

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Problem Background

Recently, many nations do the referendum such as East Timor, South Sudan, Ireland and one of which is Scotland. Scotland is a part of the United Kingdom located in the south border with England and has approximately 800 small islands. The population of the Scotland is 5,2 million people, mostly spread out in the several cities in Scotland, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow and et cetra.<sup>1</sup>

In the past, Scotland consisted of the small kingdoms that conflict each other. They are two small kingdoms that dominated at that time, they were Scotty and Picts<sup>2</sup>. They fought each other in order to show who was the best among them and in the end would lead the Scotland as whole. After the long period of war, in the eighth century all of the small kingdoms were over thrown by marauding Viking and forced all of them, including the Scoti and Picts to end their conflict<sup>3</sup>. In the ninth century the Kingdom of Scotland was officially made.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> General Register Office For Scotland. (2014). *Information About Scotland People*. Retrieved February 16, 2015, from Scotland National Record: [www.gro.scotland.gov.uk](http://www.gro.scotland.gov.uk)

<sup>2</sup> Pruitt, S. (2014, September 16). *The Reason Behind the Scottish Independence Vote*. Retrieved January 14, 2015, from History: <http://www.history.com/news/the-history-behind-the-scottish-independence-vote>

<sup>3</sup> Scotland National Record. (n.d.). *Facts About Scotland*. Retrieved January 7, 2015, from About Scotland: <http://www.scotland.org/about-scotland/facts-about-scotland>

Under the flag of the Scotland Kingdom, the entire nations inside the Scotland tried to develop the new union. The relation between Kingdom of Scotland and UK itself started in the 1707 when the Act of Union was signed. Act of Union was signed in period of the competition of the big countries to expand their power, that made those countries, which are England, Wales, and Scotland thought that they needed to be united because of the threat of Germany, France and other states that could attack them. Since that day, Scotland, England, and Wales were uniting into United Kingdom. The name of United Kingdom reflected that actually it was formed based on several Kingdoms which meant that they came from different identities and historically enemies. That later became new problem that had to be faced by the Scotland and UK as whole.

Although Scotland is a part of United Kingdom, the Scottish people still have their own characteristic. They have different accent, race, and culture compared to England. Moreover, in the small scope, they have different way of the pronunciation. They think that they are different and being different means that are also will treat differently. This is causing several actions and triggering of the Scotland's movement to demand independence.

By the time, there were several actions that done by group which ended up with referendum decision. For further information, the last referendum on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014 was not the first referendum which

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid (Scotland National Record)

done by Scottish. History watched that the referendum already happened in several times. They have done two times referendum in the past.

In 1960, the devolution issue was raised. Devolution is the transfer of power from the central government to local government. This issue was raised because there were high unemployment, shipyard closures, and problems in traditional industries in Scotland at that time.<sup>5</sup> The continuation of the condition in the end brought the Scotland to the referendum way. Before going to the do the referendum, there are several steps in the legislature that should be passed. Based on the *Cunningham amendment* on the Scotland Bill that already ratified by parliament of UK, the willingness for making own parliament should get more than 40% of total electorate voters before the parliament set up. The Bill said that before the proposal of the referendum was published, the proposal could reach more than 40% of total electorate vote.

The first referendum of Scotland was done in March 1st, 1979 with the result of the Scotland return the Parliament of United Kingdom. That was a great first referendum of Scotland. But the referendum could not be passed because they only got 32,85 per cents electorate vote, while the minimum electorate vote passed the bill is 40 per cent.<sup>6</sup> That result was causing big demonstration from the CPSA (Civil and Public Service

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<sup>5</sup> Travel Scotland Find the Freedom. (n.d.). *Devolution Rears its Head-Scotland in the 1960s*. Retrieved March 24, 2015, from Travel Scotland Find the Freedom: <http://www.scotland.org.uk/history/devolution>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid (*Devolution Rears its Head-Scotland in the 1960s*.)

Association) Trade Union and SNP (Scotland National Party) that led by the Margo McDonald turn into the dips road as the group who pros the referendum. On that event also there was anti-devolution speech actor; he was Sir Alex Douglass Home.

The second referendum of Scotland was held in 1979. The majority said “yes” and made them established the Holy rood Parliament.<sup>7</sup> The issue of the second referendum was about the two main issues, there were about the establishment of the Scottish Parliament and the management of Scotland’s taxation. The result of the referendum reached more than 50 per cent of total electorate vote. Since then, Scotland had their parliament and Government.

