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IN THIS SPECIAL EDITION OF LEVIATHAN:



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EDITOR IN CHIEF



Welcome to the final issue of Leviathan's fourth year.

This special edition contains the thoughts of two Members of the European Parliament, one Member of the Scottish Parliament, the Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, and a number of students on the topic of Scottish Independence.



Politics & IR
— society —
University of Edinburgh

The upcoming referendum, on 18 September, 2014, will allow Scots an historic say on their constitutional future. The vote, however it goes, will have profound impact on the policies of devolution and federalism in a European context. It will inform our understanding of the rights of small nations, of nationhood and issues of identity, and, more broadly, it will inform the political philosophy underpinning issues of secession and the conversation on which, if any group, has a right to secede, and in what circumstances.

If it is a Yes vote, I think it will be a cause to rejoice for academics, if only because of the extraordinary opportunity to inform the construction of a new state out of an ancient nation. This issue takes a critical look at the possibilities, pitfalls, and promises of Scottish Independence. There was no requirement, for this issue, for submissions to remain unbiased. In fact, partiality was encouraged. For this special edition, we have done away with regional columns, temporarily, to focus on public policy issues surrounding the independence debate. This issue should serve as a 'Voter's Guide' of sorts, informing the understanding of a number of policy areas loosely based on the policy areas outlined in the Scottish Government's White Paper: Politics and Constitution, Economics, Business, and Finance, Health, Welfare, and Social Protection, Justice, Immigration, and Home Affairs, and International Relations, Security, and Defence.

It has been the best experience that I have had at University, being your Editor in Chief. Our team has worked very hard, and I'm proud of what we have accomplished together.

I'll miss it, but Leviathan has so much potential, and still so much left to build. Thank you for the opportunity to lead this Journal, and to work with you all.

Leviathan will also be bidding farewell to our Production Chief of two years, Adrie Smith, as she graduates. Leviathan has existed for four years, and Adrie is responsible for fully fifty percent of what the Journal is. Her presence will be missed by the entire Leviathan and PIR Soc community, though we are sure she will traffic in interesting and noteworthy pursuits after graduation!

Thanks to the Department of Politics and International Relations and the Politics and International Relations Society for their continued generous support of Leviathan.

Finally, I would like to thank all student-staff members of Leviathan and all students who contributed to this issue. The issue you have before you represents their capabilities and hard work.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Greenberg

Past issues of Leviathan can be found on
<http://www.leviathanjournal.org>.



MEET THE STAFF



MAXWELL GREENBERG

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Maxwell is a third year Politics student at the University of Edinburgh. A native of south-eastern Pennsylvania, he has professional experience in campaigns, government, and law. At University, he founded the North American Society, a community for Americans and Canadians abroad, and currently serves as its Chairman. Additionally, he has been elected twice to represent students in the Edinburgh University Students Association, most recently as the representative for International Students. As the Editor-in-Chief of Leviathan, he sits on the Committee of the University of Edinburgh's Politics and International Relations Society. Maxwell likes warm-roasted salmon, elections, maps, and hometown pride.



MARKO JOHN SUPRONYUK

SENIOR EDITOR

Marko is a third year student of International Relations and Law and scholarship holder at the University of Edinburgh. An American of Ukrainian descent, he has worked as a fellow to Congressman Brad Schneider and a political intern to Governor Patrick Quinn. During his time at university, he has served as president of the European Union Society, vice president of the Politics and International Relations Society, and a student ambassador for the University of Edinburgh admissions office.



ADRIE SMITH

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Adrie is a fourth year student studying International Relations. She has worked in Washington, D.C., Edinburgh, Boavista (Cape Verde), and most recently in Geneva with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Her academic interests include international security, war studies, and international development. She is currently looking to pursue a career after university in international development. Her hobbies and interests include feline appreciation, alphorns, and botany.



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Jessica is a first year Politics student. Having lived in London, Paris, Los Angeles, and Nashville, she has been involved in mentoring at-risk Nashville youth, Model United Nations, Freshman Mentor Society, and Youth in Government. In high school, she was the youngest-ever Editor-in-Chief of her student newspaper.



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Lynn is a third year student of English Literature and History. A Scottish-born Briton of Eurasian descent, she spent her formative years as an expatriate in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, and Cairo, Egypt. Having lived within the margins of distinct and unfamiliar cultures, she takes particular interest in hegemonic value systems and the role of mass media within them. In addition to her work with Leviathan, she is a volunteer befriender and a student leader of the Peer-Assisted Learning Scheme.



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Naomi is a third year International Relations student who lives in Hawaii despite growing up in the Boston area. She regularly contributes to the journal as a writer and holds a particular interest in the politics of gender within international relations. Alongside her work within Leviathan, she is the Vice-President of the University's North American Society.



MEET THE STAFF



PAUL TOGNERI

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Paul is a second year Politics student from Edinburgh and has a keen interest in domestic and international politics. Prior to University, he was employed as Senior Press Officer for the SNP in the Scottish Parliament and on national election campaigns. Alongside his current work in the Scottish Parliament and the European Parliament, Paul also serves on the committees of the North American Society and the European Union society, where he is Vice President.



SARAH MANAVIS

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Sarah Manavis is a second year student at Edinburgh studying English Language and History. She is from Dayton, Ohio and has a deep-rooted love of international politics. Sarah is the president and co-founder of Flipside, Edinburgh's first satirical news source. She is also a culture and news writer for The Student newspaper, former Secretary of the Feminist Society, and a presenter for FreshAir radio during term as well as during the Fringe Festival. Sarah is currently working for the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office as Edinburgh's sole student representative.



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Lene studies Law and International Relations at the University of Edinburgh and Pedagogy at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Alongside her work at Leviathan, she is also section editor and treasurer for The Student, the University of Edinburgh newspaper. She has written for several other publications, including BroadwayBaby during the 2013 Edinburgh Fringe.



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Iqbal is a third year student of Law and International Relations at the University of Edinburgh. Originally from Malaysia, he has since lived in Egypt, the United States, and Switzerland where he was an intern for an NGO at the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva. In addition, he has interned at the Scottish Parliament and is currently the vice-captain of the university's boxing team. He is a committee member on the North American Society and a contributing writer to Edinburgh Flipside. Currently, he also works as a General Assistant at the University of Edinburgh's Business School.



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Anu is a third year student of Psychology and has worked in fundraising at UNICEF National Committee of Finland. She also has experience in non-profit management and fundraising with The Finnish Red Cross, Save the Children, and WWF. Anu is an editor at the Edinburgh University Undergraduate Psychology Journal, the publicist for the Edinburgh University Psychology Society, and is a part of the research team of the Edinburgh University Young Scientific Researchers Association (EUYSRA).



CONSTANTINE IVANIS

ECONOMICS, BUSINESS, AND FINANCE EDITOR

Constantine is a second year Economics and Politics student from Washington D.C. Aside from being on the editorial team for Leviathan, Constantine is also on the committee for the United Nations Association Edinburgh Youth, the treasurer for the Edinburgh University North American Society, and the second year Student Representative on the School of Economics Academic Audit Committee. Constantine has previously worked as a research intern with the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency at the U.S. Treasury Department and as a policy and communications intern with Magnet Schools of America, a non-profit organization representing magnet schools on Capitol Hill.

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CRISIS EDITORIAL: WORLD NEWS

UKRAINE'S SHIFT TO LIBERAL DEMOCRACY: A NEW IDEA

MARKO JOHN SUPRONYUK

The First Question

Every new idea, writes Salman Rushdie in *The Satanic Verses*, is asked two questions. The first, when it's weak: will you compromise? Will you make deals and avoid danger to survive, or are you the kind of "damnable notion that would rather break than sway with the breeze?" The rhetoric of liberal democracy may not be new to Ukraine, but its practices are. Never before in the history of independent Ukraine have its people shown such determination in standing up for democratic values. Never before have they had to make the ultimate sacrifice.

The participants of the EuroMaidan – a popular movement against the illiberal pro-Russian government of Viktor Yanukovich – refused to bend to a thuggish president who, unlike his predecessors, did not blush away from using brute and even deadly force against protesters. The full extent of his crimes is yet to be uncovered, but his cronyism, misappropriation of government funds, manipulation of courts, and the seemingly indiscriminate massacre of Kiev demonstrators are already documented. The February revolution was not about the European Union – it was about an ideal of a modern European state, free from corruption and the whims of autocracy.

Crimea

The response of Vladimir Putin, the "ultimate architect" of the Ukrainian tragedy, has been fury. He declared that the events were a conspiracy, orchestrated by the West in order to snatch the birthplace of the Kievan Rus away from Russia's sphere of influence. Whether or not Mr. Putin believes his own words, the emotional attachment and historical romanticism that Ukraine invokes to its east are powerful tools in Russia's propaganda machine.

At the time of writing, tens of thousands of Russian troops occupy Crimea. A self-proclaimed, Russian-backed premier has called a secession referendum for March 16. His party, the "Russian Unity," received 4% of the popular vote at the most recent Crimean election. In a move that casts doubt on the fairness of the referendum, they commissioned to print 2.2 million ballots. This for a population of only 1.8 million eligible voters. To add to the constitutional problems posed by calling a rushed, unilateral, un-deliberative snap plebiscite, Ukrainian news channels have been removed from the peninsula and replaced with Russian state television.

After years of underfunding and corruption, the Ukrainian military is not prepared to resist an invasion, and the acting president has already admitted that the new government will not send troops to Crimea. Although the ethnic Russian-majority population in Crimea is likely to welcome this announcement, concerns remain about the well-being of local minorities, particularly Ukrainians and especially the native Tatars. Putting aside the legal questions which surround Russia's imminent annexation of Crimea, the newly created Crimean authorities would be ill-advised to provoke or radicalise those locals who are in favour of Crimea's continued union with Ukraine.

International Implications

Russia's decision to occupy Crimea is in line with Mr. Putin's objective to make his country into a world player with whom the rest must once again reckon. The recent crisis is likely to have global repercussions because of a 1994 document known as the Budapest Memorandum. This agreement guaranteed Ukraine's safety and territorial integrity in exchange for the disarmament of its nuclear arsenal. The five permanent members of the UN Security Council, including Russia, had all given their assurances and have acted as guarantors of Ukraine's sovereignty since. The blatant violation of this obligation by Vladimir Putin and his government will not only encourage further nuclear proliferation but is likely to sabotage any current and future negotiations with Iran and North Ko-

rea. By weakening the West's ability to conduct diplomacy, Russia will be more empowered than at any time since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Putin's takeover of Crimea has been compared to Germany's 1938 march into Sudetenland: a great power annexes territories of a weaker neighbour under the pretext of protecting its ethnic brethren from real or imagined repressions, and flag-waving crowds cheerfully welcome their new liberators. Only this time, the liberators defile and threaten to undermine the most intricate system of international law known to humanity; a fragile and precious network constructed incrementally and with much hardship over the last sixty-nine years. A further Russian invasion into eastern and southern continental Ukraine is not out of the question. The Russian government would prefer the world to see the intervention as equivalent to NATO's 1998 involvement in Kosovo. Perhaps this explains why its information forces have been trying to convince the Russian and Crimean populations that a fascist cabal, probably bent on carrying out ethnic cleansing against Russians, has taken control in Kiev.

The Second Question

The second question asked of every new idea is this: how do you behave when you win? Much as Mr. Putin would like his own lies to be true, there are no violent nationalists about to embark on crusades to cleanse the Ukrainian soil. The leaders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Jewish community, and the Ukrainian Muslim community have expressed support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their country. There is no doubt that the current political class is corrupt; it is likely to take years – perhaps decades – for Ukraine to transition to being a true liberal democracy. But the idea born in Independence Square has already won.

It is true that four years of Viktor Yanukovich's rule, coupled with disappointment in the impotent mainstream opposition parties, have fueled the reactionary far-right movements which took part in bringing down the regime. The political reality in the country did not provide many attractive alternatives. But the far-right is a small and vocal minority which is likely to disintegrate as new, liberal movements mature and gain the trust of the long-suffering Ukrainian voters. The most recent polls reveal the leader of the right-wing Svoboda party to have just 3.7% support nationwide, while the leader of the neo-fascist Right Sector enjoys a mere 3%. The far-right National Front party leader Marine Le Pen, in comparison, won almost 18% of the vote at the 2012 French presidential election.

When the Ukrainian parliament attempted to abolish a law recognising Russian as a second language at the end of February, the intelligentsia of the western city of Lviv – a bastion of Ukrainian patriotism and even nationalism – crafted a petition condemning the move and imploring the interim government to be sensible. Heeding their advice, the acting president scrapped the proposal. In an expression of unprecedented solidarity from civil society around the country, residents of Lviv spent a day speaking Russian, while a great many in the eastern Donetsk and southern Odessa responded by speaking Ukrainian.

Ukrainians are right to be cautious about their politicians and about the intentions of great powers who try to influence the internal affairs of their country. But they will not be able to survive this crisis on their own. The West should keep its promise of financial assistance, with the awareness that Russia has the ability to "gravely harm [Ukraine's] economy." It should also go forward on the proposed imposition of visa bans, asset freezes, and the reduction of dependence on Russian oil and gas. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, must continue showing the world that when their idea triumphs, it behaves with magnanimity.

Marko is the Senior Editor of Leviathan.

POLITICS AND CONSTITUTION



An analysis of Scottish independence is ultimately an analysis concerning the nature of risk. Regardless of the result of the referendum, the people of Scotland will inevitably engage in a level of political and constitutional risk-taking rarely seen in established democracies. This is because, in contrast to most referendums, one does not know for sure what the implications of the votes will be. Politicians on both sides are perhaps willing to share their views on how Scotland post-referendum should look like; however, they seem to be rather quiet on how we might realistically get there.

At the moment, the Scottish political landscape offers an interesting mix of consensus and disagreement. Although the Scottish National Party (SNP) holds a clear majority of seats in the Scottish Parliament,¹ a recent poll shows that only 35 per cent of voters would vote yes if the referendum

were to happen today.² It is interesting that a political party, whose main policy since the creation of the Scottish Parliament in 1998 has been to increase Scottish independence, receives so many votes from people who would prefer Scotland to stay in the union. This indicates, more than anything else, that the Scottish people want change. However, they cannot seem to agree on how such change should be carried out.

If Scotland does become independent, it will be interesting to see how the political landscape will define itself. At the moment, the inhabitants of Scotland seem to be able to unite against the perceived injustice coming from Westminster. This is a unity that is both impressive and powerful. However, in an independent Scotland, one cannot help but wonder whether it will last, or whether Scotland's political landscape in the long run might mirror that of the union on a smaller scale.

Lene Kirstine Korseberg



SCOTLAND'S CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE

PETER MCCOLL

The debate about Scotland's constitutional future has, for me, been surprisingly engaging. Although there's been plenty of low quality debate, there have been real opportunities to create a new vision for Scotland, the rest of the UK and the world. For the first time in my political life there is the space to argue for a more equal country, a country that addresses the economic and environmental crises and a country that is for the many not the wealthy. The independence debate has reinvigorated the dialectic. And it has done that through social movements like the Radical Independence Campaign.

