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Scottish Independence, Referenda and the Reflection in Literature

Diplomová práce

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- Crawford, Robert. *Scotland's Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature*. London: Penguin Books, 2007.
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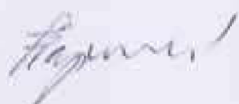
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Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci na téma “Scottish Independence, Referenda and the Reflection in Literature” vypracovala samostatně pod vedením vedoucího práce a uvedla jsem veškerou použitou literaturu a zdroje.

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Děkuji doc. Mgr. Pavlíně Flajšarové, Ph.D. za odborné vedení této práce, všechny cenné rady, ochotný přístup a nasměrování k tématu, ve kterém jsem našla velké zalíbení.

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Introduction

This Diploma thesis deals with the specific status of the United Kingdom's country, Scotland. The text mainly examines its approach towards independence, and there is a special emphasis on referenda, as these dramatically influenced the whole of Scotland and its development. On top of that, Scottish natural nationalism and their affiliation towards their country are strongly reflected in literature. Therefore, the last chapter of my thesis analyses how Scottish nationalism and feelings towards independence are depicted in literature.

First of all, this thesis introduces the development of Scottish history, with special attention on independence and Scottish nationalism. This text also examines the differences between nationalism and patriotism with emphasis on the specific symbols and their importance for Scots themselves. It is important not to forget about the role of the parliament and the devolution of powers, as this had a significant role in Scottish history. Last but not least, the referenda had a crucial role in the whole process, and therefore, this thesis analyses and explains their importance. Alongside, referenda brought to light many interesting phenomena, such as lowering the voting age to sixteen years or the desire to stay in the European Union during the Brexit referendum.

The literary analysis in this work serves the works of writers such as Robert Burns, Walter Scott, James Robertson, Irvine Welsh, and many others. What is examined is how they incorporated the topics of independence and Scottish nationalism into their works. These authors are nowadays significant and influential figures in society, and their personal views on the topic are also included.

Specifically, the first chapter maps the whole development of Scotland's history from the Roman invasion to the very recent political matters of 2023. Special emphasis is put on the years and events that shaped Scottish independence and were significant for the whole definition of Scots as a nation and for the process of devolution. These were undoubtedly the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and 1707 with the Acts of Union. The second chapter deals with nationalism mainly with the nationalism in Scotland. Apart from that, there is a significant part dedicated to the definitions of nationalism and various approaches towards nationalism and also how nationalism differs from patriotism. A few lines are dedicated to the value of symbols in Scotland. The third chapter continues with a focus on the Scottish Parliament. First of

all, is stated its history and significance and changing position during the time. Then naturally is put the attention on the newly devolved Scottish Parliament and the path of Scots towards devolution and I mention the nowadays setting as well. Another part of my thesis speaks on behalf of referenda as these are significant in Scottish history and shaped the political power in Scotland. The pages of my text are dedicated to the three most important recent referenda for Scots, and these are the 1979, 1997, and 2014 referenda. The first two demanded a devolved Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh, and the last one required independence for Scotland. I focused on the political development before these referenda and the political campaigns and their influence. Emphasis is also put on the lowering of the voting age and the situation following the last referendum. This chapter also mentions the positions of many writers and other public figures on the questions of these referenda. The last, fifth chapter focuses attention on how all of these topics mentioned above appeared in the literary texts. This thesis gives examples of novels, poems, and plays and authors engaged with these topics and how they incorporated their national affiliation into their works. The main field of interest is Scottish independence, nationalism, and the path towards devolution.

The main secondary sources used for this thesis are several publications focusing on Scottish history and development. Significantly useful for me was Fitzroy Maclean's *Scotland: A Concise History*, as this one served as a great starting point for understanding the history of Scotland. Other than that, I also appreciate Somerset Fry's *The History of Scotland* and historical texts from Ben Johnson. Nevertheless, my biggest thanks are going to Robert Crawford, his *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014* and *Scotland's Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature* inspired me extensively and shaped the whole topic of this thesis.

This thesis aims to answer two main research questions: What are the main sources of tensions towards independence and devolution from the rest of the country? How are the themes of Scottish nationalism and the desire to be independent and devolved reflected in the literature? For the hypothesis, I assume that Scotland's desire to be independent evolves from the strong nationalistic feeling Scots have for their country, which is rooted in traditions and customs devolving in their history. As this text shows, this is not something new, and the aim to be independent goes back in time. It is also still a topical state for Scots and not a forgotten past, as shown by the referenda in the 21st century.

To answer the second question, I would say that Scottish affiliation is very natural for the citizens of Scotland, and in the same way, this is reflected in the literature written in this part of the United Kingdom. Scottish fiction is not mainly based on the themes of their independence, but it is something that casually infiltrates into written pieces as part of their everyday life.

The methods used in this diploma thesis are the intellectual historical approach combined with the close reading. The main goal of this thesis is to introduce the main historical, political, and nationalistic development in Scotland that invoked the three most important referenda and ignited the desire to be independent. I focus on how all of this shaped Scottish society and became part of the Scottish literary heritage.

1. Development of the Scottish Independence

The first chapter of this paper deals with the development and the journey towards the desire to be independent. To start with the time frame of Scottish independence, it is important to look at Scotland and its development. The first known historical records come from the Romans, who invaded the hilly and rainy land with marshes and quicksands and built significant border points Hadrian's Wall and a few years later Antonine Wall. Many groups were crossing the land of nowadays Scotland, and they gave the foundation to the nation. Some of the first inhabitants of Scotland were Caledonians and Picts, who fought against the Romans. They were not the only ones, and the other parts of this land behind the Hadrian's Wall were taken by the Britons, the Gaels, or the Angles.¹ The Gaels are also those who gave Scotland its name it comes from the word 'Scoti' used by Romans to describe the Gaelic-speaking 'pirates'.² The groups living in this part of the world around 800 AD also gave names to a lot of places, still used today such as Aberdeen. At this time, the migration of the Vikings began, and they were another group inhabiting the land, due to this, the Picts started to create their own kingdom, the Kingdom of Alba.³ It is important to notice that Scotland is not only mainland but there are over 150 islands that belong to Scotland and are also crucial for Scottish history. The most known are Shetlands, Hebrides, and Orkney, as a religious centre was also important the Iona Island.

The first king of Scots and the leader of the Picts was Kenneth I MacAlpin. He founded the state in the 9th century, and since then, we have followed the line of the Scottish monarchs.⁴ Several dynasties have ruled in Scotland since, such as the House of Dunkeld and the House of Moray with King Macbeth, known mainly because of the play by William Shakespeare. Later came dynasties such as the House of Sverre, the House of Balliol, and finally, the House of Stuart⁵.

Another important aspect in the history of Scotland was the arrival of Christianity, which connects to the first written records about this part of the world. The spreading of Christianity was the work of missionaries, and the most significant one was Saint

¹ "The History of Scotland," National Trust for Scotland, accessed February 27, 2024, <https://www.nts.org.uk/learning/adult-learning/the-history-of-scotland>.

² "The Kingdom of Gaels," *BBC News*, accessed February 27, 2024, https://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/articles/kingdom_of_the_gaels/.

³ "History," Scotland.org, accessed February 28, 2024, <https://www.scotland.org/about-scotland/history>.

⁴ Fitzroy Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2019), 20.

⁵ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 28-36.

Columba, who arrived in Iona established a monastic community, and began to spread Christian religion further to the land.⁶ Nevertheless, the Scots and Picts had already begun to convert to Christianity before. Among the Picts was also the influence of Celtic polytheism, but the Christianity overruled these tensions.

Another significant milestone in Scottish history was the year 1297 when England's King Edward I decided to take his army up north and cross the river Forth at Stirling Bridge. Scots did not let them invade their country and forced them back, and this Battle of Stirling Bridge introduced one of Scotland's most famous figures, William Wallace. After that, in 1306 the new King of Scotland Robert the Bruce was crowned during the time of the war between England and Scotland.⁷ In this time the first Scottish tensions for independence were raised, and confirmed by the Battle of Bannockburn, where Robert the Bruce defeated Edward II. This battle brought the Declaration of Arbroath, which was confirmed six years after the battle along with Scottish independence. This declaration was also addressed to Pope John XXII, and although a merely symbolic gesture Scotland was recognized as an independent country with Robert the Bruce as its lawful king.⁸ This period is marked in history as the period of the Scottish Wars of Independence, the first one was between 1286 and 1328, and the second one from 1332 to 1357.⁹ Although, this time was successful politically for Scotland, not all aspects of life were ideal for Scots at that time, because a few years later Black Death arrived. This was not the only tragedy, and Scottish society also had to fight with diseases such as leprosy, syphilis, or plague. At that time, the streets were heavily polluted in general and hygienic standards were far from what we know today.¹⁰ The first changes come much later with the Industrial Revolution.

Religion in Scotland remained very important for the whole development of the country, especially with the figure of Mary Stuart on the throne. During the 16th century came the wave of rebellion against the state of the Church at that time, and Protestantism was introduced. The tensions were coming from England and Henry VIII,

⁶ "The History of Scotland."

⁷ "The Kingdom of Gaels."

⁸ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 31-36.

⁹ Ben Johnson, "The Anglo-Scottish Wars (or Wars of Scottish Independence)," Historic UK, accessed March 20, 2024, <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofScotland/The-AngloScottish-Wars-or-Wars-of-Scottish-Independence/>.

¹⁰ Richard Oram, "Disease, Death and the Hereafter in Medieval Scotland," in *A History of Everyday Life in Medieval Scotland, 1000 to 1600*, eds. Cowan E. & Henderson L. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 196-225.

but there was strong resistance against Protestantism in Scotland, and both James V and his daughter are connected to the strong propagation of Catholicism. This was not very pleasing for England and France and this period of Scotland's history is called the 'Rough Wooing'. Protestantism finally got bigger space after the death of Mary, Queen of Scots, under the reign of her son James VI. Although Mary, Queen of Scots was a strong and persistent figure, her cousin, Queen Elizabeth I, did not support her Catholic reign and let her be executed. Unfortunately for Queen Elizabeth I, she died without an heir, and in 1603, the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, became head of Scotland as well as England.¹¹ This process is called the 'Union of the Crowns' and was supposed to bring peace, but instead, another period of civil unrest began with the invasion of William of Orange to England. During this time king's supporters, the Jacobites, fought for him but came to a tragic defeat at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, shortly after that began the period of the Highland Clearances, and more than a thousand Highlanders were forced to leave, and the population of Highlands dramatically decreased.¹² Since 1603 both kingdoms had one ruling monarch, and this was confirmed in 1707 by the Act of Union that both Scotland's and England's Parliaments passed and the Kingdom of Great Britain was created. This was predeceased by the series of Civil wars.¹³ Queen Anne was a very significant monarch as she stood as the last Queen of England and the last Queen of Scotland, also the last Stuart monarch, but also the first Queen of Great Britain.¹⁴ The disadvantage for the Scots was that in the new united Parliament, they had only 45 MPs, while England had 513, they had to accept their new position and see the strength in unity.¹⁵ It was not easy for Scots as with the gaining unity and more power globally there was the loss of their language and Scottish identity. Scots were forced to stop using the Gaelic language and also stop wearing their national dress. These events started the wave of petitions and riots but were not taken seriously.¹⁶

The two dates mentioned above (1603 and 1707) are some of the most significant in the history of Scotland, as events of these years affected the whole development of

¹¹ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 60-80.

¹² "The History of Scotland."

¹³ Peter Somerset Fry and Fiona Somerset Fry, *The History of Scotland* (London: Routledge, 1985), 164-182.

¹⁴ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 123-124.

¹⁵ "Act of Union 1707," Travel Scotland, accessed March 20, 2024, <https://www.scotland.org.uk/history/act-union>.

¹⁶ "The Union of 1707: the Historical Context," The Scottish History Society, accessed March 20, 2024, <https://scottishhistorysociety.com/the-union-of-1707-the-historical-context/>.

the country dramatically. Not only did Scotland see these years as crucial ones, but the whole of Great Britain was built on the acts of 1603 as this was the year of one monarch obtaining two crowns. After the death of Queen Elizabeth I, James VI King of Scots became also James I King of England, monarch of two countries. He moved to London and practiced his reign from there. Luxurious life in England appealed to him but factually, it was not such a huge change for the citizens of both countries.¹⁷ James supported the union of the two countries, but at this time, it was rejected mainly by the English side, and the two crowns remained separate despite being in one union. This remained the same also after James's death when on the throne sat his son Charles I. Nevertheless, he did not manage to control the conflicts between royalists and parliamentarians and ended up executed. After that, followed the period of interregnum, when Oliver Cromwell led the country, and later his son Richard followed his steps. This period is undoubtedly connected with Civil wars, cruelty, and brutal violence in the British Isles. In 1660 son of Charles I, Charles II finally returned back at the throne and continued his reign of the two crowns as before.¹⁸ The significant change came no later than 1707. The end of the 17th century brought an economic crisis, and the country needed some kind of encouragement. The economic crisis created circumstances that made the idea joining of the two states and the promised financial security, more appealing than separation. Eventually, both Scotland's and England's Parliaments agreed to unite at the economic, as well as political levels, the Acts of Union were passed, and the new, united country 'Great Britain' was created. The Parliament of England was in fact, the first to pass this act 'Union with Scotland Act' in 1706 and a year later followed the Parliament of Scotland with the 'Union with England Act'. In 1707 the countries became bonded mainly politically and economically, nevertheless, Scotland's law remained separated. Scots got their MPs and Lords but were by no means represented as equally as England's Lords and MPs.¹⁹ This is one of the first steps that put Scots into the role of minority and not an equal partner. Acts of Union were the most important acts signed in both parliaments as they determined the future composition of these nations.

¹⁷ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 85.

¹⁸ Ben Johnson, "Kings and Queens of England and Britain," Historic UK, accessed March 20, 2024, <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/KingsQueensofBritain/>.

¹⁹ "Act of Union 1707."

After the unstable period, comes the time of Enlightenment and Romanticism, with an emphasis on intellectual and scientific development. Many significant figures presented their ground-breaking ideas, the perception of the world had changed significantly, and society was on the road towards industrialization. The clan system in Scotland lost its power and was no longer valid. All of this started the boom of Scotland's economy, and the main focus was on trade. The rural society was forced to change into an industrial one with the development of mining, textiles, and shipbuilding. There was a dramatic increase in population, and the majority of Scotland's inhabitants moved to cities and became employed in industry. At this period were really powerful, the Tobacco Lords, who had access to American colonies, and most of the tobacco production went to the port in Glasgow.²⁰ They invested their money into the development of industry and new townhouses and because of this, Scotland flourished. They were so successful that they had a monopoly in the importation of tobacco. The industry was flourishing, but the conditions for workers were not ideal, and women, as well as children, had to work long hours. This was changed in 1833 with the Factory Acts that gave the rules for the working conditions of children.²¹ This period was also the time of the first newspapers and magazines that served as a great platform for artists and thinkers such as Adam Smith, Walter Scott, and David Hume to present their ideas.

The 19th century brought technological and infrastructural development, and Scotland was not behind in this many bridges were built, and even the underground system was opened in Glasgow. Factories in Scotland shifted from textile to heavy industry, and women were increasingly excluded from the industrial work. The housing conditions were still very poor, and the infectious diseases spread rapidly. However, there were improvements in medical care with the increase in population. There were areas of Scotland which were not developed, and can be described as a period of dark times for those parts. There was a Cholera outbreak in the Highlands, followed by

²⁰ Thomas Martine Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities, 1740-90* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers LTD, 1975), 3-15.

²¹ "Scotland's Industrial Revolution," Wighton Family, accessed March 25, 2024, <http://wightonfamily.ca/genealogy/essays/industrialization.html>.

famine, mainly due to the failure of the potato crop.²² Many Highlanders decided to leave for places like Australia, Canada, or New Zealand with better life conditions.

Before the First World War, Scotland was very successful in fishing. During the war, Scotland fought alongside the whole UK, and after the battles, the role of the women changed dramatically. At the same time, the Labour Party was divided, and due to that, society became more radical. Nevertheless, in the inter-war period, Scotland was economically successful, and there was growth in the production of chemicals and whisky.²³ During the Second World War, the role of Scotland was also important, especially the Clyde port served, for storing munitions. In the second part of the 20th century, Scotland managed to drill the oil from the North Sea and secure access to oil in its homeland.²⁴ This step itself represents a huge support of not only Scotland's economy but of the whole United Kingdom.

During the 20th century, Scotland was still eager to gain independence even though the historical events were not really helpful in this area. The first try was in 1913 with the Scottish Home Rule Bill, with this bill Scots were trying to take control of legislation but made no progress because of WWI. From the political point of view, was also important year 1934, because the Scottish National Party (SNP) was founded. They had their first MP in 1945. We can also mention the Scottish Covenant, which was a petition asking for Scottish Parliament already in the year 1949 but had only little impact.²⁵ During the journey towards Scottish independence was crucial the March of 1979, when the referendum on Scottish devolution with the purpose of creating a Scottish Assembly, was held.²⁶ The majority of voters voted for this step, but this voice represented only 32.9% of the registered voters, and that was not enough to pass, so the result did not get by. Due to this, a second devolution referendum was held, in September 1997, and this time the result of creating the Scottish Parliament with devolved powers got through.²⁷ Therefore, in 1999 the Scottish Parliament, with some

²² Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities, 1740-90*, 153-160.

²³ "The History of Scotland."

²⁴ "History."

²⁵ "Timeline of Scottish History," Travel Scotland, accessed March 28, 2024, <https://www.scotland.org.uk/history/second-worldwar?fbclid=IwAR0bafIrRZa2btuNkfRFWdcyqhmvVWiFNB0WgqkE3dwT2SImsguyaLUrYs>.

²⁶ "Timeline – History of Scotland's bids for independence," *Reuters*, February 4, 2014, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSBREA131C1/>.

²⁷ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 181.

of the transferred powers, established by the Scotland Act 1998, sat for the first time. Since 2004, Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) have met in the centre of the capital city Edinburgh, at Holyrood, right next to the Holyrood Palace. Scottish National Party has led the Parliament's majority since 2007. Two larger changes in the Scottish Parliament's powers were done by The Scotland Act 2012 and Scotland Act 2016. The changes concern mainly financial powers, taxes, and welfare.²⁸

Nevertheless, this is not all on the journey toward Scotland's independence. The year 2014 is even more crucial because Scotland held another referendum, and this time, the independence of the whole nation was in question. Even though the result was close, 55% of voters decided to stay as part of the United Kingdom, despite the fact that this was the first time voters older than 16 years could vote.²⁹ This result showed how much is Scotland's society divided and created even more gaps between people. The Brexit referendum only showed that Scots have not the same opinion as citizens of England, as the majority of voters in Scotland wished to stay in the European Union.³⁰ This confirms also the fact that this is probably still not the end, and yet another referendum is in question, SNP is trying to form another pool, but with the current representatives in London, it does not look like this could happen sometime soon. As showed by the resignation of Scotland's First Minister Nicola Sturgeon in February 2023 the political situation in Scotland is not stable either.

