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Devolution, Britain between Unitarianism and Federalism

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ABSTRACT

Britain, officially United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, is a constitutional monarch, known for its prestige and pragmatism, an archipelago encompassing four countries: Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and England. Over centuries Kings and Queens were careful to keep this unity tight and stringent for showing its respect and admiration all over the world; however, with the emersion of the industrial revolution, life conditions on these islands were worse than in England, adding to that the First and the Second World Wars which by consequence exacerbated poverty, misery and crimes. Thus, it was axiomatic that people needed to strike and to claim what they were deprived from. In the twentieth century the economy of Great Britain decreased, in Northern Ireland misery increased and people died, in Wales and Scotland workers in the mines were overwhelmed from poor salaries they were paid... these sufferings were not, but a prelude to devolution. Hence, this thesis traces the movements and parties which were created to defend those people who started to think of disunion from England and beginning to revolt in masses mainly in Ireland for the religious schism. For Scotland, in the richest parts people endured and suffered too, the thing which triggered the sense of Nationalism that led by the way towards calling for full independence. The 2014's referendum in Scotland headed by the SNP, resulted with a number of 46% for "yes"; these statistics were to be a threat for the union, as it will probably outrage a continuum of allegations for the independence by the other countries (Wales, Northern Ireland). Actually, all those events did turn upside down the politics of Great Britain, to make it living until nowadays in a thorny spiral. In this regard, this work will develop whether Scotland as a major economic component for the British union, will hold its integrity and economy, and whether will be there a United Kingdom without Scotland? Or whether is there a possibility that UK will become a federal state? These questions or problematic are strongly linked to the 'British Constitution', and to the Scottish independence.

Résumé

Bretagne, signifie officiellement la réunion de Grande-Bretagne et l'Irlande du Nord, c'est une monarchie constitutionnelle connue pour son prestige et son pragmatisme, c'est un archipel qui englobe quatre pays : Pays de Galles, Ecosse, l'Irlande du nord, et l'Angleterre. Au cours des siècles les rois et les reines ont pris soin de sauvegarder cette unité rigoureusement, ceci pour garder intact son prestige et sa puissance dans le monde, mais avec l'Émergence de la révolution industrielle, les conditions de vie des habitants de ces îles étaient moins bonnes qu'en Angleterre, ajouter à cela les conséquences des deux dernières guerres mondiales, particulièrement la seconde guerre mondiale qui a considérablement exacerbé la pauvreté et la misère, les crimes étant devenus un moyen de gagner sa vie. Ainsi, les travailleurs recouraient systématiquement à la grève pour réclamer de meilleures conditions de vie. Au XXe siècle, l'économie de la Grande-Bretagne a diminué, dans le nord de l'Irlande, la misère s'était accrue et les gens mouraient de faim. Au Pays de Galles et en Ecosse les travailleurs des mines étaient sous-payés. Alors, tous ces souffrances étaient un prélude pour la '*devolution*'. De là, ce mémoire tracera les mouvements et les partis qui ont été créés pour défendre les pauvres, principalement en Irlande pour le schisme religieux. Pour l'Écosse, les plus riches ont également souffert de la misère. Ce qui a par la suite déclenché le sentiment de nationalisme. La consultation des Écossais en 2014, dirigée par le parti national Écossais a failli entraîner la sortie de ce pays de l'union, presque la moitié de la population de ce pays s'étaient prononcés en faveur de la rupture avec l'union, puisque 46% de "oui"; ont été enregistrés lors du dépouillement des urnes. Reste à savoir si l'économie de l'Écosse survivrait à une éventuelle rupture avec le Royaume Uni, s'il y aura un Royaume uni dépourvu de l'Écosse, ou bien, y aura-t-il un Royaume Uni fédéral ? Cette dissertation, alors, tente de répondre à ces questions qui sont fortement liées à la constitution Britannique et à la probabilité d'établir une Écosse indépendante.

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*General
Introduction*

General Introduction

An important point to start with, is civilisation; it is indeed explained as follows: “a society, its culture and its way of life during a particular period of time or in a particular part of the world”¹. In fact studying civilisation means studying the deep history of one part in the world, which facilitate things to understand well the actual period in time. It has a great importance in human lives to understand each other. And British Civilisation is actually one of the premium civilisations in the world. The famous one may be.

The monarchy is a form of government with a monarch at the head, and it is known that Kings and Queens usually inherited the throne by royal blood not by choice, and Britain is one of the oldest monarchies in the world, famous for its power and pride. Britain’ subjects never intended to replace their Kings or Queens with a president; in fact, they usually believe and trust their government and never suspected its devotion and sincerity.

