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FACULTY OF APPLIED LANGUAGES

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**THE PRO-EUROPEAN SCOTTISH AND THE
POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENGLAND AND
SCOTLAND**

Master's Thesis

2021

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Affirmation

I hereby affirm that this Bachelor thesis represents my own original research and writing and that I have referenced all appropriate source materials.

Bratislava,

.....

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Abstrakt

GROHOLOVÁ, Tereza: *Proeurópski Škóti a politický vzťah medzi Anglickom a Škótskom* – Ekonomická univerzita v Bratislave. Fakulta aplikovaných jazykov; Katedra interkultúrnej komunikácie. – Vedúca diplomovej práce: PaedDr. Zuzana Hrdličková, Ph.D. – Bratislava: FAJ EU, 2021, 80 s.

Táto magisterská práca sa zaoberá politickými vzťahmi Anglicka a Škótska. Cieľom magisterskej práce je priblížiť históriu a súčasný vývoj v týchto dvoch krajinách ako aj podrobne opísať a preskúmať dnešnú situáciu. Naša práca je rozdelená do štyroch kapitol a niekoľkých podkapitol. V prvej kapitole uvádzame krátku históriu anglo-škótskych vzťahov, počnúc stredovekom až do 20. storočia. Skúmame najdôležitejšie udalosti, ktoré ovplyvnili Anglicko a Škótsko. V druhej kapitole popisujeme decentralizované škótske inštitúcie a problémy, ktorými sa zaoberá škótsky parlament, ako aj záležitosti vyhradené vláde Spojeného kráľovstva. Zaoberáme sa najdôležitejšími udalosťami týkajúcimi sa Škótska v 21. storočí. V tretej kapitole opisujeme metodológiu práce. Štvrtá kapitola je venovaná dôkladnému preskúmaniu súčasného vývoja škótskej politiky, ktoré je založené na relevantných výskumoch a údajoch.

Kľúčové slová: Anglicko, Škótsko, Spojené kráľovstvo, škótska vláda, decentralizácia, referendum, parlamentné voľby, Brexit

Abstract

GROHOLOVÁ, Tereza: *The Pro-European Scottish and the Political Relationship between England and Scotland* – University of Economics in Bratislava. Faculty of Applied Languages; Department of Intercultural Communication. – Supervisor: PaedDr. Zuzana Hrdličková, PhD.– Bratislava: FAJ EU, 2021, 80 p.

The aim of our thesis is to examine the political relationship of England and Scotland and to look closer at the history and current developments in the two countries, as well as to describe and examine in detail the contemporary situation of their relationship. Our thesis is divided into three chapters and several subchapters. In the first chapter, we provide a short history of Anglo-Scottish relations, beginning in the Middle Ages, until the 20th century. We examine the most important events which have influenced England and Scotland. In the second chapter, we provide a description of the devolved Scottish institutions and the issues that the Scottish Parliament deals with, as well as the matters reserved to the Government of the United Kingdom. We look at the most important events concerning Scotland in the 21st century. The third chapter provides an insight into the research methodology. The fourth chapter is dedicated to a close examination and study of contemporary development in Scottish politics, which is based on relevant research and data.

Key words: England, Scotland, United Kingdom, Scottish Government, devolution, referendum, parliamentary elections, Brexit

Contents

Introduction	8
1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS	11
1.1. The Early Fights for Independence	11
1.1.1 The Scottish Wars of Independence	12
1.1.2 The Greatest Anglo-Scottish Battle	14
1.1.3 Mary, Queen of Scots	15
1.2. Anglo-Scottish Relations in the 17th – 19th Century	18
1.2.1 The Unions of 1603 and 1707	19
1.2.2 18th Century – The Scottish Enlightenment.....	22
1.2.3 19th Century – Urban and Industrial Scotland	23
1.3 Modern Scotland and England in the 20th Century	24
1.3.1 The Establishment of the Scottish Parliament.....	25
2. RECENT EVENTS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN SCOTLAND AND THE UK	28
2.1. Scotland in the 21st Century	28
2.1.1 Referendum on Scottish Independence	29
2.1.2 The EU Referendum.....	31
2.2. The Devolved Scottish Government	32
2.2.1 The Devolved and Reserved Matters	32
3. METHODOLOGY	40
4. CURRENT SITUATION OF SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND	42
4.1. Results and Discussion	42
4.1.1 The Influence of Brexit on Devolution and Scottish Independence.....	42
4.1.2 Scottish National Identity.....	49
4.1.3 A Second Referendum on Scottish Independence	55
4.1.4 The 2021 Scottish Parliamentary Elections.....	61
Conclusion	66
Resumé	68
Bibliography	74
Book sources	74
Online sources	75

Introduction

England and Scotland are two countries that have existed alongside each other for several centuries and are both constituents of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (hereafter only the United Kingdom), one of the most influential nations in the world. England and Scotland share a complex and fascinating history as two separate regions and as parts of the United Kingdom. The relationship between them has gone through turmoil and peace, years of war conflicts, as well as times of partnership and cooperation. Currently, the two countries are going through possible changes in the constitutional arrangement. After a devolved Scottish Government was established in 1999, Scotland entered the 21st century with much more power and independence than it retained before devolution. Although the results of the Scottish Independence referendum in 2014 have determined that the Scots wished to remain in the United Kingdom, the debate about Scotland becoming an independent country has continued. Brexit and the EU Referendum results, which were much different in Scotland than in England, were a turning point in the discussion. With the power of nationalist parties in Scotland arising and the approaching Scottish Parliamentary elections, the topic of an independent Scotland remains exceedingly active and dynamic.

The thesis is divided into four chapters and several subchapters. In the first chapter, we discuss the long and complex history of England and Scotland. We examine the developments beginning in the Medieval period, continuing through the Early Modern Ages of Renaissance, Reformation and period of Enlightenment, all the way to the Modern times and the 20th century. We look at the centuries in a chronological order, highlighting the most significant and influential occurrences, as well as the key historical figures that these events are centered around.

The second chapter centers around the most crucial events of the 21st century regarding England and Scotland and their relationship. We describe the circumstances and outcomes of the Referendum on Scottish Independence, which took place in 2014. The second chapter also deals with the EU Referendum, which resulted in Brexit. In addition,

we look into the devolved responsibilities and powers of the Scottish Parliament, as well as the matters reserved for the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

In the third chapter, we introduce the research methodology, objectives and methods that were utilized, as well as two set hypotheses.

The fourth chapter examines the current state of Anglo-Scottish relations. Various relevant researches, data and analysis is presented, evaluated and compared in order to confirm or reject our given hypotheses. In the last chapter, we analyze in detail the effects of Brexit on Scotland and the debate on Scottish self-determination, along with the possibility of a second Scottish referendum on independence. Furthermore, we evaluate the gravity of Scottish national identity and its patterns. Lastly, we consider the possible outcomes of the impending Scottish Parliamentary elections and its impacts on the arising challenges of devolution in the United Kingdom.

The aim of our thesis is to examine and explain the relationship between England and Scotland. Our objective is to provide a perspective on the events in the history of these two countries, the most important developments which have influenced the relationship between them, and the current state of these matters. Our thesis adds to the discussion about Scottish independence and devolution in the United Kingdom and provides an insight into the complex dilemma that Scotland is going through at the present time, while reflecting on the developments which have led the country into such a situation. We would like to highlight the importance of this topic and the study of it, as it has a far-reaching impact not only on the United Kingdom, but also on the European Union and European affairs. Looking at the current position that Scotland finds itself in, it is valuable to know the complicated historical, as well as political circumstances and evaluate the picture objectively, taking into consideration all the specifics and the viewpoints of the involved parties. Our thesis provides a comprehensive description and analysis of Anglo-Scottish relations.

The methods that we use in our research are theoretical methods, content analysis, descriptive and comparative methods. Works of authors in the given field are presented, described and examined. In our research, we use a number of relevant sources and present

the works of many authors, historians and political scientists. The primary sources of our thesis include the works of scholars such as Houston (2009), Wormald (2005), Mackie (1991) and Curtice (2008). We use the works of Paun et al. (2021), McCrone (2001, 2012), McEwen (2017) and Harvie (2014) as secondary sources. When it comes to current information regarding the Governments of the United Kingdom and Scotland, our thesis relies on relevant websites of the organizations, such as *The Scottish Government*.

1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS

In this chapter, we are going to focus on the main historical events, which are important to discuss when looking at Scotland as a country that went through many periods, eras and developments. It is crucial for our research to look at and explore the history of Scotland, beginning in the Middle Ages, when the first War of Independence occurred, to provide a deeper understanding of the discussed topic. In this chapter, we present a short history of Medieval, Early Modern and Modern history of Scotland. We focus primarily on the most significant events, which have somehow shaped not only Scotland, but also its relationship with England. We discuss the events which changed Scotland, molded it into the ever-changing country that we can observe today and somehow influenced the relationship between the countries that form the United Kingdom. Our insight into the historical development concerning the British Isles provides an awareness of the deeply-rooted closeness of England and Scotland, as well as the conflict and divergence of these countries.

1.1. The Early Fights for Independence

In the following subchapter, we are going to discuss the first instances of Anglo-Scottish conflicts, which occurred during the Medieval period in the territory that we now know as the British isles. These centuries were a turbulent period for the people living in these countries, as numerous war conflicts and political conflicts took place, many people lost their lives in a fight for their country. These conflicts were mainly disputes concerning the English and Scottish territory and the attempts of Scotland to free itself from the English rule. We are going to discuss the Scottish Wars of Independence, which took place in the 14th century and centered around influential personalities of Scottish history, such as William Wallace or Robert Bruce, who remain a symbol of heroism for the Scots until today. Furthermore, we are going to talk about the Battle of Flodden, in which Scotland

experienced a disastrous defeat. This war conflict represented not only a great struggle for the Scots, but it was also part of a wider context of European relations. In the third subchapter, we are going to explain the influence of Mary, Queen of Scots and the era that she reigned in for the Scottish history. It was a time of religious reform, as well as a turbulent time of Anglo-Scottish disputes centered around the crown and the subordination of Scotland towards England.

1.1.1 The Scottish Wars of Independence

Before the first fights for independence, Scotland and England had existed alongside each other in different forms, as various groupings of land and kingdoms. By 1266, there was Britain, which consisted of two roughly defined territories of England and Scotland. During the 12th and 13th centuries, the two kingdoms became closer as their dynasties and settlements became connected (Houston, 2009).

During the 14th century, Scotland had to fight for its independence in multiple battles and was at war for most of the century. At the beginning of these conflicts, England and Scotland were two relatively well established independent countries. The conflicts were based on the constant efforts of the kings of England to claim their dominance over Scotland. The English thought of themselves as the most powerful country, they were very brave and ambitious in their conquests and wars. In the face of Scottish resistance, however, none of these efforts were successful (Wormald, 2005).

The first attempt of England to gain control over Scotland was made by king Edward I in 1296, when he led his army to realize his British vision. This event marks the beginning of the First War of Independence. Edward I had also claimed Ireland and Wales and was very close to creating a British kingdom when he removed King John from the throne. William Wallace was one of Scotland's most important national heroes, who remains a symbol of the Scottish fight for independence and resistance. He led the Scottish uprising of 1297, which was fueled by the deeply rooted patriotic spirit of the Scots, and managed to resist and withstand the attempts of Edward I. However, it was after eight years that Edward I finally defeated his Scottish enemies (Wormald, 2005).

The complex string of events which unfolded from the year 1306 are all centered around Robert Bruce, a king of Scotland who led his country in the First War of Independence and managed to free Scotland from the English rule. Robert Bruce attempted to secure the Scottish throne for himself and thus united Edward I and the remaining supporters of King John against him. In 1314, Robert Bruce defeated the English force in the battle at Bannockburn. After his victory, he managed to unite the Scottish and to gradually create a true nation. At the time, it seemed Bruce's success at the Battle at Bannockburn did not make much difference, as the English continued to interfere and create more and more distrust. In the long term, though, we can observe that Bannockburn was not only the most important battle in the history of England or Scotland, but in the history of Britain itself, as it identified the end of any real chance of serious dominance of England over Scotland, thus making it an important milestone in the Scottish journey to independence (Houston, 2009).

In 1320, the Declaration of Arbroath appealed to Pope John XXII to legitimate Bruce's coronation, claiming Scotland would never submit to England under any circumstances. This declaration remains crucial to the Scottish nation until today, making the ideal of a strong, independent monarchy the vital point of the Scottish identity. As its objective was the recognition of an independent crown by the pope, the ultimate Christian authority, and it was formulated by churchmen and laity, it showed the political importance of the Church in Scotland, as well as across Europe. The Declaration of Arbroath united Scotland, the monarchy and loyalty surrounding it helped create a stronger sense of Scottish nation (Houston, 2009).

It was the peace of 1328, the end of the First War of Independence, that was Robert Bruce's greatest achievement, only one year before his death. The recognition of his rank and rights as ruler of independent Scotland, as well as the peace between England and Scotland were at last achieved and signed in The Treaty of Edinburgh – Northampton (Wormald, 2005).

The conflict between England and Scotland began again in 1332, only four years after the end of the First War of Independence. Until then, Robert Bruce's enemies, led by Edward Balliol, waited in exile, and when he returned to Scotland after Bruce's death, the

conflict was renewed. Edward Balliol was a claimant to the throne, as he was the oldest son of King John Balliol who was removed from the throne by Edward I. He was not strong enough to restore his power on his own, he needed the help of England, and by the late 1340s, it was clear that he was unsuccessful in his efforts. Balliol's flight from Scotland, followed by a number of conflicts, the last of which ended in 1357, marked the end of the Second War of Independence. It is apparent that the strong, steady and successful resistance of the Scottish left England stunned, as it is apparent that they began the conflicts ambitiously believing themselves to be the most powerful country in the world (Wormald, 2005).

“Predictably, the English did not view the Wars of Independence as a conflict between two autonomous states and peoples – the Scots, denied rights of belligerent status, were treated as rebels against their lawful ruler, the king of England” (Wormald, 2005, p. 68).

The Wars of Independence brought political unity to Scotland, though it brought great suffering to many Scots, whose life was shaped by war. To make matters even worse, Scotland was at this time deeply affected by famine and plague, just like the rest of Europe during the medieval times. The colder climate and rain during the summer caused poor harvests and starvation across Scotland. In 1349, the plague killed at least a fifth of the population of Scotland. England and Scotland remained trading partners with Scotland an importer of grain from England and an exporter of wool and different animal products (Wormald, 2005).

1.1.2 The Greatest Anglo-Scottish Battle

In 1513, the Battle of Flodden marks the biggest battle between the English and the Scottish and also Scotland's greatest defeat. It was one of many war conflicts between the two countries which occurred from the time of the Wars of Independence until the late 16th century. The Battle of Flodden was another one of the seemingly endless conflicts between England and Scotland, but also an important part of a wider conflict taking place in Europe as a consequence of the French invasion of Italy in 1494 (Sadler, 2006).

After the Scottish made an agreement with France to protect French territories and interests against England, they found themselves obliged to invade England in 1513, when the English King Henry III invaded France. At the beginning, the Scottish campaign led by their king, James IV, successfully gained Norham, Ford and Etal castles. A disaster occurred, though, when they met the English army on Branxton Hill in Northumberland. The Battle of Flodden, which is considered one of the bloodiest battles between England and Scotland, took place over the course of a few hours, leaving thousands of Scots either dead or badly wounded. Aside from King James IV, it is estimated that around 5,000 Scots died on the battlefield, in spite of the fact that the two opposing armies were of equal sizes. It is difficult to explain why the Scottish army was so greatly defeated. The most probable explanations include King James IV's poor military leadership, and moreover a number of tactical errors, such as the unfortunate position of the Scottish army and pike formations that were inappropriate for the terrain (Stevenson and Pentland, 2012).

According to Caldwell (1998), several factors may have contributed to the defeat of the Scottish, but it is difficult to say today why so many men have died, including their king and most of the leading nobles. Whether it was caused by the contrast between the amateur Scottish army and more professional English army or any other reason, it is important to note that King James IV should never have allowed for the battle to take place, after successfully gaining three major castles. Nevertheless, this bloody battle left a scar in the history of both England and Scotland and their mutual relations.