While for those opposed to independence the focus has been on the problems of uncertainty, many of those in favour of independence have seen the obverse of this. The opportunities provided by a fundamental shift in the assumptions that underpin the state are exciting. When added to the greatly diminished certainties of a state that has just dismantled its National Health Service and is likely to have a referendum on European Union membership this makes for an extremely dynamic political context.

What many expected to be a debate characterised by intemperate insults and high-stakes but low-brow verbal brawling has, in fact opened up space for a range of policy discussion that is normally impossible. The currency debate is a case in point. It has been a very long time since there has been any discussion about the nature of our currency. But the independence debate has allowed debate about whether we should have a currency that facilitates industry and export, or one that helps big finance. The assumption has been that a currency priced for finance is a good currency. And it certainly helps those going on holiday. The broader effect, though, is to make our exports much more expensive. That is why most major British manufacturing industry has shut in the period since the deregulation of finance capital in the City of London.

While the SNP may be happy to keep the pound, those of us who want to see Scotland lead the world in manufacturing renewables want an independent currency that will allow us to have an industrial currency. And that industrial currency will allow us to expand the number of people employed in jobs that pay decent wages. For too long our economy has paid vast sums to a tiny elite, while paying most people poorly. The Scandinavian countries do well not because they are resource rich, but because they pay most people enough to live comfortably, but not enough to avoid tax through off-shore schemes.

The debate has also allowed new ideas to get a serious hearing. While the UK

government is focused on pushing people into penury through its destruction of social security alternatives are emerging. Instead of a social security system that is becoming ever more punitive and that has always created a benefits trap, the Citizens' or Basic Income is becoming more prominent.

The Citizens' Income is a payment made to everyone regardless of their position in the labour market (very much like the pension) that would end the benefits trap, and with it much of the poverty problem that Scotland suffers. A universal income would allow some reward for domestic labour, which markets have always found it difficult to appropriately recompense. It would also make transition into the labour market much easier. It is an idea that was nearly recommended in the Beveridge Report, which set up the UK social security system.

This is not the only idea that has emerged in the independence debate. In the first term of the devolved Scottish Parliament the flagship legislation was the Land Reform Act. This allowed crofting communities to buy the estates they lived on. This has led to a massive change in the lives of crofters. From Harris to Assynt and from Eigg to Gigha crofting communities have been reinvigorated by community ownership. At present only rural communities can buy out. One of the opportunities that may come with independence is the extension of this to urban communities. By giving urban communities the right to buy assets, we will be able to rebuild our community capacity. Instead of buildings like the Odeon Cinema on Edinburgh's South Clerk Street sitting empty and unused the community would be able to buy and use them.

While the debate (like all politics) is of variable quality, if you're interested in debates that go beyond privatisation, cuts and deregulation it is the most interesting thing to have happened to British politics. The debate goes well beyond the traditional bounds of political debate. It is marked by the first expression of politics through a positive social movement in the recent past. Far from the expected anger and aggression around the debate what we're getting is a reinvigoration of the dialectic.

Peter McColl is a political activist and writer, current Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, and editor of progressive blog Bright Green.

WHY YOU SHOULD VOTE YES ON INDEPENDENCE

ALYN SMITH, MEP, on why you should vote for Scottish Independence

You've got a decision to make – a big one. In less than a six months time you'll be asked to decide what you want. Do you want to stay part of the UK with all that's likely to happen there or do you want to renew Scotland, take the power to build a better nation, and be independent? That's the question the referendum is asking.

Opponents of independence have already admitted that Scotland will be a successful independent nation. We'll be a normal sized country in the European family, with full rights in the European Union. In Brussels or Strasbourg week after week I see colleagues from Ireland, Denmark, Malta, Sweden and other countries standing up for their own interests and with a voice at the top table in Europe. These are countries the same size and smaller than Scotland confident enough to represent themselves. We're not there yet; we're still locked out in the corridor being represented by a Tory government we didn't vote for.

The bit of democracy we control ourselves in Scotland does some great things. We protect our NHS from the privatisation agenda that Westminster is running; we keep to the principle of free education; we ensure universally free prescriptions so illness isn't taxed; we support small businesses with reduced rates; Scots look after each other. We've been able to do a lot in the areas where we're already independent.

We're still missing parts of our democracy, though, some of it is still at Westminster and we're hampered by the strange split in responsibility between Holyrood and Westminster. We need to be able to do wonderful things in all areas of public life.

Independence will give us that. It will let us run our economy for Scotland's benefit and what matters to the people who live here. Even without oil our national output is on a par with the rest of the UK – oil is a bonus we can use to invest for the future.

We'd be wealthier independent but a nation is not a balance sheet. Independence is about taking responsibility, joining the world and taking the decisions we, the people who live here, believe to be best for Scotland.

We have policies imposed on us just now that we simply do not want. From the poll tax and mass privatisation of the 1980s to the bedroom tax and nuclear weapons of today, we're being forced to swallow things we find obnoxious. Waiting through Thatcher and Major for Blair and Brown really didn't work for Scotland. We can choose a different path.

That's what this referendum is about. Not flags and not anthems but who decides what's best for our country. It's between bringing our government home or leaving society in the hands of a government 400 miles away physically and a million miles away politically.

When you make your decision next year remember it's about making all the decisions that follow. It's about taking responsibility for our own future."

Alyn Smith is a Scottish National Party Member of the European Parliament for Scotland. He is also the SNP's agricultural spokesman.

FEELING SCOTTISH

JESSICA KILLEEN explores the factors that contribute to Scottish national identity

Since it's official loss of political independence in 1707, the question of Scotland's political, economic, and social standing has been the topic of intense debate.¹ This article will aim to define and analyze the key features of Scottish identity, including the 'markers' and 'rules' of considering oneself Scottish, the duality of so-called 'Britishness' and 'Scottishness', and the political climate that contributes to this notion even today. In addition, it will evaluate the argument that one identifies as Scottish in order to establish what one is not, seen in light of the claim that Scottish unity is based on historic hardship.

First of all, it is necessary to explore the meaning of national identity in order to establish what contributes to and defines Scottish identity. National identity, as understood here, can be defined as a "sense of place rather than a sense of

tribe (...) in other words, a civic rather than ethnic form of nationalism"² It is important to distinguish the legal definition of 'nationality', that is, the legal place of birth, from 'national identity', namely, the place in which a person feels that he or she belongs.³ Classical sociological theory argued that, "national identity will soon lose its significance, and ultimately disappear", yet they discussed it as if it were, "something as necessary and natural as drawing a breath"⁴ I will analyse the key features of Scottish national identity and argue that what makes an individual feel Scottish is a complex matter and depends on a variety of factors.

One of the most crucial aspects of Scottish identity is how and to what extent individuals identify as Scottish. According to Kiely et al. (2001),



FEELING SCOTTISH (CONTINUED)

identity can be established in three ways: 'peoples own claims to identity'; 'how they attribute identity to others'; and 'how they receive claims... attributed by a third party'.⁵ In the words of William McIlvanney, national identity is, "... something you rediscover daily, like a strange country. Its core is not something solid, like a mountain. It is something molten, like magna."⁶ Essentially, ones national identity is not fixed, and changes according to several key identifiers, or 'markers,' including place of birth, ancestry, place of residence, length of residence, upbringing, education, name, accent, physical appearance, dress, and commitment to place.⁷ Some of these 'markers' are much easier to identify than others, and therefore appear more significant. For example, according to Kiely et al. one of the most common establishing features of national identity from a third party observation is accent.⁸ However, an accent is liable to change over time depending on other markers such as education and upbringing, or length of residence. Based on this observation, I argue that there are few fixed markers of Scottish identity. Self-attributed claims of national identity are not the only claims that define individuals and how they view themselves; we can also look at, 'how they attribute claims to others' and 'how they receive claims attributed by a third party'.⁹ The features that were often unchallenged by second or third parties were place of birth, ancestry, and place and length of residence.¹⁰

For people having lived in several countries, it may seem that the notion of national identity is just as fluid as everyday life. For example, expatriates are inclined to feel more attached to their home country after having left it.¹¹ These people identify well with others in a similar situation, because regardless of their current social standing or other characteristics, they share a foundational similarity: having lived in the same country.

Therefore, individuals living in England might feel even more Scottish than they did when they lived in Scotland, due to their separation from what was once taken for granted, that is, living in their home country. The idea that an accent alone can define one's nationality is simply mistaken. Human beings are social creatures that adapt to their surroundings; accents may change over time or be engrained from a certain period in life, such as where an individual was brought up or educated. Accents change based on a person's surroundings and who the receiving audience is; for example, 'my mother used her phone voice - it was slower, more polite and more English than her everyday voice'.¹² While Kiely argues that one's accent is one of the most common signifiers of where a person is from, Scottish national identity does not solely depend on this marker. "It's difficult for me to tell you that I feel like a Borderer and that I feel a Scot, particularly because I've been- and no matter how hard I try to change it, I sound like somebody from the south and its difficult to deal with that... And I am so jealous and envious of a voice that tells people where they came from".¹³ As stated

in this testimony, it is clear that while one's accent is an obvious clue as to where someone is from, it is not a clear signifier of one's national identity. In Scotland alone, there are hundreds of accents that varies depending on where you are in the country.¹⁴

It is important to stress the fact that the rise of Scottish national identity is partly due to the notion that, historically, the country has been the 'guinea pig' for policies later instituted in the rest of the United Kingdom.¹⁵ The sense of unity seen in the country after facing economic hardship is described here by Baroness Helena Kennedy: "Everyone I was brought up with believed that we had to give each other a helping hand, that those of us who were lucky in life had to give something back. I loved that the Scots railed against the poll tax, that they campaigned with such passion against apartheid, that they led the Make Poverty History campaign, that they hate the war in Iraq and don't want Trident. These are my people; I love them and am proud to be one of them".¹⁶ Even in the current political debate, many Scots still blame Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative party's policies, including the "poll tax, cuts in public expenditure, privatization and the powering down of the Trade Unions".¹⁷ These policies, intended to lower inflation, had a detrimental effect on Scotland's industries, as the country lost nearly 20 per cent of its work force and one in eight people were unemployed.¹⁸ Even today, anti-Thatcher sentiments are responsible for a massive rift between UK citizens; they uphold a sense of distrust between the Scots and the UK parliament.¹⁹ The poll tax never went into effect in England or Wales due to mass protests against it a year after it was introduced in Scotland. As such, the mentality is that Scotland was forced to suffer from the aftermath of the tax on its own, thereby supporting the notion that Scotland is the 'guinea pig' of the UK.

This article has argued that the Scottish national identity depends on a variety of factors ranging from the significance of cultural rules and markers, the increasing feeling of Scottishness over Britishness, the uniting argument that "we are Scottish because we are not...", as well as the historical schism dividing Scotland and the rest of the UK. However, it is important to realize that Scottish national identity today is not the same as it was decades ago and will not be the same in fifty years time. National identity is an evolving, constantly changing cultural phenomenon. In the words of Dame Evelyn Glennie, "Scotland means rugged beauty, hard-working people, high standards of education, innovation, individualism, yet respect for our history and mark on the world. It's a small territory but with a big welcoming heart and great vision".²⁰

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ECONOMICS, BUSINESS, AND FINANCE



An established economic principle is that most people and businesses will seek to minimize uncertainty and risk. Unfortunately, a theme throughout the debate on the economics of Scottish independence has been continued uncertainty over many issues. Perhaps the central issue is the currency Scotland will use in the event of a 'yes' vote. While multiple options are available should Scotland become independent, the preferred option of Alexander Salmond, Scotland's First Minister, is a currency union with the rest of the UK. Due

to events in recent weeks however, this option seems less and less likely. Last month during a speech in Edinburgh, George Osborne, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ruled out a formal currency union with an independent Scotland, a position that was backed by both the Liberal Democrats and Labour.

The joint position of the three parties was dismissed by Salmond, who called it a "concerted bid by a Tory-led Westminster establishment to bully and

intimidate",¹ and warned that the move would backfire. Salmond's position seems to have struck a chord with the Scottish public. According to a poll released after Osborne's speech, only 37% of potential voters actually believe that the Westminster parties mean what they say, and support for independence has actually increased from a poll two weeks prior.²

While Salmond's position may have won him points with voters, it has only exasperated the uncertainty over the currency debate, leading more and more businesses to consider relocating should Scotland become independent.³ The other currency options include creating a new currency, adopting the euro, or keeping the pound unilaterally. However, Salmond's fiscal experts have yet to outline an alternative plan, instead continuing to threaten not to take any of the UK debt, unless a currency union is agreed to. Its time to reduce the uncertainty and come up with a plan B.

Constantine Ivanis

SCOTLAND AND THE EU: A BRIGHTER FUTURE?

DILLON ZHOU examines an independent Scotland's economic relations with the EU



Research Proposal from the Buchanan Institute, this brief will make four points:

1. Not being an EU member does not damage Scotland's chances of successfully relying on the EU for trade. Empirical evidence demonstrate that a lack of EU membership is not a hindrance to successfully relying on the EU as a trading partner.
2. An independent Scotland will not have to wholly accept the 'EU package'.

Historically there has always been room for negotiation on the terms of membership.

3. The current debate fails to acknowledge, arguably for political reasons, the high degree of uncertainty surrounding the nature of possible future Scotland-EU relations. Scotland's future relationship with the EU is a known unknown. As a result, policymakers must be prepared for uncertainty being in itself certain.

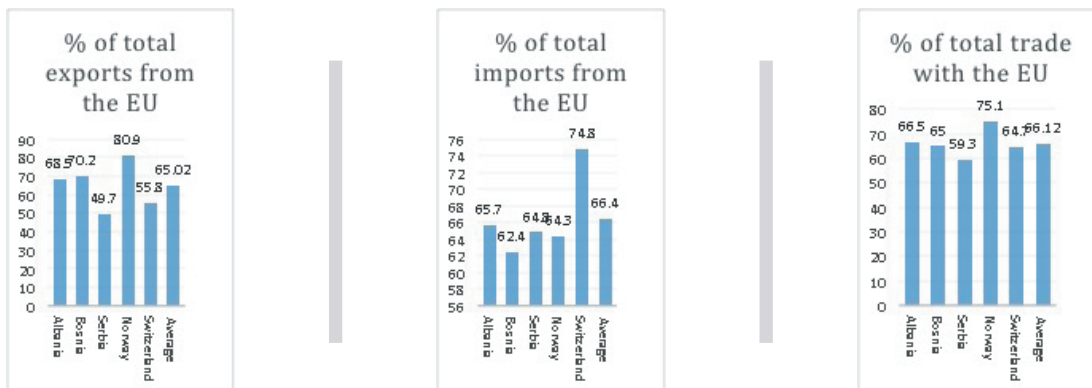
4. Scotland is likely to rely less heavily on the RUK as a trading partner in the long term and focus more on Europe. An independent Scotland will likely treat the EU 28 and the RUK more and more similarly in the long term.