The last referendum on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014 was held in the Edinburgh. This was also under the SNP which led by Alex Salmond. The main issue of the third referendum was about the independence of Scotland. This referendum seemed would be success, because we know that many efforts done by them. The polling of the people toward this issue also rose up. However, the result of the referendum did not as match as the polling. Scotland could not pass the Bill.

Despites the differentiation of the background and purposes of the referendum, the fact showed us that all of the referendum above was fully supported by SNP (Scotland National Party). SNP was a party that have ideology to make Scotland independent and will run their own

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<sup>7</sup> Op.Cit p.1 (*The Reason Behind the Scottish Independence Vote*)

government. This party was established in 1934 and since at the beginning, SNP already had focused on the independence of Scotland<sup>8</sup>. They had done several actions to reach their goals. All the actions and efforts by the SNP were to reach the referendum.

Never ending struggle of SNP and another group that supported the referendum to make an independence of Scotland was just reliable in 2007 when the Scotland National Party won the election and decided Alex Salmond as the Minister of the Scotland. Led by Alex Salmond and under the flag of Scotland National party, they emphasized and declared that the way to go to independent nation was real to be achieved<sup>9</sup>. By the time, there were so many efforts done by the SNP and other supporter of referendum Scotland. They made a soft and smart campaign about the independent issues in order to bring it into referendum. In 2010, they had plan to do the referendum but it was postponed because of they only got 50 MSPs (Member of Scottish Parliaments) out of 129 MSPs who wanted to put their vote in Scotland case.<sup>10</sup> In the next year, May 2011, the Scottish Parliament Election brought the hopes with total vote 69 MSPs.<sup>11</sup> Since at that time; the movement of the people toward the referendum issue was bigger than before.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid (*The Reason Behind the Scottish Independence Vote*)

<sup>9</sup> Scotsman. (n.d.). *Referendum Review*. Retrieved 12 24, 2014, from Scottish Independence: <http://www.scotsman.com/scottish-independence/referendum-review/>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid (*Scottish Independence: Referendum Review*)

<sup>11</sup> Ibid (*Scottish Independence: Referendum Review*)

From the timeline above, we know that journey of SNP struggle for referendum is long way period. Although they were already failed in the first referendum and get succeed in the second referendum, but they still want to do the third referendum. The struggle for referendum has a dynamical history and it is such a legacy to struggle for independent referendum decades by decades. There must be something important that become the reason behind that never ending struggling. This thesis will try to explain several reasons behind the SNP always struggle for Scotland's referendum. Here the writer would like to emphasize that we will see SNP is a group of people who want to make Scotland nations separate from the primary state, which is United Kingdom.

## **B. Research Question**

From the problem background above, the main problem of this thesis is **“What are the reasons of Scotland National Party always struggle for Scotland's Referendum?”**

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

To help analysing the problem, the writer would like to use theories and some concepts below:

### **1. Concept of The Motives and Goals of Political Actions**

Concept of the motives and goals of the political action was introduced by Hannah Arendt. According to her, the actors must transcend all of the motives and goals of its actors in political actions.<sup>12</sup> All of the

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<sup>12</sup> Knauer, James T. 1980. “Motive and goal in Hannah Arendt's concept of political action.” *The American Political Science Review* 74 (3): 721–723.

action that is taken by the actors in the political action was based on the motives of the actors. Related to the goals, all of the action which is taken only instrumental action to achieve the main goals and motives. Mainly, the goals and motives of political action is political interest of the actors.

Based on the definition and understanding about the concept, this can relate with what happened in Scotland Referendum. Scotland National Party as the actor in the referendum Scotland has the main goals and motives in every political actions. Political action taken by Scotland National Party such as proposed referendum, campaigned and others was because of the effort to achieve the motives and goals. Here, the motive of the political action of Scotland National Party is the power position in the Scotland political government, while the goal of the Scotland National Party is the independence referendum of Scotland. If the goals were achieved, the motives of Scotland National party also were seen clearly. In conclusion, the motives and goals of political action are the basic reason of all the action taken by Scotland National Party to struggle for Scotland referendum.

## **2. Referendum Concept**

During the end of the cold war, there were so many conflicts that happened in the world because several nations wanted to separate from the primary state. To reach the goals, most of the nations did the referendum. The term of referendum started famous as the measure of the result of the vote in the election or the ballot. There are several types of referendums;

they are the legislature referendum, the popular referendum, and the advisory referendum.

The legislature referendum is the parameter that the result needs the voters' approval for passing the law and to be ratified. Besides, the popular referendum has a meaning as the referendum that rises because of the petition. The last and very rarely happen is the advisory referendum. The advisory referendum is the referendum that legislature or the head of the state may take place to measure the ballot.<sup>13</sup> The example of the advisory referendum happened in Rhode Island in 2002.

