

**T.C.  
TURKISH-GERMAN UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**THE IMPACT OF BREXIT ON SCOTTISH  
NATIONALISM**

**MASTER'S THESIS**

**Tarık Halid ÇETİNKAYA**

**ADVISOR**

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Enes BAYRAKLI**

**ISTANBUL, September 2021**

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis is an original work. I also declare that, I have acted in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct at all stages of the work including preparation, data collection and analysis. I have cited and referenced all the information that is not original to this work.

**Tarık Halid Çetinkaya**

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# ÖZET

## Brexit'in İskoç Milliyetçiliği'ne Etkisi

Bu tez ile amaçlanan temel mesele, Birleşik Krallık'ın, Avrupa Birliği'nden ayrılması ile başlayan Brexit sürecinin, Birleşik Krallık'ın bir parçası olan İskoçya'ya ve hali hazırda bağımsızlık yanlısı olan İskoç milliyetçiliğine etkisini sunmaktır. Bu konu incelenirken, milliyetçilik teorileri ve kısa geçmişi incelenmiş olup teze uygulanmıştır. Ayrıca Birleşik Krallık'ın ve İskoçya'nın tarihsel geçmişi tezde sunulmaktadır. Bu çerçevede İskoçya'nın İngiltere ile birleşim süreci (Taçların Birleşmesi) anlatılmıştır ve Birleşik Krallık'a üye ülkelere devredilen yönetim haklarından bahsedilmiştir. Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği'ne katılım süreci ve sonrasında gündeme gelen Avrupa şüpheciliği de anlatılmıştır. Daha sonra Brexit'in İskoç ayrılıkçı hareketi ve söylemi üzerindeki etkileri sunulmuştur ve ayrıca tarafların ve partilerin tutumu da ortaya konmuştur. Bu çerçevede söylem analizi metodu kullanılmış olup, kitaplar, makaleler, raporlar, anketler, haberler ve konuşmalardan yararlanılmıştır. Bu bilgiler ışığında, bu tez Brexit'in İskoç bağımsızlık söylemlerini arttırdığı sonucuna varmış olup, ikinci bir bağımsızlık referandumunun kaçınılmaz olduğu sonucuna ulaşmıştır. Özellikle İskoç Ulusal Partisi'nin bağımsızlık hareketinin başını çekmesi önemli bir etkidir. Yakın gelecekte İskoçya'nın Birleşik Krallık'tan ayrılması sosyal, politik ve ekonomik açıdan zor gözükse de uzun dönemde mümkün gözükmemektedir. Her ne kadar Westminster ikinci bağımsızlık referandumuna sıcak bakmasa da, 1970'lerden bu yana gelen süreçteki söylemler ve çaba, ve sonrasında 1990'larda kazanılan haklar bize İskoçya'nın bağımsızlığa doğru gittiğini göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Brexit, Birleşik Krallık, İskoçya, Milliyetçilik, Bağımsızlık

**Tarih:** Eylül 2021

# **ABSTRACT**

## **The Impact of Brexit on Scottish Nationalism**

The main issue aimed with this thesis is to present the effect of the Brexit process, which started with the separation of the United Kingdom from the European Union, on Scotland, which is a part of the United Kingdom, and on Scottish nationalism, which is already pro-independence. While examining this issue, the theories of nationalism and its short history were investigated and applied to the thesis. In addition, the historical backgrounds of the United Kingdom and Scotland are presented in the thesis. In this framework, the process of the unification of Scotland with England (Union of the Crowns) is also explained and the administrative rights transferred to the member states of the United Kingdom are mentioned. The process of the UK's accession to the European Union and the Euro-scepticism that became the main topic of conversation were also clarified. Then, the effects of Brexit on the Scottish separatist movement and discourse are presented, and the attitudes of the groups and parties are also revealed. In this context, discourse analysis method was used, and books, articles, reports, surveys, news and speeches were used. In light of this information, this thesis concluded that Brexit increased the Scottish independence discourse and concluded that a second independence referendum was inevitable. Especially the Scottish National Party's leadership of the independence movement is an important factor. In the near future, the separation of Scotland from the United Kingdom seems difficult in terms of social, political and economic aspects, but it seems possible in the long run. Although Westminster did not favour the second independence referendum, the rhetoric and efforts since the 1970s and the rights won in the 1990s show us that Scotland is heading towards independence.

**Key Words:** Brexit, United Kingdom, Scotland, Nationalism, Independence

**Date:** September 2021



## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**EC** : European Communities

**EEC** : European Economic Community

**EU** : European Union

**MP** : Member of Parliament

**NATO**: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

**SNP** : Scottish National Party

**UK** : United Kingdom

**UKIP** : United Kingdom Independence Party

**UN** : United Nations

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# CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

With the increase of populism worldwide, the discussions on nationalism have also started to get stronger. Especially in the recent period, the increase in the nationalist discourses has built this trend among many countries globally, particularly European Union affected exclusively. One of the countries that are affected by this demand is the United Kingdom. Starting from the 1960s, attempts of United Kingdom has begun to become a member of the European Economic Community, nevertheless, this process was struggling for the UK because of France's vetoes. Sooner or later, In 1973 United Kingdom became a member of the European Economic Community and naturally to the European Union. Nonetheless after long years of discussions and nationalistic discourses, Euroscepticism became the dominant idea, and along with the referendum of 2016 European Union membership, the Brexit process has started. United Kingdom European Union membership referendum took place on 23 June, which resulted in favour of leaving the European Union (Koller, Kopf, & Miglbauer, 2019, pp. 1-8). As a result, United Kingdom's departure from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community has started, and this process is called as Brexit, a combination of 'British and exit'. Starting from 2017, negotiations has started for the process of United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union. The United Kingdom had two options to leave the European Union, either with a withdrawal agreement or with a no-deal. Until the withdrawal agreement is reached, both sides keep the trade deals remain until 31 December 2020 in this transition period. Finally, on 23 December 2020, The United Kingdom and the European Union have agreed on a Trade and Cooperation Agreement, Nuclear Cooperation Agreement and an Agreement on Security Procedures for Exchanging and Protecting Classified Information (Prime Minister's Office, 2021). Although, Brexit has many outcomes and affected countries of United Kingdom and which are connected to the UK in all administrative and political aspects. The most important one of these countries is Scotland.

Scotland was first established as kingdom during the middle ages, close to hegemony of the times English crown. Against the England's hegemonic tendencies, Scotland had to be well coordinated and organised to maintain its position during those

days. However, in 1707, English and Scottish parliaments passed the Act of Union which led to formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The union brought many benefits for the both countries in political and economic realms. In the course of time, there was a growing friction between the core and the periphery. In contrast, to prevent this tension between the core and the periphery, Scottish Office was established in 1885. Since there were problems of people of Scotland, and this way Westminster could pay attention to the problems of the Scottish people. By the mid-nineteenth century, Scottish intellectuals began to argue that Scotland should have a parliament in order to have some autonomy. After that, with the rising nationalistic discourses, the Scottish National Party (SNP) have founded in 1934. In 1999, the Scottish Parliament founded and first meeting took place on 12 May (Paquin, 2002, pp. 62-68). Today, Scottish National Party has the majority of the seats in the Scottish Parliament and the third largest party in the UK parliament. Nicole Sturgeon is the SNP leader and the current First Minister of Scotland since 20 November 2014. The SNP supports and fights for the independence from the United Kingdom and, at the same time, believe in to becoming a full member of the European Union (The Scottish Government, 2016). The SNP's hegemony in the Scottish Parliament brought the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, which is turned out in favour of 'no', which was against the independence. Nonetheless, after the Brexit referendum, the nationalistic discourse in the Scotland has increased. Especially Scottish National Party tries to push for the second independence referendum in Scotland.

Exclusively in light of the information given above, the concept of nationalism should be well examined as well. Nationalism is "An ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential 'nation' " (Smith, Nationalism Theory, Ideology, History, 2010, p. 9). Smith argues that this definition recommends some reactions as an ideology and the concept link the ideology to a purposive movement and this is not the case all the time. However, nationalism without nations are common as well which they are not limited to political intentions instead, they embrace areas of culture and society because of the feeling of belonging to the group (Smith, Nationalism Theory, Ideology, History, 2010, pp. 5-10). In addition, there are different approaches to nationalism and the third chapter will focus on this framework in deep. When Scottish nationalism

examined Scottish National Party as presider definitely suits to civic nationalism as pro-European stateless nation (Keating, 2009, p. 217).

In the framework of all the information that are mentioned above, the research question of this study can be explained as to whether Brexit had an impact on Scottish nationalism or not. In light of this question, the hypothesis is that Brexit had a significant influence on Scottish Nationalism. The independent variable of this hypothesis is Brexit in this thesis. Apart from this, the dependent variable of this hypothesis is Scottish nationalism. To examine this research question and find an answer to this hypothesis, this thesis consists of six main chapters.

First chapter is the introduction which includes general information about Brexit, nationalism and Scotland. At the same time, the research question of this thesis will explain, and in this situation, the hypothesis of research question determined as well.

The second part of this thesis gives information about the literature review of nationalism, Brexit and Scotland. Especially in this part, the primary resources of the topics that is mentioned above will discuss in depth. Also this chapter consists of the methodology. Discourse analysis will be used in this study as methodology, in order to analyse Scottish nationalism and Brexit.

The third chapter focuses on the origin of nationalism because of its importance to this thesis and look into how it affected states. Also, theories of nationalism will be mentioned in detail in this chapter. Furthermore, this part dedicated to the historical background of the nationalism in Europe.

The fourth chapter consist of information about the United Kingdom and Brexit. There will be analysis of the United Kingdom's accession process to the European Union. Also this part focuses on Brexit process in general. To understand the impact of Brexit on Scotland, first of all, administrative system of the United Kingdom should be examined too. For this reason this chapter will also focus on the explanation of administrative system of the United Kingdom. Also, the position and the discourses of the political parties toward European Communities in United Kingdom will scrutinize in this chapter.

Chapter five is the main analyses part of this thesis. In this section, a brief history of Scotland will be presented together with the exploration of nationalism patterns in Scotland that is why the historical background of nationalism in Scotland and Scottish nationalism will briefly presented. Moreover, the impact and the role of the Scottish Nationalist Party for independence will be discussed. Also this part provides 2014 Scottish independence referendum and its effects on the nationalistic discourse. Surveys, reports and discourse of the parties will be provided as an insight in this discussion precisely and the impact of Brexit on Scottish nationalism will be presented.

Moreover, the last chapter is the conclusion of the thesis. The research question asked in the thesis will be answered and the hypothesis will be discussed. There will be a general evaluation of the issues and problems which was examined in the thesis and consists of the findings that the study has reached.

## CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

Hobsbawm and Ranger in *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) focuses on different examples of invented traditions, especially second chapter of the book ‘The Highland Tradition of Scotland’ written by Hugh Trevor-Roper will be used in the part of historical background of Scottish Nationalism (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Smith provides an introduction to nationalism and it will be used in the third part of this thesis (Smith, *Nationalism Theory, Ideology, History*, 2010). Anderson analysed nationalism with a concept of ‘Imagined Communities’ and he argues that nations are socially constructed and imaged by people who identify themselves as a part of a group. Anderson also will be used in the third part to grasp framework of nationalism (Anderson, 1983). Özkırmılı presents extensive introduction to theories of nationalism and provide criticism to traditional theories and their authors (Özkırmılı, 2010). Gellner argues that there may be a link between nationalism and industrial societies but there are critics of this argument as well (Gellner, 1983). Yet Gellner is one of the most important academic who worked on nationalism theory.

Pettifor argues that the ‘Brexit’ vote is the latest manifestation of popular dissatisfaction with the utopian ideal of autonomous markets beyond the reach of regulatory democracy. Also remarks the background of this event can be traced to the economic theories and policies which led to the 2008 financial crisis (Pettifor, 2016). Küntay and Ertuğral demonstrate the future of the United Kingdom and the Scotland’s problem (Küntay & Ertuğral, 2017). Bailey and Budd presents a brief historical reading of ‘Europe versus Empire’ which helps us to understand Brexit more broadly (Bailey & Budd, 2019). Boyle, Paddison and Shirlow develops an argument why the Brexit exist with five provocations; a) critical policy studies; b) the project of decolonizing geography; c) historiographies of human territorialisation and sovereignty; d) the status of evidence-based public policy in a post-political and post-truth age, and; e) the management of risk, hazards, and disasters (Boyle, Paddison, & Shirlow, 2018). Virdee and McGeever offer a conjunctural analysis of the financial and political crisis within which Brexit occurred with a specific attentiveness to race and racism. Brexit and its



aftermath have been over determined by racism, including racist violence (Virdee & McGeever, 2017). Greene, Spoon and Williams assumed that voters use signals to negotiate tricky choice: support the short term goal (remain in the EU) or vote for less desired outcome (leave the EU) with the intention of setting up the conditions for a second referendum on Scottish Independence. They found that voters who favour Scottish independence at the time of the independence referendum were generally more inclined to vote against Brexit; however, those who favour Scottish independence and identity with the SNP were more inclined to vote in favour of UK leaving the EU (Greene, Spoon, & Williams, 2017). Hobolt analyses campaign and survey data and shows the divide between winners and losers of globalisation was a key driver of the vote. Favouring British EU exit, or “Brexit”, was particularly common among less-educated, poorer and older voters, and those who expressed concerns about immigration and multiculturalism. While there is no evidence of a short-term contagion effect with similar membership referendums in other countries (Hobolt, 2016).

Ichijo investigates the aspect of Scottish nationalism and the relationship between Scotland and Europe. He aims to classify, analyse and evaluate the ideas about the “Scoto-European” relationship in circulation in contemporary Scotland (Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 2004). Rioux compares the Brexit and the Scottish independence movement as rival economic nationalisms. As Britain tried to regain autonomy from the European Union, Scottish Nationalist also will pursuit of an economic autonomy from the UK as well. He argues that Scottish nationalism effected broadly by the economic nationalism and UK limit the economic development of Scotland (Rioux, 2019). McCrone examines the burst of nationalism as social movement in Scotland and feature some fundamental changes in the social, economic and political structures of advanced societies (McCrone, 1984). Saylan investigates the past and present of Scottish nationalism based on the SNP (Scottish National Party) because he argues that considering the level of organisation, mobilization ability, voter support and election success, Scottish nationalism represented by the SNP in the political sphere. The SNP’s party programs, manifestos, statements of their leaders, government programs and 2014 independence referendum campaign has been analysed in this context (Saylan, 2017). Keating explores of three electorally successful nationalist movements; Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland which are not seen as classic nationalist movements but as nation-

building projects which recognise the limitations of nation-state formula and are engaged in 'stateless nation-building' (Keating, *Stateless Nation-Building: Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland in the Changing State System*, 1997). Leith analyses the nature of national identity as held by political elites within Scotland through examination of interview data collected from over 60 members of the elected political elite within Scotland (Leith, 2012). The literature mentioned above and more, as well as news, surveys and political statements, will be applied in this study.

