for political mobilization when there is economic incentive to do so is too simplistic. Uniquely Scottish civic institutions existed well before Collier and Hoeffler claim there was an “invention of culture” by romantic writers like Sir Robert Burns. These institutions helped preserve “Scotland as an idea,” separate and distinct from the United Kingdom—a cultural identity upon which people like Sir Robert Burns were able to build (McCrone 2001, 47). So, while romantic nationalist ideas may have helped develop Scottish cultural identity, the civic institutions kept under Scottish control from the time of the Acts of Union of 1707 were essential to preserving the idea of a separate and distinct Scotland with its own cultural identity, from which Scottish nationalism could develop.

Some Scottish civic institutions may have been spared integration with England following the formal creation of the United Kingdom, but the political and social elites of Scotland were successfully absorbed into the ranks of the British political and social elites. According to Laitin’s model of elite incorporation (1991), this incorporation of elites impedes the success of the Scottish nationalist movement. Laitin develops his model by looking at the ways in which political elites were incorporated in another union—the Soviet Union. He describes how regional elites can receive varying levels of incorporation with the political and social center, and these patterns of incorporation can affect the rise of nationalist movements in those incorporated regions.

On one end of the spectrum is elite incorporation under what Laitin calls “most favored lord conditions” (1991, 147). Under these conditions, regional elites are granted the rights and privileges of those in the center with similar educations and social status. He cites Ukraine as an example of a country whose elites were granted most favored lord status by the Russians who conquered them in the mid-seventeenth century. These elites were almost entirely incorporated into the ranks of the general Russian elites by the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Ukrainians held powerful positions in the Russian Orthodox church and in Russian government. Laitin (1991, 152) argues that “where most-favored-lord status is granted, the elite incorporation model predicts greater plasticity of cultural reidentification in the incorporated regions, first among elites and then spilling over into the lower ranks”. Thus, regions whose elites are accepted as equals by the elites of the center will assimilate into the culture of the center, and individuals of all classes will start identifying more closely with the culture of the center than with their regional culture. This is important when nationalist movements begin to arise. These incorporated regional elites will initially support the development of symbolic nationalism, but as nationalist goals broaden to regional political autonomy, regional elites will act as a stalling force against the progress of nationalism because they are caught between the desire to appear committed to their regional identity and an unwillingness to risk their rights and privileges as members of the social and political elite of the center.

At the other end of the spectrum is a lack of elite incorporation, where the center political elites refuse to accept regional elites into their own ranks. The regional political

elites are still important to the center, acting as mediators between the center and their own people, and are rewarded for that position but are not granted the privileges of the center elites (Laitin 1991). Because the regional elites are not assimilated into the political and social ranks of the center, they retain their regional cultural identity and, when a national autonomy movement begins to develop within their region, they will break from the center and support the nationalist efforts.

Which of these models of elite incorporation best fits the Scottish case? Following the Acts of Union, elite incorporation has been more similar to the Ukrainian model of granting most-favored-lord status. Explicit in the Acts of Union of 1707 was the provision that “all Peers of Scotland and their successors to their Honours and Dignities shall from and after the Union be Peers of Great Britain and have Rank and Precedency next and immediately after the Peers of the like orders and degrees in England at the time of the Union” (Acts of Union 1707, Art. 23). Moreover, the Acts of Union provided seats in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons for Scottish peers and MPs. From the very beginning of the union, Scottish social elites were granted equal standing with their English counterparts, and Scottish political elites were immediately incorporated into a unified parliament (Acts of Union 1707).

Though Scottish elites were granted equal rights and privileges under the Acts of Union, how well were they actually assimilated into British culture? In other words, how well have they been accepted as equals by the politically and socially dominant English? It seems very well. Looking at political elites (they are easier to identify), since 1900, Scotland has produced about 9% of British prime ministers, Chancellors of the

Exchequers, and Foreign Secretaries, a percentage that is almost exactly the same as the percentage of the British population which Scotland represents. Thus, Scotland has produced its fair share of political leaders who have risen to the highest positions in British government. Even more staggering is the number of British Prime Ministers Scotland has produced. Since 1900, five of twenty-one prime ministers have been born in Scotland and represented Scottish constituencies, one (Churchill) represented a Scottish constituency for 14 years, and three more, including Tony Blair, were born in Scotland, though they did not represent a Scottish constituency in Parliament (Swartz 1970; Government of the United Kingdom). Clearly, Scottish political elites have been assimilated very well into the highest ranks of the central political elite.

The way in which an integrated political elite could stall a regional nationalist movement was demonstrated by the efforts made by Scottish former prime minister Gordon Brown to rally support for the Better Together campaign in the days leading up to the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. As a Scot himself, Gordon Brown was the most trusted unionist in Scotland and could appeal to his fellow Scots in a way that current prime minister David Cameron could not. As scholar John Curtice of Strathclyde University commented in the days before the vote on Scottish independence, “The truth is that David Cameron is reliant on Gordon Brown to save his skin” (*Economist* 2014). Without Scottish political elites working hard for unionism, the results of the referendum might have been much different, as regional political elites like Gordon Brown who have been fully incorporated into the central political elite acted to stall the regional nationalist movement.

Though Scottish political and social elites were incorporated into British culture, enjoying equal status with the majority of English elites, not all Scottish elites support unionism. Laitin (1991) argues that even in fully incorporated systems of region-center elite relations, regional elites may still choose to identify with their regional national identity. This might be especially applicable to social elites who do not risk their careers or their very positions as elites by coming out in support of Scottish independence. Because Scottish independence is a political question sorted out through a democratic political process, the political elites have the most to lose if the vote does not go their way. No doubt British Prime Minister David Cameron would have faced immense pressure to stand down if Scotland had voted for independence. Scottish First Minister Alex Salmond did step down as a result of the failed independence referendum. In contrast, social elites like Sir Sean Connery and JK Rowling, ardent supporters for and against independence respectively, remained as influential in society regardless of the outcome of the vote. Nevertheless, they have the public's ear, and because the Scottish social and political elites have been integrated fully into British society, they did not throw their support en masse behind the Scottish nationalist cause.

At the beginning of this section we set out to address some issues which help us understand the role that Scottish national and cultural identity might have played in the Scottish independence vote of 2014. The successful incorporation of Scottish elites into the circles of the British elites impeded the Scottish independence movement while the lack of incorporation of key civic institutions at the time of the Acts of Union has helped preserve the idea of Scotland as distinct and separate from Britain and helped develop

Scottish nationalism. Analysis of Scottish Social Attitudes Survey data suggests that economic and materialistic considerations are more fundamental to support for Scottish independence than the degree to which one identifies as Scottish. How do we make sense of these conflicting indications about the importance of Scottish cultural and national identity? The next section will examine the interaction of cultural and economic factors in assessing the 2014 Scottish independence referendum.

