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Les référendums écossais de 1997 et 2014 : la route vers l'indépendance

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Mémoire

Présenté pour l'obtention du Grade de

MASTER

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Mention 2nd degré- ANGLAIS

sur le thème

Les référendums écossais de 1997 et 2014

La route vers l'indépendance

Projet présenté par

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A) Partie disciplinaire

Introduction :

“An independent Scotland - like all countries - will face challenges, and we will have our ups and downs. But the decisions about how we use our wealth will be ours.”¹ This sentence defines the key ideas conveyed by the notion of independence. An independent state can create its own rules, facing difficulties without being dominated by another nation.

Scotland and England have been united since the Act of Union of 1707. However, strict measures were decided for Scotland to keep autonomy in several fields. It should keep its religious autonomy, its judiciary system, its local administrative institutions and other economic advantages.² Therefore, the relation between those two countries was threatened as Scotland has kept a strong national identity and political control over its nation. This is what has led Scottish people to claim several times more autonomy for their country. Desire to gain more self-government in Scotland has been followed by a succession of referendums.

In 1979, a first referendum was held after the “winter of discontent”.³ Scottish people voted in favour of the creation of a Scottish Parliament with 51.6 % of the votes. As only 32.9% of the electorate has voted instead of the 40% required, no political changes concerning devolution of powers in Great Britain has resulted.

Nevertheless, the 1997 referendum was a milestone in the history of Great-Britain, as it both granted more powers to Scotland but also broke a bit the alliance between the countries within the UK.

This desire to obtain more autonomy or independence in Scotland has been linked with several motivations, often due to political divisions with Great Britain disagreements’ with the British government or to periods when the Scottish economy was in difficulty. These ambivalent relations between those two countries can explain why Scotland wants to get a different status within the United Kingdom. English people and Scottish people have different points of view and different interests concerning the situation of Scotland within the United Kingdom. Their relations were also troubled in the past, for example when England inflicted a great defeat on Scotland in Culloden. This event allowed England to oppress the traditional

¹ Nicola Sturgeon, <https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/n/nicolastur710899.html>

² Paul Meunier, « En 1979, les Ecossais votaient déjà pour plus d’autonomie », *La Croix*, 28 février 1979, actualisée le 09/09/14 <http://www.la-croix.com/Actualite/Europe/En-1979-les-ecossais-votaient-deja-pour-plus-d-autonomie-2014-09-09-1203442>

³ This expression originally comes from a play from Shakespeare entitled Richard III.

culture of the Highlanders. It could be another factor towards the desire to become an independent nation in order to find their own identity again. How did the 1997 and 2014 referendums define Scotland's place within the United Kingdom?

The main books used in this corpus for the 1997 referendum leading to the devolution are *La dévolution : Écosse-Pays de Galles* written by Edwige Camp-Pietrain published in 2006 and *La Dévolution des pouvoirs de l'Écosse et au Pays de Galles: 1966-1999* published in 2007. For the 2014 referendum, I studied mainly Edwige Camp-Pietrain's book, entitled *L'Écosse et la tentation de l'indépendance : le référendum d'auto-détermination de 2014* and Nathalie Duclos' one entitled *L'Écosse en quête d'indépendance ? Le référendum de 2014* both published in 2014. Those four books give a detailed description of the events taking place for each referendum and explain the key ideas and debates around each of them. A descriptive and analytic approach is adopted in each book. As they are written by French authors, it is likely to be a neutral point of view, which expresses neither the British nor the Scottish view. Those sources do not convey a vision of people who are directly concerned by the situation. I also used Scottish and English sources which convey a subjective point of view about the referendums such as articles in British newspapers. Andrew Kerr's article entitled "Margaret Thatcher's legacy in Scotland, 25 years after her downfall", or Simon Johnson's article "Tony Blair admits mistake over Scottish devolution" provide us information about opinions of influent Prime Ministers concerning devolution. Other sources allow us to understand the votes of the Scots such as Lord Ashcroft's article, "How Scotland voted, and why" or Gilles Leydier's article "Mobilisation (record) et polarisation (spectaculaire) de l'électorat écossais autour de l'enjeu de l'indépendance". Other sources focus on the aftermath of those referendums such as "L'Écosse après le vote. Le non à l'indépendance comme amorce du changement ?" written by Eberhard Bort.

First, we will see the elements which led to the request of the 1997 referendum, such as the rise of the Scottish National Party, the economic and political situation under the Thatcher's and Major's governments and the movements towards devolution. Then, we will focus on the 1997 referendum, its political campaign, its result and aftermath. Finally, we will analyse the 2014 Scottish independence referendum and the new elements which explain why the referendum was held, the political campaigns, the result of the referendum and the political and economic consequences it had in Great Britain.

I) The events leading to the referendums

1) The rise of the Scottish National Party

The Scottish National Party, hereafter SNP, was born out of the disillusion of Scottish people toward the traditional political parties. The Scottish National Party saw a rise of its success since the 1960s. Scottish people felt that they did not benefit from the economic boom of the United Kingdom. Indeed, Scotland was one of the regions which benefited the least from the economic situation. They started to doubt about the advantages that their belonging to the United Kingdom provided them. This also prompted a rise of interest for the SNP, which would better defend the interests of Scotland than the other parties.

One of the first memorable results was when Winnie Ewing won the Hamilton constituency in a by-election in 1967. After the elections of 1968, the SNP was taken more seriously by both the Labour and Conservative parties. It led to the creation of the Kilbrandon Commission¹ by the Labour government and it also prompted Edward Heath to announce that if he would become Prime Minister, he would establish a Scottish Assembly.

This rise of interest toward the SNP can be explained by several criteria. The party was better organised, and now recognized as a political party with a real programme. People were disappointed by the Labour policies in 1967 and then the Conservative policies in 1973 and decided to vote for a nationalist party. The United Kingdom was in a period of decline due to different reasons: the Suez Canal crisis in 1956, the end of the Empire, the refusal by France of the membership in the Common Market in 1963 and 1967 and the 1973 oil crisis. Additionally, the relative poverty of Scotland at that time reinforced the idea for Scotland to get more autonomous power. Nationalist voters had a negative and pessimistic vision of the economic situation of the country, which was not that disastrous at that time, even though the Scottish economy was more affected by the industrial crisis than the English one. Unemployment was higher and salaries were lower.

¹ Commission royale sur la constitution (1969-1973), présidée par Lord Crowther jusqu'à son décès, puis par Kilbrandon. Elle fut nommée par le gouvernement Wilson pour réfléchir à une réforme institutionnelle suite à la percée nationaliste.

Other explanations of the SNP's success had a more positive connotation. Voters preferred the SNP programme. This party rise was associated with the emerging middle class. Its voters in the 1970s were men, aged under 25, and protestants.² The crisis of the Welfare State system increased the support for the nationalists.³ In 1974, the SNP won 11 Westminster seats, with a share of the poll rising beyond 30%. This result brought the issue of Scotland's self-government to the fore. In 1975, the SNP saw a devolved form of government as a first step towards independence. The party divided itself into two wings: the gradualists and the fundamentalists:

The gradualists seek independence through a "ladder system" that involves initially, the type of devolved government presently to be seen at Holyrood. The gradualists, then, hanker for an incremental process-possibly taking many years- that would eventually lead to a referendum on independence. Alternatively, those supporting the fundamentalist outlook within the SNP argue for what has been termed the "big bang" approach to achieving self-government. This "big-bang" position would, in theory, see Scottish independence coming about very shortly after a victory for the SNP at the polls.⁴

However, the achievements of the SNP were disappointing in the 1980s. Thanks to its success through the last decades, the SNP started a movement which helped Scottish people to believe that more self-government would be possible. The SNP was considered as a left party, belonging to Margaret Thatcher's opponents.

The party evolved from an ethnic and exclusive nationalism to a now civic and inclusive one. The rhetoric used by the SNP in its manifestos reflects more and more the idea of a Scottish national identity. In the 1970s, Scotland was only perceived as a territory. Then in the 1980s it evolved when ethnic aspects were added with the advent of the Moreno question⁵. In the following decade, they

² Edwige Camp-Pietrain, *La dévolution : Ecosse - Pays de Galles*. Neuilly : Atlante, 2006 p.35-36

³ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, 2007, p.44

⁴ Russel Deacon, *Devolution in the United Kingdom*, 2007,

<https://books.google.fr/books?id=IW03BQAAQBAJ&pg=PT97&lpg=PT97&dq=gradualist+snp&source>

⁵ La « question Moreno » a été conçue dans le contexte européen des années 1980 où les États-nation de l'Europe de l'Ouest ont dû faire face à une remise en cause des allégeances identitaires dominantes voir exclusives dont ils bénéficiaient. C'est pour rendre compte du réveil des sentiments d'appartenances ethno régionalistes au sein d'une catégorie spécifique d'État-nations – les États Unions – que la notion « d'identité duale » a été forgée pour explorer les modes d'articulation entre identités territoriales. Elisabeth Dupoirier, *De l'usage de la Question Moreno en France, avril 2007* (last accessed 21/04/2017) <https://www.cairn.info/revue-internationale-de-politique-comparee-2007-4-page-531.htm>

chose to use Sean Connery to represent a strong sense of national identity. The use of this worldwide-known figure can be perceived as a personification of “Scottishness”. This evolution seemed to gather more people who could feel associated with the idea of Scottish nationalism. Their programme could therefore appeal to a larger audience.⁶ The SNP found its success again in the 1990s when they obtained more than 20% of the votes.

2)The economic and political situation under Thatcher’s and Major’s governments

In 1969, oil was discovered in the North Sea. In 1972, the SNP chose the motto “It’s Scotland’s oil” for its campaign. Devolution and oil were two of the main themes of the 1974 campaign for the general election. The oil crisis contributed to the rise of nationalism, as many Scottish people were convinced that they could live without England, since oil had been discovered near the Scottish borders would help them economically.⁷

However, the idea of independence disappeared from the parliamentary agenda until the third electoral re-election of the Conservative party in 1987. Indeed, Margaret Thatcher led a reform of reduction of the powers attributed to the local authorities, which was incompatible with a creation of a Scottish assembly. The Conservative party was also hostile to this idea.⁸

The Scottish people worried about the economic situation in the 1970s under the governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major from the end of the 1970s to the 1990s. They both reduced the intervention of the state in the economic sector. These years of governance under Thatcher were perceived as a threat for the peripheral nations suffering from a “democratic deficit”⁹ which is an expression used by Alex Salmond in his Bruges speech. This expression refers to several phenomena: an overconcentration of the power in Westminster and the fact that

⁶ Leith Murray Stewart, *Scottish National Party Representations of Scottishness and Scotland*, Paisley: University of the West of Scotland, Politics. May 2008, Vol. 28 Issue 2, p83-92. 10p.

⁷ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l’Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, 2007, *op. cit.* p.43

⁸ *Ibid*, p.78

⁹ Any situation in which there is believed to be a lack of democratic accountability and control over the decision-making process; It was first coined by the Young European Federalists in their Manifesto in 1977, which was drafted by Richard Corbett. (Collins Dictionary)

Scotland was governed by a party that its inhabitants did not elect. This situation permitted to see the limits of the British electoral system, called the First Past the Post system.