Moreover, in this study, in order to analyse Brexit and the Scottish nationalism, discourse analysis method will be used. Discourse analysis is a research method that used in social and cultural studies dealing with the creation of meaning over talk and texts. The term was first used by the Zellig Harris who is a sentence linguist (Harris, 1952). According to him, the study of discourse is a tool for examining connected speech or writing, for continuing descript language beyond the limit of a single sentence at a time (Kamalu & Osisanwo, 2015, pp. 169-171). Discourse is a concept that can be given different explanations based on different approaches. Some researchers argue that discourse as all speaking and writings, however, some of them claim as only speech network variants can be applicable to the method. Besides, Foucault has more general idea about the discourse. He argues that discourse has more wide meaning and its developing historically. Every individuals discourse can be change through the years because of the conditions of the era (Çelik & Ekşi, 2008, p. 100). Discourse compromise all aspects of the message such as; who is telling the message, which authority depended on, who is the listener and what is the purpose of the message. Individuals do not create discourses, instead, discourses exist at social level. Discourse builds the meaning and societies establish bond between the symbols and meanings.

Discourse analysis consists of methodological and conceptual elements. It is a thinking about the discourse and characterizing the discourse into data. This analysis method is an alternative to conventional methodologies (Çelik & Ekşi, 2008, pp. 105-110). The subject of the discourse analysis are the verbal, non-verbal and written contents. The main purpose of the discourse analysis is the interpretation and exposition.

In order to analyse Scottish nationalistic discourse, political discourse analysis is used in this research. Political discourse is mainly is about politics and "critical-political

discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political *power*, *power abuse* or *domination* through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance” (Dijk, 1997, p. 11). Political discourse determined by the politicians, political institutions, political parties, members of the governments and so forth. Defining political discourse is different than medical, legal or educational discourse because politicians are elected by the people to represent their political views. Domain of politics also include the public and citizens which are the recipients of the political communicative events. Not only events also forms of text have also political objectives and implications (Dijk, 1997, pp. 12-15).

# CHAPTER 3. UNITING AND DIVIDING POWER 'NATIONALISM'

## 3.1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF NATIONALISM THEORIES

Nationalism is a concept that discussed broadly for many years. The reason behind this endless debate is the different perceptions of the people. Some scholars argue that nationalism as a modern phenomenon. The idea behind this argument is that identity problems of the people came with modernisation. However before modernization family, religion, ethnicity, city state and empire were the concepts for unity among people (Smith, 1998, p. 71). Additionally, primordialists argue that nationality comes as “natural part of human beings, as natural as speech, sight or smell, and that nations have existed from time immemorial” (Özkırımlı, 2010, p. 49). Edward Shils is one of the first person who brought the primordial belief in nationalism with the article of ‘*Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties*’ to the literature. Ethnosymbolism is the third view which has emerged as a critic of the modernist approach. It suggests the role of symbols, memories, myths and traditions in this review (Smith, Nationalism Theory, Ideology, History, 2010, p. 62). This three approach will be examine in detail below and also some new approaches will be mentioned as well.

### 3.1.1. Primordialism

Primordialism is the idea that nationality is derived from natural birth. Primordial as a term defined as oldest which existing from the beginning (Hornby, 1995, p. 918). It is widely assumed that Edward Shils was the first to use the term to describe relationship within the concept. However there are different approaches within primordial belief. Özkırımlı classifies to four different versions of Primordialism; the nationalist, sociobiological, culturalist and perennialist (Özkırımlı, 2010, pp. 49-51). Some scholars also categorize the perennialism in a wider context apart from the Primordialism but this paper analyses perennialism under the primordial approach.

The Nationalist thesis according to nationalists is an inherent feature of the human condition. Gellner argues that “A man must have a nationality as he must have a nose and two ears” (Gellner, 1983, p. 6). “The nationalists believe that humanity is divided into

distinct, objectively identifiable nations. Human beings can only fulfil themselves and flourish if they belong to a national community, the membership of which overrides all other forms of belonging” (Özkırımlı, 2010, p. 51). The nationalist thesis has also affected the development of history and literature which had an essential role in nation-building process in the nineteenth century. As a result of the literature, nationalist’s narratives were created.

The sociobiological view essentially explained as common descent and preserved by endogamy. Sociology professor Pierre van den Berghe is one of the main scholar in this nationalism field and his work in sociobiological view is the ‘*The sociobiological theory of ethnicity, race and nationalism*’ (Özkırımlı, 2010, p. 53). “The most basic question asked by sociobiology as well as sociology is: why are animals social, that is, why do they cooperate? Why are some species more social than others?” (Berghe, 1978, p. 402). Because the animals are social in the sense that they cooperate for mutual benefit. In this way, sociobiology contribute the main genetic for animal sociality, specifically kin selection to maximize inclusive fitness. Furthermore, Berghe argues that kin selection is a strong bind between humans as well (Berghe, 1978, pp. 402-404). It can be said that ethnic groups and nations are sort of large families bond with a kinship.

The culturalist approach mainly affiliated with the works of Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz. This approach emphasis on a belief that such as language, religion or common history which is thought as separating power for nations from each other, existed since ancient times. Therefore, nations are permanent and very old but are not natural (Şimşek, 2009, p. 83). The main problem with this approach is that it neglects important social and cultural changes. Because these changes can create new devotions and change the character of society. Nonetheless, Smith argues that the primordialist paradigm is useful in revealing the importance of long-term public cohesions, kinship and cultural ties (Smith, 2010, pp. 55-60).

Perennialism expresses the old and unforgettable historical antiquity of the form of political and social organization called as the nation. Perennialist see modern nationalism as a political movement and ideology. However community seen as a modern version of ancient ethnic communities or form of a collective cultural identities existed since throughout human history. There are two forms of perennialism; first sees certain

nations as ancient and constantly and the second claims that nations are resurrected (Şimşek, 2009, p. 84).

### **3.1.2. Modernism**

Modernism arose in response to the primordialists who viewed nationalism as natural and universal phenomena. Modernists argue that nations and nationalism are new and result of modern subjects like industrialization or capitalism. Therefore, they argue that nations and nationalism became fundamental in modern world (Özkırmılı, 2010, p. 72). In the light of information above, modernist theories will be explained in three categories; economic transformation, political transformation and cultural transformation.

At first economic transformations will be examined in two categories; neo-Marxist and rational choice theories. In neo-Marxist category, Tom Nairn's *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-nationalism* (1981) and Michael Hechter's *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536-1966* (1975) are the essential cases of neo-Marxist point of views. Additionally Hechter's *Containing Nationalism* (2000) demonstrate a rational choice approach to nationalism (Özkırmılı, 2010, pp. 72-73).

Nairn argues that origin of nationalism comes from general historical process since the eighteenth century. Especially when it looked into certain period between the French and Industrial Revolutions, economy had an influence on this context. The roots of nationalism are not found in the growth of the global political economy. Rather, it can be found in the uneven development of the societies because there was an excessive space between the core and the periphery in the world. However after years of discussion Nairn abandoned its position in 1990s and joined to neo-primordialists (Özkırmılı, 2010, pp. 73-77).

Another important work in this field is the Hechter's concept of 'internal colonialism'. Primarily, Hechter argues that the modernization process has created a gap between the core and the periphery within the country's territories and therefore, advanced and less advanced groups engendered (Özkırmılı, 2010, pp. 79-80). The advanced group mainly controls the distribution of social roles and more prosperous roles

given to its members but, less advanced group could not reach these positions. Hechter calls this social stratification as the ‘cultural division of labour’ (Hechter, 1975, pp. 314-315). There are numbers of criticisms to this model, one of which is that does not fit the idea. Specifically, Scotland was exceptional because Scots were not undermined to lower social status in Britain. While Britain has been industrialized from eighteenth century forwards and Scotland industrialized as well. For this reason, Hechter modified his theory in 1985 and he concluded that internal colonialism was not the issue in Scotland, instead, country had a high level of ‘institutional autonomy’. This institutional autonomy formed a partial cultural division of labour. Because of the Scotland’s institutional autonomy, Scots were gathered in particular work fields. The presence of these entities assisted the people in the periphery for sustaining their culture throughout the history (Özkırmı, 2010, pp. 81-83).

Political transformation is another approach of modernism proposed by scholars like John Breuilly, Paul R. Brass and Eric J. Hobsbawm. Breuilly’s work *Nationalism and the State* published in 1982, is one of the important literature on this field. Unlike earlier historical writings, his major historical studies is exceptional. Breuilly categorize an original typology of nationalist movements present a new idea of nationalism as a type of politics. His approach to main theories is suspicious, as it can only be possible if a study on particular case is conducted. Breuilly describe his argument as state oriented and modernist (Özkırmı, 2010, pp. 83-88). He argues that nationalism is a kind of political tool to enlarge the power of the state. It is only possible to analyse nationalism by separating it from the identity and culture (Şimşek, 2009, pp. 89-90).

Paul R. Brass emphasized the instrumental nature of ethnicity and nationality. Instrumentalism demonstrate that how the nationalism grew and why it continues to be supported, because, nationalism became an instrument for elites to sustain assistance for their power struggle in the international arena (Özkırmı, 2010, p. 88). In *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1991) Brass argues as:

ethnicity and nationalism are not “givens”, but are social and political constructions. They are creations of elites, who draw upon, distort and sometimes fabricate materials from the cultures of the groups they wish to represent in order

to protect their well-being or existence or to gain political and economic advantage for their groups as well as for themselves. (1991, p. 8)

Furthermore, he indicates that nationalism and ethnicity are contemporary trends which are linked with the practices of contemporary centralizing states. Brass stand “on the contrary, is that ethnic identity and modern nationalism arise out of specific types of interactions between the leaderships of centralizing states and elites from non-dominant ethnic groups, especially but not exclusively on the peripheries of those states” (Brass, 1991, pp. 8-9).

Moreover, Eric J. Hobsbawm concept of nationalism focusing on the political transformation as well. Hobsbawm see nationalism as a ‘social engineering’. In his famous work *Invention of Tradition* (1983) he describes ‘invented tradition’ as “set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). He also argues that at the end of the nineteenth century, the invention of tradition was the essential policy of the ruling elites against the risks of democracy. Hobsbawm points out that three essential modernization specifically relevant. The first was the development of a ‘secular education’ with republican principals. The second stage was to establishing ‘public ceremonies’ such as Bastille Day and the third was to build ‘public monuments’ (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 271). As consequences, “nationalism became a substitute for social cohesion through a national church, a royal family or other cohesive traditions, or collective group self-presentations, a new secular religion” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 303). Further, Hobsbawm considered second period from 1918 to 1950 which was the years for peak of nationalism. And the last period regarded as the end of twentieth century which was nationalism was no longer the popular direction historically around the world.

Cultural transformation is the last model of modernist approach of nationalism. Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson are the important scholars on this model and their analyses have a crucial role in the literature. Ernest Gellner’s theory could be better comprehended in the sense of “a long standing sociological tradition whose origins go back to Durkheim and Weber. The cardinal feature of this tradition is a distinction



between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ societies” (Özkırmı, 2010, p. 98). Gellner points out three fundamental phases in human history: pre-agrarian, the agrarian and the industrial. Hunting and gathering communities were small to allow political division of labour and when agrarian societies analysed, there were states but some were weak while others were strong. In the industrial phase, states are inevitable, because, they are exceedingly vast and needed a cooperation, division of labour and norms in the society, in order to provide a standard of living (Gellner, 1983, p. 5). In broader sense, he argues that nationalism is result of the modern industrial society. That is why there are weakness and strength of nationalism. “It is weak in the sense that the number of potential nations far exceeds the number of those that actually make the claim” (Özkırmı, 2010, p. 102). It is a strong because “it determines the norm for the legitimacy of political units in the modern world” (Gellner, 1983, p. 49).

Benedict Anderson is another scholar who points out the cultural transformation to understand nationalism. Anderson wrote *Imaged Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* in 1983 which “was at the time of its publication the only comparative study of nationalism written from a ‘non-European’ perspective; it took on British and American imperialism, although it was written in English” (Özkırmı, 2010, p. 113). Anderson believes that nations and nationalism are modern contemporary phenomena, and that nationalisms that are closely related to religion rather than nations and ideology will direct society for a long time. Nationalism, according to Anderson, is a ‘imagined political community’; “It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 1983, p. 6). It is imagined because each nation has a restricted border within another country. Anderson believes that the invention of the printing press and the production of books written in native languages allowed communities to understand themselves. These were the terms of emergence of nations and nationalism (Şimşek, 2009, p. 88). Anderson used the term ‘print capitalism’ to describe this process (Anderson, 1983, p. 39). In short, Anderson considers nations and nationalism as a modern phenomenon and he believes that nations were created. The spread of books also allowed people to form themselves as members of the community.

### 3.1.3. Ethnosymbolism

The theoretical criticism of modernism gave rise to ethnosymbolism. Ethnosymbolism concerned with the role of shared aspects among people such as symbols, values, traditions, myths and memories (Smith, 2010, p. 62). The concept of ethnosymbolism proposed by John Armstrong and Anthony D. Smith. According to this approach, the development process of nations should be evaluated in a wide period of time. It appears impossible to study the birth of modern states without talking into account their ethnic backgrounds. Anthony Smith argues that Armstrong was the first scholar who emphasized on the importance of 'la longue durée' (the long term) in the study of nationalism in his book *Nations Before Nationalism* (1982). For Armstrong, ethnic awareness has a long history, and the imprints of ethnic consciousness may be seen in Mesopotamia and Egypt civilizations. In this manner, modern day nationalism could be seen as the final version of collective society and ethnic consciousness (Özkırıklı, 2010, pp. 144-145).

Anthony Smith sees an issue with modernist nationalism theories, which describe a specific sort of country as full modern nations rather than a nation per se (Özkırıklı, 2010, p. 144). Smith defines a nation as "a named human community residing in a perceived homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a distinct public culture, and common laws and customs for all members" (Smith, 2010, p. 13). He admits that there have been a few instances where ethnic diversity has been marginalized but such instances are rare.