SCOTLAND AND THE EU: A BRIGHTER FUTURE? (CONTINUED)

Point 1 – being outside the EU for however long is not a problem

The following countries are all non-EU European countries. Bosnia-Herzegovina (pop. 4.5m), Serbia (7.3m) and Albania (3.6m) have been chosen because they have comparable populations to Scotland. Switzerland (8.0m) and Norway (5m) because they are similar in terms of wealth and population. Similarly, trade within the EU in 2009 accounted for 66% of the overall exports of the member states and 64% of their imports (IMF, 2010).



Point 2 – there is room for bargaining

Given the sheer complexity of the accession process and the unprecedented nature of Scottish independence, the extent of the bargaining power of Scotland and the extent to which the EU is willing to compromise is unknown. What is certain however is that a unique Scotland-EU agreement will materialise. In fact, all non-EU European nations currently have unique agreements with the EU. Even states as small as Andorra has specific agreements with the EU, so there is no reason to suspect Scotland would not. Furthermore, each EU member has historically negotiated slightly different ‘packages’. In the almost certain event of Scotland not being granted continuing EU membership, between independence and becoming an EU member, some form of “Scotland package” will undoubtedly come into being. While Scotland will accept and transpose all 35 chapters of the *acquis communautaire*, given that nature of EU negotiations, what economic policy framework will result will be subject to bargaining. The extent to which Scotland will be able to influence the process and the extent to which the EU will be willing to compromise is deeply indeterminate.

While it is uncertain how long it will take for Scottish accession into say the European Economic Area, European Free Trade Association or even the EU Customs Union will take, an independent Scotland will still benefit from the European Single Market, regardless of its exact position within it.

Point 4 – how Scotland will use the UK less and the EU more

An independent Scotland’s optimal and likely role within Europe will be different to the status quo. Currently, Scotland trades mostly with the RUK (see table 4). Studies, such as the government’s Scotland Analysis, predict that trade frictions between the Scotland and the RUK will rise following independence.

It is uncertain what kind of trade frictions will materialise between Scotland and the RUK, and how severe they will be. While it will be difficult to overcome an increase in Scotland-RUK trade frictions, over time, Scottish businesses are likely to view the rest of the EU and the RUK more similarly than they currently do because of these higher frictions. Such a trend would likely cause Scotland to become a more Europe-focused Scottish export economy – in line with what similar countries are currently doing. This seems to be a view that is being largely ignored by UK government research at the moment. An independent Scotland is unlikely to drastically change its export destinations and quantities in the short term, so this shift towards Europe and away for the RUK is expected to be a long-term trend.

Point 3 – no one has acknowledges the definite uncertainty

Scotland-EU negotiations are effectively a battleground of competing interests. Therefore from a policy perspective, Scotland must prepare for a relatively wide array of eventualities. The existing corpus on future Scotland-EU relations systematically fails to take into account the definite uncertainty surrounding EU issues.

Among the most important of these is the choice of currency. The literature is divided between four distinct possibilities for the currency of an independent Scotland. These are:

1. Unilateral use of the sterling.
2. A floating Scots pound.
3. A pegged Scots pound.
4. The euro.

While it is not the purpose of this brief to consider the currency of an independent Scotland, Holyrood would do well to clarify its anticipated stance. What economic theory can be certain about is that it is impossible to simultaneously have a fixed exchange rate, free capital movement and an independent monetary policy.

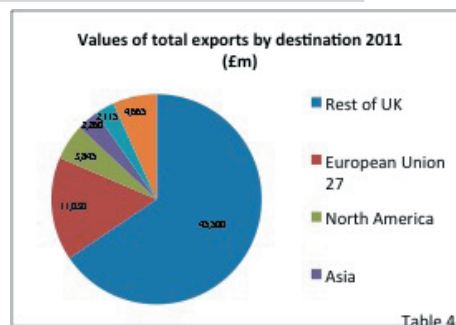


Table 4

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THE CURRENCY OF AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND

NICHOLAS ANDREOULIS: *A brief analysis of the currency options that an independent Scotland would face*

On September 18th the future of Scotland within the UK will be decided through a public vote. It’s not an accident that the Scottish government chose to address this issue through a referendum. In developed democracies, a referendum is considered to be the most direct channel between the government and the people. Therefore, it could be claimed that the outcome of the vote will be democratic; it will represent the personal preferences of the majority of the population. This interpretation of a referendum however, is incomplete. For it to achieve its purpose and be truly democratic, it requires informed voters who will be able to articulate their preferences based on objective facts. Nationalistic arguments can be quite powerful, but they lack depth if they are not based on objective facts. That’s where the role of this “dismal science” comes in. By having a clear understanding of the various aspects of independence from an economic point of view, it will alleviate some of the uncertainty regarding the future of Scotland and help voters make an informed decision. There are various economic implications of a political separation. In this article the main focus will be on the effects that independence will have on

currency choice and how each possible scenario will affect policy options.

Before assessing the various possible currency scenarios, an understanding of the role of money is required. Money is the stock of assets that can be readily used to make transactions and its supply is controlled by the central bank.¹ The importance of money relies on the fact that monetary policy is arguably the most important tool that can be used to smooth the business cycle, or the ups and downs of the economy. Additionally, as part of a globalised economy, Scotland’s currency option plays a vital role for international trade.

An independent Scotland could try to retain the pound under an agreement with the rest of the UK. That’s the preferred option of the current Scottish government.² This is based on three reasons. Firstly, by having a common currency with its trading partners a country eliminates the costs associated with exchange rates, therefore encouraging trade activity. For instance, the exchange rate costs for Europe, according to a 1990 report, were estimated to be 13-20 billion euros a year.³ Although the banking sector would get



THE CURRENCY OF AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND (CONTINUED)

affected since exchange rate commissions comprise approximately 5% of banks revenues⁴, the extra disposable income that consumers would have could be devoted to more productive activities. Secondly, a currency union makes trade interaction easier by removing the uncertainty of a floating exchange rate. Since the rest of the UK is Scotland's main trading partner, accounting for 66% of all Scottish exports,⁵ the benefits of sharing a currency with the UK are quite obvious. Finally, various transitional costs associated with a new currency, such as businesses' and household's adaptation costs would be avoided.

Keeping the pound as the national currency also has some costs for Scotland. Firstly, Scotland would have to sacrifice its monetary policy autonomy. The severity of that cost is related to the symmetry of the English and Scottish economies. The Scottish Government's Fiscal Commission Working Group has argued that economic conditions are similar between the two countries.⁶ That means that a common monetary policy could apply to both countries, since they face similar economic shocks. Thus, this first cost is marginal, at least in the short run. In the long run though, different fiscal policies between the two countries and the increased exposure of Scotland's economy to the energy sector could affect the symmetry of the two economies.⁷ This would imply that a common monetary policy in the long run would be inappropriate. Secondly, sharing a common currency would require both countries to face a similar fiscal framework, such as limits on budget deficits and the overall debt. This could possibly affect the independence of Scotland's fiscal policy. Therefore, limited fiscal autonomy combined with no monetary autonomy could severely impact Scotland's ability to smooth the business cycle, thus leaving Scotland exposed to inflationary shocks and recessions. Thirdly, since central banks, in this case the Bank of England, act as a lender of last resort and set the interest rates, financial regulation and oversight would have to be the same between the two countries.⁸ Thus, financial policy independence would have to be sacrificed.

Another option would be for Scotland to join the Eurozone. Although this used to be the proposed option of Scottish National Party (SNP), the Eurozone crisis, coupled with recent comments by European Commission President Barroso have created some doubts regarding that choice. The trading benefits would be similar as discussed above, although they would be smaller in the short run, since Scotland trades more with the UK than with Europe. In the long run though, the benefits could increase considerably, since currency unions are self-fulfilling. As mentioned before, a common currency fosters trade interaction and the European market is relatively larger. Finally, a common currency facilitates price comparison and will encourage competition⁹ between Scottish and European firms, thus reducing the chance that successful oligopolies will emerge in Scotland.

The costs are the same as in the case of the sterling, although they probably would be higher since the Scottish and European economies are less symmetric. The monetary policy would be set by the ECB and Scotland would have little influence over it. Finally, it has to be noted that even if the Scottish government opts for the Euro, the Scottish economy will have to meet the convergence criteria. This might prove hard in the short run, not because of the relative weakness of the Scottish economy, but due to the inability of the current system

to demonstrate its track-record performance.¹⁰

Alternatively, Scotland could follow the example of many small countries such as Denmark, New Zealand, Singapore, and Norway and adopt its own currency. According to the Scottish Government's Fiscal Commission Working Group, the economic area of Scotland is sufficiently large to support its own currency.¹¹ If Scotland decides to adopt a freely floating currency, its value would automatically adjust in response to the changes in the market. This would have three main benefits. First, Scotland would have complete monetary autonomy, since the new currency would be controlled by a domestic central bank; it would also have complete fiscal autonomy, since it would no longer be required to meet specific fiscal targets that most currency unions require. Second, a floating exchange rate leads to balanced trade relationships. The mechanism would behave as follows: assuming that imports are greater than exports; this will lead to an increased supply of the Scottish currency in the foreign exchanges, since the importers will sell the domestic currency to pay for the imports. The increased supply of the currency will lead to depreciation. The effect of the depreciation would be that domestic goods would become cheaper relative to the foreign goods, thus increasing the demand of domestic goods abroad and reducing the demand of foreign goods at home. Consequently, balance of payments would no longer be a problem.¹² Third, if Scotland managed to issue debt in their own currency, they could reduce their debt by printing money, thus having a more flexible fiscal policy. While this provides flexibility, it can be a damaging policy to pursue. Under such a scheme, the central bank "monetises" the debt, meaning they provide money to the government in exchange for debt. This leads to an increase in the money supply, and high inflation. While this can reduce the value of the debt, it also places an 'inflation tax' on the public, known as seigniorage.

A new currency also has some substantial costs and risks. First, there would be a one-off transitional cost of introducing the new currency. This could be quite considerable, since most contracts (both on the private and the public sector) would have to be re-denominated.¹³ Second, trade would be hindered since businesses would have to bare exchange rate costs and risks. Third, erratic currency fluctuations can cause economic instability. Large capital flows can lead to significant exchange rate changes, unrelated with domestic performance, thus having a destabilizing economic effect.¹⁴

As this brief analysis showed, each currency option has some important trade-offs. In the short run, keeping the pound would be the most riskless option. However, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Osborne, this option will be off the table in case of Scotland's independence. The Euro could be a good option in the long run, although the transition could be painful. Finally the introduction of a new currency bears many risks and will provide the most autonomy to Scotland's government. Whether this is something good or bad depends on personal preferences, namely on the trust one has in the Scottish government managing economic performance.

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HEALTH, WELFARE, AND SOCIAL PROTECTION



The establishment of the National Health Service in 1948 is regularly cited as a critical movement for the foundations of welfare legislation.¹ Understood as the moment in which the state firmly acknowledged its obligation to the citizen, the acts and legislations which proceeded have resulted in a web of increasingly supportive state services and provisions. Yet with Edinburgh pioneering state-provided antenatal care as early as 1915,² welfare in Scotland has had a long and progressive history which extended well into the past and the future of the 1948 welfare reforms. Scotland has regularly deviated from the more conservative UK welfare model, with such state services as the provision of free medical prescriptions and free university tuition through the

Student Awards Agency Scotland (SAAS), and it is in light of this uniquely Scottish understanding of the rights of the citizen that health, welfare and social protection have been so thoroughly disputed in discussions on the politics of an independent Scotland.

While these jealously-guarded bastions of social security have driven unionists to question the costs of independence, such controversial decisions as the elevation of tuition fees in England and Wales to £9,000 per year³ have led separatists to question – with equal merit – the costs of remaining within the British sphere of control. Maxwell Greenberg questions the comparability of an independent Scotland's welfare state to those which embody the Nordic model, whilst Georgia Ross examines the relationship between civil autonomy and physical health in an appeal for members to vote 'Yes.'

THE POLITICS OF HEALTH

GEORGIA ROSS questions the roots of Scotland's degrading health

Before I begin to discuss Scottish issues of welfare, health care and social protection, I want to begin with my personal reasons for writing this article. I go to a university that is the home to a majority of international students and I have friends and flat mates who all call England home. My desire for an independent Scotland, therefore, does not lie with even a slight distaste for England. My reasons for voting 'Yes' on the 18th of September are of a different nature. I want to live in a country where I feel like my vote makes a difference. I

want to be proud of where I am from. I will be voting 'Yes' because I want to be a part of

something which I know has astounding potential. But most of all, I want to feel like part of a community, feel connected to the people in it, and feel connected to the people running it. The inequalities in income, health and opportunity as a result of the UK government are driving Scottish citizens further and further apart, and we need to take this chance and stand on our own.

The issues of welfare, health and social protection have played a continually key role in the independence debate. It is no secret that the current UK welfare system is one of a penal nature and that the issue of welfare in an independent Scotland has been the subject of much controversy throughout the recent months. The argument that Scottish citizens depend more on benefits than the average UK citizen, proposed by many of the 'Better Together' campaigners,



THE POLITICS OF HEALTH (CONTINUED)

has been exposed as being positively wrong,¹ and Tom Hunter's proposal that the UK welfare system has 'pampered' Scottish recipients is extravagant in light of the damage created by the Universal Credit in 2013.² And so the question arises; would Scotland's current welfare system change if we should become independent? The answer to this question is contingent not upon the premonitions of 'Better Together' campaigners, but upon the government voted into power in May 2016 should a 'Yes' vote occur. Should Scotland have the opportunity to take welfare matters into its own hands, the opportunity will arise for the welfare system to improve greatly.

Welfare is a huge social problem in Scotland and needs to be addressed by those who are aware of the damaging conditions that people are faced with. This is not promoting a dependency culture; it is promoting a government which, for the first time, will not bundle England and Scotland together. Glasgow's East End was named the UK's "Benefit Capital" with about 9 out of 10 working age adults receiving benefits. This is not or should not be embarrassing for the people of Scotland.³ These figures highlight the failure of a Conservative government, unready to leave the warmth of Westminster in order to understand the needs of their people. The Scottish Government has announced its commitment to creating a welfare system that will be 'fair, transparent and sympathetic to the challenges faced by people receiving them, respecting personal dignity, equality and human rights'⁴ and, should the country vote 'Yes' in September, to reversing 'the most damaging and counterproductive of the UK welfare changes.'⁵ It promises to eradicate the Bedroom tax, establish a system where welfare benefits will rise with inflation, and attempt to correlate a welfare system with increased opportunities for the poor. A welfare system free from the grasp of a Conservative government would provide overwhelming benefits for the people of Scotland. Scotland has the means to support itself. The Unionists may rely on the dogmatic scaremongering of the population to try make us think otherwise, but Scotland has the means to support itself. There is no denying that a change in welfare will bring fear into the lives of the recipients, but as Harry Reid stated, 'it's a matter of belief and trust'. As it stands, health services in Scotland are provided by Scottish Health Boards across Scotland and Social Care is provided by Scottish local councils.⁶ There is already a devolved health care system in Scotland. An independent Scotland will not result in radical changes to the NHS; it may, in fact, rescue Scotland from the proposed privatisation of our health care system.⁷ The Scottish Government has resolved in the White Paper 'to continue with current arrangements for the management of the NHS in Scotland, focusing on sustainable quality and for the integration of adult health and social care services.'