The values supported by the Thatcher's government were opposed to the Scottish people traditional values. She was not seen as a British patriot but as an English nationalist.¹⁰ Margaret Thatcher and the Conservatives were viewed as anti-Scottish and this perception toward her policy and her party remains currently in Scotland:

The perception was, and is, that Margaret Thatcher was anti-Scottish. I'm not convinced she was but perceptions are all important in politics and once that perception started to take hold it's very difficult for the Conservatives. I think the legacy is still there. I think the Tories in Scotland are still seen as toxic and it's still to do with Mrs Thatcher, whereas in England I think the Conservatives have walked out of the shadow of Mrs Thatcher - that hasn't yet happened in Scotland. I suspect it won't happen for a long time yet to come and there's not a lot the Tories can do about it.¹¹

Her relationship with Scotland was very bad, as several of her leading policies seemed to target Scotland especially. For example, she reduced the areas eligible for regional aids, with stricter criteria. Moreover, she decided to move the United Kingdom into a post-industrial economy which was perceived as hostile to the Scots since at that time Scotland still had many traditional industries. Several attempts of steel mills plants closing, such as Ravenscraig in 1982 and Gartcosh in 1986 were assimilated to direct attacks against Scotland.

The introduction of the Poll Tax in Scotland in 1986 was one of the most criticized reforms under the third Thatcher government. It was a compelling professional tax for the enterprises and a housing tax for every resident. It was abolished in 1991 by John Major. Scots were the first who had to pay the Poll Tax. It was not introduced in England because of the very large riots in London in 1990. It led to the disobedience of Scottish People as more than one-third of them refused to pay this tax and it contributed to the wish of a constitutional reform. The Poll tax is an example continuously mentioned by the advocates of

¹⁰ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, 2007, *op.cit*, p.84

¹¹ Andrew Kerr, "Margaret Thatcher's legacy in Scotland, 25 years after her downfall" *BBC News*, November 28th 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-34950041> (last accessed 01/04/2017)

the Devolution or independence as a reform which would “never” have passed in Scotland if this region had its own institutions.

Major represented a more traditional unionism and was solicitous about the national specificities. He came to the Scottish Office in 1992, to talk about different matters, including devolution. It led to the publication of “Scotland in the Union: a partnership for good” in March 1993. It offered to increase the powers of the Scottish Office.¹²

The resented relationship between Thatcher and Scotland led to the decline of the Conservative Party in Scotland, which had already started since 1955. The electoral results for the Conservative Party remained steady in England whereas they dropped by 5 percent between 1979 and 1992 in Scotland.¹³ This underlines the difference of the electoral behaviour between those two nations. This contributed to a reinforcement of Scottish nationalism rather than a dominantly British one since political specificities had to be respected between those two countries. The constitutional preferences changed under Thatcher’s government. Scottish people were then more in favour of the devolution and the independence in 1987, when Margaret Thatcher was re-elected than in 1979 after her first election.¹⁴

3) The movements towards devolution

In May 1980, the campaign for a Scottish Assembly was launched after the failure of the 1979 referendum. It tried to defend the interests of devolution under the first years of the Thatcher’s government but finally decided that the cause of Scottish devolution would best be served by a convention. A Claim of right for Scotland had been crafted during a meeting organised in January 1989 by the Scottish Constitutional Convention. It was part of the process which led to the devolution, even though this statement had no legal force and only reflected a statement of popular opinion. It was in the line of the Claim of Rights of 1688, against James II, which prescribed the creation of a

¹² Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l’Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, *op.cit.* p.99

¹³ *Ibid*, p.90

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.92

constitutional convention¹⁵ and of the one of 1842. Constitutional conventions are a Scottish tradition of the assertion of the Scottish rights and liberties and of constitutional claim¹⁶. The Scottish Constitutional Convention was created after the victory of the SNP in 1988 in the by-election in Govan and the introduction of the Poll tax. The Scottish Constitutional Convention was an association of Scottish political parties, churches and other civic groups, which developed a framework for a Scottish devolution. It effectively united the Liberal and Labour parties. They published two reports in 1990 and 1995 which served as a basis to the future legal texts on devolution. They recommended the creation of a Scottish Parliament with only one House which would be elected by universal “suffrage” vote.¹⁷

By March 1989, when the Constitutional Convention started, a four-party system had evolved in which the Tories were the weakest. The Convention, douce but firm, united the country against them, and encouraged groups such as Charter 88 which demanded constitutional change in Britain.¹⁸

Alex Salmond took the lead of the SNP in 1990. His charisma and his field experience contributed to make the SNP more credible.¹⁹ During the 1990s, he constructed a credible party and imposed himself as the representative of the SNP in Scotland and in Britain. He created among the SNP different groups such as New Scots, for people born out of Scotland, and Asians for Independence for people coming from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. He did not forget English people when he appointed people born in England to fulfil positions with responsibility among the party. He also fought against small groups which were opposed to the move of English people in rural Scotland.²⁰

After the Conservative Party re-election in 1992, several movements were organised to protest against the results of this election. “The Vigil” chose to act as guard in front of the Scottish office during close to two thousand (1980) days and stopped the movement the day of the 1997 referendum. “Common cause” was

¹⁵ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, op.cit. p.46

¹⁶ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, Villeneuve d'Ascq : Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2014, p.43

¹⁷ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, op.cit., p.103

¹⁸ Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 to the Present*, Abingdon-Thames, Routledge, 2004, p.166

¹⁹ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, op.cit., p.40

²⁰ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, op.cit., p.48

another autonomist demonstration organised on December 12th 1992 which gathered more than 25 000 persons. “Democracy March” demanded the signature of the “Democracy Declaration of Scotland” which claimed the organisation of a constitutional referendum.²¹

After the 1992 elections, John Smith²² described devolution as “the settled will of the Scottish people”. It became one of the most quoted sentences about devolution.²³ Tony Blair succeeded John Smith after his death at the head of the Labour Party. He kept his commitment about the devolution. In 1996, he asserted in a speech that:

Devolution will not be good just for Scotland and Wales. It will be good for the whole of the UK as it brings power close to the people and is part of a wide process of decentralisation which allows the centre to concentrate on the strategic needs of the whole country.²⁴

However, he admitted later in his 2010 autobiography that he had never been convinced about this project as he “never [was] a passionate believer” in devolution and that creating a Scottish Parliament was a dangerous path.²⁵

Since the 1960s, four arguments had been brought forward in favour of devolution by its followers.

1- First, the unionist argument, people for whom devolution is necessary to prevent the United Kingdom from fragmentation. The creation of local Parliaments would be the best way to contain Scottish nationalism and to avoid Scottish people to be tempted by the independence. The devolution would bring an answer to nationalistic claims with the creation of local Parliaments subordinated to the central Parliament, without bringing deep modifications to the British constitutional framework.

2- Then, nationalists raise the argument by which the only fact of being nations, with a proper identity and specific traditions allow Scotland the right to be

²¹ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l’Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, *op.cit.* p.101-102

²² John Smith was the leader of the Labour party from 1992 to 1994.

²³ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l’Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, *op.cit.*, p.84

²⁴ Tony Blair, *New Britain. My vision of a young country*. Londres: Fourth Estate, 1996, p.270

²⁵ Simon Johnson “Tony Blair admits mistake over Scottish devolution”, *The Telegraph*, March 31st 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/tony-blair/11839841/Tony-Blair-admits-mistake-over-Scottish-devolution.html> (last accessed 01/04/2017)

represented by elected assemblies. This point is rejected by the unionists such as Margaret Thatcher.

The Prime Minister last night marked the tenth anniversary of the devolution referendum by restating her conviction that Scotland neither needs nor wants home rule. In a statement read to a dinner in the St Stephens Club in London, Mrs Thatcher said that the 1979 vote "proved that, contrary to the claims of its supporters, there was no great popular demand for a separate Assembly. Still less was there a desire for independence. And I firmly believe that remains true today." In her message to the Tory celebration of the anniversary, attended by a number of Scottish and Anglo-Scottish Tory MPs and former MPs, the Prime Minister recalled her recent speech in Glasgow when she dismissed devolution out of hand. "I am certain that this is the right policy, both for our party and for Scotland. Our task now is to turn the support which exists for our policies into support at the polls," she said. "For it is only with a Conservative Government that the Union which has brought such benefits to both sides of the Border will remain secure."²⁶

3- Devolution answers to a desire of democracy. Decisions would be taken closer to the citizens, to a lower level in Edinburgh, which would be more efficient than if decisions were taken in London. Moreover, Scottish citizens would no longer endure the democratic deficit.²⁷ They felt this democratic deficit as Scottish citizens did not vote the same way as the rest of Great Britain. Therefore, they had to accept results of the elections whereas they did not represent Scottish votes.

4- Devolution would be easier to control. This is a point evoked by the political institution members. Devolution to local assemblies would reduce the amount of work in British Parliament and allow it to focus on more fundamental questions.²⁸

Devolution also got many opponents. Fundamentalist nationalists judged that devolution was insufficient as powers of the assemblies were too limited. Some unionists shared this opinion and thought that devolution represented an unsatisfactory solution and would inevitably lead to independence in a short-

²⁶ "Devolution dismissed Thatcher", *The Herald Scotland*, March 2nd 1989, http://www.heraldsotland.com/news/11997495.Devolution_dismissed_by_Thatcher/(last accessed 01/04/2017)

²⁷ A democratic deficit occurs when ostensibly democratic organizations or institutions in fact fall short of fulfilling what are believed to be the principles of democracy. Sanford Levinson, How the United States Constitution Contributes to the Democratic Deficit in America, 55 Drake L. Rev. 859, 860 (2007).

²⁸ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, op.cit., p.146

term, called the “slippery slope” towards independence. For others, it would represent a source of conflict between London and the local assemblies, which would push the legislative limits. Other people thought that it was unfair for England who would not have its own local assembly.²⁹ This problem is mentioned in the West Lothian Question.³⁰

Scottish people were dissatisfied by the policies led in London from the end of the 1970s to the 1990s, which led them to support their national party: the SNP, as it would permit to defend better their opinion. The disagreements with the politics led in Westminster which did not represent their interests give them the desire to get their own Parliament where their own interests would be discussed.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.146-147

³⁰ *Infra* p. 19

II) The 1997 referendum on devolution

1) The electoral campaign and its result

In 1997, 55% of the Scottish people surveyed thought that the creation of a Scottish Parliament would be the solution to improve the economic situation.¹

However, four parties defended a different constitutional position.