Smith also explains the types of nationalism based on Hans Kohn's distinction of western which is more rational 'territorial' and eastern which is more organic 'ethnic' models. Hans Kohn's crucial book *The Idea of Nationalism* written in 1944 on the "shadow of Nazism and the war, it sought to uncover the differences, as Kohn saw it, between the more benign forms of nationalism found in the West and the more virulent varieties that had appeared east of the Rhine" (Smith, 2010, pp. 42-43). Kohn argued that Eastern variations were built on the idea of a shared culture and ethnic roots which is regarded as organic while, Western nationalism was founded on the idea that in a country where individuals are constrained by the common law and territorial boundaries (Smith, 2010, p. 43).

### **3.2. ETHNIC AND CIVIC NATIONALISM**

Historian Hans Kohn was the first to point out the link between different varieties of nationalism and socio-economic dynamics. He claimed that nationalism in the West and nationalism in the East were fundamentally different because societal structures in the West and East differed at the time nationalism arose. Kohn argued that during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, liberal ideas and methods produced multicultural and progressive nationalism in Western Europe and the United States. The absence of these norms in the social environment of 19<sup>th</sup> century Central-Eastern Europe and Asia resulted in the development of ethnocentric nationalism (Kohn, 1946).

Ethnic nationalism is a type of nationalism in which ethnicity is utilised to define the nation and nationality, emphasising the ethnocentric model in a variety of political issues such as ethnic group support in the national sphere. Ethnic nationalists believe that nations have a shared history that includes a common language, mutual interests, culture and ethnic origin. Ethnic nationalism is typically associated with Eastern European, Asian, African, and pre-industrial Western countries and their social and economic institutions. The main principle of ethnic nationalism is that ethnic groups have the right to self-determination. Ethnic nationalism focuses on the language and the ancestry criteria for inclusion and exclusion. Individuals are not able to choose to which nation they belong; rather, membership is determined by birth. This form of nationalism defines the country as an organic unit or self-regulating society (Lecours, 2000, pp. 153-156).

Civic nationalism also known as liberal nationalism is defined as inclusive form of nationalism based on traditional liberal values such freedom, equality, individual rights and equality. Civic nationalists frequently emphasize the value of national identity, self-determination and democracy. Civic nationalism is a political identity based on a sense of shared citizenship inside the state. It is defined by the political institutions and liberal principles which its citizens are dedicated to defending it. These values are the key to become citizen of such countries not the language or culture. Such countries usually illustrated with the Western developed and industrialized liberal democracies. Civic nationalism does not associate ethnic homogeneity with national identity. The nation state concept emphasizes territorial and legal dimensions (Lecours, 2000, pp. 153-156).

Characteristic of civic and ethnic nationalism can be seen from the table 1 as national identity is defined as prescriptive, emotional, collective, organic and cultural within the ethnic kind. As an alternative, civic nationalism is presented as rational, voluntarist, individualist and political. Civic nationalism is considered to be directed towards universalism, although ethnic nationalism is considered to be focused on particularism. Consequently, the former frequently states itself as aggressive, xenophobic, intolerance and illiberal while the other represents tolerance, compromise and heterogeneity (Paul, 2020, pp. 169-172).

**Table 1. Ethnic versus civic nationalism**

	Ethnic	Civic
Identity qualities	Prescriptive Organic Collective Emotional Cultural Exclusive Closed Illiberal	Voluntarist Constructed Individualist Rational Political Inclusive Open Liberal
Contents	Birthplace Ancestry Race Religion Language/Accent	Territory Citizenship Rights Political and civic institutions Law Socio-political values Political ideology

**Source:** Paul, D. E. (2020). The “Civic” Road to Secession: Political Ideology as an Ethnic Boundary Marker in Contemporary Scotland. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, p.170.

Even though Kohn categorized the nationalism as civic and ethnic, it seems that there is an ongoing discussion in this classification. Some scholars argued that ethnic nationalism also known as ‘Eastern’ was exist in Spain, Belgium and Ireland. The ethnic and civic classifications have been characterized again in this regard, because, most scholars argued that nationalist movements are not entirely ethnic or civic. Even the most prominent examples of civic nationalism, the United States and France have a significant cultural dimension (Lecours, 2000, p. 155). In the light of information given above, the case of Scotland will be examined and presented on chapter five.

### 3.3. NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

Thousands of years of global political balance between India, China, Middle East and Europe did not vanish overnight. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the decline of feudalism resulted in the consolidation of central power. With the decline of feudalism came the transition to capitalism, which resulted in the emergence of nation states. The great monarchs of the 16th and 17th centuries were unable to build and sustain powerful governments that were required in the 18th and 19th centuries. Only nation states could develop such powerful regimes. The period of monarchs has past and the spirit of the era has shifted to those of nation states (Sander, 1989, pp. 141-144). In political terminology, the nation and the state are similar. Nonetheless, the nation with a common origin, at least shared a common language, culture, history is often referred to a political community. The nation state was better to fulfil the functional necessities of social, cultural and economic transformation of the governance than previous systems and by this transformation, the nation state was achieved success in history (Habermas, 2005, pp. 15-19).

The idea of liberalism has shaped and dominated the major events of the 18th and 19th centuries. The origin of Liberalism in political context has emerged from the need of a creating a sort of functional and steady relations between the rulers and the ruled. The American Revolution 1776 paved the way to form a public opinion in France among the intellectuals. The expansionist policies like ‘American Revolutionary War’ of the monarch in France were created a great burden in the economy. The Monarchy was on the edge of bankruptcy and that is why this atmosphere led to the meeting of ‘Estates General’ which was a legislative and consultative assembly consisted of the nobility, clergy and commoners. In some respects, the meeting marked the beginning of the revolution period. The French Revolution was the period which started with the Estates General of 1789 and ended in 1799 along with the formation of the French Consulate. This was the war against the monarchy with the demands like; limiting the powers of the monarchy with a constitution, regulating and reducing taxes, lowering the domestic tariffs and the freedom of press. On the following months of the meeting, the citizens rebelled and demolished the Bastille prison, which was regarded as a symbol of despotism in those days. Following these developments, The National Constituent Assembly first established the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The document was declaring the human civil rights including; equality, freedom of speech and press, right to have private

property, fair taxation, and right to be a civil servant and so on. These ideas were revolutionary and they affected people all around Europe. Prior to this new era, old regimes were regressing and with the French Revolution, nationalism gained a political dimension, causing multinational states to become unstable (Sander, 1989, pp. 149-168).

The 15 years of Napoleonic wars of French revolutionary armies brought the spreading the idea of nationalism and liberalism throughout the Europe. Following the wave of revolutions that swept Europe in 1830, nationalism arose in Belgium, France, Italy, and Poland. For example, German nationalism arose as a reaction to the Napoleonic project's forced universalization initiatives. In the same years, a strong movement of nationalism emerged in Poland, which was under Russian occupation. Hungarians, Czechs, and Serbs revolted against the Austrian Empire in 1848, bringing the nationalist movement to Central Europe. Contrarily, one of the first models of expansionist nationalism was the Pan-Slavic movement in Russia. Revolutions of 1830 came out as the romantic nationalistic fractions and with the 1848 revolutions were republican revolts against the monarchies. However revolts were eliminated and nationalist and democratic dreams were ruined as a result. Therefore, the industrial and the democratic revolutions through the 1850s accelerated to a new era (Sander, 1989, pp. 171-175).

People in Europe may be considered religious until the 15th century, but by the 19th century, they were becoming patriots. Nationalism evolved into aggressive form since the turn of the 20th century, based on racist doctrines rather than national characteristics. This extreme form of nationalism can be described as populist power centred based on the ideology of the leader. Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany were two examples of aggressive nationalism. Following World War II, the impact of nationalism in Europe have declined as a result of the rising interdependence of European states. Furthermore, world wars ushered in a period of ideology and geopolitics known as the Cold War. In 1949, the United States formed the NATO military alliance to counter Soviet dominance and aggression. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union created the Warsaw Pact in 1955 to response to NATO (Sander, 2017). Nationalist spirit of the 19th century was no longer influential as before. Mutual armament, ideologies, blocs occupied a central position in international affairs and politics. Specifically in Europe, starting with the European Coal and Steel Community, the idea of supranationalism came to the spirit of the time. Despite the weakening of the nation state model, nationalist movements still

continue to exist by changing their forms and subject. Scotland nationalism could be one of the forms of this model. Even though Scotland has long history on will of independence, latest events like Brexit seems to have an effect on the rise of Scottish nationalism and in chapter five it will be scrutinized.

# **CHAPTER 4. THE UNITED KINGDOM AND BREXIT**

## **4.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE UNITED KINGDOM'S ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES**

The United Kingdom's accession to the European Union will be examined in this chapter, beginning with attempts in the 1960s to become a member of the European Economic Community. However, the process was delayed for the UK due to France's vetoes. The United Kingdom first applied to the European Community in 1961 and 1963, the French President General de Gaulle announced the veto of Britain's first application. On the other hand, at the time of first accession negotiations, the UK government had specific concerns about losing its benefits of the Commonwealth in terms of economic and monetary relations. That is why the UK decided on a number of conditions in order to keep Commonwealth consisted, even there were campaigns against the UK's accession to European Communities by the Commonwealth Industries Association. Additionally, at the end of the 1960s relations between the UK and the Commonwealth were decreased and keep decreasing during the 1960s. With the Commonwealth link, it became clear that, cannot provide Britain with everlasting diplomatic support or an economic system that might boost British influence and prestige in the post-war era. The relationship between Britain and its empire and Commonwealth then saw a steady separating from its former colonies. This meant a reluctant acceptance of the forces that were driving Britain and the Commonwealth apart yet, as time passed on, it became lack resistant (Hollowell, 2003, pp. 59-61). As a result, European Community was more promising in terms of economic cooperation and investment. Despite the veto of France and concerns on the Commonwealth, economic rise of the European Economic Community became more beneficial for Britain. Especially France saw Britain's accession to the EEC as a chance to balance the Germany's power in the community (Wall, 2008, pp. 1-17).

Britain's monetary commitment to the Community budget and involvement in the Common Agricultural Policy was the most controversial issues. These issues were not clarified correctly, that is why, and at the end of the 1980s, Thatcher government had to deal with the problems after many years. Another problem was the budget issue of the



United Kingdom. There was a risk of a larger bill of Britain if they join the European Community which was expressed by the member states during the time. Even France offered to pay the UK's whole contribution as soon as it joined the EEC. Britain had to pay large amounts to the EEC in agricultural fees because for EEC it was important to establish an internal market and that is why this financial rule was applied by the Community to its members. Because the UK imports the majority its food from non-EEC countries at lower prices, the fees were outrageous. The European Agriculture Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) provided a small return on investment because the UK's agricultural sector was becoming less relevant to the national economy. The United Kingdom tried all it could to achieve a decrease in its contribution because they felt abused by the Community's funding process and lack of fair return. However, at the end of negotiations between the French President Georges Pompidou and the British Prime Minister Edward Heath, Britain agreed on the contribution to the EEC's budget in 1971 (Wall, 2008, pp. 18-40).

Another component of the negotiations was the currency of the United Kingdom. The Commission emphasized the issue to the consideration of the negotiators. In the longer run, France expected the pound sterling to be phased out as an international reserve currency because it has weakened for some time and there were continuing income and expenditure imbalances in the United Kingdom together with large foreign debt. Besides, in the monetary region, Britain did have close financial ties with the Commonwealth countries. Eventually, a deal was made on the role of the pound as well as the amount and involvement of the British contribution. The adopted text contained some uncertainties that would cause the UK to reopen the topic of their commitment in the 1980s (Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe, 2017, p. 3).

In 1971 House of Commons of the United Kingdom voted to join the European Economic Community. Even though there was a division in the parliament, a yes vote was achieved and on 22 January 1972, Britain signed the Accession Treaty in Brussels. The House of Commons again announced its support for accession on 13 July 1972 and later in September House of Lords got on board too. On October 6, the Queen gave her Royal Assent to the United Kingdom's accession to the European Community that came into force on January 1, 1973 (Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe, 2017, p. 4).

## **4.2. EUROSCEPTICISM IN BRITAIN AND BREXIT**

Brexit is the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community. In this chapter, Brexit process and its history will be examined in general and the position of the political parties will be mentioned. Following the referendum in June 2016, 51.9% of citizens voted in favour of leaving the European Union and the Brexit process started (BBC, 2016).

Since the United Kingdom joined the European Union in 1973, the British people have been Eurosceptic ever since. As a matter of fact, there was another referendum about containing the membership of the union in 1975 just after they joined. In the 1970s Arab-Israel War resulted in the global oil crisis which affected the European economy excessively. The crisis also affected Britain negatively and at the beginning of the 1970s UK had 13 per cent inflation. These developments have raised doubts in administration and their domestic policies. In 1974 UK's general election The Labour Party promised in their campaigns people would decide whether to remain in the EC. The results of the general election were not enough to form a majority government of Labour. Harold Wilson became the Prime Minister but he refused possible coalitions and resigned and even called for early elections. And in October 1974 Wilson's Labour Party got the majority and formed the government. In 1975, the United Kingdom European Communities membership referendum held whether the UK should stay in the European Community which was resulted in 'yes' by 67.2 per cent (Küntay & Ertuğral, 2017, pp. 77-134).

Despite the fact that two-thirds of the electorate voted in favour to remain in the EC, Britain's position toward membership weakened in the coming years and Euroscepticism was part of British politics through the 1980s. Especially Margaret Thatcher was very influential in this regard (Koller, Kopf, & Miglbauer, 2019, p. 2). When Thatcher came into office in 1979, she was very concerned about the UK's budget imbalance in the EC. Euroscepticism originated during the Thatcher era, when the idea of economic policy divide between the UK and the EC being maintained. The British budget problem was raised several times during the European Council meetings in 1979 and 1984. A significant proportion of the European Community's budget was used on agricultural funding. Since the UK imports its goods from the outside of the European

Community and had a limited agricultural sector, UK made a significant contribution to the EC budget while receiving a disproportionately small share of the revenue. Even the problem remained until in the last years of Britain's membership period (Küntay & Ertuğral, 2017, pp. 94-97). Thatcher was in favour of retreating from the critical EC agreements and even claimed that the common currency of the community Euro could be a mistake. In the 1989 EC parliamentary elections, the Conservative Party has expressed negative views on European Community frankly. However, the Labour Party declared its support of European integration. Many people both from the UK and the EC were sceptical of giving control to their own currency to the European Central Bank in Frankfurt. There was a fear that Germany will control the European Monetary Union and the monetary policies (Küntay & Ertuğral, 2017, pp. 100-101). Conservative under Thatcher were sceptical of European integration but they never opposed it directly. The Labour Party similar to Conservatives, divided on European integration as supporters and oppositions. Nonetheless, it can be said that with the leadership of Neal Kinnock, Labour Party became more pro-European in the 1980s (Mölder, 2018, p. 155).