Indeed, England in the sixtieth century was well-recognised more than all the other European countries for its ardour for expansionism, especially with the belief put on whether Great Britain was acquired in a fit of absence of mind or it was consciously built. This imperial expansionism was described by some scholars as a stratagem or a ploy to inspire the British subjects; used by the ruling class to unite the country behind a popular cause which would effectively defeat ordinary Britons from other issues that might threaten the control of the ruling elite, As this idea was sustained by a famous historian called P.Marshall who suggested that Imperialism was seen as a means of uniting societies behind a great cause and sometimes as a means of heading off working class discontent.”

Actually, regarding this interpretation, the British Empire is seen as a means of encouraging and instilling a sense of patriotism in the British people’s minds for it has also a dulling effect of the inclination to question and seek a social and economic change in Britain, and thereby protect the vested interests of the rulers. By the way, this

¹ - Civilization: Oxford dictionary for advanced learners.p.124.

expansionism was firstly seen in foreign territories such as in the west the ‘thirteen colonies’, and in the East it was in India, for the south it was particularly in Africa; therefore, it was through these expansions that Britain did gain its prestigious reputation all over the world. And as far as my topic is concerned with, it started with the idea or rather the act of annexing its continental neighbours to their Realm, thus it resulted the umbrella state of the United Kingdom by 1801.

As matter of fact; Great Britain, United Kingdom or Britain are to be distinctive, for Great Britain it is in fact what was mentioned above, the umbrella state encompassing: Wales, Scotland, England and Northern Ireland. However for the word British, means that the four countries which are originally and culturally different are living under one shared principles; they have one general flag, the Union Jack, a general Anthem “God Save The Queen”, a General unwritten Constitution and one national flag, and one currency.

This Union in fact was not at all on an ad hoc basis, but it was cunningly planned and arranged by the English government for the sake of hegemony and dominion. They saw it worth to join these countries together to reinforce and empower their kingdom and to wider the economic and the political benefit, ‘1701 and 1801’ were years when English Government finally and officially applied the Union.

However, things changed as a result of the flow of Nationalistic ideologies that spur the components countries of Great Britain to claim for self-government followed by demands for complete independence. South Ireland had been granted its independence after centuries of political and economic persecution and it became a Republic of Ireland known for its capital “Dublin”, majorly populated by Catholics who strongly favoured the idea of separation from the central government. Whereas for Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland they had been granted a partial self-governance, but by always keeping an eye on them, till 1997 Referendum held on the initiative of the newly elected Prime Minister Tony Blair, led to the establishment of three nationalistic governments. The period of study is therefore, confined between 1997’s and 2014’s which was the year in which the three provinces got their self Governance, and the 2014’s Scottish referendum that was considered as impedance to the British Union.

It was devolution, which means the distribution of central governmental Power into regional ones; a Parliament in Scotland and an assembly in each of Wales and Northern Ireland. Moreover, Two major anomalies within the UK emerged after the devolution process namely the West Lothian Question and the Barnett Formula. The former entitles the Scottish Parliament to interfere in England's politics but allows no reciprocity in this sense. The other paradox of Barnett formula assures more funding for Scotland than for England while Scotland does not want to share its North Sea Oil with its neighbours. The thing which has seriously affected the economy of Great Britain.

Admittedly, The reason that lies behind the choice of this topic is the innumerability of critics who believe that UK has always been seen as an insular empire. In fact, the choice started with personal inspiration. Actually, I was a student who likes history, who listens carefully to teachers when narrating the story of the world; of successful or defeated wars, precisely when it came to Britain. We heard many times of the immensity of that kingdom, that over the midst of London, there is only brightness as the saying illustrates 'Britain, where the sun never sets'.

In addition, the government decisions are always conceived effective, remarkably the refusal of joining the Euro-zone. In fact, I learnt that it was through pragmatism that UK, has never escaped the chance to be so successful in resolving its problems and conflicts, thus, I decided to base my dissertation upon this country. However, thinking more precisely, my interest diverges to a more recent event which is evolving in a serious way, *devolution*, which is heavily worrying the British Government.

Clearly then, I thought to embrace this topic for my dissertation since we tackled this issue in our post-graduation studies in British civilization, I started by reading books and articles on this matter, and I grew more amazed, how come the United Kingdom will disappear one day with its grandeur and prestige. In fact, it was definitely a surprising matter to see a unity dissolve.

Actually, through my readings, I noticed that devolution dated back to the late 20th century, and originated from an Irish womb where many events triggered a claim for

divorce from the union, firstly by the Irish politician Daniel O'Connell, then by the Irish Parliamentary Party leader, Isaac Butt. Actually, I have made such an importance these events aiming to trace a coherent scheme to the devolution process, as I consider them as an important happenings that arouse a nationalistic sense.