1.1.3 Mary, Queen of Scots

Mary Queen of Scots is a central personality in the history of Scotland, who also had a significant influence on Anglo-Scottish relations. While she is perhaps the most mythologized monarch in history, with numerous films and books written based on her life, we can observe today that it was not only the human personality of the Queen, but rather her importance to the dynasty, that made her a central figure of history (Wormald, 2005).

Mary was born in 1542 in Scotland to her parents Mary of Guise and James V, who died six days after her birth. She became the heir to the Scottish throne, but she was also

the granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, a claimant to the English throne. This fact made her a very attractive bride for the sons of many, including her great-uncle, English King Henry VIII. However, it was arranged in 1558 by Mary's mother and her governor for her to be transported to France and get married to Francis, the heir to the French throne. Briefly, Mary was the queen of France when he inherited the throne. The marriage ended when her husband, Francis, died only two years after and Mary returned to Scotland (Warnicke, 2006).

When Mary came back to her home country, she found it in the midst of a radical religious reformation. The replacement of catholicism by protestantism was orchestrated in the country and the Queen found herself minimizing the damages (Houston, 2009).

Mary managed the unfortunate situation in her home country very well, she agreed that the country would stay Protestant, although she was still allowed to practice Catholicism in private. That way, she won the support of leading Protestants, who began to press the English, wanting them to recognize Mary's right to the English crown. The question of the English heir to the throne and whether Mary was going to gain the title dominated Anglo-Scottish relations. She refused to sign the Treaty of Edinburgh, which stated she could not gain the English royal arms or title. Mary began to realize her claims to the English throne in 1561, when she asked her cousin, the English Queen Elizabeth I to name her the heir. There were many factors standing in the way of that happening. Elizabeth I did not wish to name a successor at all, Mary was also a catholic and born outside of England. A meeting of the two queens was arranged, accompanied by celebrations and the expectation that feminine friendship and harmony would resolve all conflicts, was arranged. It was cancelled, however, mainly due to the fears of a Catholic conspiracy that would replace Elizabeth I and Protestantism by Mary and Catholicism. Mary was persistent in her efforts. In 1565, she met Lord Darnley, who was from England and was also Henry VIII's sister Margaret's grandson. Elizabeth I became very worried by the prospect of Mary getting closer to the English crown and proposed several other men for Mary to get married to, but it was too late. Mary and Lord Darnley got married and he became king. On the one hand, the marriage to Lord Darnley brought many disadvantages to Mary, such as the English not accepting it at all and Lord Darnley proved himself to be

violent and unpleasant. On the other hand, the marriage was successful in the sense that it brought a male heir, Mary's son James. The fact that Mary managed to produce an heir, unlike Elizabeth I, again brought her closer to the English crown. In 1567, Lord Darnley was murdered. Numerous theories came forward as to who was guilty, some suggested it was Mary herself, though the most probable suspect was James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who was a respected and prominent Scottish aristocrat. Some months later, Bothwell proposed to Mary. When she refused him, he abducted her and forced her to marry him in Edinburgh. Mary was then against her will transferred to Lochleven Castle, where she was forced to abdicate, leaving the crown to her son, James (Mears, 2009).

In 1568, after regaining her strength, Mary fled Lochleven castle and decided to go to England, where she hoped to find support from Elizabeth to regain her crown. However, after some negotiations were held about her future, they did not lead to a solution, she was transferred to Sheffield where she lived in exile, her health deteriorating. She continued to be involved in the question of succession. For the next decade, the 1570s, Mary tried to negotiate with England, Scotland and France about her gaining her crown back, but did not get any closer to her goal. She became involved in gradually more hazardous plots to depose Elizabeth I and replace her on the throne. It was the Babington plot of 1586 that made Elizabeth I aware of the conspiracy when her secretary obtained Mary's correspondence. The incriminating evidence led to a trial and Mary was found guilty. Elizabeth I signed the death warrant and Mary was executed in 1587. (Mears, 2009).

The execution of Mary, Queen of Scots remains a significant event in the history of both Scotland and England, which led to the succession of Mary's son James VI to the English throne, which then brought the creation of the British monarchy (Mason, 2004).

According to Walton (2007), the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots is very fascinating and eventful in many ways. The situation that Scotland was in during the 16th century is very unusual, because unlike most kingdoms, the church in Scotland was reformed while the Queen was absent and therefore, against her will, without her approval. This poses questions about the extent of her power as queen. In contrast to Elizabeth I, she got married and gave her country an heir to the throne. Her marriages opened a debate about whether the husband, who became king when they got married to her, should rule, or if the

queen should rule over him. The reign of Mary remains significant and fascinating, though it was rather short. Her reign greatly influenced not only Scotland and England, but also France and certainly affected Anglo-Scottish relations to a great extent.

England and Scotland, the countries and their people went through many changes during the centuries, which we discussed in this subchapter. It was a time when the nations' constant changes were shaping them, their relations to one another, their governments. Moreover, the kingdoms had the chance to develop a sense of independent nation and unity, as well as gradually start evolving into modern nation-states.

1.2. Anglo-Scottish Relations in the 17th – 19th Century

In the following subchapter, we are going to focus on the events which shaped the history of England and Scotland in the 17th, 18th and 19th century.

We are going to discuss the Unions of 1603 and 1707, two crucial political events uniting the two countries, bringing them closer together, greatly shaped the relationship between England and Scotland, not only in the years surrounding these changes, but also for many years to come. We are going to discuss these events and how influenced both countries. We are going to describe the circumstances which made the Unions possible, as well as the impact they had on the countries, their people and the political scene. We are going to mention the Scottish era of Enlightenment in the 18th century and its most important figures. Furthermore, in this chapter we examine the most prevalent events in Scotland in the 19th century, followed by the most important developments of the 19th century, as well as the conditions that the countries were in during these eras. We are going to discuss the industrial revolution of the 19th century and the rapid industrial, as well as urban development in the country.

1.2.1 The Unions of 1603 and 1707

At the very beginning of the 17th century, in 1603, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who was already the King of Scotland, succeeded to the English throne as well, after the death of Queen Elizabeth I (Wormald, 2005).

According to Mason (2004), perhaps the greatest contribution of Elizabeth I to the expansion of England was that she never married, nor had children. When she died without an heir, it opened the way for James VI to succeed to the throne and “...it was in the reigns of James VI and I and his successors that the real foundations of overseas empire were laid” (Mason, 2004, p.280).

James VI and I united the two separate kingdoms, which now came together under one king. Scotland was at this time a flourishing society, independent from England, making its mark on Europe. The Scots were proud to see their king on the throne, while the English were worried about his lack of experience. James VI himself believed that his years on the Scottish throne, dealing with many issues such as the aftermath of a religious reform and Mary’s rule gave him enough experience. At the beginning of his rule, he attempted to give Scots English government offices, bring them into the English privy council, and create an Anglo-Scottish court. However, none of his efforts were successful. The idea of an emerging Anglo-Scottish friendship brought by the Union disappeared, the English did not want the Scots in their court and government, they felt threatened by them, while the Scottish also knew they were not welcome (Wormald, 2005).

The year 1603 brought a great challenge to both the English and the Scottish. The perception of the English about their nation and their role in the world were greatly challenged by a Scot succeeding to the throne. The Scottish, on the other hand, were facing James VI’s British agenda, which brought them very close to the English and was in a way threatening their national identity (Mason, 2004).

The Scottish believed that the idea of a union should be taken seriously, but they insisted that Scotland would stay an independent, sovereign kingdom. They believed in the idea of a union of hearts and minds, but not in the idea that the English common law and Scottish law should be made into one. By 1607, there was more and more tension in the

Parliament. The idea of the union began to sound unrealistic. One of the English Members of Parliament, Sir Edwin Sandys, suggested a union that would involve Scotland renouncing its sovereignty, which led to the idea of union getting completely rejected. The political union as James VI imagined it was not achieved, but the union did bring the countries close together and brought some cultural and economical conformity (Wormald, 2005).

Mason (2004) points out that although England was superior when it came to manpower and wealth, the Scottish still believed that they were in no way English and that they owed no allegiance to the English crown. It was deeply rooted in their sense of themselves as Scots and they identified themselves as protectors of the Scottish independence.

James VI's priority was the reorganization of the Scottish church, also called Kirk, which he was successful at. He managed to introduce several innovations. In 1621, a document called *Five Articles of Perth* was ratified, as an attempt to connect the Church of Scotland and the Church of England. James VI also had some colonial ambitions, which never really succeeded, while the Scottish economy was in a relatively good shape. During the reign of King James VI, Scotland developed greatly and peace in the country was maintained (Mackie, 1991).

James VI's son, Charles I, was raised in England and when he succeeded to the throne, he had little knowledge of Scotland and politics. In 1628, he got into a complete breach with the Parliament and became convinced he would never cooperate with Parliament during his reign. He also caused overall anger because of his high taxation. In 1633 when he came to Scotland to be crowned, he produced 168 Acts in one day, including the confirmation of James VI's innovations regarding the church. The next year, he authorized, without reference to the General Assembly or Parliament, a *Book of Canons*, which made the King the head of the church and tried to assimilate the Scottish church to the English episcopalian model. As a reaction to the contents of the Book of canons and Charles I's persistent attempts to revolutionize the Scottish church, *A National Covenant* was produced, which stood against Charles I's innovations and ultimately led to *The Bishop's Wars* (Mackie, 1991).

In 1638, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met and strongly rejected Charles I's *Book of Canons* and its articles, and accepted a new leader. This made the king extremely angry and he was planning an attack, when he discovered his funds were lacking significantly. His army was poorly financed and equipped. The King had no other choice but to ask the English Parliament for financial help. He was pressured and all of his innovations, as well as episcopacy were abolished. The tension was rising and the situation seemed revolutionary. In 1642, a civil war broke out (Harvie, 2014).

The years of the conflict and those leading up to it brought forward the complications and problems caused by the differences between England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. The idea of creating a single monarchy from this group of kingdoms with so many difficulties regarding not only the churches, contained many complications and necessary compromises. During the 1640s and 1650s, the religious, military and political relations of Scotland and England became wholly connected. The religious changes proved to need some political structure to secure them, therefore the ultimate battle was for control of Britain. When Charles I was executed by the English in 1649, his son Charles II succeeded to the throne. Oliver Cromwell, leader of the English independent radicals, proceeded to invade Scotland. In 1654, Cromwell created the first unified rule of the British Isles, when he took office as Lord Protector in the *Instrument of Government*. Scotland was united with the rest of Britain and formed the Commonwealth of Great Britain and Ireland (Houston, 2009).

According to Mackie (1991), the union was not favored neither by the English, nor by the Scottish. The English thought of themselves as superior, their attitude was condescending towards the Scottish, who they considered an unwelcome addition to their already whole country.

The restoration of Parliament brought by Charles II in 1660 was very gladly received by both the Scottish and the English (Harvie, 2014).

When Queen Anne succeeded to the throne in 1702, relations between many European countries were turbulent. Anne's predecessor William III fought one war against France and she was left with an inevitable second one. Only a week before his death,

William III also suggested to the English Parliament a union with Scotland. Anne decided to continue his policies and within two months of her reign, she sent a message to the English Parliament and invited them to consider a proper, firm union of England and Scotland. (Mackie, 1991).

Both Parliaments agreed to take part in negotiations about the Union. The task was not easy, but finally, the opinion that the Union was a reasonable arrangement was prevailing. *The Treaty of Union* was ratified by the Parliament of England and the Parliament of Scotland in 1707. The English were satisfied with the deal, while the Scottish were more hesitant and distrustful. The deal removed the Scottish Parliament, which the English approved of. Scotland got 45 members of Parliament in the House of Commons and 16 members in the House of Lords. The deal also guaranteed that the Church of Scotland would remain the main church in Scotland. It banned Roman Catholics from taking the throne and established free trade between Scotland, England and its colonies (Houston, 2009).

This eventful period in the history of Great Britain and the complex string of events involving the kingdom's politics, as well as religion and church, ultimately resulted in creating a strong, lasting Union and one of the most powerful countries in the world.

1.2.2 18th Century – The Scottish Enlightenment

The 18th century brought Scotland incredible development of intellectual life, philosophy, theology, poetry. The Scottish Enlightenment brought great writers, thinkers, scientists and architects, whose influence spread across the world and contributed to the creation of the modern world.

The 18th century also saw immense economic growth, as well as development of agriculture. The rise in prosperity came not only due to the new opportunities brought by the Union, but also due to the ability of the Scottish people to seize the new opportunities and better conditions they suddenly had, after times of struggle (Mackie, 1991).

One of the most famous Scottish contributions was steam power, which gained its popularity later, in the 19th century. After the 1750s, manufacturing and infrastructure in the country developed significantly. Scottish universities saw their peak in the 18th century, making intellectual development possible (Harvie, 2014).

The most important and revolutionary personalities that made Scotland well-known worldwide as an evolving country, were economist and philosopher Adam Smith, philosopher and historian David Hume, geologist James Hutton or poets such as Robert Fergusson and Robert Burns. They all played significant roles in the development of their fields of study. These, and other revolutionary thinkers and their discoveries made Scotland more important even in the eyes of the English and somehow helped Scotland establish a less subordinate position within the United Kingdom (Harvie, 2014).

The government of the country was in the hands of a king, who was not absolutist, but whose officers changed according to the parliamentary majority (Mackie, 1991).

1.2.3 19th Century – Urban and Industrial Scotland

By the beginning of the 19th century, the extremely positive effects of the Union were obvious not only in Scotland and England, but all over the world. For Scotland, the Union brought agricultural and industrial revolution, as well as urban development, by providing financial access to England and its colonies. England received political security (Houston, 2009).

“For Britain, Union aided the development of empire and economy, which together created the reality of a United Kingdom and made it the European power 1763-90 and the world power after 1815” (Houston, 2009, p. 18).

The Union certainly brought many questions and complications as well. For example, the Scottish fought in Parliament for decades for the restoration of militia and the right to bear arms that they lost due to the Union, but they failed (Houston, 2009).

From the 1820s, the industrial revolution and agricultural development were progressing rapidly. During the Victorian era, economic expansion continued. Political life in Scotland was more and more intertwined with that in England and the English economy started getting involved in world markets much more (Mackie, 1991).

During the Victorian era, social and political life in Scotland was rather different from England. There were many differences and a significant divergence between them in the Parliament, for example when it came to the *Maynooth Grant* (regarding financial support for Ireland's Roman Catholic priests), and some of the most important Acts, such as the abolition of *the Corn Laws of 1846*, regarding restrictions on import and export of grain. But even the Scottish themselves were divided in certain issues. The power of the central government accelerated (Mackie, 1991).

The heavy industries flourished. Railways, coal, iron, ship-building and engineering were all on the rise and played an important role for the country and its people. This prosperity, however, brought suffering to the working class. Migration to the cities and decline of rural industries caused the Scots to live in slums, in horrible conditions. The situation in Scotland was much worse in this regard than that in England. Still, the British Empire provided great benefits for the Scots. They made the best of their position and opportunities it brought (Mackie, 1991).

1.3 Modern Scotland and England in the 20th Century

In this subchapter, we are going to focus on events of the 20th century, which had an impact on the development of Scotland, as well as the United Kingdom. The 20th century was an eventful era in the history of the world and its events influenced Scotland greatly. We are going to discuss the beginnings of the century and the World Wars and their significance to Scotland, followed by the discovery of North Sea oil. Perhaps the most crucial and far-reaching event in the history of Scotland, the creation of an independent Scottish Parliament, will be discussed in this subchapter as well.

Scotland entered the 20th century as a country with modern political parties with elaborate organization. Unionism dominated Scottish politics in the 20th century.

The First World War had an immense influence on Scotland and England and their people. A great amount of soldiers lost their lives and compared to the other involved countries, Scotland suffered some of the highest casualties in proportion to its population. Moreover, the war certainly had an unfortunate effect on the Scottish economy. The loss of merchant shipping was economically destructive. The later 1920s brought some recovery for the economy, but there were sectors that could not get restored. At the beginning of the 1930s, unemployment was rising and reached the level of 70% in the key Scottish industries. While the late 1930s still showed deep depression, the beginning of the Second World War brought some relief, even though unemployment was still high several years after the outbreak of war. The prosperity of the 19th century was long gone and the psychological effects of these years of economic decline were immense. Scotland was one of the most affected areas. Unemployment in Scotland was consistently higher than in England. There was extreme poverty and the gap between Scotland and England was expanding (Mackie, 1991).

