



School of Sociology and Public Policies
Departamento de Ciência Política e Políticas Públicas

The Opportunity Window for a New Scottish Referendum standing before the Brexit Aftermath

Alexandre Albuquerque Mauricio

Dissertation submitted as partial request to obtain the level of Master in International Studies

Professor Advisor:
Professor Riccardo Marchi, Auxiliar Professor
ISCTE- Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

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Abstract

On 18th September 2014, the Scottish citizens were able to choose between their country's independence and remaining inside the United Kingdom. On their unique and historic referendum, the results were agreed upon popular vote as it would be expected in a modern democracy. At that time, 55% of Scottish Voters choose to remain inside the United Kingdom against the 45% that choose Yes on independence. One would think that an event of such reach would settle the issue upon Scotland's Independence, however that would not be entirely true. The Losing side came forth with a more optimistic view upon their new goals.

Some years passed and finally in June 2016, the Scottish Nationalists had an opportunity showing up in the form of the European Union Referendum Act of 2015. This Act would enable the referendum that gave shape to Brexit, leaving the choice among the British citizens of being in or out of the European Union. On 23th June of 2016 the referendum took place and in the morning after the results were made public. The United Kingdom was leaving the European Union.

Inside the referendum results, was a surprising fact that gave way for the Scottish Nationalists a new opportunity to propose another independence referendum. The results, expressed that 62% of Scottish voters, choose to remain Inside the European Union. This large percentage, showed the will of the Scottish Nation to stay inside the European Union. Upon these facts, a debate rose on the matter of a proposed Second Scottish Independence referendum. Nicola Sturgeon and Theresa May clashed together into a fiery debate upon the need of the Scottish People and the resolving of the Brexit negotiations. Comparing the two Scottish opportunities on Independence is vital to understand under which circumstances is the New referendum viable and helpful to the Scottish Nation

Keywords: Scottish Independence, Referendum, Brexit, European Union

Resumo

No dia 18 de Outubro de 2014, os cidadãos escoceses foram dados a escolher entre a Independência do país e permanecer dentro do Reino Unido. No único e histórico referendo, os resultados foram aceites por voto popular como seria de esperar numa democracia moderna. Naquele tempo, 55% dos Escoceses escolheram permanecer dentro do Reino Unido, contra 45% que votaram sim a favor da independência. Era de esperar que um evento tal como este iria resolver o problema da Independência Escocesa, contudo isso não seria inteiramente verdade. O lado perdedor veio em frente com uma visão mais otimística em relação aos seus novos objetivos.

Alguns anos passaram até que finalmente em Junho de 2016, os Nacionalistas Escoceses tiveram uma oportunidade que apareceu na forma do Ato do Referendo de 2015 da União Europeia. Este Ato iria dar forma ao Referendo do Brexit, deixando a escolha entre os cidadãos Britânicos em permanecer dentro ou fora da União Europeia. Em 23 de Junho de 2016 o referendo realizou-se e os resultados foram feitos públicos na manhã seguinte. O Reino Unido iria sair da União Europeia.

Dentro dos resultados deste referendo, estava um fator surpreendente que daria aos Nacionalistas Escoceses uma nova oportunidade para propor outro referendo para a independência. Os resultados expressavam que 62% dos Escoceses, escolheram em permanecer dentro da União Europeia. Esta grande percentagem, mostrou a vontade do povo Escocês de permanecer dentro da União Europeia. Consoante estes factos, um debate surgiu na questão de propor um segundo referendo para a independência da Escócia. Nicola Sturgeon e Theresa May chocaram entre opiniões num debate intenso no qual se discutiu a necessidade do povo Escocês e a resolução das negociações do Brexit. Comparando as duas oportunidades Escocesas para a sua Independência é vital para entender em que circunstâncias e o novo referendo viável e prestável para a Nação Escocesa.

Palavras chave: Independência Escocesa, Referendo, Brexit, União Europeia

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1.INTRODUCTION

1.1 Thesis Object and Objectives

On 18th September 2014, the Scottish citizens were able to choose between their country's independence and remaining inside the United Kingdom. On their unique and historic referendum, the results were agreed upon popular vote as it would be expected in a modern democracy. At that time, 55% of Scottish voters choose to remain inside the United Kingdom against the 45% that choose Yes on Independence. One would think that an event of such reach would settle the issue upon Scotland's Independence, however that would not be entirely true. The losing side came forth with a more optimistic view upon their goals.

Shortly after at a post referendum stage, the Scottish Parliament was able to achieve devolution on some matters that were on the hands of the Westminster Government. This came within a promise made by David Cameron and the UK Government at a pre-referendum stage. By keeping their promise, they gave powers to create the smith commission. This commission gave more powers for the Scottish Parliament. However, the nationalists in the Scottish Government wouldn't stop thinking on independence for Scotland.

For the Scottish Nationalists, an opportunity showed up in the form of the European Union Referendum Act of 2015. This Act would enable the referendum that gave shape to Brexit, leaving the choice among the British citizens of being in or out of the European Union. On 23th June of 2016 the referendum took place and in the morning after the results were made public. 51.9% of voters choose in favor of leaving the European Union, and 48.1% on the remaining side and so it was settled, the United Kingdom was leaving the European Union.

Inside the referendum results, was a surprising fact that gave way for the Scottish Nationalists a new opportunity to propose another independence referendum. Inside the results of the Brexit referendum, were the results of the Scottish Nation on the same. The results, expressed that 62% of Scottish Voters, choose to remain inside the European Union. This large percentage, showed the will of the Scottish Nation to stay inside the European Union. Upon these facts, a debate rose on the matter of a second Scottish referendum. Nicola Sturgeon, the current leader of the Scottish National Party and first minister of Scotland gave the start on this debate, by stating that a new referendum for Scottish Independence was highly likely.

The voice of Nicola Sturgeon on her statement at the possibility of a new referendum, started a whole debate that gave rights and wrongs on the Brexit results, the past referendum and what was to be of Scotland on the Brexit aftermath. By acknowledging the possibility of a new referendum, I came into my Thesis Question. This was to understand on how did the Brexit results, created a window of opportunity for a new Scottish referendum and how did it differ from the 2014 referendum. My objectives to answer this question came across on providing a wide specter on the debate held by the window of opportunity on the possibility of a New Scottish Referendum, given by the Brexit aftermath. On the same objectives, it is important to consider the debate on the new window of opportunity while also aiming to give a comparison on the 2014 Scottish Referendum and the new second referendum window, given by the Brexit effects. By doing this comparison, I will address the differences between both opportunities and the debate that emerged from it, while also addressing the reasons behind the growing independence stance on Scottish civilians that emerged from the new referendum window.

1.2 Methodology: Qualitative Methods

As I previously said, my main objective is to give light to a window of opportunity for a new referendum for Scottish Independence to occur, by the effects of Brexit. This objective led me on to do my research on new several debates in which Scottish Political parties accused Brexit to be unfair on their citizens and that a new referendum could be on the verge of being proposed to the Westminster Government, while also addressing the past debates from the 2014 referendum in order to further compare it with the new window of opportunity.

It will be presented on this section, what methods did I used to reach my objectives. To do this, I had to apply research methods that could keep me updated at the most present time.

I was able to achieve the reconstruction of the debate on all fronts of both referendums by using the British Press as tool to amplify my research into a vaster set of information. I took newspapers, Interviews and online articles to clarify the debates that where had on the 2014 Referendum and at this new referendum window of opportunity. First, I will reconstruct the debate upon the 2014 Referendum, by using British press and Interviews made public on the 2014 referendum case. Here I used politicians and political parties' opinions on the matter before and

after the results of the referendum, while also referring to some civic society movements that gave spark to a rising nationalism or a stronger feeling of unity for the United Kingdom. By again using the British press I managed to gather facts regarding the Brexit case and the most prominent opinions on the ongoing debate for the possibility of a new referendum.

Here on this new second Scottish referendum window, I needed to briefly address the Brexit phenomena on how did the campaign take place and where Scotland stood at the aftermath of the Brexit referendum.

I was also able to recreate the debate surrounding the possibility of a new Scottish referendum. From the time, the Brexit referendum was finished, until the ongoing negotiations and debates surrounding the Scottish case. Here I will go into retrieving important speeches made from several different political figures that made their opinion clear since the Brexit referendum took place. I decided to use the British press with information regarding the most prominent interviews in order for me to reconstruct the debate that has been held since Brexit took place. Here I go into referring and stating what can we expect from both governments in times where the Brexit negotiations are to be closed.

Moving towards the last section of this dissertation, one can be assured that this is the vital part of the thesis. It is here that I will be giving a comparison on the window opened at the 2014 referendum and the window opened on the Brexit aftermath. By comparing with one another I will be giving my main theories and ideas that were brought up on my research upon comparison. It is where I will show my work on understanding and giving a constructive view on where does the 2014 referendum failed by a Scottish Nationalist perspective and where can we improve the possibility of a majority Yes vote on a future referendum.

I don't wish for this comparison to be flawless, because I believe there will be room for improvement and further study from other parts. What I hope to give is an advancement and a tool for further studies to be made on this area.

1.3 Literature Review

On my Literature Review, I primarily used document analysis on the academia realm. This meaning, I was able to retrieve several theories from academic papers and official documents on the topic of the 2014 Referendum. It is here where I will focus on the academic debate on Scotland's 2014 referendum. While there were many articles providing me with information

regarding the 2014 referendum academia debate, I also needed to understand the time period when they were written, due to my three distinct moments on my literature review structure.

On the first moment, I need to carve out a road for the referendum and for that I used several different theories that suggested how this referendum came into place. By using academic papers explaining the road that had to be crossed in order to reach the referendum, I came to describe some important Acts and Unions that formed Scotland and gave way for the 2014 Scottish Referendum to take place.

Onwards to my Second moment at my literature review, I procured for the pre-referendum debates, where the campaign for the referendum was still ongoing. By using document analysis, I was able to look into the past on the 2014 referendum campaign and withdraw what aspects the scholars thought were in favor of the Scottish independence and subsequently the ones that were not, and what where the predictions of the final result. On my last moment, I used document analysis for a post-referendum specter, where i moved to bring about theories regarding the post-referendum aftermath. Here, theories are primarily based on aspects regarding what went wrong and what could have been done differently.

1.3.1 The Scottish Predicament

1.3.1.1 The Scottish 2014 Independence Referendum

Rising from the 2012 Edinburgh Agreement, came the Scottish Independence Referendum that was set to be implemented on September 2014. From the campaign of such referendum came two official bodies that would defend the YES and the NO side. From the pro-independence side, on the “Yes, Scotland” were the Scottish National Party, the Greens and the Scottish Socialists. On the Other Side on fighting for unity by representing themselves as the Better Together body, were the Conservatives, Labor and Liberal Democrat Parties. The battle ground for each body was a competitive one, because the people of Scotland where divided between their British and Scottish identity. The first predicament came quickly from inside the campaign, under which each body had to show the best vision for Scotland’s future. Interesting enough, this predicament was to be held on how to reach a middle ground to appeal Scottish citizens. Subsequently by trying to reach common ground the independence campaign didn’t provoke a deep social split inside the country,

but whether several of disagreements on how to get to the same goals for a better Scotland (KEATING,2015).

On the yes side, the Scottish National Party presented their vision of an Independent Scotland with the old infrastructure of the Union. The Sterling Pound was to be kept as the official currency, while giving power to the Fiscal part of the United Kingdom to control the monetary policies. On the no Side, the Unionist parties wanted to create commissions to give more devolution to the Scottish Parliament, especially on the taxation. These two visions, were created by the need of minimizing extremist's views, in order to appeal to a larger audience of voters. Scotland was not to be represented by a full on nationalist approach, in which it would close its doors forever on its British identity or would it be satisfied if more devolution was not achieved, meaning things would remain as they were before the referendum (KEATING,2015).

When the opportunity rose to achieve Scottish independence in 2014, many people did not abstain to vote and went on to the voting polls on 18th September. The referendum brought up Nationalists to rise up and shout out for independence, while on the other side Unionists tried to appeal for a more tightly closed UK. This referendum came to be an historic event on British history that brought up international interventions on what should Scotland expect after a possible independence. So, in what way did this become another predicament?

It came as a predicament inside the results of the referendum. If the result was yes it would have had major changes in all areas regarding to Scotland's sovereignty and by giving way to independence the issue would be settled and Scotland would change forever, leaving it at the mercy of the international community. However, if the result came to be a no, it would mean change by further devolution on powers to the Scottish Parliament and it was here the predicament emerged. The outcome of the referendum was a clear majority supporting the continuity of the United Kingdom and thus opposing an independent Scottish state, this implying that further devolution was to be held. Augmenting the powers of the Scottish Parliament, would mean giving more power to the Scottish National Party since it is the party with the majority of Seats inside the parliament. By doing this we are thereby leaving the nationalists on wait for another opportunity to grab on to independence (BOBER,2014).

We come to an understanding that the victory of a no vote, came to be rather misleading, since the yes side would not remain satisfied and their political representative, has control over the Scottish Government.

By holding on to their vision of an independent Scotland came a rather interesting turn of events that would leave some Scotland No voters on the 2014 Referendum rather regretful. Here came to be the final predicament that the Scottish Nation faced. This was the EU, In-Out referendum for the United Kingdom. On the words of Douglas Scott Sionaidh on a time shortly after the Scottish referendum he said: “If Scotland chose to remain, and England to leave, the scope for constitutional crisis would be extreme.

This prediction was seen as valid, due to the fact that one of the biggest issues regarding the decisions of voters on the 2014 Referendum, was the uncertainty of a EU membership for an independent Scotland (SIONAIDH,2014).

1.3.1.2 The Window of Opportunity given by Brexit

The Brexit Referendum came to be a great tool for another shot at Scottish Independence. To understand how the Brexit referendum came to be of use, I will need to address the importance of the Scottish sympathy towards the European Union. On the 2014 Referendum for Scottish independence, one of the major issues that kept circling back the campaign was the possibility of Scotland becoming a member of the European Union. At the time of the 2014 referendum, the Scottish National Party was the most pro-European party in the United Kingdom. Therefore, the yes Side, went on to suggesting mechanisms in which Scotland could apply to join the EU as a new member or even the possibility of a treaty change in order to give continuity on recognizing Scotland as successor state and as the 29th member state of the EU. On the other side, at the Better Together campaign, their position was given away by warnings that Scotland might not be able to join the European Union. They gave statements such as the requirement of all existing member states to recognize Scotland as illegible for membership, emphasizing this would be a difficult task. Their point came across, that Scotland would retain its EU membership if it remained inside the United Kingdom (KEATING,2015). Knowing these two stances came to be an important tool for the vision of the Scottish National Party, by using the Brexit referendum results.

1.3.1.3 Thesis Question

My thesis question comes in the form of the differences between the Scottish 2014 Referendum Window and the New Window by a second proposed referendum ignited by the Brexit results. I wanted to address the differences that come across between the two windows of opportunity, by addressing the factors that were in play in the 2014 referendum campaign and the new proposed referendum proposed by the Scottish First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon.