Briefly then, I have chosen to delve in this theme, which is occupying a bulk of the international affairs, as important as the Palestinian dilemma. As one Cabinet Minister, denounced after being in a foreign affair trip, that he is fed up of being outside and taking some advices that can help UK to hold its ties together, or what is more boring, he said, is that the two referendums of UK are the favourite chunk to be chewed for a foreign audience; the first is that whether Scotland stays in the UK, and the second, is on whether the latter or the rest of it will remain in the European Union. And now, everyone in the world will be warmly waiting for a future UK if Scotland will leave this unity, or if UK will leave the EU, an acute problem for David Cameron in nowadays, and for any other coming Prime Minister.

It was due to the non-homogeneity and to the difference in the cultural background of each country that this British Union could no longer stand further. While the vague notion of national identity raises, the UK's political decentralisation raises that of differences and inequalities in civil duties and rights. Entailing a probable break-up in the future. Thus, I put in my hands one problematic concerning my dissertation, whether will this unit be kept up under one shell, or will it be dissolved to bring an end to this toponym UK?

In 2014, after the Scottish referendum results, David Cameron stated: "together we created world class institutions like the NHS and the BBC. When Europe faced its darkest hour, we stood together as a beacon of hope. We pull together in this United Kingdom. When one of us needs help, we are there for each other. When poverty and disaster strikes around the world, we are there offering aid... we want Scotland to stay... together we are a United Kingdom with a united future."

From this speech, one can say that the continuity of this unity is really needed to survive the strength and the economic power of UK. Thus, being the major entre-pot for

the United Kingdom, Scotland withdrawal from the union will leave the kingdom in such a midst. Eventually, this defeated plebiscite is casting a long shadow over Britain's international standing, as it seems that UK is having a national identity crisis after a long-lasting continuity between the four countries, since it was for decades that la raison d'etre of the Brits has always been connected with pride, strength and unity.

Whenever you heard about Great Britain, you can visualise nothing but the royal family standing to each other, aiming to symbolise unity and oneness; however, devolution has surely perplexed this strength and togetherness. Allow me to say that Northern Ireland, Wales, or Scotland once getting independent, they will certainly face severe economic troubles, as far as their institutions are largely funded by a block grant from the UK government. And, things would get worse if Brexit will become a reality. Furthermore, at present the UK does not have a codified constitution which a normal federal state can have, such as for the United States of America, the thing that makes a federal state unlikely to happen.

This study relies on available literature to identify devolution in Great Britain, as this topic is quite recent I found difficulties in finding books, thus, I accessed online books that were used as a primary reference to my work, as I used some historical documents and books to understand better the structure and the build up of the United Kingdom, such as books of McDowall D. and J. Odriscoll which were the preliminary references to my dissertation. The thesis is also informed by the works of individual scholars who have either elaborated devolution in UK, or criticized the assumptions on which it rests. Other materials relied upon, include literature generated by British institutions that focus on analysing devolution, its causes and its results as I selected a range of academic products which were useful for accomplishing this memoir.

The gist of my work then, is not specially to retail events, but rather to see how further can this dissolution bring an end to the United Kingdom, and to look at the challenges facing Britain, i.e., The pressing problems arising from the growth of nationalism in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and from the less marked rise in

regional consciousness; furthermore, as my topic is concerned with **UK** after Scotland's Referendum.

This humble dissertation is presented in three chapters including the current general introduction. In chapter one, I focus on broad explanation to define what is the United Kingdom, its history and how it became to be called likewise, as I developed the continental annexation, how England comprised the three other provinces, and under which circumstances. This chapter, I perceive it as a major part in this thesis, for it elucidates the essence of **UK**.

The second chapter is devoted to the devolution in the United Kingdom, as to its evolution, how it did start and what were the factors to trigger such a matter, to Nationalism as a movement which spread in the Nineteenth century, as to be the prelude of demanding self governance, then I attempt to explain how self government had crumbled from Northern Ireland to the rest of the other components.

As far as my topic is concerned with, I've put in bold nationalism in Scotland, and the Scottish referendum of 2014 which terminated with a threatening result for the unity of the United Kingdom. The constitution and change in it are also a part of my dissertation.

Finally, the third chapter contributes to show whether in the aftermath of devolution there would be a federal **UK**. Or if the term **UK** will stand for ever. The question is still be opened till another Scottish referendum or to another serious demand for a total independence from another country.

Chapter 1

Britain and the union

Introduction:

The history of Britain is to be conceived as complicated and deep. It is obviously evident to analyse the past in order to understand better the present, since this country as any modern country is affected by the past in all scales; socially, economically, and politically.

Great Britain has always been conceived as one of the strongest kingdoms in the world, as regarded to its high prestige and reputation. History had explicitly recorded a country that had wallowed for centuries in domestic and foreign wars and quarrels which on occasions ended with defeat, and on others it terminated with great success. Known for its pragmatism in solving both external and internal matters, luck and success were on their ally.