The stability of the NHS, however, does not begin to explain the health and social issues that are present in our society. A 2013 lecture by Sir Harry Burns shed some light upon this issue.⁸ He began the lecture with a redefinition of 'health' as a concept that does not merely encompass sickness and diet, but the functionality of society and community.⁹ Statistics gathered from the 1970s and 1980s reveal that Scotland's health was never of drastic concern in comparison with other Western European countries. It is only over the past 30 years or so that these Western Countries have begun improving their health conditions. In essence, they were doing things that Scotland was not.

In this lecture on Scotland's health, Sir Harry Burns notes that this difference between Scotland's life expectancy and that of other European countries, both drastic and recent, may have been greatly impacted on by the major income gap.¹⁰ The poorest tenth of Scotland's population has around 2% of the country's total income, whilst the richest tenth have 29%. These figures speak for themselves. Burns notes that the fundamental problem in Scotland is not 'poor health' but, in fact, the 'health of the poor'. Burns notes that although health problems in the 1950s and 60s were caused by infectious disease, the problem now is chronic disease. Why, then, is our country facing such degradation of health? Burns argues that molecular events, which occur in the body, are strongly linked to social events and the environment in which we live,¹¹ and he advances this argument with a comparison of the cities of Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow. On the face of it, these three cities have almost identical income distribution. However by taking a closer look at the mortality rate in these three cities, the differences begin to quickly show. Glaswegians are 12% more likely to suffer from Cancer than the average Liverpudlian or Mancunian. Burns links this back to the colossal loss of jobs from the Glasgow shipyards in the 1980s. Unemployment has been linked to depression and anxiety, and indeed the loss of a once purposeful job, viewed by those who did it as a crucial service to their country, can have devastating personal repercussions. The skilled men

were able to move on, but those who were classed as 'unskilled' were sent to Easterhouse and Drumchapel - two of the most deprived areas in Scotland. As said by Harry Burns, these men "moved from being someone who mattered to someone who didn't".¹²

It can appear unclear why the closing of Shipyards in Glasgow is relevant to the topic of Scottish health. This is the only significant social change which could explain Scotland's, especially Glasgow's, significantly poor health in comparison to cities such as Liverpool and Manchester. However the hypothesis is put under pressure when taking account of Holland, which experienced major job loss of the same nature but has seen a significant improvement in life expectancy since. Moravia and Czech Republic experienced numerous job losses as a result of the fall of communism, yet their life expectancy is not as low as Scotland's. In addition, Scotland has lower smoking rates than most European countries. And so the question remains: what has Europe done which Scotland has not?

Burns postulates that 'the way that society is organized has a significant effect upon the creation of health', and that people need a sense of organization and consistency in their society. The environment around us must be comprehensive, manageable and meaningful. If it is not, people suffer from chronic stress caused by our social circumstances. Burns asserts that people

need to feel like they have an impact on the decision making process of their country. They need to feel in control and in the know about their own destinies. Burns reminds us that in medical terms, feelings of a lack of autonomy or self-determination are associated higher levels of cortisol, causing chronic stress and leading to other serious chronic illnesses. Is it a coincidence that Russians have the lowest level of control in their society compared to other European countries and that their death rates are the highest? Scottish citizens have extremely limited control over the policies which affect their lives, often ultimately in a negative way. It is no wonder that Scotland's health is deteriorating under the control of

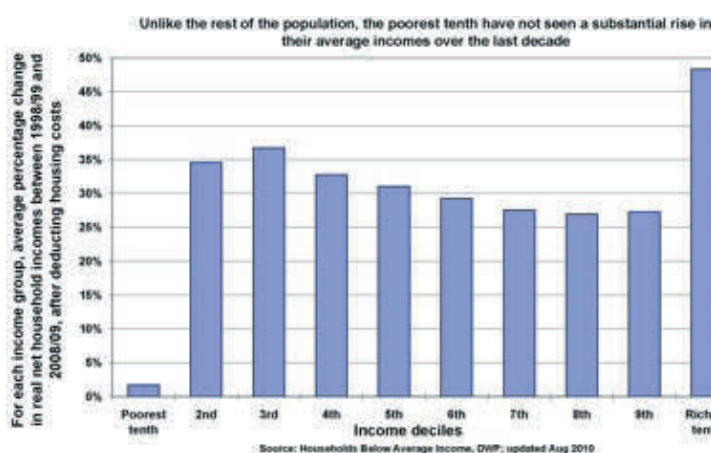
a government who we did not vote in. The zenith of the argument stands clear: that a feeling of disregard from society has an extremely negative impact on health.

The importance of a sense of agency can be observed in infants. A baby cries when he or she has a problem. The result, in the majority of children, is for a parent to pick them up, comfort them, and solve the problem. The immediate response of the parent to the call for help creates a feeling of control and security. Today, Scotland is treated like the child of a very damaged family in which the parent does not eradicate the child's problem or comfort her when she cries. It would not be outlandish to suggest that Scots, in feeling a lack of agency over their own destinies, are in turn the unhealthiest population in Europe. The correlation between poor health and a lack of control over our country is no coincidence. This is the reality of Scotland.

The gap between rich and poor in Glasgow is, as Burns contends, "an epigenetic effect of what has happened in the last 40-50 years."¹³ He concludes that poverty is the consequence of our unequal society, and that Great Britain cannot seem to concern itself with helping the people who need it the most.

In his inauguration speech as Lord Rector in 1972, Jimmy Reid said of Scottish discontent that "it's the frustration of ordinary people excluded from the processes of decision-making;" "the cry of men who feel themselves the victims of blind economic forces beyond their control."¹⁴ We need to put an end to the indifference of Westminster and give the future generations of Scotland a chance for a better quality of life and an escape from alienation. Scotland needs community and it needs compassion, neither of which are being provided to us by our current government. Under Scottish leadership, however, we have the chance for communication and understanding; surely no one can understand Scotland's problems better than the Scottish citizen. We can raise alcohol prices and we can hide tobacco in the shops, but we need to address the problems that are prevalent in our society. By crossing the box marked 'No' in September, you are throwing away the chance for improvement, throwing away the option to increase living conditions for the poor, and throwing away any opportunity to improve the health of Scotland.

So, what is the answer to Scotland's increasing problems in regards to health, welfare and social wellbeing? Give Scottish citizens a say in the decision making process. How can this be achieved? Independence.



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DOES POLICY DIVERGENCE IN SCOTLAND UNDERMINE THE UK WELFARE STATE?

LEWIS HURT examines welfare state policy in Scotland as compared to the United Kingdom

It appears that somewhat of a 'race to the top' has occurred with regards to the devolved territories within the UK, which in turn has added to the welfare system in these territories, whilst also putting the Westminster government under substantial pressure at the same time.³ However, despite this resulting pressure on the UK government to 'equalise standards in England', there has been much resistance to do so and follow the policy innovations of the devolved governments.³ Regardless of whether or not Westminster has taken part in this inter-regional competition, the devolved administrations of Scotland and Wales have, both extending the universal entitlements of those living within their boundaries and building on the UK's welfare system where they hold power to do so.⁴ For example, current social provisions within Scotland, but not England, include: free personal and nursing care for the elderly and disabled, student tuition fees, free bus travel for older people, free eye and dental check-ups, free pre-school places for all three and four year-olds, new community schools and free prescriptions.⁵

As solidarity between citizens of a state can be viewed as being integral to the welfare state itself, it follows that inter-regional disunity between Scotland and England has the potential to undermine the statewide system of redistribution.⁶ Social policy divergence can be highlighted as a source of disunity between the jurisdictions due to being unfair from an English point-of-view, since Scotland enjoys higher public spending per head than in England so Scots are therefore perceived to receive a more comprehensive set of welfare entitlements as a result.⁷ Furthermore, what social rights a citizen will enjoy is dependent on which territory they reside, running contrary to the sense of collective social citizenship that the statewide welfare system was built on.⁸ The findings of the 2008 Calman Commission expressed very similar concerns with regards to policy differences and their effects on welfare nationalism within different parts of the UK, arguing that lowered standards may result from 'too much' regional divergence.⁹ Yet despite the possibility of Anglo-Scottish tensions and polarisation undermining national solidarity and support for statewide welfare provisions, this is yet to become a prominent point of contention outside of the conservative media and political circles.¹⁰

Rather than framing social unity entirely at the statewide level, the substate community can also be an appropriate arena for citizenship, where comprehensive welfare systems could be more easily justified by appealing to a shared identity and overall feeling of togetherness.¹¹ Empirically, the recent increase in territorial solidarity in Scotland does not suggest that Scottish people are any closer together than those in the other regions of the UK, but an explanation for the decline in British nationalism is that statewide social citizenship is no longer functioning with the welfare state as it once did there.¹² There are also signs of dual-identities playing a role like in the historic Spanish regions, and 'Moreno' question surveys point to the vast majority recognising themselves as being both British and Scottish in some capacity, although most still consider themselves either completely or at least primarily Scottish also.¹³ This points to what Keating has argued regarding the coexistence of different levels of social citizenship, so instead of replacing the British identity in the post-devolution context, Scottish solidarity performs a different function with regards to social policy decision-making and implementation, whilst the UK's broader territorial identity is retained in the form of block fiscal transfers to the subnational level.¹⁴

There is little evidence to suggest that social policy has ever been entirely homogenous and consistent throughout the UK in the history of the welfare state, and there is even marked variance throughout English social provision alone which suggests the multi-level analysis of social citizenship provides a more nuanced approach than viewing it as a singular entity.¹⁵ Despite policy variation, which after all was an intended outcome of devolution to a certain extent, it can also be said that both levels of governance are capable of complementing each other, and overall, despite social citizenship friction they can coexist regardless.¹⁶

McGarvey and McConnell have highlighted the supposedly 'regressive' universalist and egalitarian tendency of the devolved Scottish government's

policies which instead of helping the worst-off in society actually benefit the middle and upper classes, citing examples such as tuition fees, care for the elderly and medical prescriptions, all of which were free to the least advantaged members of society previous.¹⁷ The main problems with this line of argument are the range of normative interpretations of social rights and conceptions of how a welfare system operates, as generally the focus of economic redistribution from the state can be said to have shifted somewhat.¹⁸ If the UK system is used as a framework, a purpose of the original British welfare system was indeed to help out the poorest sections of society, yet many aspects of it, such as the National Health Service, were and still are free for all at the point-of-use (NHS, 2013). Similarly to with Québec and Canada, egalitarian policies in Scotland diverging from the English baseline can be viewed within the wider context of self-rule representing a way of resisting the increasingly neoliberal direction of the UK government, most notably during the Thatcher and Blair years, which indicates a long-term political commitment to welfarism.¹⁹

Moreover, it has been claimed that the devolved governments in the UK have actually aided welfare in areas such as social inclusiveness, poverty and indebtedness, aiding Westminster in what is meant to be the central government's responsibility.²⁰ Nevertheless, the argument against universalist policies can be said to be more in line with the current prominent ideology in English political welfare development, where there is a clearer emphasis on selective public services and provisions.²¹ This can be observed with the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition's stated objective of reducing the size of the state.²²

Far from being a natural development, the equation of Scottish identity and 'progressive values' in contrast to an English 'other' can be argued as an ideological device of nationalists in their quest for increased political autonomy, who in particular pose a risk to the UK welfare system by pursuing this goal.²³ For example, the Scottish National Party (SNP) continue to utilise the rhetoric of having unique national principles, asserting that an independent country would best express 'Scottish values of fairness and opportunity'.²⁴ The ability of the devolved government to offer differing social policies associated with this national identity thus gives nationalist parties, such as the SNP, the opportunity for agenda-setting and influence within the UK political arena as well as the Scottish Parliament, very similarly to the Parti Québécois within the Canadian federation (Béland and Lecours, 2005, pp. 686-92). Attention can be said to then be diverted from the more pressing socio-economic cleavages and inequalities within society, with regional interests and the issue of recognition or political representation gaining sometimes disproportionate amounts of public attention instead.²⁵

It appears that despite attempts to do so, the accentuating potential of the policies from the SNP and other nationalist parties has not been entirely influential due to the response by Westminster to avoid policy debate and criticise divergence, so as a result England has remained largely isolated from the 'Celtic social democracy'.²⁶ There are, however, exceptions to this and of course the UK government and opposition has engaged in the independence debate with the 'Better Together' campaign in particular. There are also some positive signs from this agenda-setting power, since policy innovations have occasionally spilled over into England and Wales also.²⁷ This can be seen with Scottish tobacco policy and minimum alcohol pricing proposals, which are a further strengthening effect of policy divergence, although this has not been as common as the spillovers that have gone from central to devolved levels and between the devolved governments themselves.²⁸

Overall, the trajectory of Scottish policy divergence has resulted in the welfare state being strengthened rather than weakened in Scotland at least, although the effect on the overall welfare system in other parts of the UK has been somewhat less remarkable. Nevertheless, the UK welfare system is not undermined by Scottish policy divergence.²⁹

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NORDIC WELFARE IN SCOTLAND?

MAXWELL GREENBERG questions whether an independent Scotland's welfare state, as described by the Scottish Government, would qualify as a 'Nordic' welfare regime

On 26 November, 2013, the Scottish Government released a White Paper titled 'Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland'.¹ This publication was in anticipation of the 18th of September, 2014, when Scots will vote in a referendum on Scottish Independence.² As early as 2006, First Minister Alex Salmond had expressed in a speech to the British-Irish Council that '[w]ith Scottish Independence

there will be an opportunity to develop and improve our co-operation based on the Nordic Model. Presuming Scots choose independence, the sort of welfare state that would serve an independent Scotland is a pressing political issue, fit for intensive public scrutiny. To assess the policy direction of the White Paper, it is first necessary to describe the term 'Nordic model'. An evaluation of Scotland and the United Kingdom's current welfare model, as compared to the welfare



NORDIC WELFARE IN SCOTLAND? (CONTINUED)

models of the Nordic countries, will follow.