In the other hand, there are also definition about referendum based on the state which doing the referendum. For instance is South Sudan. South Sudan is one of the states that do referendum in this recent year. Below we will see the definition of the referendum based on the interview on the Ambassador of South Sudan.

”Question: Most of the Northerners are Arab-Muslim and the Southern majority are mostly Christians. In your opinion, was the referendum also a war, a positioning between Christianity and Islam and, if so, what kind of effect is this going to have?”

Amb. Mboya: The referendum was a war of many fronts. For example: freedom, slavery, discrimination, injustices, equality, culture, religion, development, marginalisation, self-determination among others. So, the outcome of the

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<sup>13</sup> National Conference of State Website Feedback Legislatures. (n.d.). *Initiative, recall and Referendum*. Retrieved February 17, 2015, from NCSL: <http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/initiative-referendum-and-recall-overview.aspx>



referendum has shown part of this but with time, we shall see more effects whether positive or negative”.<sup>14</sup>

See in the result of interview toward the ambassador of the South Sudan about the referendum, we know that referendum is sometimes defined as the tools and ways to go to war against the differentiations. Less or more the Ambassador point of view about the referendum is how to show the real conflict should be ended by the real action, too, where in this discussion the real action is the referendum.

Besides, the Ireland (the part of The United Kingdom in the past) decided to separate through the referendum. The Irish people thought and realized that the referendum was the only way to reach the best and pure institution. Junior Minister Aodhán Ó’Riordáin told the Dáil:

“The government accepts the main recommendation of the (constitutional convention), which is that a referendum should be held on removing the offence of blasphemy from the constitution”<sup>15</sup>

From the fact above, we know that for the Ireland the referendum is the only way to bring back the purity of the constitution. For them (like the Junior Minister of the Ireland said) there is no better choice to make Ireland have a better condition with the pure constitution rather than the

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<sup>14</sup> SHAKA, J. (2011). The Referendum in south Sudan: Is it Peace or Conflict Ahead? An Interview with Ambassador Daniel Rachuonyo Mboya. *Journal of Conflictology*, 4.

<sup>15</sup>The Journal.ie. (2014, October 2). *Its Official: We'll Have a Referendum to Remove Blasphemy from the Constitution*. Retrieved February 18, 2015, from The Journal.ie Read, Share and Shape the News: <http://www.thejournal.ie/ireland-blasphemy-law-referendum-1702243-Oct2014/>

referendum. Here we also see that the referendum is the way to prove that what the people need should be spoken directly.

For the Scotland themselves, the referendum has closer meaning with the legislature referendum. That because the way to get independent and better Scotland in the future was through the winning the voters. The further meaning of referendum will be explained more lately in the analysis of the case. Referendum for the Scotland's could be the same with Ireland, South Sudan or even different with them.

Despite differences the meaning of the referendum by each country; almost all of the referendums have the same pattern which brings the issue that can help the actor to raise the referendum. And after the issue of referendum raised, the next step is campaign with the issue of the conflict to gain the people's vote. For the Scotland itself, the differentiation of identity and economic power were used by SNP to bring issue the referendum. SNP is the place for the nationalist people to manage and structuralize their interest. Here they use differentiation of identity and the economic powers are successor of the stepping stone to SNP.

Since the overwhelming winning in 1997 and built own parliament, the movement of the SNP is more flexible than before. The success story of the SNP was rewritten when in the year 2007 they won the election. Moreover, it was supported by the result of the election in year 2011. At that time, they reached the biggest achievement since the beginning of their establishment, which was winning the majority voting of the

parliament and made them, got 69 seats in the parliament for total 129 seats of MSPs.

The result of the 2011 election affected the Alex Salmond's perspective and the SNP as general. Salmond as the pillar of the SNP and also the first minister for the Scotland thought that the victory of the SNP as good signal for Scotland to do "the vote". They did believe that the nationalism of the Scotland toward UK was already declining since the history watched that the development SNP getting bigger and stronger. In fact, since 1997 the development of their party is getting better. The implication of their development is that Alex Salmond and also SNP clearly stated for vote as soon as possible. By the time, the bigger issue had been raised by Salmond and SNP to bring the referendum, which is the existent of the oil.

Salmond emphasize on many speech that Scotland would be better if Scotland being an independent state. According to Salmond, with the oil that they have in the North Sea, Scotland will be the richest countries in the world (Black A. , *Scottish Independence: What's going on Scottish?*, 2014). Then, if Salmond or other actors start counting about the oil, it represent that there will be other interest behind that. Talking about the oil, this could make raised our eyebrows and questioning, are the identity and the economic being the main reason of the Scotland referendum? In glance, the identity and economic is serious problem, but not the main reason of SNP as well. What we will see later is the economic condition

only an instrument to make people realized about their differences for triggering the referendum to achieve the interest of the actor.