How influential were economic and cultural factors?

Since the formation of the United Kingdom nearly 300 years ago, Scots have maintained a dual identity as both Scottish—separate and distinct from the dominant English—and British—part of the core of a vast and powerful empire, vestiges of which remain today. But, as Collier and Hoeffler (2002) pointed out, Scottish nationalism, led by the Scottish National Party, did not gain political traction until after the 1973 international oil spike, when the value of Scotland’s North Sea oil reserves quadrupled and the British government siphoned off 90% of that extra revenue. “It’s Scotland’s Oil” became the SNP’s campaign slogan and rallying cry, winning the party nearly a third of the Scottish vote in the general election of 1974. Suddenly, “Scottish” became not just a cultural or national identity, it became an important political identity.

Fearon and van Houten’s model also indicates that debates over the North Sea oil revenues could be a significant economic factor driving support for Scottish independence even during the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. The dramatic increase in national wealth and per capita GDP due to redistribution of North Sea oil

revenues is associated with much stronger support and success for regional autonomy movements. But the economic considerations were not so one-sided in run-up to the referendum. Would Scotland really receive the claimed rights to the North Sea oil reserves? Would they be allowed to keep the British pound? Would business leave the country as a result of the political and economic upheaval that independence would surely bring? These considerations weighed heavily on Scottish voters as they themselves admit. Analysis of Scottish Social Survey data shows that two of three primary considerations affecting support for independence were at least partly economic considerations, one about the economic prospects of an independent Scotland, the other about the whether the status quo favored Scotland or the UK (Ormston and Curtice 2013). Scottish voters consciously recognized the economic risks of independence as well as the potential economic rewards.

Even less consciously, economic and materialist factors influenced the connection between cultural and national identity and support for independence. Unsurprisingly, identifying as Scottish is associated with support for independence. But, underlying both of these is a deeper correlation—income level. As discussed earlier, those with lower incomes are (1) more likely to support independence, and (2) identify more strongly as Scottish than British. The reverse holds true for those from higher income levels. So, rather than national or cultural identity affecting one's support for independence, it appears that income affects both. The wealthy, sensing they have more to lose if Scotland becomes independent, are less willing to take the risk, while those who are not so well off are more willing to shake things up.

But does this mean that materialistic considerations and economic concerns can explain it all—that support for independence can be assessed by counting the economic risks against the projected economic rewards? No. The presence of a distinct Scottish culture is crucial to understanding the Scottish independence movement and the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. Even in their purely economically-motivated model, Collier and Hoeffler (2002) say that economic motivations are wrapped in romantic cultural idealism. Fearon and van Houten (2002) also offer a model that is focused on economic and materialistic conditions, but they acknowledge the importance of a distinct culture to the success of a regional autonomy movement. In their analysis, a distinct historical language unique to the region was almost a necessary condition for a successful regional autonomy party. A distinct language, which Scotland has, is often indicative of a distinct culture. If there is no Scottish cultural identity separate from British cultural identity, there is little chance for Scottish independence.

Scottish cultural identity is not dramatically different from British cultural identity, however. Scottish elites have been fully incorporated into the ranks of the British elites, to the detriment of the Scottish nationalist cause. No one would experience culture shock by moving from Glasgow to Manchester or from Edinburgh to London. But there remain significant Scottish-controlled civic institutions which have helped define Scottish culture for centuries. Because these institutions have helped preserve the idea of Scotland as separate and distinct from the rest of the UK, it is no surprise that in an era that saw the final dissolution of the great empires and broad acceptance of the idea of national self-determination, Scotland would also experience the growth of a nationalist independence

movement. Perhaps the 1973 oil spike provided the spark to get people interested in and thinking about nationalist goals. The Scottish National Party's dramatic success in the 1974 elections made the traditional Labour and Conservative parties take notice (indeed, in an attempt to take the wind out of the SNP's sails, the Labour party offered a devolution referendum in 1979), and SNP wins were more modest during the 1980s but have slowly been gaining since then.³ The prospect of oil revenues may have mobilized Scottish nationalism during the 1970s, but support for the SNP since then has not shown a correlation with oil prices (Department of Energy). Oil might have awoken the Loch Ness monster of Scottish nationalism, but it has been feeding and growing on its own successes since then.

Independent Scottish civic institutions provided the framework from which true Scottish nationalism and cultural identity could develop. Without them, it is unlikely that much cultural distinction between Scotland and the rest of Britain would have survived for 300 years and would have made the question of whether one considers oneself Scottish or British pointless. To be Scottish would have been similar to being Scouse (from Liverpool) or Manchurian (from Manchester), simply a description of where one is from. These civic institutions kept Scottish culture alive and thus laid the foundation for Scottish nationalism.

The incorporation of Scottish elites into British society, while it may have impeded the progress of the independence referendum is not nearly as influential as the separate civic institutions. Elites can choose whether to align themselves with the center

³ "Papers Reveal Oil Fears over SNP," *BBC*, September 12, 2005, sec. Scotland.

or the region, and even if they choose Britain over Scotland, their influence is merely generational. Integrated civic institutions would have severely undermined Scottish cultural identity and would have provided more bureaucratic and technical difficulties to address when debating independence.

Why did the 2014 Scottish independence referendum fail? In a certain sense, it did not. The ballot asked whether one supported an independent Scotland or not, but because of the astounding success of the Scottish nationalists, the UK government promised further devolution if the referendum did not pass. Thus, the vote was not will Scotland gain independence but how much independence will she gain. Scotland is closer to being independent now than at any time during the last 300 years, and there is some indication that Scots are rallying around the nationalist agenda in greater numbers than ever, as the SNP saw a surge in membership following the referendum and three separate YouGov polls conducted in October 2014, December 2014, and January/February 2015 revealed that 52% of Scots support independence, the first time polls have consistently showed majority support for independence.⁴ It seems that every increase in Scottish nationalist power sees an increase in support for Scottish nationalism. The Loch Ness monster is thriving on its own independence.

Conclusion

The Scottish nationalist movement is more complex than a simple economic analysis of the costs and benefits to independence. There must be some level of cultural

⁴ “Scottish Referendum: ‘Yes’ Parties See Surge in Members,” *BBC*, September 22, 2014.

difference between the center and the region seeking autonomy, as Fearon and van Houten (2002) suggest. But cultural and national identity can be complicated, as the confusing way in which Great Britain competes for Olympic gold but England competes for the World Cup demonstrates. Individually, Scots must define themselves as Scottish or British or some combination of both. A strong, distinct, and separate cultural identity would lend support to the nationalist movement, but while civic institutions remain separate and provide the framework from which nationalism could develop, social and political elites are fully integrated with those of Britain. Moreover, economic and materialist concerns are factors Scottish voters consciously took into consideration but which may have unconsciously affected their voting patterns as well. Nevertheless, Scottish cultural identity was the sine qua non for the Scottish nationalist movement.