A key feature of Nordic socio-economics is high social mobility and low income inequality as the outcome of generous social insurance programmes which are funded through general and progressive taxation. As of 2010, the Nordic countries are all within the top nine most equal OECD countries, while the United Kingdom is the 27th most unequal country in the OECD (OECD, 2010). It is just as difficult to qualify the term 'Nordic model' in relation to the welfare state, as it is to evaluate what sort of social welfare model characterizes the policies of the United Kingdom and thus, at present, Scotland. The Nordic countries of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and (sometimes) Iceland, are all sovereign states, and there is as much variation in social welfare policy within the region as without. This generalisation is nevertheless helpful for analysis when regarded with a healthy skepticism. Gøsta Esping-Anderson, a Danish political scientist, was one of the first academics to distinguish and analyse the varieties of welfare states. This typological method allows us to compare different welfare systems or models, and gain insight into how different social and economic policies affect socio-political outcomes. Esping-Anderson (1990, 107) classifies capitalist countries into three 'worlds' of welfare capitalism based both on the level of de-commodification of individual labour, and on the social rights which provide alternative 'means of welfare to that of the market.' Esping-Anderson (1990, 106) argues that de-commodification occurs when a person can maintain a livelihood without depending on the 'cash-nexus' of the market, when 'distribution [of wealth] is detached from the market mechanism.'

Esping-Anderson⁴ describes the social democratic welfare regime of Nordic countries as a 'world' of welfare capitalism, best exemplified by Sweden and Norway, though he includes Finland and Denmark to varying degrees. This regime is characterised by principles of 'universalism and de-commodifying social rights [which were historically] extended to the new middle classes [during industrialization].'⁵ These states refuse to 'tolerate a dualism between state and market, between working class and middle class', installing a regime of highly de-commodifying and universalistic social programmes.⁶ Because the high costs of this system mandate revenue maximization with the lowest possible number of individuals having their welfare maintained by the state, the Nordic model is dependent upon low income equality, full employment, and high social mobility.⁷

The distinctiveness of Nordic welfare policies has certainly decreased over the past twenty years; since the Nordic financial crisis of the early 1990s, Denmark and Sweden have liberalised their labour market policies and allowed the universalistic approach towards pensions and benefits to be undermined by private market schemes. Denmark has led the charge on liberalisation, embracing since the early 1990s an ideology of 'flexicurity,' wherein labour market policies are slackened to improve the mobility of labour and individuals are compelled through commodifying policies to become active in the labour market, all while providing a strong - though less universalistic - social security net to compensate for the rise in unemployment that often accompanies labour market liberalisation. While these developments threaten to undermine the notion of a distinct Nordic model of welfare capitalism, it is still reasonable to speak of certain policies as 'Nordic' in spite of a global trend towards liberalisation. Johansson and Hvinden⁸ argue that 'Nordic-ness' in welfare politics can be simplified to the policies of 'stateness, equality, and universalism.'

Castles and Mitchell⁹ provide a critique of Esping-Anderson's typologies. They argue that Esping-Anderson's categorisation of the three worlds of welfare capitalism is flawed because it only considers one component - the de-commodification of individuals - via the degree of social stratification and relative availability of social rights to the middle classes. They argue that in treating means-tested benefits as indicators of a more liberal welfare state regime, Esping-Anderson ignores the de-commodifying effect that they have on individuals, in that they allow an individual or a family to survive without dependence on labour-market participation. This mischaracterisation of means-tested benefits, Castles and Mitchell¹⁰ argue, causes Esping-Anderson to wrongly characterise Australia and the United Kingdom as members of the liberal world of welfare capitalism, since both countries have high levels of benefit equality with strong de-commodifying effects despite relatively low levels of aggregate expenditure and household transfers. Castles and Mitchell¹¹ examine aggregate expenditure versus aggregate income and profits tax revenues, and find that states with both low levels of social expenditure and high levels of progressive taxation (a policy instrument which, of course, tends to lead to reduced poverty and more equally distributed income) still took policy action to combat poverty and income inequality. In the United Kingdom and Scotland, we can find more progressive taxation than we would in the United States, Canada or Japan, while noting the presence of highly de-commodifying social insurance and benefits (albeit these benefits would have become less de-commodifying since the Coalition Government's regressive and contractionary reforms), in addition to a universalistic system of health care benefits in the form of the NHS.

Esping-Anderson's insistence on universalism as a criterion for de-

commodification and a more democratic social policy, then, incorrectly characterises the United Kingdom and other 'fourth world' states as liberal welfare regimes. In a rather scathing indictment of Esping-Anderson's typologies, Castles and Mitchell¹² write that 'because Esping-Anderson does not distinguish between the redistributive effects of conservative and liberal welfare states, his prediction amounts only to an expectation that Sweden, Norway, and the Netherlands will manifest more equalizing policies.' This point is critical for an understanding of the direction in which the Scottish Government intends to take social policy, for their policy direction is not such a sharp turn towards de-commodification and social democracy and away from a liberal system of high stratification.

According to the General Register Office for Scotland, the population of Scotland in 2012 was 5.31 million.¹³ The General Register Office for Scotland projects that the population of Scotland will rise to 5.78 million by 2037, representing an increase of nine percent over 25 years.¹⁴ Seventy-two percent of the increase is projected to be due to net inward migration, with the remaining twenty-eight percent due to natural increase.¹⁵ The Scottish Government acknowledges that as a result, Scotland faces the demographical challenge of an increasing dependency ratio. The Nordic population is expected to increase from 24.8 million in 2012 to 30.3 million in 2020, with an annual growth rate of 0.4%.¹⁶ The Nordic country with the closest population to Scotland's in 2012 was Finland, at 5.26 million. The other three Nordic countries, exempting Sweden, with 9 million people, have a very similar population range to Scotland's varying between 4.7 million in Norway and 5.53 million in Denmark.¹⁷ While Sweden, Norway, and Finland are exceptionally sparsely populated, with 16-23 people per km², Denmark is the regional exception, with 130.1 people per km².¹⁸ Scotland's population density stands at 64 people per km².¹⁹ The United Kingdom, in contrast, has 261 people per square km².²⁰

On this argument, the Scottish Government is clearly correct in its assessment that both Scotland's population and its population density are more similar to those of the Nordic countries than the United Kingdom's. This is an important point, as those opposed to Scottish Independence often cite Scotland's smaller scale as a weakness - an argument that falters in light of the reality that the Nordic region is wealthier and happier with population structures more similar to Scotland than the United Kingdom. This similarity does not, however, change the fact that the United Kingdom, the Nordic countries, and an independent Scotland will all face an increasing dependency ratio and the corresponding social and fiscal issues that are linked to an ageing population.

In regards to finance and the economy, the Government states that 'the tax and welfare systems are key levers for tackling inequality... welfare and tax policy should therefore be developed in tandem to ensure policy integration and alignment.'²¹ The first policy change that the White Paper details are possible reforms to Scotland's tax system. The Government announced that if it is the first elected government of an independent Scotland, the minimum wage would at least increase with inflation.²² Additionally, the Government offered a 'Youth Guarantee,' promising to establish 'opportunity of education, training or employment as constitutional rights.'²³ This is a universalistic guarantee, and a sharp turn from the constitutional arrangement of the United Kingdom, where none of the social rights listed above are constitutionally enforced. After the Scotland Act 2012 takes effect in 2016, it will be within the Scottish Parliament's power to vary income tax rates by 15 percent of Scotland's tax revenues; the current legislation allows the Parliament to vary income tax rate by 3 percent.

The section 'Health, Wellbeing and Social Protection' reviews those decisions by the UK government, which have reduced benefit provision and promises to reverse those changes. Those benefit cuts decided by the UK Parliament include the one percent cap on welfare benefit increases, the cut to Child Benefit, the introduction of Universal Credit, the transition from Disability Living Allowance to Personal Independence Payment, cuts in Council Tax Benefit, and the 'bedroom tax.'²⁴ Perhaps the most significant commitment that the Government has made to move towards a more universalistic welfare system is the Youth Guarantee, a promise to commit in a written constitution a guarantee of employment, education, or training for individuals under twenty-five. This expansion of social rights is certainly de-commodifying, and these reforms do represent a significant departure from the Westminster policy proposals which are moving the United Kingdom towards a more liberal model of meagre and means-tested benefits, tied to labour market participation. But because no reforms propose a shift towards a more universalistic benefits system, none of these reversals in policy will effect dramatic change the nature of the Scottish welfare system.

It is clear that the Scottish Government's proposals fall well short of a revolution in social welfare policies - an independent Scotland would remain firmly within the same 'world' of welfare capitalism as the United Kingdom.

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BACK TO THE FUTURE FOR SCOTTISH SOCIAL WORK

DR. MARK SMITH AND BILL WHYTE consider the prospects for social work in the run-up to the Referendum.

The Independence Referendum falls on the 50th anniversary of the publication of the Kilbrandon Report (1964)¹, which is credited with heralding the birth of a modern and distinctive social work profession in Scotland. The anniversary prompts a retrospective on social work since Kilbrandon but also offers pointers on what a post Referendum Scottish social work might look like.

In 1961, in response to concerns around juvenile delinquency, the Scottish Office set up a committee under Lord Kilbrandon, Scotland's leading law lord, to review arrangements for dealing with young people involved in offending and those in need of care or protection. Drawing on evidence from the developing social sciences, the Committee concluded that it was not helpful to separate young people who offend from those offended against - in both cases something had gone wrong in the child's upbringing, reflecting unmet needs for protection, control, education and care, which should be the concern and responsibility of the whole society.

Kilbrandon's remedy for this shortfall in the upbringing process was 'social education, education in its widest sense, which involved working in partnership with parents to strengthen 'those natural influences for good which will assist the child's development into a mature and useful member of society' (para 17). The committee stressed wider family and community responsibility and early, voluntary, rather than compulsory, intervention. Many of Kilbrandon's ideas, including proposals for a children's hearings system were picked up in a subsequent White Paper, *Social Work and the Community* (1966) and found their way into legislation through the 1968 *Social Work (Scotland) Act*. The 1968 Act placed a broad, all-encompassing duty on local authorities to 'promote social welfare' (section 12), which is still in force today. Kilbrandon's ideas reflected a wider zeitgeist in respect of welfare and 'collectivist' thinking. As Lindsay Paterson (2000)² has argued:

Links among 'physical, mental and emotional well-being' also underpinned the child-centred ideas that grew to dominate educational policy by the 1960s, reaching their apogee in the relatively successful and popular Scottish system of comprehensive secondary schools - a policy entirely based on the premise that educational success and failure cannot be understood only in educational terms, but must be related to the social and economic circumstances faced by children. From that same time, too, we have the internationally respected Scottish system of community education, linking education, youth work and community development in an attempt to regenerate whole communities, enabling them to take responsibility for their own lives.

Kilbrandon's was an optimistic prospectus, confident in its belief in social progress, and one that also asserted a distinctive Scottish welfare tradition, which Checkland (1980)³ argues exists on a continuum reaching back to the Reformation. A Scottish welfare tradition drew sustenance from the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment. Morality, for such thinkers, was contextual; it could not exist independently of social and political context (Smith and Whyte, 2008)⁴, a belief echoed in Kilbrandon's focus on 'needs' rather than exclusively on 'deeds' in response to juvenile offenders. Another feature of the Scottish Enlightenment was a philosophy of 'common sense', which involved the democratisation of knowledge. A dialectic was required between expert knowledge and the instinctive sense of the common man, which encouraged 'an anti-individualism, almost a kind of socialism' (Davie, 1991, p. 62). According to the Scottish philosophers, the specialisation of knowledge led to excessive compartmentalisation and atomisation in society.⁵

It would seem that Kilbrandon set out to establish a distinctively Scottish approach to social welfare. Parliamentary papers from the time indicate that he was keen not to follow the juvenile court approach adopted in England and Wales. Indeed, his Committee sought inspiration from Scandinavia rather than looking to an Anglo-American paradigm that saw social problems as a symptom of poor character or a consequence of psychological or familial dysfunction. Responses to social problems within such a paradigm tend to be located at the level of the individual, detached from social and wider community context, the antithesis of Kilbrandon's approach.

Brodie et al. (2008)⁶ argue that the years following the *Social Work (Scotland) Act* witnessed a commitment to high quality universal public services with a strong welfarist ideology, often buttressed by the dominance of the Labour Party in local and national government. A tradition of community social work, developed, especially in the West of Scotland. In broad terms, however, the history of Scottish social work parallels that of the UK as a whole: a short spurt of growth and optimism in the 1970s, followed by a prolonged and continuing period of restricted funding, professional self-doubt, policy and organisational turmoil (Clark and

Smith, 2011).⁷ Retrenchment became manifest in petty municipalism and managerialism. The profession lost touch with any sense of moral purpose that existed in had its earlier days.

Social work also had to contend with the implications of legal decisions taken at a UK level where, for example, the Government has consistently failed to incorporate international standards set by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). This failure applied to Scotland despite UN directing principles and associated guidance being rooted in the universalist and social educational paradigm adopted by Kilbrandon. Children became criminalized by Children's Hearings as a result of UK legislation through the Rehabilitation of Offender's Act 1974. Moreover, the routine use of adult criminal proceedings for young people under 18 failed to recognize the status of young people in this age group as 'children' under UNCRC and Scots Law, developments that eroded fundamental aspects of social work practice with children in conflict with the law.

Setting aside understandable cavils that social work managers might forward about funding, many of the profession's problems are more ideologically than purely financially rooted. They have emerged, largely, as a result of the growth of 'protection' as a discrete and increasingly dominant driver of practice. The idea of 'child protection, increasingly detached from 'child care', was a political move on the part of former Tory Home Secretary, Keith Joseph to shift the focus of social work away from a broad welfare role, which inevitably began to 'name' the structural roots of social problems, towards the narrow objective of identifying and policing 'problem' families. Protection, in this sense, is an essentially misanthropic enterprise, involving: 'a very different conception of the relationship between an individual or group, and others than does care. Caring seems to involve taking the concerns and needs of the other as the basis for action. Protection presumes ... bad intentions' (Tronto, 1993: 104).⁸ In contradistinction to Kilbrandon's assertion of 'natural influences for good' existing in individuals and families, social work as a profession has allowed itself to be diverted down a path that could be viewed as blaming poor families for the results of their poverty and inequality. This has taken us to a place where the profession is often experienced by poor families with fear and suspicion and as just another of the problems besetting them. Within this group are families who queue at foodbanks whilst social workers act as if powerless to assist, despite the well established association of poverty and inequality with a whole range of the social problems that social work is called to intervene in. This is where a failure to foreground social context takes us.

Scotland needs a reinvigorated social work profession. This is not special pleading on behalf of a flawed profession. Mature inclusive democracies need, among other things, a mature social work profession; at its best and most useful social work can act, not merely as an agent of the state, but as a dynamic and potentially unsettling force in society. The portents of that happening at a UK level are not good. One need only look to the thuggish power play of David Cameron and Ed Balls in response to the death of Baby Peter Connolly to see the disdain in which the profession is held there. Recent reviews of social work education in England (Narey, 2014)⁹ reflect a foreclosing, anti-intellectual and instrumental prospectus. A social work, drawing on social science that recognizes the complexity of social experience and is rooted in humane and progressive values seems not to be on the agenda down South. In that context, any vaguely liberal or emancipatory ambitions that some within the profession might hold onto are unlikely to see the light of day within a UK context.