No matter how Britain had gathered many territories to be added to its power, or the tactics used to achieve this strength; but it did in a way or another impressed the world. Thus, to understand all what lies behind Great Britain, and how it did become strong enough nowadays, History and historical events should be scrutinized and taken from different angles. So, it is important and worth to know first the origins of this kingdom, how and when it was constructed.

1. Historical Overview of the British Monarchy

Britain went through various periods and succumbed different invasions like the Celts who came around 700BC, and who have had a great importance in the history of Great Britain as it was illustrated: "The Celts are important in British history because they are the ancestors of many of the people in Highland Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and Cornwall today."¹

The Romans were the next comers, from which the origin's name of Britain came from, the Greco-Roman word "Pretani ", which means the inhabitants of Britain.²The Germans also

¹Mcdowall D., *An Illustrated History of Britain*, Essex, Longman Group, 2008, p.7.

²- Ibid.,p.8

played an important part in the making of this country; it was the period of the Saxon invasion. Each invader on his own wanted to be the ruler and by doing so, imposing its culture and customs on it; the Anglo-Saxon culture had obviously imposed its culture, since the days of the week were attributed to the Germanic gods, as for, 'Tid' we have Tuesday; 'Wod', is Wednesday and 'Frei', is Friday. Three powerful Germanic tribes raided Britain at once (the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes) mainly settled in the Western part of Britain, thus from that moment onwards, the Anglo-Saxon migrations engendered the name of a great part of this country which is named England, i.e., the land of the Angles.

The British Celts were not well-welcomed on the British soil, which led them to get into hard warring phases in the history. However, this culminated by directing the British Celts to reside mostly into western mountains which the Saxons called "Weallas" or Wales, the land of foreigners. Others were dispatched to live into the lowlands of the country which became later known as Scotland; a country which is to be considered nowadays as a political and economic power within the United Kingdom.

Also by the end of the eighth century, new invaders landed on the British soil, they were arriving from Norway and Denmark, these were the Vikings¹ who raided England at first then came to settle violently by burning and killing people in the North Eastern part, then, they expanded their settlement to the West coasts, this invasion was a little bit harder since king Alfred defeated them in a battle in 878. Then after, it was the last invasion Britain has ever lived again followed by strong rebellions by the Anglo-Saxons, during William the conqueror. After hundreds of successions over the kingdoms within Britain, greed and avarice of the kings made sometimes taxes unbearable for the subjects, so they gained in return rancour and hatred from them. In some cases the kings were to be beheaded for their absolutism until it was clearly recognisable that the king is also subjected to God, likewise his subjects. Moreover, the crisis rose between the king and his nobles by the fourteenth century when the first crisis came in 1327 when Edward II was deposed, and cruelly murdered and his eleven-

¹Vikings: a member of race of Scandinavian people.

A s Hornby, *Oxford Advanced learners Dictionary*. Seventh Edition, Op. Cit, Oxford, P. 1641.

year-old son, Edward III, became king, and as soon as he could, he punished those responsible¹ as a revenge for his father.

The period in between 11th and 12th century, the kings in Britain were supposed to accept the church's authority on what concerns earthy matters and religious quarrels, they would remind the king if he deals with his kingdom and its properties as personal holdings. Actually, this behaviour occurred after English thrashing in the battle of Hastings by the Normans², thereafter killed their king Harold II, and as a result, the whole English throne passed to William the conqueror the duke of Normandy³, who thought of the throne as a personal possession, and this did in fact outraged the churchmen.

Inherited by royal blood, William the second succeeded his father William the first, then followed by his brother Henry I, but when Henry I died in 1135, the throne was to be replaced by either Henry's daughter Matilda, or by his nephew Stephen of Bolois. The latter was chosen to be the king by the support of the barons. The thing enraged Matilda who revolted against him which caused terrible, damaging civil war. In 1153, both sides sign an agreement which ended by accepting Matilda's son Henry as an heir to the throne⁴. It is in fact what happened; Matilda's son became Henry the second. It was the first monarch of the Plantagenet dynasty⁵, where quarrels between the monarch and nobility emerged. Henry had two sons, Richard and John, and Richard had been his father's successor.

¹ <http://doclecture.net/1-5118.html>

² For more information see (<http://www.britishbattles.com/norman-conquest/battle-hastings.htm>).

³ James Odriscoll, *Britain the country and its people: an introduction for learners of English*, oxford press, oxford, 1995, p.18.

⁴ McDowall. D, *An Illustrated History of Britain*, Essex, Longman Group, 2008, p.8.