Scottish cultural identity was first sparked into politically-mobilized Scottish nationalism by the prospect of great economic gains from North Sea oil revenues. Since then Scottish nationalism has made significant political gains toward independence. Though the independence referendum of 2014 did not pass, the promise of new devolved powers through devo-max means that progress toward independence was only slowed by the failed referendum. Looking toward the future, further devolution could bring some fundamental changes to the constitution of the United Kingdom and broad socio-political trends toward Europeanism and post-materialist values may yet save the Scottish nationalist project and set Nessie free.

CHAPTER THREE

Federalism, Devolution, and the United Kingdom

“Should Scotland be an independent country?” For decades, this question was merely a hypothetical—perhaps a source of debate at dinner parties but with no real practical implications. But on September 18, 2014 the Scottish people were asked to answer this question with very real, very practical implications at stake. The referendum represented the first real, legitimate chance for Scottish independence since the Acts of Union joined England and Scotland in the United Kingdom in 1707. The independence referendum is both the result of a process of devolution formally begun in 1998 and the impetus for further devolution of power, as the British government offered a plan of “devo-max” whereby Scotland would be given greater devolved power in an effort to hold the Union together. Though the Scottish people ultimately voted “No” to independence, devolution remains a powerful force for constitutional change within the United Kingdom.

Further devolution of power to the Scottish government raises questions about whether the United Kingdom, traditionally considered a strong unitary state, is on a path toward federalism. Though devolution in Scotland has created some federalist features, Britain as a whole faces many impediments to developing federalism, and with respect to England, remains entirely unfederalized. How can Britain accommodate Scottish “devo-max,” which will push Scotland further toward being a federal-type region, while still

administering England as a unitary state? To see how further devolution to Scotland might upset British state by pushing it toward federalism, I will outline the relevant features of federalism. Next, I will evaluate whether devolution represents a revolutionary shift or whether it is simply an evolutionary change in line with the historically ad hoc character of British government. Finally, I will identify the major obstacles to federalism and to further devolution along federalist lines within the United Kingdom.

What is Federalism?

Broadly defined, federalism is a multilevel system of government in which power and governmental responsibilities are divided between national/central and subnational/regional governments. The cantons in Switzerland, the states in the United States, or the *lander* in Germany each provide an example of a type of central/regional division of government associated with federalism. Federal states, unlike unitary states which still have regionally-defined governmental departments, have a division of sovereignty between the levels of government. In other words, each level has some duties or powers of government over which it retains supreme authority (Hueglin and Fenna 2006). Each level of government within a federal system has “a significant amount of separate and autonomous responsibility for the social and economic welfare of those living within their respective jurisdictions” (Peterson 1981, 67). Put simply, regional governments within a federal system must be able to govern directly and not merely enforce laws enacted by the central government.

Federalism is associated with a number of formal and institutional characteristics which allow the division of sovereignty between multiple levels of government to function. Some of the characteristics of federal states include a written constitution, a bicameral legislature with regional representation, a constitutional court with judicial review, and a system of intergovernmental relations (Laffin and Thomas 1999; Hueglin and Fenna 2006; Lijphart 1999). Together these provide the functional framework for the regional-central division of sovereignty inherent in federalism.

Federalism is closely associated with a written constitution. A federal government relies on a constitution to delineate the division of sovereignty between the central and regional governments. It gives clarity about the various responsibilities and powers of government which each level of government can assume (Laffin and Thomas 1999). Written constitutions are especially important because of the shared nature of sovereignty within a federal system. States cannot run efficiently if there is constant debate about which level of government has authority to act in each situation (Lijphart 1999).

If a written constitution is a feature of federalism, so then is a system of judicial review and a constitutional court. Federalism by definition divides sovereign power between various levels of government. Who, then, has the authority to decide when regional and central governments disagree over their proper sphere of constitutional authority? A constitutional court, exercising the power of judicial review, acts as interpreter and guardian of the constitution in federal systems. Judicial review is the process by which a judiciary invalidates legislation which it determines to be in conflict

with the constitution (Hueglin and Fenna 2006). Thus, judicial review through a constitutional court is a complementary institution to federalism's written constitution.

Another feature of federalism is its regional representation within the central legislature. In most federal systems, there is a bicameral legislature at the level of the central government (Lijphart 1999). The upper house is composed of representatives of the regions, while the lower house is nationally-representative. The regionally-representative upper house provides a public forum for intergovernmental discussion and debate both among regions and between regions and the central government.

The upper house in a federalist system typically provides a forum for intergovernmental legislative discussion, but federalist states also exhibit well defined systems of intergovernmental relations. These systems often include institutions for multilateral policy development or ministerial consultation and coordination (Laffin and Thomas 1999). Though the particular institutions might vary, federal states develop strong systems of intergovernmental relations to provide a mechanism for multilateral coordination and conflict resolution.

These four characteristics of federalism—a written constitution, a constitutional court with judicial review, regional representation in the central legislature, and a well-defined system of intergovernmental relations—will provide a framework for the discussion of a possible development of federalism in the United Kingdom through devolution. The United Kingdom has long been classified as a unitary state, with the absolute sovereignty of Parliament being a defining feature of the British state so much so that Lijphart (1999) uses the centralized and unitary “Westminster Model” as one of

his two general models for analysis of other democratic states. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom is facing increasing questions about federalism, especially as regional devolution has divided legislative authority between Parliament and regional assemblies. Despite the longstanding resistance to the idea of federalism in the UK, its devolution of power, particularly with respect to Scotland, indicates that it could be heading toward a more federal structure.

Is Devolution Evolutionary or Revolutionary in British Constitutional Development?

In an unprecedented move toward decentralization, the new Labour government elected in May 1997 began to pursue a program of regional devolution. For the first time in nearly three centuries, Scotland would have an elected parliament with meaningful, if limited, legislative powers. These Labour reforms also produced the National Assembly for Wales and the Northern Ireland Assembly, giving regional legislative bodies to each peripheral region. But while formal devolution of power in this way was a significant constitutional development, there is much debate amongst scholars about whether this development represents a revolutionary change in British government or whether it is another evolutionary development in “the tradition of British constitutional adhocism” (Laffin and Thomas 1999, 107).