On both these windows, i wanted to address three actors that participated on both situations. These actors are separated by the academia realm, The politics realm and the civic opinions realm. Inside each one, we get opinions, stances, debates and several points that come across as crucial in understanding the underlying mechanisms that made the 2014 referendum an historic event and how does it differ from the new proposed referendum.

1.3.2 The Road to the Referendum

Starting in 1707, Scotland first joined Britain in securing a United Kingdom, by 1997 it created a Scottish Parliament through a devolution referendum, and by 2011 the Scottish Nationalist Party had obtained the majority of seats inside the parliament. Once the SNP obtained a parliamentary majority, it went on to advocate for an independence referendum and by 2012 through the Edinburgh agreement, both Scotland and United Kingdom governments were in sync on legalizing the referendum and giving it a go (Levites, 2016).

Within all these dates, are the most crucial steps in the path to the referendum. I will therefore address each step via the academia realm perspective.

1.3.2.1 The 1707 Union

The government history of the British Isles is very complex, and needs some clarification to understand the complexity that gave rise to the Scottish will for freedom.

At the beginning, Four Nations came forth and forged a Union that joined all four kingdoms together (England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland), and until this day three remained intact, while only part of Ireland stepping away. Today they are still a part of the same Kingdom they started (SAUNDERS,2013)

One can analyze and give a short overview on the Scottish past by showing its unity with the other Nations to form the United Kingdom. Moving along the chronological pathway of the

Scottish and United Kingdom past, I find it important to mention that full unity of the Union only came to be in 1707, where it is known to be the Treaty of the Union, despite not having a physical treaty in place. For some theorists such as Davidson, it was by this treaty that the Scottish nation came to be. He argues that before 1707, Scotland wasn't a true nation but merely a state. He defends that the sense of Scottish nationhood was born in 1707 by the Union and prior to that there was no sense on what it meant to be a proud Scottish (MURRAY, 2006). It is here that we find the first moment that would later give rise to Scottish Nationalism and post forward the Referendum.

The unity that was formed in 1707 came to linger around the 1960s where there were registered signs of a growth in nationalism sentiment on Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. For the purpose of this dissertation I will only address the Scottish case. On the beginning of 1960s one could see the first glimpse of the opening window on Scottish independence. Some theories were brought up to enlighten the fact that Scotland was showing signs of wanting to be independent (SAUNDERS, 2013).

From those times, I took into my choosing to address the Budge and Urwin theories. They both agreed that if one could see Scotland as a separate entity it would also mean one could see the defective British political homogeneity. Adding to it they mentioned that the sense of Scottish identity was strongest outside the political realm, not interfering with the party's competition. By saying that much, they could point out that the main focus was on the distinct institutional aspects rather than on the political party's realm, that brought Scotland as a separate unit within the overall UK (MURRAY, 2006).

However, that come not to be entirely true, due to the radical changes that took place within the Scottish political system and the importance of some parties to the rising of the Scottish national identity.

In light of this contradiction was the first concrete step towards the nationalist strength, was in 1967 where Scotland Nationalist Party won the first parliamentary seats, this caused a huge turn up on the political system. Another step that took independence a little more plausible, was the proposal in 1978 for the devolution of substantial powers for the Scottish assembly, however that was not reached due to the conservative government rejecting the legislation and the idea of devolution in that time period.

After the attempt on Scottish devolution in 1978, came another attempt, but a successful one in this case. That 1978 blow could not dictate the end for Scottish home rule, and when in

1997 the Labor government came to power, it gave a scheme of devolution, where it was met in 1998 has the Scotland Act (MURRAY, 2006).

1.3.2.2 The 1998 Act

One of the most prominent steps towards reaching the possibility of creating the first Independence referendum, was the Scotland's Act of 1998 for further devolution and more importantly the creation of the Scottish Parliament, by the abolition of the old Scottish Office. This Act took shape from the results of a previous referendum that was held on 11th September 1997. This was held with the purpose on creating the new parliament and new devolution powers. The results came out as 74% voting in favor for more powers to be devolved to the Scottish Parliament. This result led to the introduction by the UK government of the Scotland Bill, which later became the famous Scotland's Act of 1998 (The Scottish Government, 2013).

By giving birth to the Scottish parliament, the act also took legislative power and later on a Scottish Government that began fully functional in 1999. This provided the initiation of the Scottish Parliament on questioning Scotland's ability to operate as an independent country and therefore it comes as a pillar for the future Scottish Referendum Case. Although the parliament took legislative power in 1999, the power within the parliament had its significant boundaries.

It's within the idea of devolution that we can go on to formulate the boundaries that were set up on the Act. When mentioning the devolution section on this act, it may come as a surprise in a way it could be interpreted. This Act functioned as a system where it did not specify which matters were devolved to the Scottish parliament, but instead it only addressed those that were reserved to the Westminster Government. This system of organization kept the Scottish knowing where they could not operate, and had them with the legislative power over the ones that were not reserved (The Scottish Government, 2013).

Under the creation of the Scottish Parliament we came to know that the reserved matters on the Act included several of areas and it was indeed an extensive list. However, the most notable ones that kept emerging onwards in the future politics of Scotland where: Foreign affairs, Defense and Security, Financial and Economic Matters, Immigration, International Development. While this act kept some crucial areas on the Westminster Side, it also provided the Scottish parliament with some meaningful areas that were devolved and where the Scottish Parliament could have full authority. On this 1998 Scotland's Act, the powers that were given back to the Scottish Parliament

and Government, were mostly over the areas of Health, Education, Housing, The Environment, agriculture, economic development, criminal law, the justice system, police, local government (MULLEN,2014). Knowing the matters that were and were not devolved, is important to understand the areas that held more struggle from both sides of the campaign on the future independence referendum.

It is also important to address that Nationalist tendencies rose abruptly after the Scotland's Act of 1998. Devolution was a thing many wanted in Scotland and so they received. Many came to warn that this devolution would lead to a future breakup of Britain. Being that as it may, this could be viewed as the starting point to Scottish Independence. The Scotland Act brought together a new dynamic around Holyrood and Westminster. It created the Scottish parliament and brought it to an upper level of administration while creating a clear division on what the Edinburgh administration could and could not do (The Scottish Government, 2013).

1.3.2.3 The Nationalist Take Over

The Growth of nationalism was highly evident on the pursue for further devolution and autonomy for Scotland at the 1960s. It was by the winning of parliamentary seats by the Scottish Nationalist Party that the sentiment of nationalism started to grow. Further devolution on 1979 and 1998, gave the SNP the chance to grow and rise as a strong political party among the Scottish Political Arena. It was by devolution that the Labor and Conservative parties met their demise, from being the ones that held most supporters to losing several of them along the years. This was reflected on the diminishing number of seats won by the Parties on the Scottish Government. Although these particular two fell, one did Rise and that was the SNP (TRENCH,2014).

It was on the 2007 elections for the Scottish Parliament that the Scottish national party made history. Alex Salmond, the leader of the Scottish National Party was able to achieve the majority of seats by all the political parties represented on the Parliament. The SNP, thus became the largest party by just one seat, by having 47 seats out of 129. Here the SNP would form its minority government (MITCHELL & DARDANELLI, 2014).

Previous to the 2007 elections the SNP had promised to hold out an independence referendum, but came short by not being able to gain the necessary parliament support (KEATING). Many opposing parties viewed this elected government as a one hit wonder, and predicted that it would only have a 4 years term. This prediction came to be utterly wrong. On the

following elections in 2011, the SNP made history again, by achieving the overall majority of seats and so it was set the most crucial step for the upcoming 2014 referendum.

One thing to keep in mind, is that this victory in 2011, wasn't given to the SNP due to their stance on Scottish Independence, but instead of their highly competency in government. It is then safe to say that independence wasn't the determining factor on having the peoples support (MITCHELL & DARDANELLI, 2014).

The peoples support didn't fall out into the Scottish identity increasing factor, since Scottish people didn't felt more or less different from British in 2007 and 2011. Their support for independence had been falling in election years and the only apparent reason that voters choose the SNP was that they made a good job on making devolution work (KEATING,2015).

So, the victory on 2011 was achieved when the SNP took over the population support, by first insuring a bright perspective for the future of Scotland while providing a great provision on governing the state. They did this by not prioritizing independence on their previous elections campaigns due to the low support that Scots gave for independence matters and instead by showing professionalism. With this, they were able to take over the majority of seats and there on out reshape what scots feared about independence and create the possibility to hold a referendum. Even upon to this point the SNP were careful enough to the point on asking an agreement to be made to validate the referendum from both the Holyrood and Westminster Parliament. This strategy, gave legality and international recognition to the referendum while also providing a more comfortable position for some people to reconsider independence as not an uncertainty but as a possibility (MITCHELL & DARDANELLI, 2014).

1.3.2.4 The 2012 Edinburgh Agreement

By winning the majority of seats inside the parliament in 2011, Alex Salmond the former leader of the Scottish National Party went on to proclaim that a referendum for independence was to be held, and so came forth the 2012 Edinburgh Agreement, that held the approval of both the Holyrood and Westminster Governments.

On October 15th of 2012, the historic accord was signed and gave on the basic structure of what was to be implemented on the referendum for it to be clear and legal based. On this agreement were procedures to give away a fair test and a decisive expression that would have to be respected legally and politically. However, the most prominent aspect of the agreement was the explicit devolution and consent of the United Kingdom for Scotland to organize a legal independence referendum (Democratic Progress Institute, 2014). This consent, was regarded as a crucial point on the Academia Realm.

Stephen Tierney a professor of constitutional theory and director of the Edinburgh center for Constitutional law has added his view that through the Edinburgh agreement Scotland gained the legal aspects of holding out the referendum on the specter of international law, and that without this consent Scotland's Independence would only be unilateral in character.

Also, an important stance made by Stephen Tierney was the fact that the commitment of the United Kingdom on honoring the implementation of independence in case it was achieved, proved to be a facilitator on the transitioning process for Scotland's independence. But more importantly this commitment would make it easier for Scotland to get International recognition and future membership in the United Nations. This comes as an important point, since international recognition is an uncertainty when dealing with new states. On summarizing his theory, his point comes across as if Scotland failed to obtain the consent of the United Kingdom from the Edinburgh Agreement, the referendum would be meaningless to the international community. This meaning no recognition and the denial of it joining the European Union.

Supporting the idea of Stephen Tierney was, Professor of International Law at Cambridge University and Judge of the International Court of Justice, James Richard Crawford. He went on to writing a legal opinion on the request of the United Kingdom by an analysis on the implications of Scottish Independence. On his opinion was a shared viewed with Stephen Tierney on that the only legal basis for Scotland's separation would be the consent of the United Kingdom (Secretary of State for Scotland, 2013).

Both scholars, gave their views on what they think would happened without the Edinburgh agreement and that its importance relies on the consent that the United Kingdom gave towards recognizing the will of the Scottish Government, amplifying its effects on the international community.

1.3.3 Referendum Arrangements

1.3.3.1 The Referendum Question

When speaking of the referendum question it's important to note that its question followed some changes and indeed some doubts on what should be in it. The first question for the referendum was proposed by the Scottish Government in a White Paper by the name of You Scotland, Your Referendum on January 2012. Within it the question was: "Do you agree that Scotland should be an independent country?".

This question was to be later reviewed by the closing of the Edinburgh Agreement by order of the Scottish Government to the Electoral Commission. The Commission did not sympathize with the previous question and came into changing the phrase "do you agree", because they believed it to be suggesting people to lead on to the yes vote (Fellow, 2014).

Within some powers on the 2012 Edinburgh Agreement, the question for the 2014 referendum started to take form. On the powers given by the agreement, was the condition that there would be only one question, on independence and that same question should be made a clear one, on which it would have to specify the choice between independence or staying inside the United Kingdom. Here, there was no space for a second option for enhanced devolution (KEATING, 2015).

It is important to note that this second option for enhanced devolution was highly debated. From creating the question and giving it a proper statement there were some issues that rose by the possibility on asking more than one question on the Ballot Paper. Therefore, it was considered if it should there be more than two options on the referendum. One of the most highly praised options was the devo-max option. This option included an almost full on devolution to the Scottish Parliament, only taking out foreign affairs and defense areas as reserved matters to the UK government (Democratic Progress Institute, 2014). However, the issue was settled and the question remained as only one and as following: "Should Scotland be an Independent Country?".

1.3.3.2 Legislation

On the legislation for the 2014 referendum, the Scottish parliament followed the council election rules, in which means that people living in Scotland who are British, Irish or from other EU countries, would be able to vote in the 2014 referendum. However, all of the questions and rules related to the referendum were held by the Franchise Act that was introduced on the Scottish parliament on 11 March 2013 and only received proper royal assent on 7 August 2013 (Fellow, 2014).

Inside this legislation for the 2014 referendum, the Scottish parliament also passed an infamous law setting the minimum age of the electorate at 16 years old. This was the youngest age that was ever set inside the electorate history in Scotland. This legislation had the backing of several important political parties, such as the Labor party, the liberal democrats and the SNP, also important was the backing up of the Youth Parliament.

1.3.4 Pre-Referendum 2014

In reaching a Pre-Referendum stage we come into the underlining issues related in the simple question on the ballot paper which seems to be straightforward: “Should Scotland be an independent country?”. Within this question, a lot can be discussed on what exactly an independent Scotland implies. The population wondered about the future of Scotland and so did every actor in play. Several debates were held about what would be the future of Scotland and consequently who supported what ideals within which areas. Both Pro-Union and Pro-Independence sides made their statements and gave their predictions on what could the future hold.

1.3.4.1 The Campaign

The campaign for the Scottish referendum of 2014 officially started in April 2014, but despite this being the official date, in reality the campaign started in the summer of 2012. This happened due to the launch of both sides of the Referendum before the official date. Meaning by early summer 2012, the ‘Yes, Scotland’ and ‘Better Together’ had launched their respective campaigns for the future Scottish Referendum agreed upon the Edinburgh Agreement in 2012 (New York University School of Law, 2014).

By the beginning of the early summer of 2012, the campaign was recognized to have, two official bodies. On the side of a Yes vote for independence was the ‘Yes, Scotland’ that included the Scottish National Party, The Greens and The Scottish socialists, while on the No vote for

Independence stood the 'Better Together' that had the Conservative, Labor and Liberal Democrats parties (KEATING, 2015).

Within the referendum we also came to know the two distinctive views upon the Scottish Independence. The two sides were transparent on what ideals they stood for and what they thought would happen to Scotland. Understanding that both sides defended opposite ideas is a fairly simple clarification and to understand more we have to delve deeper on both sides of the campaign. The 'Yes, Scotland' side, provided a message upon a progressive and optimistic vision for an Independent Scotland. They promised a fresh start and with it the possibility of shaping a new country to its core, providing a better version of the current Scotland. While some promised utopia, the 'Better Together' side stayed by a gloomy perspective. Knowing that the unionists stood in clear contrast of the Pro-independence side is no shock, but when analyzing their campaign, it's clear to see that they used the prediction of chaos as their primary tool. Their strategy was based upon warnings and underlining threats to the stability of an independent Scotland. Their goal, was to retain Scotland inside the UK and to achieve that goal they gave the perspective of what would it cost for Scotland to lose the support of the UK (McGarvey, 2015).