The Second World War again brought much suffering and death to the country and the post-war period shows many problems and struggles, but in the 1950s, the economy started to expand again, bringing new prosperity. The Labour government's priority was ensuring employment and welfare state (Mackie, 1991).

1.3.1 The Establishment of the Scottish Parliament

At the beginning of the 1970s, there were great stores of North Sea oil and gas discovered off the Scottish coast. The idea of the revenue this could bring to Scotland prompted the Scottish National Party to use the slogan '*It's Scotland's oil*' in their political campaign, with the aim to achieve Scottish independence. They argued that Scotland could benefit from this discovery much better if it was not part of the United Kingdom. In the late 1970s, the Scottish economy was very much controlled from outside of Scotland, and it seemed as though the United Kingdom preferred other issues over the Scottish ones and

that the success of the Scottish National Party was the way to keep the political issues of Scotland at a significant level (Mackie, 1991).

In 1979, the Labour government decided to hold a referendum. The aim was to solve the rising problems of militant nationalism and to approve devolution. The creation of a Scottish assembly seemed the best solution regarding the rise of nationalism. Devolution would give Scotland a sort of national recognition, as well as a form of limited self-government. However, the referendum was not approved by the needed 40% of the electorate. Devolution was not the will of the Scottish people, but it caused division and unrest (Wormald, 2005).

In the 1980s and the 1990s, Scotland went through enormous political, social, economic, as well as cultural change. The changes were dramatic and at times unexpected. The Conservative Party was on the decline and lost all their Scottish seats in Parliament (Wormald, 2005).

In 1997, the victorious labour government called a referendum, which led to the establishment of a Scottish Parliament. This referendum took place on September 11, 1997, with 74% of voters voting in favour of a Scottish Parliament and the *Scotland Act 1998* was passed. The Scottish Parliament had a broad range of power, such as control over the Scottish education and health systems. The Scottish Parliament reconvened in 1999, marking a transformative ending of a significant and turbulent century in the history of the country (Wormald, 2005).

On May 6, 1999 elections were held, after which the powers that previously belonged to the Scottish Secretary of State and other UK ministers, were transferred to Scottish ministers on the day that the Scottish Parliament officially reconvened, July 1, 1999. The act specifies mostly the matters that are reserved for the UK Parliament and those remaining matters are devolved to the Scottish Parliament. Furthermore, the act created the position of Advocate General for Scotland, a UK Law Officer who gives legal advice to the UK government on law and devolution of Scotland. Essentially, the act led to the abolition of the former Scottish Office and the establishment of the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament (UK Government, 2019).

The 20th century transformed Scotland in economic, social and cultural terms. At the beginning of the century, Scotland was an industrial country, providing engineering to the world, a producer of ships. At the end of the 20th century, Scotland was producing new technologies and providing them to world markets. (McCrone, 2001).

The political ramifications of the Union are still here, even three centuries after it was formed. The units that form Great Britain have for years developed together, but also separately. They have in many ways grown closer and become more similar, while also remaining different and separate from each other. The Scots have experienced independence and semi-detachment from England and saw what it means to be different and individual. The question of Scottish independence from the United Kingdom can not be answered or predicted by looking at its history, since both the option of dependency and independence would be in accordance with it (Houston, 2009).

2. RECENT EVENTS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN SCOTLAND AND THE UK

In the following chapter, we are going to discuss the current situation of the countries of Scotland and England as parts of the United Kingdom. At the beginning, we deal with the recent events of the 21st century, concerning the relationship between these constituent countries. The contemporary development has been complex and has certainly changed the United Kingdom, the relationship between the Union and its constituent countries, and has strongly impacted Scotland's perspectives and visions of the future, whether as part of the United Kingdom or as part of the European Union. In this chapter, we are going to focus on the circumstances following the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999.

Furthermore, we provide a summary of different issues that Scotland deals with in its own, Scottish Parliament, the devolved matters which affect only Scotland and the Scots. It is important to discuss the responsibilities and activities of the Scottish Parliament. In contrast, we are going to describe the matters that Scotland deals with in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. These are the affairs with international or UK-wide impact, the so-called reserved matters. Since the creation of the devolved Scottish Parliament, the country has gone through tremendous change in all areas. We are going to highlight the most important political events of the 21st century in Scotland, such as the Independence Referendum of 2014 or the Brexit Referendum of 2016. The connection between these two crucial events in the history of the United Kingdom and its component countries, and the far-reaching outcomes of these events are the focus of the last part of this chapter.

2.1. Scotland in the 21st Century

In this subchapter, we are going to focus on the political development of Scotland in the 21st century. The following subchapter centers around the main historical events and the

main political changes, which took place in the country. We examine specifically the Referendum of Scottish independence of 2014, which marks a crucial point in the Scottish politics and is one of the most important events which, along with the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in Holyrood, still has its impacts on the political debate of Scotland today.

Scotland entered the 21st century as a country with its own Parliament and a hope for more recognition of their independence and national identity from the United Kingdom as a whole.

In 2004, the Scottish Parliament building, also called Holyrood, the construction of which began in 1999, finally opened. The supporters of the Union believed that devolution and the establishment of the Scottish Parliament would strengthen the Union. The Union advocates hoped that the Scots would feel like they were able to secure political recognition of their unique national identity and reach their goals when they were shown that the United Kingdom could welcome and recognize their wishes and needs within the Union. The hope was that the Scots would feel like their independence and individuality was more seen and heard by the United Kingdom as a whole, when their own Parliament was established. It can be considered as quite unexpected that in 2007, only eight years after devolution, after the Scottish Parliament was established, the Scottish National Party won the elections. Its leader, Alex Salmond, was elected the head of the government. The Scottish National Party (SNP) were the primary supporters of independence for Scotland and their victory in the elections indicated that public support was more on the side of independence rather than the Union (Curtice, 2008).

2.1.1 Referendum on Scottish Independence

In 2012, a document named *the Edinburgh Agreement* was ratified. It is an agreement between the United Kingdom Government and the Scottish Government that a referendum on Scottish independence can take place. It was necessary to sign this document, which temporarily gave power to the Scottish Parliament to hold this referendum. It was required to pass a legal document of this sort, because based on the

Scotland Act of 1998, the Scottish Parliament is not allowed to pass legislation regarding matters claimed by the UK Parliament, such as the Union of England and Scotland (Paun and Sargeant, 2020).

The governments of both countries agreed that the referendum “*will have a clear legal base, will be legislated for by the Scottish Parliament, will be conducted so as to command the confidence of parliaments, governments and people; and will deliver a fair test and a decisive expression of the views of people in Scotland and a result that everyone will respect*” (Agreement between the United Kingdom Government and the Scottish Government on a referendum on independence for Scotland, 2012).

On September 18, 2014, the referendum on Scottish independence from the United Kingdom took place. The question was: “*Should Scotland be an independent country?*” The results showed that 55.3% of residents of Scotland voted against independence, while 44.7% of Scottish residents voted in favor of independence. The voter turnout for this referendum was 84.6%, which is the highest referendum turnout in the whole of the United Kingdom ever recorded, since the general election of 1910 (Scottish independence referendum: final results in full, 2014).

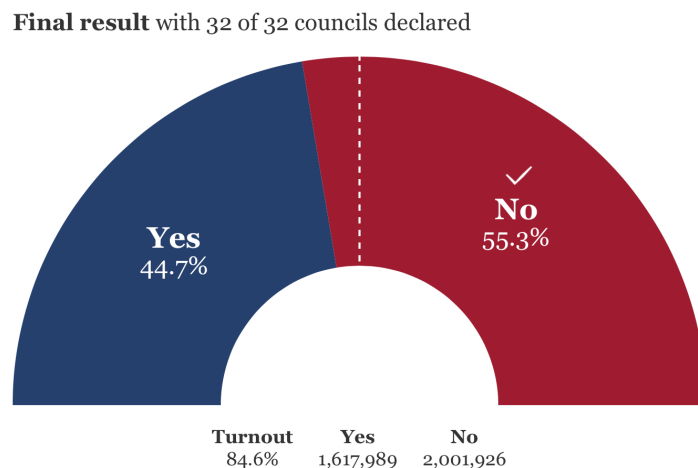


Figure 1 2014 Scottish independence referendum results (Source: The Guardian, 2014)

The main issue and most important question of the referendum was about the independence of Scotland. It was about the country’s future as an independent entity and as

part of the Union, as well as about the future of the United Kingdom as a union state. What is more, the referendum was also about the future and the situation of Scotland and Britain as part of the European Union and about the overall role of sub-state entities in the European Union. The issue of membership in the European Union was debated during the campaign, it was one of the crucial topics discussed preceding the referendum, along with the matters of economy and defence. The issue of staying in or leaving the European Union was used to indicate the expanding differences between the politics of Scotland and England, especially as the question of the possibility of an independent Scotland staying part of the European Union were arising. The referendum of 2014 was therefore closely related to the Brexit referendum of 2016, since the Scots were considered more pro-European or less eurosceptic than the English and it was estimated that if Brexit became reality, it could cause a political turmoil in Scotland and make the question of independence from the United Kingdom very relevant once again (Schnapper, 2015).

2.1.2 The EU Referendum

In 2015, after winning the General election in the United Kingdom, the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, committed to negotiating more favorable conditions of the country's EU membership and then to hold a referendum on the UK's membership in the EU in 2016. After negotiations about significant compromises and privileges of the EU membership, Cameron believed the UK should remain a member of the organization. The debate caused much political turmoil, and leading up to the referendum, it became obvious that the result would be very close (Clark, 2021).

On June 23, 2016, the Referendum took place. The voter turnout of 72,2% is considered very high. The results of the referendum were shockingly close, with 51,9% voting to leave the EU. In England and Wales, this result was considered a victory. In Scotland and Northern Ireland, however, the results were very different and it was clear that these two constituent countries wished to remain in the EU. In Scotland, 62% voters voted to remain in the organization, bringing the question of Scottish independence back to the table. Brexit is now the reality, the UK officially left the EU on January 31, 2021, after

years of negotiations. The political turbulence that Brexit caused not only in the UK, but in the EU itself, is demonstrated by three different Prime Ministers and two general elections taking place in the UK in the years leading up to the realization of Brexit. The further economical impact of Brexit, as well as its political significance is to be seen in the coming years (Clark, 2021).

2.2. The Devolved Scottish Government

The following subchapter focuses on the responsibilities, actions and functions of the devolved Scottish Government, the reserved matters that the UK Government deals with, as well as the devolved matters. In this subchapter, we provide an insight into the structure and organization of the Scottish Parliament, the electoral system in Scotland, the Scottish political parties and the relationship between them, concentrating mainly on the most recent events on the political scene in Scotland.

The Scottish Government and the Scottish Parliament were both established in 1999, after the Scotland Act of 1998 was passed. The Scottish Parliament is a separate institution, which has absolute power over devolved matters and is the law-making body in Scotland. The laws that the Scottish Parliament passes are called Acts of the Scottish Parliament, or ASPs. The Scottish Parliament has 129 Members, or MSPs. (UK Government, 2019).

2.2.1 The Devolved and Reserved Matters

The devolved matters are decided by the Scottish Parliament and the reserved matters by the UK Parliament. The convention is that the two institutions will not interfere in one another's matters, meaning for example that the UK government will not introduce legislation concerning the devolved areas without the concurrence of the Scottish Parliament. There is also a system of Scotland act orders (SAOs) and legislative consent motions (LCMs), which are used in cases when it is necessary for the UK Parliament to

decide on devolved matters with the consent of the Scottish Parliament or when an amendment needs to be made to UK legislation in order for an act of the Scottish Parliament to take effect. Legislative consent motions are systems of procedures which the Scottish Parliament can use to give consent to the UK Parliament to legislate on a devolved matter. Scotland act orders give the UK Parliament the ability for amendments to be made to the UK legislation, which are going to affect Scotland, to give Scottish legislation the ability to come into full effect or for additional powers to be assigned to Scottish ministers. The interaction between the reserved matters and the devolved matters is therefore quite complex, but there are systems ensuring that the responsible institutions do not abuse their power and stay within their assigned matters (UK Government, 2019).

The matters that are reserved for the UK Parliament are the following:

- the constitution
- foreign affairs
- defence
- international development
- the Civil Service
- financial and economic matters
- immigration and nationality
- misuse of drugs
- trade and industry
- aspects of energy regulation (eg electricity, coal, oil and gas and nuclear energy)
- aspects of transport (eg regulation of air services, rail and international shipping)
- employment
- social security
- abortion, genetics, surrogacy, medicines
- broadcasting
- equal opportunities (UK Government, 2019).

The matters devolved to the Scottish Parliament include the following:

- health and social work
- education and training
- local government and housing
- justice and policing
- agriculture, forestry and fisheries
- the environment
- tourism, sport and heritage
- economic development and internal transport (UK Government, 2019).

The *Scotland Act of 2016* plays an important role in the history of devolution, as it was the second significant update to the *Scotland Act of 1998*, which for the first time stated the devolved matters of the Scottish Parliament and the reserved matters of the UK Parliament. The *Scotland Act of 2016* was ratified following the Independence Referendum of 2014. It made amendments to the *Act of 1998*, devolving even further powers to the Scottish Parliament (UK Government, 2019).

The newly devolved powers included:

- devolution of Income Tax powers including the power to set rates and bands on earned income
- assignment of VAT
- devolution of air passenger tax
- devolution of aggregate tax
- the power to borrow
- the destination of fines, forfeitures and fixed penalties
- the devolution of extensive welfare powers (UK Government, 2019).

The Scottish Government's responsibilities include the devolved matters, which include the economy, education, healthcare, transport, justice, rural affairs, housing,

environment, equal opportunities, consumer rights and taxation. It is planned to devolve more and more matters to the Scottish Government over time (Scottish Government, 2021).

The Scottish government consists of the First Minister, who is the head of the Government, and other ministers appointed by the First Minister, the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor General for Scotland, who are generally called Scottish ministers. The Scottish Government decides how the country is run concerning the devolved matters. It draws up, formulates and implements policy and is in charge of implementing the laws or Acts of the Scottish Parliament that the Scottish Parliament has passed. The Budget Bill serves as a document to help plan and suggests allocation of the Scottish budget. Once a year, the Government submits to the Scottish Parliament for approval (Parliament.scot, 2014).

The annual *Programme for Government* is the plan of how each following year will look like, in terms of policies, actions and legislation that the Government will take forward in that year. It is published every September and in it we can find the actions that are to be taken in the coming year, so that all areas are covered and that there is continuing change for the better in all fields that the Government oversees. It is important that the Programme is relevant to the specific year, as for example the latest one, published in September 2020, sets out the economic, health and social crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic and the public health crisis as the priorities (Scottish Government, 2021).

The *National Performance Framework* allows the Government to outline a specific, long-term purpose and perspective for the future of Scotland. It also provides an insight into the national outcomes and into how well Scotland is moving towards its purpose and goals. The purpose of the Framework is to create a better, more successful Scotland, with people whose wellbeing is a priority and who have equal opportunities. Its goal is to reduce inequalities and support economic, environmental and social growth, as well (National Performance Framework, 2021).

The Scottish Government also publishes important data and statistics concerning most areas of public life. These data provide citizens with information about the outcomes

of certain policies. The Scottish Government is very transparent in the sense that it also publishes information about public money allocation, titles and salaries of senior civil servants and such data. The *National Performance Framework* is a crucial tool for transparency of the Government (Scottish Government, 2021).

The largest, most influential political parties in Scotland, which have the most amount of seats in the Scottish Parliament are the Scottish National Party (SNP), the Scottish Conservatives, Scottish Labour, Scottish Liberal Democrats (Lib-Dems), Scottish Greens, Alba and Reform UK.

Since devolution and the rise of a new political culture in Scotland, political parties play a crucial role in the country. Their objective is to win the elections and enough seats to form a government. They pursue gaining control in the country, their aim is to compete with other parties and show that their policy is superior. The wider UK picture and the fact that in the UK, there is even more competition, makes the political situation more complicated. Historical distrust and conflicts over multiple complex issues need to be taken into consideration as well. For instance, there is intense competition in Scotland between the SNP and Labour, and in addition to that, there is conflict in the UK between Labour and the Conservative Party (Cairney, 2011).