- The New Labour Party wanted the creation of a Scottish Parliament with legislative powers and in compliance with the advice of the Constitutional Convention, a Parliament with a limited taxation power. It would be elected with the Additional Member System and would inherit from the functions of the Scottish Office.
- The Lib-Dems (Liberal Democrat) were in favour of the devolution but preferred to use the term of Home Rule, it would give a greater autonomy over taxation and welfare policy to Scotland while remaining in the UK.² They promised the implementation of the project elaborated with the Constitutional Convention, so they wanted the creation of a Parliament elected to the proportional representation and which would have the power to raise or reduce the income tax. They would suppress the Scottish Office and the Scottish Secretary and reduce the number of Scottish MPs in Westminster. Devolution is considered as the first step toward federalism for them.
- The Conservative Party rejected the idea of devolution because it would reduce Scotland's influence in London and in Europe, it is a challenging of an advantageous financing arrangements, a waste in bureaucracy which could be invested in other fields, it would create the Tartan tax and would put the Union in danger.
- The SNP (Scottish National Party) wanted a Parliament where proportional representation would be used and which would be totally independent from the United Kingdom.³

¹ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *La dévolution, op.cit.*, p.76

² Severin Carrel, "Lib Dems back "Scottish Home Rule"", *the Guardian*, January 24th, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/jan/24/lib-dems-scottish-home-rule>, (last accessed 01/04/2017)

³ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999, op.cit.*, p.112

In June 1996, the Labour government announced that the election of a Labour government at the legislative elections of 1997 would not be enough for the creation of a Scottish Parliament. There would be a referendum. The polls predicted the victory of the Labour Party which had become the New Labour. They had promised to create law bills on devolution during their first year in power if they were elected. The general elections from 1997 gave the victory to the Labour Party and all the Conservative Ministers lost their seats in Scotland. Tony Blair obtained a landslide victory and became the Prime Minister and Donald Dewar became the Scottish Secretary. During the 1997 general elections, 79% of the consulted people wished the creation of a Scottish Parliament so that Scottish people could say what they want concerning Scotland's government.⁴ The outcome of this election led to the instauration of a ministerial committee on devolution. It resulted in the creation of two white papers⁵ which established the main issues of the reform. They contained the proposals which were in the reports from the Constitutional Convention. They also presented the devolved powers to the Scottish Parliament and the reserved powers to Westminster. It was a ratification referendum as it bore on proposals in white papers. The system of the referendum is not much used in the United Kingdom. Indeed, the British political system is not based on the people's sovereignty but instead on the Parliament's.⁶ However, a referendum would give a popular legitimacy to the future assembly and would accelerate the passage of the law project in Westminster.

Tony Blair promised to hold a referendum with two questions to distinguish the approval of the Scottish Parliament and the future fiscal abilities of the Parliament. The two questions were on two ballot papers with the following proposals:

I agree there should be a Scottish Parliament

I do not agree there should be a Scottish Parliament

And:

I agree that a Scottish Parliament should have tax-varying powers

I do not agree that a Scottish Parliament should have tax-varying powers

The fact that there were two questions was not welcomed in Scotland.⁷ It divided all the political formations in favour of the creation of an autonomous Parliament. This decision was

⁴ *Ibid*, p.90

⁵ Un livre blanc est un recueil de documents sur un problème déterminé, publié par un gouvernement, un organisme. (Larousse)

⁶ Edwige Camp-Pietrain, *La dévolution*, op.cit., p.196

⁷ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, op.cit., p.70

qualified as suicidal in Scotland and as a way of legitimising and strengthening the project of devolution in England. It led to the anger of the SNP and the resignation of several Labour members as a sign of protest.⁸

Opinions concerning this issue were divided into two stances. On the one hand, Scotland Forward, led by Nigel Smith was in favour of the Yes, whereas on the other hand, Think Twice was in favour of the No.

The Labour Party, the SNP and the Libs-Dems associated to campaign for a “Yes” to both proposals. Contrarily to the electoral campaign in 1979, those parties were united and organised, both in their arguments and campaign financing. The major papers in Scotland⁹ were also in favour of the Yes side. There was a very large support for this movement, leading by the three major Scottish parties and by a lot of independent organisations. Nigel Smith, who was not associated to any party, presided this campaign.

On the contrary, Think Twice chose to base its campaign on the second question, as it was the weakest point of the project.¹⁰ The Lib-Dems were opposed to get a second question.¹¹ The Labour Party worried about the Conservatives contesting the fiscal powers. The electoral campaign was hostile to the Conservative Party and in favour of the Labour Party as they were popular after their victory and they benefited from the support of other parties. The white paper was a resounding success, which demonstrated the interest of Scottish people on the referendum. The polls always gave more than 60% of the votes in favour of the Yes.

The campaign had to be interrupted during a week because of the accidental death of Lady Diana on August 30th 1997. People were afraid of a renewal of British patriotism just before the referendum.¹² The morning of the referendum, September 11th 1997, the Scotsman front page was entitled “Today, we make history”.¹³ The date chosen for the referendum was also the 700th birthday of the defeat of the English army by William Wallace at the Stirling Bridge during the independence war in 1297. It added a solemn aspect to the referendum as well as an allusion to history.

In 1997, the referendum was organised by a Labour government, as in 1979. It was a referendum dealing with the principle of devolution and not about a law already voted in

⁸ *Ibid*, p.71

⁹ *The Scotsman and The Herald*.

¹⁰ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l’Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, *op.cit.*, p.119

¹¹ Nathalie Duclos, *L’Ecosse en quête d’indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, *op.cit.*, p.72

¹² Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l’Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, *op.cit.*, p.120

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.118

Parliament.¹⁴ The electoral lists used were the same than for the local elections: all the Scottish residents of British nationality, all the foreign residents from the European Union countries and the Scottish members of the House of Lords could vote. Contrarily to 1979, it was a referendum with a simple majority, with no participation rate required. It had been a controversial point in 1979, as even though most the voters were in favour of devolution, it was not granted. It produced lasting resentment as it was felt that the rules had been biased against those in favour of a Scottish Assembly.¹⁵ The results of the referendum gave a sweeping victory to the first question with 74.3% of Yes vote and with 63.5% for the second. The turnout was of 60.4% and no region was against the first question and only two against to the second one.

2)The creation of the Scotland Act in 1998

The Scotland Bill had been left to the House of Commons in December 1997 and the Scotland Act received the royal assent on November 19th 1998. The mandate was set for four years and the unicameral Scottish Parliament composed of 129 members. The Scottish First Minister was first elected by the Holyrood's Parliament then appointed by the Queen.¹⁶ The other members of the executive were designated by the First Minister and chosen amongst the MPs. Scotland has its own Prime Minister and government, ruling on the British model. The Scottish Parliament can redefine its domains of competences whereas it is not possible for Westminster. Indeed, the competencies of the Scottish Parliament are not listed in the Scotland Act but the ones attributed to Westminster are listed in the Appendix 5.

The devolution model adopted in 1998 is more advantageous and less limited than in 1979. The objective is to create a legislative assembly with extended powers, however still limited to the domestic policy, whose laws could not be reversed by the British government. It is more interesting for Scotland that it is the Westminster's competences which are enumerated, in case of doubt, a question is more easily attributed to the Scottish Parliament. The powers attributed are larger than in 1979, concerning the education or fiscal competences for

¹⁴ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014, op.cit.*, p.70

¹⁵ *BBC Politics 1997*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/issues/devolution.shtml> ,(last accessed 01/04/2017)

¹⁶ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014, op.cit.*, p.47

example.¹⁷ The reserved competences for Westminster are clearly foreign policy, defence, immigration, macroeconomic, fiscal and monetary policies and the Constitution.¹⁸

The Scottish Parliament has the power to enact in most of the domestic policy: health, education, professional training, justice, transports, economic development, local communities, agriculture, fishing, forestry, housing, culture, sports, research. However, its financial powers are still very limited¹⁹ and Westminster is still sovereign as it can repeal the Scotland Act of 1998. It is possible on the constitutional level but not on the political level as it would provoke a huge constitutional crisis which could lead to the Scottish independence.²⁰ For Scottish people, Holyrood detains a legitimacy at least as equal as Westminster and even superior than the former Scottish Office. Its legitimacy originates from its creation validated by a referendum and from the ineluctable fact that the Parliament is composed by members directly elected by the Scottish population.²¹ Scottish autonomy has not been extended to new areas except in the fiscal area but changed of nature in representing a more democratic institution and directly responsible in front of the Scottish people.²² Moreover, the Scottish Parliament is not allowed to declare independence on its own or to abolish monarchy.

The first voting for the Scottish Parliament took place on May 6th 1999. It was a direct one round election. People had to vote for a candidate representing their constituency and for a list of candidates who had to represent the region. The Parliament was composed of 73 constituency Members of Scottish Parliament, hereafter MSPs, and 56 additional members. People had to change tactics as it was partly a proportional representation. In 1999, the results of the first Scottish elections for the Parliament followed the speculations. No party obtained the absolute majority. The SNP obtained 28% of the seats, which was a real progress. Conservatives got back a representation after their defeat in 1997, with 14% of the seats and the Lib-Dems 13%. The Labour Party dominated with a relative majority and decided to form a coalition with the Lib-Dems. The Labour Party and the SNP were perceived as protectors of the Scottish interests.²³ Women represented 40% of the elected members, and more than half of the SNP members which had decided to apply parity in the selection of its candidates.²⁴ Donald Dewar became the First Minister of this Lib-Lab coalition. Holyrood has been chosen

¹⁷ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, op.cit., p.127-128

¹⁸ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, op.cit., p.33

¹⁹ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, op.cit., p.49

²⁰ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, op.cit., p.148

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.149

²² *Ibid.*, p.150

²³ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *La dévolution*, op.cit., p.215

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.173

to be the site of the Parliament and first opened formally on July 6th. Symbolic decisions were taken such as free tuition fees for the university for Scottish students and personal health care-costs for elderly people.²⁵ The relations between the Blair government and the Scottish Parliament were facilitated as the same parties were in power in the two nations.²⁶ However, the creation of a Scottish Parliament did not put an end to the nationalistic claims. It represented a real failure for the Labour, the New Labour and Tony Blair as they wanted to nip the SNP in the bud by creating a Scottish Parliament. It appears as one of the steps of a long process started in 1707 with the Union Act.²⁷

3)The political and economic consequences

The West Lothian Question was put up in 1970 by the Scottish deputy Tam Dalyell. Scottish MPs can vote for the questions raised in the House of Commons even on matters concerning only England. It reflects the anger of a part of the English population who thinks that England has been forgotten during the measures taken by Tony Blair in the end of the 1990s. However, this problem is considered less important than the democratic deficit endured by Scottish people between 1987 and 1997.²⁸ Sometimes Scottish MPs choose not to vote when it is about laws concerning only England. Moreover, English people are displeased since the other nations have been advantageously treated at the financial level.²⁹ They stigmatise what they perceive as being Scottish privileges who are paying the same taxes enjoying free public services (free university tuition fees for example).³⁰ Moreover, the Barnett Formula is now criticized because it favours Scotland.³¹

The Scottish Parliament had been the cause of criticisms at the beginning because the building site was overdue and cost more than planned. Moreover, it was criticized because many hours of debates were dedicated to trivial laws but now the Parliament is accepted by the population, as it focuses on important matters for the Scots.³² The devolution added new

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.120

²⁶ *Ibid*, p.121

²⁷ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, p151

²⁸ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *La dévolution*, p.135

²⁹ Nathalie Duclos, *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles 1966-1999*, *op.cit.*, p.151

³⁰ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, p.39

³¹ It is a system of grants which dictates the level of public spending in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

³² Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, *op.cit.*, p.37

institutions. There is still a Scottish Ministry with a Scotland Office and a Secretary of State for Scotland.³³

In 1999, the SNP focused on the elections for the Scottish Parliament instead of those for the House of Commons.³⁴ They obtained 35 seats out of the 129 in the Scottish Parliament. It was positioned as a true left-wing party contrarily to the New Labour which did not consider the idea to repeal most of the neoliberal policies instituted by Thatcher.³⁵ For the first elections of the Scottish Parliament, a coalition between the Labour and the Lib-Dems was formed, and in 2003 too. In 2003, new elections were organised for the Scottish Parliament. Lib-Dems and Tories got unchanged results whereas the Labour and the SNP got lower results. There was a rise for the Scottish socialists, the Greens and the Independents. Women have always constituted 1/3 of the MSP thanks to the voting system in the Scottish Parliament.³⁶

The Scottish Parliament Act enacted in 2004 replaced the Appendix one from the Scotland Act. The electoral list is different for Scottish and British elections.³⁷ The number of Scottish MPs has been reduced in Westminster, from 72 to 59 in 2005.³⁸ Scottish people also changed their voting attitudes. They favoured traditional British political parties when voting for British elections and the SNP for the Scottish elections.³⁹ The 2012 Scotland Act granted new devolved fields to the Scottish Parliament.⁴⁰

The Labour Party had promised to hold a referendum if they were elected. Therefore the 1997 referendum was established and obtained a landslide victory in favour of the creation of a Scottish Parliament. Restricted fields are attributed to the British Parliament which leave more decision powers and freedom to the Scottish Parliament.