It is also important not to forget the role of the Scottish culture that became even more distinct from the rest of the UK at the beginning of the millennium. The stories of many books published in that period depicted the conditions of living in Scotland mainly in the capital city Edinburgh. This can be seen, for example, in Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting* or Ian Rankin's detective stories. These texts show the cruel conditions of people with a lack of money and the spread of drugs. Significant in the field of literature is also the publishing of the Harry Potter series, which does not come from the pen of the Scottish-born writer but was written in Edinburgh, and that is not negligible.

²⁸ "Devolution," Delivering for Scotland, accessed March 28, 2024, <https://www.deliveringforscotland.gov.uk/scotland-in-the-uk/devolution/>.

²⁹ Angus Cochrane, "Scottish Independence: How did we get here and what happened next," *BBC Scotland News*, October 15, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-67063555>.

³⁰ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 198.

2. Scottish Nationalism

As stated below, even though Scotland is part of the bigger geographical territory, there are definitely specific features that differentiate the citizens of this part of the United Kingdom. These features are very unique and are intertwined with every aspect of everyday life. The nationalistic feelings and strong emotions towards the nation reflect not only in dialect, culture, or literature but are deeply rooted in people's personalities. When speaking of nationalistic feelings in relation to political preferences, these can be described as "the politics of identity"³¹.

To look specifically at nationalism in Scotland, as a first step, it is important to examine the term itself. The definition of this feature is crucial for this whole text to know what exactly this thesis concerns. There are many definitions, and it cannot be said that one of them is the right or the correct one. As this term embodies the feelings so specific and personal, finding the best words to describe it is a difficult task for many scholars as well. First of all, there are mentioned some of the most significant. Before introducing approaches towards nationalism, there must be noted the difference between nationalism and patriotism. This is also a tricky phrase to find the best and proper formulation for.

2.1. Nationalism x Patriotism

In 2017, the Scottish Conservative leader Ruth Davidson presented in her speech that it was already George Orwell who pointed out that these two terms (patriotism and nationalism) should not be confused and must be properly and distinctly formulated. There can be a discussion about the relevance of this interpretation but such a unique feeling is hard to define even for scholars of the field. The definition given by of the best and most significant English novelists of the 20th century is that "patriotism was devotion to a particular place which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people"³² As Davidson then adds, everyone can find in this their own interpretation and for everyone this can mean something slightly different in the end. On the other hand, she agrees with Orwell on the fact that overall patriotism is a warm love towards one nation but accepts the others and the plurality of this world as

³¹ "Ruth Speech: Nationalism should not be confused with patriotism," Moray Conservatives and Unionists, accessed April 4, 2024, <https://www.morayconservatives.org.uk/news/ruth-speech-nationalism-should-not-be-confused-patriotism>.

³² "Ruth Speech: Nationalism should not be confused with patriotism."

well. Even though this feeling of love comes from the heart and can be seen as really strong there is nothing negative, no hatred when it comes to the other side of the spectrum. When speaking specifically about patriotism on the British Isles, Davidson confesses to enjoying both identities and being proudly both Scottish and British at the same time. Highly positive about patriotism is also the fact that a person does not have to prioritize feelings or belonging to specific identities but can freely enjoy both. This is something quite natural in nowadays multicultural world where a person can belong to and identify with many groups and have various preferences. Patriotism simply goes hand in hand with the freedom of choice.

Nationalism, on the other hand, is something dramatically different. We can often hear these two terms used together or even substitute each other, but in fact, it was again George Orwell who warned about the confusion of the two. He saw nationalism as “the process of sinking of one’s individuality into a bigger unit.”³³ The problem is that this unit, whether it is a nation or some other group, should stand above all else and this is the negative side of this phenomenon that cause the troubles and brings hatred among people. Orwell sees a nationalistic person as someone who advances all interests of one specific group as their one and only duty. Opposite to patriotism, nationalism does not tolerate a plurality of any kind at all. Nationalism, by its nature, forces people to choose one side or the other and does not accept affiliation to both sides. Because of this, nationalism is a strong tool for dividing society and creating gaps between people. Davidson sums up that due to this, patriotism and nationalism should not be swapped, they should stand as opposites.³⁴

To put a different light on this, Davidson also admits that politics and political parties are things that divide people and society by nature and that people tend to affiliate with like-minded groups. Also, Orwell already declared that some of us tend to be more nationalistic than others, and this is exactly the case in Scotland. Even though it is not always pleasant, nationalism runs deeply in the blood of Scots, and it is by no means easy to just give up this part of their personalities. Others should be able to accept it and not oppress it, but this can only be done if strong nationalism does not create violence or hatred. This is exactly what Orwell sees as the biggest challenge, how will the society react and how will be set the tone and interpretation of this, and if

³³ “Ruth Speech: Nationalism should not be confused with patriotism.”

³⁴ “Ruth Speech: Nationalism should not be confused with patriotism.”

people will be able to lead the calm dialogue together. As the world is more divided every day, Orwell's words are still highly valid, especially with the rise of populism along with nationalism mainly in European countries.

As Davidson already presented, political nationalism is very current in Scotland, and the fact it is the number one topic in public debate sort of defines the whole nation. Not only it is a great source of pride, but because of Scottish nationalism SNP was created, and a devolved Scottish Parliament was opened. Nevertheless, as we know, this was not enough, and the Scots decided to try to be independent. However, in 2014 the country showed that still more people affiliated with the whole United Kingdom and wished to be a part of it. The biggest mistake with Orwell's words in mind would be to say that this is thanks to the patriots and that the nationalists are the only ones wanting to be independent. This would be exactly as he warned, creating camps and dividing society. Unfortunately, this is exactly the reality in Scotland so much that having two groups standing on the opposite side of the argument has become "a key part of our political practise"³⁵ The argument has been created that the people of Scotland are the one that should be heard and this phrase serves as the basis in every political discussion about the Scotland's future.

Orwell also presented three features all nationalists share, and that is obsession, instability, and indifference to reality.³⁶ He sees those no matter the group they belong to. The main difference between nationalism and patriotism is in the power of their presentation. Nationalism is strong and unyielding like those with the desire to be an independent country no matter what. Another strong feature is the creation of two sides of the argument and claiming that one is 'good' and the other is 'bad', this can never create peace. Patriots, on the other hand, express their feelings with much less urge, and instead of creating two rival sides, they accept all parts of the conflict. There is a clear distinction as to why these two should not be mistaken and used carefully when describing specific sorts of people.

2.2. Definitions of nationalism

Nevertheless, the main focus of this chapter is on nationalism. As the previous lines proved, this term is still controversial, and it is not easy to find agreement on the

³⁵ "Ruth Speech: Nationalism should not be confused with patriotism."

³⁶ "Ruth Speech: Nationalism should not be confused with patriotism."

definition of this term. Nowadays, scholars still provide different definitions and approach this phenomenon in many different ways. A common feature scholars use when examining the source and cause of nationalism, is a search for signs and behaviours amongst societies which drive people to show nationalistic feelings.

For British historian Elie Kedourie, “nationalism is borrowed from some other nation,”³⁷ and he sees this phenomenon mainly as a European thing. This is a definition American professor of International Studies Ben Anderson does not agree with, according to him and his colleague Marshall McLuhan, “nationalism is the inevitable result of the Gutenberg revolution”³⁸. They claim that this is not only merely European wave of thoughts, but that this is a phenomenon directly connected to the invention of the printing press and social and economic growth intertwined with this crucial change. Printed texts provided stable and standardised language that helped countries to become unified nations. Providing and passing information became easier, and separate groups within countries could share the same news. Professor of Anthropology Steven Kemper confirms that the invention of the printing press caused a big bang in the development of nationalism and changed the whole concept dramatically.³⁹

Another definition was introduced by philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner. He claims that “nationalism derives from cultural necessities”⁴⁰ and connects nationalism to modern and industrial society. According to him, “nations do not so much create nationalism as nationalism creates nations.”⁴¹ Different point of view gives British Historian Eric Hobsbawm, who sees it as an effort of traditional elite groups, who are trying to protect their customs and advantages as well as their own legitimacy and says that “nationalism is a recrudescence of local ideas and interests”⁴².

Steven Kemper is another scholar, who also contributed to the discussion about nationalism and introduced his own definition. Kemper brings yet a different light on the topic and describes nationalism as a “local response, employing local cultural forms,

³⁷ Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1966).

³⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983).

³⁹ “Five Approaches to Nationalism,” Postcolonial Web, accessed April 4, 2024, <https://www.postcolonialweb.org/poldiscourse/nationalism/kemper1.html>.

⁴⁰ Ernest Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983).

⁴¹ “Five Approaches to Nationalism.”

⁴² Eric Hobsbawm, “Some Reflections on Nationalism,” in *Imagination and Precision in the Social Sciences*, ed. T. J. Nossiter et al. (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).

to new circumstances”.⁴³ Unlike other definitions introduced above Kemper puts more stress on the culture of the specific local communities through which the nationalism is expressed and the political part of the term, is rather hidden. Rather than giving a full and descriptive definition of the term as the others, he tends to interpret his hope and assumption of how nationalism should be seen and perceived in society “nationalism needs to be seen as a conversation that the present holds with the past. . . . We also need to recognize us that the conversation includes several voices in the present arguing about exactly what kind of past actually existed.”⁴⁴ This is a rather optimistic perception full of hope and based on the previously mentioned definitions, reflects more than nationalism patriotism. As Ruth Davidson, with her reference to George Orwell presented, conversation is something nationalism desperately misses. The emotions are heated up, and the nationalistic statements in society often miss common sense and more moderate presentation. At the same time, Kemper also adds that nationalism, when presented as a political phenomenon, tends to “draw on sentiments – language, religion, family, culture – that appear to be natural and autochthonous.”⁴⁵ The problem and paradox here are the claims saying these features were always present historically, and that is not a new phenomenon, which Kemper denies. This is something political leaders want to pass on to people, and the elites are the main problem, according to Kemper.

To provide, as complex picture of this term as possible, this thesis mentions one last academic approach towards nationalism, and that is the definition from British Political Scientist Andrew Heywood. Political ideologies and theories are his main field of specialization, so naturally, nationalism cannot be omitted. When speaking about the nation for Heywood are also important features such as language, religion, and culture, but unlike Kemper, he connects them with nationhood and not with nationalism. According to Heywood, these signs are something that cannot define nations by themselves. Mainly because there are nations that share languages, such as America and Australia, and the same case is religion, for example, Poland and Italy share the same religion but do not belong to the same group of nations. All these features are something that is connected with nationhood but do not define nor describe nationalism. Heywood

⁴³ Steven Kemper, *The Presence of the Past: Chronicles, Politics, and Culture in Sinhala Life* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991).

⁴⁴ Kemper, *The Presence of the Past: Chronicles, Politics, and Culture in Sinhala Life*, 7.

⁴⁵ Kemper, *The Presence of the Past: Chronicles, Politics, and Culture in Sinhala Life*, 224.

does not separate nationalism from the political aspect but rather says that “nationalism is the belief that nation is the central principle of political organization.”⁴⁶ Apart from this Heywood also gives his definition of patriotism as a “love or attachment of one’s own country”.⁴⁷ Even though, the definitions and academic approaches towards nationalism differ, one is clear that it is an enormously wide and important phenomenon and that it should never be confused with patriotism. Scholars look at this problem from many different angles and approaches, but the truth is, nowadays is nationalism a huge topic in society, and it grows with the divided society even more.

For the purpose of this thesis, I introduce my own definition of nationalism. I declare that nationalism embodies feelings so strong and personal that originate right in the person’s heart and run deeply in their veins. This feeling is inevitably connected to one’s nation, and the pride of being part of this nation needs to be expressed no matter what. One of the main reasons why nationalism is such a topic in Scotland’s society is that they feel like they need to express and differentiate themselves as being a part of a bigger geographical unit, and at the same time, they know who they are standing against and then it is easier to present these emotions. In the case of Scotland, England is the one they are standing against, and it is probably even harder because they are part of the same country and as the main political power lies in the capital of England and the facts Scots can possess more power is because of the process of devolution authorized by England. This creates an ongoing feeling of rivalry and an urge to race and prove the ‘right’ affiliation. With the domination of the SNP in Scotland and their liberal politics, it naturally leads Tories into the role of opponents and rivals. With the Tory leader in London, in the House of Parliament, the sides are even more distinct, and this puts Scots against the rest of the country and against the political leadership.

2.3. Nationalism in Scotland

As was already mentioned above, nationalism is inevitably connected to Scotland and, due to its status and history, is an even more important part of the everyday life of Scots than is for other nations. The thing in Scotland is that the opposite side of the spectrum is very clear, and Scottish nationalists see England as their ‘enemy’ and those who are against them and force them to express their true national identity. Unlike other

⁴⁶ Andrew Heywood, *Political Theory: An Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 97-105.

⁴⁷ Heywood, *Political Theory: An Introduction*, 98.

nations, Scots share the country with other groups, and even though, they are all inhabitants of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, they tend to strongly identify themselves with the regions and part of the UK they are living in. Because of this, nationalism in Scotland is rather a bond and strong inclination towards their region, and naturally, from this comes the other regional units as the ‘others’ standing on the opposite and a ‘bad’ side of their affiliation.

Historian Jill Stephenson presents that this is one of the reasons why even Scots, born and raised in Scotland, can hear things such as “go back to England”⁴⁸ when some of their fellow citizens feel like they are not expressing their ‘Scottishness’ enough. At the same time, she speaks about the fact that wanting independence and separation from the rest of the UK after the Brexit referendum would bring even more turmoil and harm the standard of living drastically. According to Rafael Behr, nationalism is the key topic on both sides of the border, and both Scotland and England have the urge to express their nationalism very loudly. He adds that it is a matter of “segregation of political cultures”⁴⁹ and politics is really an area with the most clashes and different approaches and goals in Scotland and England. It is undeniable that Brexit stirred up things and even deepened the gaps between those wanting to stay in the EU and those wanting to leave, and as the majority of Scots wished to stay, former SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon was counting on using this division to finish the process of devolution. Nationalistic tensions in Scotland rose but the process of being independent was not finished, and mainly the UK government, with Boris Johnson as the Prime Minister, did not allow this process in 2020 when the Brexit procedure was finishing and the status of Scotland was most fragile. Wanting to stay in the European Union was a good and strong argument for Scotland’s independence, but Sturgeon failed to run this attempt to the end, and another referendum was not yet arranged. Nevertheless, the Brexit referendum was definitely a step in the UK’s history, where nationalism played a significant role and stirred many emotions while the whole country was leaving the union. Behr himself sees nationalism in rather negative colours, he claims that those nationalists trying to rewrite the past should by no means learn from history, and society must prevent this

⁴⁸ Jill Stephenson, “Scottish nationalism is no more benign than its English equivalent,” *The Guardian*, February 18, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/feb/18/scottish-nationalism-is-no-more-benign-than-its-english-equivalent>.

⁴⁹ Rafael Behr, “Nationalism is winning – on both sides of the Scottish border,” *The Guardian*, February 12, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/feb/12/nationalism-scottish-border-tory-boris-johnson-nicola-sturgeon>.

for the future development of the country.⁵⁰ It is difficult to say whether sometime soon there will be a new referendum or another active tension toward Scottish independence, but with the still on-going nationalistic narrative in society, it is only the question of time and political leader's variation in next elections on both sides of the border. The momentum can get switched quickly, and it looks like not even a new leader of the SNP, Humza Yousaf, has another goal than to gain as much independence for Scotland as possible.

To continue in the comparison between nationalism in Scotland and England it is fair to say that there is not a unanimous opinion about the two. There can be found voices arguing there is no difference between how the Scottish and English express their national affiliation, such as former Liberal Democrat leader Jo Swinson, and at the same time, many academics strongly oppose this idea.⁵¹ According to Professor of Political Science Ailsa Henderson nationalism is “a belief in the existence of a nation and therefore the belief that something should follow from that”⁵². Even though this definition is quite broad and vague, the main difference between nationalism in England and Scotland is said to be focused on cultural differences in England and political autonomy in Scotland. Saying that nationalism in Scotland is purely the question of politics and independence is highly problematic, as was already mentioned, Scots have a rich history and many national features and symbols to be proud of, so this claim is directly disproved by this thesis. Yet another distribution is introduced by Cambridge Professor Michael Kenny. He says that the difference between England and Scotland is the exceptionalism of English they have in their own parliament and the faith their parliament is indivisible. Scots rather count on their values.⁵³ Paradoxically, opinions on the many controversial topics connected to nationalism, such as immigration or authoritarianism are the same, both in England and in Scotland. It is mainly the strong belief in the Scottish values that differentiates them and the rather left-wing political affiliation in Scottish politics. Because of this, all political parties in Scotland are connected to nationalism and nationalistic feelings in some way, but “nationalism has become most strongly associated with the cause of independence and the SNP”⁵⁴. To

⁵⁰ Behr, “Nationalism is winning – on both sides of the Scottish border.”

⁵¹ Rebecca McQuillan, “What is nationalism?,” *Holyrood*, October 14, 2019, https://www.holyrood.com/inside-politics/view,what-is-nationalism_14551.htm.

⁵² McQuillan, “What is nationalism?.”

⁵³ McQuillan, “What is nationalism?.”

⁵⁴ McQuillan, “What is nationalism?.”

sum it up, national identity and affiliation to the sub-state is simply more important for Scots, and the urge to express it is therefore stronger.

Yet, another opinion on the topic was given by the Professor of Modern History, Ben Jackson, from the University of Oxford. According to him, Scottish nationalism is not something that would have its origin in the rich history and that would take centuries to shape and create. Contrary, “Scottish nationalism as we know it today began to make its edges only in the 1960s and 1970s, and achieved its present ideological maturity in the course of the 1980s and 1990s.”⁵⁵ He also claims that independence is not something Scots demand it rather serves as a way to promote a leftist political agenda. Jackson suggests that we should look for the beginning of the need for independence in the corporatism promoted by the Conservative Party. So the reasons behind nowadays Scottish nationalism are purely economical and have the source in London. To be specific, the first signs of modern Scottish nationalism appeared in the *New Left Review* and shaped the way nationalism is seen in Scotland nowadays. The crucial role also played the lack of “a full-blooded bourgeois revolution”⁵⁶ and this brought the aristocracy and middle class even closer. Scotland benefited from the British imperial interest, and capitalism brought a lot of wealth. Nevertheless, with the decrease of the income from the colonies, came the time for the increase of nationalism in Scotland. They lost their safe place being a quiet recipient, and the urge to speak up and protect economic interests, as well as the social status of their citizens was bigger and bigger. Imperialism also stands behind the clear division of the four UK countries, and the process of devolution ignited nationalistic affiliation even more. While the British Empire was losing its strength and credibility, Scots had finally the space to fully present Scottish nationalism in the modern light.⁵⁷

Another important factor in shaping nationalism in Scotland is, according to Jackson, the Labour Party. He says that labour values are core for Scottish nationalism and that “Scots want to build a social democratic or socialist country while the English do not.”⁵⁸ This also says that social stratification stands above the national identity and that the reasons to express nationalism are merely practical rather than emotional.