Knowing that both sides gave their views upon what would happen if Scotland was independent, they therefore debated on issues relating to the future economy, defense, welfare and the European union membership for Scotland. However, an underlining issue that was not directly seen in the campaign was the Scottish national identity, but just because it was not made public doesn't mean it wasn't there. By using the academic realm, I was made aware of the view of the author Emerence Hild. She uses one of the speeches of Nicola Sturgeon as a gate way to show a clear contrast between what the Pro-Independence Side says, but what it actually does, bringing forth the unknown issue of the Scottish Referendum Campaign. The speech she uses is as following: "Contrary to what many outside observers might imagine, the debate we are having is not about national identity. Scotland, like most modern European countries, is a melting pot of different identities: Scottish, British, Pakistani, Irish, Polish and many more besides" (HILD, 2016).

By analyzing this speech, Nicola Sturgeon gives way to the idea that the SNP defends that Scottish identity isn't the real motor for Independence and that the idea of Scottish people sense of nationhood is secondary, while also promoting multiculturalism as a counter argument for future

extreme nationalists' movements. Despite this optimistic view of Sturgeon, the author gives away the contrast of the words said by the SNP and the fact that the 'Yes, Scotland' supporters use the symbols such as the national flags or tartan kilts. In the end, she gives the idea that despite the SNP rejecting the idea that Nationalism isn't the real reason behind their motives, they gave a clear contrast on seeing flags and kilts as tools for holding votes on the referendum (HILD, 2016).

While, this was the political parties' strategies from each side, there was a surprising factor that gave the campaign yet a whole new flare. This was the high level of public engagement that was developed inside the campaign. The work of the Scottish civil society was made clear throughout the campaign. Inside this engagement we can see a cooperation between civic participation and political parties.

Upon their cooperation, we can get two distinctive 'battle grounds' inside the campaign. Here I came across Michael Keating views, where he describes both of these grounds as an 'air war' and 'ground war'. Inside the 'air war' we are marked by a mass of statistical evidence that was either printed or broadcasted throughout the media. Here we are left with data that can be seen by and interpreted by almost every Scottish citizen, whether he owns a television, radio or a newspaper. Moving on to the 'Ground war' it is here that we see the high level of public engagement. Inside this ground we come to know that it was 'fought' alongside the communities and through social media and consequently this ground escaped out of control from the two official campaigns. This situation was then marked by an extraordinary level of public engagement, where around ten per cent of the population was known to have participated in public meetings. On this ground, the Yes side supporters were made present and gave their voice on almost every public debate, while the No side campaign was less present making it less visible and more concentrated on the official campaigns (KEATING, 2015).

1.3.4.2 Economic and Finance

Following the monetary and fiscal history inside the United Kingdom, we come across more than three centuries of existence. Starting with the Bank of England, which despite its name, it is the central bank of the United Kingdom on which it has the responsibility for monetary policy, financial stability, bank regulation and issuing banknotes. Till this point this bank held all

accountability for the currency issues of the whole Kingdom, however that may change within the perspective of an independent Scotland, upon which uncertainty ponders (CAMPBELL, 2013).

Despite having seen more than three hundred years of a monetary union, we come across the possibility of Scotland choosing its own future currency. The same uncertainty around many issues related to independence, also brought out the question of should Scotland change currency in case of a yes vote on independence. But before, we go ahead and choose a new path, it's important to examine whether or not the past currency, meaning the sterling pound has been successful throughout the years. If we do come across a yes, then it all goes into the interest of the people of not changing a successful currency for an unknown one (CAMPBELL, 2013).

In the Academic world, this troublesome issue rose quickly and within the minds of the Scottish on the Pre-Referendum stage was the uncertainty of a change in currency. Should the pound stay or go in case of independence? This question brought up some opinions and debates from several authors such as Jeremy Cook, Andrew Campbell, Daniel Kopasker and Michael Keating. Adding to this I have found an author that explains this scenario very clearly in a way that makes the reader quickly understand if Scotland does indeed need a new currency if it came to be a new country.

He leaves Scotland with three clear choices for a pick on currency: The British Pound, The Euro and a new yet to be designated Scottish Pound. On the first choice, which is keeping the British pound he refers to a low-cost scenario for Scotland. Former contracts wouldn't need to be renegotiated and transaction costs would remain at zero (COOK, 2014).

However, it would come with some cost, this being the lack of representation over policy on the pound. In order to solve that issue the SNP wished to send out a representative on the Bank of England's Monetary Policy Committee. However, such representative would have low impact on the actual change of policies due to its single opinion against 10 others directly from England.

Onwards to the second choice, we can see the attempt of Scotland joining the euro. But for this author this is a no go. He points to the fact that in The Maastricht convergence criteria, a country needs a pre-requisite to join the European Union. That pre-requisite falls into the criteria of having a previous stable national currency, before you can join the Eurozone. It would take two years of Scotland owning its own national currency, making it stable, and only after such conditions are met can it be considered to enter into the Eurozone. Towards the final Scenario, it's the one where Scotland creates its own currency. It brings flexibility and a big appeal to the

Scottish nationalists, because it's for those who desire a full-on independence. It brings both pros and cons. The transactional costs would be big due to the entire country being denominated into a new accounting measure, but the government would also benefit by having its vote on exchange and interest rate policy. For the author, none of three choices are presented for the Scottish people, because he believes to be out of their hands. The final answer would have come in the form a higher authority in choosing what would be the best for the Scotland's Currency Future (COOK, 2014).

This uncertainty of what should the currency be, brought up a mixed feeling inside the hearts of Scottish nationalists that were pro-independence. Despite wanting independence, one must find it beneficial in all terms. Especially financially stable. Bringing up doubts about a possible unstable economy, was a factor that took some voters to decide on whether independence would be beneficial, even though they wanted to be apart from the Union (KOPASKER, 2014).

By then it was known that the idea for the removal of the sterling pound and a possible introduction of the euro had very little public support and with this the Pro-Union side made their statements on why it would be better to stick together. Making full advantage of this scenario of uncertainty, the unionists alongside the UK government used the sterling pound as a prelude to grasp the attention of a successful three hundred monetary union on the Pro-Union side campaign. Their strong position comes under the view that it is between the best interests of the UK and Scotland to stay together on a successful monetary union (CAMPBELL, 2013).

Despite both sides diverging on if should Scotland become Independent, it is known that the policy of the pro-independence side supports the UK government position on a successful currency union throughout the years, and so it is made known that pro-independence side has a high interest on remaining the pound even if it reaches independence. However, the Scottish Government, which represents the Pro-Independence side also acknowledged that any imaginable framework would have to be negotiated and called upon the UK government, on which both sides would enter dialogue to work upon the details (CAMPBELL, 2013).

Although their optimistic view on the UK acceptance and their interest going into the continuity of the currency, the UK government on the Pro-Union makes it clear that the option for keeping the sterling pound its attached to the denial on Scottish Independence and integrity of the United Kingdom (Campbell). It was then difficult to address what was the Pro-Independence plan B, in case the UK government denies the continuity of the monetary union and if they wish to

maintain it. What could be known was that the Scottish National Party, representing the Scottish Government called the UK Government statement a bluff and that they would change their views upon the future of an Independent Scotland, by being for the both best interests to retain the pound on both an Independent Scotland and the UK. Others suggested that in case there was a clear denial, the Scottish government would be using the pound unilaterally, leaving them a possibility of keeping the pound but without any influence on its monetary policy (KEATING,2015).

1.3.4.3 Welfare

Another central issue that regarded some importance during the 2014 independence referendum was Welfare. This issue made itself relevant by being a currently reserved power of the UK and the most recent undertaking of a controversial social reform for the whole UK. This system comes as popular opinion of what Scottish feel about the British rule upon the fact that they are not being satisfied for a welfare system that doesn't quite work for them. On the Yes Side, we come across the standing position of the full welfare responsibility for the Scottish Government. The SNP aims to redesign the welfare system for Scotland in case of independence. They assume that some measures would be taken in order to give light to a better welfare system in Scotland. The most notable measures come in the form of: absorption of any financial consequences related to welfare by the Scottish revenues; Working age benefits, that include those that are out of work, ill or disabled people and also those that fit on the low wage category; benefits for children and Families; welfare payments for older people that complement the state pension and related benefits (Smith, 2014).

On offering welfare payments for elderly people, we are given the option of giving by via the winter fuel pension. This pension was created by the UK government and it states that if you were born before 5 November 1953 you are eligible to get from 100 to 300 pounds in order to help elderly people pay their heating bills. If the Scottish government came upon the control of such pension it would change it at the country's needs not having to wait for the Westminster approval. The focus on welfare allowed the Yes Side to extend its range of voters by acknowledging the need for a redesign of the whole social welfare system (Smith, 2014).

1.3.4.4 Defense and Security

Alongside many duties from the UK government came the duty of any government to safeguard its citizens against external and internal threats. Subsequently any state must assess the threats and risks that are laid upon the country, while also providing the best way to tackle them. From an outside perspective, we can see a world which is being more interconnected and that any country, including the UK is more open to the world, bringing both opportunities as well as vulnerabilities.

We come to the understanding that the UK government currently has made a National Security Strategy and within it are the risks that pose the biggest threats to the integrity of the state. These are international terrorism, hostile attacks upon the UK cyber space, natural hazard and international military crisis between states. Among these are several issues that could affect the choice for Scotland Independence on the 2014 Referendum (Secretary of State for Scotland, 2013).

So, came the issue of security and defense that was discussed on the 2014 Referendum as a problematic area. Here we could see a very sensible topic since security matters are not a devolved power that Scotland has obtained so far. On this topic, a lot was said regarding the future safety of Scotland. Several questions arose, giving away strong Pro-Union and Pro-Independence Stances. Keywords such as counter-Terrorism agencies, border control and the UN security council membership were strongly in correlation with the future of the referendum results. These matters influenced voters to the point of choosing a no or a yes on independence.

Here I wanted to start with the Pro-Union side and how they picture devolution as a safe option for the future safety of Scotland. On a legal opinion from Professor James Crawford by an analysis for the UK government on the Implications of independence, he comes to support the Unionist side by proclaiming that the UK is able to protect its citizens from global threats and it would be for the better to have the UK dealing with defense matters as a whole and using co-operation to provide a safe protection of all citizens inside the kingdom. By referring to the effective use of routine collaborations between services across the UK and Scotland on preventing local and UK-wide threats, he gets ahead with a strong point. Adding to it the UK enables the Scottish police to act at local level, dealing with threats regarding the safety of its citizens on a small threat scale, making a strong Scottish police force on patrol. More than this, it is most beneficial to use the investigation intelligence agencies that the UK possesses in order to prevent and access UK-wide threats. Using the long successful background of agencies such as MI5 or

MI6, could make the difference on helping both police forces or military ones in solving some cases that may require more in-depth investigation (Secretary of State for Scotland, 2013).

This inter-agency work, would not be possible in case Scotland's independence was successful. This kind of work, can't be embedded into a system where we would have two separate states. Another yet good example would be the beneficial aspects Scotland can get out of being in NATO. Being in this position grants Scotland an upper hand in new security measures, providing a safer society (Secretary of State for Scotland, 2013).

Despite this, the Scottish government on the pro-independence side, implied that its non-nuclear stance and the future removal of nuclear bases on Scottish Territory would be compatible with NATO membership, referring to the fact that most NATO Members don't have nuclear weapons inside their home lands. While the Scottish government is pressing on continuity for membership on NATO, most NATO officials aren't regarding this an option since they defend that Scotland being considered a new state must apply for a new membership (DORMAN,2014).

The final Position made from the Pro-Union side on security matters and the one that gathers all of them in one strong point, is that no assumption should be made of the fact that the disassociation from the UK foreign policy would in consequence automatically lower the threat level towards Scotland from outside actors. This meaning that no assurance could be made on an Independent Scotland not being associated by an enemy of the United Kingdom, thus Scotland is put on a position where the enemies of the UK may target Scotland from association (Secretary of State for Scotland, 2013).

This Pro-Union view comes as a strong endorsement on why should Scotland stay inside the UK, many believe that these facts can have a great appeal towards changing one's opinion on the referendum.

1.3.4.5 The European Union

On the more turbulent times at the peak of Scottish nationalism arose some questions that made this matter all to serious. It came the question of what International Law applied in case Scotland was to be independent to form a new state. We debated among theories on whether Scotland was to be a successful state and more importantly if it was to be recognized among other states. At this stage, we would try to recognize the level of difficulty to arrange an independent Scotland in the

international community. We could go ahead and simplify everything and simply say that a state is a legal entity which comprises a people settled in a territory under its own sovereign government and within this simple definition, Scotland possess the basic shape to form a new legal state and therefore recognized by the international community. But adding to this simple definition, comes the most troublesome factor that could arise in such times. Would the international community give Scotland its recognition?

It would be needed international recognition to form a new Scottish State. Within this need came the reinforcement of what it meant to be Scottish in a world order and bring alongside it the nationalist appeal. A message needed to be sent and in order to do so, the Scottish that wanted independence would need to call out for recognition. Professors Crawford and Boyle, two highly regarded experts on international law gave their stance on what would most likely happen in case independence was achieved. They believed in continuity for what would remain of the UK and that Scotland would be a new state. I believe it to be so by using the case of Ireland and United Kingdom in 1922. This is a great and direct example of the formation of an independent state from a territory within the UK. This opinion made it clear, there was a need to reinforce the Scottish Stance in the international order for it to be recognized as a new state (Secretary of State for Scotland, 2013).

By giving an example of continuity some hope was brought forward upon the most troublesome issue on the all Scottish independence case. Could an independent Scotland join the EU by continuity or would it have to reapply as a new member state? (Secretary of State for Scotland, 2013).

On this issue, it came the uncertainty of Scotland being able to join the European Union. Once again, both sides had divergent opinions. On the pro-independence side, represented by the SNP, there were suggestions of Scotland being able to give continuity to its membership of the EU, by applying article 48 of the treaty of the European union. This article gave the possibility of Scotland quickly joining the EU, given the fact that the people of Scotland are already inside the union and would only need a treaty change for being the 29th Member state of the EU (KEATING,2015).

Showing their opposition, the unionists gave their opinion on what would happen if Scotland became Independent and tried to apply for membership at the EU. The position on the NO side, came in the form of warnings, where they implied that not only Scotland would become

a new state and therefore apply for EU membership, but adding to it was the clear obstacle of being able to be recognized by all member states as an optimal candidate for membership. Even if these two conditions were surpassed, they came across the point that Scotland would have to join the Euro Zone and subsequently lose the option of staying with the Sterling pound (KEATING,2015).

The idea that EU recognition would be attainable, was also put on the line at the Pre-Referendum stage by a strong opinion from the Former European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso. He made his stance clear on what was his opinion regarding the idea of international recognition by a letter written by him on 10th December 2012. There he expressed his thoughts on what he thought would happen after the Scottish independence Referendum took place. He went on to expressing that if the Yes Side won and independence was gained, the country that got separate, this meaning Scotland was to be considered fully independent and therefore a third country with no ties to the former country that it was part of. This meant that Scotland, would have to apply for a new membership for the European Union and all treaties that were established before independence within the Union would cease to exist.