The main interest of the referendum here is moving from the freedom of identity become “the richest country” with the management of SNP. That because they know they are the people who make the Scottish knowing enrich of the Scotland. They know exactly that if this referendum being success. There is no actor can rule the government as well as the SNP which already struggled for it. So, now the problem is clear to see. This is not only about the differentiation of identity and the economic condition of Scotland, but it is about the interest behind the actor. They know exactly what will they get if they can realize the referendum. The premise is, if the referendum passed, they will be the ruling party. Moreover, the identity and economic power is only a tool of the actor to go to the way of referendum. The further explanation will be explained in the instrumentalist approach below.

### **3. Instrumentalist Approach**

Instrumentalist approach is one of the approaches in International relation that see the object as the tools to reach the optimal interest. Instrumentalism or known as legal realism was associated with a judicial method less deferential to precedent and more inclined to construe rules narrowly, and with a theory of law as an instrument of social change (Gerard Hagg and Peter Kagwanja). Take for example in instrumentalist economic approach on mass media, economic is as the element or factor

that determines the direction of the mass media. The mass media is used as a tool for the economic actor or elite class (capitalist) to manage the information well spread out in the market<sup>16</sup>. Another example is instrumentalist right, which means that they use and see the right as the instrument for achieving the goals<sup>17</sup>.

The same thing happened in the instrumentalist approach in identity. Based on Mary Kaldor and her analysis about the importance of the identity, she also emphasized about the importance of the specific culture, environment, social and economic conditions that, in the end, evolved and used the identity as an instrument of the conflict (Kaldor 1999; Richards 2005). From the brief explanation above, it is can concluded that the identity and economic instrumentalist is the approach that uses the identity and economic as the instrument or a tool for achieving the interest of the actor.

From the three concepts above, the operational process is the actor (SNP) as the political party has main goal and motive. The goal of the SNP as stated since the establishment is to make an independence of Scotland. Moreover, the motive behind the political action that taken by SNP is the political power in Scotland governmnet. Those goal and motive of SNP reflect in every action which is done by SNP. Following the condition as a nation which belongs to democratic State, the most possible

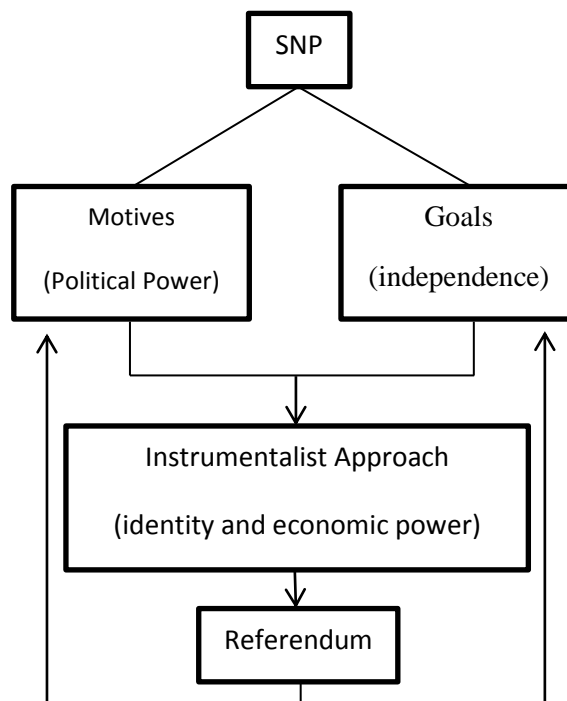
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<sup>16</sup> Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik ISSN '1,4104946 Volume 4, Nomor 2, November 2000. Retrieved from

<sup>17</sup>Wenar, Leif. "Right", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2011 Edition), Edwar N. Zalta (ed.), Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/rights/>>

way to reach the independence state is through referendum. As explained previously, referendum is the measurement of the voters in the election, means that the people voters' approval is an important part to succeed the referendum. For that, Scotland National Party as the actor which proposed referendum need tools to gain support from society. Here, the concept of instrumentalist approach was applied. In Scotland's case, it's seen that SNP is using the identity and economic power as an instrument to make the referendum succeeds. If the referendum succeeded, it will be easy to achieve the goal and motives of SNP, which are indepent Scotland and the political power interest.