Cairney (2011) stated that voter behaviour differs when comparing the UK General elections and the Scottish Parliament elections. The voter turnout is lower in the Scottish elections, which could suggest people think of it as less important. At the same time, Scottish Parliament elections attract a higher turnout than European elections. In the Scottish elections, people tend to give more attention to issues affecting only Scotland, rather than UK-wide issues. The fact that the SNP remains the strongest party is evidence of the strong sense of Scottish national identity and the focus of the Scots on Scottish issues.

In Scotland, the electoral system was designed before the establishment of the Parliament by the Scottish Constitutional Convention. The electoral system is called the Mixed-Member Proportional system in Scotland, or the Additional-Member system in the UK. There are 129 MSPs (Members of the Scottish Parliament) elected, 73 of which are

elected from the constituency vote and 56 of which are elected from the regional lists. In practice, this means that the voters are divided into 73 constituencies and 8 regions and the voters obtain two ballots. On one of the ballots, they elect an MSP and on the other ballot they elect a party. The system is proportional and it ensures that all parties, even smaller ones, are fairly represented and it also prevents a single party from winning a majority of seats. However, when the SNP won the majority of seats in the Parliament in 2011, it only proved that the system is not designed to endure a public opinion so strong and unambiguous (Anderson, 2016).

In 2007, Alex Salmond, leader of the SNP, won the Scottish parliamentary elections. The SNP won 47 seats. The most dominant and widely discussed issue was Scottish independence, as well as North Sea oil. Many expected the SNP to form a coalition with the Liberal Democrats, but Salmond was committed to the idea of an independence referendum, therefore a coalition was off the table (Harvie, 2014).

The latest election was held in Scotland in 2016 and it was the fifth election since devolution and the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. After the first ever elections, the Parliament saw a coalition of Scottish Labour and Liberal Democrats. In 2007, a minority SNP government was elected, and in 2011, a majority SNP government came to power with its leader Alex Salmond. The SNP won 69 seats in the Parliament, the largest majority in the history of devolution. When it came to the most recent, 2016 Parliamentary election, the Scottish National Party (SNP) won their third consecutive victory. Even though it was expected for the SNP to win this election by a majority, it became only a minority government with 61 seats in the Parliament. The SNP continued to dominate the Scottish political scene in this period and its leader, Nicola Sturgeon became the First Minister of Scotland for the second time, the first ever woman to hold this position. The SNP, being a nationalist party, continues to hold independence for Scotland as their main objective. Their strong presence in the UK Parliament provided continuation of debates of territorial and constitutional politics. On the other hand, the Scottish Labour saw its worst ever election result in more than 100 years, gaining only 24 seats in the Parliament, marking a significant decrease in Parliament seats since 2007 and 2011. The Conservative and Unionist Party gained 30 seats, being the largest opposition party. The

Scottish Green Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats both gained 5 seats in the Parliament. The turnout at this election was 55,6%, the second highest since 1999. (Anderson, 2016).

In Figure 2, we can observe the results of the Scottish Parliamentary elections over the years, since devolution until the most recent elections of 2016. It is clear that while the SNP managed to maintain its leading position, the Scottish Labour saw less and less success with each election. For the Conservatives, the 2016 election was the most successful since devolution. The Scottish Green Party also saw a big success and a breakthrough for the party, when they won six seats in the Parliament and became the fourth largest party in Scotland. This success of the Green Party, as well as the majority of seats being taken by the largest parties, made it impossible for any other smaller parties to win (Anderson, 2016).

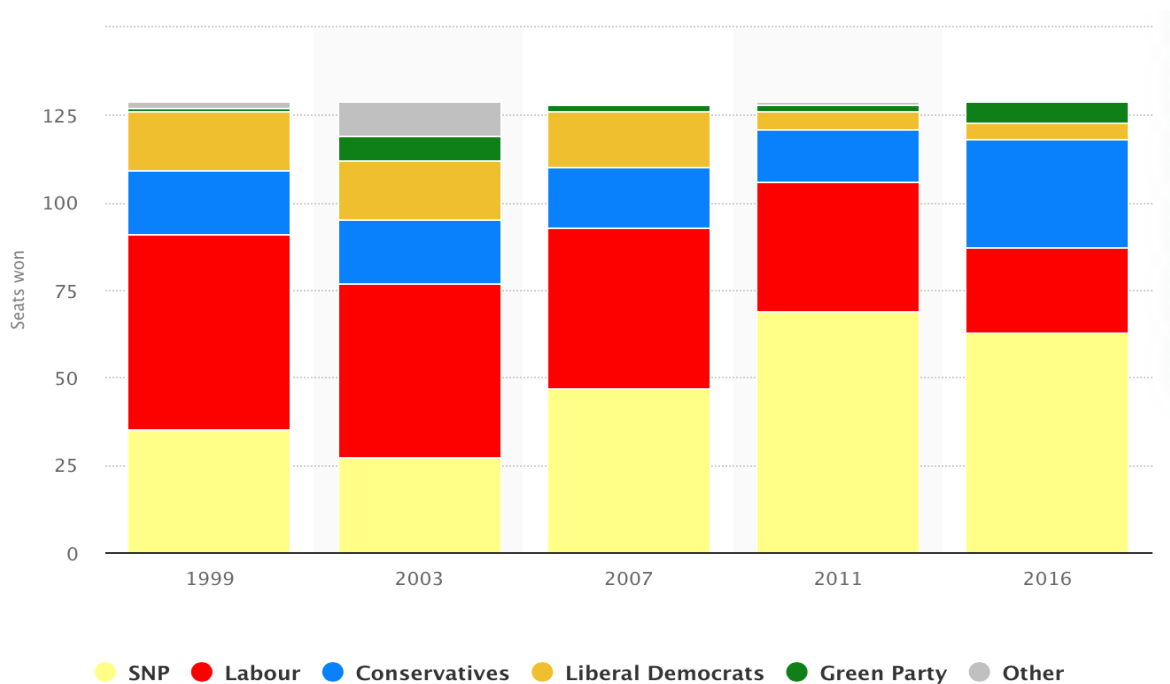


Figure 2 Number of seats won in Scottish Parliamentary elections 1999-2016 (Source: Statista, 2021)

In 2015, before the general election and after the Scottish independence referendum, the SNP became the third largest political party in the United Kingdom, having more than 110 000 members. In the general election of 2015, the SNP saw a momentous victory, which has altered the face of party politics in the UK entirely. In this great victory, the SNP gained 56 out of the total 59 Scottish seats in the House of Commons. The Labour and Liberal Democrats both saw a great defeat, while the Democrats were barely holding on (Anderson, 2016).

The main subject of discussions and most dominant topic in the UK and Scotland politics remains the matter of Scottish independence and the question of Scottish nationality. It remained a main topic in the 2016 election and prevails also currently, with the upcoming Scottish Parliament election in May 2021. The SNP's main policy focuses on holding a second referendum of Scottish independence, with Nicola Sturgeon as a strong and prominent leader. On the other hand, the Scottish Conservatives with their leader Douglas Ross are strongly opposed to a second referendum. The election is going to be held May 6, 2021. The unusual circumstance of a global pandemic only adds to the already turbulent Scottish politics. The highly anticipated outcome of this election will likely indicate Scotland's future as part of the United Kingdom, as well as part of the European Union (Anderson, 2016).

3. METHODOLOGY

The aim of this master's thesis is to examine the relationship between the United Kingdom and two of its constituent countries, England and Scotland. In our research, we look in detail at the deeply complex affairs between these countries. Our thesis presents a close look into the history of these two countries, particularly into the events which somehow connect them, or concern both of them. We also provide characteristics of the political structure of the countries from various points of view.

The aim of the practical part of our thesis is to examine the political development in Scotland and England, their political relationship and the public affairs of the recent years concerning Scotland's association with the United Kingdom, which have their roots in the long history of the United Kingdom and Scotland. This chapter presents the results of various researches and different data.

Based on the given research outcomes and data analysis, our thesis presents two hypotheses:

H1: A second referendum of Scottish independence will be held and Scotland will leave the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

H2: Scotland will rejoin the European Union.

Our objective is to confirm or reject these two hypotheses using data from valid sources. We look at the situations and development of the concerned countries in detail, and give insight into how their future might look like. To do that, we look at the results of various researches concerning the given topic. Our research provides data supporting our statements. We evaluate what the future might look like for these countries, taking into account the history, events and relationship of the countries. Our thesis should contribute to a deeper understanding of the studied matter and provide a deeper understanding of the subject of United Kingdom's constitution and Scotland's membership of the European Union.

We present, explore and study the results of various research related to the topic. We use data obtained from works of scholars such as Curtice (2008), and a significant share of the presented figures and tables is accessed from *What Scotland Thinks*, a database of opinion poll results providing impartial and up-to-date information on public attitudes of the Scots. This research is conducted by *ScotCen Social Research*, and is also led by Professor Curtice. The methods we applied in this thesis are theoretical methods, descriptive and comparative methods, as well as content analysis. Relevant works of authors in this field are analyzed, described and examined.

4. CURRENT SITUATION OF SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

The practical part of our thesis examines the current political events in England and Scotland and brings a closer look into the relationship between the Scottish Government and the UK Government. In our research, we compare and analyse research from various scholars and different relevant data. We review the works of different scholars with the purpose of evaluating the presented hypotheses.

Our hypotheses are very much connected, as they center around the issue of Scottish independence. It is impossible to debate on Scottish sovereignty without talking about its past in the UK and its likely future in the EU. Brexit, the Scottish independence referendum, the upcoming election and a possible second referendum are all part of a complex dilemma of the Scots, which we discuss in the following chapter.

4.1. Results and Discussion

In the following subchapter, we provide data and statistics concerning the topic of ongoing Anglo-Scottish relations. We look at research and data regarding the EU referendum, Scottish national identity, Scotland leaving the United Kingdom, as well as the upcoming Scottish Parliamentary election. We compare, contrast and analyze the given data and present opinions of various scholars which are relevant to the examined field.

4.1.1 The Influence of Brexit on Devolution and Scottish Independence

McEwen (2017) examines the consequences of the Brexit referendum on devolution and the renewed discussion about Scottish independence. In the Brexit referendum, 62% of Scots voted for the United Kingdom to stay in the European Union. However, this was not a Scottish referendum, but a UK referendum. It took place throughout the whole of the UK, and it was the UK Government's job to negotiate the Brexit deal after the referendum. Therefore, Scotland's majority vote to remain in the EU was insignificant and simply did not suffice to keep Scotland in the EU. The decision to

leave the EU was made by the UK as a whole. After the results of the referendum came out and it became obvious that in spite of Scotland's firm opinion to stay, the whole of the UK will have to leave the EU, the First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon expressed her determination to give effect to how the Scottish voted. She mentioned the option of a new independence referendum very shortly after the results came out and expressed her wish to secure Scotland's continuing place within the EU.

In Figure 3, we can see the results of the Brexit referendum by regions in the UK. We can clearly observe the difference between Scotland's vote and England's vote. The large percentage and scale of the vote of Scotland highlighted it's wish to remain in the EU and the contrast between the opinions of voters in Scotland and England.

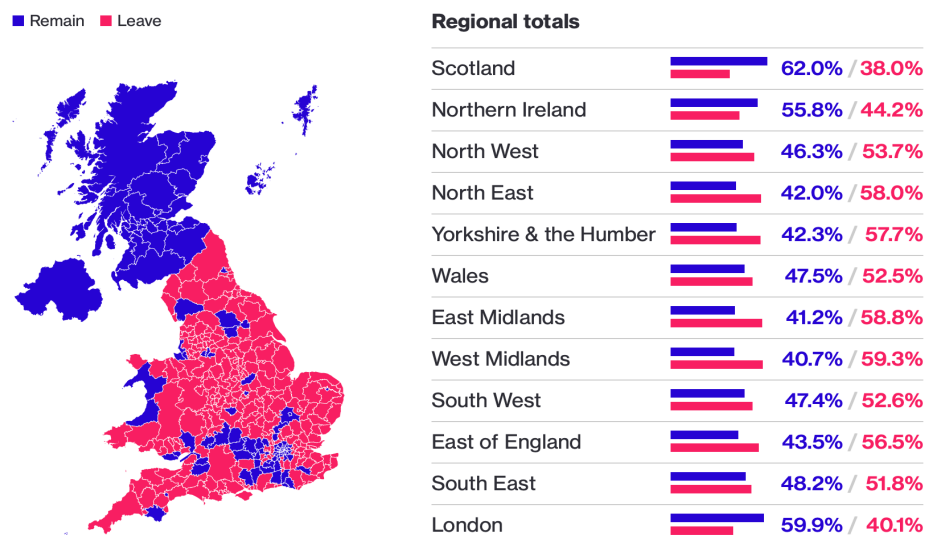


Figure 3 Brexit referendum results (Source: Bloomberg, 2016)

McEwen (2017) further states the demographic characteristics of voters across the UK. As we can observe in Table 1, the people who voted to remain in the EU were mostly young people with a higher education. Older, less qualified people were much more likely to vote for leaving. We can also see that in Scotland, the gap between these groups of voters is smaller than in England.

Table 1 Demographic characteristics of Brexit voters (Source: McEwen, 2017)

	<i>Scotland</i>		<i>England</i>	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Female	61	39	49	51
Male	62	38	49	51
18–25 years	75	25	71	29
26–35 years	69	31	55	45
36–45 years	64	36	48	52
46–55 years	54	46	43	57
56–65 years	58	42	40	60
66+	51	49	39	61
No qualifications	41	59	25	75
GCSE D-G	51	49	34	66
GCSE A-C	47	53	35	65
A level	63	37	54	46
Undergrad	73	27	62	38
Postgrad	79	21	73	27

When the Scots voted to remain part of the UK in the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum, they voted to be part of the UK that was a member of the EU. Therefore, when the 2016 Brexit referendum results came out, it was obvious that it was a change in the conditions and circumstances in which the Scottish voted to remain part of the UK two years prior. After the Brexit referendum and the decision of the UK to leave the EU, many talked about the strong self-determination of the country, embracing its sovereignty and the will of people to be independent as a nation, to share a national identity and solidarity that goes beyond the regional differences and division. However, the results of the Brexit referendum clearly show that the vote to leave the EU was far more an expression of English self-determination, rather than British self-determination (McEwen, 2017).

In her paper, Schnapper (2015) looks further at the connection between the Scottish and the European referendums. She claims that the two referendums are very much connected and share a complex dynamic. In the Scottish referendum, Europe played an important role of illustrating the growing contrasts between the politics of the United Kingdom and Scotland. In the United Kingdom as a whole, the eurosceptic parties are

much more prevalent than in Scotland, where they are very weak. Most of the parties on the Scottish political scene, such as the Scottish National Party (SNP), Labour and the Liberal Democrats are pro-European. Therefore, Scottish membership in the EU was used by the Yes campaign – by those who believed Scotland should become an independent country. The strategy of the SNP was centered around the concept of there being much less hostility to the EU in Scotland than in England, and that the SNP was there to support the public opinion of the Scots in this matter. The idea was that the EU would give Scotland the kind of autonomy that being a region in the UK could not offer. Further crucial arguments were membership of a wide single market, improving the prospect of economic viability, providing a new source of security and also the option of allowing Scottish nationalism to be described as inclusive and internationalist, in contrast to the English anti-EU nationalism.

What is more, the SNP argued that Scotland being represented in the EU by the UK, meaning the interests of the Scots are defended only within the overall British position, is not enough. Another key argument of the Yes campaign was clear and strong, claiming that nothing can ever secure Scotland's long term membership in the EU, other than independence from the UK. This debate was certainly linked to the arising talk about Brexit and the emergent anti-EU attitudes of England. Therefore, the Scottish voters who wanted Scotland to remain a part of the EU were strongly encouraged to vote Yes in the Scottish referendum of independence. Nevertheless, the question of Scotland staying in the EU was clearly not a decisive factor for the voters. What is more, there was some apparent criticism from many other EU member states about the idea of Scottish independence, claiming it would create an example for other European separatist regions, for instance in Spain (Schnapper, 2015).

