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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANGLO-SCOTTISH
RELATIONS FROM 1707 TO THE PRESENT**

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1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present thesis is to describe the development of relations between England and Scotland after the parliamentary union of the two Crowns in 1707 to the present day. The original topic of the thesis has been narrowed in order to concentrate on particular phases of the development in more detail. The main focus of the thesis is on the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century given that events that occurred at that time had a considerable influence on the current situation in Britain today.

The topic was selected because of personal interest in the subject. The main goal of the thesis is to provide an overview on the development of Anglo-Scottish relations since the beginning of the 18th century and to find out current opinion of the local people on relations between the two countries.

The area of interest comes under the interdisciplinary academic field of Cultural Studies which also relates to other disciplines such as anthropology, history, sociology and geography. One thing these disciplines have in common is their concern for culture and their combination thus provides different perspectives on particular objects of study [1].

The thesis consists of three main chapters. Chapter two deals with the historical development of Anglo-Scottish relations, describing briefly the situation before the Union of Crowns, and provides a general background introduction for the following chapters. The remaining topics of the chapter consist of the union of two different nations and their convergence caused by the expansion of an empire along with the political situation in 20th and 21st centuries that resulted from the tense relations between the two.

Chapter three focuses on three events that had a major influence on relations between the English and Scots after 1707 and how these events

affected relations - whether it contributed to their reinforcement or, on the contrary, to their decline.

Chapter four represents the research part of the thesis. Here it aims to provide an overview of public opinion on Anglo-Scottish relations from the point of view of the Scottish and English people. The research is based on a questionnaire of Anglo-Scottish relations.

Sources consulted for this thesis largely consist of printed monographs for example *A History of Modern Britain: 1714 to the Present* by Ellis Wasson and *Dějiny Skotska* by Jenny Wormald. Additionally, a number of monographs in electronic form were used for example *The Isles: A History* by Norman Davies and *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1900 to Devolution and Beyond* by William L. Miller. Other electronic sources used were the *BBC website* and several articles from Internet editions of British newspapers (such as *Guardian.co.uk*). In addition, a questionnaire was created in order to carry out authentic research that would reflect public opinion on the chosen topic.

2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Situation before 1707: Two different kingdoms

Previously, there had lived a number of tribes in northern Britain; historical sources state as many as sixteen. The Picts were one of the most important northern tribes, but it was the Angles who played a vital role in the development of northern Britain [2]. The defining moment in Scottish history came on 20th May 685 after the battle of Nechtansmere when the Picts drove the Angles back over the river Forth which had caused the division of the island into north and south [3]. Two successful kingdoms, rather than just one, then began to flourish on the British mainland.

Throughout the 12th and 13th century a new European state arose in northern Britain. It had its own state administration, national sovereignty, judicial system and market economy. It was during these years that the main turning point in Anglo-Scottish relations came. Around the year 1100, England claimed the imperial superiority over their Celtic neighbour whilst strengthening its position as the most powerful state in the British Isles [4]. However, only Scotland was able to resist the pressure, unlike Wales or Ireland, as it was sufficiently firm and strong enough. The vision of a single English kingdom had never been materialized in Middle Ages. But in 1100, humiliating treaties and agreements were imposed on Scotland under the pressure of an aggressive English monarchy, and it subsequently lost the territory of Northumbria (See Appendix I, picture 1) [5]. As a result, a period of Scottish aggression followed and English troops had to intervene several times in the Scottish territory. Nevertheless, northern Britain remained under the dominion of the English crown. Surprisingly, the period from 1217 until 1296 was the longest of Anglo-Scottish harmony in the Middle Ages [6]. However this harmony did not last long and was soon broken, because the Scottish

state still remained without a monarch. This led to the English King Edward I's decision to take power. The Scots, however, defended their independence and in 1295 they rejected the supremacy of England and made an alliance with France. The following Scottish Kings Alexander II and Alexander III secured supremacy over the Scottish mainland and unified identity of the Scottish state, which ensured a certain stability of the country. Especially the period of Alexander III's reign is often considered as a 'golden' era of Middle Ages [7]. England led by Edward I made a few conquest attempts, but they were to be fruitless. The prelude to those fights became the encounter at Stirling Bridge in 1297 where England was clearly defeated by a common army led by William Wallace and Scottish independence was thus confirmed (See Appendix I, picture 2) [8].

Throughout the following century, Scotland was at war. The English monarch Edward I constantly tried to conquer and take control of Scotland. But these attempts were averted. In 1357, a truce with England was declared which ended all conflicts for a quarter of a century.

In the 15th century the Anglo-Scottish relations may be likened to the Cold War, which had been interrupted by occasional outbursts [9]. The main source of conflict was the dispute over territory.

In the 16th century England and France started to compete against each other for control of Scotland. This conflict gained a religious dimension and it became a conflict that divided Europe at that time [10]. During the reign of the Scottish Queen Mary I a series of crises occurred and Scotland, a Catholic kingdom allied with France, suddenly became a Protestant monarchy, which was now allied with England. In 1603, an Anglo-Scottish personal union, called Union of the Crowns, was created. Until the 17th century, Scotland maintained its independence over England, but with the emergence of the personal union came the century of anxiety.

After the union of the two crowns there developed a substantial rivalry and mutual hostility between the English and the Scots thus ruling out any chance of a new Anglo-Scottish friendship. King James I made many attempts to improve relations; however, these continued to make the situation worse. When his son Charles I came to power, the situation in Scotland had deteriorated quite considerably due to the preference Charles I had for England. Unfortunately, by the end of 17th century, Scotland was in crisis. Due to the famine that had afflicted it, the mortality significantly increased causing the Scots to fall into the trap of economic and political stagnation. Anglo-Scottish relations became increasingly worse and as a result Scottish members of parliament began to consider the parliamentary union with England which could bring it many benefits.

2.2 The Union: Beginning of Great Britain

With the situation critical, the Scottish members of parliament decided that the parliamentary union with England would be in the best interests of the country and they voted by the majority to agree to it. The Act of Union was ratified on 16 January 1707 (for more detail, see 3.1) [11]. This treaty was in fact the product of a crisis in which the Anglo-Scottish relations were at an all time low by the beginning of the 18th century. After the Act came into effect on 1 May 1707, Scotland lost its independent parliament and merged with England into one country - Great Britain. "In the words of Robert Burns, they (the Scottish MPs) were „bought and sold for English gold“ [12].

Both countries benefited from the Union. England gained access to the Scottish trade and Scotland became a part of a huge empire whose borders stretched from Asia to America (See Appendix II, picture 3).

Although Scotland lost its Parliament after the creation of the Union, its legal and church systems were maintained but other things such as flag, sovereignty and coinage became unified. This Union had also an impact on the Scottish language, which gradually began to merge with

that of the English. Despite this, the Scots have maintained their own distinctive accent, which has been preserved to this day.

As compensation for the break up of the Parliament, the Act of Union allowed Scotland 45 seats in the House of Commons and 16 seats in the House of Lords in the newly formed British Parliament [13]. In fact in contrast to the English, the Scots possessed much fewer seats in Parliament than they should have according to the democratic and demographic rules. The number of Scottish voters barely exceeded 3000 in 1708 in comparison to the 3000-5000 English and Welsh voters from 1700 [14]. The Scottish people had very little say in anything. As a result of this disproportion there were often corrupted elections. The people were beginning to become skeptical and the Union was becoming considerably unpopular – they had started to resent it, which was endangering the first years of its existence. The Scottish nation began to doubt the benefits the Union brought to the country and if it was actually a mistake to give up its state integrity and political independence because of the lure of greater economic prosperity which had now began to look uncertain. The only means of expressing public opinion was the assembly of the Church of Scotland. However, in 1708 last autonomous Scottish institution came to an end - the Privy Council [15]. And so the question of who would rule in Scotland as part of the United Kingdom arose. This had been a problem since the beginning of the Union.

Another wave of resistance arose after the introduction of new taxes: tax on canvas in 1711, increased tax on salt in 1712 and grain tax in 1713 [16]. This strong dissatisfaction and ill-feeling manifested itself in 1713 when all peers (Scottish representatives) in the House of Lords put forward a proposal to abolish the Union. However, this proposal was very narrowly outvoted and the Union remained. Continual problems then showed how diverse and disparate the two countries were. By 1714, Great Britain still could not be regarded as a united country, because

each kingdom (England, Scotland, Ireland as well as the Principality of Wales) continued to maintain their own identity and culture [17].

Opponents of the Union tried several times during the 18th century to restore the Stuart dynasty. There were several rebellions known as the Jacobite rebellions, however, these attempts at an uprising were thwarted (for more detail, see 3.1.3).

2.3 Expansion of empire: Convergence of two nations

After the suppression of the Jacobite rebellions and the pacifying of Scotland a great deal of progress was made in the second half of the 18th century. Scotland had begun its transformation into a great industrial power. In fact the changes to Scottish agriculture turned it into a highly profitable industry and at the end of the 18th century became one of the most powerful in Europe, despite it being one of the most underdeveloped a few years before. Modernization, which affected the whole of Scotland, was facilitated by the Anglo-Scottish Union. It was not only changes to the economy that occurred, in the art sector literature and poetry were transformed - the Scottish language was completely replaced by the English and even the traditional bardic poetry disappeared despite all the efforts of the Gaelic writers [18]. English as a language thus became the most widely spoken of the population.

From the second half of the 18th century to the early 19th century the British Empire was expanded extensively and Scotland had a major role in this expansion. The Scots slowly began to identify with the idea of an United Kingdom [19]. They knew that this new found prosperity had been caused by the unification of the two countries and that the Union was really beneficial, thus they began to cooperate with the English. Despite this cooperation they were still realising their national identity. Nevertheless, they had no intention of trying to separate from England, or even to seek independence. A newfound patriotism was discovered after the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars that ended in 1815 where

Scotland and England fought as one. Scotland had proved its position within the Union as an equal partner with England and thanks to this; Britain was gradually becoming a superpower.