⁵⁵ Ben Jackson, “The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism,” *The Political Quarterly* 85, no. 1 (January-March 2014): 50.

⁵⁶ Jackson, “The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism,” 51.

⁵⁷ Ben Jackson, *The Case for Scottish Independence* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2020), 5.

⁵⁸ Jackson, “The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism,” 52.

Nevertheless, the ‘rival’ English are still present, and they still stand at the other side of the line, and the Scots are the ones trying to distinguish themselves from the inhabitants of England. This argument also lumps together people living on the south side of the Hadrian Wall as those in favour of the Conservative Party and shows Scots as those defending politics of left-wing and Scottish nationalism as being linear with the operation of the Labour Party in Scotland. Jackson admits that this presents England in a sort of caricature light. After all, the support of the Labour Party in Scotland turned into the SNP breakthrough, and so the Scottish nationalism culminated from its dependency on the imperialistic and later social politics into the biggest political party in Scotland. This is the same with the devolved Scottish Parliament that was initiated as an opposition to growing neoliberal power in London.⁵⁹ Generally, Jackson closes his piece by saying there are more ways of how can Scottish nationalism be read and that it does not necessarily have to lead towards separating from the rest of the UK, nor does it mean staying exactly as they are. The goal is to find some kind of balance between these two groups, which seems like a utopian idea, as neither solution would bring satisfaction for all. Until then, Scotland will have to come to peace with the result of the 2014 referendum or call a new one.

In his book from 2020, *The Case for Scottish Independence*, Ben Jackson further develops his ideas by adding that during the last sixty years, Scottishness changed dramatically from being rather civic into a mobilized society fighting for democratic political values and heading towards self-determination. Even though, the core of Scottish national identity comes from the liberal democratic values, some part of it is still deeply rooted in mythic narratives of Scottish history and culture.⁶⁰ This process of self-determination escalated into the referendum for independence in 2014 but was yet rejected by the Scots themselves. The desire to shape their country separate from the UK was not strong enough to persuade voters in the referendum, ultimately showing an ongoing scepticism off Scottish independence.

2.4. Scottish national symbols

Specific national and regional identity helps to create national symbols, and Scotland can proudly present their own national symbols. The Gaelic language is one of

⁵⁹ Jackson, “The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism,” 50-56.

⁶⁰ Jackson, *The Case for Scottish Independence*, 2-3.

the most significant features that differentiate Scots from the rest of the UK. It is true that, nowadays, only a very small amount of people can really speak Gaelic, the decline during the last century was enormous. Whereas in 1891 almost 255,000 people could use this language, it was only 57,000 Scottish citizens in 2011.⁶¹ It cannot be said that the Gaelic language is something widely used and known today, but it still remains part of Scotland's history and it is definitely one of the features Scots can be proud of. The fact that every one of the UK's four countries has its own flag is a huge symbol for nationalists and very famous is also the Scottish national flower emblem – the thistle. There is also the Royal Banner of Scotland with the Lion Rampant on it, not to mention many Scottish musicians, writers, and actors that present Scottish cultural life inside and outside Scotland.⁶² Many of those have connections to the Celts and the Scottish history is widely influenced by their symbols. There are many others that help Scots to differentiate and to have something connected only to them and their nation. To mention a few more, very known are bagpipes, associated with music, tartan pattern on kilts or the national food Haggis, as well as whiskey production. Every one of those is individually specific for Scots, and everyone can find their special thing that deepens the national affiliation.

⁶¹ “The Gaelic Language: Past and Present,” Scotland.org, accessed April 13, 2024, <https://www.scotland.org/about-scotland/culture/language/the-gaelic-language-past-and-present>.

⁶² Raivinder Singh, “Scottish and Celtic Symbols,” The Scotland Kilt Company, May 18, 2021, <https://www.thescotlandkiltcompany.co.uk/blogs/news/scottish-symbols-and-their-meaning>.

3. Scottish Parliament and its influence

The existence of the Scottish Parliament plays an enormous role in the process of devolution in Scotland, and therefore, it is crucial to understand its development over time and to see its significance nowadays. The Parliament also has a special role in the process of division of the four countries within the UK, and the connection with nationalism and national identity is crucial as well.

3.1. History of the Scottish Parliament

Nowadays, Scotland has its own devolved Parliament at Holyrood in Edinburgh, but the history of today's composition is much longer. The Parliament in Scotland first began to form during the Middle Ages. It started to formulate based on the social hierarchy of the Three Estates, these were the king's council, bishops, and earls into one unicameral body.⁶³ The first records of the official meeting go back to 1235 at Kirkliston, during the reign of Alexander II, son of William I the Lion.⁶⁴ These first origins were also referred to as colloquium. As the formation already possessed political and judicial powers, attendance and composition were important. Among the embodiment were knights, freeholders as well as burgh commissioners. The most important role the Scottish Parliament dealt with at the time was taxation. No less important were justice, war, or administration and foreign policy issues they had to take care of. There were also other institutions that along with the Parliament, carried crucial powers such as the General Council and Convention of Estates.⁶⁵ They were also responsible for significant state matters but lacked official authority. The General Council dealt mainly with financial and legislative affairs, lacked judicial powers, and also sat more frequently than Parliament. Even though the history of the Scottish Parliament goes back to the 13th century, it is difficult to have the exact information as there are only a few surviving records, and most of the surviving ones are from the 17th century. The University of St Andrews made a significant investigation in this field and produced 'Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707'.⁶⁶

⁶³ "A Short History of the Scottish Parliament," Records of the Scottish Parliament, accessed May 2, 2024, <https://www.rps.ac.uk/static/history.html>.

⁶⁴ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 26.

⁶⁵ "A Short History of the Scottish Parliament," Records of the Scottish Parliament.

⁶⁶ "Scottish Parliament Records," National Records of Scotland, accessed May 4, 2024, <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/research-guides/research-guides-a-z/scottish-parliament-records>.

At the end of the 16th century, Parliament began to be more formalized and established itself permanently in Edinburgh, before that, it was common that the meetings were in other cities as well. During this time, Parliament was comprised of higher nobility, and those less elevated could send representatives. Present were also burgesses elected by the town council and from 1587, Shire Commissioners.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, most work was still done in commissions and committees, even though the main judicial powers remained exclusively in the hands of the Parliament. As the head of the Parliament stood the Lord Chancellor, who had the function of the presiding officer, later on, the position of the common speaker was added. In 1639, the Parliament Hall in Edinburgh, next to the St. Giles' Cathedral⁶⁸ on the Royal Mile, was completed and served as a permanent seat of the Scottish Parliament.

Important during the history of operation of the Scottish Parliament was the committee of Lords of the Articles. They were responsible for designing the legislation that was then transmitted to the assembly for confirmation. The members were drawn from the officers of state and estates. This body was criticized for holding too many royal nominees and taking too much power from the assembly.⁶⁹ Contrary to this, during the 15th century, the committee was involved in the riots against the king and his government. During this time, Parliament was often in conflict with the king, and their meeting was called even more often than those of the English Parliament. There were crucial disagreements over the question of taxation and domestic political matters. These regular problems and dissensions caused resistance of kings towards the Parliament, and they began to avoid parliamentary meetings.⁷⁰ It strengthened monarchical power and become sort of a trend among European monarchs.

The sixteenth century brought to Scotland new bodies that Parliament had to share their powers with. Those were the Convention of Royal Burghs and Kirk's General Assembly. In this period, Parliament was under pressure and tried to keep its power and be a powerful opponent to the monarch. Yet other changes brought Reformation, in 1560.⁷¹ The religious conflicts between Catholic and Protestant clergy were present at the parliamentarian level as well, and Catholics were forced to give up their place in

⁶⁷ "Scottish Parliament Records," National Records of Scotland.

⁶⁸ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 88.

⁶⁹ "A Short History of the Scottish Parliament," Records of the Scottish Parliament.

⁷⁰ "The Scottish Parliament: An Historical Introduction," Records of the Scottish Parliament, accessed May 2, 2024, <https://www.rps.ac.uk/static/historicalintro4.html>.

⁷¹ "A Short History of the Scottish Parliament," Records of the Scottish Parliament.

Parliament, Protestant bishops could remain until 1638.⁷² During this time, lairds and burghs had the right to send their commissioners to the Parliament, and they very often constituted the largest estate as the number of burghs increased.

During its active years, the Scottish Parliament gained more and more power and increased its position and amount of legislation. Nevertheless, the influence of the royal court was still significant. The monarch had the power mainly over the Lords of the Articles as the members of this committee were directly appointed by the King. Parliament took more control back during the Covenanting period from 1638 to 1651, in the time of Oliver Cromwell as the head of the country.⁷³ This movement of Presbyterian Church supporters took control of the country when the National Covenant was signed by many to oppose King Charles I and his ideas to reform the Church of Scotland. Covenanters experienced the Civil wars leading Scotland and lost their powers with the Restoration of Charles II.⁷⁴ After this harsh period, the Scottish Parliament obtained back its confident position and even gained influence over the Crown. At the same time, the Lords of the Articles were abolished, and the Crown felt so weak the corruption broke through. The formal occupation and composition of the Scottish Parliament had changed, and the political parties and alliances were formed within the parliament. This was the state and division in the Parliament from 1690 to 1707, when with the Acts of Union, the power was moved to Westminster in London, and only one Parliament of Great Britain was born, along with the creation of the Kingdom of Great Britain on 1 May 1707. The Treaty of Union between England and Scotland was signed, and ratified, and “The last session of the Scottish Parliament took place on 25th March 1707.”⁷⁵ From this day until 1 July 1999, the government was only in the British Parliament. In 1800 Ireland joined Scotland and England, and the Parliament of the United Kingdom was created. Significant was also that in 1762, the first Scottish Prime Minister was appointed and was leading the country.

The Parliaments of England and Scotland were united, and the Scots lost their representation, being close to their home and their hearts. This is undoubtedly a very significant part of Scottish history as this is directly connected with nationalism in Scotland. The year 1707 determined the future of Scotland for many centuries, and the

⁷² Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 92.

⁷³ Neil Oliver, *A History of Scotland* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2009), 253-293.

⁷⁴ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 97.

⁷⁵ “Scottish Parliament Records,” National Records of Scotland.

fact that nowadays Scots have their own devolved Parliament back declares this is not something they would forget about. Contrary, this loss prevailed over generations, and with their perseverance Scots got their Parliament back. As already mentioned, the main reasons behind creating the union and joining together with England were mainly economic and political. This is also highlighted by Robert Burns in his poem ‘Such A Parcel Of Rogues In A Nation’ by the lines “That treason thus could sell us, ... We’re bought and sold for English gold”⁷⁶. This only proves how significant and severe was for Scots the fact they lost their nation and national identity for economic prosperity and a more stable political position.

3.2. Path towards the New Devolved Scottish Parliament

Three hundred years later was shown that the events of 1707 remained deeply in Scottish DNA, and they kept trying to reinstate their own parliament. This finally happened after the referendum in 1997, and a new devolved Scottish Parliament was established in 1999. Opening a new Parliament and moving some of the power to Scotland was significant for Scottish nationalism and their national identity. The fact that part of the decision-making process is back in Scotland, closer to the Scottish citizens is crucial. Though, it may seem symbolic and not so relevant, one’s feeling towards the nation is much stronger with the idea of having the representation closer to the capital city of Scotland.

As was already said, the opening of the new Parliament predeceased the referendum on 11 September 1997.⁷⁷ The Scots desired to take care of their matter, mainly taxation and financial affairs back in their capital city. So, it was once again economic issues that forced politicians to move some amount of power back to Scotland. One of the first steps towards moving more power in the form of government departments to Scotland was the transferring of the Scottish Office to Edinburgh into the St Andrew’s House. The foundation of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in 1934 was crucial for the whole development of Scottish independence and for the process of devolution. Their goal from the beginning was to promote Scottish nationality and gain as much independence for Scots as possible.

⁷⁶ “Such A Parcel Of Rogues In A Nation,” *BBC*, accessed May 5, 2024, https://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/robertburns/works/such_a_parcel_of_rogues_in_a_nation/.

⁷⁷ “History of the Scottish Parliament,” The Scottish Parliament, accessed May 6, 2024, <https://www.parliament.scot/about/history-of-the-scottish-parliament/the-path-to-devolution#topOfNav>.

The path towards the devolved Scottish Parliament began mainly after the Second World War. There were efforts to start debates even before that but always ended in refusal. In 1949, there was the Scottish Covenant, a petition asking for a Scottish Parliament, even though it did not gain much credibility, this symbolic step showed, that people wanted to have their own parliament in Scotland.⁷⁸ The tensions remained, and another significant step was the setting of a Royal Commission on the Constitution in 1969 that debated over possible solutions to start the process of devolution.⁷⁹ The crucial was also the discovery of the oil in the North Sea and the SNP campaign, wanting to keep the oil for Scotland. The national identity rose once again and combined with the significant economic interest. The discovery gave the Scots the leverage they needed and pumped their confidence again. The pressure for the reform continued, even grew, and the Labour government put forward The Scotland Act, to create a Scottish Assembly. Because of this, a referendum could take place the year after in 1979. In this voting, the majority of voters supported a devolved independent Parliament to open in Scotland. The problem was with the amount of electorate voting in favour of this proposal. The Scotland Act required at least 40% of the Scottish electorate to vote in favour, but only 32.89% voted 'Yes'. After this Labour government lost its support at a general election, and with their defeat, the Act was cancelled too. The new Conservative government did not support moving of the political power to Scotland as proposed in the Scotland Act but did agree with moving some of the powers to the administrative government of Scotland.⁸⁰ Scottish businesses had also special treatment in Parliament, but that was it, and Scots were not satisfied with this outcome.

Tensions continued also after the general election, in 1987, and people were not giving up their hope for an independent devolved parliament with a seat in Edinburgh. This long process showed the persistence and strong will of Scots to fight for their national identity and the desire to be as close to the power leading the country and making the crucial decisions over their lives as possible. In 1987, was also founded the Scottish Constitutional Convention, and two years later they published a document asking for a Scottish assembly or parliament to open.⁸¹ In 1997 the new Labour government finally heard their calls and set out a white paper, "Scotland's Parliament",

⁷⁸ "Timeline of Scottish History," Travel Scotland.

⁷⁹ "History of the Scottish Parliament," The Scottish Parliament.

⁸⁰ "History of the Scottish Parliament," The Scottish Parliament.

⁸¹ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 177.

with suggestions for which laws should be transferred to Scotland. To prevent the situation from 1979 no devolution bill was introduced, and only a simple majority was required. On 11 September 1997, Scots finally received back again their desired voice to decide on having a Scottish parliament and having tax-varying powers. 60.1% of voters agreed on both of these questions, and the crucial changes started to happen for Scots. In the same year, the Scotland Bill was introduced and became law a year after. Proposals for a new parliament were created, by the Consultative Steering Group⁸² appointed exclusively for this occasion, and their report served as template for the new parliament.

On 6 May 1999, the first elections for the Scottish Parliament were held, and only six days later, the first meeting of the Scottish Parliament took place. Until opening a new parliament building, the Parliament resided in the General Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland. 12 May 1999 is the official date of the foundation of the devolved Scottish Parliament, and since that day, Scots finally got their desired power closer to them. On 1 July 1999, Her Majesty The Queen officially opened the Scottish Parliament,⁸³ and they could start practising their law-making powers.

The new and current building of the Scottish Parliament was opened in 2004 in the Holyrood in Edinburgh, right next to the British monarch's residence in Scotland, the Holyrood Palace. The building was designed by Catalan architect Enric Miralles and reflects the Scottish landscape as well as architectural history. Parliament also mirrors the main principles 'openness, sharing power, accessibility and equal opportunity'.⁸⁴ The building is dominated by the Debating Chamber then there are Committee rooms and the Parliament exhibition in the Main Hall, explaining the role and history of the Parliament. The Debating Chamber has a free Public Gallery, and there is also a café and souvenir shop. Despite mixed reactions from the public on the final appearance of the building the architects and academics evaluated the combination of styles, and the building even won architectural prizes.

After the first election, the Scottish government was created as well, from the Members of the Scottish Parliament, and they are responsible for all the matters devolved to them. Since the creation of the first Scottish government, Scots have had

⁸² "History of the Scottish Parliament," The Scottish Parliament.

⁸³ "History of the Scottish Parliament," The Scottish Parliament.

⁸⁴ "History of the Scottish Parliament," The Scottish Parliament.

two governments above them. To specify what all matters and legislation the Scottish Parliament has power over, the Scotland Act 1998 stated that “all matters that are not specifically stated in Schedule 5 as reserved matters are automatically devolved to the Scottish Parliament.”⁸⁵ The reserved and excepted matters are still exclusively in the jurisdiction of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and the devolved matters are those in the legislative power of national legislatures. Not only Scottish Parliament have its own legislative power over devolved matters, but there are also the Welsh Parliament, Northern Ireland Assembly, and London Parliament. Devolved matters usually include public policy areas. In Scotland, these are, for example, matters like education, agriculture, health and social care, housing, law and order, local government, transportation or income tax, and many others. To give the perspective, the powers that are exclusively reserved to the Parliament of the United Kingdom are matters such as the constitution, immigration, employment, foreign policy, pensions, drug policy, broadcasting, national security, or data protection.⁸⁶

With its devolved matter, the Scottish Parliament can be considered as one of the most powerful devolved parliaments in the world. The main benefit is also that they are still part of the United Kingdom. The main changes to the powers of the Scottish Parliament brought two Acts. The first one was the Scotland Act 2012, which devolved even more powers from Westminster to Holyrood. These powers include crucial financial matters, income tax, air weapons, and drink driving limits. Then followed the Scotland Act 2016, giving Scots even more powers. This time the main issues were concerning abortion, energy, onshore oil, rail franchising, and once again, income tax.⁸⁷ Last but not least, it is important to mention the United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020. This act is significant for Scotland as it prevents internal trade barriers within the UK and restricts the legislative power in economic matters.⁸⁸ This legislation needed to be proceeded as the UK is no longer a member of the European Union.

⁸⁵ “Scotland Act 1998,” [legislation.gov.uk](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/46/schedule/5), accessed May 6, 2024, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/46/schedule/5>.

⁸⁶ “Devolution,” Delivering For Scotland.