Many of the peculiarities of the British government can be traced to the nation-building process which produced what we know as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The British state began as the English state, which pursued territorial expansion in Great Britain and Ireland. Because the United Kingdom is the

result of English expansion, the English government, embodied in the Parliamentary executive, was declared the supreme sovereign authority, and regional bodies, like the Scottish parliament, were dissolved. The supremacy of the British executive has led many to classify Britain as unitary government. But the legacy of the British nation-building project produces considerable practical constraints on the exercise of Parliamentary power (Gamble 2006).

The United Kingdom is a “state of unions” created by bilateral legislative acts of union with Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and later, Northern Ireland (Jeffery 2009, 292). These particular acts of union provide some sort of constitutional framework for the British government, but they also establish distinct bilateral, asymmetric relationships between the supreme British executive and the individual regions. Thus, from the very formation of the United Kingdom, regional asymmetries and territorially-distinct bilateral relations were features of the British constitution. In light of the recent program of devolution, these bilateral regional asymmetries have become major points of discussion. Whether or not these features of the British constitution will undermine the process of devolution, they have their foundation in the formation of the British state itself.

The foundation of devolution has its origin not only in the British nation-building process but in subsequent political debates and developments. In the age of British imperialism, a number of prominent political voices began advocating federalism as a way to secure the British imperial union from breakup. They then applied their reasoning to the British state itself, proposing a process of devolution not unlike the one now being undertaken in the UK. Many prominent Liberals around the turn of the twentieth century

including Winston Churchill, favored adopting a system of “home rule all around,” with federal-style regional parliaments for Scotland, Wales, and Ireland (Gamble 2006). The failure of home rule in Ireland and the post-World War I anti-imperialism silenced proponents of regional-level government for several decades. During this period, the focus on transnational projects like administering the British empire and developing the welfare state marginalized regional issues. With the decline of empire and welfare in the the 1960s and 1970s respectively, regionalism again began to enter domestic political discussion (Gamble 2006).

The current process of devolution is not a novel idea within British politics, and the piecemeal approach to that process is indicative of the ad hoc character of British constitutional development. Modern devolution in the UK is a response to specific, territorial issues. Each of the three peripheral territories received some measure of devolved power from Parliament, but the institutional structure and nature of that authority varies in a bilateral, asymmetric way. Though devolution began in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland concurrently, it is mistaken to think of this as a comprehensive, integrated constitutional reform. The timing of devolution of power from Parliament to these regions is largely coincidental, as each has separate causes and trajectories for its process of devolution (Jeffery 2009).

Scottish devolution was preceded by decades of campaigning which mobilized the Scottish national identity. The vigorous and broad support for Scottish devolution among Scots resulted in plan for devolution of power presented in a White Paper in 1997 and the subsequent establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1998 through the Scotland Act.

The Scotland Act provides the Scottish Parliament with real legislative authority to enact laws outside the scope of specifically enumerated powers reserved to Parliament only (Picker 2002; Government of the United Kingdom 1998). This is in contrast to the process of Welsh devolution that has so far produced an assembly with only rubber-stamp authority in legislative matters (Jeffery 2009).

With the creation of a Scottish parliament which was granted meaningful legislative powers, the United Kingdom has crossed a substantial constitutional threshold. Though Parliament retains supreme sovereign authority and can, in theory, rescind any delegated authority or devolved power, the formal political process of devolution provides considerable practical restraints. The Scotland Act, an act of Parliament, devolved some legislative power to the Scottish parliament. This act, though, was in response to a referendum about Scottish devolution that was passed by the people of Scotland. Thus, this referendum (and those like it in Wales and Northern Ireland) gives devolution a constitutional legitimacy that makes it effectively impossible for Parliament to reverse (Laffin and Thomas 1999; Gamble 2006). In this sense, then, Scottish devolution presents a fundamental constitutional change in the British state.

Scottish devolution is certainly a significant step toward federalism for the United Kingdom, but its implementation has followed the unique tradition of British statecraft by being both bilateral and asymmetric as well as being an ad hoc response to specific regional concerns rather than a part of a comprehensive reform effort. In this way, devolution can be seen as an evolution of the British state rather than a truly revolutionary development.

Perhaps one might argue that, while the first step of devolution itself may not have been atypical of the British political process, are not the results of devolution—particularly the Scottish independence referendum—indicative of a more substantial revolutionary change? Maybe, but the progress of the independence referendum again highlighted the very same uniquely British political characteristics. The British government offered the referendum as a concession to Scottish nationalists—a bilateral response to territorially-specific demands. When it appeared that Scotland might actually vote for independence, the British government responded with a promise for maximum devolution. Though we have yet to see what this plan for devo-max will entail, it will likely be another evolutionary step toward federalism.

An Evolution Toward Federalism?

The progress of Scottish devolution undoubtedly represents a shift toward federalism—but will the United Kingdom truly become federal? There are a number of significant institutional and constitutional challenges to British federalism, although there is much debate about how significant these challenges are. First, the United Kingdom lacks a significant, functional system of intergovernmental relations. Second, though some argue that asymmetrical federalism is the new norm, the current British asymmetry, especially with respect to England, severely restricts the development of federalism. Finally, full federalism will require formal changes to British government, including reform of the House of Lords.

One challenge which nearly every scholar recognizes is the lack of a cohesive and practical system of intergovernmental relations. Before devolution, the relationship between the central government and regional administrative departments depended on each side's willingness to cooperate. Devolution should require a more systematic approach to intergovernmental relations as, for the first time, both the central and regional governments have both administrative and legislative authority. But when debating the Scotland Act, the Scottish Secretary declared that "relations between Edinburgh and London will be based on consultation, consent, and cooperation at official and Ministerial level buttressed where necessary by non-statutory agreements between departments" (Laffin and Thomas 1999) The British government explicitly rejected a legal and systematic framework for intergovernmental relations when embarking on the process of devolution.

Intergovernmental relations are particularly important in post-devolution United Kingdom because the regions are almost entirely dependent on the central government for funding. This funding comes in a block grant which they have full discretion in budgeting. Prior to devolution, regional expenditure priorities aligned with those of the central government because regional ministers (i.e. the Scottish secretary) who oversaw regional budgets adhered to the spending priorities agreed upon by the rest of the cabinet. With devolution, however, new regional legislatures can choose different spending priorities than the central government (Laffin and Thomas 1999). Britain has fundamentally changed the structure of its government but has not adapted its system of intergovernmental relations to match.

The United Kingdom is not entirely without a system of intergovernmental relations. Indeed, the government has established the Joint Ministerial Committee (JMC), comprised of the British Prime Minister and territorial first ministers as well as other important figures within the regional governments, to help facilitate intergovernmental relations. But this committee faces considerable constraints. Because of the severe asymmetries of British government, each regional government has different powers as well as different interests with respect to the central government. The JMC faces the challenges of this historical asymmetry as well as the traditional bilateral relationship enjoyed by regional governments with respect to the central government. One scholar sees the development of “separate, bilateral, one-to-one [intergovernmental] relationships” where the JMC will “be largely bypassed and will struggle to find agenda items that are of compelling interest to all three administrations” (Laffin and Thomas 1999, 104). Thus, the one intergovernmental structure provided by the British government does not address the nature of the post-devolution United Kingdom and is not likely to prove very functional.