All attention was therefore became focused on this extensive empire. As a result, in 1886, Scotland attempted to push through the law of autonomy, the so-called Home Rule [20]. The British Parliament at Westminster, too busy concentrating on solving mainly imperial problems, did not pay much attention to Scottish affairs, and was therefore unable to resolve them adequately. This led to the Scottish MPs of the British Parliament to start meeting separately. During these meetings they discussed primarily national issues and they put to a vote their proposals in the House of Commons in order to be approved [21]. Eventually as a parallel to the British Parliament, the unofficial Scottish Parliament was created.

Scotland, whom the royal family had shown little interest in since the creation of the Union enjoyed a great deal of attention for almost the entire 19th century from Queen Victoria who fell in love with the country along with her husband prince Albert. This interest and affection given to Scotland contributed substantially to the creation of the national identity of the Scots within Britain [22]. This may be attributed to the fact that she had Stuart blood running through her veins, and therefore she had a better understanding of the problems faced by Scotland.

In the second half of the 19th century – in the political sense the bond between the two countries was becoming stronger. Scotland, which was taking advantage of the Britain's wealth as much as England was, had no radical nationalist demands, which were noticed on the Irish side. It was therefore the British Liberal Party that Scotland favoured at that time.

2.4 Political development in the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century

At the beginning of the 20th century tension began to grow in Europe [23]. It was also a period that affected Scotland greatly. The idea that Scotland was a nation of Liberals fell apart when the Conservatives gained the majority of parliamentary seats in the election. The death of Queen Victoria - who never hid her love for Scotland - followed in 1901. It was her son Edward who took over the throne after her death and became the King of the United Kingdom.

Prior to the start of the First World War, the country suffered several crises that involved Scotland as well. The ongoing Boer War in Africa showed that Britain was not only militarily weak, but also socially and economically which began to threaten the integrity of the empire [24]. After the general election in 1906 it appeared that everything had returned to normal - the nation had united and supported a free-trade question, which in turn led to the Liberal Party being re-elected once again by the voters in the election [25]. However, the economic fall just before the war threatened to have an effect on this. Labour disputes began to emerge, and to end the discontent of the working class, the politicians wondered if the idea of a social reform would help. At the same time, however, a fear of everything German began to develop – Germany now posed a great threat to the country.

When the war started in August 1914, it was a relief for many Scots. Suddenly all the disputes in the country were forgotten and a newfound patriotism developed. The desire to all come together to fight as one showed unity and a social cohesion of the nation. Many of the younger generation wanted to go and fight, as it was very important for them to defend their country. The loyalty and allegiance to the country the people had was enormous. Because of the great interest to be involved in the war, many conditions were set on 11 September 1914 – mainly physical –

that people had to have if they were to be considered for selection [26]. Only the best ones were to be chosen. However, no one had any idea what the army would be faced with.

The British Army was the smallest of all and what it should be noted that the young men did not have to go through any compulsory military service. Unfortunately, all the hopes of even the most optimistic people faded when the death toll began rising. According to estimates Scotland lost 100,000 soldiers, which consisted of 1/7 of the total number of British casualties [27]. Such a huge loss of young men left its mark on both the cities and the villages.

After the war the Scottish economy hit rock bottom. An addition to the long list of the problems that had afflicted the country before the war, such as poverty, poor housing and bad hygiene occurred after the war had ended - unemployment. The situation became so serious that people had begun talking about a decline of the nation. In the early 1930s, this ended up in the Scottish newspapers with headlines like "The End of Scotland", "Northern Britain, that unfortunate country" [28]. However this was not a surprise for the readers. A considerable pessimism reigned over Scotland. In 1936 the State Scottish Minister Walter Elliot even complained himself that "in the last few years he has been finding in every book written in Scotland the discontent" [29]. The biggest mistake made in regard to the Scottish economy was that it was not able to expand the new links that were made during the war, unlike England, where in fact this was the major factor in revitalising their economy [30]. Due to the long-term unemployment it was extremely difficult for people to find work in Scotland and therefore all attention was thus focused on England and the opportunities it could give to people. This is why the entire industry began to shift to more stable and richer markets in England.

Economic differences between the north and the south were widening and a sign that Scotland's economy could no longer compete. Due to the shift of the industry to the south, the population in the north of Britain fell

by 40,000 compared with that of England, which recorded a population increase of about 2,000,000 [31]. It was obvious that the northern half of the population were leaving to work in the south and it only added to the confirmation of the decline of the Scottish nation.

On the other hand, it should be mentioned that the serious social problems concerned only a minority of the population (although they represented a very considerable part). For the others, who had a job, the 1930s was indeed a favourable period. There were increases in real wages and a great improvement in living standards [32].

As for the economic issues – they were being dealt with. The situation that the country found itself in showed that it was not worth any effort to promote independence. However, in 1928 the National Party of Scotland was founded, which in the elections thereafter, tried to enforce the requirement of independence. But this did not meet with success. In 1934, it merged with the Scottish right-wing party and the Scottish National Party (SNP) was created (for more detail, see 3.2) [33].

When in 1939 the Second World War broke out, people found themselves in crisis and had serious concerns about its progress. Even though the British had lost about a half of the men after the war in comparison with the First World War, the country was ruined and exhausted. Post-war reconstruction began but with limited resources. Some help at that time came from the Americans, who financed the reconstruction of Europe [34].

In the 1960s, however, economic problems became more evident, and the people expected the government to intervene. A number of economic development projects in northern Britain were set up, which was funded by the state. At the beginning it looked promising, but the practical implementation posed a problem. Traditional industrial areas declined and the Scottish economy weakened once again. This time however it aroused a wave of nationalism [35], but this soon passed, and up until the late 1970s no threat of separation was observed. The turning

point, however came with the discovery of oil in the North Sea, which acted as an economic saviour for Scotland. The Scots could, according to the nationalist propaganda, choose to be "either rich Scots or poor Britons" [36]. The government had to deal with the problems concerning Scotland before they could spiral out of control.

In the last 20 years of the 20th century Scottish politics has deviated considerably from the British norm [37]. There have been a number of dramatic changes related to economy, society and culture. A large share of the crises led to the increased support of the Prime Minister at that time, Margaret Thatcher, who came to power after the election of 1979, when the Conservative Party were victorious. Because of Thatcher's motto "modernise or die", privatisation spread across Scotland as well as de-industrialisation from the 1980s [38]. As a consequence, unemployment increased and support for the Conservative Party started to weaken significantly. After 1987, only 1/4 of the Scottish votes were in favour of the Conservative Party and only 10 deputies had left [39]. By contrast, in England, Thatcher enjoyed greater support. The Labour Party failed to overturn the Conservatives at the following British elections and the Scots feared that they would have to tolerate the continued reign of the Conservatives. This in turn led to an increased demand for a Scottish Parliament by the Scottish public.

However, at the election held in 1992, the Conservative reign ended and the Labour Party was victorious. It was John Smith who took over the leadership of the party after the election. Unfortunately, in 1994, he died of a heart attack. His successor was Anthony Blair. He significantly weakened socialism in the Labour Party and contributed to the repeal of Article 4 which was concerned with the nationalization of industry. He thus steered the Labour Party into the mainstream of British politics [40]. Blair tried to gain the support of voters from the middle class. He succeeded once again and in the general election in 1997, the Labour Party won 419 seats in Parliament, compared with that of the Conservatives who failed

considerably with a total of only 165 seats. Furthermore, in Wales and Scotland the Conservatives did not win a single seat [41]. In the same year, the Scottish Devolution Referendum was put to the Scottish people (for more detail, see 3.3.1). The outcome was a majority (3/4 of people) in favour of the establishment of a new devolved Scottish Parliament.

For the first time since 1707 the new Scottish Parliament met in Edinburgh in 1999 (for more detail, see 3.3). Opening of this new Parliament was attended also by the Queen, who was suitably dressed in tartan [42]. Nevertheless, there is still the so-called West Lothian question remaining over the devolution of the Scottish Parliament, i.e. how it is still possible that Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland can decide on social and economic policies in England, when none of the English deputies have adequate power to decide on matters beyond their country [43]? This led to an increased desire for an English Parliament among Britons.

At the beginning of the 21st century, it could be said that a light form of Anglophobia arose in Scotland, in the form of the 2007 Scottish Parliamentary election, which saw a victory for the Scottish National Party (for more detail, see 3.3.4). At the 2011 election, the Scottish National Party won again with a majority vote (for more detail, see 3.3.5). Current First Minister Alex Salmond has never hid that in his opinion Scotland would become independent in the next decade and wants to hold a referendum on Scottish independence [44]. In fact on the 9th January 2011 Salmond announced that a referendum could be held in August 2014 [45].

The Scots continue to participate in British politics, but public opinion polls show that a lot of Britons do not hold a positive view on the future of the Union [46].

3 IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE PERIOD SPECIFIED

3.1 Acts of Union

The Act of Union was in fact two acts - the Union with Scotland Act, which was passed by the English Parliament in 1706, and a year later the Union with England Act, which was passed by the Scottish Parliament [47].

The two countries had the same monarch ever since the Union of Crowns in 1603. Despite that fact, they still remained separate – an example of this being that there were two separate Crowns resting on the same head. It was not until 1707 when they unified, according to the parliamentary Acts, into one country. However there had been 3 times during the 17th century (in 1606, 1667 and 1689) that representatives of both England and Scotland tried to unite both countries by parliamentary Acts. These attempts were unsuccessful. It was the distrust that the countries had for one another that was the major factor preventing the passing of these Acts [48]. The Scots were most fearful of becoming just another region of England - the same thing had happened to Wales a few hundred years prior to this. As for the English – they were fearful of a possible restoration of an alliance between Scotland and France because England was very much dependent on having the support of the Scottish soldiers in their army. If Scotland had joined up with France again, the consequences would have been devastating for England.

When the Acts of Union came into effect on 1 May 1707, both the Scottish and English Parliaments merged into one Parliament – the Parliament of Great Britain [49]. Although it was now the British Parliament, it was still based in London in the Palace of Westminster, which was previously home to the English Parliament. However, it was not a true fusion of the two Parliaments at all, because an abolition of Scottish legislature was actually proposed in the treaty. It was obvious

that the newly established British Parliament was in fact just a renamed English Parliament. This caused a great problem with the amount of representation that should have been granted to Scotland - if the number of representatives in the new parliament was too low, the Scots would protest but on the other hand if the number was too high, the English would protest. After the Scottish commissioners demanded more seats in the Parliament, a compromise was reached - 45 seats in the House of Commons and 16 seats in the House of Lords were granted to Scotland [50].