³³ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, *op.cit.*, p.40

³⁴ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, *op.cit.*, p.86

³⁵ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, *op.cit.*, p.49

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.35

³⁷ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *La dévolution*, *op.cit.*, p.140

³⁸ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, *op.cit.*, p.40

³⁹ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, *op.cit.*, p.51

⁴⁰ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, *op.cit.*, p.37

III) Scotland's independence referendum in 2014

1) New elements in favour of independence

The SNP wants the independence of Scotland and promotes the interests of Scotland since its creation. The independence of Scotland was already proposed in its 1992 electoral programme and some of its members were already in favour of this proposal at the end of the 80s. Since the beginning, the SNP conceived the independence as the way to implement specific economic and social policies adapted to the needs of Scotland, not to preserve the minority languages or Scottish traditions.¹ The main issues for the independence debate were the power and the representation of Scottish citizens. The SNP changed its strategy and decided to hold a referendum before the negotiations for independence. This method was not straightforward for the party as it was first the victory of the gradualists over the fundamentalists and then the creation of a Scottish Parliament which convinced them to lead this strategy. This gave them their electoral success in 2007 and 2011. There was a dissociation for the nationalist vote and the vote for the independence.²

The system was always dominated by the same party before the Parliament but it became an all-party system after its creation. In 2007, the SNP obtained its first victory but only got a minority government. In 2011, the SNP got the power. It was the first political formation to obtain an absolute majority of seats in the Holyrood's Parliament. This party promised to hold a referendum on independence when it would be into power during its electoral campaign in 2007 and 2011. However, many opponents to the independence of Scotland still voted for the SNP as they thought that the question of a referendum would be held in another ballot.³ Indeed, one SNP voter out of three was not in favour of the independence.⁴ The SNP used the democratic argument and the 1997 referendum to justify the referendum of 2014.⁵ It was only once the SNP won its second elections with an overwhelming victory that the other parties accepted the inevitability of a referendum of self-determination.⁶ Devolution did not concern the constitutional matters so Westminster had to accept to hold a referendum. The 2011

¹ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014, op.cit.*, p.76

² *Ibid*, p.87

³ *Ibid*, p.87

⁴ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *La dévolution, op.cit.*, p.197

⁵ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014, op.cit.*, p.89

⁶ *Ibid*, p.89

elections were the confirmation for the unionist parties that the SNP had a strong mandate with the theme of the independence and the promise of a referendum.

In 2009, on Saint Andrew's day⁷, the minority nationalist government published a first white paper.⁸ Then, they hold a new popular consultation in February 2010, called "Consultation on a Draft Referendum (Scotland) Bill", which has never been followed by a law bill.⁹ The first minority government and the unionist parties informed that they would vote against this project in the government. The first Minister needed a law to hold this referendum. In front of the persistent obstruction of the unionists, he decided not to submit a law project.¹⁰ The Labour Party then changed its mind with "Bring it on!" led by the labour Wendy Alexander. Gordon Brown was very opposed to a referendum. It shows that the Labour Party was not prepared to a defeat in 2007. It was divided concerning the strategy to adopt against the SNP. In September 2010, the SNP officially declared the withdrawal of a law project on the referendum.¹¹ In 2011, the SNP obtained 45.4% of the ballot and 69 out of the 129 seats. It proved that the Scottish voters felt a real support for the defence of their interests in Holyrood.¹²

In 2012, Alex Salmond announced that a referendum would be held in autumn 2014. The date chosen was late to convince people who were hesitant.¹³ It was also a significant date for the party as it was its 80th foundation anniversary. Salmond also hoped to benefit from the effects of Cameron's policies, after four contested years at 10 Downing Street. It was also the 100th birthday of world war one (WW1). For the British, it would bring back the cohesion of the UK. For those in favour of the independence, it would remind the high number of injured and dead Scottish people who showed bravery.¹⁴ On the same day, Michael Moore, Scottish Secretary of State, launched a consultation on the referendum in front of the House of Commons. It was followed by a second consultation a few weeks later.¹⁵

On October 15th 2012, the Edinburgh Agreement was signed between the Scottish and British government. It allows Scotland to hold a referendum on independence and set some

⁷ Saint Andrew was the patron saint of Scotland. It is celebrated on 30 November. It is Scotland's national day.

⁸ *Ibid*, p.90

⁹ *Ibid*, p.91

¹⁰ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, *op.cit.*, p.54

¹¹ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, *op.cit.*, p.93

¹² Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, *op.cit.*, p.55

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.62

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.63

¹⁵ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, *op.cit.*, p.96

conditions.¹⁶ The referendum was going to be held by Edinburgh and the autonomous Scottish institutions. It was going to be judged as legal by the British and Scottish governments. Only one question was going to be asked: “Should Scotland be an independent country?” with two possible answers: “Yes” or “No”. The Edinburgh Agreement allowed the Scottish Parliament to judge the criteria allowing the right to vote. The SNP chose to lower it to 16 years old. Thanks to this agreement, there was a pacific and pragmatic awareness of the Scottish claims. This agreement had a symbolic value, showing the understanding between the two governments. Most of the commentators estimated that the Scottish government was the winner of those negotiations. Indeed, they could decide the voting age, the criteria of the right to vote, the formulation of the question and the date of the referendum. The only concession granted to the British Prime Minister was that the option of the extended autonomy was not a possible choice.¹⁷ The Scottish Independence Referendum Bill law project was submitted on March 21st 2013.

The independence movement rested more on economic criteria than on identity. Indeed, one of the goals of the referendum was to offer an alternative to the British neoliberalism. The unionist parties accepted the self-definition of the SNP as a party representing civic nationalism. The independence is seen by the SNP as a redefinition, not a chaos.¹⁸

2)The campaign and its results

The referendum of 2014 was a referendum with only one question, which created debates about its wording, and with only a simple majority required, which was uncontroversial. The electoral register used was the same than in 1997. It was more based on residency than nationality.¹⁹

The campaign was dynamic on both sides. Diverse methods were used to convince the Scottish citizens: leafleting, canvassing on the doorsteps, town hall meetings and new technology based ones. Yes Scotland was launched on May 25th and Better Together on June 25th 2012. Yes Scotland represented the SNP and the Green Party. Its chief executive was Blair Jenkins, former head of news for both BBC Scotland and STV. He had the double

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.53

¹⁷ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014, op.cit.*, p.122

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.228

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.75

advantage of not being associated to the SNP and not to be assimilated to the political background. He was famous for his impartiality. He favoured a field campaign.²⁰ He was joined by other movements such as “Labour for Independence” in July 2012 and by “Liberal Democrats for Scotland”. These were minority groups in their parties who were in favour of independence.²¹ Yes Scotland was nicknamed “Better Together” or “Project Fear”, as they insisted on the negative impacts of the independence and the uncertainty that Scotland would endure.²² The “Yes” side launched a website and online newspaper entitled “Bella Caledonia”. These new digital ways of informing people could have appealed to the young voters. A new online television channel entitled Referendum TV started during the Edinburgh Festival, led by volunteers, with the aim to inform in a more unbiased way on the referendum, as they thought that neutrality was not respected in the other medias.²³

The Scottish Government published a White Paper, *Scotland's Future- Your guide to an independent Scotland*. It promoted the independence of Scotland, but also revealed in detail the policies which the SNP would implement during their first government if the referendum was won by the “Yes” side. It explained the difference between devolution and independence, but was more related to a political manifesto.²⁴

Better Together represented the Labour, the Conservatives and the Lib-Dems. Alistair Darling was the leader of this organisation. He was a political man who knew the files but perceived as a cold and distant man, contrasting with the image of Alex Salmond.²⁵ Conservative people encouraged David Cameron to change the Scottish secretary of state Michael Moore who was efficient to negotiate the Edinburgh Agreement but too discreet in front of Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon, at the time Deputy First Minister and now First Minister. He was replaced by Alistair Carmichael, more aggressive.²⁶

The press was on the side of the unionists but the BBC had to stay neutral.²⁷ The “Yes” side was covered in the medias with the presentation of the policies that the Scottish government would implement in case of victory. They presented the referendum as a way of choosing

²⁰ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, op.cit., p.77

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.81

²² *Ibid.*, p.82

²³ Annie Thiec, “‘Yes Scotland’: More than a Party-Political Campaign, a National Movement Fostering a New Active Citizenship” , *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique [En ligne]*, XX-2 | 2015, mis en ligne le 23 juillet 2015, consulté le 21 avril 2017. <http://rfeb.revues.org/401> , p.9

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4

²⁵ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, op.cit., p.84

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.87

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.89

between accepting or refusing these policies rather than choosing a devolved Parliament or an independent one.²⁸

Economy seemed to be more influential on the result of the referendum than feelings of national identity.²⁹ The self-sufficiency of Scotland, money, taxation, oil, defence, currency and the relationships between Scotland and the EU were the core of the debate between the unionists and the independentists.³⁰ 90% of the oil and gas fields income would return to Scotland in case of independence. However, the oil debate was no longer as important nowadays as it was in the 1970s.³¹ For those in favour of independence, Scotland could become richer than England if it was independent. The unionists thought that Scotland receives more from the treasury than it contributes to it. Independence would make Scotland very dependent on the oil incomes whereas they were fluctuating and ephemeral. Scotland's assets were the fields which are the more vulnerable to the economic crash. For the SNP, the short-term exploitation of the oil resources by the different British governments was the evidence that Scotland would be better managed by itself. For the unionists, independence would condemn Scotland to become an oil-dependent state, a volatile and limited resource in time. Scotland had all the advantages to stay in the United Kingdom, a country with more diverse resources, and which can compensate better the irregularity of the oil and gas incomes.³² However, Scotland is also developing the use of renewable energy, which was a key issue in the independence debate. The Unionists scared the electorate, as they planned an uncertain future.³³ They focused on the negative aspects of the economy, the uncertainties concerning the pound and the pensions. They added a new argument near the end of the campaign, saying that a NO vote would allow to give more political powers to Scotland. It convinced the uncertain voters, a few days before the vote.³⁴

Economy is the core of the ambitions of the SNP too, which explained that Scotland, already rich thanks to the hydrocarbon in the North Sea, could become prospering.³⁵ Alex Salmond declared: "For many people, of all the argument, it is the economic issues, bread and butter

²⁸ Annie Thiec, art.cit., p.6

²⁹ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, op.cit. p.99

³⁰ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, op.cit. p.165

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.195

³² *Ibid.*, p.201

³³ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, op.cit. p.16

³⁴ Gilles Leydier, *Mobilisation (record) et polarisation (spectaculaire) de l'électorat écossais autour de l'enjeu de l'indépendance*, *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique* [En ligne], XX-2 | 2015, mis en ligne le 23 juillet 2015, consulté le 21 avril 2017. <http://rfeb.revues.org/391>, p.10

³⁵ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance*, op.cit., p.133

issues-that matter the most.”³⁶ Indeed, the fear of the loss of the pound is one of the main arguments in favour of Better Together. Alex Salmond, in favour of independence said:

“We’ve all heard the question- can Scotland afford to be independent? The independence debate will always be hard-fought on both sides but on this central issue of whether Scotland could become a successful independent country there is, in fact, no longer any real debate. Just ask the most notable figures in the No Campaign. The Prime Minister says:” it would be wrong to suggest that Scotland could not be another successful, independent country” Alistair Darling says- “the question is not whether Scotland can survive as an independent country. Of course, it could.”³⁷

The SNP is in favour of the European Union, the UN (United Nation) and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), even though Alex Salmond briefly threatened to leave NATO if Scotland was independent.³⁸ They also thought that Scotland could keep all its social benefits in an independent Scotland.³⁹ To help the population in their vote, the British government wrote five questions to be answered, to know which choice would be the best for the voters.