His letter could be viewed as an obstacle, in a way that might have affected some of the Scottish Citizens into giving up on the idea of a Successful Independent Scotland. Therefore, it could have had some impact on the votes for the referendum. A such direct opinion from the former President of the European commission was to be highly regarded as a possible outcome at the time being.

Also, here on the Pre-Referendum stage I came across a theory that defends the case for Scottish Independence and its recognition if the yes won on the referendum. The author uses the right of self-determination and how it plays a huge part on recognizing an Independent Scotland. For the most part when a country was recognized as having a strong sense of self-determination, we would quickly associate it with the post-colonial world following the post-world war II era of decolonization. But in the case of Scotland, it would be wrong to do so. For Scotland, it implies a very modern form of self-determination with a long pedigree on breaking the chains of command and a great sense of pride on nationhood, but also a steady devolution of powers and a stable political arena. On the words of David Scheffer, the defender of such theory: “Scotland is not a case of decolonization and certainly not one simple Internal Self-Determination” (SCHEFFER, 2013).

He proceeds on supporting his case of Scotland's modern form of self-determination, by giving light to some of our former pillars. These are represented by the Scottish Act of 1998¹ and the creation of the Scottish Parliament. He proceeds to point out a very good view on why should Scotland have the right to proclaim sovereignty without further complications. When mentioning complications, he is addressing the several treaties United Kingdom has between foreign countries and which Scotland also takes a part. The problem lies on what should be done for these treaties in case Scotland does become independent. These treaties were important to maintain after a possible separation from the United Kingdom and to the author the overwhelming difference on population, wealth and power, should not matter on aspects regarding legitimacy. Its within legitimacy that both parts should lay equal claim to the continuation of the relations established on the past and current treaties (SCHEFFER, 2013).

This way of thinking, led to the possibility of a safety net in case of independence. It led the author to believe that even if Scotland gained independence, it would not need a fresh start. By using this author ideas, we would get assurance that independence wouldn't lead to the loss of all the ties to the outside world and having to connect centuries of history within foreign countries.

However, opinions diverge around the academia realm and within it we may find some dim views upon the European Context on the Scottish case. Upon searching I came across the same question of Should the member states of the European Union embrace an independent Scotland? However, the answer was different. Here I found a possible future scenario in case Scotland does gain independence. Considering that Scotland does gain its Independence, it may be become a beacon of hope for any country inside Europe that seeks its own independence. Feeding the idea that Scotland could easily get inside the EU, will trigger a frenzy of secession and independence in Europe. Any country or region that finds itself upon a case of separation will be given the impression that there would be a safe haven waiting for them in the EU. If we take out the fear of the going it alone for any new independent country, then we will create a domino effect on all around Europe that will contribute to a strong uprising of many nations and regions throughout the continent (New York University School of Law, 2014).

1.3.5 Post-Referendum 2014

1.3.5.1 The Results

The referendum took place on 18th September of 2014 and the Scottish People voted to stay inside the UK. The NO vote, won with 55% of the Scottish choosing to remain in the Union.

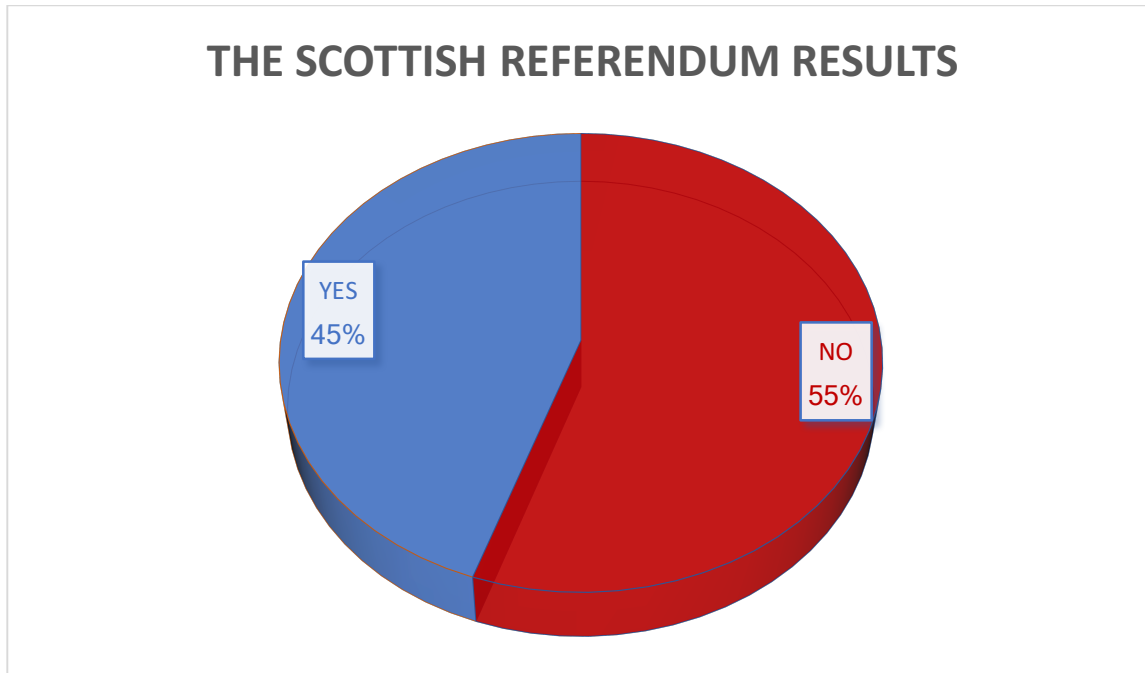


Figure 1.1.3: The Scottish Referendum Results (MULLEN, 2014)

Interestingly enough was the surprising turnout of voters that reached 84.5 per cent of the Scottish population. This reflected a level of political engagement not seen for decades (MULLEN,2014)

Should Scotland Be an Independent Country?		
NO	2,001,926	55.3%
YES	1,617,989	44.7%
Turnout 84.6%		

Table 1.1.3: Scottish Independence Referendum (MULLEN, 2014)

Inside the results of the 2014 referendum we can analyze some correlations that can be helpful in understanding what were the major differences on choosing each side. The first correlation that can be seen is the socio-economic status where the more affluent groups were less likely to vote Yes, than those in lower categories. Another correlation was on the gender gap, where a higher proportion of men voted yes, while women tended to vote No. Adding to it we came across not only at gender wise but as age as well. Here older people were more likely to vote no than Younger people (MULLEN,2014)

Geographically speaking, the results of the referendum also took another pattern. By using the 32 local authority areas used for voting, only four areas of Scotland voted with majority for Independence. These were the City of Dundee, City of Glasgow, West Dunbartonshire and North Lanarkshire (MULLEN,2014).

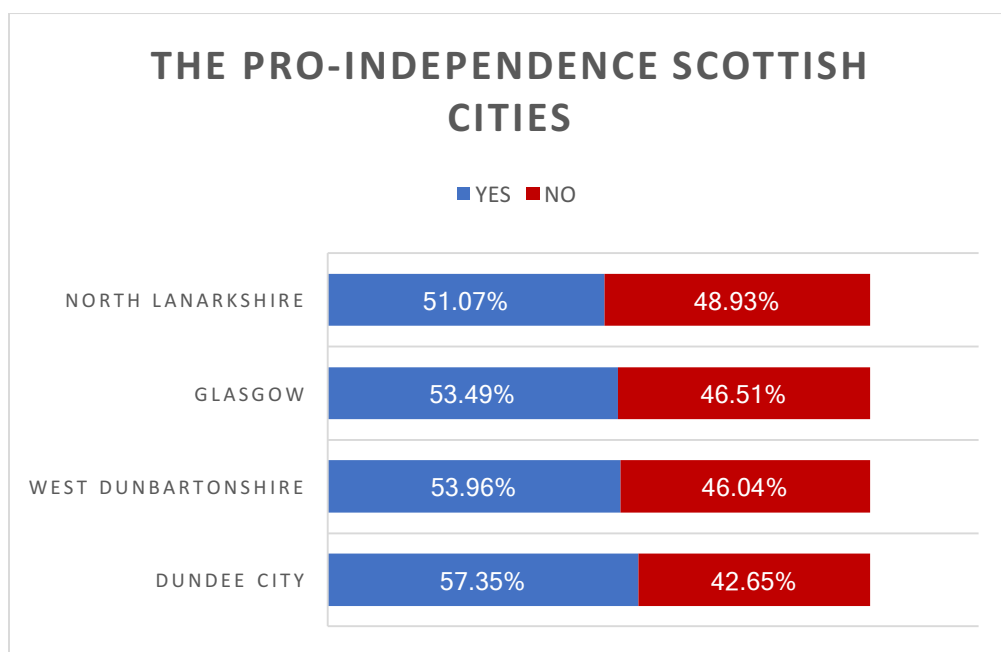


Figure 2.1.3: The Pro-Independence Scottish Cities (MULLEN,2014)

On the other side the highest majorities for No were recorder in the Orkney Islands, Scottish Borders, Dumfries & Galloway and Shetland Islands.

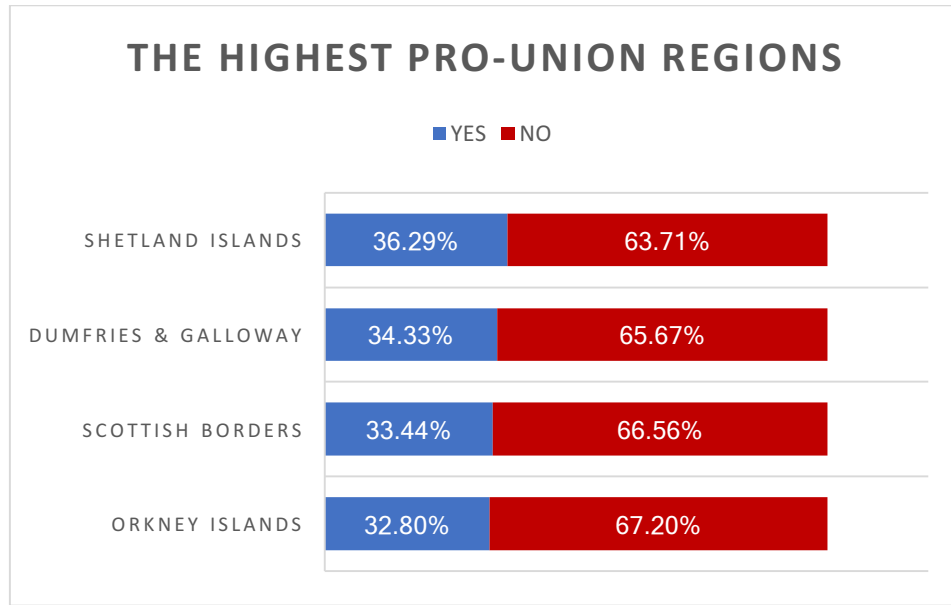


Figure 3.1.3: The Highest Pro-Union Regions

These results made it possible to clear out a pattern that began to be apparent and so it was seen that the areas with the highest No totals were those nearest England and those furthest from it. While the Yes vote was strongly felt on the areas with high levels of poverty and deprivation. So here we can analyze these facts, knowing that the people of Scotland who live near England or further away, didn't have intentions to leave Scotland due their closeness to England. While the population from the areas away from England, voted No due to their advantages on remaining inside the Union (MULLEN,2014).

On the Yes side of voters, the four cities that made their stance on the pro-independence side made clear that Independence was a need for people to achieve a better economic status. They found independence as a way out of poverty, by giving their vote on the Yes Side.

1.3.5.2 The Smith Commission

The result was final and Scotland voted no on independence. So, what came after? Here on the aftermath the fact the promise David Cameron made for further devolution for the Scottish Parliament in case Scotland stayed inside the union. This promise led to the creation of a commission that implied more powers for the Scottish Parliament.

At 19th September 2014, the day following the referendum, some proposals took shape in the form of the Smith Commission that implied further devolution to Scotland in case the NO vote won. On 27 November 2014, the Smith Commission published its report detailing Heads of Agreement on further devolution of powers to the Scottish Parliament. This commission gave a closing to the window of Scottish nationalism, with the possibility that it might open again if the people of Scotland should choose so. However, many people and political parties promised change, no matter who would win. So, change happened. One could say it was delivering progress through government. The Scottish Government asked for the UK to respect the sovereignty of the people of Scotland and give devolution on the matters of financial powers and democratic accountability. Most importantly this commission was an opportunity for the Scots to put their voice in the world, more specifically the European Union. This aspect comes to be of paramount importance regarding the aftermath of the referendum, due to its global factor. In order for Scotland to be more surely recognized as global authority it needs to take a stance in the world stage. This could be a major key for a worldwide recognition that Scotland possesses the qualities to be a successful independent state (Kelvin,2014)

Some powers were given back, such as access to change taxes and residual transfers of resources alongside the Barnett Formula. When mentioning fiscal matters, the Scottish government demanded all tax revenues to be retained in Scotland, this meaning a full fiscal responsibility for the Scottish Parliament. All aspects regarding employment and employability policy was also in the list of devolved powers, this affecting the setting of the Scottish minimum wage (Kelvin,2014).

Also, another important matter to be addressed was the promise of devolution of the study work visa, this particular aspect can have a big impact on the international community. The impact can be seen in international students with the dream of studying in the UK and working to maintain a work-life balance and have better prospects about their future.

Not only does Scotland possess free high education, but it would be important to let the global community know that one that comes from abroad can get a higher degree and work in country. This is a huge barrier towards integration of foreigners, and so it must be brought down and let globalization take its place. This example could be in direct contrast to what some believe

nationalism represents nowadays in our society. However, people in Scotland are just afraid of losing their rights and cultural heritage, they have no issues regarding welcoming others to take a part and indulge on the culture, leaving more people aware of what it means to be Scottish and why independence is such an important matter for nationalists (Kelvin,2014).

However, the Scottish Government still recognizes that due the result of the referendum and under the following Smith commission, some powers should remain in the UK. Aspects of the constitution of the UK as whole, such as monarchy should remain in the UK Government hands. Adding to it, monetary policy, aspects of citizenship, defense, intelligence and security and foreign affairs (Kelvin,2014).

1.3.5.3 If the ‘Yes’ would Have Won

The result of the 2014 referendum left the United Kingdom intact without any major consequences towards its sovereignty. However, understanding what would have happened in case of the Yes vote is of high importance, due to the level of complex decisions it implied after a victory in the referendum. We can then look away from the result and imagine the consequences the Yes vote would have had. The first direct consequence to follow would have been an almost immediate negative impact on the perception other countries have of the UK. They would see a declining international power and it would be a direct blow to the stability of the Union (CHIKHOUN, 2015).

Shortly after we come across the question of who should be a continuing state and who should transform itself into a new state. This question led to some troublesome obstacles. Scotland would need to resolve this issue as soon as possible in order to quickly stand tall in the international arena so it can obtain recognition on its own independence. Upon this question of continuity comes the legal nature of the division between Scotland and the United Kingdom. Negotiations would have to take place to understand where does Scotland stand in its continuity case. However, upon seeing the stance of the UK government on such matters it would be very difficult to give Scotland its continuity (TRENCH,2014).