⁵ Plantagenet Dynasty: Relating to the English royal dynasty that held the throne from the accession of Henry II in 1154 until the death of Richard III in 1485.

From Latin *planta genista* 'sprig of broom', said to be worn as a crest by and given as a nickname to Geoffrey, count of Anjou, the father of Henry II.

The period of William's ruling system, was characterised by a remarkable era in the British history; where Feudalism and the Magna Carta were introduced first. William the first elaborated feudalism throughout England, the Domesday survey, which was likely similar to the religious Domesday book in which The king sent a group of people to do some statistics about the landowners, he wanted them in fact to achieve a complete economic survey on the owners, here are some questions asked by this commission to the people concerned: "His men asked all kinds of questions at each settlement: How much land was there? Who owned it? How much was it worth? How many families, ploughs and sheep were there? And so on."¹

William's first interest from the feudal system is to raise the royal incomes, thus he arranged a set of instruments which served mainly the personal profits, and this was reached by imposing extravagant taxes on people, further than that, William imposed, as the official national languages, French as used in administrations, and Latin used in the church; whereas, the English language, consequently had been reduced to be less formal and spoken by the peasants. Hence, the use of both French and Latin had been considered as prestigious languages, on the contrary to the English being as a low language used by a majority of people in England.

Therefore, people started to get fed up of the supreme power of the kings, defining it as an unfair system which should to be regulated; actually it was recognisable that something written could lead to the demise of the despotic rule. If that sequence of changes was in favour to the monarchy, the turning point of 1215 was in favour of the subjects and not the monarchy. In 1215, the Great Charter of Liberties, better known under the name of *Magna Carta*, was issued.

When King Richard succeeded his father in power, he was absent to fight in the Crusades, he was killed and his brother John replaced him, John was known unpopular by the nobles, and by the church, it was salient that his pretentiousness was over, especially when

<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/>

¹Mc Dowall. D, *An Illustrated History of Britain*, Essex, Longman Group, 2008, p.34.

at that period the king's power was sturdy; even though, he was limited by barons since they needed to consult them at each time.

When King John lost Normandy, it was a bitter pill to swallow for him, a great loss since ever, however he pursued to regain it by raising land taxes, and resorted to new excessive custom duties, as for those who couldn't pay their taxes, he simply took back their lands. Therefore, the clergy, the Archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton revolted and consequently, they constrained the king to sign *Magna Carta*.

The Magna Carta, originally written in Latin, means the Great Charter, it is an important symbol of political freedom. In reality, it didn't protect the proletariat, but rather, it was intentionally written by the noble class aiming to cripple the king's greed from going beyond the limits as a feudal king. This Great Charter is the most ancient Statute Law to the British constitution. And as it was written by the nobles, it emphasizes their protection from the king's abuse of power, "here is a law which is above the king and which even the King should not violate"¹, as Winston Churchill cited in 1956, for something written down in the British constitution. It also gave the right to the Church to elect its own officials without the interference of the king, as it limits the crown's power. *The Magna Carta* has remained until nowadays the main constitutional democratic basis to the United Kingdom.

Although the reign of the Tudors (1485-1603) fingerprinted a considerable rise of power, England saw a return of royal supremacy mainly over religion, thus peace and stability did not long last after the *Magna Carta* initiation. The Tudors in fact were given the name of despots, contrarily to the *Magna Carta* principles, the Tudors as King Henry VIII acted with cruelty again towards the English people. For instance, in 1487, the king organised a Court of Star Chamber in order to punish any baron who would disagree with him for fear of baronial military attacks against the crown. Furthermore, another unfair act was set over the person, which is the Act of Attainder, by which they could condemn each subject from any act against the crown. Then it was the Reformation Act which suited his personal

¹. Winston, Churchill, *History of the English Speaking Peoples, vol.1, The Birth of Britain*, London, Cassel, 1956, p. 256-257.

desideratum. Henry VIII, with skill, succeeded in converting the State of England from a Catholic one to a protestant one precisely named Anglicanism (Reformation) stating that a severe punishment, or rather death to those who would try to be in opposition to him.

By the Act of Supremacy, he declared himself the absolute head of the Anglican Church in order to get a control on any attempted rebellion. In addition, another major change that illustrates the increase of absolutism of the Tudors, was the annexation of Wales in 1283, when king Edward I had conquered a third of the Welsh territory, joining the two other thirds in 1536 under king Henry's commands, so that Wales became a principality under the English ruling system. Welsh reaction was only to accept the king's decisions; otherwise, their death would be determined. The Act of annexing Wales was on behalf the differences in law and language "That his said Country or Dominion of *Wales* shall be, stand and continue forever from henceforth incorporated, united and annexed to and with his Realm of *England*."¹