After the Thatcher period, John Major became the leader of the Conservative Party at the beginning of the 1990s. With the effect of the global financial recession at the beginning of the 1990s, he took over the administration during the stagnation period in Britain. Despite the effects of the financial crisis, the Conservative Party with the new leader John Major came into power in the 1992 general elections. Major gave importance to the relations with the EC and even supported the idea of European integration. However, he gave importance to their monetary and economic system while he aimed to protect the United Kingdom and be advantageous. In those terms, Major was following the footsteps of Thatcher and gave no compromise. In short, economic policies during the John Major era formed as the basis of the European scepticism of Britain in those years (Küntay & Ertuğral, 2017, pp. 102-103). As a matter of fact, after Maastricht Treaty was concluded, other members of the EU developed a dilemma on integration as well. Some of the nations has supported the idea of security and defence within the Union but other nations tended to keep defence issue out of the Union and instead, they rely on individual and NATO capabilities.

After 18 years of Conservative government Tony Blair's Labour Party came into power in 1997. To integrate with EU policies, the phase of specialization in issues such

as the climate, human rights and the security became the focal points in these years (Küntay & Ertuğral, 2017, p. 104). Blair has started new initiative called 'Third Way Policy' in search of a clear path to be followed by Europeans, distinguishing itself from both European social democracy policies and liberal free market policies. Britain has gone from being a problematic member country of the EU to a natural member country as a result of the Blair's policies following the UK – EU relations. This third way of the Labour seen as including shaky economic model for public services which had many risks in terms of economy (Wright, 2003, pp. 31-47). Throughout 1990s, especially during the first years of the Blair administration, Britain resisted Franco-German efforts to encourage and unified EU path to collective defence. The Iraqi intervention of 2003 was another breaking point which created a disagreements among the Europe. The relations of United States with the continental Europe was effected negatively. However Blair cabinet went along with the United States during this emerging security dilemma (Mölder, 2018, pp. 160-161).

The Conservative Party in the UK has long stood for opposing views on European integration, but they have never been take a powerful Eurosceptic stance until the Brexit movement began. Minor parties such as the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) were already representing aggressive ideas about the European Union. UKIP was founded in 1993, after the dissolution of the Anti-Federalist League which was a small group of Eurosceptic organisation. UKIP achieved its first victory in 1999 European Parliament elections with three seats. Support for UKIP grew dramatically following the European Parliament elections in 2004 with 12 seats became the third UK party together with the Conservative and the Labour. UKIP's success in the European Parliamentary elections also effected the Eurosceptic tendencies in the Conservative Party. UKIP's success inside the United Kingdom however came later because of different voting systems. First entry of the UK Independence Party to the House of Commons was in 2015 where the UKIP got 12.6 percent of the total votes. Aside from conventional British Euroscepticism, a new wave of nationalism increased in UK with the rise of the UKIP. Starting from 2006, UKIP leader Nigel Farage and the party has seek for supports of working class who were economically depressed and saw Eastern European immigrants as a threat to their jobs and incomes. Nigel Farage was successful in broadening the social base of Eurosceptic movement and particularly the English nationalism risen. England, particularly its

country side were influenced by local nationalism a lot and created a root for the pro-Brexit voters in the 2016 referendum. Nationalism took the lead in British identity politics and a stronger foundation for anti-integrationist sentiments emerged during the Blair-Cameron transition because of the security and economic threats for the United Kingdom (Mölder, 2018, pp. 162-171).

In 2005, David Cameron elected as the new leader of the Conservative Party. Although Cameron had a more liberal approach to the Conservative Party, he emphasized the necessity of modernisation within the party in his leadership campaign. He also believed in the requirement of human interventions and the spread of democracy like Tony Blair (Mölder, 2018, pp. 167-170). Cameron became the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in the 2010 general elections with 306 Conservative seats in the House of Commons. Along with the Cameron cabinet, the negative attitude of the United Kingdom toward the European Union started to rise and the call for leaving the EU became more prominent (Küntay & Ertuğral, 2017, pp. 112-114). Nonetheless, at the beginning, nobody could have predicted that Cameron would lead the United Kingdom to Brexit. The rising performance of UKIP enhanced the Eurosceptic sentiment in the Conservative Party which was forcing David Cameron to pursue decisive policies on European Union. “British position on European integration has always been exceptionalist and all the governments from Tony Blair to David Cameron have been not able to overcome the natural otherness the British electorate feels towards the continental Europe” (Mölder, 2018, p. 19). Along with the determined Euroscepticism in the Conservative Party pressured the administration to change Britain’s policy of the EU and this provided an acceleration of the EU referendum in the agenda. Apart from that, since the 2008 global financial crisis and following the Euro-zone crisis had a huge impact on European Union’s consistency. The United Kingdom also affected by this crisis naturally even though they were outside the Eurozone, they experienced it negatively. This crisis was creating suspicion against European integration in Britain and other member countries as well. Later followed by the migration crisis, a discourse against the European integration was came into sight and promoted as a threat to British sovereignty. These discussions on European Union was not only about leaving the EU instead, but there was also a necessity for reform inside the EU as well. According to European Commission President at that time Jean-Claude Juncker, finding a solution to the British dilemma and

its problems were crucial in terms of determining the future of the crises in Europe. At first, Cameron's priority was to regulatory reforms inside the European Union but if it could not succeed then leaving the EU was the argument (Mölder, 2018).

On January 23, 2013, David Cameron gave a major speech wherein he announced the decision to call a referendum on Britain's withdrawal from the European Union if the renegotiation process for renewed membership terms fails. In his speech, he pointed the Britishness as a representation of an island nation whose identity is defined by figures of an independent nation who are fond of their sovereignty. He referred to Europeans as neighbours who live close to the island but not in Britain. He never described the United Kingdom as a member of Europe or as an outsider of the Union. Cameron agreed that the EU has accomplished its first aim of ensuring peace within the Union but the ultimate goal of the Union is to ensure sustainability (Cameron, 2013).

Following the Conservative Party's victory in May 2015 general elections, Cameron declared a 'new settlement' for Britain in Europe and pledged for agreement with Brussels. 2015 party manifesto also included the 'straight in-out referendum of the European Union by the end of 2017'. David Cameron completed the deal with other members of European leaders on 27 February 2016 and set June as the referendum date for the EU membership. The government was confident which could manage to win the referendum. All the major parties in Parliament voted to stay in the EU including the main opposition party Labour. Furthermore, trade unions, foreign leaders, international organisations and business was in remain side too. However during the campaign period, Cameron's Conservative Party was divided including cabinet members and former Mayor of London and former Foreign Minister and now Prime Minister Boris Johnson campaigned to leave the EU. The Media also were split in stay or leave vote. There were two official campaigns, 'Britain Stronger in Europe' and 'Vote Leave' and the discourse was the economy versus immigration. Whether you vote to remain to prevent the economic risks of Brexit or vote to leave to 'Take back control' of British borders, law-making and preventing immigration. The discourse of immigration lead by the leave campaigners seen as a 'Project Hate' by remain campaigners. According to the campaign media reports, both sides were successful in setting the agenda which led the news coverage toward the economy and immigration (Hobolt, 2016, pp. 1261-1266). On 23 June 2016, United Kingdom asked the electorates 'Should the United Kingdom remain a

member of the European Union or leave the European Union?’ resulted 51.9 per cent voted to leave and 48.1 percent voted to remain in the referendum with 72.2 per cent turnout. Apart from that when we analyse the regional results; 53.5 per cent of voters in England, 44.2 per cent of voters from Northern Ireland, 38 percent of voters from Scotland and 52.5 per cent of the voters from Wales voted to leave the European Union (BBC, 2016). These numbers demonstrate to us, Scotland and Northern Ireland believed in the importance of European integration largely and that is why the majority of the electorates voted to remain in the European Union.

### **4.3. ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF UNITED KINGDOM**

As it is known, to understand the impact of Brexit on Scotland, first of all, the pros and cons of the regional state of the United Kingdom should be analysed very well. For this reason, this chapter will focus on the explanation of the administrative structure of the United Kingdom especially Scotland’s place in this structure will be analysed.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland also known as the United Kingdom (UK) or Britain is a sovereign island country placed in north-western Europe apart from the continent which is made up of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It is considered the birthplace of modern parliamentary democracy as well as the Industrial Revolution. The United Kingdom is a devolved unitary state governed by a parliamentary democracy inside a constitutional monarchy. The Head of the state is the monarch currently Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Boris Johnson is the head of the government. Executive power is exercised by the British government with the consent of the monarch and transferred to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland as well. Legislative power is placed in two chambers of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Furthermore, legislative power was shared with the Scottish, Welsh parliaments and the Northern Ireland Assembly. The judiciary is independent and separated from the executive and legislative branches. The highest court is the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom (BBC, 2020).

Wales joined the English territory in 1282. Wales was divided between the Wales state of England and the smaller states formed in the rest of the region. However, this changed together with the Laws in Wales Acts 1536 and 1543. This law was given the opportunity to apply English laws to all parts of Wales. Furthermore, Wales’s citizens got

the equal right of English and were even represented in the Parliament. Wales and Berwick Act 1746 law regulated the implementation of all laws enacted in England to Wales. In 1707 with the Treaty of Union, the Kingdom of Scotland and Kingdom England were united under the name of Great Britain. The state's name and flag have changed as a result of the union but Ireland was ruled as the Irish lordship in the middle ages. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the laws of the Irish Parliament were subject to ratification by British parliament laws. Eventually, in 1800, the Irish Parliament and British Parliament were agreed on an Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. With the creation of the United Kingdom, a multi-national empire emerged and she kept both centralization and the territorial differences in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The kingdom preserved the system of these regions even after the unification and decentralization in administration were protected. Furthermore, the protection of the Scottish, Irish and Welsh identities were negative effects like a desire for more demands in terms of administrations (Tosun, 2018, pp. 73-75).

In 1885, Scottish Office was founded in the central government and the Scottish deputy became the head of this office. Moreover, in 1926 Office was recognized as a ministry and in 1939, the ministry moved London to Edinburgh which is the capital city of Scotland. In addition, Wales got this status in 1964 when the Welsh Office was founded. These policies of the United Kingdom could be seen as decentralization. All the powers regarding Scotland and Wales left to the Scottish Ministry and Welsh Office (Tosun, 2018, pp. 75-76). Moreover, in 1921 Ireland and the United Kingdom was separated and Ireland was divided into two states, Northern Ireland (UK) and the Republic of Ireland as a result of the Irish War of Independence. In 1922, Northern Ireland had the authority of home rule and following this policy, Northern Ireland established its Parliament in Belfast. The parliament had powers on declaring war and peace, military forces, taxes, postal service and many policies but administration of Northern Ireland did not use most of these power. These policy applications could be seen as a unitary state if multi-nationality was accepted in the United Kingdom (Gibbons, 2021).

In 1972 the United Kingdom suspended the authority of the home rule of the Northern Ireland Parliament and introduced direct rule from the centre, due to the civil disorder and violence in Northern Ireland. Over time, the rise of regional parties in Scotland and the problems in Northern Ireland in the 1960s triggered the discussions



about the devolution of power and at the end of the 1990s, Scotland and Wales had referendums on devolution and got the majority of votes to establish parliaments. Actually, this was not the first referendum for the devolution of power. The first referendum was held in 1979 but was defeated by the majority of the votes. In 1999, both Scottish Parliament and Welsh Parliament were founded. This devolution in the United Kingdom has granted a greater level of self-government to the Scottish and Welsh parliaments (Tosun, 2018, pp. 76-78). On the other hand, in Northern Ireland, there was a different process due to the conflict in Ireland. In 1998, Good Friday Agreement was signed to end 'The Troubles' which is the period of conflict in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland that lasted for 30 years. The agreement specified the sharing of powers, the right to rule itself, partial autonomy and equality in cultural life. The referendum was held in both Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. As a result of the referendum, Northern Ireland Act was established. The act created the future of government in the Northern Ireland and established the rules for cooperation between British, Irish and devolved assembly in Belfast. These concessions of regime change in the union would strengthen the local politics and this regional state arise as a result of the concession giving by the central government (Deacon, 2012, p. 205).

The Scottish Parliament has primary legislative authority over the delegated matters. Especially in 2012 on taxes following 2016 changes, the power of the parliament increased. The United Kingdom devolved powers to Scottish Parliament in areas like; education, local government, health, transformation, police force, agricultural duties, tax rates. Besides, the judiciary duties were given to Scottish Parliament as well. These executive duties were given to Scottish Parliament with the law of Westminster. Nonetheless, Westminster reserved power regarding foreign policy, defence, national security, economic and monetary system, energy, trade, industry and employment law, finance and constitutional issues. Even the right to hold a referendum in Scotland was granted by the law of the United Kingdom. However, the Edinburgh Agreement signed in 2012 were enable permission to Scotland to hold a referendum until 2014. The Scottish Parliament passed the referendum legislation in 2013 based on the temporary authorization giving by the Edinburgh Agreement and referendum held on September 18, 2014. The result of the Scottish Independence Referendum was 'no' which reduced the chance to hold another referendum on independence, if the referendum resulted in a 'yes'

vote, it did not mean direct independence. This referendum would only have started a negotiation process between the Westminster and Scottish Parliament. Nevertheless, temporary devolution of authority which was given in the Edinburgh Agreement paves the way for future independence referendums (Tosun, 2018, pp. 187-192).

The United Kingdom is seen as the regional state which left the most autonomy to its regions in particular, the legislative and judicial powers of Scotland set an example for that. After all, among the European regional states, the United Kingdom has the most unitary structure. There is no region except of Scotland where financial autonomy is recognised but taxation and surcharge powers of Scotland is limited. As a result, it is clear that the regions remain financially interconnected to the central government (Tosun, 2018, pp. 200-203).