The UK government legally defends their ideas throughout the ‘Scotland Analysis paper which was properly written by two recognizable figures on international law. On reading this

analysis its easily understood that the UK would defend its continuity upon which no new state would form, not having the need to create new treaties or apply for EU membership, leaving things how they were and on the other side, they consider an Independent Scotland as a new state, not giving way to continuity and having to reapply to all things that matter in the international arena.

Normally, some issues are easily seen right away such as the ones that I previously mentioned. However, when we delve deeper we find issues that need to be discussed in case Scotland became Independent. On explaining these issues, I find it better to use the division that I found of a Professor of Politics by the name of Alan Trench. He goes into listing the problematic areas that an Independent Scotland would have. To understand his view, we must then list such areas into Five Major Issues (TRENCH,2014).

The first issue we quickly encounter is the question of the division of the UK National Debt. This issue is of high importance to know what burden an Independent Scotland would have to face. Also adding to this first issue is the division of UK assets, whether they are located inside Scottish Territory or elsewhere across the UK. We may speculate at this issue and come to the conclusion that Scotland would have to face a proper share of the UK debt taking in consideration the size, population and revenues of Scotland. The Second issue we then face is related to the all known devolution problem of currency. Here Scotland knows that the UK won't enter negotiations for a formal use of the Sterling pound, by this Scotland is left with the informal use of the pound without any power over its monetary policy, or in a riskier attempt joining the Eurozone through the European Union (TRENCH,2014).

By referring to the EU, we come across the third issue on an Independent Scotland. This issue takes shape as the possibility of Scotland joining the EU. An Independent Scotland in the need for EU membership would have to face several of problems in its attempt. It would have to use international law to be recognized as a new legal state, adding to it Scotland would have to achieve recognition from other EU Member States. This Step could be quite difficult because it wouldn't depend on Scottish actions, but it would be left into the 'mercy' of the founding members of the EU (TRENCH,2014)

The fourth issue that can come up on an Independent Scotland would be related to the borders between Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom. On this issue, we can take on how the borders would work. For the Scottish Government borders wouldn't be a problem since they were aiming to achieve a border-free Scotland. Meaning that everyone in the UK and Outside

Could Enter Scotland without any VISA requirements. This idea, would not be happily accepted at the UK level, due the level of threats that can occur from it. Security wouldn't be tight around Scottish Borders meaning that, some threats could easily enter the UK territory through Scotland.

Moving on to the Fifth issue we are left with the Defense and Security situation that an independent Scotland would face. Reaching on the military aspects of what is to be done about UK military bases on Scottish territory, it would be better to move out any UK military base out of Scottish territory. This view is very much defended by the Scottish government to their position against nuclear weapons and bases. The cost of moving these bases would fall in the hands of the UK government (TRENCH,2014).

2. Findings

2.1 Scottish 2014 Referendum Debate

A lot was said on debating for the 2014 Scottish Referendum for Independence. The Pro-Union and Pro-Independence sides made their stances on what they believe was best for the Scottish Nation. On this particular section of my thesis I want to reconstruct the debate that was held for the 2014 Referendum, meaning I will address how the campaign started to form and how it was debated via media. Here I will search for political speeches, political party's stances and what are some of the most distinguished international opinions at the phenomena. Summarizing this section, I will be addressing the first window of opportunity for the Scottish People while reconstructing the debate surrounding the referendum by using the British Media.

2.1.1 Political Parties and Figures

The Debate held for the 2014 Scottish Referendum for Independence began before the year 2014. More accurately the idea of the possibility of a referendum began in 2011 with the SNP winning the majority of seats on the Scottish Parliament while promising a future independence referendum. Starting in 2011, we get a promise from the leader of the Scottish National Party, Alex Salmond. This promise came in the shape of a SNP conference within the possibility of proposing a referendum on Scotland's continued membership of the United Kingdom.

However, this idea was only the spark to set out the window for the independence referendum. After the idea of a proposed referendum was set forth in 2011, we come to 2012 where Prime Minister David Cameron made its vision and position clear inside the Independence Referendum issues.

2.1.1.1 David Cameron Goes Pro-Union (8TH January 2012)

By early January, David Cameron set out to speak on BBC's Andrew Marr program saying that clarity would be needed over the independence referendum. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom also points out that the UK government would have to set out the legal position concerning a vote on Scotland's constitutional position. It is then known that the prime minister shares a view of fairness and legality inside this independence referendum, but that he strongly supports the United Kingdom, setting him on the Pro-Union Side.²

2.1.1.2 The Ideal Time for the Referendum (10th January 2012)

Shortly after came the first big step was made known by the words of Alex Salmond. The leader of the SNP and Scottish First minister, made its stance on proposing a referendum for Scottish Independence in the autumn of 2014, ensuring this was the ideal time to have it while also noting that it would be the biggest decision Scotland would make in 300 years. It's important to note that this reference on the 300 years history, is related to the 300 years inside the Union of the United Kingdom, in which Scotland takes part. Mr. Alex Salmond words were as follows: "The date for the referendum has to be the autumn of 2014. That's because this is the biggest decision that Scotland has made for 300 years. If you are going to do things properly and have the debate in the way it must be had then that is the date that we are going to move towards."

Alongside the speculated date, we come across a more complex vision of what he and the SNP defend. Mr. Salmond made clear that he wanted the referendum to be made in Scotland without any 'strings' being pulled from the UK Government. On his own words, we can observe

² BBC News (2012), "Cameron seeks independence referendum clarity" (online), Consulted on 07.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-16460187>

this vision such as follow: “What Scotland objects to is all the strings they are trying to attach. They are trying to run a referendum by proxy.”

Understandably known is that such a notorious statement would bring about other opinions surrounding the same issue. Quickly pressing into the statements made from Salmond was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron. He came to warn that uncertainty over Scotland’s Future is damaging its economy. Not only that, David Cameron previously stated that Alex Salmond strategy on Scottish politics is to create a divide between the Scottish people and the United Kingdom, while knowing that Scottish people don’t have a desire for full separation. In Mr. David Cameron’s words: “I think what Alex Salmond is trying to do- I think he knows the Scottish people, at heart, don’t want a full separation from the United Kingdom- and so he’s trying to sort of create a situation where that bubbles up and happens. Whereas I think we need some decisiveness, so we can clear up this issue.”

However, another voice that came to give another cohesive speech on the Pro-Union Side was the Scottish Secretary and The Liberal Democrats minister. In the words of Mr. Michael Moore we can understand a new stance on the issues regarding the possibility of this referendum to be held in Autumn 2014 and the Westminster and Holyrood relation. His statement go as follows: “This is not about the mandates of Scotland’s two governments, or who calls the shots. It is about empowering the people of Scotland to participate in a legal referendum. That means that the UK government is willing to give the Scottish Parliament the powers to hold a referendum which they otherwise cannot do legally.”

Around the same statements from Mr. Salmond the rest of the Scottish political parties had also some saying. From the Labor party, came the voice of the Scottish Leader Johann Lamont who called for cross-party talks in Scotland to determine the details for the future referendum and in the Conservatives Side, Ruth Davidson the current party leader came to saying that the decision was to be made by the Scottish Population and not to be upheld in the Scottish Courts.³

2.1.1.3 The Question Proposal for the Referendum (25th January 2012)

³ Severin Carrell *and* Nicholas Watt (2012), “Scottish independence: Alex Salmond sets poll date– and defies London” (online), Consulted on 10.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/jan/10/scottish-independence-salmond-poll-date>

By 25th January 2012, Scotland's first Minister Alex Salmond sets out the question he intends to ask voters in the 2014 referendum for Scottish independence. On this matter, comes the proposed question of Mr. Alex Salmond and the SNP. The question is as follow: "Do you agree that Scotland should be an independent country?"

However, Mr. Salmond left room for a second question to be added on more Holyrood powers, but also leaving this issue on the hand of the Electoral Commission. On this second question, he proposed an increasing power to the Scottish parliament which was described as full devolution or also known as "Devo-Max". On opposing to the issue of the question came forth some political party leaders that gave voice to their opinions regarding the possibility of a second added question. On the Conservatives Side, we came to know the opinion of their Leader, Ruth Davidson where she finds it good that Mr. Salmond only put out one question, but that was somewhat doubtful about the room space he provided for a second question to be added. Her words went as follow: "I notice that the first minster has left wriggle room for a second question in there. We believe that the question in there should be fair and decisive."

Another opinion came from the Scottish Green Party where they stated that the coming months of civic debate should act as a testbed for a more inclusive way of doing politics in Scotland.

On this same date, came a consultation paper from the Scottish Government that being directed by the SNP, created the "Your, Scotland, Your, Referendum". On this consultation paper, the SNP made its views on what the ballot paper should say, what spending limits should be set and how the referendum should be managed. Important to note that this paper held on the proposed referendum question of Mr. Salmond.⁴

2.1.1.4 Discussions between Mr. Moore and Alex Salmond (13th February 2012)

While the Debate kept ongoing for the future referendum, the first minister of Scotland and the Scottish Secretary Michael Moore gathered to discuss their differences on the independence referendum and where they could find middle ground.

⁴ BBC News (2012), "Scottish independence: Alex Salmond outlines referendum question" (online), Consulted on 04.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-16702392>

On Mr. Moore side, he stated by the time there was still disagreement over the issue of timing and the idea of 16 and 17 years old to be allowed to vote in the referendum. While Alex Salmond, was reluctant on the issues discussed implying that they needed to still be further discussed.⁵

2.1.1.5 The “Yes, Scotland” Campaign Launch (25th May 2012)

Another yet important date to remind us how the Yes Side started to take its stance is the day they started their campaign. The “Yes” campaign started with a public pledge of a million Scots to sign a declaration of support for the 2014 Referendum. The pro-independence side made clear that they wanted to show the international and national community of their commitment to the country. On the launch of their campaign, we heard some statements that sounded rather vague but that can deliver a strong message to the unknown listener. Here we see a glance of the so-called promise of utopia that many politicians try to appeal on their campaigns. Its within Mr. Salmond statements at the launch of his campaign that we see these views I aforementioned. Such statements go as follows: “The people who live in Scotland are best placed to make the decisions that affect Scotland *“and* “We realize that the power of an independent Scotland is necessary to achieve these great ends”.

These sorts of statements can usher a strong sense of nationalism on those that already feel a bit dormant on their cultural heritage. Also, important to note is the fact that at the launch of the YES campaign, there were some public celebrities of Scottish origin that gave their stance on the Pro-independence side. Actors such as Sean Connery and Alan Cumming were there to give their support on the “Yes, Scotland” campaign.

With the launch of the Yes, Side some responses emerged from the Pro-Union side where chancellor Alistair Darling, a Scottish Labor Member of the Parliament, pointed to the fact that he believes that the people of Scotland will come to see that they are better and stronger with the UK. On his own words, he stated: “I believe that people will come to see that we are better and stronger with the UK”.⁶

⁵ Financial Times (2012), “Scottish Referendum talks make progress” (online), Consulted on 07.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.ft.com/content/cfb5c710-564b-11e1-8dfa-00144feabdc0>

⁶ Carrell, Severin (2012), “Alex Salmond predicts million-strong movement for Scottish independence” (online), Consulted on 07.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/may/25/alex-salmond-yes-scotland-independence>

2.1.1.6 The “Better Together” campaign Launch (25TH June 2012)

Exactly a month after the “Yes, Scotland” campaign, there was the response of the Pro-Union side with the launch of theirs. The “Better Together” campaign is then launched by the chancellor, Alistair Darling. Inside this cross-party campaign, we can look inside and see The Labor, The Liberal Democrats and The Conservatives parties. Mr. Darling defended his views for a Stronger united UK by giving way to the importance of choosing the right side upon voting. His words ushered a form of warning that meant uncertainty of Scottish future in case It was independent. In his own words: “When Scotland votes in the referendum, we will face a historic choice which will shape our country and our families’ futures, not just for the lifespan of a parliament, but for generations to come.” Mr. Darling also made a grim reference at independence. It went as follow: “A one-way ticket to send our children to a deeply uncertain destination”.

Since we know that this launch was made by junction of several of parties, we also most note some other statements made on the same day of the campaign launch. From the Labor party side a politician defended the idea of a better united Union and bringing about the sharing part any Scot has with a British, by being a part of a proud nation but also a bigger larger state with far wider range of opportunities that can bring about a positive experience for the Scottish People.

Alongside this launch came the response of the opposition side, where the SNP Leader, Mr. Alex Salmond claimed that Mr. Darling speech was exposed by the weakness of his arguments. Mr. Salmond, noted that the Scottish anti-independence campaign had no alternative vision of more powers for the Scottish Parliament, even adding that the whole Pro-Union campaign was lead on by the Conservative side upon which have no intention on conceding nothing to the people of Scotland. In the words of Alex Salmond: “That is because- at heart- this is a Tory-led campaign, which is intent on conceding nothing to the people of Scotland. Alistair Darling is operating as the front man for a Tory-Led Campaign.”

In his words, we can see the rivalry between the Scottish National and Conservative Party, this would remain along the campaign.⁷

⁷ The Herald (2012), “Better Together pro-union campaign launched” (online), Consulted on 18.06.2018. Available in: http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/13063012.Better_Together_pro-Union_campaign_launched/

2.1.1.7 The Edinburgh Agreement (15th October 2012)

On 15th October 2012, ministers from both the UK and Scottish governments pull ahead a deal over the independence referendum. It was on this day that the final issues were settled and agreed upon. The agreement came to be known as the Edinburgh Agreement and gave approval from the Westminster Government by giving recognition of a legal and fair referendum. Inside this agreement there was the approval of a single YES/NO question and that 16 years old could take part in the ballot.

This agreement was then signed by David Cameron, Alex Salmond, Michael Moore and Nicola Sturgeon.⁸

2.1.1.8 Debates After the Edinburgh Agreement

Despite the Edinburgh Agreement was signed and put to use, having ourselves a legal referendum to be held on Autumn 2014, there were several disagreements on what Scotland will face or take advantage from Independence. Debates were held, that gave each side their opportunity to make their view more appealing to the Scottish population in order to vote for their side. Aspects such as currency, defense, EU membership and welfare were discussed more in depth in the debates held by strong voices inside each party's defendant.

On the first window of opportunity given the debate that was held by the leaders of the political parties represented on each side of the campaign. Starting off with the first issue we addressed on the Pre-Referendum stage we come across the currency problem.

2.1.1.8.1 Currency

On 7th of August 2014, Alex Salmond, the First Minister of Scotland gave the spark that would start the debate for a Scottish Currency Dilemma. His statement provoked many opposing parties that were against his proposition. On Mr. Alex Salmond words: "It's our pound and we are keeping it". This declaration gave the impression that a yet to be independent Scotland would be able to

⁸ Black, Andrew (2012), "Better Together pro-union campaign launched" (online), Consulted on 19.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-19942638>

use the sterling pound even if a formal sterling pound option was to be rejected by the UK government, defending the idea that Scotland has historic ownership of the Pound as well.