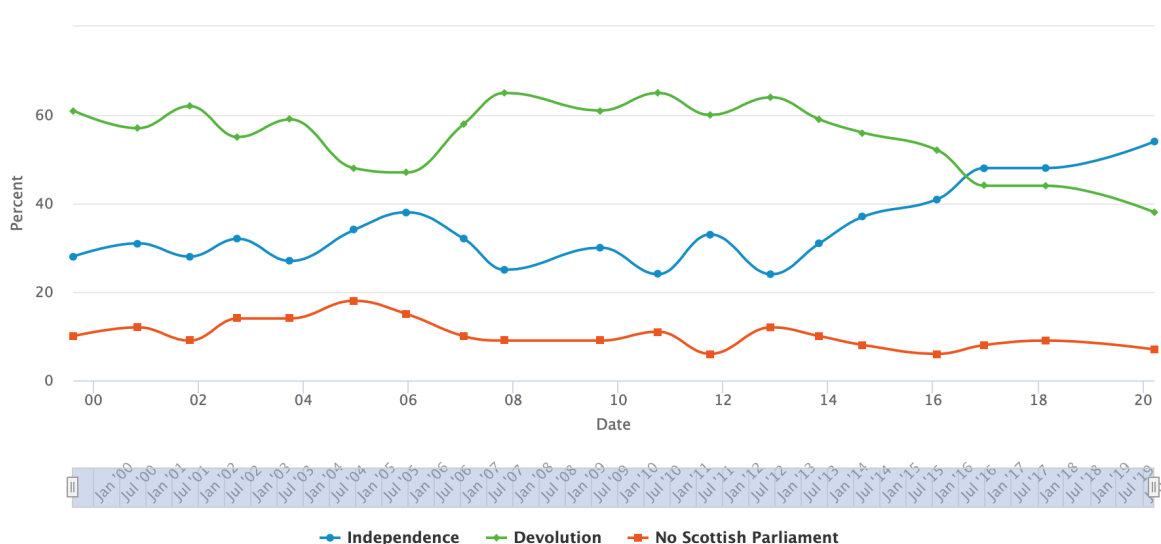


Figure 4 Opinion poll results: How should Scotland be governed? (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2020)

In Figure 4, we can clearly see that after the year 2016 and the EU Referendum, the opinion of Scots about the governance of their country changed significantly. While before the EU Referendum, more Scots supported devolution, rather than independence, after 2016, the support for independence has risen to almost 60%. This is not surprising, as the EU Referendum brought feelings of being overlooked for the Scots, not having their voice heard and even being simply ignored on such a key issue. More surprising perhaps is the percentage of people whose opinions changed in 2016, which we would expect to be larger, considering the situation and the significant difference between the EU Referendum results in England and Scotland.

Table 2 shows that while for 21% of people, Brexit made them more likely to support independence, 35% of people claimed that they did not change their opinion on independence after the EU Referendum. 13% of respondents said that they are a little more likely to vote for independence because of Brexit. In conclusion, the amount of people whose opinion on independence changed after Brexit, and whose opinion on independence stayed the same is fairly equal.

Table 2 Opinion poll results : Does Brexit make you more or less likely to support Scottish Independence? (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2021)

Fieldwork end date Pollster	10 March 2021 ComRes	5 March 2021 ComRes
Much more likely	21%	23%
A little more likely	13%	13%
No more or less likely	35%	32%
A little less likely	8%	7%
Much less likely	15%	18%
Don't know	9%	7%

Curtice and Montagu (2020) argue that after Brexit, the consideration of becoming independent from the UK started becoming more and more prevalent in people’s minds. For some people that supported the Union in the 2014 referendum, Brexit became a reason to now support independence. Being an independent country inside the EU has now become more attractive, than being part of the UK, but out of the EU.

In her speech in 2017, the First Minister and leader of the Scottish National Party, Nicola Sturgeon, commented on Scotland’s position of standing at a crossroads, in a situation that the Scots “*didn’t choose to be in*” (Sturgeon, 2017), stating that the country’s position and future within the UK, as well as the EU, was at stake. After a period when the Scottish Parliament was established and gained numerous responsibilities, the country now faced shifting of power to the UK Parliament and even losing some of the devolved powers of the Scottish Parliament. Sturgeon expressed her firm opinion that “*if Scotland can be ignored on an issue as important as our membership of the EU and the single market, then it is clear that our voice and our interests can be ignored at any time and on any issue*” (Sturgeon, 2017). The Brexit referendum results certainly put Scotland in a very difficult position and left the country in front of crucial and tough decisions concerning their independence, which affect the country’s society, economy, education, healthcare and business, as well as policy and form of government.

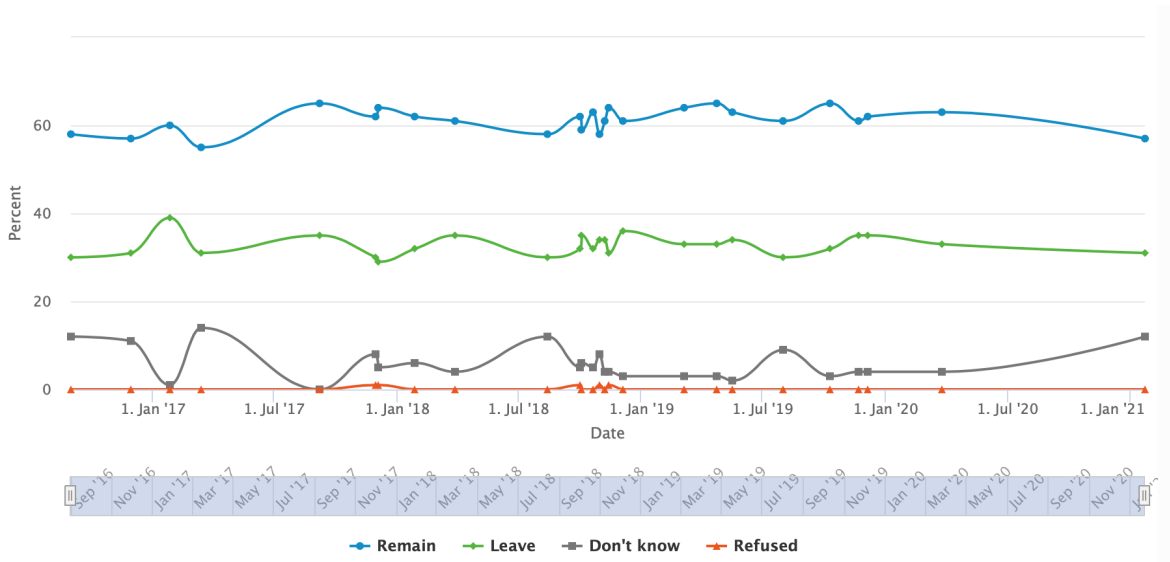


Figure 5 Opinion poll results: How would you vote in a second EU Referendum? (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2021)

Figure 5 shows results of an opinion poll held in Scotland from 2017 – 2021 asking respondents how they would vote, if there was a second EU Referendum. The poll shows that in Scotland, the public opinion of staying in the EU did not change and stays consistent over the years following the EU Referendum. As expected, the percentage for the remain vote is consistently at around 60%.

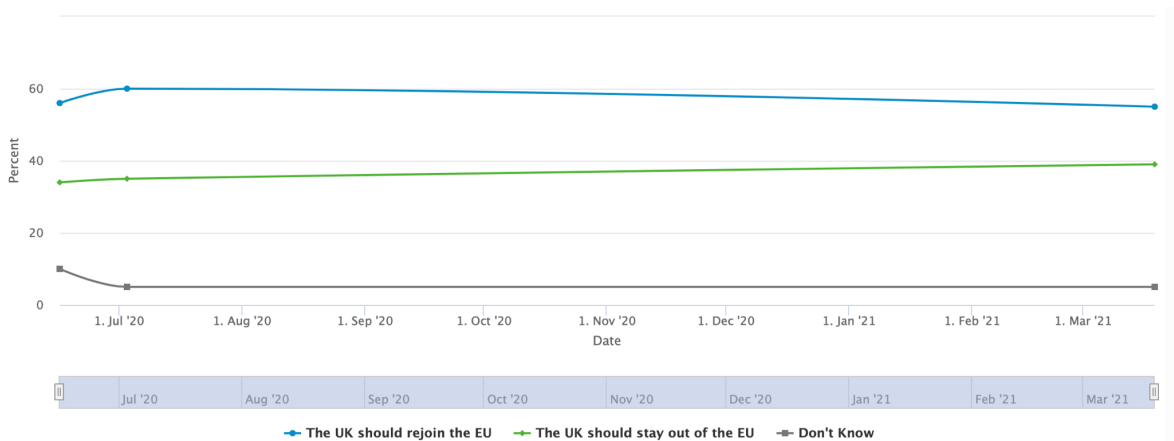


Figure 6 Opinion poll results: Should the UK rejoin the EU or not ? (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2021)

Figure 6 shows the results of an opinion poll held in Scotland with Scottish respondents in the years 2020 and 2021, which asked their opinion about the UK rejoining the EU. The majority of respondents, around 60%, expressed their opinion that they would prefer for the UK to rejoin the EU. This further supports the claim that the Scottish wish to remain part of the EU.

In January 2021, Scottish First Minister Nicola Sturgeon delivered a speech, in which she reflected on the Brexit referendum and its implications for Scottish independence. When an overwhelming majority of Scots voted to stay in the EU, it highlighted that values such as freedom, democracy, equality and human rights are shared values of the EU and Scotland. She also mentioned the importance of being a member of the EU and how its membership benefited Scotland to a huge extent. The country was now, in the midst of a global pandemic, forced to leave the EU against the people's will. As the majority of people still feel the same way about Brexit and more and more people wish to become independent from the UK, it is important to highlight that the concept of an independent Scotland has never been based on separatism, but rather on the right of the Scots to determine how their country is governed so that their needs and wishes are met.

Sturgeon concluded her speech by saying: *"We didn't want to leave and we hope to join you again soon as an equal partner as we face the opportunities and challenges of the future together"* (Sturgeon, 2021).

4.1.2 Scottish National Identity

According to Curtice (2008), there are two perspectives to be observed, when it comes to Scottish national identity and its trends. For nationalists and supporters of Scottish independence, the ultimate reason why Scotland should be an independent country is that it is a separate nation of people who have their own specific perception of identity. The nationalists believe that this should be acknowledged and recognised by independence, and in the form of an autonomous state. The devolved institutions support the individuality and national identity of Scotland and their creation has possibly contributed to the reinforcement of the idea of this distinctive Scottish identity. On the

other hand, there is a sense of Britishness, a state-wide identity, which has been developed within the United Kingdom as a whole, in all the parts of this multinational state. This belief in Britishness and the sentiment of belonging to a larger whole could serve as a supporting point to continue the Union.

Curtice (2008) further states that the independence of Scotland as a political institution is certainly not a condition to feeling Scottish or maintaining a Scottish national identity. Also, the public opinions about the Union are far more diverse than simply for or against it. There are many debates about how the country's membership in the Union should look like. For instance, the discussion centers around the question whether the devolved institutions should obtain more power. It was debated that the Scots could prefer for these devolved powers to have increased power, rather than gaining complete independence.

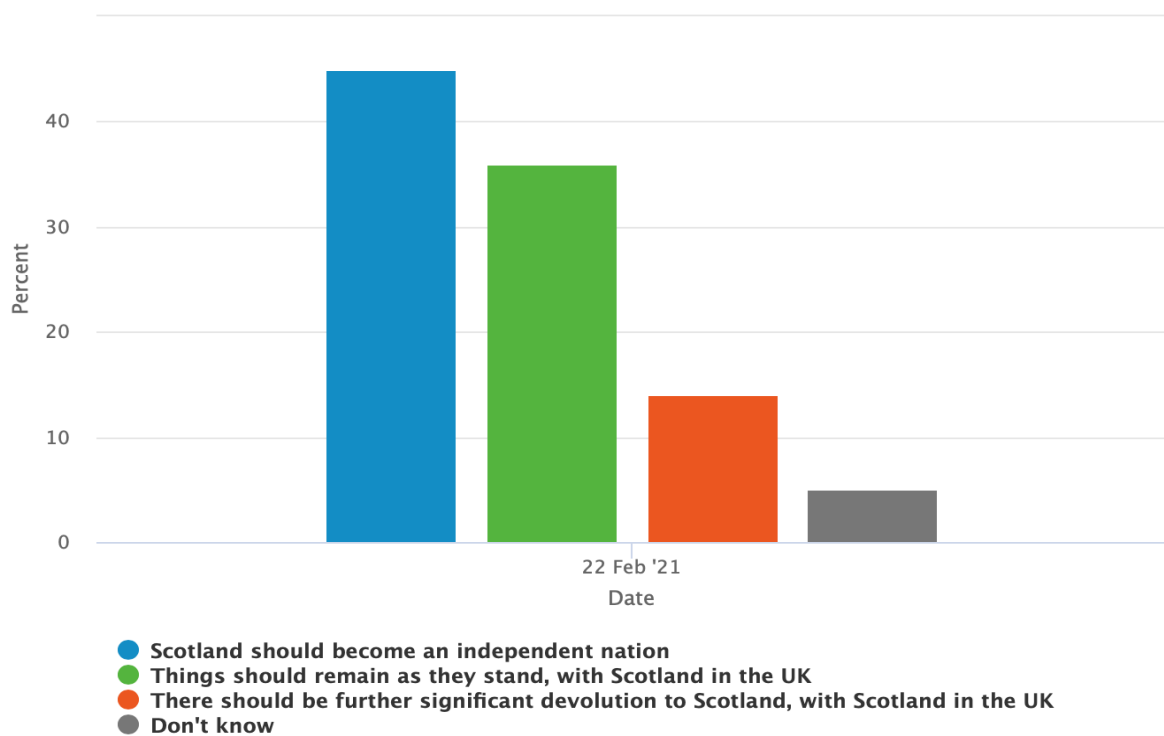


Figure 7 Opinion poll results: If a referendum asked you to choose between supporting Scotland becoming an independent country, keeping things as they are currently or favouring further significant devolution which would you select? (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2021)

Figure 7 shows that while the majority of respondents would support Scotland in becoming an independent country, 14% of Scots believe that there should be more power transferred to the devolved institutions and Scotland should remain part of the UK. It is also important to note that 36% of respondents are satisfied with the running of their country at the moment and believe things should continue as they stand today.

The Scottish Social Attitudes survey (SSA) was first launched in 1999, after the beginning of devolution and the establishment of the Scottish parliament. It is a survey, the aim of which is the study of public opinion and bringing information about the situation of public policy in Scotland. The survey analyses the answers of 1000 to 1500 people in annual rounds of interviews. It has taken place each year since 1999, when it was established, with the only exceptions being the years 2008 and 2018. The basis of the survey are attitudes of the Scots towards the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament, with typical questions such as trust in Scottish, UK or local Governments to achieve Scotland's best interests and to make reasonable decisions, the level of influence of different institutions over Scotland, how good the governments are at listening to peoples' opinions when making their decisions, what the governments' priorities should be, the economy, the National Health Service system, and questions about the Scottish Parliament and how it is fulfilling its task of giving regular people a voice in the United Kingdom and in how Scotland is governed, followed by a wide range of different policy matters (Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, 2020).

In his study, Curtice (2008) uses the Scottish Social Attitudes survey results to illustrate some crucial facts about the feelings of Scots regarding their national identity. The Scottish Social Attitudes survey provides us with unique evidence about the attitudes of the Scots towards a number of topics regarding their country, though Curtice examines national identity and support for the Union in particular.

In the following table, which we adopted from Curtice (2008), we can see the percentage of people who, when asked to choose only one national identity that they associate themselves with, out of options including Scottish, British, English and European, chose either Scottish or British. The figure clearly shows that the option of feeling Scottish has been the favored one for a period of more than thirty years. It is

interesting to note that the results from the year 1997, conducted before the devolution referendum of that same year, 72% of respondents felt Scottish and 20% said they felt more British.

Table 3 National identity (Source: Curtice, 2008, p.213)

	1974 (%)	1979 (%)	1992 (%)	1997 (%)	1999 (%)	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)	2004 (%)	2005 (%)	2006 (%)	2007 (%)
Scottish	65	56	72	72	77	80	77	75	72	75	79	78	71
British	31	38	25	20	17	13	16	18	20	19	14	14	20

Curtice (2008) further examines that the analysis in Table 3 follows an assumption that respondents can feel either Scottish or British. However, people can feel both Scottish and British, English, Welsh or European, any combination of these. The following table shows the results of a survey question, which enables people to choose from various options of identities and state whether they identify with a mixture of two. Figure 8 shows that many respondents felt Scottish and British at the same time, while mostly, feeling Scottish meant more to them than feeling British. Most respondents (around 30%), however, felt Scottish and not British or more Scottish than British. This confirms the idea that people’s Scottish identity is dominant to their sense of Britishness.