3.1.1 Passage of the Acts

Before the passing of the Act of Union in 1707, 31 commissioners were chosen by each country who were to conduct negotiations between the two [51]. In Scotland, the majority of the commissioners were chosen by the Duke of Queensberry and the Duke of Argyll. In fact, it was in the main the Duke of Queensberry who was chose the commissioners as the Duke of Argyll had minimal interest in the matter [52]. The men named on 26 February 1706 to represent Scotland consisted primarily of those in favour of the union (government ministers, businessmen or bankers). Making up the English commission were also government ministers and other officers of the state. The Conservative Party which was very much against the union, had no representation on the commission.

What was widely known, even before the negotiations had started, was the intention of the English. They were afraid of the French and the Scottish Jacobites who were united in their aim of restoring the Stuart dynasty in Britain [53]. The English therefore wanted to protect themselves from these threats. The union was thus the only solution to this.

Negotiations between the two began in April 1706 in London with speeches from the English and Scottish representatives who both stressed the importance of the matter in hand [54]. Both sides however

had their worries. Within a few days of negotiations, the Scots had secured access to the colonial markets which was one of its biggest wishes due to their their critical economic situation. England was assured that it would be the Hanoverian dynasty who would follow Queen Anne in the throne, and not the Stuarts. By 22nd July 1706, the 25 Articles of the Treaty of Union were prepared and eventually agreed by the commissions [55]. Both Parliaments now had to approve these Acts.

3.1.2 Provisions of the Acts

By the 22nd of July 1706, the Scottish and English commissioners representing the two parliaments came to an agreement on what is known as the Treaty of Union. This union was made up of 25 articles (at least 15 of the articles were concerned with the economy). Each article was voted on individually in Scotland. The first article was passed with a majority vote – 116 to 83 on 4th November 1706 [56]. In addition to passing the articles an Act was passed which concerned the churches. There were those (mainly from the Prebyterian Church) who showed resentment to the Church of Scotland but to curtail this resentment the afore mentioned Act was introduced to secure the Presbyterian Church as an organisation along side the Church of Scotland. The treaty of 25 articles was eventually approved on 16 January 1707 by a majority of 110 votes to 69 [57].

The two acts i.e. the Union with Scotland Act and Union with England Act enabled Scotland to have representatives from the Peerage of Scotland in the House of Lords. It allowed the Church of Scotland to continue to be the established church in the country, the Court of Session to „ remain in all time coming within Scotland“ and Scots law to „remain in the same force as before“ [58]. Additionally the Act of Settlement 1701 was reinstated and a ban was enforced on Roman Catholics coming to the throne [59]. On the other hand the Act also stated that any "laws and

statutes" that were "contrary to or inconsistent with the terms" of the Act would "cease and become void" [60].

Shortly after the Acts of Union were established the Act 6 Anne or "Union with Scotland (Amendment) Act 1707" was created [61]. The Scottish and English Privy Councils were merged into one. However, one big change affected the daily running of the government of Scotland – it no longer was the responsibility of the politicians – this had now been transferred to that of the College of Justice who were now in charge of administration.

3.1.3 Reaction: Jacobite rebellions

Even after the establishment of the Union there were still problems that mainly affected Scotland. When the new British Parliament was formed, Scotland was allocated a lower number of representatives in comparison to England. Several Scottish institutions were abolished and a number of new taxes were introduced. This led to a proposal being put forward in 1713 to abolish the Union; however, this was unsuccessful. The number of opponents of the union was steadily growing and one solution that these people were in favour of to help improve the situation was the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

The displeasure the Scots had with the Union represented an opportunity for the son of King James VII, James Francis Edward Stuart, who lived in exile in France. He wanted to restore the Stuart Kings to rule again in Scotland as well as in England and Ireland [62]. His intention was supported by France and Spain. James Francis Edward Stuart relied on the strong support of the Scottish Patriots. They wanted to restore the ruling of the Stuart Kings in Britain and were considerably outraged by the ascension of the Hanoverian dynasty to the British throne after the death of Queen Anne.

With the support of France, James could renew his attempts to establish the Stuart dynasty once again. In 1708 the French King Louis

XIV provided him with a small fleet and they set off towards Scotland. However, the fleet was prevented from landing by the Royal Navy and they returned back to France.

The second rebellion led by the Earl of Mar John Erskine, took place in September 1715. The Jacobites were supported by many of the Scottish clans of the Highlands as well as those who opposed the Union. John Erskine was much more successful than James. With his army of 12,000 men he managed to take control of the north of Scotland. In addition, the rebellion did not occur only in the north of Scotland, but also in the southwest and north-east of England, but the Jacobites failed in conquering Edinburgh and were also unsuccessful in the north-east of England. Despite the fact that the Jacobites were stronger and were a much bigger army, this was wasted by Erskine when they faced the English army led by Duke of Argyll at the Battle of Sheriffmuir on the 13th November 1715, who successfully resisted their attempts to defeat them [63]. Later James Francis arrived in Scotland to join Erskine but this was to be a pointless journey as and they both soon returned back to France.

After this second unsuccessful uprising, the War of Spanish Succession ended, which meant the Stuart successor losing French support [64]. A new ally had to be found and this time support came from Spain. A third Jacobite rebellion began. This movement which reached and invaded northern Scotland, however, found support of only 1000 Highlanders and they were eventually defeated on 10th June 1719 at the Battle of Glenshiel [65].

30 years later, James's son Charles Edward Stuart tried to re-establish the Stuart dynasty. This time the expedition was very successful. In July 1745 Charles arrived in the Scottish Highlands. Assisted by a number of Scottish clans who rose in revolt, he conquered Edinburgh and drove the defeated royal army back to England. As a result of this victory Charles decided he would continue and move his army down into England. The Scottish Jacobites willingly agreed to the invasion

and they proceeded south. In December 1745, they were situated in Derby 200 km from London [66]. Charles had planned to get the English Jacobites on his side and reclaim the British throne. However, as they continued south it became obvious that the English Jacobites were not forthcoming with their support and so they withdrew back to Scotland. The royal army led by the Duke of Cumberland was sent to Scotland the next year and on 16th April 1746 at Culloden a bloody battle commenced, in which the Jacobites were clearly defeated (See Appendix II, picture 4) [67]. This victory by the Duke of Cumberland had in effect brought an end to the Jacobites.

The punishments handed out to anyone involved in this rebellion were the harshest in comparison to those handed out at the end of the previous rebellions. Several people were executed or deported. Laws were introduced – one of which was the ban on wearing checkered costumes – including the Scottish kilt (See Appendix III, picture 5). Whoever violated this prohibition, faced up to 6 months in prison or deportation [68].

3.2 Role of the Scottish National Party

Throughout the 1930s a variety of economic problems dominated the political scene in Scotland. The politicians at that time tried to come up with various solutions to these problems. According to the Liberals the only way out of the situation was to make use of British state resources [69]. It was also the reason why any attempt by the Scots to become independent was absurd. But even so, when the National Party of Scotland was created in 1928 one of its main aims was for Scotland to become independent. However, the people of Scotland did not seem to agree when it came to voting time at the election. With the failure to win the election, the party decided to rid itself of its radical members [70]. In 1934 it merged with the right-wing Scottish Party to form the Scottish National Party (SNP). But any high hopes that were had for this newly formed party to make an impact were not to be as it was as unsuccessful

as its National Party of Scotland predecessor. One of the main reasons being that they had not come up with any solutions to improve the economic situation of the country [71].

Due to the Labour government's inability to deal with the economic problem facing the country, especially after 1929 when the crisis began, a government of national protection was formed in 1931. The Labour party was defeated by a big margin in the election and the new government, led by the conservative party maintained its electoral dominance throughout the 1930s (See Appendix III, picture 6).

The government endeavoured not to interfere in the affairs of Scotland and hoped by doing this the situation would improve [72]. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Instead, the government prepared a program of administrative devolution, which did benefit Scotland. With the increased importance of the Scottish government, Scotland was now recognised as a nation within the Union [73]. The Scottish Office, who in 1939 moved to Edinburgh, now had the authority to make decisions on Scottish affairs, along with other Scots. However, this reform was essentially meaningless, as the power officially remained with the State Minister of Scotland who in turn was following orders from the Cabinet in London [74].

In the first half of the 20th century it was the Liberal party who gained the largest number of seats in Parliament. A few years after the Second World War in 1955 it was the Conservative Party who took over after winning more than half of the votes which at the time was a big surprise. But when the post-war economic problems in the 1960s became more apparent, the people turned to the Liberal party once again. The Liberal government lead by Harold Wilson came up with a plan to encourage economic development in northern Britain. This was to be funded by the state. However, the plan when put into practice was not as effective as was hoped.

From 1967 to 1974 the number of votes for the SNP fluctuated a great deal with at times many people appearing to be very much in favour of the party. But this favour was more about expressing dissatisfaction with the government in London rather than seeking independence [75]. The newfound support for the nationalist party had one advantage - it had attracted attention to Scotland. In 1967 the SNP recorded a victory in the election and it was then the idea of devolution arose again. Harold Wilson called for the Royal Commission on the Constitution and subsequently at the Conservative party conference in Perth in 1968, its leader Ted Heath declared the need for devolution. His enthusiasm disappeared after the general election in 1970, when the number of votes for the SNP significantly decreased. In the election 4 years later there was a great turn around and the SNP gained almost 1/3 of all votes. According to surveys carried out it was the growing dissatisfaction with the government's interventions in the economy that had led to the increased support of the SNP [76] and not independence which was the main objective of the Nationalists. In fact, only 12% of people surveyed were in support of independence [77]. The SNP was therefore only acting as a tool to force the British government to deal with Scottish issues.

Due to the economic crisis that had affected Britain, the government agreed to ask the International Monetary Fund for a loan that would help ease the situation. However, this had enormous consequences for Scotland. To enable Britain to receive the loan, it had to reduce its public spending, meaning an increase in unemployment. The topic of devolution was raised once again which would enable the Scots to have national recognition and their own government. For such a law to be passed 40% of the total votes was required. This was going to be a big challenge as it was not often that a government was elected by having more than 40% of the total votes [78]. In 1979, a referendum was held, and all concerns were confirmed – the 40% mark was not reached. It appeared that one

third of voters wanted a separate Parliament, one third did not and one third was not interested [79].