Also Adding to its historic claim, Mr. Salmond gave another argument on its claim of the Pound, his statement went as follows: “We are keeping the pound in a currency union we are appealing to the greatest authority of all- that is, the sovereign will of the people of Scotland.”

However, Mr. Salmond didn't stop by only acknowledging the claim on the pound, but also ensuring that it was within UK's interest on Scotland keeping the pound by both having a close integration on the Scottish and UK economies. By giving such a strong indication, some opposing parties gave their retaliation to this statement, on defending that only the UK's Prime minister had a sovereign mandate to defend the Interests of the UK and that it's not for the First Minister to dictate what is the best national interest of the whole Union.

On later debates the Scottish First Minister, Alex Salmond, leader of the SNP and representing the Pro-Independence side, insisted again on giving the impression that not only will Scotland have legality over the use of the pound but as well this will be relatively easy to obtain. Adding to it he believes that this situation would also be in the best interests of the rest of the UK by entering into this type of arrangement.

According to Salmond: “An independent Scotland will keep the pound because, first and foremost, sterling is Scotland's currency every bit as much as it is that of England, Wales and Northern Ireland and no one has the right to take the pound away from us if we decide to be an independent country”.

On Scotland's option to keep the pound there were some professional opinions that were said in the form of a response to Mr. Almond arguments. One of these opinions was made by Mr. Angus Armstrong a former head of macroeconomics at the treasury. In his view, Scotland could use an informal sterling pound, however the Bank of England would guarantee Scotland's financial sector

as lender of last resort. This being said, such actions would force many of the big-name banks to move to London, leaving a big chunk of Scotland's largest export market.⁹

2.1.1.8.2 Security

Another issue that was debated upon the Scottish Referendum, is the question of Scotland's and the UK's Security situation after a possible Scottish Independence. For the Pro-Union Side, Scotland would be safer inside the Union and so it would the UK, however for the Pro-Independence side a free Scotland could strike back on its non-nuclear policy.

In this debate, came forth Theresa May on October 2013. The Home secretary for the UK's Government gave her speech on the basis that an Independent Scotland could not replicate the protection that the UK's intelligence and security services provided. Her stance was also a response to the SNP's suggested budget of 2.5 Billion pounds to pay for the three armed forces (Navy, Airforce, Army).

The statements made from Theresa May are a clear rejection on the claims of nationalists, that believed Scotland would automatically face fewer threats if they were not associated with the UK. Theresa May, rejected these claims on the basis that some Terrorists hate the West in general. She then stated that Scotland would face some threats since many threats are not just target to a specific country but that some just come from the contradictions on the way of western life or religious beliefs. On her prediction on what would happen on this matter, is that Scotland would have to adapt the scale of capability on protecting its citizens from external threats.

Another issue that could go hand on hand on defending external threats such as terrorism is the police cooperation between Scottish and British forces. Again, Theresa May made her argument by stating that it would be more difficult to tract and extradite suspects from an Independent Scotland to a different United Kingdom. Supporting the stance made from Ms. May is a former Labor Home Secretary, lord Reid of Cardowan. On his words: "Scotland could, of course, separate

⁹ Carrell, Severin (2014), "It's Scotland's pound and we're keeping it, says Alex Salmond" (online), Consulted on 02.07.2018. Available in:
<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/aug/07/scotland-pound-independence-alex-salmond>

from the UK, but it cannot separate itself from the substantial and growing threats of international crime, terrorism or cyber-attack.”

This opinion, supported the idea that despite Scotland Gaining independence, it would still be a target due to the implications of terrorism in globalized world. On this globalized world, every country that isn't at accord with the Terrorist way of thinking may be a potential target. This meaning that is impossible for Scotland to separate itself from external threats.¹⁰

2.1.1.8.3 The European Union

The European Union membership flare, was one of the biggest issues debated on the 2014 Scottish Referendum. On this issue, several debates were held on what each party thought it would be the future of an Independent Scotland if it tried to join the European Union. On this subject, we came to understand that the Pro-Independence side was a strong defender of article 48 of the European Union Treaty, where it implies the continuity of Scotland as EU member state.

Several speeches were made to give voice to each side of the campaign. From the Pro-Independence we can mark an important speech as the one that was made on 29th of April 2014 at the College of Europe in Bruges. Here Mr. Salmond, the leader of Pro-Independence side made his argument around the reasons upon which Scotland would be welcomed into the EU, by referring what's the best Scotland has to offer. From the Words of the “Yes, Scotland” movement leader, Mr. Alex Salmond said: “Scotland's vast natural resources and human talent make it one of the lynchpins of the European Union. We have a key role to play in providing energy security for Europe.”

¹⁰ Carrell, Severin (2013), “Independent Scotland would face greater security risk, says Theresa May” (online), Consulted on 22.06.2018. Available in:
<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/oct/29/independent-scotland-security-theresa-may-intelligence>

Here we can see that Mr. Salmond wants to bring out the best of Scotland's Territory in order to bring about the best case for Scotland's easy transition into the EU. Also, worth noting are his statements on the education system in Scotland as a big advantage to join the EU. In his words: "We have more top universities, per head, than any other member of the EU and our academics collaborate with partners across Europe."

Still on this speech, Mr. Salmond addressed the fact that Scotland doesn't actually fully participate on the proposals the UK presents to the EU, but instead only acts as an occasional consultor, giving way to the possibility of an Independent Scotland acting as an equal contributor for the challenges that Europe faces nowadays.¹¹

2.1.1.9 Last Days Before the Referendum

Days before the 2014 Referendum was about to take place, on a time where sparks flew among every political Scottish and British party, the leaders of both sides of the campaign came forth and gave their final stance. Here came forth the Pro-Union and the Pro-Independence Leaders.

From the Pro-Union side, a high figure on global politics and international order, the UK's Prime Minister, David Cameron gave an emotional plea a few days from the referendum. He supported the idea of a United Kingdom as it was. So, at 15th September 2014, a few days before the Referendum was to be held, David Cameron made an emotional plea for Scotland's Citizens to pick a No on the referendum and choose to stay within the Union. On his speech, that day, his voice became close to breaking with some sadness in his words. He let the world know what he believed to be the costs of independence. He made clear that a yes vote would have serious consequences and leave him "utterly heartbroken". He made a quick comparison and stated that Independence would not be a trial separation, but rather a painful divorce. He made his case presenting the benefits of a UK membership over the people of Scotland, benefits such as a shared stable currency, armed forces and pension funds that would have to be sliced up at some cost in case of independence.

At this notable speech, he also added the fact that the decision made on 18th September 2014, would be a permanent one comparatively to his cargo or the government that are temporary.

¹¹ BBC News (2014), "Scottish independence: Scotland 'committed' to EU, says Salmond" (online), Consulted on 20.05.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-27180301>

On Mr. Cameron words: "If you don't like me, I won't be here forever. If you don't like this government, it won't last forever. But if you leave the UK, that will be forever," he said. David Cameron

At this famous speech, we went on advising for the Scottish people to reconsider their vote and to vote no. He addressed the Scottish National Party promises and made clear, that although they seem tempting, they are not to be trusted. He proclaimed his will for Scotland to remain and not let the United Kingdom to be broken apart, he addressed the fact that there were plans being made in case of the No side won. He promised more powers to the Scottish parliament.

At this speech, I also wanted point out another remarkable stance made from David Cameron. In his words, he went on to saying: "If we get a No vote on Thursday, that will trigger a major, unprecedented program of devolution with additional powers for the Scottish parliament."

His words, ushered a mutual respect he had for both sides on the referendum. Even if the results turn out to be on the No side, Scotland will change and will be given further powers to improve their government and the lives of their people. This extended devolution was given in order to bring about the best in co-operation on the aftermath of the referendum without living any grudge or hard feelings towards the result.

On the other side of this debate came forward Blair Jenkins, the known chief executive of Yes Scotland. He went on against Cameron's speech by stating that it was filled with empty threats and empty promises. He also added that a yes vote would give Scotland's its "one opportunity" to ensure some powers that were not in Scottish Devolution Acts. Such powers would include job creation that came as a strong point for the Yes Side.¹²

2.1.2 International Opinions

During the 2014 Referendum Campaign, David Cameron was not alone and was given support by one of the most powerful political figures on the international community. The former President

¹² Nicholas Watt, Severin Carrell, Tom Clark, Jill Treanor *and* Dan Roberts (2014), "David Cameron makes emotional plea to Scotland as independence vote looms" (online), Consulted on 15.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/sep/15/david-cameron-emotional-plea-scotland-independence>

of the United States of America, Barack Obama. He added support to David Cameron's opinion and giving its own, made clear that the US had a deep interest in maintaining one of their closest allies united and strong. The White House spokesman, Josh Earnest stated that we have to respect the right of the Scottish citizens to vote yes if they choose so, but that the President believes that the United Kingdom would remain stronger and better together. Yet again another American politician and former President of The United States, Bill Clinton, gave its support by stating that Scotland would be better if it remained in the United Kingdom. He did so by giving a clear picture using Four Reasons on which he believes to help Scottish Voters to vote No on the referendum. His Four Reasons came as following:

"1. The proposal to keep the pound as its currency without the support that UK membership provides carries substantial risks, as we saw in the EU after the financial crisis.

This was and still is a major issue towards inclining No Voters to Vote Yes on independence. The uncertainty of what could a new Scottish coin bring to their market is a high-risk scenario.

"2. Separation will require a long complex negotiating process with considerable uncertainty and potential to weaken the Scottish economy.

Negotiations of this magnitude can bring long and meticulous processes that can lead some investors and businesses to stay from Scotland until negotiations would be dealt with.

"3. The increased autonomy promised Scotland by the UK provides most of the benefits of independence and avoids the downside risks.

This reason, is a central point for winning the pro-union argument. The risks involved on creating a new independent country apart from one of the most stable democracies ever seen, is a risk that many won't be willing to take. Adding to it we must address the fact that devolution is a flexible thing and the UK Government would be willing to make changes if needed so, in favor of Scotland and the UK. (Devolution as Flexible, Author)

"4. Unity with maximum self-determination sends a powerful message to a world torn by identity conflicts that it is possible to respect our differences while living and working together. This is the great challenge of our time. The Scots can show us how to meet it."

By bringing a more utopian view on his last reason, he points out the symbol that Scotland can become to the outside world. One of Unity, but as well as cultural uniqueness among the four nations.¹³

2.2 Brexit and Scottish Independence Debate

2.2.1 Brexit Opening and The New Window of Opportunity

The Brexit phenomena was a worldwide changing event that brought a wave of uncertainty for the future of the United Kingdom. By choosing to leave the European Union, they left all the advantages that it brought with. Free circulation of people and goods on such a vast area of countries, is a valuable tool for any country. Among the “victors” we saw content on leaving the European Union behind and giving away the refugees’ problem to those that live inside the Union. On the losers’ side, we saw discontent and the resignation of the UK Prime Minister, David Cameron. This turn of events didn’t quite satisfy the majority of the Scottish Citizens, since 62% of them choose to remain inside the EU. Now the majority of the Scots were ripped out of the European without their consent.

However, we must understand where all this debate started to the point that it created the new opportunity window for a second Scottish independence referendum to happen. The promises for an in/out referendum on the EU started alongside the campaign for the Scottish Referendum of 2014. Despite this, the real reason for Mr. Cameron going public about the in/out referendum on EU, was due to the intense refugees’ migratory crisis. The people of the UK were divided upon sharing the free circulation of people policy in conjunction with the illegal entry of refugees in UK territory. Due to these factors, some members of the British Parliament kept pressuring the prime minister, which at the time was Mr. Cameron, to the point of promising a solution to all the problems ahead. So, on January 23th of 2013, David Cameron, leader of the Conservative party

¹³ BBC News (2014), “Scottish independence: Scotland 'committed' to EU, says Salmond” (online), Consulted on 29.05.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-27713327>

and one of the representatives on the “Better, together” campaign on the Scottish 2014 referendum, gave a speech upon he clearly pledged to hold out a in/out referendum on EU membership in case the Conservatives win the 2015 Election. This was the start of the Brexit phenomena, that would later on open a new window for Scottish independence.

It was by David Cameron’s voice that we came to know his appeal on renegotiating the UKs relationship with the EU while also giving the British people the simple choice of staying inside the EU on new terms or leave the EU. Mr. Cameron made known that he favored a new relationship with the EU and that he would find a way to find what’s the Best for the UK as a whole. However, in his pledge he gave his word on giving way to a simple in/out referendum on staying or leaving the EU. Also, worth noting is the fact that Mr. Cameron made several comments on what he regarded as a “false choice” for the people of the UK to give their opinion, while being pressured by a passing Eurozone Crisis that may highly influence the results of the referendum.

Mr. Cameron also left some warnings in case the UK decides to leave, making his case upon the appeal of Britain going it alone while making a clear statement that the British people must think very carefully, due the implications of a withdrawal from the EU and their role on the international stage. In Mr. Cameron, own words: “If we left the European Union, it would be a one-way ticket, not a return.”

However, some voices were heard opposing the idea of leaving the EU. The Scottish National Party gave its voice in response on the manifesto pledge made from Mr. Cameron on the conservatives’ side regarding the in/out referendum. The Scottish National Party made clear their stance by stating: “The European Union is far from perfect, however we believe that it is overwhelmingly in Scotland’s interest for us to remain a member, engaging with the institutions as fully as we can, and to argue for reform from within. We will oppose UK withdrawal from the EU and will propose that, in any future referendum there should be a double majority requirement. Each of the four constituent nations of the UK would have to vote for withdrawal before the UK as a whole could leave the European Union.”

Moving along the stream of time and the victory of the pro-union side on the Scottish Referendum, we come to the point where the promise made on 2013, was to be upheld due the results of the United Kingdom Election on 7th May 2015. It was on this day that the conservative party, led by David Cameron, won an overall majority of seats and this subsequently was intertwined by the promise made on 2013. Due to these results, it came to pass the European Union

Referendum Act 2015 where it legislates the holding of a national UK-wide referendum on EU membership.

By Now, we know that the in/Out Referendum is bound to happen, and alongside it comes the turning of events for a new Scottish Independence Referendum. On the 5th of May at the 2016 Scottish Parliament Election, the SNP achieved a re-election, but not an overall majority. However, the pro-independence side still held its majority by the 6 seats won by the Scottish Green Party. This Re-election was important for new window of opportunity for two reasons. The first reason came from the past, by a former manifesto made for the 2016 Scottish Elections on which the SNP stipulated the conditions for it to seek another Referendum for Independence. The SNP made the following statement: “We believe that the Scottish Parliament should have the right to hold another referendum if there is a clear and sustained evidence that independence has become the preferred option of a majority of the Scottish people- or if there is a significant and material change in the circumstances that prevailed in 2014, such as Scotland being taken out of the EU against our will.”

On this manifesto, we can observe the possible measures the SNP will have upon the results of the in/out referendum, making clear that if the Scottish People don’t want to leave the EU, there would be another Scottish Independence Referendum to give another choice to the Scottish People on a possible re-entry on the European Union.