Edward VI, by breaking away from the Roman Catholic Church, he made the church in England purely English, as he annulled all the Catholic aspects in *the book of common prayer*. As it was stated, that by 1585 most English people believed that to be a Catholic was to be an enemy of England. This hatred of everything became an important political force.²

His successor and half-sister Mary I, a queen known for being vigorously conservative, abrogated all the religious innovations and restored the catholic religion, as she succeeded to regain a catholic mass in the Westminster in 1554 in the presence cardinal Reginald Pole; moreover, she aborted the royal supremacy and reaffirmed papal authority to the state. Queen Mary I reconverted the State into Catholicism between 1553 and 1558 showing no mercy towards the English Protestants. After her death, Mary I was succeeded by her half-sister, the Queen Elizabeth I. unlike her sister restored what her father left.

¹ A. P Samest Blaustein, Jay Adrian Sigler, Benjamin R. Beede, Brill Archive, *Independence Documents of the World*, Oceana Publications, New York, 1977, p.728

²Mc Dowall. D, *An Illustrated History of Britain*, Essex, Longman Group, 2008, p.72.

Queen Elizabeth I had been educated as a Protestant and therefore she restored again the Anglican Church, and the Catholic Faith was considered to be the State religion. In 1559, Elizabeth I issued her *Elizabethan Settlement* aiming to reconcile between the English Catholics and Protestants and confirming royal supremacy in the Church, which would be reiterated in her *Act of Supremacy*. By her death in 1603, the State Church was definitively anglicised.

It is to say, that in former times the English Monarch ruled with total supremacy regardless his subject reactions, unlike nowadays where more political freedom is to be accepted. And all what was said above is not, but to say how much profound is the history of the British monarch, and how much differences are there between kings and queens of royal blood.

2. England, Great Britain and the United Kingdom:

Here is much confusion about what, precisely, is meant by these three toponyms, indeed, each one should be used in the suitable situation, not randomly. The confusion of the terms seems to revolve around the term “country”, and the political powers that are perceived based on that word. It is as simple as that, we say UK when we are referring to the union of those who were once disunited: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland; the full name is The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; whereas, Great Britain encompasses England, Scotland and Wales, and for England, it is a part of the Island. The United Kingdom is a constitutional monarchy consisting of four constituent parts: 2 countries: England + Scotland • 1 principality: Wales • 1 province: Northern Ireland.

The abbreviation is UK or U.K.; the code (according to the ISO 3166 standard of the International Organization for Standardization) is GB/GBR. Since 1998, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have possessed a substantial measure of devolved government, by means of a parliament (in Scotland) or an assembly (in Wales & in Northern Ireland¹⁹). Note that the

term “Ulster” is not a synonym for Northern Ireland; Ulster is one of four historic provinces of Ireland and has an extent broader than Northern Ireland alone.¹

Great Britain consists of England + Scotland + Wales. The term is exclusive of Northern Ireland and is therefore not a synonym for the term United Kingdom. Note that the word “Great” is not in any way intended as an indicator of self-styled “greatness”; it simply derives from the French term Grande-Bretagne (“Greater Brittany” or “Larger Brittany”), used since mediaeval times to distinguish the British Isles from Bretagne (“Brittany”, the region of north-western France).²

British: This is the adjectival form of Britain, but the word is also frequently employed as the adjectival form of United Kingdom; thus “British government” is used at least as frequently as “United Kingdom government”, and “British citizen” is actually the correct official term for a citizen of the United Kingdom. As an adjective, therefore, the term British is frequently inclusive of Northern Ireland; it is only the one specific nominal term “Great Britain” which invariably excludes Northern Ireland. The term British has been used with something akin to its current meaning since the Act of Union in 1707, though the origins of the word date back much earlier. A Celtic word Pritani or Priteni may have denoted the inhabitants as far back as the 6th or 7th century BC, and this word may itself have been based on the 10th century BC.

¹*Toponymic Guidelines for Map and Other Editors: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Revised and Enlarged Edition*, UK, 2009, p.12.

<https://www.gov.uk>

² Ibid.

Briefly then, the United Kingdom is not a country but a country of countries, England is the largest and most populous of the nations and contains in fact the capital city of London. England in the east, Wales in the west, Northern Ireland in the North West and Scotland in the north as it is shown in the map (1). Each country has a local term for the population. While you can call for the most British is not recommended since the four countries generally did not like each other.