Up until the beginning of the 1990s, the SNP was very much overshadowed by the other parties what with the victory by the Conservative Party in 1979 and the arrival of Margaret Thatcher. By 1987, however, the popularity of the Conservative Party in Scotland fell to its lowest level ever. Although in England, the party still enjoyed great support. Since the Liberals had not been able to win the British election, the Scots began to fear that they would be under the reign of the Conservatives for the foreseeable future [80]. The solution to this was according to the Liberal Party the devolution of a Scottish Parliament. The SNP devised another solution - independence. In 1988, the Democrats and the Labour Party signed the Scottish Constitutional Convention which has become a roof institution for the Civil Forum seeking the creation of the Scottish Parliament [81]. In the next election in 1992, the number of votes for the SNP increased, but it was still not enough for victory.

It was not until 1997, when the Labour Party returned to power, that a referendum on devolution was granted to Scotland. In 1999 the first meeting of the Scottish Parliament since 1707 took place (for more detail, see 3.3).

An unexpected event occurred in 2007 when the SNP were victorious in the election, with its leader Alex Salmond elected as the new First Minister of Scotland, which was a surprise for the SNP itself (for more detail, see 3.3.4) [82]. In the following elections in May 2011, the SNP won 69 seats in the Scottish Parliament which was an overall majority (for more detail, see 3.3.5). Alex Salmond then decided to hold a referendum on Scottish independence. The referendum is set to be held in Autumn 2014 [83].

3.3 Establishment of the Scottish Parliament and an overview of following elections

As mentioned in section 2.4, it was around the late 1980s that the idea to create a parliament in Scotland was resurrected once again, which was seen to be the solution to the public dissatisfaction with the Conservative government. In June 1988, representatives from the Democrats and the Liberals signed the so-called 'A Claim of Right for Scotland' which recommended the creation of the convention that called for recognition of Scotland's right to freely decide on the form of government in Scotland [84]. Shortly after the Claim of Right, the Scottish Constitutional Convention became a framework for Scottish devolution.

The SNP, whose main goal was for Scotland to become independent, had been steadily growing in popularity since the 1990s. Its support, however, was not yet large enough for the party to be able to intervene in the country's affairs. The Conservative Party - in power at that time - were opposed to devolution. During the election campaign in 1997, the Conservative Party leader John Major rejected the possibility of establishing the Scottish Parliament. However, for Tony Blair the leader of the Labour Party, devolution was at the forefront of his campaign. This campaign helped him win the majority of the seats in the election (56 out of the total 72) [85]. The Conservatives were well and truly defeated and gained no mandate. After the election, when the Labour Party returned to power the opportunity arose to promote the idea of devolution. First of all, the party focused on the implementation of the referendum, for which a legislative framework had to be established. On 4th June 1997 a Referendum Act was created. A month later the Act was followed by the White Paper, which contained the defining powers for the future Parliament as well as its relations to other institutions [86].

3.3.1 Referendum

The date of the referendum according to the Referendum Act was set for the 11th September 1979. In this, the Scottish citizens had to express their opinion on two questions. Firstly, whether they agreed or not with the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, and secondly, whether the Parliament should have the power to amend the income tax rate. The range of this change was limited to + / - 3% [87].

The Scottish Labour Party clearly promoted that a positive answer be given to both questions. In fact some members of the SNP were initially against devolution, because they considered it to be inadequate [88]. After long discussions, the SNP finally came to share the opinion of that of the Labour Party, since they agreed that devolution could be a first step towards full independence. Other parties such as the Scottish Democrats, Scottish Green Party and Scottish Socialist Party were also in favour too. Only one significant party was against the creation of the Scottish Parliament in a referendum – the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party as they feared that devolution would weaken Britain [89]. Although the majority of members of the SNP were all for devolution, there were some members and those of other small radical parties that expressed their disagreement with the establishment of the Parliament, since according to them the devolution was just delaying full independence.

The Referendum on Scottish devolution was attended by 60.4% of voters, which was slightly less than the referendum of 1979 [90]. 74.3% of voters responded positively to the first question and to the second question, 63.5% of voters responded positively (See Appendix IV, picture 7) [91]. On the basis of the referendum results, a Scotland Act was submitted by the government to the House of Commons whose content largely followed the White Paper. This Act was passed in 1998 and the Scottish Parliament was created [92]. There were powers established in the Act which were submitted to the Scottish Parliament, as well as the

Scottish Executive powers, the electoral system form and the funding of the administration.

3.3.2 Elections in 1999

The Additional member system is used in the elections for the Scottish Parliament. It is a specific form of a proportional representation system which until the election in 1999 had not been used before [93].

In such elections, the voter cast two votes. The first vote is for a candidate in the district where they live and the second vote for a regional candidate. Scotland is divided into 73 single-seat districts and 8 regions. For the single-seat districts, district deputies of the Scottish Parliament are elected via the current British system of First Past the Post, i.e. the candidate with the highest number of votes wins [94]. In each region seven additional members of Parliament are elected. It is important to mention that a candidate can run in both the constituency (i.e. district) and regional list. If successful in the district, they are then removed from the regional list. Therefore, the additional seats are redistributed until all 7 seats are allocated. The system aims to avoid the creation of a majority government and ensure that the composition of the Parliament corresponds to the number of votes cast for individual parties. This is how coalitions are formed.

By law, elections for the Scottish Parliament have to be held every four years on the first Thursday in May [95]. In 1999 the election took place on the 6th May. Due to the form of the electoral system, it would be more than likely that no party would obtain an absolute majority of seats. 58% of voters participated in the election and as expected, the Labour party was the most successful with 56 seats out of the total 73 district seats (See Appendix IV, picture 8) [96]. If the electoral system was based solely on the First Past the Post system, the Labour Party would have won an absolute majority with no problems. However, the distribution of additional mandates prevented this.

During the election term opinion polls demonstrated that the Labour Party and the SNP slightly were more in favour with the public than the other parties. But it was the Labour Party who were victorious and they began a new four-year term in power. Nevertheless, the SNP gradually closed the gap on the Labour Party and before the election in 2003 the preferences for both parties were evenly matched. This is why it was a little surprising when the Labour Party won about 10% more seats than the SNP in the election.

3.3.3 Elections in 2003

The second election for the Scottish Parliament took place on the 1st May 2003. Only 49.4 % of voters took part this time around, compared with the first election in 1999, with the turnout dropping by almost 10%. The Labour Party won again with 50 seats (See Appendix V, picture 9) [97].

In 2003 the population had slightly changed their minds about the Scottish Parliament. In 1999, 41% (compared to 39% in 2003) of Scots thought that the Scottish Parliament would have had a greater impact on events in Scotland [98]. Four years later, this ratio had changed in favour of the British government. 66% of Scots held this view [99]. It was obvious that the enthusiasm the inhabitants had for the parliament was fading. Despite the extensive powers the Scottish Parliament possessed, it had a lower status in the public eye than the parliament in Westminster and therefore the turnout for elections for the Scottish Parliament was less than that for the general elections.

According to a survey in 2005 carried out by MORI Scotland, it was the Liberal Democrats that seemed to be favoured more than the SNP [100]. It now seemed unlikely that in the next election the SNP would replace the Labour Party. However, according to the same source, the person respected most by the people was, the SNP leader, Alex Salmond.

3.3.4 Elections in 2007

There was a big surprise after the third election on the 3rd May 2007, when the SNP received the highest number of votes - 37% of the seats (See Appendix V, picture 10) [101]. But this was closely followed by the Labour Party with 36.2%. The SNP victory was the first step toward possible independence. Following the election, the SNP promised a referendum on independence. However, due to proportional representation in parliament, it was necessary for the SNP to find a partner or partners in order to form a coalition government as no party obtained total control of the Scottish Parliament. However, there was the possibility that the other parties, who did not support independence, of forming a coalition among themselves, thus preventing the SNP from being in power. But this was not to be the case. The same year a manifesto was issued by the SNP, which promised to hold a referendum on independence in 2010 [102]. However one was not held. As well as the manifesto, the SNP released another important document after the election – ‘*Choosing Scotland’s future*’, in which various choices for the future of Scotland were outlined, including independence [103]. The other parties were mostly against the referendum.

3.3.5 Elections in 2011

2011 brought a radical change to the existing government in Scotland. In the election held on the 5th May, the SNP won the outright majority of seats - 69 out of the total 129 (See Appendix VI, picture 11) [104]. For the first time in history the majority rule was formed. This was the biggest success for the SNP since the creation of the Scottish Parliament. While the SNP’s popularity was on the up, the Labour Party’s popularity had declined in recent years – it had in fact recorded its worst election result in Scotland in the last 80 years [105]. The leader of the SNP, Alex Salmond announced, after the publication of the election results, that he wanted to hold a referendum on Scottish independence

within 5 years [106]. Whether or not the referendum will be held, it is clear that the push for devolution will become more and more intense. Despite the fact independence has always been and will be one of the main aims of the SNP, the majority of Scots are now not in support of independence. The right to hold a referendum is often questioned and it is still not clear whether the referendum will definitely be held but either way Alex Salmond has set autumn 2014 as the period when the referendum will take place [107].

4 PUBLIC OPINION ON THE ISSUE

4.1 Research introduction

This chapter is devoted to a survey that was created to ascertain views, attitudes and opinions of the UK population on the issue of Anglo-Scottish relations and its subsequent analysis. As the focus was predominantly theoretical, I wanted to add a practical part to the thesis.

The survey itself was carried out in the form of an anonymous questionnaire on Anglo-Scottish relations, which was sent to local inhabitants of each country (See Appendix VII). The questionnaire consisted of 18 questions. The majority of questions were multiple choice – only four questions involved the respondents having to provide an answer. These would offer insight into the attitudes and opinions of the local people firsthand. The first 6 questions were used for profiling the respondent i.e. sex, age, education attained, place of residence and nationality. Five questions focused on the rivalry between the two nations - whether or not they believed there was a rivalry, if there was how strong and what was, according to the population, its cause.