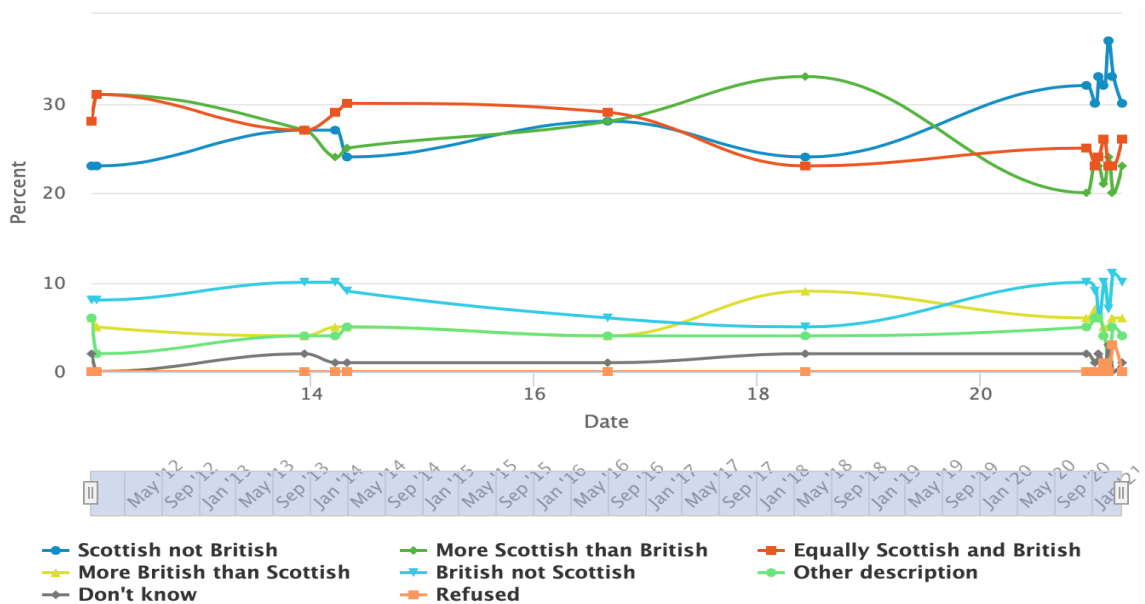


Figure 8 Opinion poll results: Where on this scale would you place your identity? (Moreno question) (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2020)

In his study, David McCrone (2012) asks himself the question: *What is it that makes people feel Scottish?* He studies the differences between feeling Scottish, English and British. He claims that there is no direct correlation between the feeling of national identity and between political views, party preferences or constitutional preferences. It is true that Scots, who only identify as Scottish and not British, are more likely to vote for independence and parties such as the Scottish national party. However, the question of Scottish national identity is much more connected to culture, rather than politics. The main indicator of feeling and being Scottish is the fact that a person was born in Scotland. The largest minority in Scotland are people who were born in England and it accounts for 8% of Scottish population. These people often feel they should not call themselves Scottish, many tend to say they “*come from Scotland*” instead. Some of the members of this minority feel more British, while some claim that they were not aware they were English, until they came to live in Scotland. Another large minority are non-white people, such as of Pakistani origin, who usually call themselves Scottish Muslim and other hybrid forms of identities. Throughout its rich history, Scotland has gone through much cultural and territorial diversity, which has made people more accepting, which also illustrates itself in the fact that Scotland accepted many different groups of immigrants over the years, most importantly the Irish in the 19th century.

Pittock (2008) points out that when it comes to evaluating pride in Scotland and the idea of *Scottishness*, the most cited factors are the distinctive people, including the unique culture and institutions, and landscape. There is also a tendency for the Scots to define themselves in terms of being as distinct from the English as possible. However, the fact that Scotland, a country that has always been mixed ethnically and linguistically, has grown to united nationality through its institutions, monarchy and social practices, is much more important.

McEwen (2017) claims that it is very obvious in the case of Scotland, how in the UK, the nations are on one hand, all connected and act as one, and on the other hand, are encouraged and allowed to remain somehow independent. While the Union strengthened political power of the UK Parliament, it also allowed for Scottish institutions to be preserved. Those have now become symbols of national identity for the Scots. McEwen

states that the UK has an unusual quality regarding the international community, of giving recognition both to the plurinational sense of the state and to the right of the individual nations to self-determination. Such a system and arrangement is, indeed, unusual and we believe that while it certainly gives the nations some power and independence, it is a difficult task to determine to what extent the nations should be separate from the UK, and that is where these devolution issues are rooted.

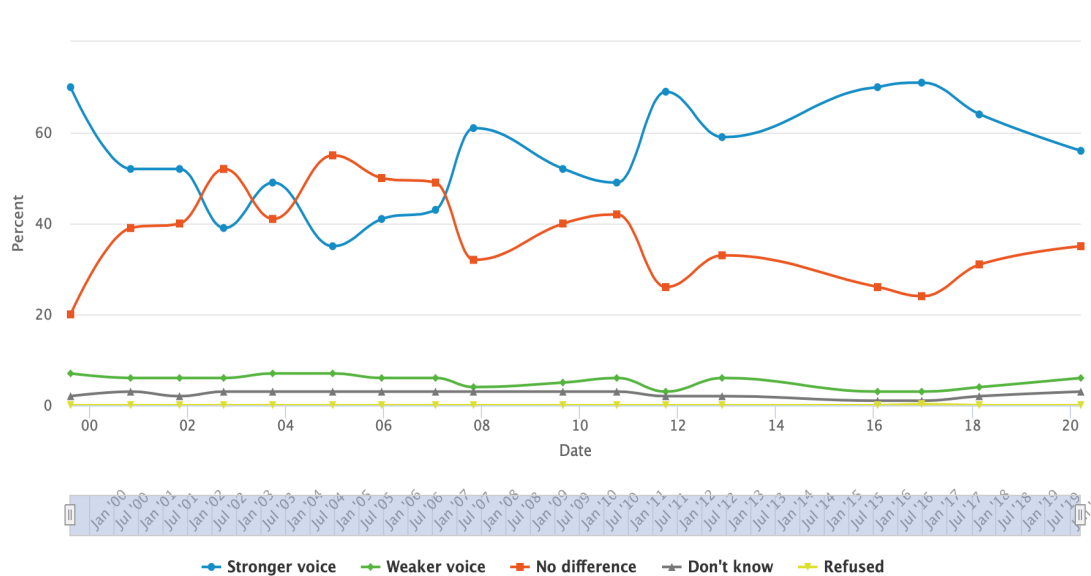


Figure 9 Opinion poll results: Is the Scottish Parliament giving Scotland a stronger or weaker voice in the UK? (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2020)

Figure 9 shows that according to people in Scotland, the Scottish Parliament contributes significantly to the fact that their wishes and demands are heard by the UK Parliament. The Scottish Parliament gives the people the assurance that the voice of Scotland is represented fairly in the UK.

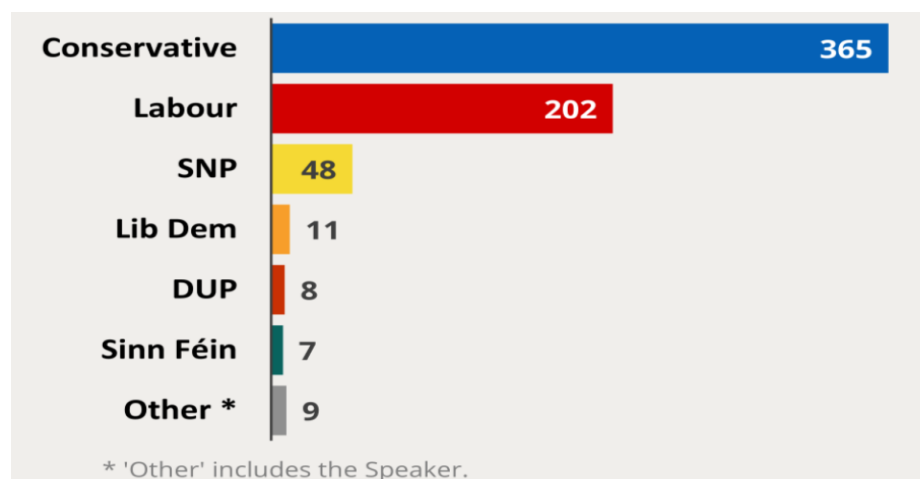
Although we might see a correlation between the election of a Nationalist government in 2007 and Scottish identity becoming more apparent in politics, it is not that clear. The relationship between national identity and political opinions is not straightforward. Some Scots want independence, while some would prefer a stronger parliament within the Union. The Scottish Parliament has far more trust of the Scottish

people and gets far more credit for the successes of Scotland, while the British one often gets blamed for the failures. The creation of the Scottish parliament is the major institutional change contributing to Scottish independence. The Parliament has, in some way, become a sign of autonomy and institutional independence, though it has not implied that its establishment will necessarily lead to full independence (McCrone, 2012).

4.1.3 A Second Referendum on Scottish Independence

Before the 2016 Scottish Parliament elections, the SNP's manifesto stated that because Scotland was taken out of the EU against its will, a second vote on independence would be justified. In March 2017, after Sturgeon formally requested the UK Parliament's approval to hold another independence referendum, it was declined by the then Prime Minister of the UK, Theresa May. During the General Election of 2019, the SNP's manifesto declared that in 2020, the party intended to hold a second independence referendum and that the aim was for Scotland to remain in the EU, or rejoin it. As we can observe in Table 4, the Conservatives won the General election of 2019, while the SNP gained a significant victory, taking 48 of 59 Scottish seats in the Parliament. However, when Sturgeon formally requested the power to hold a second independence referendum in 2020, her request was refused yet again, this time by Prime Minister Boris Johnson. It was unlikely that the UK and EU would have agreed on the future of their relationship by 2020, therefore it could cause confusion about what remaining in the UK would actually mean for the voters (Paun et al., 2019).

Table 4 Number of seats in the UK Parliament allocated to political parties (Source: commonslibrary.parliament.uk, 2019)



At the beginning of 2020, it was the SNP's intention to hold the second independence referendum in 2020. However, due to the outbreak of the coronavirus and the global crisis it brought, the arrangements were postponed (Paun and Sargeant, 2020).

If Scotland would vote on independence again, a new agreement has to be signed between the UK and the Scottish Governments. Proceeding with a referendum without the UK Government's approval would be ruled unlawful by the UK Supreme Court, therefore would have no legitimacy and no value to the UK Government (Paun et al., 2019).

It would be necessary to ensure that the details of the referendum were examined very closely. To ensure that, it would have to be legislated for by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, where the specifics, such as the wording of the question and the date of the poll, would be defined. Then, the Electoral Commission would examine the referendum question to ensure it was straight-forward and free from bias (Paun et al., 2019).

Paun et al. (2019) argue that though the Prime Minister does have the power to refuse the second referendum and hold the Union together that way, it is not a sustainable choice. To strengthen the Union, he should develop a clear vision that goes beyond the solely economic case and persuade the Scots that it is in their own interest to be a part of the UK. That could involve additional devolution of powers to the Scottish Parliament or allowing the devolved institutions to have a say in international negotiations and the development after Brexit. Additionally, it could involve new measures for preventing the UK Parliament from legislating in devolved areas.

In January 2021, a petition was started that stated: *"Do not give consent for another Scottish Independence Referendum."* The petition was signed by around 110 000 people and therefore required a reaction from the Government. The petition was debated in the UK Government at Westminster and a response was published, stating that: *"The UK Government continues to respect the decision of the people of Scotland who voted decisively in 2014 to remain part of the United Kingdom"* (Parallel Parliament, 2021).

We can clearly see from the response of the UK Government to the petition, that they do not openly claim to have any intention of giving Scotland the needed consent to hold another independence referendum. However, if the SNP gains the majority in the

coming Scottish Parliament elections in May, the push for independence and a second referendum will become stronger, as it is the most important issue on the party’s agenda.

On March 22, 2021, a Draft Independence Referendum Bill was published by the Scottish Government. It shows similarities with the 2014 Referendum, and the question of: “Should Scotland become an independent country” should repeat itself. However, there are some new features too. While in 2014, the referendum question was only published in English, the Government has committed to translating the question into Gaelic as well this time. The Bill leaves it to the Scottish Parliament to conclude on the date of the poll. The timing is subject to a number of facts, including the state of the coronavirus crisis, but the preference of the Scottish Government is to hold the referendum in the next two years. The SNP has committed to introduce the Bill into the Scottish Parliament only after the Scottish Parliament elections in May 2021, if the results show that a pro-independence majority is elected (McCorkindale and McHarg, 2021).

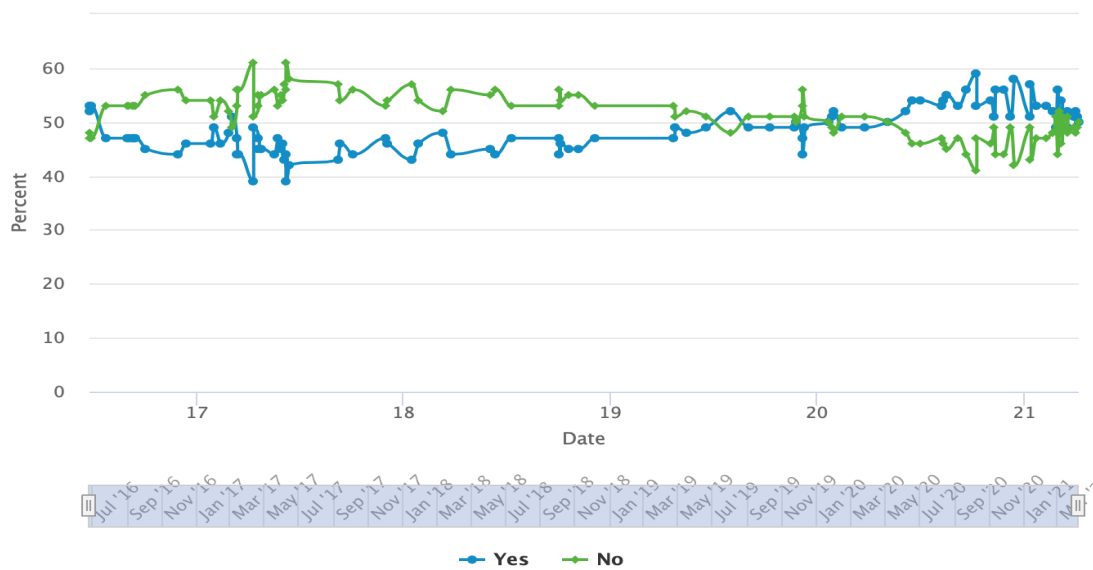


Figure 10 Opinion poll results: How would you vote in a Scottish independence referendum if held now? (asked after the EU referendum) (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2021)

Figure 10 provides us with important data showing the voting intention of Scots in a future referendum. We can clearly observe from Figure 10, that the opinions of Scots are very narrowly divided. The support for independence and support for Union continue to

be around 50%. This is fairly surprising, as the debate of independence on the political scene is prevalent and it seems like a larger amount of Scots would support independence, considering the situation after Brexit and the changes influencing people’s lives directly.

There has been debate about the question whether such extensive constitutional changes should occur, when only a narrow majority is in favour of them. The debates emerged after the 2016 Brexit referendum, the main reason being the extent of disruption and the struggle to protect the interests of the losing side. If the second independence referendum does take place, we might see calls to impose the so-called supermajority rule, which means that for instance, at least 55% of votes would be required to secure independence (Paun et al., 2019).

In the following table, we can see that the opinions of people are very divided when it comes to the question of the referendum even being held. We can see that 46% of people responded in a recent Opinion poll that they do not think there should be another independence referendum held in the next few years. This is evidence that only a narrow majority of Scots is in favor of a referendum taking place in the next year to five years. The question remains how many people would support independence in the referendum if it takes place in the near future, when they did not even support the referendum taking place.