The date of the referendum was not chosen randomly. 2014 is the year of the commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the battle of Bannockburn, the Commonwealth multisport games in Glasgow and the Ryder golf Cup which are events which might have created a popularity for nationalism. However, the date of the referendum did not coincide with any of the sport events.

A radical independence campaign was organised by activists of several parties with radical left inclinations such as the Scottish Socialist Party, the Greens, feminists, unionists, anti-racism organisations, anti-nuclear organisations, pacifists and opponents to the monarchy. They led a field campaign.⁴⁰ They also held two important congresses in 2012 and 2013. Another movement launched before the Yes campaign in 2011 supports this side. It is a group of artists entitled “National Collective” which presented itself as ‘the cultural movement for Scottish independence featuring artists, writers and activists creatively campaigning for a ‘Yes’ vote through local groups, events, social media, published word and art’. Its main objective was to help to “shape the vision of a new society and nation” by providing a platform for individuals and local groups in the independence movement.⁴¹ ‘Women for Independence’ was launched in September 2012 with the intention to pursue the work of the women’s groups which in the 1990s had actively campaigned for equal representation of

³⁶ Alex Salmond, congrès annuel du SNP, 19 octobre 2013

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Edwige Camp-Piétrain, *L’Ecosse et la tentation de l’indépendance*, *op.cit.*, p.16

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.145

⁴⁰ Nathalie Duclos, *L’Ecosse en quête d’indépendance, Le référendum de 2014*, *op.cit.*, p.188

⁴¹ Annie Thiec, art cit., p.7

women in the new Scottish Parliament. ‘Common Weal’ started as the flagship project of the Jimmy Reid Foundation in June 2013 inviting people to submit ideas about how to build a better, fairer society in an independent Scotland; it became a separate organisation at the beginning of August 2014. Those movements wanted to prove that the question was not whether Scotland should be independent but that it was an opportunity to reform Scotland radically to obtain a fairer democracy.

The Scottish constitutional debate focused on the issues of power, influence and representation at the international level. Scotland’s referendum was a choice between being a part of a relatively powerful and influent state but with its own interests relegated in the background or to gain more sovereignty and be directly represented within the international organisations but as a small nation, with limited capacities of action and limited decisional power.⁴²

What is surprising is that the debate did not really turn out to be a matter of culture. Opposite to other autonomist regions, language was not a motivation for the independence. The cultural nationalism could have coexisted with the political unionism but it hasn’t been the case. Moreover, culture had been decentralised in Holyrood since 1999. Artists, authors and musicians were engaged into the campaign but they showed their support rather than created a cultural debate.⁴³

84.6% of Scottish people voted in this referendum, which showed that it was a huge success. “No” got the victory with 55.3% of the votes whereas “Yes” only got 44.7%. The massive participation, contrarily to the previous referendum showed that Scottish people were aware that this referendum puts the future of Scotland at stake.⁴⁴ The statute of Union of the United Kingdom has been democratically confirmed, at least for now.⁴⁵

In a post-voting poll led by Lord Ashcroft, the main reason evocated for the Yes vote was a dissatisfaction towards Westminster, taxes and worries concerning the NHS (National Health Service). The defence and security, the EU’s membership or the resources linked with the oil

⁴² Nathalie Duclos, *L’Écosse en quête d’indépendance, Le référendum de 2014, op.cit.*, p.278

⁴³ Eberhard Bort, « L’Écosse après le vote. Le Non à l’indépendance comme amorce du changement ? », *Cultures & Conflits* [En ligne], 97 | printemps 2015, mis en ligne le 30 juillet 2016, consulté le 21 avril 2017, <http://conflits.revues.org/18961> , p.103

⁴⁴ Jacques Lereux, « La pratique référendaire en Écosse avant 2014 », *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique* [En ligne], XX-2 | 2015, mis en ligne le 23 juillet 2015, consulté le 21 avril 2017. <http://rfeb.revues.org/376> , p.6

⁴⁵ Eberhard Bort, art.cit., p.98

were less mentioned, whereas they were main themes during the campaign. The main reasons for the No vote were the currency and the pension.⁴⁶

The correlation between the social class and the electoral behaviour was clear: the higher the vote in favour of independence was, the poorer and the more disadvantaged the area was (such as Glasgow, Dundee, West Dunbartonshire and North Lanarkshire).⁴⁷

Il s'agit là de régions où la croissance économique et la prospérité sont faibles et où les problèmes sociaux sont importants. Tous les principaux centres de croissance et d'activité écossais ont voté Non : Édimbourg, Aberdeen, Inverness et Shetland, par exemple. Cette image est révélatrice de la situation actuelle et à venir. Les défenseurs du Oui ont adopté une posture optimiste et visionnaire considérant que tout était possible dans une Écosse indépendante. Les défenseurs du Non n'ont eu que peu de propos positifs tout au long de la campagne, préférant faire référence au passé, aux risques et aux problèmes et se sont acharnés à être négatifs. Cela a porté ses fruits pour le moment.

The referendum confirmed the importance of internal divisions within the Scottish society, in terms of: gender, age, professional situation, incomes and purchasing power and place of birth.⁴⁸ The NO side had less arguments than the YES side, but those were far more efficient and attractive engaging more opinions.

3)The consequences of the NO

The Labour Party was worried as it missed a respectable number of votes in its strongholds in favour of the Yes. Moreover, many faithful activists left the party to join the SNP. Some members were relieved with the departure of Alex Salmond when others feared his successor Nicola Sturgeon. Many people in favour of independence felt bad about the defeat associated with frustration and disappointment. They complained about the biased position of the BBC and condemned the fact that only one newspaper, the *Glasgow Sunday Herald*, supported independence.⁴⁹ However, one of the main winners of this referendum was the SNP. A week after the referendum, Alex Salmond declared that there were 62 500 members within the SNP, three times as many as before the defeat, and this number rose to 77 000 members two weeks after. The Green Party also increased fourfold its number of members reaching 6000

⁴⁶ 4. Lord Ashcroft, "How Scotland voted, and why", September 19th 2014,

<http://lordashcrofthpolls.com/2014/09/scotland-voted/>

⁴⁷ Hassan G., "Anatomy of a referendum – and its aftermath", *Scottish Review*, September 24th 2014,

www.scottishreview.net/GerryHassan175B.shtml

⁴⁸ Gilles Leydier, art.cit. p.3

⁴⁹ Ebherard Bort, art.cit., p.109

members.⁵⁰ The SNP is now the leader on the Scottish political stage, led by the First Minister Nicola Sturgeon.⁵¹

The debate continued in 2015 for the elections of the House of Commons. The SNP asked his members to vote for its candidates so that Scotland could protect its interests in Westminster. The SNP won most of the Labour strongholds. It allowed the SNP to negotiate more economical powers for Holyrood in the Scotland Bill under discussion.⁵² The SNP won 56 out of the 59 seats. They got the votes of the 2014 pro-independence people, and more particularly the votes from the disappointed Labour voters. Indeed, these former Labour members were dissatisfied with the association of their party with the Conservative Party, which represented austerity, in order to save the Union in 2014.⁵³

The Smith Commission was established by Prime Minister David Cameron on September 19th 2014 in the wake of the 'No' vote in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. The formation of the commission was part of the process of fulfilling 'The Vow' made by the leaders of the three main unionist parties during the last days of the referendum campaign. The Vow promised the devolution of more powers from the United Kingdom Parliament to the Scottish Parliament in the event of a No vote. They had to produce a set of proposals before Saint Andrew's Day. The SNP and the Green Party took part to the commission. It should allow Scotland to act coherently promises made during the referendum campaign. This commission granted further devolved commands to Holyrood such as tax rates, extended voting age or management of the crown estate's economic assets.⁵⁴ A study engaged after the Smith Commission showed that:

Une étude menée après la Commission Smith montre qu'une nette majorité (63 %) des personnes interrogées soutient la décentralisation complète des impôts et des aides publiques. Le sondage a aussi révélé que 58 % des personnes souhaitaient que les MSP décident des retraites, 57 % qu'ils prennent en charge la politique énergétique et 62 % qu'ils aient la responsabilité des lois environnementales. Concernant l'immigration, 47 % des Écossais souhaitent que Holyrood soit aux manettes contre 36 % en faveur de Westminster. Ce n'est que sur le sujet de la défense et de la politique étrangère que

⁵⁰ Ebherard Bort, art.cit., p.113

⁵¹ Gilles Leydier, art.cit., p.2

⁵² Edwige Camp-Piétrain, « Les effets de la crise économique et financière sur les questions constitutionnelles en Écosse », *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique* [En ligne], XXI-2 | 2016, mis en ligne le 10 septembre 2016, consulté le 21 avril 2017, <http://rfeb.revues.org/959>, p.2

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.9

⁵⁴ Haroon Siddique, "New powers for Scotland: key points from the Smith commission", *The guardian*, November 24th 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/nov/27/scottish-devolution-smith-commission-key-points>

Westminster est arrivé avant Holyrood, avec 48 % des interrogés considérant que Londres devrait garder le contrôle, contre 36 % en faveur d'Édimbourg.⁵⁵

One of the main concerns of the Scottish people is to improve the local democracy. Scottish local governance is extraordinary in its lack of democratic participation. As in England, and even more accentuated, it operates far from the citizens, following a top-down, managerial approach, entirely centred on the public services, offering very little empowerment to the communities. It is considered as the worst local representation in Europe.⁵⁶ However, according to a poll led by Lord Ashcroft, ¼ of the people who decided to vote No are in favour of more decentralisation and powers for Holyrood, which means that most Scottish people are in favour of changes.⁵⁷ If Scottish people do not obtain a complete, radical and efficient change, the result of this referendum could only mean that they are “not yet” ready but that they could change their minds in the following years.⁵⁸

When Scotland gained the approval of the UK to hold a referendum, it generated interests for other self-determination movements in Europe. This is why other European capitals felt relieved after the results of the referendum, as Catalonia or Flanders claim their independence.⁵⁹

Since 2007, the Scottish electorate trusts the SNP. It matches their aspirations and shows a break with London. The devolution and the access to independence are presented as ways to reduce the inequities. However, there is a discrepancy between the SNP's rhetoric to win the elections and referendums and their performance and results within the Scottish government which are far less impressive. They spend more time claiming more powers than exercising the ones they already had.

