

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

**THE REASONS OF SCOTLAND NATIONAL PARTY ALWAYS  
STRUGGLE FOR SCOTLAND REFERENDUM**



**Arranged and written by:**

**Mira Dewi  
20110510291**

**INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA**

**2015**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

**THE REASONS OF SCOTLAND NATIONAL PARTY ALWAYS  
STRUGGLE FOR SCOTLAND REFRENDUM**

Submitted as a Part Fullfilment of the Requirement for the Attainment of the  
Degree of Sarjana Ilmu Politik (S.IP) or Bachelor of Political Science in  
International Program of International Relations Department,  
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,  
University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Name: Mira Dewi

Student Number: 20110510291

**INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTEMENT  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA  
2015**

## **ENDORSEMENT PAGE**

This undergraduate thesis entitled:

### **THE REASONS OF SCOTLAND NATIONAL PARTY ALWAYS STRUGGLE FOR SCOTLAND REFERENDUM**

Written By:

Name : Mira Dewi  
Student Number : 20110510291

This undergraduate thesis has been examined and endorsed by the Board of Examiners from Department of International Relations  
Faculty of Social and Political Science  
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

On:

Day/Date : Tuesday, April 21, 2015  
Time : 10.30 – 11.40  
Place : Research Room of International Relations

Board of Examiners

**Sugito, S.IP., M.Si**  
Advisor/ Chief of Examiner

**Dra. Mutia Hariati H, M.Si**  
Examiner I

**Wahyuni Kartikasari, S.IP., S.T., M.Si**  
Examiner II

## **STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY**

With this I certified that this undergraduate thesis entitled “The Reasons of Scotland National Party always Struggle for Scotland Referendum” is my own work and this undergraduate thesis never been submitted for any degree or other proposes in University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta or the other universities.

This undergraduate thesis contains information, facts and data from publications by other authors which have contributions inside this undergraduate thesis and it has been highly appreciated by attaching clear identification in every works cited and quoted inside this undergraduate thesis. With this I also certify that the content of this undergraduate thesis are fully my responsibility.

I sincerely wrote this Statement of Originality and if in the future the content of this Statement proved to be wrong, as consequence I will take my responsible through academic sanction based on the rule and regulations which implemented in the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Yogyakarta, 6 May 2014

Author,

Mira Dewi

20110510291

## QUOTATION

**Allah does not burden a soul beyond that which it can bear**

**~Q.S. Al-Baqarah 286~**

**First they ignore you,  
then they laugh at you,  
then they fight you,  
then you win**

**~Mahatma Gandhi~**

**“When i was 5 years old, my mother always told me that happiness was the key of life. When i went to school, they asked me what i wanted to be when i grew up. I wrote down ‘happy’. They told me i didn’t understand the assignment, and i told them they didn’t understand life”**

**~John Lennon~**

## FOREWORD

*Assalamu'alaikum, Wr. Wb.*

Alhamdulillah! The highest gratitude dedicated to Allah SWT, because only by His permission and bless to me, finally I could finished this undergraduate thesis entitled: “The Reasons of Scotland National party always Struggle for Scotland Referendum” in accordance to the time given to me.

I would like to express my gratitude and deep regards to:

1. Rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Prof. Dr. Bambang Cipto M.A.
2. Dean of Social and Political Science Faculty, Dr. Ali Muhammad M.A.
3. The Chief of International Relations Department, Dr. Nur Azizah.
4. The Secretary of International Relation Department, Siti Muslihati, S.IP., M.Si.
5. The former and present secretary of IPIREL, Dian Azmawati S.IP., M.A. and Ratih Herningtyas S.IP., M.A. Thank you for providing us all of our needs in scope of international program.
6. My advisor, Sugito S.IP., M.A. Thank you so much *pak* to all the guidance, patience and enlighten during the counseling period of my thesis.
7. To my examiners, Dra. Mutia Hariati H. M.Si and Wahyuni Kartikasari S.IP., S.T., M.Si. Both of you made my thesis even better. Thank you for criticism and advice during the examination.
8. To all staff in International Relation Department, Pak Waluyo, Pak Ayub, Pak Jumari and the special one is Ibu Sri Suharti. This thesis will be not finished without all of the supports and kindness from these people in administration lines.
9. To Ms. Yashinta as my language consultant who always patient to correct my thesis.
10. All of the academic community in International Relations Department which I could not mention one by one.