A second major challenge to the development of federalism in the United Kingdom is the radical asymmetry of regional devolution, especially with respect to England. England represents about 85% of both population and wealth within the United Kingdom, but unlike Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland, there is almost no regional devolution. Essentially, England is governed by the same central institutions as the United Kingdom, and there is no English parliament separate from the British Parliament. So, while the peripheral territories have differences in devolved powers and institutions

which at least reflect federalist principles, England is unitary and unfederalized, creating an extreme asymmetry in the relationship between the central government of the United Kingdom and the various regions which comprise the UK.

Some scholars argue that asymmetries within a federalist government are not necessarily defects and may even help address social and cultural problems within multinational states. One such scholar, Alfred Stepan (1999), notes a strong association between multinational democracies and asymmetrical federalism. Asymmetric federalism allows the central government to grant concessions to particular ethnic, territorial, or religious groups that if not recognized by the state might otherwise cause social or political instability (Stepan 1999). As a multinational state, the United Kingdom, by Stepan's analysis, should be asymmetric, and indeed it is. But it is perhaps too asymmetric to function as a federal state without some measure of devolution to England and the development of their own distinct political institutions.

How likely might it be for such institutions to develop in England? The British government planned a series of reforms which would have created regional assemblies across eight regions in England. These plans were shelved when, in 2004, a referendum in the Northeast region of England to create a regional assembly failed. There have been no further attempts at regional devolution within England, and there has been little public support for such plans (Jeffery and Wincott 2006). It appears quite unlikely that England will follow in the path of regional devolution, thus ensuring that the asymmetries of the British central government are likely only to increase as devo-max grants more powers to the Scottish government.

Finally, federalism will require some formal transformations within the British state, though Britain has already started to develop some of these needed institutions which could support federalism. Some argue that the United Kingdom can never achieve federalism through devolution without creating a written constitution. In other words, they argue federalism requires a written constitution (Heuglin and Fenna 2006). Indeed in Lijphart's analysis of democracies, he notes that decentralized, federalist states also have more rigid, written constitutions with systems for judicial review (1999). Federalism and devolution might be difficult to achieve without a written constitution, but the Scotland Act is a kind of constitution defining the devolved powers of the Scottish parliament. In the same way, federalism could develop in the UK through similar types of documents, even though the British constitution is not codified in a single document (Picker 2002).

Additionally, in the typical British pattern of as-needed constitutional change, devolution has prompted the recent development of a supreme court to resolve interregional conflicts. The Supreme Court of the United Kingdom, created by the Constitutional Reform Act of 2005, does not have judicial review in the strict sense in which most Americans understand the term. The Supreme Court cannot declare a primary act of Parliament unconstitutional, as there is no division of sovereignty within the British state as there is in the American government. But it does have power to determine issues arising from questions of devolution and declare acts to be incompatible with European Union human rights laws (United Kingdom Government 2005). In this way, Britain has shown a willingness to develop institutions which would facilitate the a federal state.

Other formal aspects of the British government, however, will have to change to accommodate federalism, including the transformation of the House of Lords into a body representing regional interests. Currently, the regions are primarily represented through the Welsh and Scottish secretaries in the UK cabinet. This falls short of the typical regional forums for public political debate within federal systems, though there have been a number of recent proposals for the House of Lords to be reformed along the lines of a typical federal upper house (Lijphart 1999; Laffin and Thomas 1999).

With the establishment of the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom in 2005, the UK has begun to change its formal institutions to facilitate devolution. Developing a regionally-representative House of Lords would further facilitate a transition toward federalism in the United Kingdom. But there remain considerable challenges for the development of British federalism. First, the United Kingdom lacks a functional system of intergovernmental relations. Next, the dramatic asymmetries already present within the British state, with an unfederalized England, is only likely to get more dramatic as Scotland receives further devolved powers through maximum devolution. These difficulties significantly limit the extent to which the evolutionary change of devolution will tend toward creating a truly federal state.

Conclusion

Federalism has a number of defining features: judicial review, regional legislative representation, a system of intergovernmental relations, and division of power between regional and central governments. The process of devolution from the United Kingdom to

Scotland has created some federalist-like features in what was traditionally considered a strong unitary government. Though the Scots rejected independence in the 2014 referendum, the resulting program of “devo-max” may push the United Kingdom further down the path toward federalism. Nevertheless there remain considerable challenges to the development of a functional British federalist system including severely asymmetrical central-regional relationships, the lack of a functional system of intergovernmental relations, and reforms of judicial and legislative functions. Despite these obstacles, the United Kingdom has exhibited a history of pragmatic, ad hoc constitutional developments which respond to the desires of the people. If Scotland desires further devolved powers, the United Kingdom has shown a willingness in the past to develop or reform institutions to support devolution. However, continued devolution in Scotland could threaten this careful pragmatic, asymmetric, bilateral constitutional balance that the United Kingdom has developed. How can the British state administer Scotland as if it were a federal region while England remains entirely unfederalized? With continued devolution through “devo-max,” this might prove to be a balancing act that even British constitutional pragmatism is unable to achieve.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Rise of the Ayes: Pro-Europeanism, Post-Materialism, and the Future of Scottish Nationalism

After the failure of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, questions immediately began to circulate about what the future of the Scottish nationalist movement would hold. Had Scottish nationalism reached its high point by demanding the choice for independence and then rejecting it? Or would the promised plans for devo-max really satisfy the Scots? Many of the cultural and economic factors identified previously are not likely to change substantially to alter patterns of support, but we can look at broad underlying shifts in political attitudes and values to help project how the Scottish nationalist movement will continue to develop. Steady shifts toward post-materialist values since the early 1970s mirror the slow, steady growth of support for the Scottish National Party. This shift is likely to continue into the future, as post-materialist values like belonging and autonomy lead to greater support for nationalist goals. Moreover, a growing divergence between Scottish and British attitudes toward European identity and membership in the European Union will create tensions as Scots become more pro-European and the English become more eurosceptic.

But perhaps these trends can be overcome by the promised plans for maximum devolution. The British state has shown remarkable ability to adapt to the desires of the British people. Devo-max might offer enough autonomy to Scotland to effectively pacify the Scottish nationalist movement. Limitations within the British constitutional system as

well as the lack of progress toward devo-max indicate that attempts at further devolution may reinvigorate the Scottish nationalist movement's calls for full independence.