# **CHAPTER 5. SCOTLAND; ON THE VERGE OF INDEPENDENCE?**

## **5.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SCOTLAND AND SCOTTISH NATIONALISM**

It is a well-known fact that for this thesis, the examination of nationalism patterns in Scotland will be the main point. For this reason, in this section, the historical background of Scotland and Scottish nationalism will be presented. Scotland is part of the United Kingdom which covers the northern part of the island of Great Britain. It is almost occupying one third of the island surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean on the west and north side and on the east by the North Sea. Mainland Scotland has a 154 km border with England and the area include 78.789 square kilometres also contains about 790 islands. The most recent estimated population of Scotland is 5.463.300 (Clark, 2021).

Historic evidence indicates that there was a settlement in the area of Scotland since the beginning of the first millennium BC. The Romans preserved the earliest written documents about Scotland when they moved their legion to the Firth of Tay between 79-80 AD. The Romans attempted but failed to conquer Scotland then called Caledonia and constructed two walls, the Hadrian and Antonine Walls to prevent the northern tribes at ease in the second century. Between the third and ninth centuries, the Picts and Scots came from Ireland and gave the country its name. Moreover, when the Angles, Britons and Scandinavians arrived in Scotland they fought one another and sooner or later established a single kingdom called Alba which is the Scottish Gaelic name for Scotland. Meanwhile, Christianity became popular in the region and the Kingdom of Alba strengthen through the eleventh century (Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 2004, p. 9).

In the late thirteenth century, Alexander III died suddenly in 1286 and left no successor and the kingdom confronted with a catastrophe. King of England Edward I seized the chance of extending his rule to Scotland and this was the beginning of the Wars of Independence (1296-1328) which is the series of military campaigns between the Kingdom of Scotland and the Kingdom of England (Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 2004, p. 9). During this period, Scotland created several stories and heroes

that the Scots will remember for long years. In 1297, one of the main leaders of Scottish resistance William Wallace led an army of 'common folks to overthrow the oppressive English king. Wallace defeated the English at the Battle of Stirling Bridge (1297) and was appointed as the Guardian of Realm. Later England defeated Scotland at the Battle of Falkirk (1298) and Wallace resigned from Guardian of Scotland. After many years, the English captured Wallace and beheaded him in London on 1305 (The Royal Family, 2016). Later Robert the Bruce continued the struggle to sustain the independence of Scotland. Bruce commanded the Scottish army in 1314 the Battle of Bannockburn resulted in a victory of Scotland. The victory was one of the depicting moments in Scotland's history. Meanwhile, there was pressure from the Catholic Church too however Scottish nobles sent a letter to the Pope to proclaimed Scottish independence from the English king in 1320. This document is called the Declaration of Arbroath (Ichijo, Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe, 2004, p. 9).

Scotland had close relations with France and the Netherlands during the middle ages. Especially with France, there were military alliances, cultural and intellectual exchanges and trade as well. Queen of Scots Mary (1542-87) for instance was raised in France and was married to the French king. Nonetheless, after her husband died, she returned to Scotland and brought Scotland many controversial histories because she was a Catholic. In 1568, the Catholic queen was overthrown and escaped to England. Elizabeth I of England later hanged her in 1587. About this period, the conflict between Scotland's Lowlands and Highlands became more apparent (Ichijo, Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe, 2004, p. 10).

In 1603 after the death of Elizabeth I of England who was the last monarch of the Tudor dynasty, James VI of Scotland came to the throne. In 1603 with James VI, three thrones Scotland, England and Ireland became a personal union under a single monarch. James VI was now James I of England. The pressure of Scotland to join England increased a lot during the Stuarts reign. Thereafter, there was a conflict between Episcopal monarch (Charles I) and a Catholic monarch (James VII) which led to two revolutions. The Scottish Parliament proclaimed Charles I's son Charles II as monarch because Charles I was executed. However Scottish army was defeated by Cromwell who was the English general during the English Civil War. The British Monarchy was recovered within a decade but later Catholic James VII was in conflict with both England and

Scotland. Later English Parliament proposed the throne to William of Orange who was a Protestant. He was married to Mary daughter of James VII. Thereafter the Scottish throne was given to William and Mary the next year (Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 2004, p. 10).

In 1707, the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England was passed by the Scottish Parliament. The kingdoms of England and Scotland became a single sovereign state known as Great Britain. Queen Anne was in the reign during this period and she continued to reign as Queen of Great Britain and Ireland until 1714. This treaty is seen as the takeover of the Scottish Parliament by the English Parliament. On paper, both parliaments were abolished and new British Parliament was born. The union was controversial in Scotland, and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 brought the country's resistance to the climax. This Jacobite Rebellion fractured Scotland, specifically in between Protestant Lowlands and Catholic Highlands, a divergence that had many further implications for Scottish society. The rebellion was suppressed and as a result, highland society was punished by a ban on playing the bagpipes and wearing the kilt (Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 2004, pp. 10-11).

By the eighteenth century, Scottish experienced the benefits of the British Empire. Also together with the industrial revolution, trade was increased, manufacturing was on the rise. The Eighteenth and the nineteenth century was golden years of Scotland. The Scottish Enlightenment was developed and presented by Scottish intellectuals. Scottish Enlightenment is the time in Scotland's 18<sup>th</sup> century which was characterized by the period of a philosophical and intellectual revolution that left Europe behind. The period is also known as The Age of Reason because the reason is the essence of the enlightenment period. During this period, economic, scientific, philosophical developments had an immense influence and effect in Europe and beyond (Broadie, 2003, pp. 1-7).

The Language was failed to be a distinctive element of Scottish identity, because, Scots did not experience an assimilation process by force of Britain. Instead, they experienced an assimilation process with immigration to England and other parts of the empire. Also, the Scottish identity was preserved, particularly in Scotland due to the 'Holy Trinity' of Scottish education and legal systems, as well as the national Scottish

Church (Kirk), which were preserved during the unification and maintenance of local authorities. In brief, in the context of Scotland, processes of integration under the British umbrella coexisted with processes of maintaining difference (Saylan, 2017, p. 95).

In the nineteenth century, Scotland experienced urbanisation fast and this comes with some consequences. There were new problems in areas of housing and public health and this was not seen only in Scotland but all over Britain. For such problems, the government thought that it would be a solution to increase the number of Scottish MPs in the parliament and they passed the law. Till the First World War, Scottish voters were devoted supporters of the Liberal Party however with the rise of the working class demonstrations increased and strikes occurred which resulted as organised labour replaced the Liberal Party. Scotland's economy was devastated by the First World War, and as it could rebuild from the crises, the Second World War broke out (Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 2004, p. 11).

Second World War brought destruction to the country however, with the end of the war Scotland seek for a new modern industry. The government's strategy failed to save Scottish businesses and this provided the Scottish National Party to rise and turn into dependable power in the 1960s. The 1960s there was also an important discovery in the area. On the North Sea oil and gas were discovered which was a big opportunity for the Scots in both economic and political terms (Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 2004, p. 11). With the pressure of the Scottish National Party, a referendum was held in 1979 which was to decide to support the Scottish Act 1978. Scottish. This was the Act of U.K. parliament to establish Scottish Assembly as a give to the legislature for Scotland but it failed in the parliament. The referendum resulted in favour of the Scottish Act 1978. Because of a turnout rate of about 64 per cent which claimed to represent only about 32 per cent of the registered voters on the referendum was not approved. As a result, Act was cancelled and Scottish Assembly could not establish. The SNP withdrew its support for the Labour government and did not back them in a vote of confidence held in the House of Commons in 1979 (Fielding, 2019).

In 1979 Margaret Thatcher came and the conservative government last 18 years in power until May 1997 while the pressure for home rule and independence increased during conservatives. However, the Scots could not get the outcome of a Scottish

assembly. In 1997 with the new Tony Blair's Labour government a referendum was held again for a creation of a Scottish Parliament after many years. Propose of the government to establish Scottish Parliament was resulted in 'yes'. Thereafter government rapidly introduced legislation to create a Scottish Parliament. The first Scottish Parliament elections were held in 1999 and the first parliament was convened. This is the first parliament of Scots since the Treaty of Union 1707 has signed (Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 2004, pp. 11-12).

Scotland has decentralized with roots dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Scotland's parliament was established in 1707. The current structure comes from the 1960s and 1970, when the Royal Commission on the Constitution proposed it. 1978 reform initiatives were rejected in 1979 with a referendum vote. The reform proposals were reintroduced on the agenda in the 1990s. In 1998, two constituent laws 'Scotland' and 'Wales' were passed by the British Parliament with the 1999 referendum (Çınarlı, 2011, p. 303).

The Scotland Act provides a general basis for Scottish decentralization in management. Unicameral Scottish Parliament was created with 129 members. 73 of these members are elected by using the simple majority system and 56 of these members are elected with the proportional majority system. These members are elected separately by voters. The Parliament's terms of office are four years and early elections may be held before the term ends if two-thirds of the total number of members approve. The Scottish executive body consists of the First Minister and the ministers which are appointed by First Minister. The First Minister is proposed by the Parliament and appointed by the Queen and ministers were appointed by the First Minister but approved by both Parliament and the Queen. However, the appointment and approval powers of the Queen is symbolic and the vote of confidence in government is the key in this context. Apart from that, there is a central government minister which is called the Advocate General for Scotland. Advocate General work includes advising the Scottish government on constitutional and legal issues, especially those concerning power-sharing. This authority's role is to monitor and control on behalf of the central government (Çınarlı, 2011, pp. 303-304).

Some scholars argues that the SNP and the broader Scottish nationalist movement are the world's leading examples of separatist civic nationalism in the modern era. The

SNP is certain about its dedication to a civic, not ethnic, identity. Furthermore, Scottish nationalism has been surprisingly successful in the short term. Scotland has developed among the most powerful and independent regional governments in the world since the restoration of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 (Paul, 2020, p. 167).

Modernist scholars like, Gellner, Hobsbawm and Anderson agree on nationalism as a modern phenomenon. The modernist argues that as nationalism generates nations and nationalism is a modern experience then there can be no pre-modern nations by nature. Gellner's point was the nation is a uniquely contemporary institution but some nations have ties to pre-modern cultural and ethnic entities which he referred to as 'navels'. In the case of Scotland, language did not play a significant role as he predicted rather a common cultural heritage was essential in this regard. Scottish nationalism was a reaction to the necessity of a largely similar labour force which was the result of industrialisation like in any other country (Ichijo, 2002, pp. 55-56).

Hobsbawm also argued that nations are the results of modernity and that is why debating the Scottish nation that existed in the middle ages is meaningless. He explains the success of nationalist mobilisation with the concept of a 'proto-national' bond. 'Proto-national' bond was the sense of common belonging before the age of nationalism. Moreover, one could argue that there was a proto-national bond in mediaeval Scotland but no Scottish nation in today's term (Ichijo, 2002, p. 56).

Tom Nairn illustrates nationalism as a modern experience and he highlights the immigration of the Scottish intellectual to the South which created the absence of Scottish nationalism in the age of nationalism. Furthermore, Benedict Anderson argues that by the seventeenth century, English was widely spoken in Scotland and the Union removed all the restrictions to scholars, politicians and more to make a visit to the centre. The modernist position could be summarized as there was not Scottish nation before the modern era (Ichijo, 2002, pp. 56-57).

Some historians stance in a different positions and claim that some nations including the Scottish nation existed in pre-modern ages. Scottish historians in this regard, argues that Scottish nations have existed since the mediaeval period. "William Ferguson, an eminent historian, declares that 'a Scottish nation undoubtedly existed by 1286' as he believes that the episodes of the Wars of Independence demonstrate the existence of 'a



well defined Scottish identity' ” (Ichijo, 2002, p. 57). Hugh Seton-Watson also categorizes Scotland as one of the oldest nations that emerged even before the concept of nationalism and the French revolution. He argues that the Scottish nation was rising during the times of the War of Independence through the sixteenth century (Ichijo, 2002, p. 57).

Academics are passionate about current Scottish nationalism as the finest example of the civic concept in the world. According to David McCrone, the idea of belonging is a part of the civic sphere rather than ethnic. Scottish national identity can be defined through aspects of political and social ideals instead of ethnicity or language. Michael Keating argues that Scotland's nationalist concept is primarily civic rather than ethnic and there is widespread consensus among the people who live in Scotland. Murray Pittock asserts that civic, structural discursive practices have left a strong effect on Scottish nationality. He underlines Scotland's insufficient framework for ethnic nationalism and the significance of such geographical borders as a fundamental motive of Spottiness. Scottish national identity, according to Smout is defined as a 'sense of place' instead of a 'sense of tribe' (Paul, 2020, pp. 170-171).

The Scottish National Party (SNP) argues that Scotland is one of Europe's oldest nations in its literature. The Scots were among the first to have a 'clearly defined' national identity with secure borders. Events like the War of Independence (1296-1328) and the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) were something many Scots believe clearly proves the existence of a Scottish national identity by the end of the thirteenth century. As a result, the SNP argued that the Scottish nation was founded in the middle ages, therefore, their view gives the cause of independence a legitimacy (Ichijo, 2002, p. 54). The Scottish National Party and the larger Scottish national movement are one of the famous examples of separatist civic nationalism in the modern era. The SNP stresses its dedication to a civic, not ethnic identity which also is supported by notable scholars. Scottish nationalism has demonstrated to be remarkably successful in a short time. Scotland has established one of the world's strongest and autonomous regional administrations (Paul, 2020, p. 167). “At the same time the Scottish government under the SNP has pursued ethnic policies such as promotion of native minority languages as well as outreach to the Scottish diaspora in North America and Australasia” (Paul, 2020, p. 168). After all, a proper civic nationalist movement makes it their priority to identify and focus on the civic symbols of

national identity. Nationalism was often associated with protectionism in the past, nevertheless, today with the globalisation process, the essence of nationalism is changing and it can be seen from the support of free trade by the Scottish nationalists. The Scottish nationalist does not embrace globalisation in a passive manner, instead, they even actively encouraging the formation of regional blocs and financial liberalization (Paquin, 2002, p. 58). Today given its level of organisation, mobilization capacity, voter support and electoral achievements, the Scottish National Party seem to be the primary political representative of the Scottish nationalist movement. In the following section role of the SNP in Scottish nationalism and independence struggle will be examined.