Scottish people wonder if the failure of this referendum will pause the constitutional debate or if it will open a new phase of debates, regarding the place of Scotland within the United Kingdom. The SNP might be tempted to organise another referendum within a few years or might prefer to rely on an independence acquired step by step, with a progressive extension of the Scottish Parliament powers.⁶⁰

At this stage some main points, tendencies and societal reactions are worth being summarized.

⁵⁵ Ebherard Bort, art.cit., p.120

⁵⁶ Ebherard Bort, art.cit., p.114

⁵⁷ Ebherard Bort, art.cit., p.117

⁵⁸ Ebherard Bort, art.cit. p.118

⁵⁹ Ebherard Bort, art.cit., p.116

⁶⁰ Nathalie Duclos, *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance, Le référendum de 2014, op cit.*, p.255

The SNP wanted to hold a referendum over self-determination for Scotland after they won twice the elections in the Scottish Parliament. The campaign divided the unionists and the independentists mainly on economic issues. Many groups were created for the occasion, to defend their ideas, as this referendum permitted to change Scotland's place within the United Kingdom and synergistically on the international stage. The results have been different pending on regions and voters' social classes but also according to their age and sex. Even though the result was in favour of staying within the United Kingdom, the SNP obtained a lot of benefits and supports. This rejection was not totally a failure as people still wanted changes concerning the local representation and last but not least it created a strong incentive for other independentist movements in Europe.

Conclusion

The British and Scottish governments decided to let the Scottish people choose through referendums if they wanted changes for their country. Indeed, the Scottish people desired to obtain another type of government after their political frustration over several decades at the end of the 20th century. They didn't have the same political convictions as the rest of the United Kingdom. For this reason, several movements claimed the right to obtain a Scottish Parliament to manage their own local policies.

This is what led to the 1997 referendum about devolution organised by Tony Blair's Labour government.

It was a huge success and the Scots decided to approve the creation of a Scottish Parliament contrarily to 1979 where the number of voters was too low for the referendum results to be valid. Scotland obtained its own government, which could rule differently than Westminster in some devolved fields.

In 2014, after the SNP took the head of the Scottish Parliament, a referendum on Scotland's independence was held. The campaign in favour of the Yes was not convincing enough, and the No won, thanks to the success of Programme Fear and its efficient arguments. The huge participation proved that people were aware of the crucial importance of the vote. Indeed, Scottish people still felt as much British as Scottish. It demonstrated that Scottish people still wanted to stay within the United Kingdom and preferred to stay within a nation with a bigger influence rather than to obtain a place as an independent nation on the international stage. The United Kingdom went through a serious crisis but finally stayed united.

The SNP was the winner of this referendum. It became the leader of the Scottish political scene with Nicola Sturgeon as First Minister. It won the 2015 House of Commons election, and excellent position for negotiations which brought more devolved powers to the Scottish Parliament.

However, many Scottish people still want to obtain more decentralised powers for Scotland.

Referendums are a means for the Scottish population to express their ideas concerning the kind of political representation and power that they want and, in the meantime, this succession of referendums is defining the place they want within the United Kingdom.

Scottish people proved that they wanted a powerful local government closer to them. However, their identity standpoint is still not strong enough to go for their own independent government and they still want to stay associated with the United Kingdom for now. Other criteria for this failure could be the efficiency of Project Fear, or the state of the global economy of the country, not strong enough at present to be an independent country.

Nevertheless, after the referendum concerning the United Kingdom staying or leaving the European Union held in June 2016, a new referendum for the independence of Scotland has been demanded by Nicola Sturgeon.¹ Indeed, the decision for the Brexit might change Scotland's opinion about independence. As it has often been the case in the past, the Scottish population voted in majority differently than the English population; 62% were in favour of staying within the EU. This referendum decision was taken by the First Minister since the interests of Scotland might be threatened with the negotiations undertaken for the Brexit and the separation from the single European Market. The Scottish Parliament, who has most SNP MSPs, approved the choice of the First Minister and urged a Section 30 transfer from Westminster to be allowed to hold a referendum. Nicola Sturgeon would like to hold this referendum between Autumn of 2018 and Spring of the following year. However, the Prime Minister Theresa May still needs to approve this decision, whereas she is not in favour of this: "We cannot allow our United Kingdom to drift apart," she said."² Even though Theresa May accepts that Scotland holds a new referendum about Scotland's independence in the following years, Scottish people are still reluctant to get their independence for now as it is shown by the polls.³ Another political campaign will have to be more convincing if the SNP wants to reach its goal next time. The apex of this fascinating period for Scotland, almost crossing the Rubicon⁴, is probably to happen given the Brexit uncertainties.

¹ "Scottish independence: Nicola Sturgeon to seek independence", *BBC News*, March 13th 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-39255181>

² Severin Carrell, "Theresa May lays down independence vote challenge to Nicola Sturgeon", *The Guardian*, March 3rd 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/mar/03/theresa-may-lays-down-independence-vote-challenge-to-sturgeon>

³ Adam Bienkov, "Everything you need to know about a Scottish Referendum in 5 minutes", *Business Insider*, March 22nd 2017, <http://www.businessinsider.fr/uk/second-scottish-independence-referendum-sturgeon-how-and-why-it-will-happen-2017-2/>

⁴ Voir annexe III

B) Partie didactique

Cette séquence sera basée sur les référendums écossais de 1979,1997, 2014 et 2016. Elle présentera les relations politiques entre l'Écosse et le reste du Royaume-Uni et les débats entre ces différentes nations.

Classe : Terminale

Niveau CECRL : B1+/B2

Entrée culturelle : Gestes fondateurs et mondes en mouvements

Notion : Lieux et formes du pouvoir

Problématique : Comment les référendums de 1997 et 2014 ont modifié la place de l'Écosse au sein du Royaume-Uni ?

Objectifs grammaticaux : expression de l'avenir – modalité et expression de la modalité au futur (will be able to / be allowed to / have to) – comparatifs, expression d'une opinion

Objectifs lexicaux : vocabulaire des élections, du système et des institutions politique au Royaume-Uni, connecteurs logiques (contraster et opposer : whereas / while – unlike / contrary to...)

Objectifs culturels : les référendums écossais, les relations Angleterre/Écosse, l'accent écossais, le système politique au Royaume-Uni, la dévolution

Objectifs méthodologiques : savoir expliquer, argumenter, justifier

Objectifs phonologiques : l'intonation pour convaincre, gap fillers, accentuation des mots porteurs de sens, nombres (dates et chiffres)

Objectifs pragmatiques : incarner un personnage, expliquer et commenter, convaincre

Tâche finale: Expression orale en interaction sous forme de débat : You're a Member of the Scottish Parliament in favour/against the independence in Scotland. A third one still needs to think. Try to convince him to join your side. You will be three in each group, one student in favour, one hesitant and one student against.

Les élèves doivent être prêts à jouer les trois rôles car l'attribution des personnages se fera par tirage au sort.

1er document



Document trouvé sur le site : <https://anglaispourlebac.com/2014/09/07/scottish-independence-referendum/>

Cette image servira de document d'anticipation de la séquence.

Au départ, seule la partie inférieure du document sera montrée aux élèves, sans qu'ils ne voient l'Écosse. Les questions suivantes seront posées aux élèves.

1) Describe the image. Imagine why England and Wales are represented with these facial expressions.

On peut s'attendre à des phrases comme « England is represented with its flag. It does not seem happy. »

On montrera ensuite l'intégralité de l'image aux élèves.

2) Check your hypotheses.

3) Can you guess which cultural event is symbolized by this picture.

Les élèves pourront peut-être penser au référendum de 2014, qui est un événement récent.

4) Imagine why Scotland and England are represented in this way.

They might disagree about something.

Ce document permet d'introduire la séquence en montrant qu'il existe des désaccords entre l'Écosse et l'Angleterre.

On pourra ensuite procéder à un brainstorming sur l'Écosse et le Royaume-Uni (leurs relations, leurs emblèmes, différences...).

2ème document

<http://www.scottish-devolution.org.uk/> (annexe IV)

Le deuxième document permettra d'aborder l'histoire de la dévolution et des référendums écossais.

Comme celui-ci est long, on pourra séparer la classe en deux groupes, une partie travaillant sur la première moitié du texte, la deuxième sur l'autre moitié, ce qui permet que chaque groupe travaille sur un référendum en particulier. Cela permet qu'un groupe travaille sur le référendum de 1979 et un autre sur celui de 2014.

Pour chaque groupe, les questions seront :

- 1) Pick up all the dates and the numbers and say to which event or to what they correspond. Then, create a timeline.**
- 2) Pick up all the words which belong to the British political system and try to define them.**
- 3) Sum up each paragraph in one or two sentences.**

Il y aura ensuite une phase de mise en commun pour les différents groupes.

Les élèves pourront ensuite proposer quelques phrases comparatives entre les deux événements. (résultats, évolution du SNP...)

- 4) List differences and similarities between the two referendums.**

The result was not the same in 1979 and in 1997.

There were more people in favour of the devolution in 1997.

- 5) Complete these sentences comparing and contrasting the 1979, 1997 referendum and 2014 referendum with unlike, like, both, while, whereas, contrary to, as or any relevant information.**

- 1)..... in 1997, Scottish people did not vote in favour of the question asked in 2014.
- 2)..... to 1979, a Scottish Parliament was established in 1997.
- 3) In 2014, sides led a political campaign.
- 4) The 1997 referendum was a successful one..... it was unsuccessful in 1979.

Ce document permettra aux élèves de comprendre l'historique des référendums en évoquant les deux référendums sur la dévolution. Ils pourront également voir le champ lexical d'institutions et vocabulaire du système politique britannique. Ils pourront voir les expressions qui permettent de structurer, comparer et opposer des idées.

3ème document

On pourra également proposer aux élèves une recherche informatique afin de compléter leurs informations sur la dévolution à partir du site :

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/first_time_voter/8589835.stm

Ils devront répondre aux questions suivantes :

1) Give a definition of devolution.

It is a decentralisation of the government and it gives more powers to the three other nations, except England, which compose the UK.

2) When did Scottish people vote?

They voted in 1997.

3) What are the devolved powers in Scotland?

The devolved powers are agriculture and fishing, education, environment, health, housing, justice, local government, fire service, economic development, some transports.

4) What powers are not devolved?

These are known usually as "reserved powers" and include the Constitution, defence and national security, foreign affairs, energy, immigration and nationality, transports, social security, international relations and economic policy.

5) Why is there not an English Parliament?

The UK government is responsible for all matters in England which have been devolved to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

However, devolution has caused some tensions, particularly over public spending.

6) Make sentences expressing what Scotland is able/allowed to do with the devolution.

Scotland can rule in the fields of education and environment.

Scotland is able to rule its local government.

Scotland is not allowed to change the Constitution.

7) Write a paragraph to explain what is Scottish devolution and your point of view about it.

Ce document permettra d'intégrer du numérique grâce à l'outil informatique permettant d'effectuer des recherches. Ce document complétera les connaissances des élèves sur la dévolution et ils devront exprimer la modalité et leur opinion.