The original intention was to create a questionnaire in a text document and send it by email to individual respondents. However, due to the complexity and time consumption that filling out a questionnaire would pose, I abandoned this intention. During the creation of the questionnaire, however, I found that it was possible to create an online questionnaire using a Google document Internet application. By using this application it was possible to add help to certain questions, to choose the design of the questionnaire or the type of questions (e.g. whether the question would be compulsory to complete or not). In addition, at the top of the questionnaire there was a space provided for the author - who could - but did not have to, write something for the respondents. I used the space to explain the purpose of the questionnaire, how the information obtained would be

handled and additionally to thank them for their time and willingness to fill out the questionnaire. After creating the questionnaire, all that was left was to send a link to the respondents by email to enable them to access it. After the respondents had filled in the questionnaire, their answers were automatically recorded in the summary table.

I acquired most of the respondents through my friends from Great Britain, who distributed the link for the questionnaire amongst friends and family. Although my friends were both from England and Scotland, there appeared to be a greater number of Scottish respondents as we will see from the analysis in the following sub-chapters.

4.2 Analysis of the results

This sub-chapter contains detailed analysis of the results given in the questionnaire. The questions were divided into 6 groups and were subsequently analyzed in more detail. With the exception of 4 questions in which the respondents expressed their opinion, each question is accompanied by a graph that illustrates and quantifies the percentage of the results. All graphs were created on the basis of information obtained.

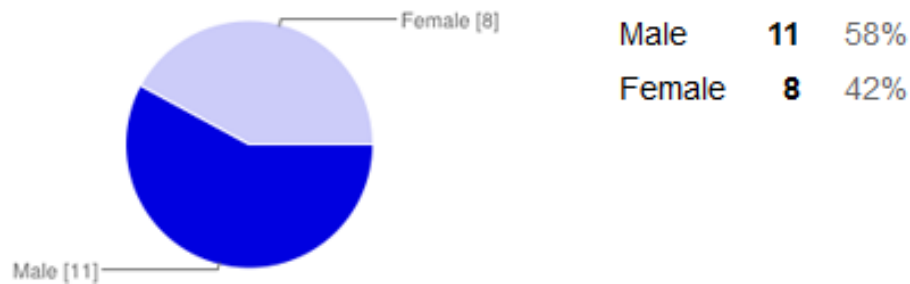
The survey was completed by a total of 19 people from Great Britain. The sample of people is not the most extensive, but it does give some insight into the opinion and attitudes of the local residents.

4.2.1 General information about respondents

Questions 1 to 6 focused on establishing basic information about the respondents such as sex, age, education attained, place of residence and nationality to which respondents class themselves as.

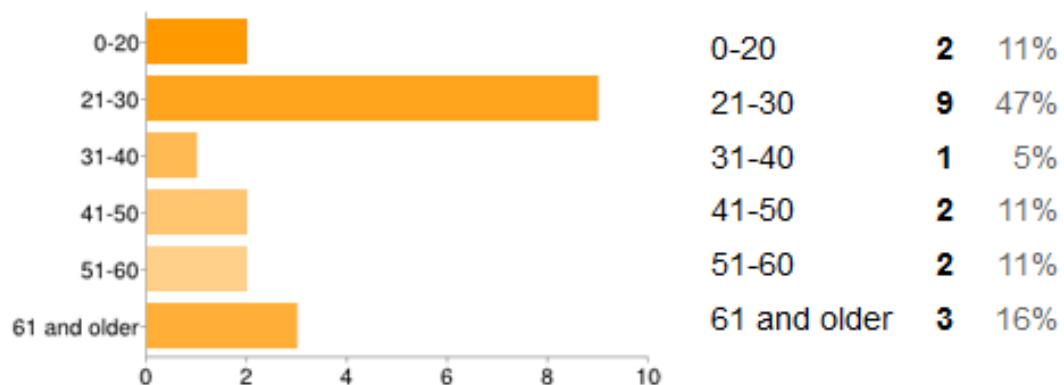
The total number of 19 respondents consisted of 11 men (58%) and 8 women (42%).

1. SEX



As for age, at least one member of each age category completed the survey. More than half of the respondents were under the age of 30 (58%). The majority were from the age category 21 to 30 years (47% of all respondents). The remaining were people older than 31 years (42%).

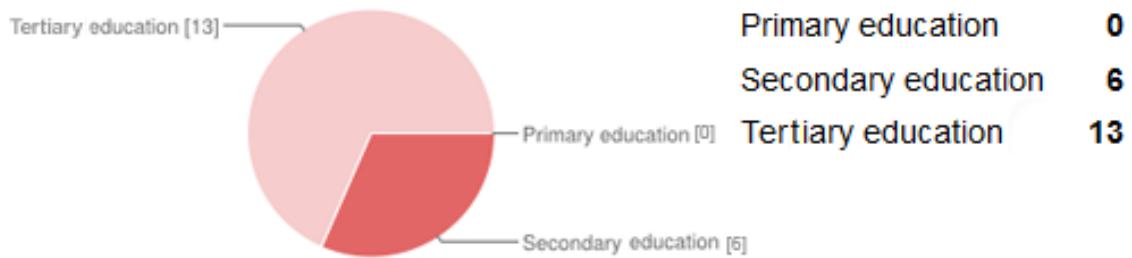
2. AGE



In the case of attained education all respondents had achieved at least a secondary education qualification. One third attained only a secondary education qualification with the other two thirds attaining a higher education qualification. The high level of education of the respondents should to a certain extent guarantee the objectivity and the quality of responses.

The strongest age category of 21 to 30 years comprises highly-educated individuals only. They are at the beginning of their careers and this issue concerns them the most - how things will further develop may have a noticeable impact on their future (options, job opportunities etc). It follows that their views and responses are amongst the most important.

3. WHAT LEVEL OF EDUCATION DID YOU ATTAIN?



The fourth and the fifth questions refer to the place of birth and the residence of the respondents. The aim was to determine whether the birthplace or place of residence affected which nationality the respondents classed themselves as or if it does not play any role at all.

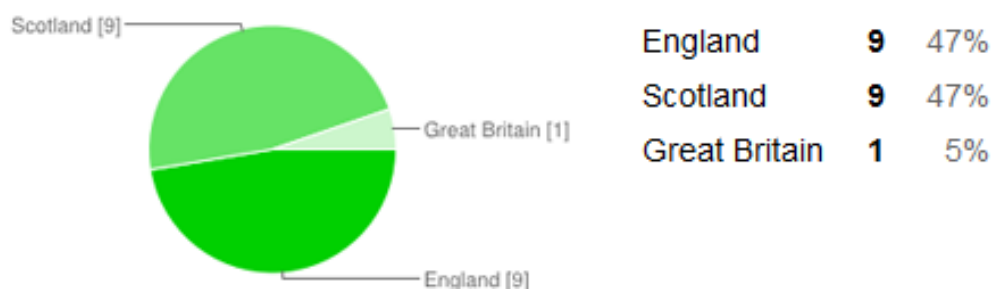
In reply to where they were born, nobody selected Great Britain from the three possible answers. All respondents selected either Scotland (58%) or England (42%) as a place of birth.

4. WHERE WERE YOU BORN?



As for the place of residence, there was again a specific response (Scotland or England) - only 1 respondent selected Great Britain.

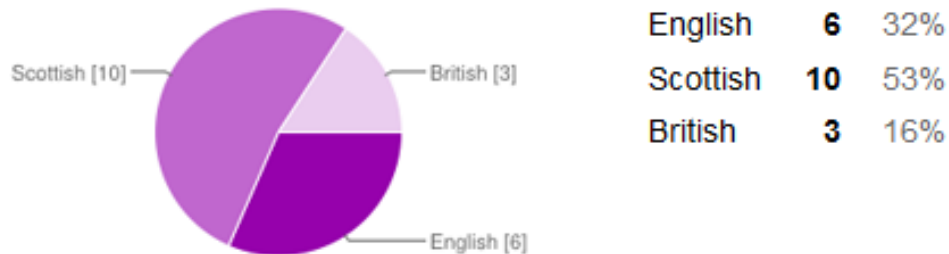
5. WHERE DO YOU LIVE NOW?



In the case of nationality the respondents again selected their home nationality i.e. English or Scottish. However, it is interesting that three

respondents (16%) selected *British* in this question. Two of them were older than 51 years.

6. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF ENGLISH, SCOTTISH OR BRITISH?



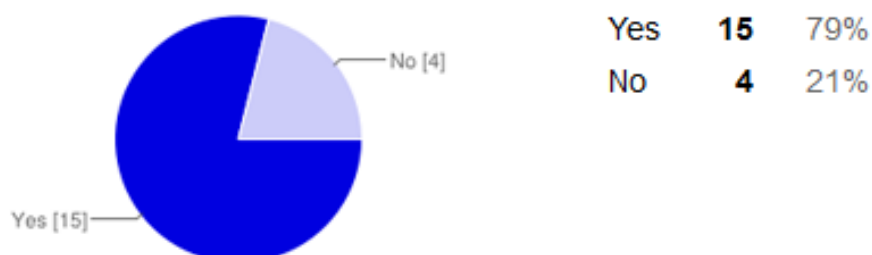
It can be clearly deduced from the last 3 questions that the vast majority of respondents still class themselves into 2 groups – the Scottish and the English. A minimum number of respondents think of themselves as from a joint British nation. In most cases, the nationality chosen by the respondents corresponded to their place of birth and place of residence. The responses indicate that the different place of birth and residence has no impact.

4.2.2 Rivalry between the Scots and the English

Questions 7 to 11 related to rivalry - whether or not any rivalry between the two nations exists and if so how strong it is, from which side it comes from (from the Scots or the English) and what is the origin of this rivalry. To elicit the strength of the rivalry, respondents had to rank it in a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 represented minimal rivalry and 10 maximal.