## **5.2. THE ROLE OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY (SNP) IN SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE**

The discomfort produced by the United Kingdom's centralization efforts in the mid-nineteenth century caused the Union to be questioned. The first response of the Scottish elites was to support the Liberal Party, which led the Home Rule movement against London. They began to organise the national level in the years between the two world wars. The Scottish National Party was formed in 1934 when the two nationalist parties merged (Saylan, 2017, p. 95). The National Party of Scotland and the Scottish Party merged in 1934 to form the Scottish National Party. Since the 1967 election, the SNP has had ongoing parliamentary representation in Westminster. However in Scotland, the SNP could not achieve electoral success until the 1970s, later in 1980s they experienced decline but through the 1990s party began to rise (Aberdeen SNP, 2010).

The SNP's rise has been motivated by dissatisfaction with the UK, with Scotland and Scottish identity accepting new importance, and the party's transformation into a credible option in the eyes of Scottish voters. While deindustrialization brought forward by Thatcher's economic structural transformation and deregulation damaged the Scottish economy, the service sector which has grown in size could only help a few regions. Scotland's selection as a model zone for the 'Community Charge' by the Conservative Party increased the dissatisfaction. This approach did not just damage the egalitarian view of the welfare state, but also encouraged the growth of Scottish nationalism. All these events created disappointment and anger in Scotland. Also following the discovery of oil in the North Sea in 1970s popularized the idea of self-determination among Scots.

Scotland's negative attitude toward the union was not only related to the economic difficulties because Scotland has a higher per capita income than the rest of the UK. Instead, the main reason for this dissatisfaction is an increase in political diversity. The idea that the Labour Party was unsuccessful in preserving Scotland's interests is also effective together with the policies of the Margaret Thatcher (Saylan, 2017, p. 96).

Throughout this era, the SNP experienced a fundamental organizational and ideological shift, while the idea of full control over Scottish institutions through the 'national independence' agenda promoted the party became more appealing. The SNP had firmly transformed into a pro-independence party by the 1940s, and ideological conflict arose inside the party following the 1979 devolution referendum. As a result, supporters of a left-of-centre approach won a majority over traditionalists who were favoured on focusing on gaining independence. The SNP's program contains post-industrial policy aspects such as environmental awareness and anti-nuclear attitude, promising that perhaps the wealth will be enlarged and divided equally in an independent Scotland. When considered in the context of economic structures, the SNP has significant benefits in terms of national identity formation, and the political party's character has strengthened as a result of the reformation (Saylan, 2017, pp. 96-97). Also the discovery of oilfield in the North Sea in 1970, 110 miles east of Aberdeen, appears to have enhanced Scottish nationalism (Keegan, 2010).

The position of SNP on European integration shifted in the 1980s as a result of several internal factors and the deepening of social and regional dimensions of integration. The loss of the devolution vote in 1979 injured Scottish nationalism. Eurosceptic tendencies and the neoliberal policies of the Thatcher government received a reaction from the Scottish side. As a matter of fact, according to Scottish nationalists, the EC has become the gatekeeper of territorial interests and social rights, particularly in light of its basic agricultural and regional policies. As a result, the unions, the Labour Party and the SNP became a supporter of the EC. In 1988, the SNP revised its independence aim to 'independence in Europe' considering European integration as a new opportunity framework that could use in order to achieve its eventual goal. The SNP's 'independence within Europe' strategy was founded on a number of practical reasons. For instance, it was aimed to maintain EC membership which could reduce the political cost of leaving the UK. It would reduce the economic cost of leaving by ensuring

safe passage to EC markets. Also, even small states like Malta were maintained alive and protected from financial struggles (Saylan, 2017, pp. 97-98).

The rise of the SNP pressured other Scottish parties to include the EU on their agenda. In this way, the SNP has been the driving force behind the Europeanization of Scottish politics. Even, pro-European independence policies provided the devolution reform and followed by the establishment of the Scottish Parliament (Saylan, 2017, p. 98). Since 2007, the SNP has been Scotland's ruling party, and since 2015, it has been the country's majority party in the UK parliament. The SNP government obtained a legally valid independence referendum from the UK parliament and came in less than 5% of winning it in 2014 (Paul, 2020, pp. 167-168). Scottish nationalism and its primary representative, the SNP, were the driving force behind the United Kingdom's decision to hold a referendum on Scottish independence in September 2014. Applying the EU integration process as a framework, Scottish nationalism raised the question of whether sub-state nationalist movements can achieve political freedom within the EU (Saylan, 2017, p. 92). The SNP model of the organization has long emphasized residency as the pillar of citizenship a potentially independent Scotland, as the 2014 independence referendum, SNP supported and enabled all EU and Commonwealth citizens residing in Scotland to vote (Paul, 2020, p. 171). On the following section, 2014 Scottish independence referendum will be examined, moreover, 1979 and 1997 devolution referendums of Scotland will briefly presented as well.

### **5.3. REFERENDUM FOR INDEPENDENCE**

The Scottish referendum of 1979 was a post-legislative referendum to determine if the Scottish people supported the proposed Scottish Assembly in the Scotland Act 1978. The act proposed to create a Scottish independent legislative parliament. As a result, there was a majority in favour of devolution with 51.6 per cent. Nevertheless, this overall only accounted for 32.9 per cent of the entire registered electorate. The Labour government claimed that the Act's conditions had not been completed and that is why Scotland would not achieve devolution (Taylor, 1997).

The 1997 Scottish devolution referendum held in Scotland on September 11, 1997, to determine if support for the establishment of a Scottish Parliament with devolved powers and tax varying powers was widespread. There were two questions asked to

electorates; one was about whether there should be a Scottish Parliament or not? And the other was whether Scottish Parliament have tax-raising powers or not? Scotland had largely voted in favour of establishing a Scottish Parliament, which would have tax varying powers. Turnout for the devolution referendum was 60.2 per cent, 74.3 per cent first question and 63.5 per cent for the second question, the results were yes. Thereupon, the British Parliament approved the Scotland Act in 1998 establishing the Scottish Parliament and Government. And the Scottish Parliament assembled in 1999, after its first election. Constitutionally, the Scottish Parliament is empowered to legislate in areas previously held by the Scottish Office, which include judiciary, police, local government, health care, housing, social services, education, transportation, arts and agriculture. Parliament has also been granted the authority to adjust income tax rates by up to 3 cents. Correspondingly, Westminster's 'reserved matters' including the constitution, foreign policy, national security, social security, defence, central economic affairs, immigration and citizenship remained (Saylan, 2017, p. 99).

The transition of power resulted in a fundamental administrative and political reorganization process in the United Kingdom, with far-reaching implications for the entire political system. After devolution in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales, the UK has become 'a regionalized unitary state'. The foundation of the Scottish parliament has historical significance for Scottish nationalists. Furthermore, there seems to have implications in UK politics as well. In the new structure, mainstream parties were obligated to become more responsive to Scottish interests under the new formation. The 2011 Scottish elections, wherein the SNP won the majority and the right to form a government on its own. It was defined as a significant milestone for Scotland. The SNP's coming to power, with its primary goal of Scottish independence, prompted the UK to call a referendum on the issue (Saylan, 2017, pp. 99-100). Eventually Westminster government, agreed to hold a referendum on Scottish independence and after royal assent, a referendum on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 2014 became official (The Newsroom, 2013)

The pro-independence and anti-independence campaigners divide into two major factions, the 'Yes Scotland' and 'Better Together' campaigns. At the level of political parties, the 'Yes' front included; the Scottish National Party, Scottish Green Party and Scottish Socialist Party. Moreover, the 'No' front included; the Conservative Party, Labour Party and Liberal Democrat Party. No campaigners highlighted that the country's

history was written together, and the institutions that made the United Kingdom special were built together. It was also underlined that the four countries had become increasingly connected through time and that their current interdependence was a valuable bond. This valuable bond should not be ignored in the referendum process. Additionally, they argued that Scotland was safe under the United Kingdom in terms of economy, security, foreign affair and EU relations. One of the arguments used in the no campaign was if Scotland became independent, it would lose its EU membership and have to reapply again. They suggested that the UK, as a member of the EU, the UN Security Council and NATO, is still the greatest option for Scots in terms of security and foreign policy capability (Saylan, 2017, p. 101). In brief, 'No' campaigners argued that Scotland should remain a part of the UK, citing the Union's achievements, and that independence would disrupt the existing order and bring uncertainty. Therefore the decision to become independent would lead to instability of Scotland (BBC, 2012).

The 'No' campaign was carried out by the government party, which was the Scottish National Party at the time. The Scottish Government published Scotland's Future and a White Paper in 2013, to define the process towards independence. Even they published the Scottish Independence Bill which was a provisional draft constitution for independent Scotland (Saylan, 2017, pp. 101-102). They argued that it would be Scotland's best interests if decisions about Scotland were decided in Scotland by the Scottish people. The decision to become independent will not be completely broken. Scotland will the UK but continue as a member of the Commonwealth. In fact, the Queen will remain the head of state of an independent Scotland governed by parliamentary democracy. Besides, they stressed the continuity of its membership in the EU and expressed its independence within Europe. Also, they pledged that independent Scotland will maintain NATO membership however nuclear weapons will be disarmed (The Scottish Government, 2014).

Nonetheless, anti-independence campaigners and the UK government have targeted the rhetoric and the promises of the pro-independence supporters. According to UK government reports, the agreement with London for the official monetary union of Scotland, which wants to keep the pound sterling, may not be accepted, and even if it is accepted, it would remain dependent on the Bank of England in some areas. Furthermore, they argued that it must be determined whether the geographical criterion or the

population criterion will be valid during the distribution of oil reserves and the volume of the reserves may be unclear. Additionally, the most contentious subject during the campaigning was EU membership. Because, Scotland's potential independence has created a unique situation for the EU, as there has never been a separation from any EU member state before. But the Scottish government argued that after the referendum, it would negotiate with the EU and maintain membership without a problem. The 'Better Together' campaigners advocated the premise that if Scotland became independent, it would have to apply again to the EU, and opposed 'Yes Scotland' campaigners claimed that they would declare independence as an EU member (Saylan, 2017, pp. 102-103). From the EU perspective, however, Scotland's independence is regarded with suspicion. Because, EU was not found of a multipart structure, furthermore, the UK was discussing its EU membership at the time that is why the EU was desiring Scotland would remain as a member of the UK as a pro-European country so this would increase the possibility of the UK remaining in the EU. Apart from few statements, the attitude of the EU was to observe events and regard the situation as a matter of internal affairs (The Herald, 2013).

Eventually, on Thursday, September 18, 2014, a referendum on Scottish independence was held with the question of 'Should Scotland be an independent country?'. In the referendum citizens of Commonwealth and EU countries over the age of 16 who resides in Scotland have the right to vote with some exceptions (Black, 2013). Scotland rejected independence by 55% to 45% with the 'No' campaign received 2,001,926 votes to the 'Yes' campaign's 1,617,989 votes. The 'No' vote gained a majority in 28 of Scotland's 32 local authority areas. Alex Salmond, Scotland's first minister at the time, urged for unity and asked unionist parties to deliver more power. Prime minister of the UK, David Cameron, expressed his gladness that the UK would remain united and that pledges to grant further powers would be implemented in full (BBC, 2014). Experts point to Scotland's anti-independence majority as evidence of the importance of the 'economy'. Because economy becoming more important as the country moves toward independence and separation would create economic uncertainty in Scotland (Küntay & Ertuğral, 2017, p. 135).

After losing the independence referendum, the SNP became the predominant representative of Scottish politics in London, proving wide support by winning 56 of the 59 Westminster seats reserved for Scotland in the UK general election in 2015 (BBC,

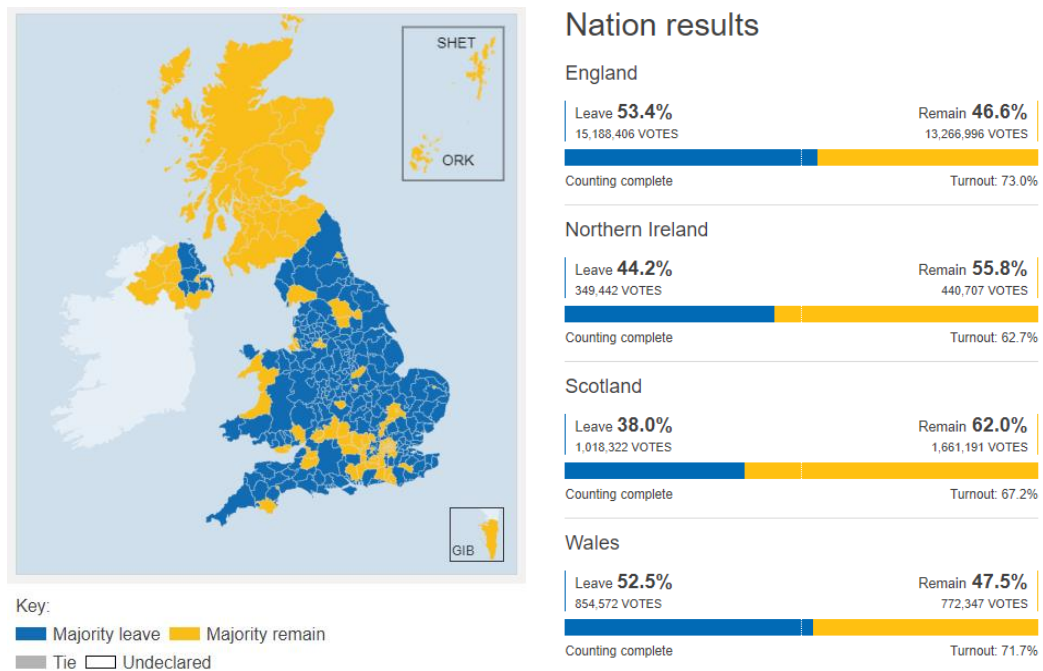
2015). The SNP's victory in the general election gave a significant chance for the party to extend its power in Scotland. It is clear that the chances of a new Scottish independence referendum are not negligible especially when it is considered along with the completion of Brexit. In the following section, the impact of Brexit on Scottish nationalism and the independence movement will be examined and reports, surveys, news and some data will be used.