4^{ème} document



Source : Steve Bell, « Steve Bell on Scotland's currency conundrum », The Guardian, 23 avril 2013 [En ligne]

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cartoon/2013/apr/23/scottishindependence-sterling>

On montrera tout d'abord l'image en enlevant les paroles dans les bulles.

1) Describe the image.

We can see two men fighting with tree trunks in the nature. The man on the left of the picture is Scottish because he wears a kilt whereas the man on the right is English because he wears an English flag on his head.

2) What are the Scottish and English symbols present on the picture?

Scottish symbols: the flag, the kilt, sheep wool, the lion, Highland games

English symbols: the flag

3) Imagine what they say.

A ce moment, on intégrera les paroles et on explicitera la référence culturelle à Braveheart.

4) Which argument is given by each side?

It's a nationalist argument for Scotland and an economic one for England.

5) Imagine other arguments which could be given by each side in pairs. Act them in front of the rest of the class.

Ex: *Ye'll never take away our kilt! Ye'll never take away our tea!*

Ce document permet d'identifier les symboles qui peuvent être différents pour les nations composant le Royaume-Uni. Les élèves peuvent commencer à développer une réflexion sur les arguments opposant ces deux nations et s'entraîner à de la production orale en interaction, même si celle-ci est assez courte et à adapter leur ton à leur message.

5ème document

Il s'agit d'une vidéo qui propose des points de vue en faveur et opposés à l'Ecosse indépendante.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=4&v=YPgUvIJmDCc

- 1) Write down the words you understand during the first listening.**
- 2) Circle the words among this list that you hear during the video: election- referendum- Parliament- future- nationalism- currency- oil- together- independent- isolate**
- 3) Who is in favour of independence among them?**
- 4) In a table, classify the arguments in favour and those opposed to independence in two columns.**
- 5) Who seems the most convincing for you? Why?**

Cette vidéo permettra de travailler les compétences de compréhension orale des élèves. Elle leur permettra de développer d'autres arguments qu'ils pourront utiliser pour leur tâche finale. Ils pourront également exprimer leur opinion à la suite de celle-ci à l'aide d'une courte expression écrite.

6ème document

<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-26550736> (annexe V)

Ce texte présente un état général autour du référendum de 2014.

- 1) Find the translation in the text for each expression : écrasante- isoloir- préaffectation- venir à manquer- conditions- il est probable que**
- 2) Find the element which started the referendum.**

The SNP won the 2011 Scottish Parliament election. They had planned to hold a referendum if they won.

- 3) Quote the question asked during the referendum election.**

Should Scotland be an independent country?

- 4) Class the arguments of each side in a board.**

In favour of the independence

Against the independence

North sea oil and gas reserves

Might run out

Want to keep the pound as the currency

other parties think the English government will not accept

5) Indicate the requirements to vote.

People aged 16 and over who live in Scotland can vote. Eligible voters must be British, EU or Commonwealth citizens with permission to enter or stay in the UK.

6) Pick up all the sentences using comparative or superlative forms.

An independent Scotland, aided by its oil wealth, would be one of the world's richest countries.

Britain is one of the world's most successful social and political unions.

Mr Cameron says the North Sea has been a British success story - and now the oil and gas is getting harder to recover, it's more important than ever to back the industry with the "broad shoulders" of the UK.

The Liberal Democrats have been considering this issue the longest.

A la suite de cette question, une pratique raisonnée de la langue pourra être faite sur les comparatifs et superlatifs.

Ce document développe plus en détails le référendum sur l'indépendance de 2014. Les élèves revoient également les structures comparatives et superlatives.

7ème document

Cette vidéo est un discours de David Cameron à propos de l'indépendance écossaise le 7 février 2014.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=43&v=1ectcRXYtBY

1) Write down the words you understand during the first listening.

2) Which problem Cameron evokes concerning the voters?

Complete the sentences with the right modals:

There are 63 million of us who wake up on September 19th in a different country.

The central part of my economic argument for the UK is not about what we lose if we pulled apart but about what we gain in this world if we stay together.

We do whatever it takes.

3) What are his economic plans?

4) Who is he addressing to? Why is it strange?

5) Which rhetoric devices does he use to convince his audience?

Cette compréhension orale abordera plutôt les aspects rhétoriques qui pourraient leur servir pour leur tâche intermédiaire et leur tâche finale et leur permet de revoir l'utilisation de certains modaux (would/could).

Tâche intermédiaire: You're for/against the independence in Scotland. Deliver a speech to convince other people to vote like you.

Cette tâche intermédiaire est de l'expression orale en continu. Les élèves devront défendre une opinion en réutilisant des arguments vus précédemment dans la séquence.

8^{ème} document

Ce document est une vidéo qui parle du prochain référendum écossais prévu par Nicola Sturgeon.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qe_5PYjxrGo

1. Which sentence is true?

- a) The Scottish Parliament will demand a vote on independence after Brexit.
- b) Nicola Sturgeon will be able to get another referendum on independence.
- c) Members of the Scottish Parliament voted against independence.

2. What was the number of the motion being voted on?

3. The motion ... a) failed. b) passed. c) was abandoned.

4. What is Nicola Sturgeon's opinion about the Brexit?

5. According to the report, when could a vote on Scottish independence take place?

Cette compréhension orale aborde le prochain référendum écossais qui pourrait prendre place en Écosse, et pourrait servir de contexte actionnel pour la tâche finale.

Pour la tâche finale, les élèves pourront préparer des listes d'arguments en faveur ou contre le référendum sous formes de notes.

Comme les élèves sont en classe de terminale, on peut conclure la séquence par une réflexion sur la notion Lieux et formes de pouvoirs et demander aux élèves de rédiger un paragraphe avec une problématique et des arguments pour illustrer cette notion avant de s'enregistrer pour réaliser un entraînement à l'oral du baccalauréat.

Fiche des critères d'évaluation de la tâche finale

Les critères suivants pourront servir de base à l'évaluation de la tâche finale des élèves.

Interaction : évaluation critériée		B1-	B1	B1+ / B2-	B2
Compétence linguistique	Lexique	Montre un usage limité d'un lexique approprié	Utilise un lexique approprié en rapport avec la situation	Utilise un lexique approprié permettant d'exprimer des points de vue	Utilise un lexique riche et varié permettant d'argumenter et de commenter
	Syntaxe	A une maîtrise suffisante de formes grammaticales simples	A une bonne maîtrise de formes grammaticales simples	A une bonne maîtrise de formes grammaticales simples et utilise quelques formes complexes	Maîtrise des formes grammaticales simples et complexes
	Phonologie	Est intelligible la plupart du temps malgré un contrôle limité du système phonologique	Est intelligible la plupart du temps et montre un certain contrôle du système phonologique	Est intelligible ; a une intonation généralement correcte ; place correctement l'accent de mot ; prononce généralement bien les sons	A une bonne maîtrise du système phonologique
Compétence sociolinguistique / culturelle	Rôle / Contexte	Utilise de manière limitée des règles de politesse	Utilise des règles de politesse et de savoir-vivre	Montre une bonne maîtrise des règles de politesse et de savoir-vivre	Maîtrise avec spontanéité les marqueurs de relations sociales
Compétence pragmatique	Adaptation du discours à la situation / Organisation / Structuration	Utilise des phrases courtes et hésite fréquemment ; a tendance à se répéter	Produit des énoncés courts et parfois plus longs avec quelques hésitations ; contributions généralement pertinentes	Produit des énoncés généralement longs même avec quelques hésitations ; contributions pertinentes et soucieuses de cohérence	Produit des énoncés structurés et bien adaptés ; propos toujours pertinents et cohérents
Interaction : évaluation globale /20		B1- [04 à 07]	B1 [08 à 11]	B1+ / B2- [12 à 15]	B2 [16 à 20]
Communication interactive	Initiative, réactions à l'imprévu, aisance	Maintient des échanges simples, parfois avec difficulté ; a besoin d'être relancé	Prend des initiatives, répond de manière appropriée ; est capable de relancer l'interaction	Prend des initiatives, répond de manière appropriée ; maintient et développe l'interaction	Prend l'initiative de la parole ; maintient les échanges avec naturel, aisance et efficacité
Impression générale	Communication dans un domaine familier	Est capable de s'exprimer simplement avec des hésitations sur des sujets liés à un domaine familier	Est capable de communiquer sans difficulté avec parfois quelques hésitations sur des sujets liés à un domaine familier	Est capable de communiquer sur des sujets liés à un domaine familier avec une certaine précision	Communique sur des sujets liés à un domaine familier avec spontanéité et naturel

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Annexe I : Résultats du référendum de 1997

	Participation	Oui, 1 ^{re} question	Oui, 2 ^e question
Aberdeen	53,7	71,8	60,3
Aberdeenshire	57	63,9	52,3
Angus	60,2	64,7	53,4
Argyll & Bute	65	67,3	57
East Ayrshire	64,8	81,1	70,5
North Ayrshire	63,4	76,3	65,7
South Ayrshire	66,7	66,9	56,2
Borders	64,8	62,8	50,7
Clackmannan	66,1	80	68,7
Dumfries & Galloway	63,4	60,7	48,8
East Dunbartonshire	72,7	69,8	59,1
West Dunbartonshire	63,7	84,7	74,7
Dundee	55,7	76	65,5
Edinburgh	60,1	71,9	62
Falkirk	63,7	80	69,2
Fife	60,7	76,1	64,7
Glasgow	51,6	83,6	75
Highland	60,3	72,6	62,1
Inverclyde	60,4	78	67,2
North Lanarkshire	60,8	82,6	72,2
South Lanarkshire	63,1	77,8	67,6
East Lothian	65	74,2	62,7
Midlothian	65,1	79,9	67,7
West Lothian	62,6	79,9	67,3
Moray	57,8	67,2	52,7
Perthshire & Kinross	63,1	61,7	51,3
East Renfrewshire	68,2	61,7	51,6
Renfrewshire	62,8	79	63,6
Stirling	65,8	68,5	58,9
Orkney (Orcades)	53,5	57,3	47,4
Shetland	51,5	62,4	51,6
Western Isles (Hébrides)	55,8	79,4	68,4
Écosse	60,4	74,3	63,5

Edwige Camp-Pietrain, « Dévolution, 1997, Écosse », *La dévolution : Écosse – pays de Galles*, Atlante, 2006, p.253-254.