⁸⁷ “Devolution of powers to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland,” Gov.uk, accessed May 6, 2024, <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/devolution-of-powers-to-scotland-wales-and-northern-ireland>.

⁸⁸ “United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020,” [legislation.gov.uk](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2020/27/contents), accessed May 6, 2024, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2020/27/contents>.

3.3. Scottish Parliament Nowadays

To state the basic facts of the Scottish Parliament as it is today, it is a unicameral and devolved Parliament of Scotland residing in the Holyrood in Edinburgh. This institution is comprised of 129 members (Members of the Scottish Parliament) elected every five years. The election uses an additional member system that mixes the first-past-the-post system with adding the rest of the members from regions. After elections, one MSP is chosen to be a Presiding Officer and serves as the speaker during the proceedings of the Parliament and leads the debate of the MSPs.⁸⁹ There are also two deputies elected at the beginning of each parliamentary session. During the parliamentary debates, two clerks advise the Presiding Officer and assist in the practical process of the meeting. The Presiding Officer also serves as the main representative of the Parliament abroad and on the domestic political scene. For setting the agenda is responsible the Parliamentary Bureau.

During the meeting of the Scottish Parliament are present also Lord Advocate and Solicitor General for Scotland. An important symbol present in the Parliamentary chamber is the parliamentary mace, representing authority and laws. Parliament in Scotland usually sits from January to June and from September to mid-December.⁹⁰ Plenary as well as committee meetings are open to the public with free entry. The goal of putting the power as close to the citizens as possible was met, and the Parliamentary building is open to the Scottish public and to all who wish to visit. Unique for the Scottish Parliament is that the debates can be also conducted in Scots or Gaelic language.

The Members of the Scottish Parliament represent their voters and their political party in the Debating Chamber. Since the beginning of the Scottish Parliament, the Labour Party has taken most of the seats but during that time, lost its dominating position, and since 2011, the SNP often takes more than half of the seats.⁹¹ Along with that also grow the support of the Conservative Party, and in the last elections in 2021, Conservatives gained even more seats than Labour. Present are also Liberal Democrats and Greens but they usually get only a few seats.

⁸⁹ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 183-188.

⁹⁰ "About the Scottish Parliament," The Scottish Parliament, accessed May 7, 2024, <https://www.parliament.scot/about>.

⁹¹ "Elections," The Scottish Parliament, accessed May 7, 2024, <https://www.parliament.scot/msps/elections>.

Even though the Scottish Parliament is nowadays fully established, with a permanent residence, it is still a new developing institution, creating its own rules and fastening its place in British society. Scots got the power they had been rooting for, for a long time and the rest of the United Kingdom and mainly England had to get used to the fact some of the powers are moved into the rest of the countries to the regions and closer to the citizens.

4. Referenda and their impact

The path towards Scottish independence and devolution is undoubtedly connected with several referenda, and these are crucial not only for Scottish nationalism but for their whole history. The main ones, this diploma thesis deals with are the three referenda, those are 1979, 1997, and 2014 referenda. Whereas, the first two are seeking more devolved power and own parliament for Scots, the third one from 2014 goes even further and asks for independence from the rest of the United Kingdom. A very crucial role, during these referenda, played the biggest political party nowadays in Scotland the SNP. To be independent from the rest of the country and gain more power was their goal from the beginning, and these referenda only declared their determination. Nevertheless, all of those referenda brought along political campaigns to society, and these were crucial for the outcome as well. To think about the use of such a tool as a referendum and give more subsidiarity to citizens is a noble idea but requires an educated and informed society, and campaigns are often those giving false information. As the referendum offers one or the other solution, it is undoubtedly that this tool is also often responsible for dividing society and creating even more gaps between people of different affiliations, beliefs, and opinions.

4.1. 1979 Scottish Devolution Referendum

Since the Acts of Union in 1707, Scotland gave up their own Parliament and became a part of the Parliament of Great Britain and later on, the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Even though Scotland was a full-fledged member of Parliament in Westminster, the truth is they were still only a minority and in general, won only a few seats for Scottish MPs. The tension began to escalate during the 20th century as Scots felt they were not represented enough, and they felt the urge to be closer to their representatives, and so began the journey towards their own devolved Parliament. The situation got even more intense in the 1960s with the discovery of resources of oil in the North Sea, and Scotland became more economically confident. The popularity of the SNP grew, and they got 11 seats in the British Parliament in 1974.⁹² This was still not enough, the nationalistic tensions were more and more intense. Their calls were heard by John Callaghan's Labour government and in 1979 the referendum about the Scottish devolved Parliament was announced. This was possible mainly because Callaghan's

⁹² Meilan Solly, "A Not-So-Brief History of Scottish Independence," *Smithsonian MAGAZINE*, January 30, 2020, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/brief-history-scottish-independence-180973928/>.

government was in a very fragile situation, and they lost the majority in the House of Commons.⁹³ This put SNP, along with the Plaid Cymru, into an advantageous position for negotiating about devolving more powers into their regions.

The problem in this situation was that there was, the Scotland Act 1978 setting the requirements for the referendum taking place a year later. This Act contained conditions and requirements for the outcome of the referendum, and this caused that, in the end, the result was not valid. Scots needed at least 40% of the whole electorate to support the creation of the Scottish Assembly, and this was not met.⁹⁴ The pooling stations opened on 1 March 1979 in Scotland, and 63.6% of Scots decided to answer the question: “Do you want the provisions of the Scotland Act 1978 to be put into effect?”⁹⁵ The 51.6% of voters voted “Yes”, nevertheless the problem was that this was only 33% of the whole electorate, and the Act required 40% to agree with the proposal. The Labour government even tried to oppose this amendment, concerning the percentage of voters in favour of the purpose from the whole electorate but they were outvoted by the rest of the Parliament. Even more paradoxical is that this motion comes from one of the Labour MPs, George Cunningham. He was against the Scotland devolution and managed to enforce this amendment.⁹⁶ The result of the referendum caused the Act to be cancelled, and Scots had to give up their hopes of opening their own Parliament in Scotland in the 1970s.

When speaking about referenda and the process of devolution in the United Kingdom, it is important to say that the referendum in Scotland was not the only one taking place in the UK in 1979 concerning the devolution of powers. Wales was in the same position, and a referendum was taking place there as well. They also had a bill concerning the opening of their Parliament in the House of Commons, and separately from the Scottish one, the Wales Act was introduced in 1978. Nevertheless, the situation in Wales was different, and the outcome of the referendum was pretty clear. 79.7% of voters in Wales answered “No” to the question: “Do you want the provisions of the

⁹³ “The 1979 Referendums,” *BBC*, accessed May 13, 2024, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/devolution/scotland/briefing/79referendums.shtml>.

⁹⁴ “History of the Scottish Parliament,” The Scottish Parliament.

⁹⁵ “The 1979 Referendums.”

⁹⁶ “The 1979 Referendums.”

Wales Act 1978 to be put into effect?”⁹⁷ More than 58% of the eligible citizens decided to vote but their votes ended up discarded.

Even though the Labour government in Westminster eventually put the Scotland Act 1978 in motion and agreed with the referendum taking place and Scotland receiving more power, the Labour politicians in Scotland were active in the Vote No campaign and did not want a devolved parliament in Scotland. The loudest supporters of this campaign were mainly Brian Wilson and Robin Cook.⁹⁸ It is obvious that George Cunningham was not the only one opposing this step, many others joined him and supported campaigns against this step. The same point of view as Cunningham or Cook also had Tories and businessmen in Scotland. The No campaign was trying to intimidate people and warn them by saying, “this referendum is dangerous”⁹⁹. Strongly against the process of devolution was also former Labour MP Lord Wilson, and he believed Scots would not want their own Assembly.

On the other hand, there was also enormous support for the Yes campaign, mainly from the Labour Government, SNP, and Scottish Labour Party. This group also joined Scottish actor Sean Connery.¹⁰⁰ Those supporting the new devolved Scottish Parliament were trying to prove the benefits of having a new way of government in the country. Newspapers were a significant tool for promoting this campaign, and they were trying to tell as many people as possible that the politicians in Scotland would vote Yes. There was even a hope for support from Westminster in case the condition of 40% electorate in favour would not be met but this did not happen. Prime Minister Callaghan himself took part in the Yes campaign and promoted the benefits of the Scottish Parliament in Scotland, and at the same time, he was trying to support and save his own government. Scottish Secretary Bruce Millan was also trying to force Scots into voting Yes by pushing on their confidence and appearance in front of the rest of the UK if all this work and campaigns would be for nothing. Gordon Brown was also one of those promoting the Yes vote, and on the last weekend before the vote was strongly involved in the

⁹⁷ “The 1979 Referendums.”

⁹⁸ “The 1979 Referendums.”

⁹⁹ Graeme Strachan, “When Yes meant No – the story of the 1979 referendum on Scottish devolution,” *The Courier*, March 2, 2024, <https://www.thecourier.co.uk/fp/past-times/4906374/scottish-devolution-1979-referendum-vote-results/>.

¹⁰⁰ Strachan, “When Yes meant No – the story of the 1979 referendum on Scottish devolution.”

campaign.¹⁰¹ In some regions, this helped, and people extensively voted Yes, but it still was not enough in the general summary.

As it usually is with these kinds of subsidiary political tools, the emotions were tensed the next day March 2, 1979, when the counting began. A very close result was in the Tayside region, the counting was a long but also exciting process, and in the end, the difference was by less than two thousand votes. No vote prevailed, and those rooting for no Parliament could celebrate. George Galloway from the Labour Party, in favour of the Parliament, opened up that the result reflects that there is still significant support for the Conservative Party in Scotland. He admits that there was definitely present fear of the SNP separating from the rest of the parties, and they would no longer have support in Scotland. The twelve regions in total were perfectly divided, and six voted Yes, and six voted for No.¹⁰² This only shows how fragile is the use of referendum and that, at some point, society ends up being divided. After all of the votes were counted, and it was clear that the 40% condition would not be fulfilled, the SNP leader Donald Stewart even tried to convince the Prime Minister to open parliament in Scotland despite this fact, but there was no chance Callaghan could do this.¹⁰³ As a consequence, he turned SNP against him, and the fall of his government was inevitable.

Ray Perman from *The Financial Times* pointed out that the outcome of the referendum is pretty surprising as there were long tensions and pressures for moving legislative power to Edinburgh. He sees the main failure of such a step in the work of the Yes campaign. The problem is they were not united in their arguments and failed to tell voters the clear statements.¹⁰⁴ The campaign was simply divided, and this left doubts in people. The outcome was they decided to vote No or simply not vote at all, which was with the presence of the amendment fatal. The problem was also that there were strong disagreements on the topic inside the political parties, and showed up as a big issue. People could not get a clear message and lacked the proper information. The benefit for the No side was also that there were fewer subjects, so they were able to unite more easily. There were three main groups against the devolution: Labour Vote No, Scotland Says No, and Conservative Party No campaign, whereas on the other side

¹⁰¹ Strachan, "When Yes meant No – the story of the 1979 referendum on Scottish devolution."

¹⁰² Strachan, "When Yes meant No – the story of the 1979 referendum on Scottish devolution."

¹⁰³ Strachan, "When Yes meant No – the story of the 1979 referendum on Scottish devolution."

¹⁰⁴ Ray Perman, "The devolution referendum campaign of 1979," in *The Scottish Government Yearbook 1980*, ed. H. M. Drucker and N. L. Drucker (Edinburgh: Paul Harris Publishing, 1980), 53-63.

were much more subjects with a bigger fragmentation. Devolution got support from the SNP, Labour Movement Yes Campaign, Communists, students, the Yes for Scotland group and others.¹⁰⁵ It is no surprise that such diverse groups were not able to start the campaign united and present one point of view, they underestimated the power of the No campaign, whose broad focus was advantageous. Not to even mention that these groups had different motivations for the creation of the Scottish Assembly, and they simply could not convince voters. Another mistake of the Yes campaign was that for example, the Labour Movement started their campaign quite late as they did not want to bore voters, and this was eventually not a good decision.¹⁰⁶ In elections and campaigns before, it is always important to focus on undecided voters and so-called swing voters as these always decide who will win. In this case, Yes campaigns were not persistent enough and missed the chance to drag these voters on their side. This referendum simply divided not only voters and citizens of Scotland but also political parties and groups, and politicians were standing on the different branches despite being in one political party. The situation caused more chaos than expected and simply did not meet the expectations.

In the end, the whole situation caused the most harm to the Labour Party and their government as after this unsuccessful referendum, their government lost support under pressure from Conservatives as well as SNP and Ulster Unionists Callaghan's government had to be dissolved.¹⁰⁷ The biggest benefit from the fall of this government had Tories and mainly Margaret Thatcher as she led the country for the next eleven years. This only shows that in this case, the Labour Party undermined its own power and government by letting George Cunningham enforce the 40% amendment. Although it might seem like a minor step in the end, they lost the position of being the leaders of the country. So not only Scots had to wait for their Parliament for the next twenty years but also Labourers had to wait to win back the majority in the House of Commons.

4.2. 1997 Scottish Devolution Referendum

The Iron Lady Margaret Thatcher kept up leading the country with the iron will for eleven years and did not get Labourers the chance to bring up the Scotland Act again. The opportunity came no later than eighteen years after the first referendum for

¹⁰⁵ Perman, "The devolution referendum campaign of 1979," 53-63.

¹⁰⁶ Perman, "The devolution referendum campaign of 1979," 53-63

¹⁰⁷ "The 1979 Referendums."

Scottish devolution. British citizens were tired of Margaret Thatcher's conservative government, and the economic situation was no longer sustainable. Not even her successor, John Major, was in favour of this step, and yet the change brought about the general election in 1997.¹⁰⁸ Labour Party won the majority of seats in Westminster and was able to create its own government. It looks as if they would immediately pick up where they left off, and in the same year they built the government, the Scottish devolution referendum was announced. Scottish Constitutional Convention was trying to put across a referendum from the beginning of the 1990s, and they finally succeeded in 1997. The fall of the Soviet Union and the establishment of new nations across Europe¹⁰⁹ even encouraged Scots in their nationalism, and the SNP fought even harder for a new referendum.

The Scots were persistent in their politics and wanted a devolved Parliament as well as power over tax policy. Although Conservatives were still against this step, they failed to vindicate their government, and in 1997, the Labour Party had a majority to build their own government, and they felt even stronger with the youngest Prime Minister of the 20th century, Tony Blair, as their leader. Labourers finally got the power they had been craving for the whole time, and they were ready and fresh to make things their own way. Only two months after the general election was introduced white paper "Scotland Parliament"¹¹⁰ and nothing stood in the way of the referendum. This time, the Labour Party was more united in the question of the Scottish devolved Parliament than in 1979 and so no Act predeceasing the voting was introduced.

This time, on 11 September 1997, Scots had to vote on two questions, the first one concerning having a devolved Scottish Parliament and the second one about having tax-varying powers. The first of those got more support, and 74.3% of voter agreed with opening the Scottish Parliament, and with the tax-varying powers agreed 60.1% of those who expressed their opinion in the pooling stations. The 60% of Scots decided to come and vote, so all the necessary conditions were met, and Scots could wait to have more power in Edinburgh soon.¹¹¹ This turnout guaranteed that there should be no questions about how many Scots expressed their opinion. More than half of the eligible electorate

¹⁰⁸ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 178.

¹⁰⁹ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 177.

¹¹⁰ "History of the Scottish Parliament," The Scottish Parliament.

¹¹¹ Brian Taylor, "Scotland Decided – The Referendum 11 September 1997," *BBC*, accessed May 16, 2024, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/devolution/scotland/briefing/scotbrief2.shtml>.

spoke up in every region,¹¹² and the Parliament got enough trust to be open. This time, there was also support from the UK Parliament so the Scotland Bill was introduced, and a year later, the Scotland Act as well.

Even though it now may look like this second referendum was clearly straightforward, there was still some kind of insecurity, in how will Scots decide, and whether they would really support the creation of their own Parliament. The process of voting, counting the votes, and waiting for the results was even compared to the counting of votes at the Eurovision Song Contest.¹¹³ Technical development is not the only one of the features distinguishing this referendum from the one in 1979. The political constellation after the elections in 1997 was in favour of the Scotland Parliament, but whether this step would fully support also the voters themselves was still a bit unpredictable. The leader of the SNP during the time of the referendum was Alex Salmond, and luckily his party was able to fulfil the policy they had been longing for a long time and serve in the devolved Parliament.

The biggest tension during the scrutiny of all the votes caused the Highland region, which take several hours to submit the final results. However, the votes had been counted, and the Scottish citizens could finally hear the result of Yes/Yes on both questions prevailed,¹¹⁴ and Scots got their Parliament with the devolved powers and powers concerning taxes. Enough Scots arrived at polling stations, and what is more, this time even the 40% amendment would be reached. No such a condition was used, and after counting the last votes, Scots could happily celebrate devolved power closer to their home. This simple fact only confirmed what the majority of Scots wish.

The 1997 referendum was slightly different as it contained two separate questions voters had to answer, as Prime Minister Blair wished. The support of the second question concerning income tax was slightly lower, two areas were even against it, but in general, the result was solid enough. Labour Party was also sure the Scots would support what they were fighting for, and their former leader John Smith even said it was the “settled will”¹¹⁵.

¹¹² Taylor, “Scotland Decided – The Referendum 11 September 1997.”

¹¹³ Taylor, “Scotland Decided – The Referendum 11 September 1997.”

¹¹⁴ Taylor, “Scotland Decided – The Referendum 11 September 1997.”

¹¹⁵ Taylor, “Scotland Decided – The Referendum 11 September 1997.”

When speaking about campaigns before the referendum, the Yes campaign was this time, much more coordinated and unified and started with their work earlier. The media coverage was extensive, and the Yes campaign made sure they would be heard. The Scottish Conservatives were on the side of the No campaign but accepted the defeat graciously. The atmosphere in the society changed, and as there were no visible tensions from inside the Labour Party and Scots persisted with their desire to have devolved powers, the victory was more predictable this time. Not to speak of the fact that the proportional voting system in the new devolved Parliament ensured Tories they would have some of the seats guaranteed.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the Parliament in Edinburgh was rather a challenge for the MPs in Westminster as they had to decide about all of the powers transferred to Scotland. Nevertheless, the SNP and Liberal Democrats, along with the Labour Party, were the fastest to start working after the referendum. The topic of moving powers to Scotland made them more united, and the outcome of their joint effort was visible in the Yes campaign. The No campaign was trying to play the note that Scotland would immediately seek independence and that the Parliament would be only the first step towards breaking the Union. These voices were silenced by both leaders of the SNP and Liberal Democrats. As we now know, this was not so much wrong as there really was a referendum in 2014 seeking independence for Scots, more important is the wording used. To “break the Union”¹¹⁷ sounds much more powerful than just “pursuing independence,” and the No campaign was mainly trying to prove the damage it would cause to those against independent Scotland.