The Second reason we can observe as an advancement for the New Second Referendum on Scottish Independence is the Scottish Green Party manifesto. This becomes important due to SNP need of the Green Party accordance on the new referendum proposition, since the pro-independence side only gains majority by combining the SNP with the Greens. However, the Green Manifesto is surprisingly different from the SNPS one on the Second Referendum issue. They approach it on the need for a public demand and not a result of “calculations of party political advantage”, this statement can be directed to the SNPs influence over the Scottish Parliament. Since they asked for a public demand, it was known that they preferred that the support for the referendum should be shown via a public petition.

Their Manifesto stated: “Citizens should be able to play a direct role in the legislative process: on presenting a petition signed by an appropriate number of voters, citizens should be able to trigger a vote on important issues of devolved responsibility.”

Around 7 Weeks later of the Scottish Elections, came forth the United Kingdom European Union Membership referendum. It was precisely on 23th of June 2016 that the United Kingdom

held its referendum upon the question of staying inside or outside the EU was finally settled. The Results of the referendum where very close, but the Out-Side won by an overall 52%, while the 48% that chose to remain were cast out of the EU without their Consent.

However, these results didn't share the same stance on all four nations inside the United Kingdom, leading to a possible division of the Union while the UK was bound to leave a Union itself.¹⁴

2.2.2 Scotland Stance

The Scottish Population made it clear that the majority of them wanted a United Kingdom inside the European Union. For many Scottish voters, the idea of leaving the EU was a decisive point on the Scottish Independence Referendum of 2014 and so it was an also strong point on the 2016 In/Out Referendum on a possible UK withdrawal from a Union that has satisfied the majority of Scots.

This stance was made clear on the percentages of 62% of Scottish wishing to remain inside the European and only 38% on leaving. This difference invoked a wave of uncertainty under the Scotland's Future as a nation inside the UK. What was to be done on a Kingdom that doesn't take in consideration the whole majority of a whole Nation.

¹⁴ BBC News (2013), "David Cameron promises in/out referendum on EU" (online), Consulted on 10.05.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-21148282>

2.2.3 Indyref2

On 24th of June 2016, the first minister addressed some issues that were discussed at the meeting on the Scottish cabinet. She clearly started with pointing out that a second referendum was on the table and was very likely to happen. However, she pointed out that some legal issues were to be met before it was to proceed any further. She moved on towards the most settling issues over the Brexit situation on leaving the EU. This was the issue that could be resolved in that time period. The First Minister of Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon, went quickly into saying that she will seek immediate discussions with Brussels in order to protect Scotland's place in the European Union and the single market.¹⁵

In the same time as Nicola Sturgeon made these statements, it came forth the Leader of the Conservative Scottish Party, Ruth Davidson. Her statements made clear her opposition on independence. She firmly proclaimed that the first minister, Nicola Sturgeon would be heading into this new referendum possessing a moral mandate that eclipsed Alex Salmond's political one back in the 2014 referendum campaign. She also added that she would expect to win with former No voters who are regretful of the decision they took on the Pro-Union side back in 2014. This however comes as a big statement and leaves the responsibility for Davidson to create a better view for a bright Scotland-Brexit scenario.¹⁶

2.2.4 Political Parties and Figures

2.2.4.1 Nicola Sturgeon presents an Alternative (26th June 2016)

By the statement made on 24th of June in 2016, Nicola Sturgeon gave the spark that would start the debate around the possibility of a new referendum for Scottish Independence. Only one day later, the First minister made clear what her second option would be if not a second independence

¹⁵BBC News (2016), "Sturgeon pledges to 'protect' Scottish EU interests" (online), Consulted on 30.05.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36629331>

¹⁶BBC News (2013), "Brexit: Nicola Sturgeon says second Scottish independence vote 'highly likely'" (online), Consulted on 02.04.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-36621030>

referendum. On an interview made by BBC's news on the 26th of June 2016, Nicola Sturgeon gave her Second plan on providing what is best for the People of Scotland.

On this second plan, she went about considering using the Scottish Parliament to Block the UK's exit from the European Union. She provided the reason upon which the Scottish Parliament should back her decision on trying to block Britain's Exit from the EU.

On Nicola Sturgeon words: "If the Scottish Parliament was judging this on the basis of what is right for Scotland, then the option of saying: we are not going to vote for something that is against Scotland's Interests, then of course that has got to be on the table."

Also on this same interview, Nicola Sturgeon was asked on how she would deal with Britain's wrath by her opposing the removal of the UK from the EU. Her response was rather simple, by only stating that her only job was to achieve what was best for the Scottish People since she was the Scottish First Minister. On her own words: "My job is the First Minister; The Scottish Parliament job is to judge these things on the basis of what's in the interest of the people of Scotland."

Easily understood is the position of Nicola Sturgeon on the Brexit Aftermath, where she left Scotland with two choices another possible referendum or a holding position inside the EU for the Scottish People.

However, Nicola Sturgeon didn't quite apply her main focus towards the Plan B of this situation, she instead went to give more attention to the possibility of a new referendum being held for Scottish Independence. Under this plan A, we come to the understanding where the debate sparked and went on to create mixed opinions from the Conservatives, Labor, SNP and the Westminster government.¹⁷

2.2.4.2 Promises of a Draft Bill for a New Referendum (13th October 2016)

Once again, the spotlight falls under Nicola Sturgeon and her saying on the Second Referendum Promise. On 13th October 2016 in Glasgow, Sturgeon addressed this matter at a SNP party's conference, where she promised to publish a draft bill for the future referendum in a week's time.

¹⁷ BBC News (2016), "Nicola Sturgeon says MSPs at Holyrood could refuse Brexit consent" (online), Consulted on 07.05.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-36633244>

Sturgeon went on warning that this next referendum wouldn't be a rerun of 2014. Instead she made clear that new arguments should be made and met with an open mind and fresh eye. In her own words: "Instead we must engage the arguments with a fresh eye and an open mind. The case for independence will have to be made and won."

She has also given a slight perspective on when should this referendum take place, giving the idea that Scotland should reconsider its independence before the UK negotiations to leave the EU are finished in order to protect Scotland best interests. In Nicola Sturgeon words: "I am determined that Scotland will have the ability to reconsider the question of independence- and to do so before the UK leaves the EU-if that is necessary to protect our country's interests."¹⁸

2.2.4.3 The Draft Bill (20th October 2016)

The promise made on 13th October was kept and so did the Draft Bill for the second referendum emerged. It was published by the Scottish government under the unveiling by the constitution secretary, Derek Mackay. Under this draft we can see the setting for the next referendum upon which they set out proposals for the rules governing the campaign, the conduct of the poll and how votes are to be counted.

At the moment the bill was published, Sturgeon came forward and made it known that she defends the position of working alongside the UK on achieving a soft Brexit negotiation with the EU while also providing some proposals to protect Scotland's best interests, this including Scotland's place on the single market.

Despite this position, the draft bill wasn't created with the purpose on co-operating with the UK on Brexit Negotiations, but as an independence referendum proposition. This meaning that despite the Scottish Government will on helping the UK on the Brexit Negotiations, it would also be ready to propose an independence referendum in case negotiations wouldn't be able please the Scottish People interests. This was made known again on the words of the Scottish First Minister:

¹⁸ Sparrow, Andrew (2016), "Sturgeon to publish new independence referendum bill for Scotland" (online), Consulted on 12.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live>

“However, if we find that our interests cannot be properly or fully protected within a UK context then independence must be one of the options open to us and the Scottish people must have the right to consider it.”

Upon this statement, some opposition parties responded under the voice of Ruth Davidson and Kezia Dugdale. The Conservative Party leader, Ruth Davidson gave her opinion regarding the published draft bill for a new referendum, where she vowed that her party would oppose proposals for a second referendum to take place.

On the Labor Party’s side, the leader, Kezia Dugdale, came forward and gave her response in the form of a warning, choosing words such as irresponsible economic vandalism to define the new proposal for a new referendum. In her words: “Our economy is in trouble following David Cameron’s reckless Brexit gamble, and the very last thing we need is more uncertainty for employers.”¹⁹

2.2.4.4 Sturgeon keeps pressure under Brexit Negotiations (28th of February 2017)

Under the eyes of many scots, Nicola Sturgeon made a speech in Edinburgh upon which she said a second independence referendum was bound to be a legitimate necessity if Scotland doesn’t secure a special relationship with the EU before the UK fully leaves the EU. This opinion was a direct ‘attack’ to Theresa Mays government on putting pressure to resolve the best deal for each Nation inside the UK under the Brexit Situation.

In case May Government fails to achieve such deal for Scotland, Sturgeon claimed that her decision to carry on the referendum wouldn’t simply be legitimate, but instead a necessity to give what the people of Scotland wished for in the In/Out referendum in 2016.

Quickly defending the Conservative Party, from which Theresa May is part of was the Scottish Conservative Party Leader, Ruth Davidson. She quickly accused Sturgeon of deceiving voters since the UKs government actions on Brexit would take off any powers from Scotland but rather amplify them, giving Holyrood extra devolution. Also, worth mentioning in Ruth Davidson opposition speech is her direct attack on suggesting that sturgeon is using Brexit as a tool to seek

¹⁹ BBC News (2016), “New Scottish independence bill published” (online), Consulted on 12.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-37708545>

another independence referendum. In the Tory Leader words: “Nicola Sturgeon’s attempt to use Brexit to manufacture the case for a second referendum has quite simply failed.”²⁰

2.2.4.5 Theresa May Counters Sturgeon Request (3rd March 2017)

Speaking at a Scottish Conservative Party conference on 3rd of March 2017, Theresa May made it clear that she would have to stand against the possibility of a new referendum and adding to it further devolution powers to be added to the Scottish Parliament on the Brexit Aftermath wouldn’t be given. This clear stance made it clear that May had her footing on what was to be done with the turmoil around the possibility of a new referendum.

Her insight was on the lines of what Scotland shouldn’t be doing, and that is breaking the Union apart while making it weaker and looser in a time where it needs to be stronger and tight together. In her own words, she stated the following phrase: “We must avoid any unintended consequences for the coherence and integrity of a devolved United Kingdom as a result of our leaving the EU.”

However, May still addressed the reasons on which why the powers that were once controlled by the EU and shared by each nation of the UK, were now being taken away and controlled by the Westminster Government and not given separately to each nation. She explained this situation by ensuring that there was a need to ensure that those devolved powers were operated efficiently for the best of the UK Brexit scenario and to do so there was a need of centralizing these same powers under the Westminster rule. Mrs. May made this clear by stating: “As we bring powers and control back to the United Kingdom, we must ensure that right powers sit at the right level to ensure our United Kingdom can operate effectively and in the interests of all of its citizens, including people in Scotland.”

Quickly rushing into counter Mays arguments was Mr. Alex Salmond, the former Scottish First Minister. On an interview done by BBC news, he went on to tackle against Mays speech on Glasgow. His words were directed to the intention of the Westminster Government under Mays authority, for Salmond she intended to achieve a power grab by not giving back any powers to the

²⁰ Carrel, Severin (2017), “Sturgeon: new vote on independence likely if Scots get no EU deal” (online), Consulted on 19.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/feb/28/second-independence-referendum-likely-if-scots-get-no-brexit-deal>

Scottish Parliament that were formerly set by the EU and should be shared among the four nations of the UK. In Mr. Salmond own words: “What she announced today was a power grab. She’s actually proposing that if Brexit goes ahead, the powers that should come back to Scotland– on fishing, farming and a range other issues – she’s going to retain them at Westminster, because she likes the look of the Scottish economic zone.”²¹

2.2.4.6 Theresa May Postpones the Possibility of a New Referendum (16th March 2017)

Theresa May has come forward in regarding the Scottish Independence case as a bad case of timing. She implicitly said that the SNP demands for a second referendum weren’t in alignment with the best interest of the UK and so the referendum shouldn’t happen in their time table.

Theresa May also reinforce her opinion on giving way to the idea of concentrating all Westminster energies into negotiating the best deal out of Brexit. However, in this interview, Mrs. May did not exclude completely the possibility of a new Scottish referendum but only postpone it to a later date after the Brexit negotiations are settled. Her statement went as following: “I’m responding to the proposal that’s been put forward by the first minister. I say now is not the time.”

On a very strong statement made by May she proclaimed her will on defending the best interest for the Whole UK and that is where her focus will be at the time being. In her own words: “As we embark on the process of negotiating a new relationship with the European Union, I’m going to be fighting for every person, every family, every business across the whole of the United Kingdom. That’s my focus, and I think it should be the focus of us all.”

Adding to it, Mrs. May didn’t leave out her stance on the SNPs position. She went on to saying that if the SNP want to press on this referendum, they are doing it wrong and instead all our energies, including SNPs ones, should be focused on the UKs negotiations within the Brexit Situation. Mrs. May said this in the following way: “When the SNP government say that it’s the time to start talking about a new independence referendum, I say that just at this point, all our

²¹ Carrel, Severin (2017), “Theresa May lays down independence vote challenge to Nicola Sturgeon” (online), Consulted on 13.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/mar/03/theresa-may-lays-down-independence-vote-challenge-to-sturgeon>

energies should be focused on our negotiations with the European Union about our future relationship”.

Later on, support came from the Scottish Conservative Party leader, Ruth Davidson, where she tackled the wrong timetable that Sturgeon has made for the new referendum. She went on to defending may on rejecting the idea of a referendum happening before the Brexit negotiations are closed and that the people of Scotland deserve to know how the new relationship with the EU will work within the UK.²²

2.2.4.7 Nicola Sturgeon opens the Debate on Scotland’s Independence Referendum (21th March 2017)

Under way went the debate on 21th March 2017 in the Scottish Parliament, that gave two figures debating against each other. Nicola Sturgeon and Ruth Davidson went on debating one against the other on why Scotland does or does not need another referendum. Sturgeon started off the debate by stating that she was well aware of the risks the EU referendum brought to Scotland and that in the past the Scottish Government tried to proclaim that the infamous EU referendum should have only taken place if all the four nations were in agreement. This proposal was refused by the British Government and the EU referendum took place. Sturgeon again set her heart into explaining that the refusal of such a manifesto would be a diminishing act on the democratic world system.

Moments later, came forth Ruth Davidson on opposing Sturgeon statements and the SNPs strategy. Her opinion came in the form of ridiculizing the SNPs strategy and pointing out what she believed was their true goal. On her statements, she made clear that the SNPs strategy was to create an unworkable proposition for the Westminster Government to work with and since they wouldn’t be able to achieve, the SNPs would come rushing out on the flaws of the UKs system of governance.²³

²² BBC News (2017), “Theresa May: 'Now is not the time' for Scotland independence vote” (online), Consulted on 27.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-39291860/theresa-may-now-is-not-the-time-for-scotland-independence-vote>

²³ Sparrow, Andrew (2017), “Scottish parliament debates call for second independence referendum” (online), Consulted on 27.06.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2017/mar/21/death-martin-mcguinness-reaction-politics-live>

2.2.4.8 The Vote for a New Referendum is Underway (28th March 2017)

On 28th March 2017, the Members of the Scottish Parliament agreed to pass the motion to give Nicola Sturgeon the authority to move on to negotiations with the UK government for a new referendum proposal. This win on Holyrood, was due to a 10-vote majority that was supported by the Scottish Green Party.