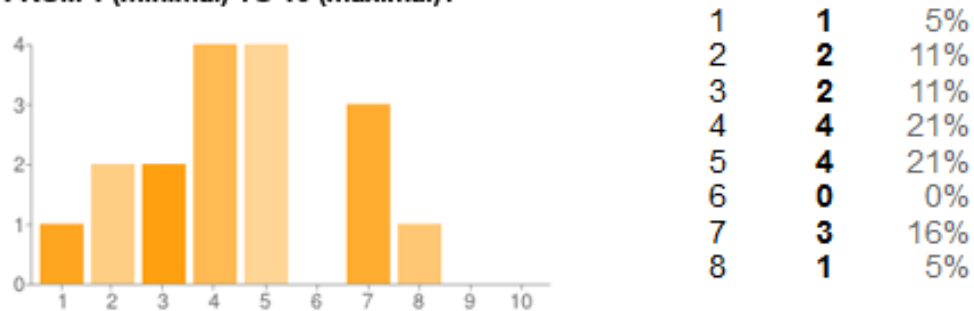
The vast majority (more than 75%) felt the rivalry was mutual. Only four respondents felt there was no rivalry between the two.

7. DO YOU FEEL ANY RIVALRY BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTS?



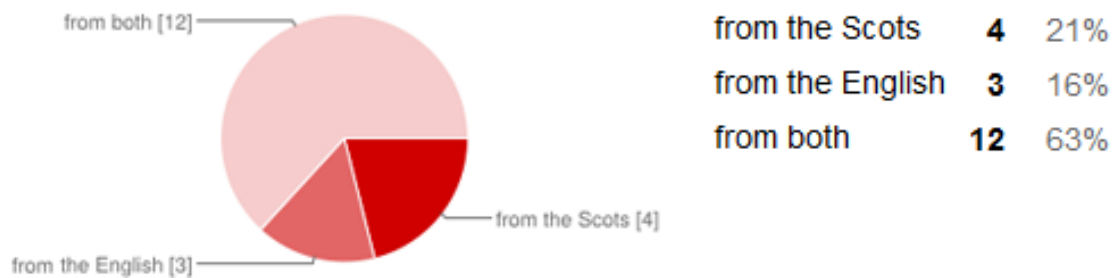
Those who felt the rivalry indicated on the scale minimal to moderate rivalry. 42% selected the value of 4 and 5, which can therefore be considered as an average rivalry. Only 4 respondents, constituting about one fifth of the total number felt the rivalry was quite high - selecting the values of 7 and 8 on the scale of 1 to 10.

8. IF SO, HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE IT ON A SCALE FROM 1 (minimal) TO 10 (maximal)?



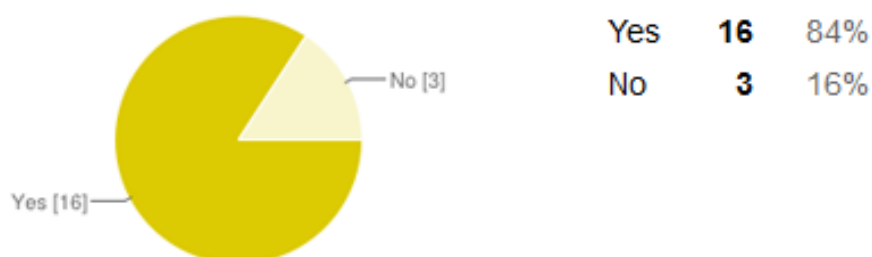
63% of the respondents reported no matter where they came from and what nationality they were, the rivalry is from both sides (i.e. from the Scots and the English). Only 4 respondents felt the rivalry came solely from the Scottish side and 3 felt it was from the English.

9. DO YOU THINK THE RIVALRY IS COMING FROM THE SCOTS OR THE ENGLISH?



The vast majority (84%) then agreed that the resulting rivalry is deeply rooted in history.

10. DO YOU THINK THE RIVALRY HAS ITS ORIGIN IN HISTORY?



Only 3 respondents (each from Scotland) did not think history played a role in the existing rivalry. Another question was therefore prepared in order to find out what according to them the cause was if was not history related. See their answers below.

Respondent 1 (male, 21-30 years)

I think it is deeply rooted in us from our birth as we gradually overtake the opinions of our parents and relations. However, it definitely depends on the place where you grew up.

Respondent 2 (female, 21-30 years)

A lot of the rivalry is related to the media. For example, in sport. For example, tennis player Andy Murray. If he wins, the English media says that he is British, if he loses, he is reported as Scottish. Also, completely unfounded stereotypes such as the Scots are mean (ie. ungenerous). Statistics show that this is completely false. Scots are also used as guinea-pigs for new laws being put in place - we don't appreciate this!!

Respondent 3 (male, 0-20 years)

Among the young people, I think, it is not about history. According to me, many of us simply overtook the ideas of our parents. If they feel any kind of rivalry between the English and Scots, it has definitely an impact on us. Moreover, the relation between the English and Scots is often mentioned on the news. It is need to be considered that the media contribute as well to the deepening of the rivalry.

One of the respondents (an Englishman) despite his opinion that rivalry has its roots in history, also wanted to justify his answer. Here is his opinion.

Respondent 4 (male, 61 and older)

Although rivalry is based in history the strong feeling by Scots that they have been ripped off with the oil money being taken by England and by the way Thatcher treated them by blocking major investments in Scotland and imposing the poll tax before it was introduced in England has made the feeling much worse. The English standpoint is that the Scots are an ungrateful lot with billions of British pounds saving their Royal Bank of Scotland. Scotland on its own could not have easily rescued RBS though the Scots say they would have had competent bank regulators and RBS would never have happened.

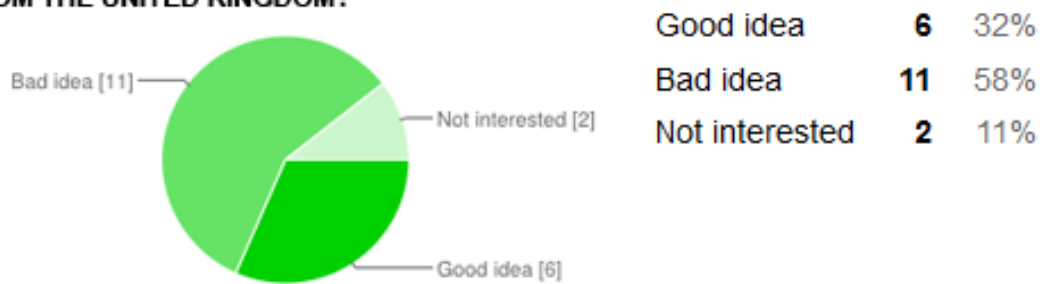
As it is evident from the answers, it is not only the historical events that are involved in the rivalry, but also the media contributes significantly to it also.

4.2.3 Independence of Scotland and the Scottish parliament

Here this deals with people's opinions on the possible separation of Scotland from United Kingdom (UK) and reveals the public opinion on the Scottish parliament. All respondents had to justify their answers to the question on the Scottish parliament.

The question relating to a possible separation of Scotland from the UK revealed differing opinions. The majority of the respondents agreed that it was a bad idea (58%). 6 respondents reported it was a good idea and 2 respondents were not interested.

12. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE POSSIBLE SEPARATION OF SCOTLAND FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM?



The question if it is good that Scotland has its own parliament was next. More than half of the respondents (68%) reported they approved of the existence of the Scottish parliament. Only 6 respondents had a differing opinion - 3 were against it and 3 were not interested.

13. DO YOU THINK IT IS GOOD THAT SCOTLAND HAS ITS OWN PARLIAMENT?



68% of those who approved the existence of the Scottish Parliament argued that Great Britain should work in a Federal Way - leaving certain decisions to the individual country parliaments but with central control at Westminster. Another reason why the Scottish Parliament should be maintained is that Scotland has different laws, education system, different civic institutions and therefore it should be left to decide on these things itself. In addition, it allows greater control over local and regional issues that does not need to come from Westminster.

In contrast, the respondents who were against the Scottish Parliament, argued that Great Britain is one country, so why should the Scots have any privilege. The problem of the West Lothian question was mentioned where the Scottish MPs of the House of Commons in London

can decide on social and economic policies in England, whereas none of the English MPs have adequate power to decide on matters in Scotland.

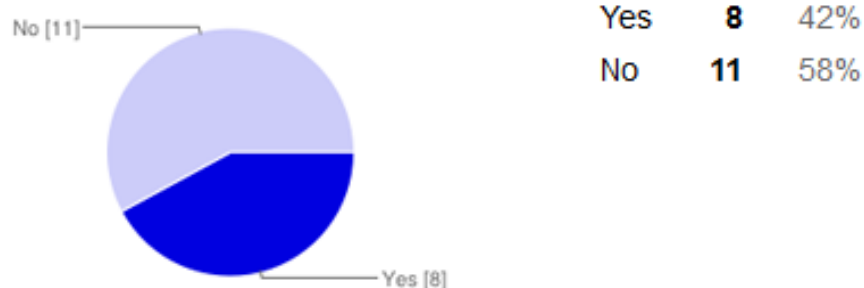
From these two questions it can be seen that for most people the separation of Scotland from the UK is a bad idea, but a certain amount of autonomy in the form of the Scottish Parliament is welcome. According to the respondents, due to the differences between the English and Scottish systems it is more favourable that Scotland should decide on its own issues.

4.2.4 Discrimination

This section consists of 2 questions ascertaining whether or not the respondents have experienced any kind of discrimination by either the Scottish or the English.

58% of the respondents reported that they had never experienced any kind of discrimination while 42% claimed the opposite. Initially 58% may seem like a high percentage but it was stated that it was nothing serious – teasing over the Scottish accent, prejudices e.g. that the Scots are mean and it was also mentioned that a certain kind of discrimination came in the form of England not accepting Scottish money.

15. HAVE YOU EVER EXPERIENCED ANY KIND OF DISCRIMINATION BY THE SCOTS OR THE ENGLISH?

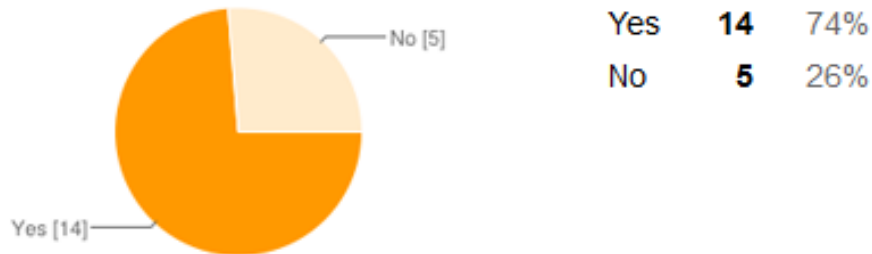


4.2.5 Functioning of the United Kingdom as a whole

The last two questions were to find out whether or not the UK worked as a whole or not according to the respondents and if not what was causing the situation.