To categorize the specific campaign groups present before the referendum over the Scottish devolved Parliament, there was a very loud ‘Scotland Forward’ led by Nigel Smith with the clear agenda of voting double yes on both questions.¹¹⁸ Then there was also quite an ambiguous ‘No, Yes campaign’ consisting of some Scottish Conservatives. They argued that if people voted ‘no, no’ or ‘no, yes’ there was a bigger chance the Government would change the powers planned to devolve to Scotland, and the Scots got more suitable proposals. The leader of the campaign, Struan Stevenson, demanded power over all revenues raised in Scotland.¹¹⁹ The campaign completely against any kind of devolved power in Scotland was the ‘Think Twice’ campaign

¹¹⁶ Taylor, “Scotland Decided – The Referendum 11 September 1997.”

¹¹⁷ Taylor, “Scotland Decided – The Referendum 11 September 1997.”

¹¹⁸ “Campaign Groups,” *BBC*, accessed May 16, 2024, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/devolution/scotland/briefing/groups.shtml>.

¹¹⁹ “Campaign Groups.”

merging people against this step. Voice against devolution was proclaimed also the ‘1707 group’ established by Conservative Adam Bruce.¹²⁰ Not even this formation was successful and did not convince the majority of voters of their truth.

The question also is how much the campaigns even affected people. As this was already the second referendum with almost the same question and the period Scots were waiting for such a step was really long, it is likely that most of the voters already decided their minds and already had a clear opinion about their vote. Two weeks before the referendum were the campaigns even suspended as a result of the death of Diana, Princess of Wales.¹²¹ The country was covered in grief, and most of the Scots probably already decided how they would vote. After the scrutinizing of all those votes, Edinburgh began with the celebrations, and even the PM Tony Blair visited Scots to embrace them in their rejoicing and to meet with the Scottish secretary Donald Dewar. The place of the venue was nostalgically the same place the previous Scottish democratic assembly adjourned.¹²² Donald Dewar is a very important figure as he himself was responsible for a lot of deals at the time. Scots have spoken, but it was still necessary to move devolved powers to Scotland, and it was not always easy to discuss, and Dewar had to face struggles when debating with civil services about powers for Scotland.

Former chief executive of the SNP, Mike Russell, says that for the SNP was also important that the Scotland Bill after the referendum would have nothing that would stop them from seeking independence. Scots wanted to have an open door and be able to pursue independence if the time came, and they proved it in 2014. This is criticized by the advocate of the No-No campaign, Donald Findlay, who claims that having a parliament close to people made them feel like this institution can deal with everything, including independence.¹²³ On the other hand, there were also those like Nigel Smith, not satisfied with the amount of power the Scottish Parliament had and would welcome a more dominant position over certain politics.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, Scots have their devolved Parliament at Holyrood, and its role is not marginal. This place brought more focus to the national policy and has an important role in the policy-making process. It is

¹²⁰ “Campaign Groups.”

¹²¹ Andrew Kerr, “Scottish devolution referendum: The birth of a parliament,” *BBC*, September 8, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-41189455>.

¹²² Taylor, “Scotland Decided – The Referendum 11 September 1997.”

¹²³ Kerr, “Scottish devolution referendum: The birth of a parliament.”

¹²⁴ Kerr, “Scottish devolution referendum: The birth of a parliament.”

only natural that a certain amount of power also brings some unpleasant necessities, and not everyone can be satisfied. Part of this is also making controversial and unpopular decisions sometimes, but the truth is Scots longing for having a louder voice was filled.

Also this time, same as in 1979, Scots were not the only ones deciding over their future, and in the same month, Welsh voters went to the polls and decided if they wanted to have a devolved Parliament. Same as the Scots but significantly different than two decades ago, the Welsh decided for a devolved Parliament with only a slight majority of 50.3%.¹²⁵ The result put in motion the opening of the Parliament and devolved powers in Wales, but the society clearly showed how divided in this question is.

The opinions after the 1997 referendum were different some said the devolved powers would be enough for Scots, and their own devolved Parliament fed the need for having more power. Others opposed that this is only the first step towards separating from the rest of the UK and breaking the Union. The answer brought the year 2014, as the next chapter describes, and Scots decided to stay as a member of the United Kingdom, but the truth is, there are still tensions towards independence. At this point, the trend is that tools such as referendum are rather used under the Labour Government as those last two significant referenda concerning the future of Scotland took place because of the Labourers. The next referendum included in this text shows the trend slightly changed as this one was announced by the Conservative Government, as well as another significant one, the Brexit referendum.

4.3. 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum

The third referendum this thesis describes only proves that Scots did not give up their path toward independence and invoked yet another referendum. The national feelings in the Scottish society did not weaken, and Scots proved their determination to seek even more than just the devolved Parliament. This time, the referendum concerned not only devolved powers, and Parliament but the complete independence from the rest of the UK. Scots had the chance to decide over their future development also because there was the right constellation, and Westminster agreed to call the independence referendum. The difference is also the fact that this time, the referendum was announced

¹²⁵ Nathalie Duclos, "The 1997 devolution referendums in Scotland and Wales," *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique* XIV-1 (2006): 151-264.

under the Conservative Government and not Labour as the two previous referenda. Despite Tories leading the country, Scots still managed to fight for right to speak up and let their citizens decide about their future.

After the devolution referendum, such a significant step as seeking independence seemed unthinkable, but the position of the SNP was still growing, and they remained firm in their beliefs towards Scottish independence, and their position got even stronger when winning elections in 2011.¹²⁶ The 69 seats in the Scottish Parliament¹²⁷ only added to the growing confidence, and the SNP was firm to invoke the referendum before the next elections. With Alex Salmond as their leader, the SNP spoke up and no longer hesitated to make this significant step and invoke a referendum. This move is announced at the annual conference of the SNP and shows the determination to finish this step and move this question over to Scottish society. Significant work was also done by Deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon on the meetings with the Scottish Secretary Michael Moore, their talks led to a successful agreement, and ensured Scots that the Scottish independence referendum could take place.¹²⁸ Former British Prime Minister David Cameron felt as if he had to give Scots their democratic right to decide and agree with the referendum. Scottish government even made a public consultation on the planned referendum, and 64% of those asked agreed with the step towards independence.¹²⁹ The next step was the Edinburgh Agreement signed already in 2012 by both leaders. In 2013, the Privy Council agreed on transferring powers to Scotland under Section 30 of the 1998 Scotland Act and that the Scottish Parliament could hold a referendum, the Referendum Bill was introduced and got royal assent the same year. Meanwhile, the government at Holyrood led by the SNP, introduced the White Paper for independence with the possible scenario in case of becoming an independent country. This piece called Scotland's Future: Your guide to an independent Scotland, had over 660 pages and contained a blueprint for the independent country.¹³⁰ Alex Salmond praised this text as a "mission statement"¹³¹ and confidently promoted this proposal, his enthusiasm did not share the opposition, and they saw this piece as

¹²⁶ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 196.

¹²⁷ "Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum," *BBC News*, June 18, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-20546497>.

¹²⁸ "Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum."

¹²⁹ "Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum."

¹³⁰ "Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum."

¹³¹ "Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum."

meaningless. Nevertheless, the Scottish Parliament passed the legislation to hold the independence referendum unanimously, and the rules to hold such a significant move were set.

The date was set on 18 September 2014, and Cameron insisted on one simple question the referendum should ask: “Should Scotland be an independent country?”¹³² Also this time, most of the debates before the referendum concerned economic issues, currency and security, and border policy.¹³³ The debates before the Scots could decide on their future were obviously very intense and heated. The question of currency was crucial as also Britons insisted on the cancellation of the pound Stirling in case Scots would leave the Union. This was sort of a unanimous position in Westminster, and Scots were unsatisfied with this under the pressure to decide over their currency. The important debate was also about membership in the EU, but more significant for Scots were the domestic issues such as pensions, NHS, and defence¹³⁴.

It is undoubtedly that yet another referendum continued to divide society in Scotland. Only this time, the question got even more serious, and the Scots really needed to consider their whole history, nationality, affiliation, and all of the possible risks. This vote was not only about some technical political powers, this involved much more crucial things, such as national identity or redrawing the borders set hundreds of years ago.

Two years after both Parliaments agreed, the referendum really took place, and the very high turnout only showed how significant such a step is. Over 84% of all eligible voters decided to come to polls and express their position on this nerve-racking question. The result of the referendum was pretty clear, and 55.4% of the voters decided Scotland would not be an independent country. Only four out of thirty-two areas voted Yes, but these contained altogether only 20% of the electorate¹³⁵, and these are the areas the Labour Party used to run.

This referendum was also introduced a significant step on the Scottish political scene. The Scots decided they wanted to give the chance to vote for those aged 16 and

¹³² Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 197.

¹³³ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 197.

¹³⁴ Pauline Schnapper, “From One Referendum to the Other: the Scottish Dimension to the Debate over Europe,” *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique* XX-2 (2015).

¹³⁵ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 197.

17 years and let the young generation decide over their future. So the Bill proposed everyone aged 16 and over on the day of the referendum could take part as well.¹³⁶ SNP obviously wished to address these young voters and convince them about the benefits of leaving the rest of the UK. This step enabled the young generation to speak up, but in the end, their attendance was not so significant. From the total amount of 3.6 million eligible voters, who come to the polling stations, the people under 18 years old, registered to vote comprised only of little over 100,000.¹³⁷ Some of them welcomed this step and were glad the government gave them the voice to speak up and be part of this important decision. There were by no means also those with no interest in politics at all. Nevertheless, this step of the Scottish government did not turn out as such significant because the pro-union side won anyway. At least, this step satisfied those longing for the vote rights of young people. The truth is the young generation remains an underestimated group as they do not create the biggest voting enthusiasts, and they often do not go to express their opinions in polling stations.

Also, this referendum predeceased political campaigns from both sides. The loudest and most significant were Yes Scotland and Better Together. The amount of activism in Scottish society was enormous, and many people openly joined the campaigning sides. Campaigns could officially start 16 weeks before the elections, and campaigners had to register and respect the set amount of money they could spend on the campaign. Although the official campaigns could start in May 2014, it is no secret that after the publishing of the Edinburgh Agreement, politicians started to promote their points of view.¹³⁸ Those from the Yes Scotland campaign were promising mainly stability, Scotland would get after leaving the rest of the Union. Better Together, supported mainly by the Labour Party with Alistair Darling, saw it differently, and they described the independent future as highly uncertain. Also, Conservatives and Liberal Democrats were on the pro-union side. He welcomed the result of the referendum and felt it would bond society together. Nevertheless, Yes Scotland did a huge amount of work and managed to tilt a lot of voters on their side.¹³⁹ The gap between those in favour of independence and those against broadened, but it was still not enough, and the close result only confirmed the division of these two camps in Scottish society.

¹³⁶ "Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum."

¹³⁷ "Scottish referendum: How first vote went for 16/17-years-olds," *BBC News*, September 19, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-29279384>.

¹³⁸ "Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum."

¹³⁹ "Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum."

As the outcome of this referendum, the leader of the SNP, Alex Salmond, resigned, and admitted his defeat, but still saw this step as something that “took this nation forward”¹⁴⁰. Despite standing as the head of the party for such a long time, he did not manage to put through this step and did not succeed in explaining that Scots should do such a huge step and be an independent country.

Such a significant step, as a referendum concerning independence, brought a lot of tension into the society, and many public figures spoke up about their preferences and about which side they chose. Among them were obviously many writers, authors, and politicians. Barack Obama, for example, welcomed the fact Scots decided to stay inside the UK. Although the royal family cannot officially react to political development, the internal information says that for them, the result of the referendum was mainly relief.¹⁴¹ It is no secret, the monarch has estates and places in Scotland, and the former monarch Queen Elizabeth II openly admitted that she enjoyed her time there, the Balmoral Castle is the favourite place of the royal family during their time off. Many of the public figures and authors also decided to support political campaigns with their financial donations as the biggest evidence of support. The others used their voices and platforms to present their positions on this issue, either in their books or in public interviews. Mainly the literary figures and authors in Scotland are in an ideal position to speak up they have the platforms as well as the language capacity to either directly talk or to use hidden meanings, metaphors, and similes.

To mention some of them, Val McDermid points out the lack of information the voters get and the uncertainty in many questions in case of leaving the UK. However, according to her, this should still not be an obstacle in voting pro-independence. People should not be led by the fear of the unknown and support better conditions for the Scottish citizens. Irvine Welsh sees the whole independence referendum as a step against the wealthy elites, the Conservative Party represents. Therefore, according to him, the yes campaign deserves to win so Scotland could finally get rid of this aristocratic influence and corrupted, imperialistic elites, as these tend to shed a bad light on the entire country.¹⁴² The same point of view shares Alan Warner and reminds

¹⁴⁰ “Scottish referendum: Scotland votes ‘No’ to independence,” *BBC News*, September 19, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-29270441>.

¹⁴¹ “Scottish referendum: Scotland votes ‘No’ to independence.”

¹⁴² “Scottish writers on the referendum – independence day?,” *The Guardian*, July 19, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/jul/19/scottish-referendum-independence-uk-how-writers-vote>.

Burn's words and does not want to be "bought and sold... for... gold"¹⁴³ again. Richard Holloway compares the referendum to the arguments pro and against the existence of God, with his agnostic belief, he was inclined to vote yes. Regardless of the result, he claims the yes campaign already won by enforcing this referendum. Also, Allan Massie joins these authors and says that those in favour of Scottish independence such as, Alasdair Gray or James Robertson, are much louder than those against it.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Massie thinks the independence would, in the end, not make such a significant difference, and things in daily life would remain the same. This political development and crucial step in Scottish history even inspired Scottish poet Kathleen Jamie to comprise a poem out of email replies of her yes-supporting friends consisting of all sorts of opinions, from resisting the intimidation to freely opening up as a free country with a voice that is heard. Janice Galloway points out how the pro-union campaign treats the opposite side and highly disagrees with the way the yes voters are called and addressed. She also says that Better Together fails to come up with the right arguments and that to build a campaign on accusing the other side of fear of the economic situation it would bring is a mistake.¹⁴⁵ With this rhetoric, the Yes campaign failed to speak to many undecided and swing voters and forced them into the situation they wanted to vote against this presentation. From the views mentioned above, it could seem the authors in Scotland had a unanimous and clear position on the question of the independence referendum. The results showed this is not the position the majority of voters stand for and according to the public voice the situation inside the union is not such unpleasant they would really need to leave.

The support of the writers and other influential public figures is something Alex Salmond counted on in his campaign, and hoped that with their support the victory would be easy. Firmly against his plan stood up, popular, and respected, JK Rowling with her donation of 1 million pounds to the No campaign.¹⁴⁶ Before the referendum, Salmond still believed this was not that significant, and as Rowling is not a Scottish-born person, voters would not listen to her opinion. He still hoped for enough support from other artistic figures, such as national poet laureate Edwin Morgan, who left almost the same amount to the SNP before his death. Salmond even used the national

¹⁴³ "Such A Parcel Of Rogues In A Nation."

¹⁴⁴ "Scottish writers on the referendum – independence day?."

¹⁴⁵ "Scottish writers on the referendum – independence day?."

¹⁴⁶ Colin Kidd, "Scottish independence: literature and nationalism," *The Guardian*, July 19, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/jul/19/scottish-independence-literature-nationalism>.

bard Robert Burns to fulfil his mission, but not even this helped him as the referendum results indicate.¹⁴⁷ He praised the Scottish novels as unconditionally different from the English ones and hoped to point out the national identity in Scottish literature to play on the note of nationalism and convince voters to vote as he wished. The strategy of criticizing the ‘other’ English side did not help and did not really speak up to voters. Other than that, Salmond also praised the figures historically connected to Scottish nationalism, such as Hugh MacDiarmid, with the vision to attract the voters. On the same side as JK Rowling stood also C. J. Sansom, who saw the referendum as “dangerous electoral manipulation”¹⁴⁸ and expressed support for no campaign with his donation. Although many famous writers such as James Robertson or Ian Ranking in their texts praise and promote the Scottish nationality, symbols, and distinctions, it might look like they got vast support and audience, but literary success is clearly not the same as electoral success.

It is clear that not even poets and novelists were united in the question of independent Scotland. The divided literary scene mirrors the divided society, and this only shows the problematic aspects of using direct democracy tools in representative democracy. There are, percentage-wise more of those writers in favour of independence and writing about Scottish nationality than that pro-unionist, but to turn this into the real electoral votes showed as really difficult. Nevertheless, those having the words and platforms to speak up and support pro-independence did not manage to convince the majority of voters to be brave enough and vote for change.

4.4. The Aftermath of the Referenda

After Salmond’s defeat, the leading position in the SNP was taken by Nicola Sturgeon, and she did not ease up on the path towards independence. On the contrary, even more Scots started to join the SNP, and the support of independence, as well as SNP growth, remained topical in Scottish society. The same phenomena occurred in another pro-independence party, the Scottish Green Party, they also faced huge popularity after the referendum, and their member base increased significantly.¹⁴⁹ Sturgeon’s Party started the journey of being a leader in Scotland. In elections after the

¹⁴⁷ “Scottish independence: literature and nationalism.”

¹⁴⁸ “Scottish independence: literature and nationalism.”

¹⁴⁹ Lynn Bennie, James Mitchell, and Robert Johns, “Parties, movements and the 2014 Scottish independence referendum: Explaining the post-referendum party membership surges,” *Party Politics* 27, no.6 (2021): 1184-1197.

referendum, the SNP completely dominated, and the once-popular Labour Party in Scotland won only one seat out of forty-one here. The popularity of the SNP guaranteed that the question of independence was not forgotten and still remained a significant topic in Scottish society.

Even though Scots refused the complete independence, they managed to gain more devolved powers. The referendum failed to meet its mission, but Scots still benefited from this step, and in 2016 the Scotland Act 2016 was introduced and Scots gained more powers mainly over taxation.¹⁵⁰ Because of this, we cannot say Scotland did not succeed overall, but it still did not stop them in their fight for complete independence. The Scottish national identity remains strong, and the desire for independence is everlasting.

The 2014 referendum was not only about the position of Scotland inside the United Kingdom, it also showed the whole position of Great Britain in the European Union. This aspect was also important as possible membership in the EU was also discussed in case the referendum would end in favour of the Yes campaign. For the voters was also important the position within the EU after the referendum, in this case, the SNP used the EU membership in their favour and assured the voters independent Scotland would be a member of the EU immediately. What was more, the conditions and opt-outs current at the time would remain the same for Scotland as have the whole UK.¹⁵¹ An extremely significant step for the whole United Kingdom was obviously the Brexit referendum in 2016. This stirred the waters even more, and the majority of Scots, even 62%, voted against leaving the European Union,¹⁵² they saw this as a clear impulse to open the discussions again and require a new independence referendum. This was still not permitted by the majority in Westminster, and it is the question of time and the future occupation of the House of Commons whether Scots will have the opportunity to decide over their independence again. The outcome only gives Scots the leverage to claim they were dragged out of the EU against their will,¹⁵³ only time will show if they will ever have the chance to seek EU membership again.