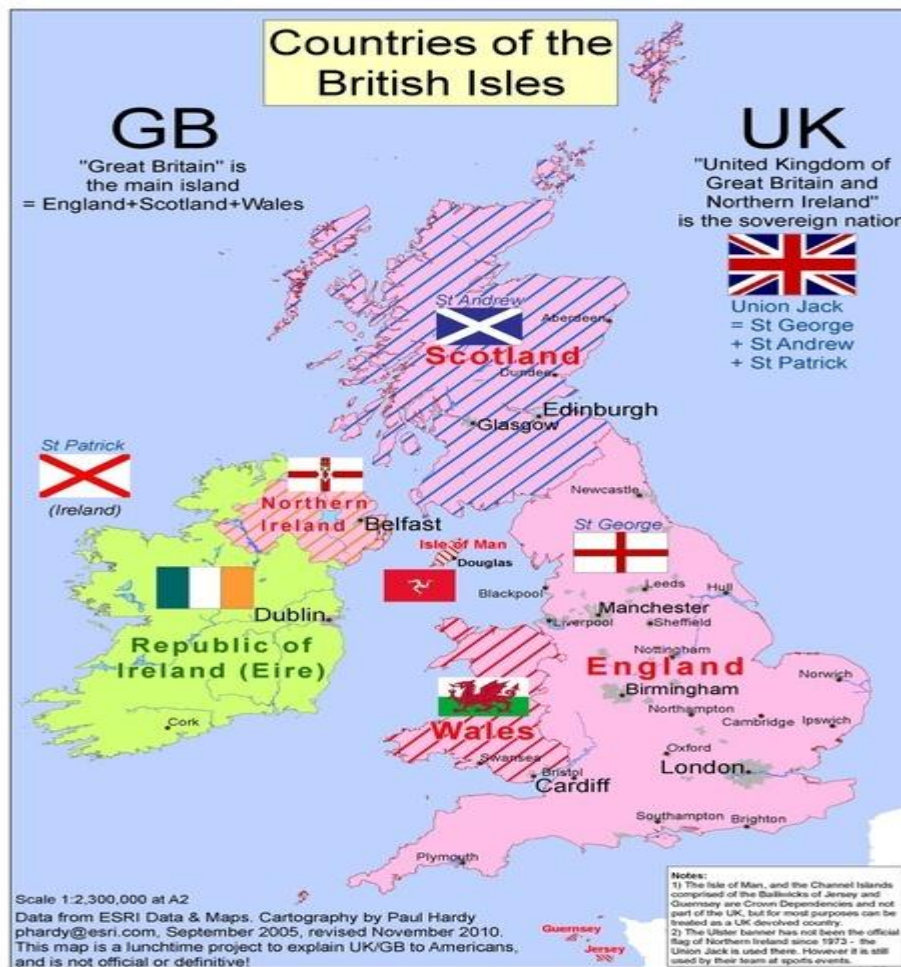


Figure 1 <http://www.mapsofworld.com/united-kingdom/>

3. England's continental annexation:

During the Tudor period, England was known for its zeal to power and expansionism, their first interest was closer to home; since they did their best to bring Wales, Ireland and Scotland under the English control. Behind this laid many reasons that made the English crown do this. It was the geographical temptation first; King Henry VII feared foreign invasions that could easily attack England once there, as it was for religious interest as he pleased Catholicism at the beginning, and Anglicanism after the Reformation, to reside in all over the Island.

For example, “the historiography of English religion told the history of the Church in England as the story of the Church of England, a story that might begin with St Augustine of Canterbury, Bede, or at least Wycliffe, but that found its lasting incarnation in the Erastian¹ Church founded under Henry VIII at the English Reformation. That Church had, of course, expanded across the globe to create a worldwide communion, but so had the Dissenting and Nonconformist² denominations. The Church of England never became a unified imperial Church, least of all in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the existence of discrete Church establishments in Scotland, Ireland and Wales meant that the English Church remained but one ecclesiastical³ body within a more extensive Anglo British state (as constituted by the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707). English ecclesiastical history could thus claim a lengthy pedigree, and even a providential charter for insularity, but it did little to encourage an ampler imperial perspective.”⁴

¹ Erastian: The doctrine that the state should have supremacy over the Church in ecclesiastical matters.

² Nonconformist: a member of a Protestant Church that does not follow the beliefs and practices of the Anglican Church. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. P.992.

³ Ecclesiastical: connected with the Christian Church. . Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. P. 464.

⁴ Armitage, david. “Introduction: state and empire in British history”. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. 1-10. Issn. 0521590817.

In addition it was always for international appearance, to be respected and feared, as people say that the power is in number. Furthermore, Britain has always been vigilant for its prestige and power all over the world as to be regarded always as an insular empire which has never been defeated once. To sum up, this annexation was in real meaning, a real capture of these neighbour countries, it is indeed, a continuum of a series of forays that the latter did not appreciate at all, adding to this, what Philippa Levine, a professor in Oxford University, said about this conjunction, that it is not but an ‘internal colonialism’ as Britain’s earliest strategies of imperialism.