The Referendum offers an opportunity to imagine a different kind of social work for Scotland. Richard Holloway, giving the 2009 Association of Directors of Social Work Lecture, notes that: 'The Social Work Act of 1968 was revolutionary not only in its impact, but in its thinking. We need in our day to do more of that kind of thinking, thinking that challenges not only ruling elites, but ruling ideas.'¹⁰ We have the opportunity, in the run up to the Referendum, to engage in thinking that challenges and transforms ruling ideas. As we write this piece, Better Together seeks to make a case for a 'No' vote based around the fears of a comfortable but anxious populace for their financial futures (see Sunday Herald, 2nd March 2014). The financial present of victims, of welfare cuts, and of food parcel recipients demands a very different vision of social and shared responsibility posited as the hallmark of post war Scotland envisaged by Kilbrandon. This is unfinished business.

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JUSTICE, IMMIGRATION, AND HOME AFFAIRS



"If the people of Scotland vote to leave the UK there would be profound changes for migration policy."¹ These were the words expressed by United Kingdom Home Secretary Theresa May at a Scottish Conservative Party conference in Edinburgh. In the wide cacophony of debates surrounding the issue of Scottish independence, such statements have been uttered as fact by one side while the other have brushed these off as attempts at 'scaremongering'.² Yet questions surrounding border control, immigration, and citizenship remain important points to consider in confronting the

prospect of an independent Scotland.

Efforts to subdue concerns and clarify doubts are evident in the Scottish National Party's government in its White Paper, which serves as the blueprint for an independent Scotland.³ In the document, arguments are made in favour of new methods for reducing crime, supporting the migration of skilled workers and

also adopting a more inclusive approach to asylum seekers and refugees.⁴ Amidst proposals for the current Immigration Bill passing through Westminster⁵, it has been argued that immigration policy made for the United Kingdom runs in opposition to the interests and wellbeing of Scotland.⁶

In this issue of Leviathan, we deal with the subject of immigration and citizenship, along with the implications of Scottish independence for the borders of the nation. Will an independent Scotland have to abandon its wishes for a more liberal immigration policy in its desire to remain in the United Kingdom's Common Travel Area? Or will its anticipated membership in the European Union force Scotland to concede to EU immigration policy at the expense of its ability to decide its own rules on immigration? These questions and more are at the heart of the debate on the home affairs of an independent Scotland. Yet in determining the truthfulness of the multitude of answers given, only time can reveal which turn out to be the right ones.

Muhamad Iqbal

AT THE CROSSROADS OF IMMIGRATION

DARYA GNIDASH discusses the possible changes to Scotland's Immigration Policy in the context of Scottish independence

It is evident that the recent net-in immigration trends in Scotland are a result of students embarking upon their studies in Scotland as the prestige of Scottish universities is enhanced in world rankings.¹ According to the recent statistics from the General Register Office for Scotland, the peak net-in age is 19, with 24 correspondingly being the peak age for net-out immigration.² Therefore, any changes to immigration policy would directly affect current and prospective students in Scotland. Fortunately, the Scottish government has emphasized that students and graduates will remain the primary focus of its immigration policy. The White Paper states, 'All those legally in Scotland at independence will be able to remain in Scotland under the terms of their existing visa or entry'.³ Although reassuring, it is worth mentioning how recent changes to the UKBA standards have affected students. Over the past four years, the UKBA, and the Home Office (since the UKBA's was subsumed back into the Home Office) has made it more difficult for students to obtain visas with many of them sometimes missing up to three weeks of university or even worse; not getting into university at all despite having the grades. As such, with only 11% of students studying at Scottish universities coming from abroad⁴, these changes have shown that immigration policies implemented by Westminster have disadvantaged the rest of the UK. Consequently, it is vital for Scotland to keep its students within its borders. As argued by Scottish National Party MSP Marco Biagi,⁵ Scotland would consider relaxing its rules on immigration and returning the post-student visa. Such decisions would create a young educated working force and ultimately benefit the Scottish economic sector.

In contrast, Michael Moore, the former Scottish Secretary, argued that if Scotland were to become independent, its immigration policy would be 'a complete nightmare'.⁶ The basis for this argument rests in the fact that by opting out of the Schengen Travel Area, Scotland risks isolating itself from the rest of Europe. The appeal of Schengen lies in the free-flow of tourists, students, immigrant workers and foreign capital between countries party to the agreement. By restricting the flow of such forces, the Scottish economy may experience severe problems. Additionally, bearing in mind that the Scottish population currently rests at around 5.2 million⁷ (in comparison to the population of the whole UK, which is approximately 63 million⁸) such changes would be very dramatic and could lead to demographic problems. Furthermore, the Scottish government would then have to install

checkpoints along its borders with the rest of UK, which could arguably pose several problems to UK domiciled students, who constitute 83% of all students at Scottish universities.⁹ Annabelle Ewing claims that Scotland will keep the Common Travel Area by drawing an example between the UK and the Republic of Ireland.¹⁰ However one still cannot deny that this change will have an impact on the relationship between the UK and Scotland.

The recent analysis from the Oxford Universities' Migration Observatory has shown that changes are inevitable regardless of whether or not Scotland becomes independent.¹¹ With Scotland currently experiencing an inward growth of its population, Westminster continues working towards reducing the number of immigrants, as demonstrated by the numerous changes that have been made to the UKBA visa application process.¹² Thus, Dr. Scott Blinder emphasizes the need for change, and draws the example of Canada, which does not have the 'one-size-fits-all' immigration policy.¹³ By introducing the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act in 2001, the Canadian government has stressed the need for 'education, language, and adaptability'.¹⁴ Candidates are 'assessed on the basis of points awarded for employment skills, education, and language abilities rather than national or "racial" origin; sponsorship by close family members; and refugee status'.¹⁵ In so doing, Canada has provided itself with a highly educated, motivated and young working force. Currently, immigrants represent over 20% of the total population whereas in the United States, that number corresponds to 12.5%¹⁶ of the total population. Therefore, even if Scotland were to remain a part of the UK, Westminster should indeed consider implementing a points-based system since it would ameliorate the economic growth of Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

At the moment, it is fair to say that immigration policy is not at the top of the Scottish independence agenda. Discussions do take place, but becoming independent will not immediately render Scotland less attractive to immigrants. I believe, as long as students have the right to go to universities and immigrants have the right to work, nothing will go wrong. Obviously, changes are inevitable, but as far as this analysis suggests they will not be fundamentally threatening in any way.

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SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE AND IMMIGRATION: THE CHOICE BETWEEN THE CTA AND THE EU

JOE GAYESKI considers Scotland's borders and how to achieve Holyrood's immigration goals

The complicated question of an independent Scotland's borders and immigration policy has raised tensions on both sides of the border from the start. In March 2012, Home Secretary Theresa May delivered a stark warning that an independent Scotland would lead to a security-threatening "mass immigration" with the SNP quickly denouncing May's comments as "scaremongering".¹ The debate has only escalated since: In January, Scotland's Education Secretary Mike Russell condemned UK immigration policy as being pushed forward by "a nasty xenophobia".² Scotland Office minister David Mundell responded by reminding Russell of SNP plans to pursue tuition fees only for English, Welsh or Northern

Irish students, making it "ridiculous" for the education minister to speak of xenophobia.³ Harsh political rhetoric aside, the back-and-forth exchange between Holyrood and Westminster reflects the uncertain future of Scottish borders. Come independence, the outcome will be determined by the SNP's ability to implement its policy aspirations under pressures within the Common Travel Area (CTA) and EU immigration law through the Schengen agreement. Though both agreements limit Scotland's ability to take complete responsibility for its immigration policy, membership with the Schengen agreement allows the Scottish Government for the greatest



SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE AND IMMIGRATION: THE CHOICE BETWEEN THE CTA AND THE EU (CONTINUED)

control on immigration.

The Scottish Government's white paper *Scotland's Future* states that a "major gain" of independence is responsibility for Scotland's own immigration policy, tailored to the needs of the small nation.⁴ The SNP's plans include allowing international students to work for several years after graduation, lowering the nationwide salary requirement to gain residency, and incentivising migrants to move to rural areas.⁵ As Scotland has half the immigrant population of England (7% to 14%, respectively)⁶, the SNP makes a strong case for an immigration policy that reflects Scotland's need to encourage immigration, as opposed to UK efforts to decrease it. Alex Salmond has even gone as far as to label London's visa policies as "perverse".⁷ Salmond's government plans to implement policies to attract talented migrants to Scotland in hopes of growing the population and strengthening the economy. Legally, an independent Scotland would be free to adopt such an immigration policy tailored to Scottish interests.⁸

However, immigration is an area no longer exclusive to the domestic arena for any state, and Scotland is no exception.⁹ The freedom to adopt new immigration policy is significantly checked by the SNP's intention to remain in the UK's Common Travel Area. Established in 1923, the agreement allows minimally controlled travel between Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, and the Scottish government intends to remain a part of it. Though remaining in the treaty agreement would prevent a controlled border between England and Scotland, Westminster would require negotiation for any new immigration policy within the CTA.¹⁰ Strong concerns from English politicians over illegal immigration would limit the scope of a new policy, as migrants could simply relocate after entering through the less restrictive country. The alternative, Scotland's exit from the CTA, is unpopular on both sides, and the UK government has suggested that Scotland's immigration policy plans would result in passports being required at the shared land border.¹¹ Though Scotland's minister of external affairs Humza Yousaf claims such patrol would not be necessary, international pressure within the British Isles might prove otherwise.¹² Scotland's membership in the CTA would limit its ability to pursue the immigration policy it aspires to.

Scotland's immigration goals are further complicated by its anticipated membership in the European Union. Despite the Scottish government's enthusiasm to join the EU, it has denied it will join the Schengen travel zone. The Schengen agreement allows EU citizens to travel on a single visa, and the UK has never been a part of it.¹³ Professor Robert E. Wright of the University of Strathclyde argues an independent Scotland would be pressured to join the Schengen travel zone, as it may be made a requirement in Scotland's membership application. Scotland's membership in the EU is not automatic, and the Schengen zone has become the norm for EU states. No state has opted-out of the agreement since Ireland and the UK did in 1997. Agreement to the Schengen area would require Scotland to adopt the EU's policy on refugees and asylum seekers, limiting the purview of Scotland's ability to write its own immigration policy. Despite Scotland's preference to "opt-out" of the Schengen travel zone in favour of the CTA, it is unlikely the EU will allow a piecemeal approach to membership. Scotland

would have to make concessions to EU immigration policy.¹⁴

Seemingly, the SNP's independent Scotland would be faced with a bleak choice: remain in the CTA and negotiate immigration policy with Westminster, or adopt the Schengen agreement with membership in the EU and adopt the EU's immigration policy. An independent Scotland must choose which direction will allow the most flexibility on its immigration policy in order to reach its pro-immigration goals. Negotiating membership within the CTA with the UK and Ireland would allow for an open land border between England and Scotland, though Scotland would sacrifice significantly on its immigration goals. When the nature of EU immigration policy is considered alongside the receptiveness of the Scottish public, it is clear that membership in the Schengen zone would allow the Scottish government much more control over its immigration than the CTA.

Though some EU legislation will have to be adopted, the EU's immigration laws will not infringe much on the immigration goals of the Scottish Government. EU requirements are limited on "economic migrants," the kind the Scottish Government is most interested in.¹⁵ Asylum seeking, where EU legislation is more demanding, will not interrupt immigration goals. The numbers of asylum seekers are predicted to be small, and the SNP has shown political support for asylum seekers with the SNP planning to allow asylum seekers the right to work while their application remains pending.¹⁶ Within the EU, Scotland would still take responsibility for economic migrants, allowing the newly independent state to attract migrants capable of contributing to the interests of Scotland. Scotland would then be able to pursue immigration policies conducive to the SNP's population and economic goals. Though Scotland would compromise on the areas of asylum seekers and refugees, membership within the EU and Schengen area would yield policies better suited to Scotland's interests than membership in the CTA.

Aside from government, the Scottish public is more inclined to accept growing immigration than their English neighbours. When asked by a poll by YouGov, 58% said they wanted to see immigration reduced, compared to 75% in England and Wales. The survey also found that 60% of Scots had more confidence in Holyrood making immigration decisions than Westminster, even if they did not agree with the policy itself.¹⁷ Though public opinion may change as immigration surges, the Scottish Government has a clear opportunity to bring its immigration goals to fruition. If voters choose the route of independence, a tolerant political culture and freedom to write policy on economic migrants may bring the population and economic boost the SNP seeks. Though Wright duly states that independence is not the only route to a better-fitting immigration policy,¹⁸ their ultimate political goal of independence may deliver on immigration. This outcome depends on the SNP's decision between the CTA or the Schengen zone, and its ability to implement its ambitious immigration goals. An independent Scotland may be the Scotland for immigrants.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, SECURITY, AND DEFENCE



One of the key issues concerning next September's referendum on Scottish Independence is the future of Scotland's defence. If Scotland does leave the UK, questions remain over the future of Scottish security institutions. While the Scottish Government has provided plans for the nation's security in the event of independence, scepticism exists about a new security force's abilities.

Opponents of independence argue that the Government's plan is light on specifics and relies too much on equipment that the Scottish Government hopes it can acquire through dialogue with the UK. However, there is no assurance that Westminster will agree to give Scotland the military equipment they require. If the UK does not agree to Holyrood's negotiations on this front, Scotland may be left without an adequate security force.¹

Another area of disagreement between the Scottish Government and

Westminster is over Trident nuclear missiles stationed northwest of Glasgow. First Minister Alex Salmond has made clear that he finds Britain's use of the Faslane naval base unacceptable, and has stated he wants to remove the missiles immediately if Scotland votes for independence. However, UK Defence Minister Philip Hammond has specified Westminster has no plans to move nuclear forces as they do not expect Scotland to leave the UK.²

UK security officials and think tanks have also criticised Salmond's proposal for a completely new intelligence agency, saying it contains "fundamental" flaws and leaves the country "vulnerable" to terrorism. Critics argue any new agency would take years to develop and leave national security exposed during that time.³

If Scotland does gain independence in 2014, many challenges remain for the implementation of adequate defence and security procedures. Alex Salmond and the Scottish National Party would be wise to consider their critics and listen to the insight of current intelligence and defence leaders.

Alexander Marinaccio



THE UNITED KINGDOMS OF GREAT BRITAIN

DAVID MARTIN, MEP

The SNP's White paper on Scotland's future tells us everything in Scotland will be different, while nothing will change. We would be saying Yes to keeping the Queen, keeping the pound, keeping the BBC, in general saying Yes to everything staying exactly the same.

As a Labour MEP in the European Parliament, working extensively on international trade as well as human rights, it is the international dimension of Scottish independence which is prominent amongst my concerns. Relationships with the rest of the UK and the EU that are all currently domestic relationships will overnight be propelled into the field of international relations. The SNP seem to have failed to grasp how challenging this world can be and the rules that govern it. We will be entering a new arena, where no one will be obliged to look after us. Of course no-one wants a failed state on their border, but they will be under no obligation to give us a helping hand; the rules of real politik remain, even in the liberal EU.