¹⁵⁰ “Devolution,” *Delivering for Scotland*.

¹⁵¹ Schnapper, “From One Referendum to the Other: the Scottish Dimension to the Debate over Europe.”

¹⁵² Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 198.

¹⁵³ Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 198.

5. Reflection of Scottish Nationalism and Independence in Literature

As shown in the pages above, nationalism in Scotland is something that beats in the Scottish society and, above all, in the hearts of Scots. Therefore, it is only natural that nationalism is also widely presented in the literature published in Scotland. As is stated in the definition of nationalism introduced for the purpose of this thesis – it is something deeply rooted in people's hearts, something that touches their souls and is connected to their feelings and emotions. It is only natural then that it is not uncommon to see national affiliation or opinion towards Scottish independence depicted in the stories of novels or poetry.

Not only nationalism but also pride, love as well as negative and positive relationships towards one's nation permeate through the literary pieces. Every now and then are present also expressions towards the political situation or the specific political development or politicians. Trying to gain independence from the rest of the country is undoubtedly a crucial step, so it cannot be omitted in the works of writers as well as in their personal comments. Everyone has a different way of presenting their emotions towards the country, whereas one critiques, the other shows fondness of the state matters or the specific political step. Some try to impress through the distinctive use of dialect to induce readers to the right atmosphere of the story.

For Scottish scholar and author Robert Crawford, the turning point and also the answer to whether Scotland should be an independent country was the 1314 Battle of Bannockburn. The victory of Robert the Bruce gave a clear answer to England, and modern-day referenda are only unnecessary follow-ups. Apart from this, the question of independence was still not answered in Scotland, and even though the majority of voters decided not to separate from the rest of the United Kingdom, this issue remains current for many authors and is represented in literature as well.

This chapter brings the example of writers and texts with a high connection to Scottish nationalism, political matters, and the question of independence. The works mentioned in this part of the thesis show how inseparable are these matters from the everyday life of Scots and how naturally are engaged in literary pieces.

To demonstrate how Scottish nationalism and its relationship towards independence penetrated the literary texts it is best to start with one of the most

significant Scottish national authors, already mentioned Robert Burns. As the Scottish national bard, he cannot be omitted when speaking about Scottish realms and close relations with the birth nation. He is one of the authors not afraid to share his views on Scotland with his readers. The often-cited line “We’re bought and sold for English gold”¹⁵⁴ directly critiques the unifying process of Scotland and England at the time. Not only weakness and subordination yells from these words but also a distinct division of the political powers at the British Isles and Scotland always being poorer, weaker, and unable to survive without England. Already this time can be seen as a foundation for the behaviour of Scots in the 21st century and the fact they still have the desire to prove they can stand alone without the help of England or other allies.

In general, Robert Burns is seen as an author who preserved parts of Scotland’s cultural heritage and focused on Scottish patriotism, Kirk (the church at that time), and republicanism in his works. On the other hand, Chris Bambery, in his *A People’s History of Scotland*, reminds us that although Burns is an admired and praised person, his personality was divided between being a romantic poet portraying Scottish life and being a fierce and radical supporter of revolutions. Even more, there is evidence in his poetry of being a supporter of the Jacobin movement and rebel although, he claimed otherwise.¹⁵⁵ There is no doubt that Robert Burns lived in a dramatic and turbulent period for Scotland. The end of the 18th century was a time of change and revolutions, but also the path toward democracy, and that was something Burns supported. Vastly popular during this time became Burns’s song ‘Scots Wha Hae’ that even served as an unofficial Scottish anthem for centuries, and that was no surprise as this song is very powerful and patriotic and easily wakes the nationalistic feelings in Scots. The Burns’s poetry and the range of topics he focuses on in his songs and poems can be also described as “infusing the landscape with a spirit of freedom”¹⁵⁶

During the 18th century, the legacy of the Battle of Bannockburn and the question of independent Scotland, was presented mainly through the characters of Robert the Bruce and William Wallace.¹⁵⁷ These two figures are present also in Burns’s poesy as he touches topics of independence and patriotism in his works. It is also crucial to keep

¹⁵⁴ “Such A Parcel Of Rogues In A Nation.”

¹⁵⁵ Chris Bambery, *A People’s History of Scotland* (London: Verso, 2014), 79-81.

¹⁵⁶ Robert, Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 71.

¹⁵⁷ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 57.

in mind Burns's position in society and how his agricultural background helped him in his romantic poetry when praising Scottish nature, when sharing shameless and radical political opinions, he put his family and himself at stake as his openness caused him troubles. Burns himself was influenced by lines about these two warriors during his youth, for example, in the works of William Hamilton or Robert Fergusson, and it is only logical he kept them in his texts. There are even similarities between Hamilton's lines and Burns's earlier writings.

The nationalistic feelings and affiliation towards Scotland are represented in Burns's poems from the beginning. He praised William Wallace as the country's saviour, and the same note is kept in the poem 'The Cotter's Saturday Night'. Through this significant Scottish figure, Burns incorporates the topics of nationalism and the attitude towards independence into his works. Later on, Burns kept working on the topics he knew the best and incorporated another historical figure, and that was Mary, Queen of Scots and the Stuart dynasty. "Of Stuart! – a Name once respected, A name, which to love was the mark of a true heart."¹⁵⁸ This also proves the ruling monarch family defending independent Scotland appealed to Burns, and in other words, to support the Stuarts was to support the Scottish nation. There is also the 'Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots', where he directly condemned any other head of the state than the Scottish one "And I'm the sovereign of Scotland ... But as for thee, thou false woman, My sister and my fae"¹⁵⁹ here Burns also presents the positions towards the Queen Elizabeth I. and has no sympathy with her being the monarch of both countries.

At the same time, while praising the Scottish monarch, Burns's political view became more radical, even extreme and his support of Jacobites was seen also in his works. He collected Jacobite songs, and his connection to this group was undoubted. In 'Ye Jacobites By Name' Burns directly addresses Jacobites and added this one among his texts connected to them. After reading several of his works, it is clear he is on the side of Scottish independence and against the Acts of Union in 1707. When writing about liberty and independence, Burns speaks mainly about Scottish political connotations.¹⁶⁰ We should also not forget that the independence and freedom, Burns writes about are still very far from the modern democracy we know today and during

¹⁵⁸ Robert Burns, *Poems* (Poemhunter.com - The World's Poetry Archive, 2004), 64.

¹⁵⁹ Burns, *Poems*, 331-332.

¹⁶⁰ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 86.

that time really independent was only a small number of people.¹⁶¹ But at the same time, it is true that Burns was a great supporter of democracy and proclaimed the same justice and treatment for women and working-class people as for the university educated ones.¹⁶² With his negative feelings towards this step Burns also continues in the famous ‘Such A Parcel Of Rogues In A Nation’. Anaphora at the beginning of the first three lines even multiplies the sadness the uniting with England brought to the author and the whole Scotland nation. “Fareweel to a’ our Scottish fame, Fareweel our ancient glory, Fareweel ev’n to the Scottish name,”¹⁶³ by listing the things Scots will lose after the Acts of Unions Burns clearly stated how this made him feel and how he identifies with the rest of the Scots having the same view. To use the plural “our” is very powerful as it clearly separates the Scottish from English and gives the foundation of longing for independence and freedom from the ‘bad English citizens’ that oppress ‘us’.

Apart from politics, Robert Burns is also widely known and read for his nature poetry and his love and admiration towards the Scottish landscape in his poems. In one of his pieces, he praises the Highlands “My heart’s in the Highlands wherever I go”¹⁶⁴ this could be read as a celebratory poem about the piece of his birth land, but with the knowledge of the Highland Clearances and the destinies of those forced to leave their homes, the lines quickly get the political connotations of the brutal treatment towards the Highlanders.

On the other hand, there are still enough of Burns’s songs and poems about Scottish nature and nature in general that were inspired by the Scottish landscape and environment. So, the strong inclination and affiliation towards the Scottish nation are not depicted only in the political poems referring to famous historical figures connected to significant political milestones in Scottish history. The patriotic heart is present even in the more lyrical and naturalistic poetry of Robert Burns. For example, the famous ‘To a Mouse’ provided the story of a strong man representing the whole society and a very fragile nature in the form of a mouse. Burn’s life in Scotland and his background inspired him to write these lines and only show how the love towards one nation permeates into the poetry as well.

¹⁶¹ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 89.

¹⁶² Robert, Crawford, *Scotland's Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 346.

¹⁶³ “Such A Parcel Of Rogues In A Nation.”

¹⁶⁴ Burns, *Poems*, 376.

Overall, Robert Burns is a significant and very special figure in Scottish history. This proves also the fact there is the Burns Night celebrated every year by Scots all over the world on the 25 of January. This occasion is connected to one of Burns's poems, 'Address To a Haggis', the poem composed in 1786¹⁶⁵ about the Scottish national dish only declares that Burns's love towards Scotland concerns the area of food as well as incorporates it into his poetry. What is more, this become a tradition, and people on this day eat haggis and recite Burn's poem before eating it.

The poetry of Robert Burns is written in Scots language as well as in Standard English and there is also seen the combination of both of these together. It can be said that Burns uses the 'light Scots dialect' in most of his works and, therefore is not forbidden even to a younger generation of readers outside of Scotland. At the same time, Burns lived in a period of great linguistic fluidity, and he mixed words of both Scots and English and advanced from the ability to fluently write in both languages.¹⁶⁶ Wherever the language is, strong nationalistic feelings for his nation are sensed in all his works, and the desire to be independent is also a strong part of Burn's poetry.

Another significant Scottish writer, poet, and novelist, connected to the Scottish nation, is Sir Walter Scott. Scottish landscape and scenery are widely present in his works, and also the independence of Scotland concerned him. His pieces such as *Ivanhoe* or *Waverley* are still widely read and provide him with many readers even after such a long time from their first publication. As a writer of historical novels, he spread patriotism and the significance of the Scottish nation through his texts. By focusing on Scottish history and heritage, Scott celebrates national pride and makes sure the significant historical events will be marked forever. His contribution to the world of literature was no less than establishing the whole historical novel, even more important is that he marked the records of the Scottish culture and legacy on the background of his stories. As Scott published during the beginning of the 19th century and Scotland already created a Union with England, reminding people beauties of the northern part of their country was crucial. "In a Scotland that lacked nationalist leadership and craved access to an empire's opportunities, the hugely influential Scott was seen as advocating

¹⁶⁵ Lucy Garica, "Address to a Haggis in full: Burns Night history explained," *The National*, January 24, 2024, <https://www.thenational.scot/culture/19873159.address-haggis-full-burns-night-history-explained/>.

¹⁶⁶ Crawford, *Scotland's Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature*, 347.

Scotland's full participation in the British imperial state."¹⁶⁷ By incorporating the Scottish national identity into his works Scott proved how close to his heart is the Scottish nation and that he can proudly be seen as a patriotic author.

Celebratory Scotland's narrative was not present only in his novels but enriches his poetry as well. There is no doubt Walter Scott wanted to make sure the Scottish uniqueness and distinctiveness will not be forgotten. His narrative poem 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel' mentions besides the gorgeous Scottish landscape also the monarchs in the head of the country, and the emphasis on the national pride is felt from every line. "Shall good King Edward's page be bred ... Howe'er it falls, the English band, Unharming Scots, by Scots unharm'd"¹⁶⁸ Besides praising the Scottish greatness, also in Scott's texts remains the feature of England and its inhabitants being the other ones, standing against the Scots. So the fact these two nations created one country did not make peace, and the clear distinction was always present along with the desire of Scots to be fully accepted as they are without the intervention of the rest of the United Kingdom. The wish to be independent is not something that would return in the 20th century with the referenda, it was always present in the Scottish blood. Further on in this poetic masterpiece, Scott continues with fierce praise to Scotland. "This is my own, my native land! Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd, As home his footsteps he hath turn'd."¹⁶⁹ Similarly to Burns, Scott proves that his Scottish origin and nationality cannot be stolen from him, and he wants to be sure to scream his pride out loud.

On the other hand, it is fair to say that for Walter Scott were not so significant the figures of Robert the Bruce and William Wallace. The inclination towards the Scottish independence is present in Scott's writings but these two representing the defeat of England did not appeal to Scott as much as to Burns. At the same time, one of Scott's most significant masterpieces *Ivanhoe* concerns also the medieval England and not only Scotland¹⁷⁰, so Scott's narrative was not so separate from the rest of the kingdom. While keeping the Scottish identity, Scott was also able to add the successes of the whole of Britain into his stories. The developing world of the 19th century made it even more natural to erase vast and deep gaps between the nations. As readers can sense from Scott's stories acknowledging the existence of the United Kingdom does not mean

¹⁶⁷ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 101.

¹⁶⁸ Sir Walter Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1906), 129-134.

¹⁶⁹ Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, 159.

¹⁷⁰ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 102.

forgetting one's true origin and affiliation. Rather than continue to remind the cruel and bloody history of the British Isles Scott decided to do so more peacefully and not to add to this discussion by praising the old successes during the Battle of Bannockburn. What he did do was praise the various Scottish historical figures and successes not only in his series of so-called Waverley novels. Along with that, there is also the beauty of Scottish nature in Scott's stories, and this natural richness is captured forever to be read about.

“When he emerged from the devious path which conducted him through the thicket, he found himself placed on a ledge of flat rock projecting over one side of a chasm not less than a hundred feet deep, where the dark mountain-stream made a decided and rapid shoot over the precipice, and was swallowed up by a deep, black, yawning gulf. The eye in vain strove to see the bottom of the fall; it could catch but one sheet of foaming uproar and sheer descent, until the view was obstructed by the projecting crags which enclosed the bottom of the waterfall, and hid from sight the dark pool which received its tortured waters; far beneath, at the distance of perhaps a quarter of a mile, the eye caught the winding of the stream as it emerged into a more open course.”¹⁷¹

Sir Walter Scott embodies a calmer and more peaceful figure on the Scottish literary scene. This does not mean he would be less significant, opposite to that. Despite including also England in his historical novel, he never forgot his true origin, and the pride in Scottish national identity cannot be taken from him. While Scott did not need to widely praise the heroes of the 14th century, there were others at his time who made sure Bruce and Wallace would not be forgotten, such as Jane Porter with her *The Scottish Chiefs*, adding herself by this piece on the side of the authors touching the sensitive topic of independence.¹⁷² This piece dedicated to these Scottish warriors combine romance with the historical victory of Scots.

The themes of Scottish national identity and independence did not disappear also in the 20th century. Scots still rooted for an independent Scottish government and together with the ideas of communism and fascism challenged the establishment sitting in Westminster. The 20th century is full of milestones for Scots on their way to

¹⁷¹ Sir Walter Scott, *Old Morality* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1893), chap. 22, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/6941/6941-h/6941-h.htm#link2HCH0001>.

¹⁷² Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 107.

devolution and independence, from the foundation of the Scottish National Party and their first MP in the House of Commons to opening their own devolved Parliament in Edinburgh. The strong national identity combined with the actual political steps resulted in wanting more than just a devolved Parliament, and in 2014 Scots could really decide their destiny. Such socially significant steps for the whole of Scotland naturally reflect the literature published during that time. At the same time, there remained a strong distancing from the English, and the Scots wanted to be sure they would be seen differently as their own proud nation. This goes hand in hand with the refusal of the imperialistic tendencies and discoveries of Great Britain and rather sticking to the known Scottish fields and landscape. The new exotic cultures and places that the UK decided to colonize were not so appealing up north in Scotland. The new millennium also brought many Scottish voices that decided to leave the Scottish national identity and setting and placed their stories in England and London. These were some of the most popular authors, such as Robert Louis Stevenson or J. M. Barrie.¹⁷³ Although, not so known and popular worldwide, still many writers decided to stick to the nation they were born into and transplant Scotland into their stories.

The development and atmosphere of that period can be seen, for example, in the works of Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid. His writings collided with the period of Modernism in literature, and at the same time, he was consistent in focusing on Scottish national identity and embedding it into his texts. What is more, he is also considered to be the leading figure of the Scottish Literary Renaissance, and his impact in this field is enormous. Up to that, his name was connected to politics at that time in Scotland, and he himself was an active figure on the political scene, proclaiming the ideas of nationalism and later also communism. As a politically active person, MacDiarmid spread his ideas and influence not only through his literary texts but also as a political figure. MacDiarmid highly profited from all of his interests as his political views served as an inspiration for his writings. During his life, he tends to surround himself with like-minded people, artists, and politicians, such as Neil Gunn or Cunninghame Graham.

Hugh MacDiarmid was crucially influenced by the beauties of Scottish places, towns, landscapes, and nature, and his poems celebrate the charming diversity Scotland offers. This declares the poem's names but also the celebratory and flattering content.

¹⁷³ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 135.

There is a poem named ‘Scotland’ that highlights MacDiarmid’s love for his birth country. “All the loose ends of Scotland, And by naming them and accepting them, Loving them and identifying myself with them, Attempt to express the whole.”¹⁷⁴ There is also the poem ‘Edinburgh’ focusing on the capital city, “But Edinburgh is a mad god’s dream Fitful and dark, Unseizable in Leith And wildered by the Forth”¹⁷⁵. Though, realistic and unadorned words, the warm feelings, love, and national pride are felt from these lines. Besides this, MacDiarmid also mentions Highlands in his poems and other parts he admired in Scotland.

MacDiarmid respected the figures of Robert the Bruce and William Wallace and their importance for Scottish pride, national identity, and independence. On the other hand, he preferred to distance himself from the nostalgia in his works.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, MacDiarmid did not mind being nostalgic when speaking about Robert Burns, he appreciated him and reflected it in his poems. Despite not being so hung up on Bruce and Wallace as Burns, both supported independence and saw it as the one and only future for Scotland.

MacDiarmid was always not so successful in delivering the right amount of national identity to his readers. One of his longest texts, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, gained rather negative critique and is regarded as too utopian, obsolete, and visionary. Robert Crawford argues MacDiarmid did not reach the right message he wanted with this poem and up to that made Scots look like drunken and lost people. Along with criticism was also acclaimed his connection to fascism. He was again very expressive in his statements and what is more, supported the destruction of London and did not see Hitler or Mussolini as such a threat. Standing on one side of the border and wanting to be independent of the richer and stronger England is an understandable thing, but turning hatred feelings towards them is something totally different and shows the line between patriotically celebrating one’s country and shouting negativity and harsh words on the other. This only shows that sometimes was MacDiarmid too invested in his political vision and seriously shared all his ideas with a wide readership.

¹⁷⁴ Hugh MacDiarmid, “Scotland,” Scottish Poetry Library, accessed May 17, 2024, <https://www.scottishpoetrylibrary.org.uk/poem/scotland-0/>.