Post-Materialism

The assessment of the economic and cultural underpinnings of the Scottish independence movement reveals the importance of materialistic considerations. Fearon and van Houten's bargaining model which was shown to apply particularly to the progress of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, reveals strong correlations between successful regional autonomy movements and certain economic criteria (2002). Collier and Hoeffler (2002) provide an even more economically-motivated model for regional ethnic separatism, identifying the presence of valuable natural resources—like Scotland's North Sea oil reserves—as a cause for the political mobilization of a romantic national identity. Scottish voters themselves reported that pragmatic concerns about the post-independence economic prospects for Scotland were one of their primary considerations when deciding whether to support Scottish independence. Even reported levels of Scottish cultural identity are associated with income levels, with the wealthy feeling less Scottish and more British, while the poor feel more Scottish and less British overall.

Though materialistic concerns are important in explaining the progress of the Scottish nationalist movement and the failure of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum in particular, a broader trend toward post-materialist values is also at work. The rise of post-materialism within the post-industrial societies, helps explain the slow

but steady progress of the Scottish national movement, and points toward continued support for the Scottish nationalist movement.

The theory of post-materialism was developed in the 1970s by scholar Ronald Inglehart. He theorized that post-World War II affluence led to an intergenerational shift in individual values among Western polities. Unlike earlier generations, those who grew up in the economic stability and prosperity of the post-war years developed new post-materialist values which emphasized autonomy, belonging, quality of life, and self-expression rather than the materialist values of economic and physical security (Inglehart 1981). This new generation of post-materialists came of age in the 1960s, and their new values first found political expression in the student riots and anti-war protests of that period.

The foundation of Inglehart's theory of post-materialist value change is two hypotheses which he calls the Scarcity Hypothesis and the Socialization Hypothesis. The Scarcity Hypothesis postulates that "an individual's priorities reflect the socioeconomic environment," and "one places the greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply" (Inglehart 1981, 881). This first hypothesis draws on other sociological and psychological theories, especially Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954). Only when more basic needs like economic security and physical safety are met can one begin to prioritize other needs like self-expression, belonging, and quality of life issues. But, when basic needs are met, one tends to take them for granted and to then develop higher expectations (Inglehart 1981). Thus, Inglehart argues, post-materialism developed in the economic stability and prosperity of the post-war era precisely because materialist

needs were being consistently met. The Baby Boomer generation knew nothing but economic security, so they sought to fulfill other needs which their society was not addressing. These new values Inglehart fittingly described as post-materialist—those that develop after materialist needs have been met.

Inglehart's second hypothesis, the Socialization Hypothesis, explains why this value shift is generational in nature. The Socialization Hypothesis says that "the relationship between socioeconomic environment and value priorities is not one of immediate adjustment: a substantial time lag is involved, for, to a large extent, one's basic values reflect the conditions that prevailed during one's preadult years" (Inglehart 1981). This hypothesis explains why post-materialist values did not develop among all people during the post-war decades. Inglehart's exhaustive analysis of survey results indicates that those born and raised during the economically unstable pre-war period still maintain their materialist values even in the economic security of the post-war years.

At the time Inglehart first proposed his theory of post-materialist value change, Western societies had experienced considerable economic security; the tumultuous economic period started by the 1973 oil spike had not yet begun. So, nearly a decade after first proposing his theory of value change, Inglehart returned to survey data to see if the post-war generation had indeed held onto their post-materialist values even during less economic security and prosperity. Would the socialization hypothesis—that values are slow to change and set largely by the conditions in which the generation grew up—hold up, or would the pressures of a hierarchy of needs make the Baby Boomers more materialistic?

These are the questions Inglehart set out to answer in his 1981 article “Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity.” Analyzing data from surveys designed to measure the presence of materialist and post-materialist values across age cohorts, Inglehart found an impressive persistence of post-materialist values even in times of more economic turbulence. In fact, in most countries surveyed, the percentage of the population identified as post-materialist actually increased during the 1970s, not just among the 15-24 year old age cohort, but across all age cohorts (Inglehart 1981). This is not to say that by the 1980s the Western post-industrial world was dominated by post-materialists. Within the seven countries of the European Community in which the surveys were conducted from 1970 to 1979, only among the youngest age group did post-materialists outnumber materialists (and only by less than 5%). Materialist values still dominated, but post-materialist values were becoming more widespread. Moreover, by the 1970s and 1980s, the first wave of post-materialists—those who organized the student protests and anti-war rallies during the 1960s—were now climbing the ladders of social and political power (Inglehart 1981).

Again, nearly 35 years after first postulating his theory of post-materialist value change, Inglehart (2008) returned to examine how well his hypotheses had held up over time. The results of 35 years of survey data and age cohort tracking indicated that indeed there have been substantial intergenerational shifts toward post-materialist values. Every age cohort (9 total) has shown higher rates of post-materialism than the previous generation, though none have shown the dramatic shift Inglehart first noted in the 1970s between pre- and post-war groups (Inglehart 2008). Despite the slower growth of post-

materialist values between post-war generation, Inglehart (2008, 145) writes that “large intergenerational value differences are still present...which implies that West European publics will continue to show significant movement toward self-expression values as younger cohorts replace older ones in the adult population.” The trend toward post-materialist value change shows no indication of stopping.

Inglehart’s theory of post-materialism has been highly influential, but what does it have to do with the Scottish nationalist movement? Perhaps quite a bit. The Scottish nationalist movement became a politically salient factor in the elections of 1974 when the Scottish National Party won almost one-third of the Scottish vote in the general election. As I noted in previous chapters, this dramatic rise coincided with the 1973 oil spike which quadrupled the value of Scotland’s North Sea oil reserves, the majority of which was captured by UK taxes and siphoned away from the Scottish oil companies. But also at work more broadly within Western societies was the rise in post-materialist values, values like belonging, self-expression, autonomy, and quality of life. In the election of 1974, the SNP was poised to appeal to both materialists, who saw the economic incentives of nationalism, and the post-materialists, who saw nationalism as an expression of their values of belonging and autonomy in particular.

Patterns of support for the SNP during the 1970s indicate that post-materialist values may have played a role in the party’s growth. The SNP received disproportionate support from young voters. In the 1974 election, for example, the party won 40% of the votes of Scots under 30, the upper age limit of those Inglehart suggests would be considerably more likely to hold post-materialist values (Esman 1977). Also, support for

the SNP was not class-specific, indicating that traditional materialist values were not as appealing to those who supported the party (Thompson 1987). These patterns of support suggest that behind the obvious materialistic appeal that the nationalist movement gained as a result of the oil spike there was a real shift in support due to changing values.