Figure 1.1  
The operational concepts



In the Scotland's case, identity and economic power is the big trigger and factor that causing the referendum there. Many people think

that the identity and economic powers are the main problem and the root of the case. But, in the deeper analysis we will see that actually there is another reason that causing the referendum. As other cases happen in all around the world, there is always an actor that will raise the issue of the political turmoil and people movement. In previous, Kaldor and Richard explained that there are more details triggering factors rather than identity, which is the social, culture, economic, and environment. This has tight correlation with the earlier explanations that, in this case, also there is an actor that consistent to support and become the important actor that stands behind the referendum's struggle of the Scotland, they are Scotland National Party. Since the establishment of the Scotland National Party, the ideology's purpose of this party is to support the independence of the Scotland. To achieve that kind of the purpose, the actor (SNP) use the way of referendum. To reach the way of referendum, the SNP needs more support from the society. Facing this condition, the SNP has to think about the strategy to gain the support from the people. They come with the idea of triggering the difference of the identity between Scotland nation and the United Kingdom as whole. Moreover, the economic power of the Scotland also a good issue to gain support from Scottish.

Based on the explanation above, it has proven that the instrumentalist approach is applicable in this case. First, as an actor in the referendum case in Scotland, the SNP has an interest to reach the primary goal and motive that stated in the ideology of the party, which are

independent and political interest. Second, to achieve their primary goal, they have to go to way for the independent and they come up with the way of referendum. But, to go to the way of the referendum, SNP has to make and rise an issue that make them get bigger support from the society. The last, to make people realize of their struggle and support them; they spread and rise the identity issue and economic power to trigger the “conflict”. Here the flow of the referendum goes on, with the differentiation of identity and economic power as an instrument and the political power behind SNP’s interest. The referendum become last step to decide whether SNP will achieve their goal and motive or not

#### **D. Hypothesis**

Based on the theoretical framework from the problem, hypothesis is drawn as follow: SNP use identity and economic power as an instrument to achieve political interest.

#### **E. Purpose of Writing**

Every academic paper has its own purpose of writing, the writer in this occasion has some purposes to achieve by writing this paper, and they are:

1. This paper is intended as a means to apply theories which the writer already got from the course, as well as to make deeper understanding of the course the writer got in the class.
2. This paper is written in order to explain and also to understand more about the reasons behind Scotland referendum 2014



3. This paper is also written as the requirement to finish the writer's study in International Relations Department at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta in order to get her bachelor degree.

#### **F. Methodology of Research**

To finish this undergraduate thesis, the writer would like to use the qualitative method of research. In this qualitative method of research, data collection methods will be the most applicable. However, there are two types of collecting data collection; those are a primary and secondary. Primary data collection is the data that we collect based on the direct interview from the direct source, whether the person or institution that has relation with case. While, the secondary data collection is the way how to collect the data based on the media research. It could be library research, internet, website and others media to collect the data, including to find reference and to accomplish explanation of the problem.

After the data was collected, the research comes in to the data analysis. Here, the writer check for the relevancy in order to use as the sources in final paper arrangement. The analysis of the research is divided into two types; they are causality and the descriptive analysis. This thesis will use the descriptive analysis, where at first, this thesis will describe about the background and the general description about referendum in Scotland. After describing the main problem, we will go to the deeper analysis in order to prove the hypothesis.

## **G. Scope of Writing**

In order to focus on the research of this undergraduate thesis, the limitation of the research is from the process of referendum for the first time in 1979. Then, the research will continue to the second referendum in 1997. The last research of this thesis is the third referendum in 2014. Those all about the referendum and how the SNP brought the efforts to achieve referendum will be primary focus research on this thesis.

## **H. Organization of Writing**

In this thesis, the writer divided the topic in to several chapters based on the order of the writing.

Chapter one will be an introduction of the thesis. In introduction, it consists of several parts that will be guide you on the introduction of the problem. Started from problem background, purpose of the writing, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, methods of writing, scope and writing and the last is the system of writing itself.

Chapter two will explain about the general information about the Scotland and also the development history of the Scotland government, economy, social and culture. The detail will describe about development of Scotland before and after the SNP ruling the government. It also will tell about the detail information and description about the Scotland National Party as the actor in the referendum.

Chapter three the discussion will be continued with the explanation of the correlation between Scotland National Party in dynamic of

referendum also the detail information about the referendum. The explanation started from the first referendum in 1979, second referendum in 1997 and the last referendum in 2014.

Chapter four will explain about the detail of what reasons behind the referendum that happened in Scotland. This Chapter will give more explanation about the detail of the reason of the main problem and how the instrument of the conflict used by the actor to camouflage the main problem.

Chapter five will be the conclusion which already stated from chapter one until chapter four. This chapter also as a mark of the end of this thesis.