Last but not least, the writer acknowledges that this undergraduate thesis needs more advice to better, for that the writer hopes that all of the reader could give the advices through email: [syamsurizaldewi@gmail.com](mailto:syamsurizaldewi@gmail.com). I hope that this undergraduate thesis will be beneficial for the development of International Relations Study as well as able to become a material of consideration in topics related to the topic of this undergraduate thesis.

*Wassalamu'alaikum, Wr. Wb.*

Yogyakarta, 5 May 2015

Mira Dewi

20110510291

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

*Alhamdulillah! All praise to Allah. With all my grateful, i dedicated this undergraduate thesis to:*

### **ALLAH, SWT**

*The most merciful that gives power to finish this undergraduate thesis*

### **THE GREATEST FAMILY**

*My beloved parents (Syamsurizal and Siti Amiroh)*

*Dearest siblings (Free Noerni, Jumro Wijaya, Muhammad Syarkowi)*

*I know that this is still far from your hopes on me to reach the peak, but this will be the first step of my journey to reach our hopes.*

*For all never ending supports whether material or immaterial that you pay on me, thank you, thank you, thank you!*



## **Thanks to....**

### **Assalamu'alaikum wr, wb**

Alhamdulillah rabbi'l'alamin. Every gratitude and mercy goes to Allah SWT because only through His power this undergraduate thesis can be finished. This undergraduate thesis also is successfully presented because of the support and guidance that I got from the supportive actors surrounds me. Therefore, here i would like to send my gratitude to:

- Allah SWT because of His permission this undergraduate thesis finally done.
- To my father and mother, having you in my life is such a greatest blessing that i ever had. For all of your sacrifice to me, I promise that your prayers and the entire bill you pay on me will be something you are proud of in the future.
- To my siblings, mbak Free, kak Jaya, dek Owi, thank you for all the support. Someone said that blood is thicker than water. That was totally true! I also want to say thank you to my brother and sister in law, mas Igo and mba Nur. To my cutest nephew, Zafran Frigonanda, thank you for being a mood booster kiddo!
- To all NERO, I just could not imagine how my college life will be without coloured by these girls, Husnul Chatimah, Novita Permata Aji, Nurmeita Herdianti, Arlita Widyastuti, Andi Afifah islamiyah, Nova Nurlia, Jasmine Alvinia Safitri and Winda Shouvi. We all realized that we were arguing, teased and used to stop talking each other, but the thing is we always chose to come back again. We won't give up on our ups and downs friendship. That's because we know that we could not find any perfection besides learning from our mistakes. Love you so much girls :\*
- To some people who influenced the most toward this thesis, kak Omi Ongge S.IP., M. A, I must thank to you to always being my reminder. You're a great lecturer, brother and greatest tutor i have ever had. Gania Ika Pramesti Putri, this girl is the person whom i rely on every situation during this thesis working. Happy to get closer friendship with you, Ge! To Ira Kurnia Maharani and Santika Nindya Sari, these girls are the people who really encourage me in my breakdown condition. I would never forget how we

stand over almost every night in Peacock Santisil and Ira. To you all, thank you for correcting, hearing, and even forcing me to finish this thesis.

- To my oldest best friend, F.X. Tri Setyo Antoro and Dwi Restiana A.R, ten years of our friendship is not a small number, but I won't stop counting! You both are the witness of my journey in last 10 years.
- To my best boys college, Fariz Ramaditya, M. Imam Bukhori and Febri Teguh Ramadhan, thank you for all the time you spent with me to discuss, share and even date (hahaha). I do, separated from these guys will be something I missed the most.
- To all Ksatria Hitam, Miftah, Fatah, Rahmanda, Faiq, Dea, Fitria, Anya, Putri, Bella, Citra, Riza, Febri, Fariz, Ori, Eya, Amandha, Arief, Imron, David, Maulana, Novita, Nizar, Ferry, Vita, Zuha, Deansa, Indra, Faldi, Nyimas, Risca, Fikri, Bondan, Cibo, Arta, Enal, Dyan, Awwab, Gania, Jawwad, Tiffany, Eci, Fivien). Did you realize guys? We only have three days to join the training organization, three years for working together, and dramatically need the rest of our life to retell our three days and three years story in KOMAHI.
- To my family Korps Mahasiswa Hubungan Internasional (KOMAHU UMY), particularly in Student Press Division (Pers Mahasiswa). Three years of our togetherness is never enough for me. I want more, and more!
- To some kindest people around me, Masayu, Meyda, Arta, Ditto, Eya, Amanda, Wulan, kak Kya, Dita, mbak Tina, Uul, Ami, Selly, these people just complete my happy life in Yogyakarta.
- To all of my friends in IPIREL 2011, KKN 17 Gunung Kidul, EEC 2014 class C and IKMAPELAJY each of you has special part in my four years stories. Sorry because I could not mention your name one by one.