Despite claims from the SNP of 'scaremongering' and 'bullying', I have been working hard in the European Parliament to really get to the bottom of what Scotland's position would be in the EU, if we were to go it alone.

With the referendum vote on September 18th, independence has been scheduled for March 2016. This gives the SNP, who will be the ruling party in Scotland and therefore in charge of this process, 18 months to negotiate our terms of independence with the UK government. Through these negotiations, Scotland will change as a country. We don't know what proportion of national debt we will take on, we don't know how businesses will react to being in a newly independent state, we don't know if pensioners will continue to receive their payments and of course, we don't even know if we will be able to continue using the pound.

It is these uncertainties, amongst other factors, which will make Scotland's membership of the EU unclear. The SNP have argued that of course the EU will want us; a modern, successful democracy with a shared European history. What's not to love? We also of course adhere to European standards and implement European law. Of course, there is merit in this argument, but that's why we, as part of the UK, are members of the EU now. When we become independent, or are negotiating independence, things will change and the EU will need to time to assess these changes and assess the impact of independence on Scottish society.

The SNP have said we could negotiate from within the EU during this transition period. This means that during that same 18 month period when we are negotiating independence with the UK, we would also seamlessly join the EU on March 16th as an independent member state. This is very wishful thinking by the SNP. The Commission can only negotiate with a member state. Therefore while the SNP are having meetings with the UK, it would be the UK government who would have to go next door to talk to the Commission about Scottish independence. Secondly, 18 months is far too short a time for EU membership negotiations to take place.

The Commission has already confirmed their position on this whole debate to me in an answer to a Parliamentary Question. As far as they are

concerned, if part of the territory of a Member State secedes 'the Treaties would no longer apply to that territory'. Therefore it would have to apply for membership as any new state does. However, the SNP has decided to ignore this as 'irrelevant', and you guessed it 'scaremongering', so they are pressing ahead with the argument that we would be accepted as an existing Member State in March 2016.

Any way you look at it we will have time outside of the EU. There is no concrete timescale for negotiating as a new member state - some have said six-months others six years. As an independent state, the SNP have said we will opt-out from Schengen and the Euro, which are all compulsory for new member states, and keep a share of the UK's rebate. These are big hurdles to get over and the negotiations will not only be lengthy, but difficult with compromises having to be made. We might be able to negotiate the first two, but the idea of a share of the rebate is pure fantasy.

Being outside of the EU would damage our international trade deals, which is an exclusive competency of the EU. We would have no access to the single European market, our biggest trade partner after the rest of the UK. University funding would be taken away and students could not take part in ERASMUS, Scottish citizens living in the EU would face legal uncertainty and structural funds payments of millions of euros would be missing from the budget. This is not scaremongering; this is the realities of being outside of the EU for any length of time.

We all know that joining the EU will not be easy. There will be many European states that will not thank us for going independence and sparking confidence in their own separatist movements. We will need approval of every member state, just one veto will close the gates firmly shut. Just as De Gaulle's 'non' in 1967 prevented the UK joining the EU until 1973, so a 'no' from Rajoy, Di Rupo or indeed even Allende, could lead to a similar rejection of Scotland's application.

We are making a choice in September; both options have uncertainty, as any decision about the future does. But a Yes vote is too full of too many unanswered questions. There is too much good and stability in the United Kingdoms of Great Britain working together, and too much work to be done in making Scotland, the UK and Europe a fairer and better place for all citizens, to open the door to all this uncertainty. Perhaps you will see this uncertainty as 'the leap of faith' the SNP do, the once in a lifetime choice. If you do, I just want you to be aware that it's not only you, but also the SNP who have no idea how big the gap will be and how large that leap is going to have to be. No one quite knows what you, as an individual, will be giving up to have an independent Scotland.

David Martin has been a Labour MEP since 1984 and was the representative for the Lothians. Since 1999, he has been one of six MEPs representing the whole of Scotland, under proportional representation. He is a member of the International Trade and Constitutional Affairs committee in the European Parliament, and served as Vice President of the European Parliament.

INDEPENDENCE AND TRIDENT

DAVID AITCHISON explores how Scottish Independence will lead the UK on the road towards nuclear disarmament.

A key component of the independence debate is the issue of nuclear weapons. The future of the UK's nuclear weapons system, Trident, is currently under review, with the coalition government at Westminster divided on the issue. Tory members broadly supporting direct renewal,¹ with the Liberal Democrats favouring a cheaper option, as outlined in their paper on the issue released in 2013.²

However, the Tories are by no means united over the issue, with former Conservative Defence Minister, James Arbuthnott, commenting: "Nuclear deterrence is essentially aimed at states, because it doesn't work against terrorists. And you can only aim a nuclear weapon at a rational regime, and at rational states that are not already deterred by the US nuclear deterrent. So there is actually only a small set of targets. With the defence budget shrinking, you have to wonder whether [replacing Trident] is an appropriate use of very scarce defence sources. You have to wonder whether nuclear deterrence is still as effective a concept as it used to be in the cold war."³

In the same article in *The Guardian*, Professor Malcolm Chalmers, director of research and defence policy for the Rusi think-tank, is quoted as saying: "The UK would not become a nuclear-armed state now if it were not one already. With the end of the cold war, the UK is situated in one of

the more secure parts of the world, is surrounded with friendly states, and enjoys a close [military] alliance."⁴

The arguments being made by these two contributions to the debate are indicative of how the security threats in the modern world should be faced. Yes, there are risks to be averted now as much as there were in the Cold War. But these increasingly, as we are all too aware, do not come so much from states, but from terrorist organisations, cells, or even individuals. As we saw on the tragic dates, 7/7 and 9/11, nuclear weapons do not provide deterrence against attacks from these types of organisation. This can be taken further, looking at the example of the Falklands War. British territory was invaded by Argentina despite the nuclear weapons that the UK maintained at that point in time. The 'deterrent' did not work then, does not work now, and does not provide valuable defence against any sort of threat that the UK or any country faces.

The recent negotiations between the P5+1 and Iran over Tehran's potential for developing nuclear weapons shows the way forward.⁵ It is not any use to obsess over hosting weapons of mass destruction and how this relates to a sense of power on the global stage. The real way forward is diplomacy - and it works. The risk of nuclear



INDEPENDENCE AND TRIDENT (CONTINUED)

oblivion that comes from mistake, miscalculation, or misunderstanding is too great for any of us in Scotland to feel truly secure with nuclear weapons sitting just thirty miles from our largest city.

Furthermore, it robs us of vital resources needed to tackle the root causes of the threats that face us in the modern world - namely poverty, inequality and environmental degradation. Even within the UK, it would seem obvious that the people from places such as Somerset would feel more secure with money being invested in tackling climate change and providing adequate flood defences, rather than spending £100bn⁶ on renewing the UK's international prestige.

The more the situation is observed, the quicker it emerges that independence is the logical and fastest way, not just to a nuclear-free Scotland, but to a nuclear-free UK.

Eliminating nuclear weapons is about more than just improving Scotland or allowing Scotland to benefit from the removal of the risk associated with nuclear weapons in our waters. Independence forces the UK Government to make a decision about their continued hosting of nuclear weapons. Downing Street has already ruled out annexing Faslane, after a proposal put forward by the Ministry of Defence.⁷ On top of this, the 'costs of moving out of Faslane are eye-wateringly high',⁸ with no base in the rest of the UK being suitable to host the weapons. In addition, it would seem unlikely for either party to agree to a temporary stationing of weapons in either France or the United States whilst a new base was being built. This is particularly evident in light of recent US comments which have expressed their doubts over Britain's ability to continue funding conventional defence priorities due to money from the defence budget being used for the renewal of Trident.⁹ This leaves the only viable option for the UK, in the event of Scottish independence, nuclear disarmament.

It is legitimate at this point, however, to ask how independence can guarantee the removal of nuclear weapons from the Clyde. There is strong evidence to back up this assertion, firstly through the Scottish Government's White Paper, *Scotland's Future*, which states: "This Scottish Government would make early agreement on the speediest safe removal of

nuclear weapons a priority... within the first term of the Scottish Parliament following independence. The detailed process and timetable for removal would be a priority for negotiation between the Scottish Government and the Westminster Government... Trident could be dismantled within two years."¹⁰

In addition to this, the Scottish Parliament has, on more than one occasion, voted in opposition to the UK renewal of Trident, firstly in 2007,¹¹ and more recently in 2013, in a motion that also backed the UN Secretary-General's Five Point Plan for nuclear disarmament.¹²

On both occasions, each resolution gained cross-party support in favour of disarmament. But without the Scottish Parliament having any power over security and defence policy, Westminster can continue to impose nuclear weapons on Scotland, against the will of the representatives elected by the people of Scotland. With the full powers of an independent Parliament, including control over defence and foreign affairs, Scotland would have the ability to pursue a more ethical foreign policy than that which has been followed by the UK. But independence will also force the UK to re-evaluate its own foreign policy agenda, with the potential position of being a non-nuclear state for the first time since 1952.

With that in mind, it gives us the chance to imagine the possibilities, not just of creating a better Scotland, but of being part of building a better world. Removing nuclear weapons through Scottish independence will not weaken this island's position in the world, but strengthen and modernise it by showing the rest of the nuclear armed states that there is another way forward. Diplomacy has worked in the recent past and can prove to be the only grounding for developing a more peaceful and secure world. We have a one-off opportunity in September 2014 to ensure that Scotland can take its place in being part of this.

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AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND

OLE K. BRATSET discusses the role of an independent Scotland in Europe.

The White Paper states that an independent Scotland will remain part of the EU, and that the process for doing so will be straightforward and quick. Is that the case, or is this scenario naïve and not properly thought through?

Is the Scottish Government capable of seeing the full picture of the events that will transpire after a possible YES vote in September? Their ideas about how an independent Scotland would be shaped seem superficial at best. With the example of the EU, this article will highlight how the simplicity in which the Scottish Government presents the future is misleading.

The White Paper talks extensively about Scottish EU membership and Scotland's future role in the EU.¹ However, this perceived future is presented with an incredible naiveté and lack of a plan B. There is no mention of what would be done if the process should not go as smoothly as planned. The issues brought forth by European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso in an interview with the BBC are simply the real world of international politics shattering the perceived straightforwardness of the issue of Scottish EU membership. Barroso states, that on the matter of getting approval from all the member states in the EU, Spain might pose a problem. Spain has separatist issues of their own with the Basque and the Catalan and has therefore in the past shown an unwillingness to approve new countries, with Kosovo being the example brought forth by Barroso.² Barroso has raised an excellent point and it goes to show that even if it can be solved, the Scottish Government presents a far too simplistic view on

many key issues in the debate, assuming that they will all just resolve easily and as they have predicted.

They also present a view of EU membership which is solely positive, not clarifying how Scotland would deal with the dangers of close integration with other European economies. While raving on about the positives of the EU they fail to talk about how another small country with an economy based on oil, Norway, has benefited from standing outside the EU. It is time for the Scottish Government to show us that they have a more nuanced view, and that they are able to perceive multiple scenarios for the outcome of a YES vote. The people of Scotland deserve as much before they make up their mind.

Whether one is for or against Scottish Independence, one should be presented with a clear image of what an independent Scotland would be like. The Scottish Government should not present a simplistic view in which everything will go smoothly, without accounting for, or even presenting, alternative scenarios and how they would be handled. People should not feel compelled to vote Yes in September if the government cannot present a more comprehensive view of challenges that an independent Scotland would face.

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SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL: SCOTLAND, SISU, AND THE NORDIC MODEL

DAVID KELLY argues that an independent Scotland should join the Nordic Council and help lead the world.

In Finland, there is a word that holds a very special place in the national consciousness, one simple word that encapsulates the spirit of an entire people - sisu.¹ It is, according to *The New York Times* back in 1940, "the word that explains Finland".² In Scots, we might translate it imperfectly as gallus. In English, we might compare it to daring, bravery or perseverance. It reflects

the impressive national character of Finland - a small country, just over five million souls strong, unafraid to innovate, to change, and to embrace the future.³

Today, we might say that sisu is the word that explains the Nordic model. Although it is a distinctly Finnish phrase and concept, it has a wider relevance



SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL: SCOTLAND, SISU AND THE NORDIC MODEL (CONTINUED)

to all of the Nordic countries that together form an incomplete geographical circle around Scotland. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden all have strong sense of independence, innovation, and collectivism. Each has its own vibrant traditions and unique approach to public policy, but all are united by the same commitment, at home and abroad, to social justice and human rights.⁴ This unity of values and identity is articulated through the mandate of Nordic Council, an intergovernmental forum established in 1952 of which all the Nordic countries are full members. In addition, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and the Aland Islands are associate members and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania hold the status as observers.⁵

In its White Paper, *Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland*, the Scottish Government has outlined its intention to foster "strong links to the Nordic countries".⁶ It recognises that "the global context" and "three overlapping and interacting spheres" will inform the foreign policy of an independent Scotland – namely the British Isles, the Nordic countries, and the Arctic.⁷ Independence will empower Scotland to speak with her own voice and advance her own interests in each of these spheres. With her own seat at the top table in the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Scotland would be a visible, equal, and influential member of the international community.

However, an independent Scotland should also seek to gain membership of the Nordic Council. If independent, Scotland would still be close friends and allies with England, Wales, Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland. However, Scotland is also a Nordic nation, in both ideational and geographical terms.⁸ Iceland's Prime Minister has confirmed that he would welcome an independent Scotland as a member of the Nordic Council.⁹ The deputy leader of the Danish People's Party has said that Scotland and Denmark "are so close to each other in so many ways... I know that the Danish government will accept straight away that Scotland could be a member of the Nordic Council".¹⁰ If independent, Scotland would be able to re-orientate its foreign policy posture towards the progressive, soft-power nations to its north and east. Scotland is the missing link in the Nordic circle of social democracy.