This would also help explain the slow but steady progress of the SNP throughout the 1980s and 1990s. If support for nationalism were based solely on the prospect of capturing North Sea oil revenues, one would expect to see support for the SNP fluctuate with oil prices. While this is somewhat relevant to the sharp decline in support at the beginning of the 1980s, support for the SNP never sank to pre-1974 levels, even amid internal party conflict after the failed 1979 devolution referendum. And from the early 1980s on, support for the SNP has been steadily climbing. Following Inglehart's theory, the prevalence of post-materialism has also been steadily climbing during this period. And there is some evidence to suggest that these two trends are correlated.

Post-materialist values include self-expression, belonging, and autonomy. In political terms, these can be understood as the desire to have more control and more of a voice within one's political community. Thus, one could assume that these post-materialist values would correlate with support for nationalist political goals. Though Inglehart (1981) suggests that post-materialism is connected with ethnonationalism, further studies have shown a statistical relationship between Scottish and Welsh nationalism and post-materialism (McAllister and Mughan, 1984; Studlar and McAllister 1984). Not all Scottish nationalist are post-materialists, but Scottish post-materialists are more likely to be Scottish nationalists (Studlar and McAllister 1984). Thus, the slow,

generational rise in post-materialists helps explain the slow but steady rise in support for Scottish nationalism over the past few decades.

At present, there is no reason to believe that values will stop their decades-long trend toward post-materialism. As Inglehart's own theory of post-materialism argued, only when needs are so well-provided that they are taken for granted can new, higher expectations arise. Post-materialist issues like environmentalism, women's rights, and quality of life concerns continue to dominate political discussion across most Western countries. But if post-materialism, which has been shown to have a long history of supporting Scottish nationalism, will continue its rise, it is likely that Scottish nationalism will continue to gain support as well, even after the failed Scottish independence referendum.

Pro-Europeanism

Another broad social development that may help draw support to the Scottish nationalist movement in the future is the long-noted and growing pro-Europeanism among the Scottish. This is in contrast the rest of the UK which has long harbored Eurosceptic tendencies. Divergences between Scotland's more favorable opinion about European Union membership and greater identification with a cosmopolitan European identity and the UK's growing euroscepticism may create additional tensions in the coming years. Combined with the nationalist pressures created by the continued policy harmonization within the EU, these tensions may push Scots toward support for nationalism and independence in the future.

European Identity

It is widely accepted that Scots are more pro-European and pro-EU than the general British population. This is especially true of the youngest Scottish voters, some of whom are younger than the European Union itself. These young voters grew up in a European environment, where borders and boundaries of all kinds between EU member states were being eradicated. European citizenship, like British citizenship and Scottish citizenship, has been their status quo. Scots may be more accepting of the European identity than other Brits because they already have a strong dual identity as both Scottish and British.

Scots not only more easily identify as European, they also think better about the EU and do not support leaving it. Polls indicated that less than 20% of Scots want to leave the EU (Sommers 2014). In contrast, a February 2015 UK-wide poll indicated that 51% of Britons would vote to leave the EU (Boffey 2015). If Scots are pro-EU by vast margins and yet most Britons are in favor of leaving, other parts of the country must be quite strongly opposed to EU membership. This indicates a substantial divide in political attitudes between Scotland and the rest of the UK. And eurosceptic sentiment is actually on the rise across Britain.

Since it became part of the European Union in 1973 (then the European Economic Community), the United Kingdom has had a special relationship with the EU. It has been granted special exemptions from general EU law and chose not to adopt the euro. In recent years, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), a eurosceptic party

committed to withdrawing from the EU, has gained considerable support, polling at about 15% support (Nardelli 2015). Indeed, euroscepticism has grown so much recently that Prime Minister David Cameron has proposed a referendum on the UK's membership in the EU in 2017 (Alcaro and Shapiro 2014).

Euroscepticism in the UK and support for UKIP is, interestingly, growing among young voters, 18-24 year olds. Though still lower than other age demographics, support for UKIP from these young adult voters has more than doubled in the last year (Nardelli 2015). This is in marked contrast to the same age group in Scotland who is more pro-European and pro-EU than ever, according to Scottish Social Attitudes Surveys (Sommers 2014). As the UK becomes more eurosceptic even among its youngest voters, tensions with Scotland about the EU will continue to rise, likely pushing Scots toward nationalism and independence.

The Role of the European Union

As Scottish nationalism was developing within the United Kingdom, Great Britain's relationship with the rest of Europe was also evolving with the development of the European Union. Since its beginning as merely a transnational European customs union, the European Union has steadily increased the integration of its member states. Harmonization of policy is not limited to economic policy (like a common market) but extends to environmental, social, and monetary policies. Increasingly, member states were required to adopt policies and legislation which did not originate from within their

national legislatures or governments. The development of this supranational government has created interesting tensions within multinational states like the United Kingdom.

On one hand, membership in transnational organizations like NATO and the UN and supranational governments like the EU is limited to nation-states. Scotland is represented in these organizations through the United Kingdom. However, this emphasis on statehood for membership inadvertently supports nationalist movements like the one in Scotland (Meyer and Hannan 1979; Birch 1978). Indeed, Olzak (1983) suggests that the rise in ethnic independence activity like the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Basques is connected to the strengthening of these international organizations and supranational governments. As an independent nation, Scotland would represent itself and its interests within the EU without the intermediary of the UK.

Moreover, the high level of integration in most types of public policy means that Scotland would not have to develop its own laws in these areas. By becoming a part of the European Union, they must adopt the *acquis communautaire*, or the body of European Union law which sets policy in many areas traditionally controlled by the central government of a nation state. Among the subjects covered in the *acquis* are telecommunications policy, policy governing financial institutions, agriculture and fishery policy, and others, not to mention the very robust economic policies which insure the common market (European Commission). Even military, defense, and foreign policy, are beginning to fall under the scope EU regulation, though there has been considerable resistance to this.

The European Union provides a compelling argument in favor of nationalism, providing a readymade framework of public policy for a newly independent country to adopt as well as access to markets. Why go through the United Kingdom, where the dominant voice is English, when Scotland could be its own equal member of the European Union? Of course, this assumes that Scotland would actually be its own equal member. Scots are EU citizens currently, but it is unclear what would have happened to Scotland's status as a part of the EU if they had voted for independence. The SNP argued that Scotland's transition from member as part of the UK to member in its own right would be smooth and virtually seamless, that the EU's constitutional documents make this transition more of a formality than a true political issue (Scottish Government n.d.). But scholars from the Brookings Institute worry that the EU is not equipped at present to allow Scotland full membership in the way described by the SNP. Instead, Scotland would likely have to become a member the good old fashioned way, requiring the approval of member states. If so, there are a number of states with strong nationalist movements who would be interested in making Scotland's entry into the EU as difficult as possible, to squelch the ambitions of their own nationalist parties (Alcaro and Shapiro 2014).