Table 5 Opinion poll results: Do you think another Scottish independence referendum should be held in the next 12 months, in the next 2-5 years or there should not be another referendum in the next few years? (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2021)

Fieldwork end date Pollster	1 April 2021 Panelbase	5 March 2021 Panelbase
In the next 12 months	25%	25%
In the next 2-5 years	29%	30%
There should not be another Scottish independence referendum in the next few years	46%	45%

Paun et al. (2019) suggest that before a second independence referendum takes place, the Scottish Government should have a much clearer idea of their proposals for an independent Scotland, such as its relationship with the UK and the EU in the future. The Scottish Government should also be more clear on how their negotiations with the UK Government would look like after the referendum. Paun et al. also argues that while the SNP claims that the EU would welcome Scotland back, it is not guaranteed.

After Brexit became reality and Scotland was taken out of the EU against the citizen's will, the support for Scottish independence has risen rapidly throughout the country. The 2021 Scottish Parliament election is approaching and will take place in May. The SNP's main objective is to hold a second referendum of Scottish independence from the UK and therefore be able to rejoin the EU as an independent member state. However, by becoming a member of the EU again, Scotland's relationship with the UK would become even more complicated and barriers to trade would certainly arise within the UK (Paun et al., 2021).

To rejoin the EU, Scotland would have to go through a complicated process. Once negotiations with the UK Parliament would be over, and Scotland would actually become an independent country through a legal process recognised by the Supreme Court and the UK Government, Scotland could file an application to rejoin the EU. This series of actions that would be required for Scotland to be a member of the EU again could take many years. It took almost five years for the UK to finalize Brexit, and it could very possibly take the same amount of time, if not longer, for Scotland to become independent from the UK, build the necessary institutions and become a sovereign state. Only after that, the complex EU accession process could begin, which could take at least two years (Paun et al., 2021)

As an EU member, the Scots would again acquire all the rights and responsibilities that they lost by Brexit. Scotland would rejoin the EU single market and customs union, which would give the Scots freedom of movement across the EU, as well as frictionless trade with other EU member states. Moreover, Scotland would gain representation in the EU institutions. Scotland would also be a net contributor to the EU budget, while enjoying the EU funding streams, such as support for regional economic development and research.

As far as the common currency of the EU, the euro, is concerned, Scotland would probably have to commit to adopting it, although the process could be delayed by many years, as other member states have done. There is a possibility that the EU would allow Scotland to remain outside of the Schengen area, which would make it much easier for Scotland to maintain the Common Travel Area across the UK and Ireland, which enables citizens to travel freely and without passport controls. However, although the EU membership would decrease barriers to trade between Scotland and the EU, trade between Scotland and the UK would inevitably become more complicated and substantial friction on trade between these countries would become necessary. Considering the long history of Anglo-Scottish single market and the fact that exports to the rest of the UK currently bring substantially larger revenue to the Scottish economy than exports to the EU, this would be a radical change for the countries. New barriers to trade could become another challenge for Scotland after rejoining the EU. Although there are possibilities for Scotland to consider in order to reduce friction in trade with the rest of the UK, there are ultimately no alternatives which would grant Scotland's integration into the EU without disrupting its trade with the UK (Paun et al., 2021).

Cairney (2021) claims that Scottish independence could have an immense influence on the country's policy and political reforms, even though major political reform has not been a key feature in the argument for independence. The SNP, as well as the Scottish Government put emphasis on the competence of the Scottish Parliament and Government, indicating that in the case of independence, policymaking processes will be built primarily on the already existing ones. The Scottish Parliament would exist in a slightly modified form. It will hold the Scottish Government to account, rather than share its power to make policy. Moreover, Scottish independence would result in extensive change to the distribution of responsibilities of the Scottish Government, in areas such as economic and foreign policies.

McGarvey (2020) argues that with the possibility of independence approaching, Scotland should pay more attention to the internal institutional structure of the Scottish polity. The local government's place in the constitutional debate has been neglected for years and it is necessary to bring it back to the table. Devolution has had an enormous

impact on Scotland’s governing capacity, legislature and party system, but the local government has remained unchanged in many regards. Devolution has only supported further centralisation and the traditional attitude of “*central government knows best*”.

“A critical appraisal of devolution is that it has merely replaced governance by London’s centralist political elite by a newly empowered body of political elites in Edinburgh” (McGarvey, 2020).

The post-independence Scottish democracy will be in need of local engagement and diversity, representation and participation to complement the redundant centralism. Scotland should therefore find its own and new approach to local governance (McGarvey, 2020).

4.1.4 The 2021 Scottish Parliamentary Elections

On May 6, 2021, the Scottish Parliamentary elections will be held throughout the country. 129 MSPs will be elected to the Scottish Parliament. The results of this election will be crucial in determining whether the SNP with its leader Nicola Sturgeon are able to secure a majority and continue the movement towards a second independence referendum. The polling results are looking promising for the SNP (BBC News, 2021).

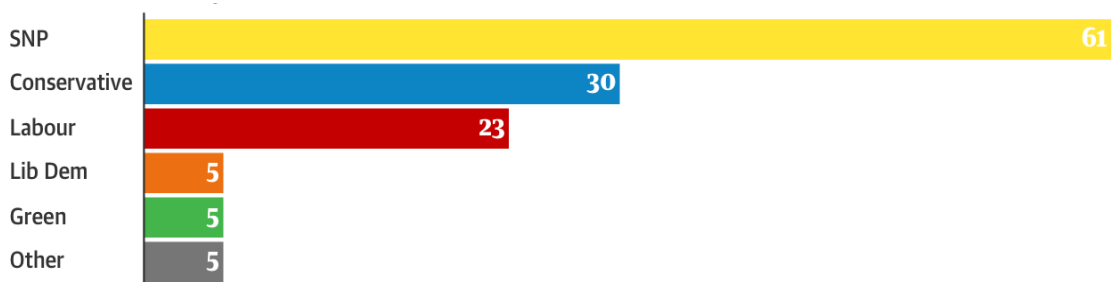


Figure 11 Estimated number of seats gained in the 2021 election (Source: theguardian.com, 2021)

In Figure 11, we can see the results of opinion polls concerning the May 2021 election. It is apparent that the SNP is looking at a comfortable majority if these figures are

confirmed. In that case, a constitutional clash might indeed take place between the UK and the Scottish Government over holding a second independence referendum (Curtice, 2021).

There is a small shift in politician approval ratings, with people finding Nicola Sturgeon a little bit less competent in her role of First Minister, with around 27% of respondents now feeling like she is not doing well. However, Nicola Sturgeon’s ratings compare positively to those of UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson, who 74% of Scots believe is doing badly in his position (McDonnell, 2020).

Similarly, when it comes to the question of how well the First Minister of Scotland and the Prime Minister of the UK are handling the coronavirus crisis, around 70% of Scots believe Sturgeon is doing well, while over 75% of Scots believe Johnson is doing badly. The Scots overwhelmingly prefer the approach that was taken to handle the coronavirus crisis in Scotland (69%) over the approach of England (8%) (McDonnell, 2020).

Table 6 shows the results of an opinion poll concerning the situation after the election. It is apparent that the people believe that in the case that the SNP wins the majority in the upcoming election, Scotland should get the consent of the UK Government to hold a second referendum.

Table 6 Opinion poll results: If the SNP wins a majority of seats in the 2021 Scottish Parliament elections, do you think the UK Government should or should not allow them to hold another independence referendum within the next five years? (Source: whatscotlandthinks.org, 2021)

Fieldwork end date Pollster	21 February 2021 Ipsos Mori	9 October 2020 Ipsos Mori
Definitely should	43%	51%
Probably should	13%	12%
Probably should not	7%	7%
Definitely should not	34%	27%
Don't know	4%	2%

Rycroft (2021) suggests that now is the time for the UK Government to show that its capability to respond to pressures of the Union. As the May General elections are approaching and the support for independence and nationalist parties in Scotland, as well as in Wales, is rising, the Government is facing the challenge of an uncertain future and possible changes in the structure of the UK.

“The UK government should support a fundamental overhaul of the system of inter-governmental relations to show that the voice of the devolved governments will always be heard on cross-UK policies of concern to them” (Rycroft, 2021).

Paun et al. (2021) suggest that the SNP should be open about the alternative routes for independent Scotland. It should consider the detail of the new relationships it sees with Scotland’s nearest neighbours in the future, to provide voters with a clear understanding of the choices and challenges that Scotland would face on the road to independence.

Gunn (2021) believes that the upcoming Scottish Parliamentary elections are one of the most unpredictable elections to date and that there exists a considerable uncertainty about the outcome of the vote. He suggests that while we can be confident that the SNP will be the largest party in the Scottish Parliament after this election, the number of seats that it gains and the success of other parties are rather unpredictable.

Certainly, all of the discussed contemporary issues that are happening in England and Scotland are connected to a large degree, they are intertwined and they influence each other. What is more, all of the developments are tightly linked to the historical events, which influenced the relationships between Scotland and England and many times determined the future of the countries.

Scotland becoming part of the EU is conditioned by their future as part of the UK. McEwen (2017) believes that the UK which the Scots voted to be a part of in the 2014 referendum was different from the UK of today, and that the circumstances in which the Scots voted are much different today than they were at the time of the first referendum. The results of the EU Referendum which allowed the UK to step out of the EU were very diverse when it comes to English and Scottish attitudes to the extent that the Scots felt they were being taken out of the EU against their will. Schnapper (2015) claims that Scotland’s

membership in the EU has been on the table at the time of the first independence referendum and that for Scotland, the EU membership provides much more individuality and power than being part of the UK. From the provided figures, we can see that public opinion on independence changed after Brexit. This proves that Scots stand by their vote in the Brexit referendum and do not wish to leave the EU. At the same time, the prospect of independence from the UK is becoming more attractive. In general, scholars and authors agree that Brexit has changed the position of Scotland significantly and that Scotland should be allowed to hold another independence referendum as it is the will of the majority. The general belief is that Scotland's situation at the time of the first referendum of 2014 was certainly different from the current situation and that the Scots should be allowed to decide about their future for themselves.

The question of Scottish national identity was also examined as part of our research. Most Scots identify themselves as Scottish and not British, which supports the calls for independence. Curtice (2008) claims that the devolved institutions have supported the Scottish idea of their distinctive identity and given them some individuality. Curtice (2008) also believes that maintaining the Scottish national identity is possible even if Scotland remains in the UK. McCrone (2012) agrees that culture is much more important than politics when it comes to national identity. Still, people whose sense of Scottishness is prevalent to their feeling of Britishness tend to vote for pro-independence parties. Therefore, we believe that it is imperative for the Scots to feel this individuality and that it will be a determinant in their voting behaviour during the upcoming elections. Unsurprisingly, the opinion polls indicate that the SNP will gain a majority in the elections and point the future of Scotland towards another referendum and independence.

Based on our research, we believe that Scotland should be granted the option to hold a second referendum. As it can be seen from the results, both of the presented hypotheses were partly confirmed. We are not at the moment able to say with certainty what the future of Scotland will look like, as the developments are still in motion and subject to change and progress. However, we strongly believe that our hypotheses will be confirmed in the future, as many arguments and data support them. We recognize the position of Scotland after Brexit and their desire to be respected as a nation with its own

set of beliefs, wishes and opinions. What is surprising to us is the number of Scots who believe that a referendum should not be held or should be held later in the future. Considering the fact that Brexit already has a tremendous influence on people living in Scotland, and it is a significant change compared to the years of being part of the EU, we anticipated more people to firmly support independence. Nevertheless, we maintain the belief that the Scots should as a nation have the opportunity to determine their future as new circumstances have arisen in the Union. We believe that at this time, the EU membership does indeed offer more benefits to Scotland than the UK does and that the wishes and choices of the Scots are being overlooked as long as they remain a part of the UK. Scotland's future depends on the actions of the UK Government, as well as the Scottish Government. The future of Scotland UK will be determined very shortly, in the May 2021 election. Scotland stands on a crossroads at the moment and whatever the election result will be, it will have an impact on the UK as a whole and possibly even on the EU.

Conclusion

Our thesis centered around the political relationship between England and Scotland. These two countries share a complex and long history. Many events through the centuries have shaped them and their relationship into today's form. In the 21st century, Scotland is still going through tremendous changes and challenges. Right before the beginning of the century, Scotland gained power and a level of independence by establishing its own Government. While this was a significant step towards self-determination, the years after devolution brought situations, in which Scotland had to fight to be heard and not overlooked. In 2014, the Scots voted in a referendum on Scottish independence to remain a part of the United Kingdom. However, the debate on Scottish autonomy has carried on over the years and continues until today. After the EU Referendum, which resulted in Brexit, more and more calls for independence appeared on the Scottish political scene. The topic remains exceptionally relevant today, shortly before the Scottish parliamentary election, that is going to take place in May 2021.

The aim of our thesis was to explain the details and affairs of Anglo-Scottish relations and to offer a perspective on the state of the matters influencing England and Scotland. Our objective was to give a comprehensive description of the history, relationship, connection and mutual impact of the two countries. We have examined the events concerning England and Scotland during their shared history, we have looked at the organization and mutual relationship between the Scottish and the UK Government, the reserved and devolved matters, and provided an insight into the Scottish political scene. We have thoroughly explored the current political developments in England and Scotland and their ramifications. We consider it important to study this topic in order to be able to evaluate the current position that Scotland finds itself in. Our thesis adds to the research concerning the topic of Anglo-Scottish relations.

The hypotheses that we have tried to reject or confirm in our thesis were addressing the questions of Scotland leaving the UK and becoming a member of the EU as an independent country. Based on the results of our research, it is clear that Scotland has a valid reason to ask for consent to hold a second independence referendum. The

developments in Scotland are in the hands of the Governments of Scotland and the United Kingdom, and the approaching changes are going to influence not only countries on the British Isles, but the European Union as well. The Scots voted to be part of the UK in 2014, while it was still in the EU. Today, the circumstances have changed significantly. Scotland's membership in the EU would provide the country with more control and power over their concerns. It seems as though the UK can no longer provide Scotland with the level of autonomy and sovereignty that the country requires in order to have their unique wishes and requests honored. What is more, the distinct Scottish sense of national identity gives Scotland the power and sense of unity to be able to become an independent country and survive all the challenges that the journey is going to bring. It is highly significant to the Scots to feel this individuality. The upcoming Scottish parliamentary election is going to determine whether the Scottish national party, the priority of which it is to hold a second referendum on Scottish independence as soon as possible, has the power and capacity to win the majority and push for the referendum even harder and make it a reality. Based on our research, we believe that the Scottish National Party will be able to secure the desired number of seats and that the UK Government will grant Scotland the possibility to hold another referendum. It is apparent that even if the developments after the May 2021 election do lead to a referendum, the results of it will be narrow and it is not possible to determine today whether the Scottish will or will not vote for independence, as the Scottish public opinions seem polarized. It is going to be a long way for Scotland, before the future and destiny of the country is resolved.

In conclusion, we believe that in the future, Scotland will become an independent country, and very possibly become a member of the European union once again. Based on the research, we can see that a large number of people share the opinion that Scotland was indeed taken out of the EU against its will and should have the right to come back. It seems as though the approaching Parliamentary election will see a success of the Scottish National Party and that the pro-European Scottish will gain a new positive outlook on the prospect of independence.

Resumé

Táto diplomová práca sa venuje politickým vzťahom medzi Anglickom a Škótskom. Cieľom diplomovej práce je do hĺbky skúmať politické vzťahy medzi Anglickom a Škótskom naprieč storočiami. Naším zámerom je poskytnúť nový pohľad na udalosti dejín týchto dvoch krajín, pričom sa zameriavame na najdôležitejšie udalosti, ktoré ovplyvnili alebo zmenili ich vzťah, či súčasné dianie v týchto krajinách. V našej práci uvádzame komplexný pohľad na diskusiu o škótskej nezávislosti a decentralizácii v Spojenom kráľovstve, zaoberáme sa dôvodmi, prečo sa krajina dnes ocitla v danej situácii a skúmame zložitú dilemu, pred ktorou Škótsko stojí. Táto téma má dosah nielen na Spojené kráľovstvo Veľkej Británie a Severného Írska (ďalej len Spojené kráľovstvo), ale aj na Európsku úniu a dianie v Európe. V našej práci poskytujeme pohľad na situáciu z viacerých strán a analyzujeme anglo-škótske vzťahy z rôznych aspektov.