A positive response prevailed - 74% reporting that the United Kingdom functioned as a whole.

17. DO YOU THINK THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM WORKS AS A WHOLE?



An interesting response came from one respondent (male, Scottish, 21-30 years) who despite selecting yes needed to justify his answer. See it below.

I feel the UK does work well as a whole, and this has been proven many times throughout history, however I wonder if it can work better as separate countries.

Only 26% of the respondents think the opposite. They had to subsequently provide their reasoning for their selection. Here is an argument of one of them.

Male, English, 61 and older

Economic failure and pathetic political leadership which has sidetracked Britain in Europe. It is a constitutional rag bag with an assembly in Northern Ireland a half sought of parliament in Wales and a Scottish Parliament . Scottish MP s at Westminster voted at Westminster ie to introduce tuition fees to students in England Wales and Northern Ireland, knowing that these fees would not be paid by Scottish students. The West Lothian question, this issue is called, Scottish MPs voting on English matters.

4.3 Evaluation of the research results

This research was conducted to determine the attitudes of today's inhabitants of Scotland and England on the issue. Despite the small number of respondents, the questionnaire clearly demonstrated the stance each person has on Anglo-Scottish relations.

Almost all the respondents class themselves as either English or Scottish. A minimal number considered themselves British. It is confirmed by the fact that Great Britain is still split into England and Scotland when it comes to domestic affairs. Furthermore, it was also confirmed by the vast majority that the rivalry between the two nations was deeply rooted in history, and it is how the relations between the two developed. However, the intensity of the rivalry is not radical in any way - it is rather average and comes from both sides - the Scottish and the English and it has no major impact on Great Britain as a whole. As for Scotland and its wish for independence - despite the victory by the SNP in the elections in 2007 as well as in 2011 - the majority of respondents surprisingly are not in favour of it. On the other hand, they agreed with one form of autonomy - the Scottish Parliament. This makes it easier to take control of Scottish affairs, where in many cases the systems there are quite different from those in England. This is because before the Parliament in Westminster did not pay any attention to matters in Scotland which did not please the local residents. However, despite the fact that Great Britain is divided according to the respondents into England and Scotland, it is seen to work as a whole, which has been already shown several times in the past.

It is concluded that in the case of any important issues affecting Great Britain as a whole, all signs of rivalry seem to disappear. Common interest prevails and the two nations appear to work together in unity.

5 CONCLUSION

As stated previously in the introduction, the primary intention of the bachelor thesis was to describe the development of Anglo-Scottish relations from 1707 to the present day (with the focus centred on the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century). The topic was chosen so as to examine how these relations have developed since the parliamentary union of the two Crowns and which events of the specified period have shaped the situation that is in Britain today. The analysis is preceded by a brief summary of the main historical events that took place in the above mentioned time period. Additionally, the main findings are also supported by a questionnaire on Anglo-Scottish relations in which natives of both countries gave their opinions on the issue.

The early years following the parliamentary union were critical. The inability of both nations to adapt to newly formed Union, the abolition of almost all Scottish institutions and the introduction of new taxes all contributed to the growing discontent with the union and many began to question its benefit which very much threatened the first years of its existence. On the basis of these reasons, a proposal to abolish the Union was submitted by the Scottish representatives only a few years after its creation. Nevertheless, it was narrowly outvoted and thus the Union remained. Several other attempts to disrupt the Union had already been made during the 18th century by its opponents, however, these were thwarted.

The situation eased in the 19th century, when the two nations began to come together as one. Industrial development and an expanding empire brought benefits to both countries and thanks to a mutual cooperation in maintaining the empire, the Scots slowly began to identify with an idea of Great Britain. The political bond between the two countries was becoming stronger and Scotland made no nationalist demands until the end of the century.

The 20th century was marked by two world wars. Before the First World War, several crises afflicted the country which led to the existence of the empire being threatened. It was also the century of great changes – with most of them affecting Scotland. The political situation also had a considerable influence on Anglo-Scottish relations at that time. The Liberals who were supported mainly by the Scots were often defeated by the Conservatives in the elections. They faced another setback when Queen Victoria, who had held a protective hand over Scotland, died. Despite all this, when the war began, all problems were put aside and a newfound patriotism developed. There was a great desire to fight as one nation and to defend the country as one. After the war however, the situation deteriorated rapidly in Scotland. Rising unemployment, the shift of industry to the south and other problems that had affected Scotland before the war brought the nation to the verge of decline. This was perhaps one of the reasons why the SNP sought to attempt to enforce independence. All events at that time were then interrupted by World War II. The post war years were marked again by economic problems and increased efforts by the Scottish people to become independent after the discovery of oil in the North Sea, which represented an economic saviour for Scotland. Unfortunately the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher did not help the situation. She in fact contributed with her actions to the intensifying desire for independence. A glimmer of hope came after the election in 1992 when Tony Blair and the Labour Party returned to power after some time. He authorised and then held a referendum on the devolution of a Scottish Parliament, which many Scots regarded as the first step towards independence. The aspirations of the Scots were beginning to be fulfilled.

A significant turning point came at the beginning of the 21st century, when the SNP won two consecutive elections. In the last election they won with an overall majority. The party is seeking to enforce

independence and it has even set a preliminary period for the referendum to take place.

As suggested by the research, the majority of people do not actually appear to be in favour of independence. Although the rivalry between the two nations has always and always will exist the people already regard the present Scottish Parliament as a sufficient form of autonomy.

This thesis does not cover all aspects of the development of Anglo-Scottish relations as it is an extensive topic. Thus it may be of interest to focus on the role of the Scottish National Party in more detail or to continue the analysis by further examination of the development of the relationship before 1707.

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8 ABSTRACT

The key objective of this bachelor thesis is to reflect on the development of Anglo-Scottish relations, which has had an impact on the functioning and existence of Great Britain. The main focus is on events that occurred in the 20th and 21st century, as it is these events that have influenced how Britain is today.

The thesis is divided into three main chapters. The first part provides an overview of the main historical events. The second chapter contains more detailed analysis of selected events in the 20th and 21st century, which played a pivotal role in the development of Anglo-Scottish relations. The third chapter focuses on the research and subsequent analysis of British public opinion on the issue. The analysis is based on the answers that the respondents provided in the electronic questionnaire. The sources consulted for this thesis were mainly in the form of printed monographs. However those in electronic form were used also.

It is concluded that relations between the English and the Scots are continually developing. The rivalry, which can be observed between the two nations is deeply rooted in history, although the existence of Great Britain has never been endangered. However the increasing efforts by Scotland having intensified in recent years to become an independent nation once again, has caused differing emotions on both sides of the border.

9 RESUMÉ

Hlavním cílem této bakalářské práce je reflektovat vývoj anglo-skotských vztahů, které mají určitý dopad na fungování a existenci Velké Británie. Pozornost je věnována převážně událostem 20. a 21. století, neboť právě tyto události měly vliv na aktuální dění v Británii.

Práce se skládá ze tří hlavních kapitol, z nichž první, teoretická část, poskytuje přehled historických událostí. Druhá kapitola je věnována detailnějšímu rozboru vybraných událostí daného období, které hrály stěžejní roli ve vývoji anglo-skotských vztahů. Třetí kapitola se zabývá průzkumem a následnou analýzou názorů britského obyvatelstva na danou problematiku. Analýza vychází z odpovědí, které respondenti uvedli v elektronickém dotazníku. Při psaní této práce byly využívány především tištěné publikace a internetové zdroje.

Z práce je možné vyvodit, že se vztahy mezi Angličany a Skoty neustále vyvíjejí. Rivalita, kterou lze mezi oběma národy pozorovat, je zakotvena hluboko v historii. Nicméně existenci Velké Británie nikdy znatelně neohrozila. Během posledních let však značně zesílily tendence a snahy o osamostatnění skotského národa, což vyvolává rozporuplné emoce na obou stranách.

10 APPENDICES

Appendix I

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Appendix VII

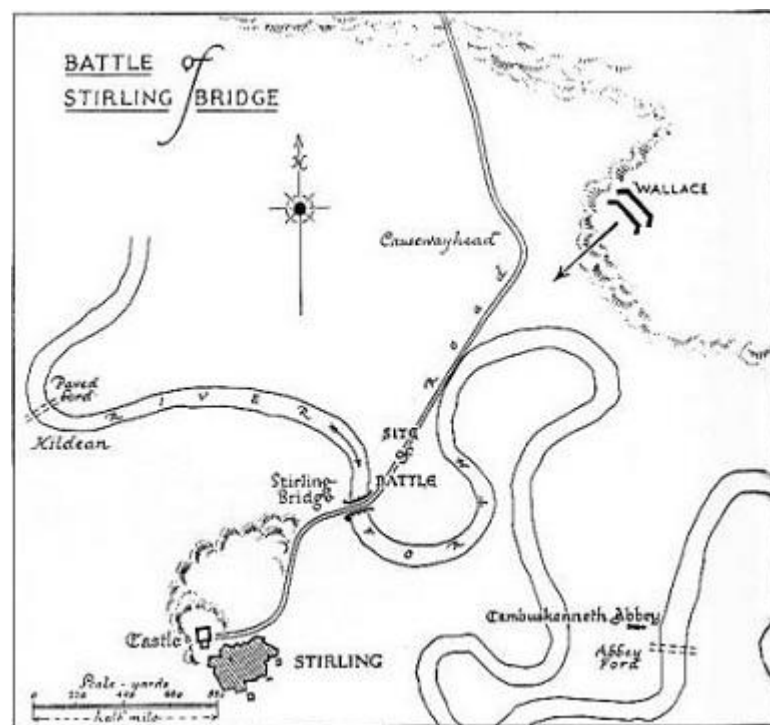
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Appendix I

1.



2.