The growing pro-European attitudes among the Scottish combined with the growing euroscepticism in other parts of Britain indicate a substantial divergence of political opinion and a likely source of tension. The failure of the Scottish independence referendum was greeted with a sigh of relief from many not just in the UK but across Europe. For the moment it seemed fears of nationalist movements sweeping across

Europe were laid to rest alongside the fears that the UK would leave the EU. Now, just seven months after the referendum, a poll conducted by TNS BMRB on EU membership showed that opinion is so close that the UK's fate as part of the EU could be decided by a coin toss.⁵ If the proposed referendum on EU membership is passed, Scottish nationalism could benefit. Scots' strong pro-European and pro-EU opinions could make nationalism an appealing alternative to remaining with a non-EU member UK. If the referendum were then to pass, I would expect a strong nationalist reaction from Scotland. But even if the referendum did not pass, current trends indicate that Scotland will likely become more pro-European while Britain will likely become more eurosceptic. The gap in attitudes about a fundamental feature of political life is diverging, creating an even stronger division between Scottish identity and British identity.

Conclusion: Why Failure is Still Progress

On September 18, 2014, Scotland voted against independence by a ten point margin; the culmination of decades of progress toward Scottish independence had failed to pass. But by examining the factors which affected how Scots voted in the referendum as well as how the Scottish nationalist movement developed, it becomes clear that the referendum was still progress for Scottish nationalism. The Scottish National Party's successful campaigning brought Scottish opinions on independence dangerously close to the needed majority, so close that the UK government offered devo-max in a last minute effort to sway voters toward unionism. Scotland emerged from the referendum with more

⁵ TNS BMRB poll conducted 26-30 March 2015, showed support for EU membership had a 1% advantage over support for leaving the EU, when undecided responses (25% of total) were not included.

power (promised) than it had previously. Moreover, from a historical perspective, even the failure of the Scottish independence referendum fits within the steady upward trend of support for Scottish nationalism, as its 45% yes vote represents the highest level of support for nationalism in an official vote to date (when compared to support for the SNP in other elections).

The question now is where the Scottish National Party goes from here. The economic factors associated with the North Sea oil are still likely to affect support for independence, helping to win over those who want Scotland to benefit more directly from its oil wealth. As we have seen, Scotland's oil has played an important role in pushing the Scottish National Party into the political foreground. But, in the future, the economic factors will be supplemented by the further development of Scottish identity as a separate and distinct cultural identity, aided by current trends in the growth of post-materialist values and divergent attitudes about the European Union as well as the continued strengthening of Scottish control over its own civic and political institutions through devolution. Finally, much will depend on the United Kingdom's ability to continue devolving power along federalist lines. The promised plan of maximum devolution may prove difficult to accommodate constitutionally and ultimately may not satisfy the Scots enough to hold the United Kingdom together.

Scottish cultural and national identity is likely to become more defined in the future as a result of devolution and Scots' pro-European tendencies. Scottish-controlled civic institutions were instrumental in preserving Scotland as an idea, as something separate and distinct from the UK, and in providing a framework within which Scottish

nationalism could develop. In recent years, Scottish control over civic and political institutions has expanded as a result of devolution. The reconstitution of the Scottish parliament was a significant development, and its growing authority as a result of devolution will reinforce Scottish national identity. Scotland as its own political entity is more well-defined and distinctive than at any point in the past 300 years. Moreover, though the specific powers granted through devo-max have not been firmly established, the plan proposed during the referendum campaign included significant Scottish control over taxation and welfare programs like the NHS (Carrell 2014).

Scotland's pro-Europeanism and pro-EU sentiment will also help define Scottish identity in the future, especially as the UK is trending toward euroscepticism. Should the proposed referendum on UK leaving the EU actually happen, these differences will likely become even greater points of tension, as Scots might see their opinions overwhelmed by British euroscepticism. One can only imagine the conflict that would erupt if the UK chose to leave the EU. Regardless of whether the referendum actually takes place, the diverging attitudes toward a fundamental feature of political life will create tensions between Scots and Britons and will help define Scottish identity as something separate from British identity.

This further development of Scottish identity becomes even more important when coupled with the continued transition toward post-materialist values. Post-materialist values like belonging, having more direct control over policy, and autonomy all favor nationalism, and, as was discussed above, the Scottish nationalist movement has gained support as post-materialism has gained ground over materialism. The rise of post-

materialist values shows no signs of abatement (Inglehart 2008). If values of autonomy and a greater sense of belonging continue to grow, Scottish nationalism, which provides political expression of these values, will likely gain support too.

Perhaps the promised plan of devo-max will be enough to save the union long-term, as it was enough to save the union in the independence referendum. Maximum devolution would give control over domestic policy to the Scottish parliament, in effect creating a radically asymmetrical federalist system within the UK. But the problems associated with such a system have already impeded negotiations, particularly with respect to the radical asymmetries that maximum devolution would create.⁶ Scotland's parliament would have control over a broad range of policy issues while England has no regional legislative body at all. The reforms needed to make such a system work (if it even can work) include creation of an effective system of intergovernmental relations and considerable reform of judicial and legislative institutions to provide for judicial review and a regionally representative legislative body. These needed reforms do not pose an insurmountable challenge to British constitutionalism which has shown remarkable pragmatic adaptability, but are they worth it? Scotland will have considerable powers over domestic issues, and Scottish nationalism is not likely to die down anytime soon. At what point are the constitutional reforms required to keep Scotland happy not worth the effort? This very question assumes that Scotland would be kept happy by successfully achieving maximum devolution. This is a tenuous assumption at best, as Scottish nationalism seems to be on the rise even after the failed independence referendum

⁶ “*The Guardian View on the Devo Max Pledge*,” *Guardian*, September 16, 2014.

(McIntosh and Coates 2014). With Scots still rallying around the goal of independence and Britain facing difficult constitutional reforms in order to accommodate them under devo-max, perhaps British constitutional pragmatism has reached its limits.

Though the campaign for Scottish independence in 2014 was lost, the Scottish nationalist movement is as strong, if not stronger, than ever before. The economic incentives present during the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, including the huge incentive of taking control of North Sea oil revenues, remain as persuasive as before. But subtle and substantial shifts in attitudes and values will also help build support for the Scottish nationalist movement in the future. British constitutional limitations alongside tensions created over attitudes toward the European Union and continued transition toward post-materialist values all indicate that Scottish nationalism is on the rise. Perhaps we will someday see another Scottish independence referendum, this time with a win for Scottish nationalism.

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