Metódy použité v tejto práci sú analýza obsahu, opisná a komparatívna metóda. V našej práci sme uvádzali, opisovali a analyzovali odborné práce a knihy vedcov v danej oblasti, ako napríklad Houston (2009), Wormald (2005), Mackie (1991) alebo Curtice (2008). Použili sme výskumy a dáta týkajúce sa skúmanej oblasti, aby sme potvrdili alebo vyvrátili stanovené hypotézy.

Práca je rozdelená do štyroch kapitol a niekoľkých podkapitol. Prvá kapitola diplomovej práce opisuje históriu vzťahov Anglicka a Škótska. Historický vývoj týchto krajín s dôrazom na najdôležitejšie udalosti, ktoré ovplyvnili anglo-škótske vzťahy, opisujeme začínajúc v stredoveku, pokračujeme obdobím raného novoveku, renesancie, obdobím reformácie a osvietenstva, až po modernú dobu 20. storočia. Dôležitý moment spoločnej histórie Anglicka a Škótska predstavujú Vojny za škótsku nezávislosť, ktoré sa odohrávali v 14. storočí a ich kľúčovými postavami sú osobnosti škótskych dejín ako William Wallace alebo Robert Bruce. Vojny za škótsku nezávislosť priniesli krajine politickú jednotu a súdržnosť, no tiež utrpenie. Tento sled bitiek napokon priniesol Škótsku samostatnosť. Je však zrejmé, že pre Angličanov tieto vojny nepredstavovali konflikt medzi dvoma rovnocennými, autonómnymi krajinami. Škóťov považovali za rebelov, ktorí sa búria proti svojmu právoplatnému vládcovi, anglickému kráľovi. Bitka pri Floddene, v

ktorej Škótsko zažilo katastrofálnu porážku, sa odohrala v roku 1513 a predstavuje najväčšiu bitku medzi Anglickom a Škótskom. V tejto bitke prišli Škóti o svojho kráľa, Jakuba IV., a tiež o asi 5000 vojakov. V tejto kapitole ďalej opisujeme vládu Márie I. Stuartovej, ako aj jej osobnosť, ktorá predstavuje vplyvnú éru v dejinách Škótska, obdobie náboženských reforiem, no najmä turbulentných sporov týkajúcich sa trónu. Mária I. bola následníčkou trónu v Škótsku, no bola aj vnučkou princeznej Margaréty Tudorovej, sestry anglického kráľa Henricha VIII, po smrti ktorého si Mária I. nárokovala aj anglickú kráľovskú korunu. V roku 1561 požiadala Mária I. svoju sesternicu, anglickú kráľovnú Alžbetu I., aby ju uznala ako následníčku trónu v Anglicku, no keďže Mária I. bola katolíčka narodená mimo Anglicka, čo predstavovalo pre protestantské Anglicko hrozbu a priniesla aj následníka trónu, Jakuba VI., bola v roku 1567 unesená a väznená, prinútená abdikovať a o niekoľko rokov bola na rozkaz Alžbety I. popravená.

V ďalšej časti prvej kapitoly sa zaoberáme spojením Anglicka a Škótska, ktoré nastalo v roku 1603 za vlády Jakuba VI., ktorý sa stal panovníkom oboch krajín. Na začiatku svojho vládnutia sa pokúsil do istej miery spojiť vlády Anglicka a Škótska, no nebol úspešný a vzniknutá únia týchto dvoch krajín priniesla najmä rastúce výzvy pre Angličanov, ktorí museli prijať, že im vládne Škót, čo narušilo ich doterajšie vnímanie ich národa a jeho postavenia vo svete. V roku 1707 nastal prelomový moment v dejinách oboch krajín, keď boli podpísaná Zmluva o zjednotení, ktorou vzniklo Spojené kráľovstvo Veľkej Británie riadené jedným parlamentom a vládou. Ďalej sa v prvej kapitole venujeme obdobiu osvietenstva v Škótsku, ktoré v 18. storočí prinieslo rozvoj intelektuálneho života, nové objavy, ako aj rozkvet ekonomiky či poľnohospodárstva. 19. storočie bolo v Škótsku definované priemyselnou revolúciou a rozvojom miest. Migrácia z vidieka do väčších miest a rozmach priemyslu, železníc a strojárstva znamenali pre krajinu prosperitu.

V 20. storočí sa Škótsko zmenilo z hospodárskeho, kultúrneho a sociálneho hľadiska. Na začiatku 70. rokov 20. storočia sa pri škótskom pobreží našli obrovské zásoby ropy a plynu. Táto skutočnosť priniesla nové snahy o nezávislosť Škótska, keďže politické strany ako napríklad Škótska národná strana sa domnievali, že krajina by z tohoto objavu mohla ťažiť oveľa lepšie, ak by bola samostatnou krajinou, nezávislou od Veľkej Británie. V roku 1997 vyhlásila vláda referendum, v ktorom sa 74% obyvateľov Škótska jasne

zhodlo, že chcú, aby ich krajina mala vlastný parlament. V roku 1999 bol zriadený samostatný Škótsky parlament so širokou škálou právomocí napríklad v oblasti vzdelávania, či zdravotníctva. Táto udalosť znamenala prevratný moment v dejinách Škótska a decentralizáciu moci Veľkej Británie.

Druhá kapitola tejto diplomovej práce sa zameriava na najdôležitejšie udalosti 21. storočia týkajúce sa anglo-škótskych vzťahov. Škótsko vstúpilo do 21. storočia ako krajina s vlastným parlamentom a nádejou na väčšiu nezávislosť. Zástancovia politickej únie dúfali, že Škótom sa so zriadením decentralizovaného parlamentu dostane uznania ich nezávislosti a odlišnej národnej identity a budú mať pocit, že v rámci Spojeného kráľovstva budú ich prania a potreby vypočuté a naplnené. Bolo teda pomerne nečakané, keď v roku 2007 zvíťazila vo voľbách Škótska národná strana, známa svojou nekompromisnou podporou nezávislosti. Jej predseda, Alex Salmond, sa stal škótskym predsedom vlády. Tento úspech nacionalistov vo voľbách iba osem rokov po decentralizácii naznačil, že škótska verejnosť bola skôr na strane nezávislosti, ako politickej únie. Prelomový bod nastal v roku 2014, kedy sa uskutočnilo referendum o nezávislosti Škótska od Spojeného kráľovstva. Otázka referenda znela: „Malo by byť Škótsko nezávislou krajinou?“ Veľmi tesné výsledky ukázali, že 55,3% obyvateľov Škótska hlasovalo proti, zatiaľ čo 44,7% obyvateľov Škótska hlasovalo za nezávislosť. Rekordná účasť voličov bola 84,6%, čo predstavovalo najvyššiu volebnú účasť od roku 1910. Hlavnou a najdôležitejšou záležitosťou referenda z roku 2014 bola samostatnosť Škótska, budúcnosť krajiny, či už ako súčasť politickej únie, alebo ako nezávislého subjektu. Počas kampane sa však veľa diskutovalo aj o budúcnosti Spojeného kráľovstva a jeho členstva v Európskej únii, pričom sa kládol dôraz na zvýraznenie stále sa zväčšujúcich rozdielov medzi politikou Anglicka a Škótska vzťahujúcich sa na túto problematiku. Referendum o nezávislosti Škótska teda úzko súviselo s referendom o členstve Spojeného kráľovstva v Európskej únii, ktoré sa konalo v roku 2016, kedy sa Škóti v porovnaní s Angličanmi preukázali ako proeurópski a menej euroskeptickí. Referendum z roku 2016 vyústilo po tesnom výsledku do Brexitu. Je však mimoriadne dôležité uviesť, že výsledky referenda v Anglicku a Škótsku sa značne líšili, pričom 62%

škótskych voličov hlasovalo za pretrvanie v Európskej únii. Tento rozdiel znovu oživil diskusiu o škótskej nezávislosti, ktorá pretrváva dodnes.

V druhej kapitole diplomovej práce sa tiež venujeme rozdeleniu právomocí medzi parlamentom Škótska a parlamentom Spojeného kráľovstva. Opisujeme činnosti a zodpovednosti decentralizovanej škótskej vlády, ako aj záležitosti, ktoré ostávajú vyhradené pre vládu Spojeného kráľovstva. Medzi týmito inštitúciami platí dohovor, podľa ktorého si nebudú navzájom vstupovať do pridelených právomocí. Medzi záležitosti, ktoré sú pridelené škótskemu parlamentu patria zdravotníctvo a sociálna práca, vzdelávanie, samospráva, justícia, poľnohospodárstvo, životné prostredie, cestovný ruch a hospodársky rozvoj. Otázky ústavy, obrany, financií, migrácie, obchodu, zamestnanosti a podobne, sú vyhradené parlamentu Spojeného kráľovstva. Interakcia medzi týmito záležitosťami a vládami je relatívne zložitá, existujú preto systémy, ktoré zabezpečujú aby inštitúcie ostávali v rámci svojich pridelených právomocí a nezneužívali ich.

V tejto kapitole ďalej uvádzame opis štruktúry a organizácie škótskeho parlamentu, volebného systému v Škótsku, škótskych politických strán a vzťahov medzi nimi. Na čele škótskeho vlády stojí premiér. Škótska vláda rozhoduje o chode krajiny a zodpovedá za implementáciu zákonov, ktoré prijíma parlament. Škótsky parlament má 129 poslancov. Medzi najväčšie politické strany, ktoré majú v parlamente najväčší počet kresiel, patria Škótska národná strana, Konzervatívna strana a Labouristická strana, ako aj Liberálni demokrati či Strana zelených. Politické strany hrajú v krajine dôležitú úlohu, majú za cieľ vyhrať voľby a získať čo najviac kresiel v parlamente. Politickú situáciu komplikuje skutočnosť, že v Spojenom kráľovstve ako takom existuje ešte väčšia konkurencia a ďalšia úroveň politického diania. V roku 2015 stala Škótska národná strana treťou najväčšou politickou stranou v Spojenom kráľovstve s viac ako 110 000 členmi. Vo všeobecných voľbách toho istého roku sa táto strana tešila významnému víťazstvu, ktoré výrazne zmenilo politické dianie v Spojenom kráľovstve. Posledné voľby do škótskeho parlamentu sa konali v roku 2016, pričom išlo o piate voľby od decentralizácie v roku 1999. V týchto voľbách si Škótska národná strana udržala vedúce postavenie a konzervatívci zažili najväčší úspech od vzniku škótskeho parlamentu. Labouristická strana však zaznamenala menej hlasov ako v predošlých voľbách. Hlavnou témou politiky Spojeného kráľovstva a

Škótska je dnes naďalej otázka škótskej nezávislosti. S blížiacimi sa voľbami do škótskeho parlamentu sa Škótska národná strana, na čele s prominentnou predsedníčkou Sturgeonovou, sústreďuje na usporiadanie druhého referenda o škótskej nezávislosti. Naopak škótski konzervatívci a Ross sú výrazne proti.

Tretia kapitola je venovaná metodológii diplomovej práce a výskumu. Uvádame v nej ciele a metódy práce, ako aj zdroje dát a dve hypotézy, ktoré sme si stanovili s cieľom potvrdiť ich alebo vyvrátiť.

Štvrtá kapitola, teda praktická časť diplomovej práce, sa zameriava na výskum súčasného stavu anglo-škótskych vzťahov. V tejto kapitole uvádzame rôzne relevantné výskumy, údaje a analýzy, ktoré následne hodnotíme a porovnávame a skúmame s cieľom potvrdiť alebo vyvrátiť dané hypotézy. Venujeme sa vplyvu Brexitu na dianie v Škótsku, diskusii o škótskej národnej identite, ako aj možnosti druhého referenda o nezávislosti Škótska. Venujeme sa tiež blížiacim sa voľbám do škótskeho parlamentu a ich dopadom na dnešné výzvy decentralizácie v Spojenom kráľovstve. Pokiaľ ide o súvis Brexitu a škótsku nezávislosť, je dôležité uviesť, že v prvom referende o škótskej nezávislosti hlasovali občania za svoje miesto v Spojenom kráľovstve, ktoré bolo súčasťou Európskej únie. V referende, ktoré viedlo k Brexitu, hlasovalo 62% Škótov za to, aby Spojené kráľovstvo zostalo v Európskej únii. Preto sa s prípravou a realizáciou Brexitu začalo znova hovoriť o oddelení Škótska od Spojeného kráľovstva. O odchode z EÚ rozhodlo Spojené kráľovstvo ako celok, bolo teda zrejmé, že k tomuto kroku príde aj napriek veľkej nevôli Škótska voči tomuto rozhodnutiu. Krátko po vyhlásení výsledkov referenda vyjadrila Sturgeonová odhodlanie bojovať o nové referendum o nezávislosti Škótska. Po roku 2016 sa názor Škótov na vedenie ich krajiny výrazne zmenil. Podpora nezávislosti sa zvýšila na takmer 60%. Ďalší výskum ukazuje, že u 21% ľudí Brexit jednoznačne zvýšil pravdepodobnosť, že budú podporovať nezávislosť a 13% ľudí je po Brexite o niečo viac naklonení nezávislosti.

Nacionalisti a podporovatelia škótskej nezávislosti tvrdia, že hlavným dôvodom prečo by malo byť Škótsko samostatnou krajinou, to, že je to národ, ktorého členovia majú svoje špecifické vnímanie národnej identity. Domnievajú sa, že táto skutočnosť by sa mala zrkadliť aj v štátnom usporiadaní a vo forme autonómneho štátu. Táto myšlienka bola

posilnená vznikom decentralizovaných inštitúcií. Na druhej strane pozorujeme celoštátnu identitu obyvateľov Spojeného kráľovstva. Prieskumy ukazujú, že až 14% Škótov je presvedčených, že decentralizované inštitúcie by mali mať viac právomocí a Škótsko by malo zostať súčasťou spojeného kráľovstva. Keď hovoríme o národnej identite Škótov, je zaujímavé spomenúť prieskum, ktorý ukázal, že respondenti na otázku, ktorá identita ich najlepšie opisuje, zväčša odpovedajú že sa cítia ako Škóti a nie ako Briti, viac ako Škóti ako Briti, alebo rovnako. Je zrejmé, že ľudia žijúci v Škótsku vnímajú škótsku identitu ako dominantnejšiu v porovnaní s britskou identitou.

V štvrtej kapitole našej práce sa ďalej venujeme diskusii o možnosti druhého referenda o nezávislosti Škótska, návrh ktorého bol zverejnený v marci 2021. Prieskumy ukazujú, že názory Škótov sú veľmi tesne rozdelené. Obe skupiny podporovateľov nezávislosti a stúpencov politickej únie predstavujú asi 50%, čo je prekvapujúce vzhľadom na to, že Škótska národná strana má v blížiacich sa parlamentných voľbách jeden hlavný cieľ a tým je druhé referendum o nezávislosti Škótska. Prebieha diskusia aj o otázke, či je správne robiť takéto rozsiahle ústavné zmeny, keď za nimi stojí iba veľmi malá väčšina. Ďalší prieskum ukázal, že názory ľudí sa rozchádzajú aj v otázke samotného konania referenda. Až 46% ľudí si myslí, že v najbližších rokoch by sa referendum vôbec nemalo uskutočniť. V máji 2021 sa budú konať škótske parlamentné voľby. Výsledky týchto volieb určia, či je Škótska národná strana so Sturgeonovou schopná získať väčšinu kresiel v parlamente a pokračovať v hnutí smerom k druhému referendu o nezávislosti. Domnievame sa, že Škótsko by malo dostať možnosť usporiadať druhé referendum. Obe stanovené hypotézy sa čiastočne potvrdili. V súčasnosti nie je možné s určitosťou povedať, ako bude vyzerat' budúcnosť Škótska, keďže situácia je momentálne vo vývoji. Na základe výskumu však veríme, že sa naše hypotézy v budúcnosti potvrdia. Domnievame sa, že v súčasnosti členstvo v EÚ skutočne ponúka Škótsku viac výhod ako Spojené kráľovstvo a že priania a rozhodnutia Škótov sú v Spojenom kráľovstve často prehliadané. Budúcnosť Škótska závisí od krokov vlády Spojeného kráľovstva, ako aj škótskej vlády. Výsledky májových volieb budú prvým predznamenaním budúceho vývoja v Škótsku, Spojenom kráľovstve a Európskej únii.

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