This situation made it possible for Sturgeon to properly write to Theresa May in order to ask for Westminster to hand Holyrood the temporary powers to stage another independence referendum. This vote, again made it visible the split between Pro-Independence and Pro-Union parties amongst the Scottish Parliament.²⁴

2.2.4.9 Theresa May Promises on Scotland (19th May 2017)

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom came forward on giving some promises on a better future for Scotland if they choose to put it in the conservatives' hands.

Theresa May made this speech on Friday in Edinburgh on support of the upcoming Scottish elections. She insisted that the Conservative party would help Scotland to grow and flourish after the Brexit situation is over, this was to be accomplished by strong investments on the Scottish industries and deprived communities.

However, this sort of speech came with a purpose behind it, this was to counter-attack the SNP and give a boost to the conservative anti-independence stance. May promised better changes within a unionist government by appealing to the needs of the ordinary working families.

After being backed up by the prime minister of the UK, came forth the leader of the Scottish conservative party, Ruth Davidson. Her goal was to win the most number of seats on the closing Scottish elections on 8th of June. She tried to appeal anyone who shared their party's view on anti-independence and a pro-Brexit stance. She also believed that several seats once belonging to the SNP may fall to the Conservatives.

²⁴ BBC News (2017), "Scottish Parliament backs referendum Call" (online), Consulted on 09.07.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-39422747>

On attempting to attack again the SNP views, Ruth Davidson made it known that she would never consent to a second Scottish independence referendum, unless there was a poll that suggested the support from a very large majority of Scottish Voters.

Flaring against May and Davidson, came forward Angus Robertson, the SNP deputy leader. He saw Mays message translated as “get back in your box” sort of speech. He noted that last year in 2016, the Treasury of the UK had tried to cut Scotland’s UK Funding by 7 billion pounds. To him the Tories will create instability and destroy opportunities for young people. In his own words, he said: “The Tories have done more to divide society, create instability and destroy opportunities for young people than any other government in living memory – now they are asking people to vote for them to fix the problems that they have created.”²⁵

2.2.4.10 Sturgeon steps back from independence referendum demands (30th May 2017)

On 30th May 2017, was the turn for the SNP to show what it had to offer to Scotland before the upcoming elections. Nicola Sturgeon, the leader of the SNP, made a significant change of strategy in the hopes of achieving the good will of all the Scottish people. The first minister then launched a manifesto in Perth, known to be conservative political grounds. She did this as a power move in order to give a slight change of minds even in the minds of the opposition. In her manifesto, she made no references to the new referendum proposal, knowing that in conservative grounds this idea would be in direct opposition against their ideals. Instead, Sturgeon made the manifesto about opposing Westminster into cutting government spending and welfare payments. The Scottish first minister also addressed the protection of pensions and the need to modernize the UKs voting system. For the time being, Sturgeon didn’t want to address the referendum case, knowing that it wouldn’t be particularly welcomed in Perth.²⁶

²⁵ Financial Times (2017), “Theresa May Promises on Scotland” (online), Consulted on 09.07.2018. Available in: <https://www.ft.com/content/5bbe7094-3cac-11e7-821a-6027b8a20f23>

²⁶ Carrel, Severino (2017), “Sturgeon steps back from independence referendum demands” (online), Consulted on 18.07.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/may/30/sturgeon-steps-back-from-independence-referendum-demands>

2.2.5 International Opinions

2.2.5.1 Spain and France Oppose Independence (29th June 2016)

Two important stances were made on the Scottish attempt on the EU deal at the Brexit Aftermath. These stances were made clear upon the First Minister of Scotland meeting with Jean-Claude Juncker on the case of a possible retaining of Scotland's membership on the EU. Here, there was some turmoil regarding important stances made by two important EU members. Spain and France were against any negotiations to be made for separate parts of the UK. They stated that if the UK leaves it would leave as whole. Representing Spain was Spanish premier Mariano Rajoy. On 29th June 2016, he stated the following words: "If the UK leaves, Scotland leaves"

Not only that strong statement was made by the representative of Spain, but also that he does not believe that Scotland possesses the competence to negotiate directly with the European Union and that only the government of the United Kingdom would be responsible for its fate.

Other Blazing words came out of Mr. Rajoy towards its extreme opposition on the Scottish Case and that other countries would share its view.

However, these words were not surprising for Nicola Sturgeon, since Spain faced a similar issue for the independence of Cataluña and giving approval would mean to sympathize with the idea of independence referendums.

It comes as my understanding that it come as a normal reaction from Mr. Rajoy, when taking into consideration that Cataluña has been wanting more independence throughout the years. If Spain indeed complied with Scotland and gave its recognition and support, it would on the other hand give reasons for Cataluña to proclaim its independence.

At this same time, Francois Hollande, the at the time President of France, gave his short opinion regarding the case. He insisted that the negotiations would only be conducted with the United Kingdom and not with a single nation within that Kingdom. Ms. Sturgeon also took this response lightly, saying that she respected the fact that the EU would negotiate with the UK government since it's a member state, but that she wanted to ensure that all options remained on the table.

It's understandable that Sturgeon wouldn't show any manifestation against the opinions of two powerful member states of the Union, such as Spain and France. Giving away to conflict

would only complicate a possible entry for Scotland in the European Union in case it did win independence on a future referendum.²⁷

2.2.5.2 Foreign Minister of Spain Opposes Break-Up of the UK (14TH March 2017)

On 14th March 2017, Alfonso Dastis, The Spanish Foreign Minister of Spain made it known that his opinion on the Scottish Independence case on the possibility of it inheriting or applying for EU membership would be a very difficult one. He added that in case Scotland does gain independence it would find itself on the back of the queue for Joining the EU. Also adding to his speech was the opposition side he took on fracturing the UK. In Mr. Dastis words: “Spain supports the integrity of the United Kingdom and does not encourage secessions or divisions in any of the member states. We prefer things to stay as they are.”²⁸

3. CONCLUSION/DISCUSSION

From the beginning of creating this thesis, my first objective was to clarify what were the differences between the two windows of opportunity on Scottish Independence, this being the 2014 referendum and the new window given by the Brexit aftermath. Towards this objective I made it clear to separate each window and explain on how did they reached to be a major part of in the political arena of both the Scottish and British Politics. I entrusted myself to use both the Academia and Political Realm for further understanding what are the major problems on giving Scotland its independence.

When I first started investigating, I had little understanding of what the Scottish Independence debate really delved about. To me, it seemed that the Scottish Independence Case was one that was prompted by cultural heritage, I knew this by acknowledging that the Scottish

²⁷ BBC News (2016), “Brexit: Spain and France oppose Scotland EU talks” (online), Consulted on 02.07.2018. Available in: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-36656980>

²⁸ Boffey, Daniel (2017), “Spain: independent Scotland would be at the back of EU queue” (online), Consulted on 29.07.2018. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/mar/14/spain-independent-scotland-would-be-at-the-back-of-eu-queue>

have a strong sense of proclaiming themselves as Scots. However, this wasn't really a breakthrough.

However, upon investigating under the Academia Realm about what was the Scottish History alongside the UK, I came across the problem of devolution. On this very word, I started to understand that Scottish Independence case wasn't only by cultural divergence among the population. Instead I saw various areas that haven't been dealt with, between the passing of powers under the British Rule.

By this point I understood that the Scottish Case for Independence had past roots that gave its case a proper standing. To my understanding, at this point there was the need for further devolution for the Scottish People. From the beginning the Scottish people managed to gain further powers that usually belonged to the British Government and even created the Scottish Parliament at one point. This sort of behavior from the Scottish People led to the need for independence.

However, Devolution was first noticed in a big scale from the Scottish Act of 1998, this was the starting point that gave Scotland a reason to ask for further devolution. From this historical event, the Scottish people took a taste on what self-governing could do for a whole nation. Removing part of the strings from the British government made it clear that devolution was about giving more independence to Scotland. Despite this being a particular important event on Scottish History, we must move forward in time and give emphasis on to how did the Scottish Political Arena, became so Nationalist in its core. To this question, a simple take over by a Nationalist Party on the 2007 Elections would be proven as the cause. On this very victory from the Scottish National Party, their leader Alex Salmond, made it known that he would go forward with the idea of an Independence Referendum. So, it was here on this very election that the Idea of the independence referendum took a solid shape and started to grow its roots inside the Scottish Political History.

Before any Referendum was to be held in the case for Scotland's independence, there would be needed a formal agreement between the UK and Scottish Government. On this final point, it was then created and signed upon, the Edinburgh Agreement. This agreement was signed in 2012, just about 2 years before the referendum was to be held on. This marked the beginning of both the two political sides to start their unofficial campaign.

Giving the choice for a Scottish Individual to choose for an independent Scotland, would later on become a rather troublesome option. The two political sides of the campaign became clear upon which, each one supported opposite ideals. One fought for an independent Scotland, while

the other wanted to keep the UK intact. Both sides debated alongside many issues as the reason on why should you want or not and independence Scotland. On this 2014 Referendum campaign, these issues were distinguished as the primary problems of devolution, such as the Currency, Defense, Health System and even international recognition to achieve an ideal image on the International community.

It's within these problematic areas that both parties from each side of the campaign for the 2014 referendum defended their ground on what should the Scottish people expect from an Independent Scotland. Whether it was a pessimist view or an optimistic one, inside the campaign we could analyze what each party stood for. On this analysis, we can use some points that could also be further discussed under the New Window of opportunity given by the Brexit Aftermath for a new referendum to occur. The debate that was held on the 2014 referendum case can give a proper insight on what are the similarities and differences from the 2014 opportunity and the new window that has arrived. By explaining what each side stood for on the 2014 Referendum and what issues were discussed we can provide what issues are to be dealt with if a new referendum goes forward.

On the Pro-Independence side, strongly represented by the SNP we saw the implementation of a strategy that implied taking advantage by providing a view of a utopian society for an independent Scotland, while associating it with freedom and perfection. However, what must be known from the Scottish debate is that no matter which side we take we must acknowledge that freedom has its limits as well its advantages. Opposing the SNP view, I can use the idea that an independent Scotland would still face problems regarding its markets and inequalities. It is not by wanting a better market that the possible external commercial connections will provide one. Instead we must take into consideration that there are more actors on play that don't have obligations towards Scotland and that can affect it directly. Giving the illusion of a national dream of liberation from the UK, where everything will be become simpler and better is too good to be true (Irish Times Books, 2014).

However, we must also understand that national freedom can bring its advantages and give room to a government to maneuver. It within this freedom that we can see the possibility for an Independent Scotland to come with no strings attached, this meaning no Westminster involvement on Scotland issues. This scenario would lead to changes upon Public and Private interests of Scotland that could be renegotiated on the Scottish Government Terms.

On the ideal Scenario for the Pro-Independence Side, Scotland's future would be its own to dictate. Issues such as currency would be dealt with by means of ownership of the Sterling Pound, defending that a coin that has been used by Scotland during its Union with the UK, should be rightfully theirs as much as it is from other nations inside the Kingdom. On this matter of currency, the SNP also added joining the Euro as an alternative in case the Scottish use of the sterling pound wasn't formally accepted by the UK government. Easy to understand that this issue prompted the opinions of many, on the regards of uncertainty of the EU acceptance of Scotland as new member state, thus implying that there was no certainty of joining the EU in the first place, leaving the Euro option even more uncertain. However, it needs to be addressed that this issue would be also worth debating on the New Window of Opportunity for a Scottish Referendum. By not choosing to leave the EU, but having to leave by the majority of votes in the UK, the Scottish Population was left with the same scenario in case it gain its independence on the currency dilemma. It would need the Westminster approval to formally use the Sterling pound as their currency or it would need to apply first for EU membership and only afterwards try to apply for the use of the Euro.

Other issues would also be dealt with under the Scottish Rule alone on the 2014 Referendum case, issues such as defense would be sensible and would take a long-term planning, but in the end Scotland could rest assured that the government would provide the means to defend their country and give a sense of security that was felt within a functioning UK. However, there was some discordance from the Security Case from the pro-union side. On their opinion, they believed Scotland would lose a lot of protection and a place on NATO, that is secured by the United Kingdom. They also added the loss of intelligence agencies such as MI6 and the full-on force of the UK army. Having this point well sorted would be crucial to have a strong point on the New Independence Referendum on the Pro-Independence Side.

However, the most troublesome question that kept arising in the minds of the Scottish people upon their choice if Scotland should become independent, was the EU membership case. This particular problem would later on have implications on the New Window of Opportunity for Scottish Independence. As I previously mentioned along my thesis, the EU membership for Scottish Independence is a tricky one. Starting with the possibility of succession in case Scotland does become Independent is a possible way to go in trying out to keep the EU membership for the Scottish people. However, this attempt has a high probability to fall flat, due to the opinions of

various important figures inside the international political arena. One of these opinions took a lot of weight into determining if there would be any chance of Scotland becoming a EU member through the simple act of succession, this opinion came from Jose Durao Barroso, the former President of the EU commission. In his opinion, it would be almost near to impossible for Scotland to become independent through succession. This view took a toll in what the Scottish People would later vote on the referendum. Needless to say, that the high possibility of leaving the EU made some voters quiver on what should they vote for, despite some having a national pride to defend. Not only did this issue affect the 2014 referendum it was also used as a pre-statement to start a possible new referendum due to the results of Brexit.

The Results of Brexit were conclusive in a way that the majority of the UK voted to leave the European Union. However, that came to be not entirely true in each nation of the Kingdom. On voting on the Brexit Referendum, the majority of the Scottish People left a big No to leave the EU, this result came into clashing with the motives of some voters withdrawing from Scottish Independence due to the uncertainty of Scotland's future inside the EU. From here on out, the biggest supporter of the independence case, the SNP, came forward, grasping what they thought was an opportunity to give a new referendum a chance. What they saw from the result of Brexit, was a Scotland Nation unwillingly leaving the EU and consequently this fear of withdrawing from the EU, was one of the biggest issues regarding voters to vote NO in 2014.

Comparing both opportunities, one could say that the first referendum on 2014, was a long-expected event that was prompted by years of the need for further devolution on Scottish History. However, the new window of opportunity arose from the problems of the first. Interestingly enough, the European Union was one of the decisive actors on Scottish Independence and furthermore the biggest flare towards the New Window of Opportunity.

Many actors came forward upon the possibility of a new Scottish referendum. Theresa May and Nicola Sturgeon collided on the matters of this new opportunity window. For Sturgeon, the Brexit aftermath put out a strong motive on why should Scotland have another go for independence, reinforcing the idea that Scottish people were left with no choice on leaving the EU, even though the majority of them choose to stay. On the opposite side of this debate, was Theresa May, that by no means gave way to her opinion on this new Scottish referendum, proclaiming loud and clear that it was not meant to be at such a time. For Theresa May, all her efforts and attention would be then focused on dealing with the Brexit Negotiations and not for Scottish Matters. Here

we can see a change on what this new opportunity has compared to the 2014 one. On 2014, the referendum had the full support of the British Government which gave it legality and some international recognition. However, this new window is not being supported by the Prime Minister or the British Government, leaving it with a huge hole to fill in to keep the hopes for a clear referendum.

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