#### **5.4. THE IMPACT OF BREXIT ON SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE DISCOURSE**

The United Kingdom officially left the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community on 31 of January 2020. Nonetheless, one can see that, as a result of leaving the EU, British society is split in two, regardless of class or political ideology. Scotland's strongly pro-European voters were angry that they were forced to leave the EU against their will (Dombey, 2020, pp. 103-104). Even Scottish First Minister Nicola Sturgeon tweeted that "Scotland will be back soon, Europe. Keep the light on." Ireland's Foreign Minister said that "not something to celebrate" and the UK-Ireland relations will be different in the future but "we wish them well". In Brussels, there was a relief that the Brexit process is ended, but still, it was met with disappointment (BBC, 2021). The European Union does not make an official statement on separatist disputes within member states, although they are not well received in Brussels, and countries experiencing such challenges generally support one another. During the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, Commission President José Manuel Barroso even stated that an independent Scotland might never be admitted to the EU. The Scottish Government has declined to join in discussions about the internal market starting from March 2019. The first option of the Scottish Government which is controlled by the SNP was for independence within the EU; the second was for the entire United Kingdom to remain in the Internal Market and Customs Union. In the absence of those subjects, it recommended a modified Brexit (Keating, 2021, pp. 9-11).



**Figure 1. 2016 UK EU membership referendum results**



**Source:** BBC. (2016). *EU Referendum Results*. Retrieved May 9, 2021, from BBC News: [https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\\_referendum/results](https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results)

The United Kingdom has voted to leave the European Union by 52% to 48% on the 2016 EU membership referendum. However, not all the parts of the UK desired to leave the EU by a majority. Looking at England and Wales, it appears that the majority of people want to leave. Nevertheless, when Scotland and Northern Ireland are examined, it appears that the majority of people want to remain in the European Union. Scotland voted to remain by 62%. For nationalists, this was clear evidence that Scotland needed to take control of its own destiny rather than relying on the UK and the Conservative government. Many people wanted a second independence referendum before the UK left the EU to prevent Scotland from being pulled out against its will but now, a new argument is the independence could allow Scotland to re-join the EU in the future. The SNP shares a pro-independence majority at Holyrood with the Scottish Greens has been claiming that its electoral success, combined with the Brexit vote, gives it a ‘cast-iron mandate’ to hold a referendum (BBC, 2021). However, the Scottish government need to have legal consent from Westminster, because, the basic act of calling for a referendum on the union would automatically lead to a constitutional change. Lawyers for the UK government clearly argued that the constitution is a reserved matter and constitutional change requires an agreement with Westminster. The previous referendum in 2014 was supported by a

‘section 30 order’ which was an agreement reached between the UK and Scottish governments authorized the creation of legislation by a member of the Scottish Parliaments. Nicola Sturgeon, the First Minister of Scotland, has asked for a similar deal for a new referendum, but has been rejected by repeated prime ministers, with Theresa May saying ‘now is not the time’ and Boris Johnson insisted that the 2014 independence referendum was a ‘once in a generation’ event (Sim, 2021). In March 2021, the Scottish Government has released a draft bill for a second independence referendum. They plan to hold a second referendum in the first half of the new legislative term. SNP argued that it will try to pass the bill if they get a majority in the elections however if they manage to be a partner with the Greens it is a clear majority. The bill proposed the identical yes or no question as in 2014, with a member of the Scottish Parliaments deciding on the date. And the UK government has strongly objected to a fresh referendum, which First Minister has stated is necessary to safeguard the validity of any vote. Sturgeon also has not ruled out taking the issue to the court to determine whether Holyrood can legislate for a legal referendum without Westminster’s approval (BBC, 2021). Just before the 2021 elections, Sturgeon remarked that there is no moral rationale for UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson to prohibit the independent nation from holding another independence referendum within the next five years. She also emphasized that the people of Scotland have the right to select their own destiny. Sturgeon further said that her party has no intentions to hold a separate vote on whether an independent Scotland should join the EU (Dartford, 2021). One of the point she raised in this context is the change in the circumstances with Brexit and argues that Scotland as dragged out of the EU against its will so this creates a new reasonable element to hold a new independence referendum in this context (Dettmer, 2021). When we focus on this discourse, it is possible to say that a country's right to self-determination has been taken away. When this situation is examined in terms of the relationship between Scotland and UK, it can be said that the Scottish people approach the situation with a negative perspective. In short, it is not normal for Scotland, a country whose electoral destiny has been taken away, to bring its separatist demands to the agenda again, as it has to approach this issue with its right to determine its own future. For this reason, according to this discourse, attitude of the UK government towards independence demand seems unfair.

Likewise, SNP depute leader Keith Brown (second in command of the party) expressed in the SNP's national conference, independence referendum only months away, so the SNP and the movement should prepare for the referendum. Conservative party could not ignore the will of people of Scotland's democratic determinations after all (Press Association, 2021). When the above discourse is examined, although England and Scotland are connected to each other as a system, the point of view of the Scottish people is different. Good governance of a country can be achieved by the happiness of the people, and in this case, given the separatist demands in Scotland, the government is expected to meet the demands of the people. The Scottish people, who wanted to determine their own destiny, wanted to leave the UK structure and expected definite steps from the UK in this direction. For this reason, the right thing to do is to fulfil the demands of the people and allow to have a new Scottish independence referendum.

Unionists inside Scotland also brought new arguments together with the pandemic, instead of concentrating on independence, Ms Sturgeon and her government should focus on combating Covid and improving public services such as health and education. They also claim that re-joining the EU might be a challenging problem for an independent Scotland and that it could result in a hard border between the two countries (BBC, 2021). Even, there is a division among the pro-independence front as well. Alex Salmond former first minister of Scotland, established the Alba Party in 2021 March, as a Scottish nationalist and pro-independence political party. He stated that the goal of the party is to achieve a 'supermajority for independence' in parliament. They state their aims as independence for Scotland as an essential and intense priority, achieved democratically through a vote of people resident in Scotland. The approval of a newly written constitution by the Scottish people is important for the newly independent country, protecting the rights, liberties and equality of all citizens before the law as well (Alba Party, 2021). Alba desired an early and speedy return to the European single market. It recommended that Scotland participate in the European Free Trade Association and obtain entry to the European Economic Area as a result. Then Scotland could decide whether or not to pursue EU membership and the added majority of Scots voted against Brexit in the 2016 referendum. They committed to pressing strongly for an independence referendum shortly following the month of elections. Just before the 2021 Parliament election, hundreds of people gathered in Glasgow for two different protests, one in support of

Scottish independence from the UK and the other in support of pro-Unionists carrying Union Jack (UK) flags. Independence was a major issue in this election once again after a failed referendum of 2014 Scottish independence referendum (Dartford, 2021). However, in the 2021 Scottish Parliament elections, Alba Party could only challenge for seats on regional lists but they lost anyway. The Scottish National Party gained 64 seats in the election, one less than a majority but there is an increase of one seat more it won in the 2016 election (Sim, 2021). The Scottish Greens, who were the SNP's preferred coalition partner last term, and the two parties are negotiating an official partnership deal that might lead to the Greens and some of its policy demands being implemented in government (Campbell, 2021).

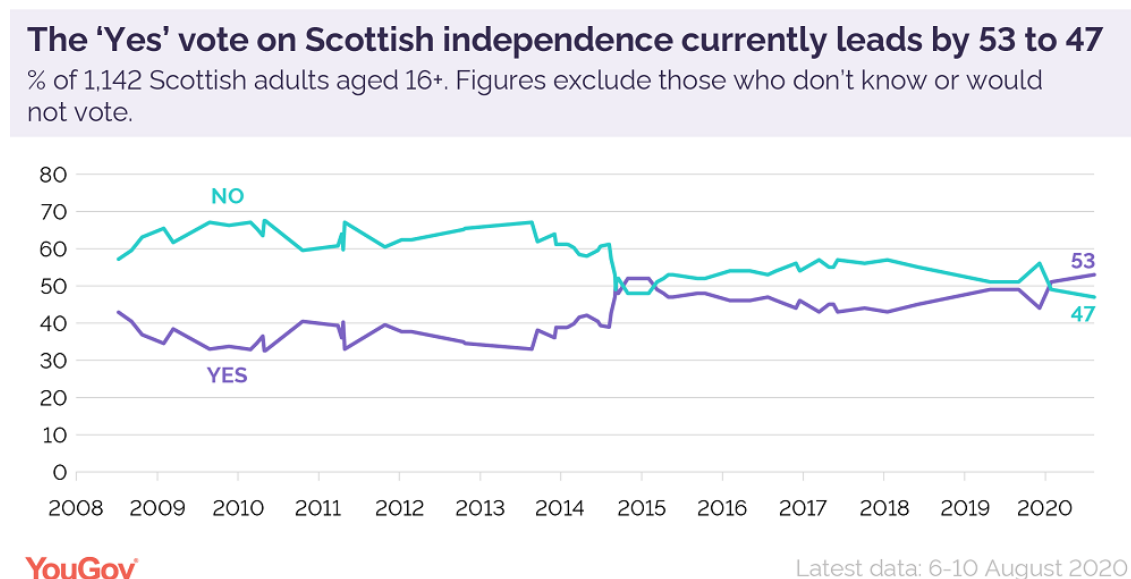
Furthermore, there is support for independent Scotland may be witnessed both inside and outside the country. More than 170 cultural figures from around the EU and the United Kingdom have signed a petition urging EU leaders to ensure Scotland's status in the union if it votes to leave the UK. In the 2016 Brexit referendum, not one Scottish district voted to leave, while Scotland as a whole chose to stay in the EU by 62 per cent majority. The Scottish parliament voted against the exit process at every point in the years that followed. However, Scotland, along with the rest of the UK was driven out of the European Union in 2020. So they argued that Europeans must always be believers in democracy and cooperation. That is why they urge the EU to show common sympathy with Scottish citizens and to support Scotland's democratic decision on its future (The Guardian, 2021). Despite widespread support from outside Scotland, the EU is unable to publicly demonstrate its support since Westminster permission is necessary to ratify the referendum bill. At the end of the day, this is a domestic matter and the EU does not influence since the UK has left the EU.

Gordon Brown who was UK prime minister from 2007 to 2010 argues that there is a solution to the problematic current structure one that offers each nation a voice and mobilizes the collective resources. The election results show a Scotland split into two parties in conflict, with one half pursuing independence and the other holding to the union. However Brown see is not two camps supporting and opposing independence but three. The third group is in the centre not supporters on either side and would determine whether 300-year-old union lives or dies rather, they want better cooperation between Scotland and the UK. In this way, he argued that Scotland and the UK can work together

again. They do not want to be pushed to choose between being Scottish and being British. Furthermore, he mentioned a poll to support his argument, done by the think tank Our Scottish Future, on the same day that 48 per cent of voters chose the SNP, 73 per cent of Scots desired stronger cooperation between Scotland and the rest of the UK (Brown, 2021).

When we examine the polls from different sources, no vote for is on the lead after the 2016 Brexit referendum but from time to time the ratio differentiate and goes back and forth. According to a poll conducted by YouGov in 2020 August, after eliminating those who claim they do not know whom to vote for or they will not vote, ‘Yes’ has 53 per cent of the vote and ‘No’ has 47 per cent. This is the highest lead of any YouGov survey on the subject, and it is fuelled by the fact that here out of ten 30 per cent of those who voted ‘No’ the first time and then remain in 2016 are now indicating they would vote ‘Yes’ (Curtis, 2020).

**Figure 2. Scottish independence polls**



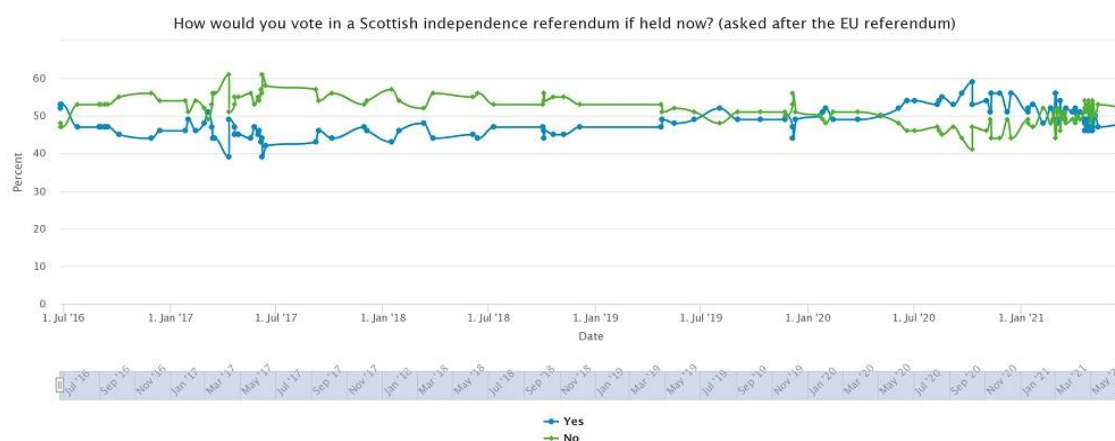
**Source:** Curtis, C. (2020, August 12). *Scottish independence: Yes leads by 53% to 47%*. Retrieved July 4, 2021, from YouGov: <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2020/08/12/scottish-independence-yes-leads-53-47>

According to another survey made by Savanta ComRes which was commissioned by The Scotsman newspaper conducted in April 2021, 41 per cent of Scots feel Brexit has ‘gone badly’ while only 16 per cent believe it has gone well. Meanwhile, 34 per cent stated it had been neither well nor bad. A total of 51 per cent of Scots indicated they

would accept the SNP’s plan for an independent Scotland to re-join the European Union, while 30 per cent said they would reject it. Moreover, 41 per cent of those who did not vote in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum now say that they are more inclined to vote yes if another referendum is conducted while 14 per cent say Brexit has made them more likely to vote No (Hutchison, 2021).

Also when we examine the poll results of ‘What Scotland Thinks websites which are run by ScotCen Social Research and part of NatCen, the UK’s premier independent social research organization, people asked ‘How would you vote in a Scottish independence referendum if held now?’ which is asked after the EU referendum starting from 2016 until the 2019 and 2020, there is a lead on ‘No’ vote to independence. Especially on the second part of 2020, the ‘Yes’ vote is on the lead clearly. However, in this figure, there is a decrease again for the ‘No’ votes and the latest shows that 48 per cent ‘Yes’ vote and 52 per cent ‘No’ vote to independence (ScotCen, 2021).