This is the end of this undergraduate thesis acknowledgment, i know that there are so many people that I could not mention. I would like to express my deep regrets for that.

**Wassalamu'alaikum wr,wb**

## **Abstract**

One of the nations that recently did referendum was Scotland. In every referendum, there are always actors that take actions toward the referendum. In this case, the actor is Scotland National Party (SNP). Despite the differentiation's purposes of the referendum, whether devolution or independence SNP is always support it. They struggle over seven decades and passed three referendums.

This undergraduate aims to analyse the reasons of SNP effort to bring independence of Scotland through referendum. The writer argues that SNP used identity as an instrument to achieve independence referendum from United Kingdom. SNP did its effort by raising some issues that all of the bad condition was because of the implication of the identity difference.

This research is mainly written by using descriptive method. Furthermore, it uses secondary data by examining literatures and collecting data from e-book, archives, reports, articles, magazines, newspapers, websites, and also course materials.

This undergraduate thesis has demonstrated SNP's other interest toward the achievement of Scotland's independence referendum. It has also shown SNP's main reasons for Scotland to impose independence referendum are the politic and economy power. The author uses Instrumentalist approach on identity which sees identity as a tool to gain maximum result in referendum and lead to independence. This research has applied such approach to analyze the phenomenon happened in Scotland.

Keyword: *SNP, Scotland Referendum, Identity Instrument, Economic Power, Political interest.*

Yogyakarta, 9 mei 2015

Mira Dewi

20110510291

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>COVER PAGE</b> .....	ii
<b>ENDORSEMENT PAGE</b> .....	iii
<b>STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY</b> .....	iv
<b>QUOTATION</b> .....	v
<b>FOREWORD</b> .....	vi
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENT</b> .....	viii
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	xi
<b>TABLE OF CONTENT</b> .....	xii
<b>TABLE AND FIGURES</b> .....	xiv
<b>CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
A. Background .....	1
B. Research Question .....	6
C. Theoretical Framework .....	6
1. Motive and Goal in Political Actions .....	6
2. Referendum Concept .....	7
3. Instrumentalist Approach.....	12
D. Hypothesis .....	16
E. Purpose of Writing .....	16
F. Methodology of Research .....	17
G. Scope of Writing .....	18
H. Organizational of Writing .....	18
<b>CHAPTER II: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCOTLAND AND SNP</b> .....	20
A. Power Relation between United Kingdom and Each Nation .....	22
B. Scotland Development History .....	26
C. The Political Development of Scotland in the Glassesof Political Party	27
1. Scotland National party .....	30
2. Scotland Labour Party .....	37
<b>CHAPTER III: THE DYNAMIC OF SCOTLAND REFERENDUM</b> .....	40
A. Devolution Referendum 1979 .....	41
B. Devolution Referendum 1997 .....	43
C. Independence Referendum.....	46

<b>CHAPTER IV: SNP USED REFERENDUM TO ACHIEVE THE POLITICAL INTEREST BY USING IDENTITY AND ECONOMIC POWER AS`AN INSTRUMENT</b> .....	50
A. Identity and Economic Power as an Instrument .....	51
B. Economic Power to Achieve Political Interest .....	57
<b>CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION</b> .....	64
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	67

## **TABLE, FIGURE AND PICTURE**

Figure 1.1. The Operational Concepts .....	15
Picture 2.1. Main Comparison: Economy (Economic sectors) .....	26
Picture 2.2. Main Comparison: Employment Rate .....	27
Picture 2.3. Scotland's Political map in 2007 (left) and how it change in 2011.	29
Table 4.1. A Typology of Scottish Residents .....	56
Picture 4.1. Employment Comparison .....	56