Scotland has much in common with – and much to learn from – the Nordic model of social democracy and small-state diplomacy. The historical and cultural links between Orkney, Shetland, and Scandinavia run deep.¹¹ Like the Nordic countries, Scotland is a small, northern European nation, with a proud maritime past, a tradition of invention and exploration, a wealth of natural resources and common geopolitical interests in the North Sea, Arctic and High North.¹² Much of its industrial strengths lie in the same economic sectors – energy, fisheries, electronics, and information technology.¹³

Scotland also shares a similar political culture that values community and solidarity. This ethos of togetherness, an ethos that permeates the Nordic welfare state model, is summed up by another expressive Nordic slogan – the Swedish word *folkhemmet*. In English, it means "the people's home". It refers to the ideal of a "tight-knit national community" towards which Swedish society constantly strives.¹⁴ Like the idea of the common weal articulated today by the Jimmy Reid Foundation¹⁵ and the Scottish constitutional tradition of popular sovereignty expressed in George Buchanan famous work, *The Law of Kingship among the Scots* (1579), it expresses Sweden's belief in democratic collectivism. *Folkhemmet* encapsulates the idea that a progressive state, governed by the will of the people, can transcend the barriers of class and build a peaceful, just society on the foundations of a strong, universal welfare state and a dynamic, digital market economy. This is the Nordic model of social democracy. It is the precise opposite of Westminster's pernicious doctrine that "there is no such thing as society".¹⁶

Today, Scotland is reaping what Westminster's devotion to neo-liberalism has sown. According to *Save the Children*, one in six Scottish children will go to bed hungry¹⁷ and the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) reports that, despite "Scotland's undoubted wealth", one in five children live in poverty.¹⁸ In addition, in the energy-rich Scotland, over 27% of households live in fuel poverty.¹⁹ Professor Danny Dorling of the University of Sheffield reports that the UK is the fourth most unequal state in the developed world.²⁰ In 1996, the UN reported that the gap between rich and poor in the UK was as severe as in Nigeria.²¹ Since then, inequality has only grown.

Meanwhile, the Nordic countries lead the world in this area. In the 2013 UN Human Development Index, Norway (1st), Sweden (7th), Iceland (13th), and Denmark (15th) are ranked among the nations with the very highest levels of development across a range of indicators, including health, education and infrastructure.²² Meanwhile, the UK (26th) languishes behind Slovenia (21st).²³

In gender equality, the UK (34th) falls behind Slovakia (32nd) and Macedonia (30th) – and only just ahead of China (35th) and Libya (36th).²⁴ As such, gender equality in the UK is only marginally better than in a developing country and a country just emerging from a brutal civil war and decades of patriarchal dictatorship. In contrast, Sweden (2nd), Denmark (3rd), Norway (5th), Finland (6th), and Iceland (10th) all occupy the top ten rankings for gender equality.²⁵

Last year, *Forbes* declared Ireland to be the best country in the world for business, with other small nations like New Zealand (2nd), Hong Kong (3rd), Denmark (4th), Sweden (5th), Finland (6th), Singapore (7th), and Norway (9th) completing the top ten.²⁶ The average population size of the five richest countries in the world by GDP per capita – Qatar, Luxembourg, Singapore, Norway, and Brunei – is just 2.6 million people.²⁷ In 1990, oil-rich Norway established a sovereign wealth fund that is now worth over \$828 billion, making every single Norwegian man, woman, and child "a theoretical krone millionaire".²⁸ Meanwhile, the UK national debt is over £1.3 trillion – over £21,000 for every man, woman, and child.²⁹

According to the 2013 UN's World Happiness Report, Denmark (1st), Norway (2nd), Sweden (5th), Finland (7th) and Iceland (9th) are among the happiest nations on earth, while the UK (22nd) languishes below the violence-ridden states of the USA (17th) and Mexico (16th).³⁰ Perhaps this is why *hygge* – a mixture of cosiness, comradeship and intimacy – is so integral to Danish culture.³¹

Moreover, the 2013 Global Peace Index, which ranks states according to their crime levels, relations with neighbours, and military expenditure, is dominated by small countries. For the third-year running, Iceland (1st), Denmark (2nd), and New Zealand (3rd) were the most peaceful. The UK (44th), meanwhile, languishes behind Finland (7th), Sweden (9th), Norway (11th), Ireland (12th), and even Vietnam (41st).³²

The evidence is clear: the Nordic countries are the most prosperous, peaceful, safe, democratic, equal, and happy nations on earth. If you could decide to be any kind of state, you would be mad not to choose to be a small, independent country in northern Europe. Scotland's population is around 5.2 million – much greater than Iceland's, marginally greater than Norway's, marginally less than those of Denmark and Finland, and over half the size of Sweden.

The Nordic countries may be relatively small, but they are fully plugged in to the global economy. Their citizens are highly-educated and highly-paid, enjoy world-class public services and suffer from very low levels of pollution, corruption, and civil discord. Their civic spaces and natural environment are valued and protected.³³ Their record provides a practical, successful, and highly attractive alternative to the Anglo-American model of unrestrained free-market capitalism. Their ability to combine "consistent economic growth with high levels of welfare and low levels of poverty and inequality is simply unmatched in the world".³⁴ Small really is beautiful.

But why is this? As *Scotland's Future* notes, there are "inherent advantages in being a smaller, well-governed, independent state in a rapidly-changing world, with the ability to respond to developments and with the scale to bring national institutions and civil society together quickly if need be".³⁵

Small states are agile, flexible, and forward thinking. They are prepared to innovate and to experiment. The nations of the Nordic Council are world leading in technological and entrepreneurial skill. Skype was created by three Estonians, a Dane and a Swede. Technology giant Nokia is based in Finland. Sweden is the home of everything from Ikea and Ericsson, to Spotify and Volvo. Size is no obstacle to success.

The opportunities and responsibilities that come with statehood also enable small countries to meaningfully influence international relations. New Zealand led the successful drive for an international ban on cluster bombs.³⁶ Similarly, the Nordic countries' foreign policies reflect their unequivocal rejection of militarism and their deep commitment to international law, soft power, and human rights. Since 1993, Norway, home of the Nobel Peace Prize, has facilitated and engaged with peace processes in over 10 different countries, from Afghanistan to Sudan.³⁷ Denmark and Norway have long been integral contributors to UN peacekeeping missions. The EU's rotating presidency has enabled countries like Ireland, Sweden, and Lithuania to direct the agenda of an entire continent, focussing on issues like climate change. The world's biggest contributors to international development aid are Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.³⁸ They are responsible, global citizens. This is the Nordic model of small-state diplomacy.

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AN INDEPENDENT, OUTWARD LOOKING, AND STRONGER SCOTLAND

CHRISTINA MCKELVIE, MSP, argues that Scotland's contribution to the world as an independent country would be mighty.

Scotland's continued membership in the European Union is one of the most important facets in the debate over independence. Our continued membership provides our citizens with critical human rights protections, it guarantees us the right to travel, live, study, or work, anywhere in the European Union, and the European Single Market provides the foundation for Scotland's economy, with EU countries accounting for nearly 45% of the Scottish export market.¹ Scotland's place in Europe after independence would be one similar to Norway, Denmark, or Sweden, other small, but prosperous countries that value social justice and a dynamic free market.

The Scottish Government's White Paper specifically draws a link between Scotland and the Nordic countries a number of times in its rationale for Scottish Independence providing an opportunity to be more prosperous, arguing that "Nations that are similar to Scotland – such as Norway, Finland, Denmark, and Sweden – sit at the top of world wealth and well-being league tables.² Unlike Scotland, they are independent and are able to take decisions in the best interests of their own economies." The White Paper argues that "other nations, such as Norway and Sweden... have demonstrated that fairness and prosperity are part of a virtuous circle, reinforcing each other and delivering a range of benefits for society as a whole."³ It also notes that the "Nordic countries have shown that effective social protection systems, based on the social investment principle, can help to reduce unemployment, increase earnings and spending power."⁴

Independence would make the Scottish Government, elected only by the people of Scotland, responsible for all fiscal and monetary policy decisions, like any other sovereign country, and with a similarity in natural resources, population distributions, and a political ethos; all that is holding Scotland back from achieving Nordic levels of prosperity and happiness is Westminster.

If the current Scottish Government were elected as the government of an independent Scotland, our priority would be to maintain Scotland's position as one of Europe's most prosperous nations. As the nation that pioneered free education for all - which resulted in Scots inventing and explaining much of the modern world - it is only natural that we have a government committed to continuing the enlightenment of Scottish and international students.

The 2013 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey found that 68% of Scots feel that an independent Scotland should remain a member of the EU.⁵ This

is contrasted with the United Kingdom, where, if a referendum on EU membership were held today, according to a February, 2014 YouGov poll, the UK would vote to leave the EU by a majority of 18%. The larger risk to Scotland's continued membership in the European Union, is staying in the United Kingdom. If Scots don't vote for independence, we risk losing all of the benefits of EU membership, the ability to travel, live, study, and retire anywhere in the EU, we risk the myriad of economic and trade benefits that membership in the European Single Market provides, and we risk losing the status of Scottish universities as a top choice for EU students.

Remaining in the EU isn't just about maintaining our place as a desirable country to come to be educated, or maintaining the trade links to the Continent that are the foundation of our export markets. It's also about maintaining Scotland's fiscal health. The population of Scotland in 2012 was 5.31 million, according to the General Register Office for Scotland.⁶ The General Register Office for Scotland projects that the population of Scotland will rise to 5.78 million by 2037, representing a 9% increase of 9% over 25 years.⁷ 72% of the increase is projected to be due to net inward migration, with the remaining 28% due to natural increase.⁸ The Scottish Government acknowledges that Scotland faces a demographics challenge, with an increasing dependency ratio. If Scotland's population doesn't rise, we will struggle to meet our pension and social protection obligations. Being shackled to the Westminster's anti-migrant policies will not only harm Scotland's image as a welcoming and tolerant nation, it will harm our public finances.

To those critics who say that the SNP is inwards looking, I'd say that we are indeed unionists – just not this failed union with Westminster. We believe in an internationalist Scotland, one that participates in and contributes to the European Union wholly. An independent Scotland would be a more prosperous and socially just place, like the Nordic countries. We would be a more internationalist country – our best chance to remain in the European Union is to end our union with Westminster. We would take care of one another better, and we would contribute more to the world.

Christina McKelvie is a SNP Member of the Scottish Parliament for Central Scotland and Convenor of the European and External Relations Committee. She represents Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse, having been elected in the 2011 election.

SCOTLAND AND THE EU: ALSO BETTER TOGETHER?

CASEY WAN: the independence debate needs to focus on whether the terms of EU membership can remain the same.

The campaign for an independent Scotland has made it clear that it intends to remain in the European Union, and that such a process would be "a smooth transition".¹

EU Commission President José Manuel Barroso said that for Scotland to "become a new country, a new state, coming out of a current member state it will have to apply." He concludes, "I believe it's going to be extremely difficult, if not impossible."²

While Scotland's EU debate has focused on whether Scotland would be allowed to remain in the EU, the more important issues have been largely missed.

One thing is clear: an independent Scotland will be a European Union member state. The country is already in compliance with the Treaties, its Charter of Fundamental Rights, and EU secondary legislation. Former European Commission Director General Jim Currie gave evidence to the Scottish Parliament that "it's pretty clear that an independent Scotland would have a right to be a member of the EU, and I think that it would be very difficult for Member States to try and block that membership. I just don't see that happening, and I don't think it's in anyone's interest."³ For all of Spain's rhetoric,⁴ it will not be able to block the rights of the Scottish people.

In the event of a "Yes" vote, Scotland will remain in the EU until at least 24 March 2016. That is the 18-month transition period between the referendum and independence day.⁵ Beyond that, if no agreement is reached, and if no extension is negotiated, Scotland would automatically leave the EU. This is a legal and logical conclusion: if Scotland is no longer part of the United Kingdom, she is no longer a signatory of the Treaties thus no longer a member of the European Union. That is a situation that Alex Salmond would like to avoid. He knows it is imperative that the relevant parties come to an agreement in a timely fashion.

Thus the pressing issues are whether Scotland will become a member in time for independence, and whether she will enjoy the same advantages under independence as she does with the United Kingdom.

Legally speaking, Scotland would seek EU membership through Articles 48 or 49 of the Treaty of the European Union (TEU). Article 49 is the more commonly used provision, which governs the accession of a new member state to the EU.⁶ Alex Salmond would prefer to use Article 48, which would prescribe, essentially, the procedure of amending the Treaties to include Scotland as a signatory.⁷ Parse through the fierce rhetoric on both sides, and it would seem that both options are possible as a matter of law. However, politically speaking, both pose significant difficulties, as they require the ratification of all Member States.⁸



SCOTLAND AND THE EU: ALSO BETTER TOGETHER? (CONTINUED)

The provision on treaty amendment would, on the surface, seem to be the most expeditious and simple. However, the submission of an amendment proposal falls under the power of an existing Member State, the Parliament or the Commission.⁹ An independent Scotland would not be able to make initiate this process; contrast this with Article 49, which is reserved for non-members.¹⁰ Still, this is not the biggest obstacle, if it is assumed that Westminster would act in good faith.

The EU and its Member States may simply decide that the very existence of the accession provision (art 49 TFEU) precludes the use of Article 48. This decision may be challenged at the Court of Justice, but many legal experts support that conclusion. Professor Kenneth Armstrong, of Cambridge University, has told the Scottish Parliament, "Article 48 is to me legally implausible as it is a way of renegotiating the treaties between existing member states, and not with some other non-member state."¹¹

On the other hand, accession through Article 49 TEU would necessarily mean that Scotland was applying for EU membership as a new country, and not a successor state of the United Kingdom.

The most prominent impact of this technicality would be that new countries must join the euro.¹² The Scotland White Paper argues this would be Scotland's choice. Because euro candidates who do not comply with the convergence criteria would not be admitted to the Eurozone, and Scotland would refuse to sign up to the Exchange Rate Mechanism, it would not be able to adopt the euro.¹³

Absolutely. And by not showing any effort to comply with the criteria, Scotland could be in breach of euro-related provisions¹⁴ on its first day. Sweden, though still currently obliged to adopt the currency, was only given a de facto opt-out after a grueling (and bloody) referendum on the issue.¹⁵

Staying out of the Eurozone is just one of the opt-outs that will be subject

to tense political wrangling. Does Alex Salmond have the political capital to fight for the pound as well as all the other terms of EU accession?

Scotland intends to continue to be excluded from the Schengen Common Travel Area,¹⁶ keep the discretion to opt-in on Justice and Home Affairs legislation,¹⁷ and retain the budget rebate.¹⁸ The latter is of particular importance. The UK's budget rebate (£3.2bn in 2012)¹⁹ is a major point of contention within the EU, and having it spread to another member state would be fraught with opposition. By refusing to let Scotland inherit the rebate, France and Italy would gain, respectively, an estimated €110m and €85m annually.²⁰ Can the EU and Scotland really come to an agreement on the terms of membership within by March 2016?

Scotland's ability to retain these opt-outs would hinge on the EU's leniency: regardless of its prior enjoyment of these special provisions, should a new Member State be allowed to pick and choose its involvement?

The tough negotiations ahead will be the first test of an independent Scotland's alleged advantages. It will be the first opportunity for Alex Salmond to prove that Scotland's voice as an independent country indeed wields more influence vis-à-vis a Scotland as part of a larger nation.

This is the most important part of the Scottish-EU debate, of which the two campaigns are not discussing. The SNP "see no reason for re-opening agreements", and seem to believe EU accession will be on their terms.²¹ However, if an independent Scotland cannot be guaranteed of any of its opt-out privileges, would EU membership still be to Scotland's advantage? And if an independent Scotland risks losing its opt-out advantages, should Scotland risk leaving the United Kingdom?

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