¹⁷⁵ Hugh MacDiarmid, “Edinburgh,” MAAZI, accessed May 17, 2024, <https://nishsrivastava.wordpress.com/2012/04/26/edinburgh-by-hugh-macdiarmid-2/>.

¹⁷⁶ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 141.

As MacDiarmid was very loud about his political opinion and proclaimed leftist politics and nationalism, he is connected to propaganda. His urgent political prose was even regarded as eccentric and explicit. MacDiarmid wrote some of his works in English but is also known for using the Scots language extensively. The eccentricity permeates many of his texts, and when not speaking about Scotland literally, he made sure to use the version of Scots while writing so no reader could doubt where he is from.¹⁷⁷ This is one of his ways of celebrating, reminding and preserving the Scottish nation, he used the language to express how deeply rooted in him all of the aspects of Scotland are. MacDiarmid made sure he would be remembered not only for his work for Scottish nationalism but also for his skilful and brisk use of language. He continues with this in his ‘Separatism’, where he stated a clear anti-Unionist position. In general, although sometimes too difficult and eccentric, MacDiarmid combined literary imagism with political independence and tried to leave as big a print as possible of these two. His significant contribution also inspired the former First Minister of Scotland as he quoted MacDiarmid’s lines in his political speeches.¹⁷⁸

The Scottish development and conditions of the second part of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century are reflected in the works of Alasdair Gray, James Kelman, James Robertson, and Irvine Welsh. Their stories are full of male characters fighting with the developing and changing society. During this time, Scotland underwent a significant change and finally obtained their own devolved Parliament. This did not stop them, and after that, the path towards independence strengthened. This development goes hand in hand with Scottish nationalism and ongoing desire for independence, and also this, along with the realistically depicted lives of Scots is reflected in the novels of these authors. As already mentioned, some writers supported Scottish nationalism and independence not only on paper in their works but also by directly sending financial support, such as Edwin Morgan with his million pounds for the SNP. The strong emotions towards Scotland and the expectations of the 2014 referendum results were still very much present in society. Nevertheless, there were also those loudly speaking against Scottish independence and the politics of Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon, such as C. J. Sansom.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 143.

¹⁷⁸ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 182.

¹⁷⁹ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 187.

To step aside from strictly male writers reminding the importance of Scottish independence in their works, to avoid the impression this was a strictly male topic of interest. Quite the opposite, many women contributed their pieces on the Scottish national issue, and one of the significant women writers commenting on this topic is poet and playwright Liz Lochhead. She shared the same views as other pro-independence writers and openly supported independence for Scotland. She also befriended and extensively supported pro-independent poet Edwin Morgan. In 2011 Liz Lochhead became makar (National Poet for Scotland), second in a row after her fellow colleague Edwin Morgan. The Scottish Government especially appointed her to represent and promote Scottish poetry, not only in Scotland but worldwide as well.¹⁸⁰ With this title, Lochhead got an even bigger mandate to speak up on behalf of Scottish nationalism and national independence. She could proudly express her national identity and be the leading figure of Scottish poetry.

With her most successful play, Lochhead turns her attention to two important figures in the history of Scotland and the whole United Kingdom, and these are Elizabeth I and Mary Scots. In *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off*, Lochhead gives space to these two important women and combines the importance of nationalism with the representation of women in nationalistic literature. As the opening lines indicate all importance here is put on Scotland and these two women. “The play’s politics of nation and gender are specifically, though not exclusively, Scottish.”¹⁸¹ Lochhead managed to combine modern feminism with the appeal to nationalism and history and all of this in a time when the country is led by two powerful women figures Elizabeth II and Margaret Thatcher. What is more, Lochhead, known for her open political opinions, even compared Elizabeth I to the former Prime Minister Thatcher, using the words “Thatcher monster”¹⁸². Although this play did not directly aim at Margaret Thatcher, because of the time in which the play was staged, it is impossible to miss some direct connotations between the character of Elizabeth I and Thatcher. Having in mind Lochhead’s industrial background, it is no surprise she did not agree with Thatcher’s politics. On the contrary, Lochhead loudly supported the Scottish National Party, and Scottish independence and gladly performed on stage along with

¹⁸⁰ Maev Kennedy and Severin Carrell, “Liz Lochhead appointed as makar, Scotland’s national poet,” *The Guardian*, January 19, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/jan/19/liz-lochhead-makar-scotland-national-poet>.

¹⁸¹ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 207.

¹⁸² Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 208.

Alex Salmond during the campaign before the 2014 referendum. The play is set in the time of Scotland's independence and cherishes as well as criticizes the following development, but knowing the author's political affiliation, Scottish independence is something Lochhead is ready to fight for and sees as extremely important. This play simply praises the independence of a nation in the same amount as the independence of gender.

When looking at the language Lochhead used, mainly in this play, some say it is not very easy to understand as the author made sure the Scottish linguistic aspect will be represented here. Nevertheless, she managed to combine her two passions in one play and that is feminism and Scottish nationality and made sure the message would be sent to all of her audience. In this play, Lochhead decided to remember the not-so-easy and happy past to appeal on not-so-easy present. Depending on England was never easy for the Scots, and this play only reminds us how important is to never give up stay keen on one's nation, and never stop being proud. Although, criticizing the nostalgic tendencies of Scots to constantly remember historical figures and successes, these are exactly the things that carry the nationalistic ideas in societies and ensure the nations will not be forgotten.

This play is a significant milestone as Lochhead raised the questions of national independence and also the independence of women in their opinions and political views.

“While Lochhead has made clear her support for Scottish political independence, her best known work highlights how difficult it is for a woman to identify with ideals of independence in a world where the odds – in terms of national and gender politics alike – seem weighted against her.”¹⁸³

This significant piece of literature will always remind women to throw away their prejudices and draw inspiration for independence, from these two important women of Lochhead's play.

On behalf of Scottish independence and nationalism in literature, says his bid also important Scottish literary figure, novelist and artist Alasdair Gray. With his original voice, Gray focused not specifically on promoting Scotland's nation, he discovered all

¹⁸³ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 213.

kinds of freedoms and aspects of life. Gray did not dedicate most of his works to the topic of nationalism, on the other hand, a few focusing specifically on the Scottish future as an independent country. He incorporated his political views into his works, and it is mainly seen in *Why Scots Should Rule Scotland*. In this work of his, Gray directly introduces the reasons why is by no means better for Scotland to be an independent country. Also, this piece does not miss the memory of a Scottish great victory at the Battle of Bannockburn and Gray strictly names all of the problems of England. In this part, Gray is very fierce and from many issues Scotland has to deal with blames England. Such as “independent Scottish education now almost destroyed by British government action”¹⁸⁴ his tone speaks for himself, and his personal dissatisfaction is evident. What is more, Gray continues and criticizes also Scottish MPs in the House of Commons in London for losing the determination to fight for independence for good salaries. The critical tone is present in the whole text, and the main villain is by no means England and their oppressive behaviour towards Scotland. Gray also condemned the Treaty of Union and many other historical steps that were only beneficial for England and not for Scotland. “Scottish parliament would swear allegiance to the German king the English would give them, and make their revenue officers pay Scotland’s taxes into the English government treasury, and abolish the Scottish Trading Company.”¹⁸⁵

Gray mainly saw independence as a kind of freedom, and he always tried to provide his characters with as much freedom as possible. This is seen in his *Poor Things*, where Godwin Baxter was trying to support Bella in her free will to enjoy life and be independent, though her childlike brain made it difficult for her. A similar setting happens in one of his most prolific texts *Lanark*. The feeling of personal freedom and independence without external interventions was simply natural to Gray, and also those who knew him describe him as provocative and independent-minded.¹⁸⁶

Alasdair Gray also touches on division between the Scottish and English being the issue in his essay ‘Settlers and Colonists’. By this, he only added to the Anglophobic narrative in the society and commented on the divided country and significant incompatible differences between the groups. Gray also argues that nowadays are the

¹⁸⁴ Alasdair Gray, *Why Scots Should Rule Scotland* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1992), 4.

¹⁸⁵ Gray, *Why Scots Should Rule Scotland*, 35.

¹⁸⁶ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 201.

settlers even more 'Scottish' than those born there. Same as Robert Burns, Gray sees England as the rich, powerful centre of all decision-making and roots for more equal conditions in society and for distancing from all evil that comes from the 'other and bad' side of the border. Yet again, Gray is another author, who strictly labels the enemy and acknowledges the only right nation for Scots, and that is the Scottish nation.

Gray's stories often use traps and labyrinths as one of the motifs, and with the knowledge of his political opinions, it is no surprise that this parallel could also be used to Scots being trapped inside the United Kingdom. Gray supported the process of devolution and was very strong and loud in his conviction that Scotland needed to be an independent country, so it is natural that he reflected this in most of his texts in various forms and intensities.

Another significant author commenting on the topic of independence and Scottish nationalism is James Robertson. Robertson was inspired by many authors of his time, most of them mentioned above, and decided to contribute by writing about the social situation in Scotland, while doing this, he obviously could not omit the turbulent political situation and the road towards devolution and the never-ending desire for independence that is present in among Scots. A big role model was for Robertson undoubtedly Edwin Morgan, and by using him as a significant inspiration, he stated his political affiliation as well. This is most evident in one of his novels published in 2010 *And the Land Lay Still*. Through the character of Michael and his father Angus, Robertson introduces the vast saga of life in Scotland in the 20th century. As the main symbol served here the photographs taken by Angus, open an interesting probe into the lives of all sorts of people and enable us to peek into various social backgrounds in Scotland. The historical and political development is obviously a crucial and natural part of their lives, and while telling their stories, Robertson managed to depict the picture of modern Scotland on the path towards devolution. The inclination towards the Scottish independence is obvious from the lines of this novel and that is also the reason why politicians such as Alex Salmond were fond of this book. This could even be a problem for some critics as the political background is heavily included in this story.

"I think he just wanted to stay out of the house because he and my mother were fighting about everything by that stage. Politics included. There'd been a General Election the day before and when we finally got

home that was what they fought about. Mum in the blue corner, Dad in the red. Labour had won the election but only by four seats. My mother took it personally because the outgoing Tory Prime Minister was our own MP, Sir Alec Douglas-Home.”¹⁸⁷

The way Robertson managed to briskly incorporate politics into the lives of his characters did not give a disturbing impression, contrary, readers can easily watch the main story and gain some political background at the same time. Robertson has also the talent to tell the story and simultaneously provide the detailed and very precise political mood of the society.

Although, Robertson admired Edwin Morgan, in this story he mentions another crucial Scottish poet, and that is Hugh MacDiarmid. He writes about him with no other connotations than his political aspiration and his being the candidate of the Communist Party in a General Election.

Also, this story carries the conflicting line between Scotland and England. Yet again, as in the case of Liz Lochhead, the main villain here is Margaret Thatcher, an embodiment of the fierce right-wing capitalist politics, and by this, she is naturally in the position of oppressing the ‘poor’ Scots. “One of the unintended effects of Margaret Thatcher’s revolution ... was to destroy Scottish loyalty to the British state. ... It wasn’t for anything. ... In the Thatcher years the great presumption of left ... came crashing down.”¹⁸⁸ The critique of the figure of the former Prime Minister Thatcher was simply common at that time in Scotland, and it is no surprise as she stood them in the way of what they wanted to achieve and that was their own Scottish Parliament. “What they stood against: Thatcherism, London rule, the destruction of old industries, the assault on the Welfare State, the poll tax. But what were they for? A Scottish parliament, of course.”¹⁸⁹ The superiority of the rich centre of power in London was never fully accepted in Scotland, and Robertson’s lines only prove that Scots never got used to the fact of being driven from London as this made them feel weaker and poorer.

The advantage of James Robertson is that owing to his linguistic skills many readers can enjoy his stories, though vigorously intertwined the politics. At the same

¹⁸⁷ James Robertson, *And the Land Lay Still* (London: Penguin, 2011), 16.

¹⁸⁸ Robertson, *And the Land Lay Still*, 36.

¹⁸⁹ Robertson, *And the Land Lay Still*, 35-36.

time, Robertson managed to mention the beauties of the Scottish landscape to even support his warm feelings towards his nation, “he misses the Highlands – the sense of space, the mountains, the water, the absence of people.”¹⁹⁰ Also the beauties of Scottish cities were crucial to celebrate in this book. “Edinburgh to him was like a place out of legend or a fantastic novel. It had seven hills, a castle on one of them, neo-Athenian ruins on another, and on a third, Arthur’s Seat.”¹⁹¹

Also, this story does not miss the famous battle for Scottish independence, the Battle of Bannockburn. This time, Robertson used the place of the battle where took the pro-independence rally and put the charters of Bruce and Wallace into the story through the character of M. Lucas, who himself supported independence. Thanks to the determination of those similar to M. Lucas, Scotland managed to secure devolution and continue in the fight for independence. James Robertson dealt with themes of Scottish history and its crucial events in his other books, but this one serves as the most open, detailed, and also quite controversial story, promoting Scottish independence.¹⁹² It is mainly the independence that was so crucial to Robertson, and through Michael, he managed to pass how he wishes his country to develop.

Another author openly supporting Scottish independence is James Kelman. Although he did not consider himself to be a true nationalist, he was very clear in his position towards independence.¹⁹³ For Kelman, independence was a question of self-respect for Scots and a form of self-determination as a free independent nation. On the other hand, he realised all the dangers nationalism can bring into society when driven to extremes and rather remained realistic and did not praise any significant negative emotions in society. Nevertheless, Kelman is undoubtedly a very original voice and presents his pride in being Scott through the use of an accent. As Kelman himself was born in Glasgow, the accent of this part of Scotland is natural to him, and he briskly incorporates this speech into his works. Besides that, Kelman focused on the working-class people, and through them, he was pointing out the important social issues in Scotland. He often used the technique of the stream of consciousness and enabled the readers to truly understand his characters.

¹⁹⁰ Robertson, *And the Land Lay Still*, 37.

¹⁹¹ Robertson, *And the Land Lay Still*, 50.

¹⁹² Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 226.

¹⁹³ Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014*, 230.

One of Kelman's most prolific texts is a novel focused on the life of the Glaswegian shoplifter Sammy, *How Late It Was, How Late*. Through Sammy, Kelman gives us the reality of a blind man and his struggles in Scottish society. He brings us into the world of police stations and introduces also the health care system. "Did the doctor ask ye about that? Cannay mind. Did he ask ye about yer work history? Naw. What substances ye've worked with? Naw. Did he check ye for broken ribs? Dont know. Ye checked yerself? A wee bit."¹⁹⁴ Besides the hospital, Sammy also spends a decent amount of time around the policemen, who he called 'sodjers' "Only they werenay tourists, no this time anyway they were sodjers, fucking bastards, ye could smell it, even without their uniforms."¹⁹⁵ Through Sammy's life we can see the uneasy and harsh reality in Scotland and by these realistic conditions, Kelman managed to capture the mood of the Scottish society. He showed the issues Scotland has in the case of Sammy standing alone against the authorities.

Although not openly political, Kelman stated his national affiliation through his linguistic talent and spread the importance of his region. The essence of Scottishness is present on every page and opens up the reality of people living in Glasgow through the use of the accent. Kelman represents his whole region and gives other Glaswegians the feeling of being represented in literature, and at the same time, he gives those outside Scotland a peek inside the world of the Scottish working class. Besides that, Kelman was highly keen on using real and actual spoken language in his works. He wanted to give people the right impression and a realistic and authentic picture of his characters and not some better version, modified for the written text. He simply rooted for a realistic depiction of how people speak in real life so the readers can really feel as part of the story. James Kelman wanted to point attention to the characters often marginalized and not accepted by society. As his other works show, Kelman was always fond of the topics of freedom and class oppression.¹⁹⁶ His original voice ensured him the Booker Prize for *How Late It Was, How Late*, but was also quite controversial, and he was criticized for his language, but with his contribution to the society, this prize was no mistake. Depicting the realistic life of rather lower-class characters has become quite a trend and many authors at the end of the millennium and in the new decade focus on

¹⁹⁴ James Kelman, *How Late It Was, How Late* (London: Vintage, 2012), 261-262.

¹⁹⁵ Kelman, *How Late It Was, How Late*, 9.

¹⁹⁶ Crawford, *Scotland's Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature*, 658.

the mundane lives of not-so-special citizens and through their storied reveal the social and political atmosphere.

Irvine Welsh's most popular piece *Trainspotting*, introduces the young generation of disillusioned and drug-addicted group of youngsters, surviving in the streets of Edinburgh. Although it is not the main motive, also Welsh touches on the topic of nationality and cultural determination through the main character Mark Renton. This story is not directly politically focused, but with its huge success resonated among many people in Scottish society they are naturally voters, and the cynicism and hopelessness of Welsh's story depicting the state of Scottish society speaks to them a lot. Welsh opened a new, unexplored topic and without any fear, brought the readers into the cruel and controversial reality of drug addicts. Welsh shocked the readers with this far from mainstream, dark, and brutal story of a young people, throwing away their lives and having no motivation or place in society. Although dramatically, Welsh depicted the cruel underground of Edinburgh and its districts, along with the young people, lost in their own nation. The violence, sexuality, and alcohol and drugs given to people in the original voice of Irvine Welsh attracted many people, and *Trainspotting* became a widely read bestseller.

The Scottish national identification is incredibly strong, so obviously also *Trainspotting* contains some remarks about how the protagonists feel about their nation. However, from this story, we can feel strong disillusionment of Renton and his friends, almost as if they feel nothing. No connection, to Scotland or England. On the other hand, they are still able to show emotions, and some social situations can highly open their temper. There is such a scene in the first part of the book, standing out against the whole society and showing that no solution or political affiliation seems as the right one for these young lost Scots.

“... the socialists go on about your comrades, your class, your union, and society. Fuck all that shite. The Tories go on about your employer, your country, your family. Fuck that even mair. It's me, me, fucking ME, Simon David Williamson, NUMERO FUCKING UNO, versus the

world, and it's a one-sided swedge. It's really so fucking easy . . . Fuck them all.”¹⁹⁷

The disillusionment of Welsh's characters is more than evident, they do not identify with any political group directly, and hardly something points at their emotions. Nevertheless, there is one thing close to the heart of the protagonists, and that is football and being a fan of football. “Ugh . . . a spotty fucker in a Hearts scarf . . . yes, the cunts are at home today. Look at him, the ultimate anti-style statement. Ah'd rather see ma sister in a brothel than ma brother in a Hearts scarf n that's fuckin true...”¹⁹⁸ Although it is not a national movement, the football fandom depicted here by Welsh has a lot of similarities with nationalism and mainly the extreme form of nationalism. Similar to nationalism, rooting for one football club ensures affiliation with a large group of people, and there is also a strong hatred towards the opponent. A common enemy in sports is even more obvious than having negative emotions towards the other nation. The violence among the hostile sports clubs and their fights show they have such a strong affiliation they are willing to fight for it and prove they are the best and strongest. It is something that targets emotions extensively and even makes people behave irrationally. Like national identity, this fandom is also often part of people's identities and comes from the bottom of their hearts.