Annexe II : Résultats du référendum de 2014

Local authority ^[426]	Yes votes	No votes	Yes (%)	No (%)	Valid votes	Turnout (%)
<u>Aberdeen</u>	59,390	84,094	41.4%	58.6%	143,484	81.7%
<u>Aberdeenshire</u>	71,337	108,606	39.6%	60.4%	179,943	87.2%
<u>Angus</u>	35,044	45,192	43.7%	56.3%	80,236	85.7%
<u>Argyll and Bute</u>	26,324	37,143	41.5%	58.5%	63,467	88.2%
<u>Clackmannanshire</u>	16,350	19,036	46.2%	53.8%	35,386	88.6%
<u>Dumfries and Galloway</u>	36,614	70,039	34.3%	65.7%	106,653	87.5%
<u>Dundee</u>	53,620	39,880	57.3%	42.7%	93,500	78.8%
<u>East Ayrshire</u>	39,762	44,442	47.2%	52.8%	84,204	84.5%
<u>East Dunbartonshire</u>	30,624	48,314	38.8%	61.2%	78,938	91.0%
<u>East Lothian</u>	27,467	44,283	38.3%	61.7%	71,750	87.6%
<u>East Renfrewshire</u>	24,287	41,690	36.8%	63.2%	65,977	90.4%
<u>Edinburgh</u>	123,927	194,638	38.9%	61.1%	318,565	84.4%
<u>Eilean Siar</u>	9,195	10,544	46.6%	53.4%	19,739	86.2%
<u>Falkirk</u>	50,489	58,030	46.5%	53.5%	108,519	88.7%
<u>Fife</u>	114,148	139,788	45.0%	55.0%	253,936	84.1%
<u>Glasgow</u>	194,779	169,347	53.5%	46.5%	364,126	75.0%
<u>Highland</u>	78,069	87,739	47.1%	52.9%	165,808	87.0%
<u>Inverclyde</u>	27,243	27,329	49.9%	50.1%	54,572	87.4%
<u>Midlothian</u>	26,370	33,972	43.7%	56.3%	60,342	86.8%
<u>Moray</u>	27,232	36,935	42.4%	57.6%	64,167	85.4%
<u>North Ayrshire</u>	47,072	49,016	48.9%	51.1%	96,088	84.4%
<u>North Lanarkshire</u>	115,783	110,922	51.1%	48.9%	226,705	84.4%
<u>Orkney</u>	4,883	10,004	32.8%	67.2%	14,887	83.7%
<u>Perth and Kinross</u>	41,475	62,714	39.8%	60.2%	104,189	86.9%
<u>Renfrewshire</u>	55,466	62,067	47.2%	52.8%	117,533	87.3%
<u>Scottish Borders</u>	27,906	55,553	33.4%	66.6%	83,459	87.4%
<u>Shetland</u>	5,669	9,951	36.3%	63.7%	15,620	84.4%
<u>South Ayrshire</u>	34,402	47,247	42.1%	57.9%	81,649	86.1%
<u>South Lanarkshire</u>	100,990	121,800	45.3%	54.7%	222,790	85.3%
<u>Stirling</u>	25,010	37,153	40.2%	59.8%	62,163	90.1%
<u>West Dunbartonshire</u>	33,720	28,776	54.0%	46.0%	62,396	87.9%
<u>West Lothian</u>	53,342	65,682	44.8%	55.2%	119,024	86.2%
Scotland	1,617,989	2,001,926	44.7%	55.3%	3,619,915	84.6%

Source: "Scottish independence referendum – Results". BBC. 18 September 2014

Annexe III: “Scotland crossing the Rubicon”



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Annexe IV : Support pour le document 2 de la partie didactique

Scottish devolution since the Act of Union

The Act of Union in 1707 joined Scotland and England politically into one country. The result of the legislation meant that Scottish affairs became the responsibility of Westminster. Even though this was seen by many as taking away a lot of power from the country, Scotland kept several important sectors that remained entirely separate from England. There was a different legal system and a Church that had no ties with the Church of England. In 1885, Scotland was handed back a certain amount of its administrative power in the form of the Scottish Office. This enabled the region to take responsibility for issues that were crucial to its well-being in areas such as fisheries, farming, education, law, and health matters. This powerful body was headed by the Secretary of State for Scotland.

Background of Scottish devolution

Not only was Scotland an independent country up until the union in 1707, but it was also fiercely nationalist. There was, however, a voice within the country that saw the benefits of joining with England as it was thought from a commercial standpoint that it brought economic prosperity. The first twenty to thirty years of the union saw several efforts to restore the Stuart monarchy. The rebellion of the Jacobites was centred in the Highlands and was not considered to be a movement for the whole of Scotland. In the mainly Presbyterian Lowlands, it was as unpopular with the people as it was in England.

The Scottish National Party early years

Founded in 1934, the Scottish National Party aimed at the so far elusive goal of bringing unity to the nationalist movement by merging the diverse factions. It united the pro-independence National Party, which was left wing, with the Conservative Scottish Party that's primary aim was to establish a fully independent Scotland. The first Member of Parliament for the SNP was elected in 1945. It would, however, be 20 years later before any real success took place with the Scottish electorate. In 1967 over 200,000 votes were won at local elections and the party took 40 per cent of the council elections in 1968.

The referendum on devolution

With the setting up of the Kilbrandon Commission, plans were laid for a Scottish Assembly with Conservative leader Edward Heath giving his promise to support it. With the discovery of North Sea oil in the mid-1970s, the SNP claimed success by winning 11 seats in the 1974 general elections. The campaign at the time "It's Scotland's oil", played a big part in gaining the seats, and there was a general feel of optimism about the way the devolution strategy was heading.

Under the terms of the 1978 Scotland Act, a provision was made for a referendum on devolution. The subsequent event saw 1,230,937 people voting in favour, but this figure did not represent over 40 per cent of the electorate to make the result legal.

The declining years

The referendum failure began a period of SNP decline, with a lot of in-house fighting between the various factions that were lumped together under the Scottish National Parties agenda. The Thatcher years were fallow years for the SNP, but the Labour Party placed devolution

high on its agenda. John Smith's famous quote about "unfinished business" was just the start of what was to be a period of great success for the movement.

A Scottish Constitutional Convention that was put together in 1988 finally called for the formation of a Scottish Parliament in 1995. When Labour gained power in 1997, the plans were delivered for a referendum in September of that year. This time, 1,775,045 voted in favour, which represented over 70 per cent. In 1999, the Scottish Parliament was established.

The SNP today

2007 was a historic year for the SNP with an enormous victory in the Scottish elections. It won 47 of the available 129 seats. Even though talks of a coalition government in partnership with the Greens and the Liberal Democrats fell through, the party formed a minority government with the first minister being Alex Salmond. This was followed in 2011 by an increase in seats to 69, which gave the party a majority, and the power that it had always craved for to call for a referendum on full independence. It took many months of negotiation between Salmond and the Prime Minister David Cameron before the power to hold such a referendum was granted, with the date loosely set to be held in autumn 2014.

The referendum 2014

The result of the referendum for full independence was announced on 19 September. It was a 'no' victory with around 55 per cent of the vote.

The way forward

The important result in the 2015 general election saw the SNP win 56 out of a possible 59 seats, which was a landslide victory. This was the best outcome ever in the UK elections and under the leadership of Nicola Sturgeon; the party has managed to tap into the 'wave' of nationalism sparked by the narrow referendum defeat. Even though there is an insistence that the election win was not about independence, the leadership of the SNP have not ruled out the future possibility of another vote on Scotland's future as an independent country.

Annexe V : Support pour le document 6 de la partie didactique

Scottish independence: What's going on in Scotland?

By Andrew Black Political reporter, BBC Scotland, 9 September 2014

On 18 September, voters in Scotland will be asked in a referendum whether they want the nation to become independent from the rest of the United Kingdom.

Why is it happening?

The Scottish National Party, whose central aim is independence, won the 2011 Scottish Parliament election by a landslide, giving them a mandate to stage the vote.

On referendum day itself, voters across Scotland will head to polling booths to answer the Yes/No question: "Should Scotland be an independent country?"

The arguments for and against

The Scottish government, led by First Minister Alex Salmond, says the 300-year-old Union is no longer fit for purpose and that an independent Scotland, aided by its oil wealth, would be one of the world's richest countries.

He says it's time for Scotland to take charge of its own destiny, free from what he describes as the "shackles" of a London-based UK parliament.

On the opposite side of the debate, the UK government, led by Prime Minister David Cameron, says Britain is one of the world's most successful social and political unions.

What are the key issues?

Two major issues have emerged during the campaign - oil and currency.

Oil

North Sea oil and gas reserves (or more precisely the tax take from Scotland's share) are vital to the Scottish government's case for independence.

Mr Salmond says earmarking a tenth of revenues - about £1bn a year - could form an oil fund similar to the one operated in Norway, creating a £30bn sovereign wealth pot over a generation.

Mr Cameron says the North Sea has been a British success story - and now the oil and gas is getting harder to recover, it's more important than ever to back the industry with the "broad shoulders" of the UK.

The SNP's opponents also argue they're pinning future hopes on something that's eventually going to run out.

Currency

Currency has been the other big area of disagreement.

Under independence, the Scottish government wants to keep the pound as part of a formal currency union with the rest of the UK.

It argues this is in everyone's best interests, but the three main UK parties - the Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats - won't go for it, and say that whoever's in power after the next UK election will not agree to such a move.

This position came as the UK Treasury published analysis from its top civil servant, Sir Nicholas Macpherson who outlined several reasons why currency unions were "fraught with difficulty".

Who gets to vote

People aged 16 and over who live in Scotland get a direct say on the nation's future - as long as they're registered to vote.

There are some requirements, though. Eligible voters must be British, EU or Commonwealth citizens with permission to enter or stay in the UK.

That means the 800,000 Scots who live in other parts of the UK don't get a vote, while the 400,000 people from elsewhere in Britain who live in Scotland do.



Members of the armed services and their families serving overseas who are registered to vote in Scotland also get to vote.

What happens on 19 September?

On the day after the referendum, if there's a "Yes" vote, the Scottish government is likely to have a big party. After that, it will get down to the process of negotiating with the rest of the UK.

Mr Salmond wants to declare "**Independence Day**" in **March 2016** with the first elections to an independent Scottish parliament in May. But, first, an agreement will have to be reached with what remains of the UK on issues like Scotland's share of the national debt.

However, if there's a "No" vote, the UK government is likely to have a big party, then turn its attention to the issue of giving more powers to the devolved Scottish Parliament.

The Liberal Democrats have been considering this issue the longest, and a commission led by former leader Sir Menzies Campbell, says there is **now growing agreement** among the pro-Union parties that the Edinburgh parliament should get significant new financial powers, like increased responsibility over tax-raising.

Résumé du mémoire :

Ce mémoire s'intéresse aux référendums de 1979 et 2014 en Écosse et plus particulièrement les conséquences qu'ils ont eu sur la politique écossaise. Cette succession de référendums rapproche à chaque fois l'Écosse de l'indépendance. La problématique est la suivante : Comment les référendums écossais de 1979 et 2014 définissent la place de l'Écosse au sein du Royaume-Uni ? A travers les différentes parties, on peut voir que l'on peut déceler deux courants opposés en Écosse : l'un plutôt en faveur de l'indépendance écossaise soutenue par le SNP alors que les autres partis sont plutôt en faveur du maintien de l'Écosse au sein du Royaume-Uni. Cependant, à chaque nouveau référendum proposé au peuple écossais, des avancées sont faites concernant les pouvoirs et l'autonomie accordés au gouvernement écossais. En effet, le référendum de 1979 avait été un échec, alors que celui de 1979 a apporté la dévolution avec la création d'un parlement écossais. Les résultats du référendum de 2014 n'ont pas été en faveur de l'indépendance, cependant une étape vers plus d'autonomie a été envisagée. Récemment, la procédure de Brexit entamée par le Royaume-Uni laisse voir le jour à un possible nouveau référendum sur l'acquisition de cette indépendance pour l'Écosse.

Mots clés:

Référendum- dévolution- indépendance- Écosse-Parlement écossais- Scottish National Party- New Labour Party- Conservative Party- Royaume-Uni