**Figure 3. Scottish independence referendum polls (asked after the EU referendum)**

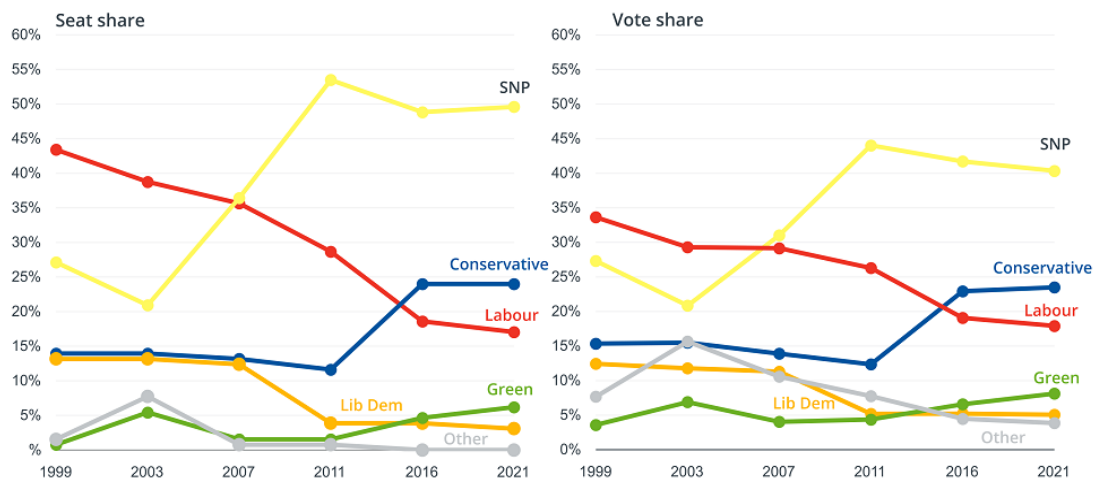


**Source:** What Scotland Thinks. (2021). *How would you vote in a Scottish independence referendum if held now? (asked after the EU referendum)*. Retrieved July 10, 2021, from What Scotland Thinks: <https://whatscotlandthinks.org/questions/how-would-you-vote-in-the-in-a-scottish-independence-referendum-if-held-now-ask/?removed>

When the figures and news are compared, the surveys appear to be similar. There is no the direct influence of Brexit on the polls of Scottish independence at the beginning, nonetheless, when we came closer to legal withdrawal day, there is an increase in the yes vote to independent Scotland. The poll shows that Brexit driving Scots towards independence but still, there is a controversy on the polls which goes back and forth.

It is predictable that support for the SNP has declined in parallel with support for ‘Yes’. The most recent Opinium, Panelbase, and Savanta ComRes polls reflect prior poll findings that support for one is now nearly familiar with support for the other. Meanwhile, there is no indication that Brexit is having a diminishing effect on people’s views toward independence. According to polls done since the beginning of February, 55 per cent of those who voted remain stated they would vote ‘Yes’ to independence, while 33 per cent voted ‘No’. That 22 point margin is similar to the 25 point margin seen in surveys a year ago. The second factor is perceptions of how the pandemic was handled, with significantly greater levels of support for the Scottish Government’s participation than for the UK government’s involvement prior appearing to persuade some people of argument for independence. In recent times, vaccination program has been implemented with the vaccine being bought by the UK government but north of the border has been the responsibility of the Scottish Government. According to Panelbase, 62 per cent feel Nicola Sturgeon is reacting effectively to the pandemic, while YouGov reports that 67 per cent say the Scottish Government is handling the pandemic well. It seems that Brexit is the initial reason for the rise in popularity for independence however pandemic may not be boosting support as much as it once did (Curtice, 2021).

**Figure 4. Percentage of votes and seats won by parties in Scottish parliament elections (1999-2021)**



**Source:** Sargeant, J., & Shuttleworth, K. (2021, May 21). *Scottish parliament*. Retrieved July 5, 2021, from The Institute for Government: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/scottish-parliament>

SNP as the major party on Scotland’s independence struggle, is better to examine the vote share of the SNP since the opening of the parliament. In the first two Scottish

Parliament elections, in 1999 and 2003, the Labour Party received the most votes and seats. However, it went down of a clear majority, forcing it to join a partnership with the Liberal Democrats in Scotland. The SNP improved their vote share considerably in the 2007 election, barely defeating Labour by 2 per cent of the vote and creating a minority government with the Scottish Greens backing. When we come to 2011, the SNP gained a majority of the seats in Holyrood and formed a majority government. And again in the 2016 election, the SNP was the most popular party winning 46.5 per cent of constituency votes and 41.7 per cent of regional votes but they lost their majority and formed a minority government again with the Scottish Greens. Following the election of 2021, hardly changed and no party won or lost more than two seats. The SNP gained one seat, bringing its total to 64, but fell one short of a majority. Nevertheless, the election resulted in a strong pro-independence majority in the Scottish Parliament, including the eight Green members (Sargeant & Shuttleworth, 2021). It seems that especially from 2007 SNP and the Greens ‘pro-independence parties’ have increased their votes and seats on the Scottish Parliament, but it does not seem a direct parallel between the 2014 independence referendum.

When the position of Westminster is examined, it is not welcomed to another independence referendum. Ministers said on March 2021 that the Cabinet Office which controls the government’s operations will establish a new headquarters in Glasgow while the foreign office announced the creation of 500 new positions at an existing East Kilbride office as the government seeks to relocate part of its functions to Scotland, at a time when support for Scottish independence is at an all-time high. Scottish nationalists want an independence referendum after the Scottish parliament election in May, but Prime Minister of the UK Boris Johnson said such elections should only happen once in a generation (Reuters, 2021).

In June, government leaders and ministers from Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland were summoned to a virtual four-nation summit, which Boris Johnson as well Chancellor Rishi Sunak and Cabinet Office minister Michael Gove. Following the meeting, Wales First Minister Mark Drakeford warned that if Boris Johnson decides to ‘steal powers and steal money’ from the Welsh Government, it could cause a breakup of the UK. Scotland’s First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, stated that the leaders were eager to collaborate on pandemic recovery, but that the ‘UK Government needs to listen and act



on key Scottish Government concerns'. Downing Street on the other hand stated that Prime Minister emphasized the significance of creating a structured and dialogue between the UK government and the devolved administrations. The Summit was framed as an olive branch following the governing Labour and SNP government's victories in national elections in Wales and Scotland (Duffy, 2021).

The Senior Cabinet member Michael Gove, who is in charge of fighting the campaign for independence, remarked that this is the wrong time for another referendum and he argued that he 'can't see' Boris Johnson granting a new Scottish independence referendum before the next general election in 2024. However, we know that after the pro-independence parties gained a majority in the Scottish Parliament elections in May, First Minister Nicola Sturgeon stated a second referendum was 'a matter of when, not if'. Michael Gove's response may increase the risk that the SNP would attempt to conduct a unilateral referendum without Westminster's consent but it would probably result in legal disputes in the courts (Flockhart, 2021). According to the Scotland Act 1998, 'the Union of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England' is a reserved matter of British parliament. That is why as I mentioned before, Scotland need to get a consent of the UK parliament in order to have a legitimate referendum and confidence of all parts who would be effected is needed. The international recognition is also an important factor to have legitimacy after the referendum because we have an example of Catalonia. When government of Catalonia held a referendum, central government of Spain said it was illegal and it led to huge crisis (McCorkindale & McHarg, 2020). Another point is the geopolitical risks for the UK because if Scotland leave the UK, the nuclear submarines located at Faslane royal navy base in Scotland would be shut down as the SNP is determined to closing this base if Scotland becomes independent. Another argument also spoken is the independent Scotland would become more vulnerable to Russian or Chinese influence and this would brought security problem both for the UK and Scotland because leaving the NATO debate is one of the important issues discussed in Scotland time to time (Ibrahim, 2021).

## CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

The United Kingdom is a country that has existed since 1707, first under the name of Great Britain, and later with the participation of Ireland in 1800, where citizens of different ethnic origins live together and are governed by a constitutional monarchy. The union was formed at the end of long years of wars and has further extended the kinship that was already based on the royalty. The unification of the countries has been to the benefit of the countries both in terms of economy and security. The fact that the UK is an island nation has been able to retain its culture and customs to some extent. The UK is consist of four countries, is seen as the birthplace of parliamentary democracy and the Industrial Revolution. The Head of the state is the Queen of the UK, Elizabeth II. The executive power is exercised by the British government with the consent of the Queen and is also delegated to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Legislative power is vested in the bicameral UK parliament and also shared with the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland assemblies.

Considering the history of Scotland's relations with England, there were long-lasting conflicts between the two kingdoms, even after the fact that the two royals had a relationship. However, with the Treaty of Union in 1707, two kingdoms were united and the conflicts gradually decreased and eventually ended. Along with the effect of the Industrial Revolution in the 18<sup>th</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> century, Scotland has benefited greatly from the union. The Scottish intellectuals who appeared afterwards with the Scottish Enlightenment made a great impression on Europe and the rest of the world in terms of economy, science and philosophy.

The Scots seems to have valued their independence and refused to obey the Kingdom of England before the 'Union of the Parliaments'. However, the agreement of the kingdoms and later the effects of the Industrial Revolution brought a mutual wave of immigration. Therefore, Britain had no assimilation policy but rather an integration which has resulted in an integrated island country. The Scottish identity and flag were preserved under the umbrella of British identity. Afterwards, as the nineteenth century evolved, new problems arose as a result of ascending urbanisation. But the central government found the solution to increasing the number of parliamentarians who were representing

Scotland. Later, the first and the second World Wars had a devastating impact on Scotland and caused new crises. The strategy of the Westminster and insufficient support could not be enough to relief to a Scottish business and market in order to heal the wounds of the world wars. It is seen that the rise and the reliability of the SNP increased in this period. The discovery of gas and oil on the North Sea in the 1960s brought hope to Scottish people. With the pressures of the SNP, the 1978 Scottish Act referendum was held and the majority was obtained to form a Scottish Assembly. Nevertheless, the establishment of the Scottish Assembly was prevented due to the low participation rate. Afterwards, the calls for home rule and independence increased during the Thatcher period. Eventually, in 1997, the permission of the Tony Blair government for referendum resulted in a majority to establish a Scottish Parliament and the government directly made the necessary law. In 1999 Scottish Parliament convened for the first time after 1707 and it was clearly a victory for the Scottish nationalists. Even, some scholars saw the SNP and the wider Scottish nationalist movement as the most prominent examples of separatist civic nationalism in the modern era. The SNP is consistent in its commitment to civic Scottish identity, rather than an ethnic identity. Scotland has built one of the successful and autonomous regional administration.

In this context, nationalism appears secessionist, but it is noted that ethnicity is not prominent in Scottish nationalism, and it looks that civil nationalism has become a priority. Symbols, a shared language, culture, and ethnicity are emphasized in ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalists show exclusion or inclusion based on origin and language. On the other hand, civic nationalism is founded on freedom, rights and equality and citizenship can be obtained by embracing the liberal foundations. In civic nationalism, there is no condition ethnically homogenous condition rather, it can be heterogeneous and the key is the liberal values. Citizens of Commonwealth and EU nations who reside in Scotland had the right to vote in the 2014 referendum with some exceptions. As a matter of fact, when the 2014 referendum was analysed, it can be seen that the SNP actively defended civic nationalism.

In other respect, when the Brexit process examined, Euroscepticism has existed since the United Kingdom joined the community. The UK became a member of the union in 1973 but just 2 years later, they conducted a referendum on EU membership. Later, in the 1970s and 1980s the Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government had sceptic views

towards the union. Also, they expressed their dissatisfaction with the management of the economy from the European Central Bank in Frankfurt. Thereafter, in the 1990s, with Tony Blair's Labour government, a positive atmosphere began to form in relations with the EU and new policies signed in favour of both sides.

Until the Brexit campaign began, the Conservatives did not have a Eurosceptic party policy agenda. However together with UKIP, classic Eurosceptic discourse left it to a new harsh wave instead. Furthermore, it is important to take into consideration the recent rise of nationalism and populism in Europe and around the world. In addition, the increasing wave of immigration waves has become an important argument that is used by UKIP. As a result of the pressures of the Eurosceptic wing of the Conservative Party and the UKIP, the 2016 Brexit referendum process was triggered and the process has begun with the yes vote in the Brexit referendum. As a result of long meetings and discussions between the UK and the EU, the transition process ended in January 2020 and the UK legally left the EU.

The UK countries were definitely affected by the scenario that arose as a result of Brexit and new discussions have come to the agenda like Irish border problems. On the other hand in Scotland, more votes came out to remain in the EU and this has become an important argument for the independence discourse which had already existed. The SNP prevailed in the May 2021 election, and if it acts together with the Greens, it will have a majority in parliament which could increase the chance of a second independence referendum. Although the British government claims that the time for a new referendum is not right or that there should be a referendum in every generation, the SNP and Scottish nationalists determined a new referendum on independence and it will take place sooner or later. However for a referendum, Westminster's approval is required, but if Westminster keeps ignoring the referendum calls, a unilateral referendum by SNP may be on the agenda. Nonetheless, this action can lead to legal problems and long trials. The best solution for the SNP and Scottish nationalists can do seems to be to put pressure on Westminster. Otherwise, the unilateral referendum decision could bring a similar situation to the 2017 Catalan independence referendum in Spain which was resulted in chaos and arrests.

Despite the fact that 62 per cent of Scots chose to remain in the EU in the referendum, UK still left the EU because leave votes were ahead of the overall. Scottish nationalists are trying to turn this argument into an important discourse in the continuing debate. Brexit appears to be having a substantial impact on Scottish nationalism and separatist rhetoric. Even though polls differ from time to time, it is seen that a new referendum will be held with the end of the pandemic. If this is truly necessary and beneficial to Scotland is a question in the minds. Some experts warn that especially in terms of the economy, independence would be more costly than Brexit. However, by joining the EU, these negative consequences can be minimized. Furthermore, the North Sea oil and gas sector will undoubtedly cause controversy, and the outcome cannot be predicted exactly. Re-joining the EU is a major issue because it does not seem possible to directly enter the membership again.

In the light of this information, it appears that Brexit has increased Scottish nationalism and separatist discourse, indicating that a second independence referendum is inevitable. In this context, Scottish nationalism appears to be a dividing power in a way. Although it is unclear if Scotland will leave the UK in the near future but political, social and economic factors suggest that Scotland will leave the UK in the distant future. Because, it can be seen that the ambition of establishing a Scottish parliament, which has been ongoing since the 1970s, became a reality in the 1990s. This process could lead to Scottish secession and gaining its independence, and following to re-application to the EU. However, the decline of the EU's claim to be a global power, Scotland's application to the EU again in the near future, can be seen from the EU as possible member alternatives. Although the EU's admissions criteria in the enlargement process are challenging, the union can demonstrate an 'accelerated' positive attitude in response to Scotland's application.

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