Yet, another strong emotional reaction is pointed at the ‘Oranges’. The hatred of this group is evident from the beginning and triggers Renton every time he sees them. “Ah hear some Glasgow boy sayin that these guys, likesay, urnae real Orangemen, thir Nazis n that, but maist ay the Orange bastards present are lappin these cunts up, encouraging them, likesay.”¹⁹⁹ Mark and sometimes also the other boy showed they can be emotionally invested when triggered. Their problem mainly is they are bored and see no point in their future or world, so they completely lack motivation to try to engage in the matter of politics or nationalism and they invest only in things that directly touch them.

Welsh's *Trainspotting* sets the mirror of Scottish society and introduces its readers to a world full of miserable young and lost individuals with no national identity. Scotland is highly affected, even colonized by England, and this also serves as the

¹⁹⁷ Irvine Welsh, *Trainspotting* (London: Vintage, 2004), 32-33.

¹⁹⁸ Welsh, *Trainspotting*, 33.

¹⁹⁹ Welsh, *Trainspotting*, 107.

source of many problems. During the 1980s, the politics of Margaret Thatcher caused massive unemployment, and this hit extensively the Scottish working-class Welsh is writing about. “Fuckin failures in a country ay failures. It’s nae good blamin it oan the English fir colonising us. Ah don’t hate the English. They’re just wankers. We are colonised by wankers. . . . Ah don’t hate the English. They just git oan wi the shite thuv goat. Ah hate the Scots.”²⁰⁰ Renton here embodies the completely pessimistic mindset of many disillusioned people in Scotland. They struggle to identify with the country so weak that lets itself be completely under the power of Westminster, and their violent behaviour is their way of reaction as well as therapy. This dependency on England caused many problems, and there is no point for this generation to be proud of either Scotland or England. The capitalist politics of England destroys Scotland and its working-class citizens and drives them into the clutches of addictive substances.

The outburst of drugs among these people came as a consequence of low living conditions. Scotland suffered a lot because England influenced them, and one of the consequences also is that they lack their own cultural heritage.²⁰¹ According to Professor of English Jennifer M. Jeffers, this is the reason behind the loss of the Scottish language and not enough literary works. Nevertheless, Welsh comes with his original voice and shamelessly brings us right deep into the streets of Leith and gives a new original view of the reality in Scotland. He presents individuals with the “national crisis of identity”²⁰², whose only solution is to abuse drugs and alcohol. Although not as strong as Kelman’s accent in *How Late It Was, How Late*, also Welsh linguistically locates his novel in the capital of Scotland.

Welsh himself spoke up on behalf of independent Scotland and honestly admitted his political affiliation. According to him, Scotland should be an independent country and stand on its own. He did not directly specify this in his texts and did not give people open political views through his books, but he never hesitated to stand on the side of independence.

The 21st century brought many challenges our society has to deal with, not only politically or economically, but as this chapter shows, the national identity and the

²⁰⁰ Welsh, *Trainspotting*, 69.

²⁰¹ Jennifer M. Jeffers, “Rhizome National Identity: ‘Scatlin’s Psychic Defense’ in ‘Trainspotting,’” *Journal of Narrative Theory* 35, no. 1 (2005): 90, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30224621>.

²⁰² Jeffers, “Rhizome National Identity: ‘Scatlin’s Psychic Defense’ in ‘Trainspotting,’” 91.

question of belonging to a bigger group is still not answered for many people. For Scots to find their place and their affiliation is even harder. The larger the scale, the harder it is to find the right solution. Scots can choose between Scotland, England, the whole United Kingdom, Europe, and in the past, the European Union as well. For many none of these groups could be ideal, and the disillusionment grows, and people rather give up identifying whatsoever. Mark Renton is the exact representation of such a person, who feels none of these groups is doing something for him.

This chapter gives a slight overview of how Scottish nationalism and independence are reflected in literature by Scottish writers, poets, and playwrights. Although everyone has their own language, technique, and topics of interest, they share national pride and love towards their nation and see it as crucial for their readers to know where their soul lies. What is more, the newly devolved Scottish Parliament also heavily supported Scottish literature, and many writers got their chance to create. The new millennium brought many important topics into society, and nationalism became less marginal, nevertheless, as also this text shows, nationalism still highly resonates, and not even the 2014 referendum gave the final answer to Scottish independence.

As this chapter showed, the relationship between Scotland and England is something that affected the whole dynamic of the United Kingdom. The uniting of the Parliaments in 1707 left a much bigger mark than anyone could imagine back then, and this mark is still highly visible nowadays. The consequences of this step are ongoing and still present nowadays. Whether it caused the connection among Scots to stand against the stronger opponent or whether it created lost, disillusioned people without any identity, pride towards their nation, or the motivation to fight for better conditions in their future lives. Nationalism, national identity, and independence, whether we speak about national independence or independence of people in general, which are highly connected anyway, were always sensitive topics, and in Scotland even more, as these features formulate the whole country. As the whole Scottish development showed many questions were still not answered, and these topics still highly resonate in the whole United Kingdom.

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to zoom in on Scotland and its historical development, from the building of Hadrian's Wall, to the voting for Scottish independence in 2014. The special focus is put on nationalism, patriotism, the Scottish Parliament, the process of devolution, and the main referenda during this process. The literary part investigates the works of Robert Burns, Walter Scott, Hugh MacDiarmid, Liz Lochhead, Alasdair Gray, James Robertson, James Kelman, and Irvine Welsh. Although the Scottish narrative is intertwined with the works of many others, I focused mainly on the depiction of independence and strong nationalistic identity.

The first chapter of this text gives the underlying overview of Scottish history and highlights the most important events on the journey towards ongoing separation from the rest of the United Kingdom. Scots highly remember the Battle of Bannockburn, and its anniversary is still widely celebrated even today. Other significant milestones were set in 1603 and 1707. In the first one, Scots enjoyed the powerful position of having the King they could really look up to and be proud of their nation. Nevertheless, 1707 was not so successful for the Scots as they were forced to unite their Parliament with the English one, and the bitter feeling of subordination and manipulation by wealthier and more powerful neighbours remained rooted in the society.

Rather than partners in one union, Scotland and England become rivals. The main source of this is nationalism, as the second chapter shows. It was mainly England's power that invoked the growing nationalistic affiliation of Scots. Unfortunately, unlike patriotism, nationalism often carries also negative connotations and hatred towards the other groups is one of them. Defining exactly what nationalism is with all its features is not an easy task, and therefore, this thesis contains several interpretations by scholars and historians. For the purpose of this thesis and to specify my intentions, I also introduce my own definition. I continue by listing the specific occurrence of nationalism in Scotland and national symbols.

The Scottish Parliament is by no means crucial for the whole development of Scottish society, and it undoubtedly played a significant role until today. Parliament's history goes back to the 13th century and changed its formation many times since then. The biggest intervention caused the Acts of Union, and for almost three hundred years, Scotland has had its representation only in Westminster. After that begins the long

journey of gaining back the lost power. The New Scottish Devolved Parliament was opened in 1999, but the path to it was full of obstacles. Scots moved the decision-making body closer to them to Edinburgh, but it was still not enough, and the next step of being independent from the rest of the UK began to form in political practice.

The powerful instrument of Scotland's path towards devolution was the tool of direct democracy and the powerful tool for dividing society and bringing on populism, the referendum. In the last decades, Scotland faced three significant referenda that crucially shaped the whole country. The first two Scots wished to open their own devolved Parliament. This process was not easy, and they had to face many obstacles. The first of those referenda in 1979 was not successful, and Scots had to wait for almost twenty years until the Labour Government in Westminster enabled them to repeat the referendum, in 1997 they finally agreed on opening parliament in Edinburgh. The problem with referenda is that no matter what, the political situation around them is always turbulent. The political campaigns fight over voters and try to gain as much money for their support as possible. Along with this comes the populist tone into the society that is trying to aim at the voters and gain them even under the circumstances of using lies and untruthful information. This was also evident in the 2014 referendum wanting to bring Scots out of the union with the rest of the United Kingdom. Both sides, Yes Scotland and Better Together, fought over voters with the use of public figures. The pro-unionist side was stronger this time, and only the future shows if ever comes the time for Scots to decide over their independence again.

Last but by no means, a less important chapter of this thesis focuses on the depiction of Scottish independence and nationalism in literature. The common denominator many authors in this chapter focus on is the Battle of Bannockburn and the characters of Robert the Bruce and William Wallace as the symbols of independence and victory against the 'villain' England. However, every writer on the Scottish literary scene is different and original, and everyone decides to express their national affiliation in their own unique way, whether it is through the significant Scottish accent or through including the significant political events in the lives of the protagonists. This chapter gives an overview of how Scottish authors see Scottish society and how crucial is for Scots their national identity and the desire to be independent.

To answer the questions stated at the beginning of this thesis it is important to acknowledge the whole historical development as the current situation in Scottish society. To understand what stands behind the devolution and the desire to be independent, we must see the whole picture of the relationship between Scotland and England with all of the historical connotations. This was always the question of power, and being in the less dominant position is an extremely powerful accelerator to unite and defeat the stronger rival. So the first hypothesis of this work was confirmed only partially. The desire to be independent is surely rooted in the nationalistic feelings and strong emotions connected to Scottish traditions. Nevertheless, to have a stronger, richer, and more powerful enemy embodied by England extensively increased the need to unite Scotland and prove their position. This becomes even stronger with the Conservative Government in Westminster, which is ideologically essentially distant from the more liberal Government in Scotland. This only confirms what the definitions of nationalism say, and the feature of the distinction towards the other group raises the affiliation toward one's nation. However, the truth is that the willingness to fight for one's nation must stand on a solid basis rooted in people's hearts and emotions.

As this thesis proves, Scottish nationalism and independence are depicted in the literature in many different forms. A very strong symbol of independence often praised in poems and novels was the Battle of Bannockburn. Aside from that, nationalism is incorporated in many different variations. There is present the celebration of Scottish nature and pride in the cultural heritage. Often feature is the use of common Scottish citizens as the main characters and through their lives tell how nationalism is present among them. Significant is also the use of the Scottish accent, highly used by James Kelman, as the form of distinctiveness and uniqueness of their nation, as well as the definition against the rest of the country. The negative emotions against England also serve as a strong example of nationalism. Some authors decided to tell the whole of Scottish history on the background of their stories with an emphasis on the most distinctive political milestones, such as James Robertson in his *And the Land Lay Still*. Even though I can say the second hypothesis was confirmed, there were still many features used by Scottish authors to show nationalism and pro-independence that surprised me, and I was not aware of them before writing this thesis.

This thesis concludes the main milestones of Scottish history and sees the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish referenda as the biggest building stones for the strong

nationalistic feelings and self-determination of Scots. Whether the path towards Scottish independence will continue and Scots will be able to write yet another story of Scottish nationalism dominating over the English one is only the question of the future. Nevertheless, as the past showed, significant meaning can have the result of the General Elections and who will lead Westminster in the next years.

Resumé

Cílem této diplomové práce je zachytit vývoj skotského nacionalismu a poukázat na neutuchající snahu o získání nezávislosti. Na pozadí historického vývoje je speciální část věnovaná Skotskému parlamentu a referendům, jež provázely proces devoluce a snahu o získání nezávislosti. Literární část se zaměřuje na analýzu děl několika skotských autorů, jako Robert Burns či Liz Lochhead a dalších, kteří značnou část svých prací věnovali projevům skotského nacionalismu, skotské národní identity, hrdosti a stále se opakujícím symbolům připomínající skotskou nezávislost.

První kapitola popisuje historický vývoj Skotska od počátku prvních historických pramenů až po současnost. Hlavní zřetel je brán na vztahy mezi Skotskem a Anglií a na vzájemné přelévání sil mezi těmito dvěma národy. Nejdůležitějšími roky, kdy se Skotsko a Anglie zásadně spojily, jsou roky 1603 a 1707. Během prvního zmiňovaného došlo k nadvládě skotského krále Jakuba I. Stuarta i nad trůnem anglickým, jež se po smrti královny Alžběty I. ocitl bez následníka. Ještě důležitějším je rok 1707, kdy došlo k spojení anglického a skotského parlamentu v jeden společný parlament Spojeného Království a hlavní rozhodovací těleso v podobě dolní sněmovny se Skotům významně vzdálilo. Ve Skotsku panovala snaha o navrácení pravomocí zpět do Edinburghu a následovalo skoro tři sta let dlouhé období s cílem vrátit moc zpět do Skotska. Toto vyústilo až v tři významná referenda, dvě v druhé polovině dvacátého století, snažící se o otevření samostatného parlamentu ve Skotsku a to poslední z roku 2014, požadující skotskou nezávislost na Anglii.

Z důvodu historických událostí byly vztahy Anglie a Skotska vždy značně napjaté a převaha Anglie válcovala Skoty, což zapříčinilo nárůst nacionalismu a silnou sebeidentifikaci Skotů výhradně se Skotskem. Přestože jsou Skotové obyvateli Spojeného Království, velké procento z nich se vymezuje vůči Anglii a považuje ji za společného nepřítele, což ještě umocňuje jejich národní přesvědčení. Politické důvody hrají také zásadní roli, a pokud je u moci Konzervativní strana, vzdálenější od skotských liberálních názorů více než levicová Labour Party je situace ještě více vyostřená. Nacionalismus se však v mnoha bodech liší od patriotismu, a proto se tato práce zabývá i rozdíly mezi těmito dvěma fenomény, jež rostou především v poslední době.

Dále tato diplomová práce zkoumá samotný Skotský parlament, jeho vývoj, význam a pozici v současném politickém uspořádání. Nejprve se zabírám vývojem a

proměnami skotského parlamentu před rokem 1707. Další část poté mapuje cestu procesu devoluce, jež vrcholí až samotným otevřením Skotského parlamentu roku 1999. Zmíněná je rovněž budova současného sídla parlamentu a nynější podoba a význam v politice Velké Británie.

Čtvrtá kapitola je zaměřena přímo na již zmíněná referenda, jež proběhly v letech 1979, 1997 a 2014. Voliči svými hlasy zásadně ovlivnili podobu současného Skotska a prokázali vůli stát za svou zemí. Referenda však znamenala pro Skotsko rovněž velice turbulentní období, v němž společnost zaplnily politické kampaně bojující o hlasy voličů. K tomu se přirozeně pojí i velký nárůst populismu a dělení společnosti na dvě proti sobě stojící skupiny. Rovněž mnoho osobností, ať už z prostředí politického či literárního se veřejně vyjádřilo v otázce skotské nezávislosti a jasně tím vyslali vzkaz o jejich postojích vůči zbytku Spojeného Království.

V neposlední řadě se zabývám projevy nacionalismu, národní příslušnosti a skotské nezávislosti v literatuře. Poslední zmiňovaná je hojně připomínána, především prostřednictvím významných skotských historických osobností, Roberta Bruce a Williama Wallace, kteří stojí za úspěchy Skotů v bitvě u Bannockburnu. Skotové odolali snahám Anglie o jejich ovládnutí a Robert Bruce mohl stanout jako nezávislý skotský král. Tato událost se stala pro Skoty tak významnou, že je často připomínána dodnes, slouží jako symbol skotské nezávislosti a objevuje se i v beletristických dílech. Mnoho spisovatelů však volí jiný způsob, jak poukázat na svou skotskou národní hrdost. Například James Kelman se hlásí ke svému skotskému původu skrze silné používání akcentu oblasti Glasgow a tímto jazykem popisuje strasti života pracující třídy. Naopak James Robertson přirozeně zapojuje do svých příběhů zásadní politické události a jeho texty by se místy daly připodobnit k učebnicím moderní historie. Nacionální citění a negativní postoj Skotů vůči Anglii mají také knihy Irvina Welshe či Alasdaira Graye a mnoha dalších, jež pátá kapitola zmiňuje.

Dalším bodem, který Skoty podpořil ve snaze osamostatnit se od zbytku Velké Británie, bylo odstoupení z Evropské Unie, tedy Brexit. Většina Skotů hlasovala proti vystoupení, avšak po sečtení všech hlasů, tento počet nestačil na celkové vítězství. Brexit se však stává dalším argumentem Skotů, proč by se měli snažit odtrhnout se a stát se nezávislou zemí. Silný nacionalismus a snaha o nezávislost nejsou ve Skotsku ničím novým, avšak jsou to fenomény, jež se v průběhu času vyvíjely a měnily

v závislosti na politickém rozložení sil. Koloniální, mocenská i politická převaha Anglie ještě více utvrdila Skoty v tom, kde jejich srdce skutečně stojí a k jakému národu se chtějí hlásit. Budoucnost ukáže, zda budou mít Skotové znovu možnost rozhodnout o svém osudu prostřednictvím referenda a skutečně se přikloní k odtržení od zbytku Spojeného Království. Nepochybně veliký vliv v tomto procesu bude mít vláda jeho veličenstva, a zda bude Konzervativní, či naopak levicová a více nakloněna dát Skotům opětovnou možnost volby.

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Annotation

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Title of the thesis: Scottish Independence, Referenda and the Reflection in Literature

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Key Words: Scotland, nationalism, independence, referendum, patriotism, Union of the Crowns, Acts of Union, devolution, Scottish Parliament, Holyrood, political campaign, Yes Scotland, Better Together, literature, Robert Burns, Walter Scott, Hugh MacDiarmid, Liz Lochhead, Alasdair Gray, James Robertson, James Kelman, Irvine Welsh

This diploma thesis deals with Scottish nationalism, the desire of Scots to be independent, and the three last major referenda in Scottish society. The special emphasis is also put on the role of the Scottish Parliament. Besides Scottish history and the distinction between nationalism and patriotism, this thesis also examines the relationship between Scotland and England. Further on, there is a part dedicated to the referenda in 1979, 1997, and 2014, their development, and the political campaigns that preceded the voting. The literary part reflects on the themes of the independence of Scotland and the Scottish national identity depicted in the literary texts.

Anotace

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Tato diplomová práce se zabývá skotským nacionalismem a touhou Skotů po nezávislosti. Pro Skotsko je zásadní postavení a význam parlamentu a v posledních letech politickým vývojem zásadně zatřásla tři významná referenda, jimž se tato práce rovněž věnuje. Kromě nastínění skotské historie se tento text věnuje také rozdílu mezi nacionalismem a patriotismem a vztahu mezi Skotskem a Anglií. Další kapitoly konkrétněji rozebírají referenda z let 1979, 1997 a 2014 a politické kampaně, jež jim předcházely. Poslední kapitola se zabývá reflexí skotské nezávislosti a skotské národní identity v literárních textech.