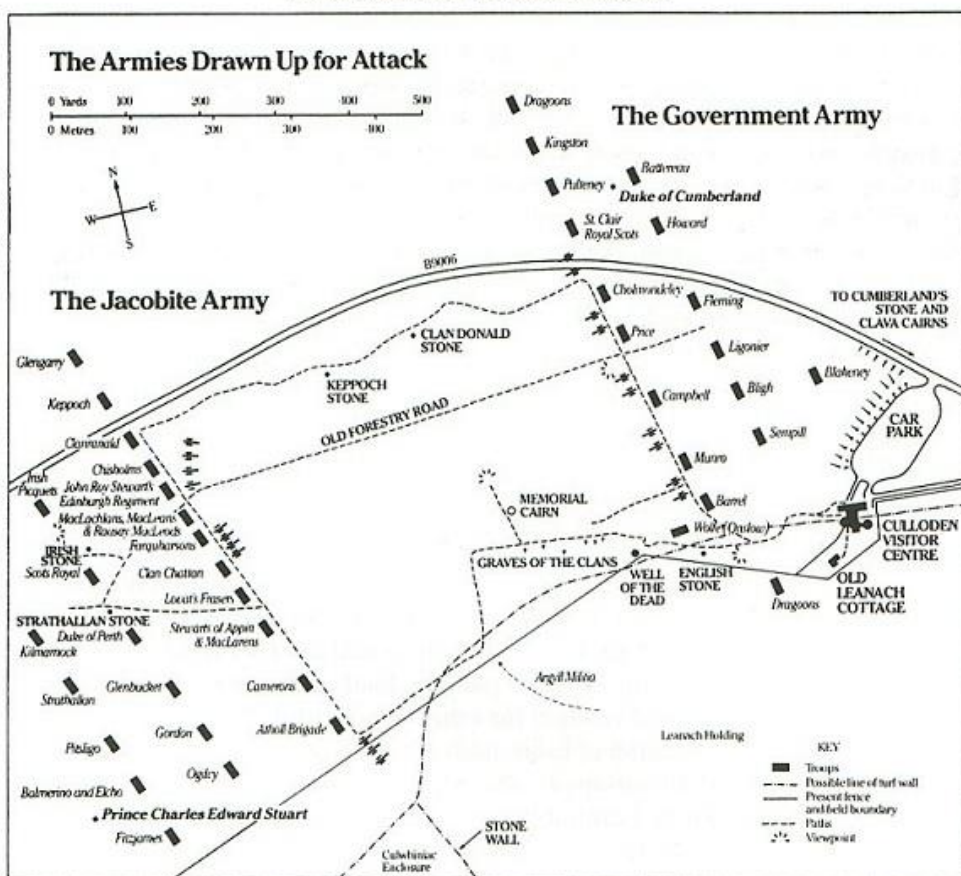
Appendix II

3.



4.

Battle of Culloden



Appendix III

5.

CASUAL KILT



6.

	First party	Second party	Third party	Fourth party	Fifth party	Sixth party
						
Leader	Stanley Baldwin	Arthur Henderson	Sir Herbert Samuel	John Simon	Ramsay MacDonald	Joseph Devlin
Party	Conservative	Labour	Liberal	Liberal National	National Labour	Nationalist (NI)
Leader since	23 May 1923	1 September 1931	October 1931	5 October 1931	24 August 1931	1922
Leader's seat	Bewdley	Burnley (defeated)	Darwen	Spen Valley	Seaham	Fermanagh and Tyrone
Last election	260 seats, 38.1%	287 seats, 37.1%	59 seats, 23.6%	N/A	N/A	3 seats, 0.1%
Seats won	470	46	32	35	13	2
Seat change	▲ 210	▼ 231	▼ 27	N/A	N/A	▲ 1
Popular vote	11,377,022	6,081,826	1,346,571	761,705	316,741	72,530
Percentage	55.0%	29.4%	6.5%	3.7%	1.5%	0.4%

Appendix IV

7.

The Referendum Results			
	<i>% of votes cast</i>	<i>% of electorate</i>	<i>% of adjusted electorate</i>
Q1. Support a Scottish parliament			
Yes	74.3	44.7	45.7
No	25.7	15.5	15.8
Q2. Support tax-varying powers			
Yes	63.5	38.1	38.9
No	36.5	21.9	22.4
Turnout		60.4	61.8

8.

Scottish General election, 1999				
	First party	Second party	Third party	Fourth party
Leader	Donald Dewar	Alex Salmond	David McLetchie	Jim Wallace
Party	Labour	SNP	Conservative	Liberal Democrats
Leader's seat	Glasgow Annesland	Banff and Buchan	Lothians	Orkney
Seats won	56	35	18	17
Seat change	▲56	▲35	▲18	▲17
Constituency votes	908,392	672,757	364,225	331,379
Constituency %	38.81%	28.74%	15.56%	14.15%
List votes	786,818	638,644	359,109	225,774
List %	33.64%	27.26%	15.35%	12.43% (regional)

Appendix V

9.

Scottish Parliament election, 2003						
	First party	Second party	Third party	Fourth party	Fifth party	Sixth party
Leader	Jack McConnell	John Swinney	David McLetchie	Jim Wallace	Robin Harper Eleanor Scott	Tommy Sheridan
Party	Labour	SNP	Conservative	Liberal Democrats	Scottish Green	Scottish Socialist
Leader's seat	Motherwell and Wishaw	North Tayside	Edinburgh Pentlands	Orkney	Lothians / Highlands & Islands	Glasgow
Last election	56 seats, 33.6%	35 seats, 27.3%	18 seats, 15.6%	17 seats, 12.4%	1 seat, 3.6%	1 seat, 2.0%
Seats won	50	27	18	17	7	6
Seat change	▼6	▼8	—0	—0	▲6	▲5
Constituency Votes	659,879	449,476	312,598	286,150	Did not contest	117,709
Constituency %	34.6%	23.8%	16.6%	15.3%	Did not contest	6.2%
List Votes	561,379	399,659	296,929	225,774	132,138	128,026
List %	29.3%	20.9 %	15.5%	11.8%	6.9%	6.7%

10.

Scottish Parliament election, 2007					
	First party	Second party	Third party	Fourth party	Fifth party
Leader	Alex Salmond	Jack McConnell	Annabel Goldie	Nicol Stephen	Robin Harper Shiona Baird
Party	SNP	Labour	Conservative	Liberal Democrats	Scottish Green
Leader's seat	Gordon	Motherwell and Wishaw	West of Scotland	Aberdeen South	Lothians/North East Scotland (Defeated)
Last election	27 seats, 20.9%	50 seats, 29.3%	18 seats, 15.5%	17 seats, 11.8%	7 seats 6.9%
Seats won	47	46	17	16	2
Seat change	▲20	▼4	▼1	▼1	▼5
Constituency Votes	664,227	648,374	334,743	326,232	2,971
Constituency %	32.9%	32.2%	16.6%	16.2%	0.2%
List Votes	633,401	595,415	284,005	230,671	82,584
List %	31.0%	29.2%	13.9%	11.3%	4.0%

Appendix VI

11.

Scottish Parliament general election, 2011					
	First party	Second party	Third party	Fourth party	Fifth party
Leader	Alex Salmond	Iain Gray	Annabel Goldie	Tavish Scott	Patrick Harvie Eleanor Scott
Party	SNP	Labour	Conservative	Liberal Democrats	Scottish Green
Leader's seat	Aberdeenshire East	East Lothian	West Scotland	Shetland	Glasgow
Last election	47 seats, 31.0%	46 seats, 29.2%	17 seats, 16.6%	16 seats, 11.3%	2 seats, 4.0%
Seats before	46	44	20	17	1
Seats won	69	37	15	5	2
Seat change	▲23*	▼7*	▼5*	▼12*	▲1*
Constituency Votes	902,915	630,461	276,652	157,714	<i>Did not contest</i>
Constituency %	45.4%	31.7%	13.9%	7.9%	<i>Did not contest</i>
List Votes	876,421	523,559	245,967	103,472	87,060
List %	44%	26.3%	12.4%	5.2%	4.4%

Appendix VII

Questionnaire of Anglo-Scottish relations

This questionnaire is a part of my bachelor thesis *The Development of Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1707 to the Present*. It is an anonymous questionnaire and all answers will be used just for the purpose of my bachelor thesis. I would like to thank you all in advance for your time and answers!

1. SEX

- male
- female

2. AGE

- 0-20
- 21-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 61 and older

3. WHAT LEVEL OF EDUCATION DID YOU ATTAIN?

- primary education
- secondary education
- tertiary education

4. WHERE WERE YOU BORN?

Answer the following question according to your perception.

- England
- Scotland
- Great Britain

5. WHERE DO YOU LIVE NOW?

Answer the following question according to your perception.

- England
- Scotland
- Great Britain

6. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF ENGLISH, SCOTTISH OR BRITISH?

Answer the following question according to your perception.

- English
- Scottish
- British

7. DO YOU FEEL ANY RIVALRY BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTS?

- yes
- no

8. IF SO, HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE IT ON A SCALE FROM 1(MINIMAL) TO 10 (MAXIMAL)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

9. DO YOU THINK THE RIVALRY IS COMING FROM THE SCOTS OR THE ENGLISH?

Answer the question only if you answered "YES" to question 7.

- from the Scots
- from the English
- from both

10. DO YOU THINK THE RIVALRY HAS ITS ORIGIN IN HISTORY?

Answer the question only if you answered "YES" to question 7.

- yes
- no

11. IF NOT, WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE CAUSE OF THIS RIVALRY?

Answer the question only if you answered "YES" to question 7.

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12. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE POSSIBLE SEPARATION OF SCOTLAND FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM?

- good idea
- bad idea
- not interested

13. DO YOU THINK IT IS GOOD THAT SCOTLAND HAS ITS OWN PARLIAMENT?

- yes
- no
- not interested

14. JUSTIFY YOUR ANSWER TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION.

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15. HAVE YOU EVER EXPERIENCED ANY KIND OF DISCRIMINATION BY THE SCOTS OR THE ENGLISH?

- yes
- no

16. IF SO, GIVE AN EXAMPLE.

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17. DO YOU THINK THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM WORKS AS A WHOLE?

- yes
- no

18. IF NOT, WHAT IS ACCORDING TO YOU THE REASON OF THIS SITUATION?

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