These relationships, which by the 19th century saw all these regions directly ruled from the Westminster parliament, are often dubbed ‘internal colonialism’. Bringing Wales, Scotland and Ireland within a broader British realm represents some of England’s earliest forays into colonial rule.¹

3.1 Wales

Geographically, the closest to England, it was also the first to be added to the English ruling system. King Henry VIII favoured the direct rule unlike his father; Welsh Names were the first thing that the king wanted to change, rejecting the idea that their names would be used in Law courts and on official papers². Actually, the English did not found further difficulties in persuading the Welsh to join them, particularly because the king was of Welsh descendants.

“The fact that the Tudor monarchs could claim Welsh ancestry made it easier for them to extend their control.”³ Consequently, between 1536-1543, Wales became joined to England under one administration, and the English law became the Welsh law without discussion.

¹ Levine, Philippa, *The British Empire from Sunset to Sunrise*, Longman, Great Britain, 2005, p.14. ISBN: 978-0-582-47281-5

² Mc Dowall. D, *An Illustrated History of Britain*, Essex, Longman Group, 2008, p.75.

³ Lehmberg E, Standford, ‘from Prehistoric Times to 1688’, *The Peoples of the British Isles*, Lyceum Books, Inc.; 3rd edition (January 14, 2008), part III, chapter 9, p. 197.

Welshmen entered the parliament and members of landed gentry became part of the ruling English establishment. Welsh law continued to be used for civil cases until the annexation of Wales to England in the 16th century, then consolidated the administration of all the Welsh territories, and incorporated them fully into the legal system of the Kingdom of England. The Welsh language was no more considered as an official language only for the Bible which was allowed to be printed in it, whereas, the English language became the official spoken one. Thus, because the Welsh lacked many of the rights that the English enjoyed, they draw a pattern of hatred, inequality and prejudice that persisted, which grew after formal annexation which left traces of these emotions until nowadays.

3.2 Ireland

Ireland's joining to the English kingdom was not as smooth as the Welsh one. King Henry VIII faced many difficulties on the Irish soil. He destroyed the Angle-Irish noble families ruling system and tried to persuade their parliament to be their king, but accepting a king with a different religion was something threatening for the Irish, who were typically Catholics¹. In addition to that, the church and the monasteries were still an important part of economic and social life, thus they felt the danger and rejected the idea, and King Henry VIII attempt to encompass Ireland, ended with failure.

Ireland's geographical position was a threatening one from foreign invasions, thus the Tudors did not relinquish the idea of conjoining Ireland to them even by force. Four wars were to be fought in order to make the Irish accept the English authority and religion, and by the end, the English succeeded, as usual, in defeating them with their old Gaelic way of life, then imposing theirs. By winning, Edmund Spenser, a famous Elizabethan poet, wrote a nice piece which demonstrated the Irish defect:

Edmund Spenser, a famous Elizabethan poet, was secretary to the English Commander. After the rebellion was defeated he wrote, "*Out of every corner of the woods ... they [The Irish rebels] came creeping forth upon their Hands, for their legs would not beat them. They*

¹D.McDowall, *An Illustrated History Of Great Britain*, Longman, England, 1989, p76.

looked like ... death. They spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves. They did eat the dead happy where they could find them."¹

Ulster in Northern Ireland became rapidly influenced by the English ruling system, Protestantism got wider effect there, and even good lands were afforded to them rather to the Catholics who were the first to put an end there. Thus the situation in Northern Ireland worsened more and more, as none can deny that Ireland was the most to endure the oppressing system. That is to say the union with England was not a harmonious one, but rather a disruptive one.

3.3 Scotland and England

Scotland also suffered from the efforts of the Stuarts to win back the throne. The first "Jacobite" revolted to win the crown for James II's son in 1715, but it ended with failure and the Stuarts as stubborn rulers attempted another time in 1745, which ended also with failure. "Bonny Prince Charlie", James II's grandson, landed on the west coast of Scotland but he faced difficult situations with the local chiefs there, this didn't cripple his will, therefore, his army entered Edinburgh and attacked the British army in surprise. In 1746, the Scottish army was defeated with cruelty, people were killed, and houses were burnt. British fear of the Highlanders made them pass a law which prohibited all what is connected to the Scottish Culture; their clothes, the kilt and the bagpipe, accepted and practiced otherwise shot without pity.²

It is axiomatic to say that the hatred between these countries was in essence because of the religious and political repression that went far to harm their identity. Known for their kilts and bagpipes, living with the smooth music whenever they feel, walking freely with their kilts was somehow a show off for their existence. Hence, the British knew how to fall apart their customs and traditions.

¹ Ibid. P.76. Edmond Spenser, an Elizabethan poet,

² McDowall, An Illustrated History Of Great Britain, Longman, England, 1989. P.113.

The Scottish always needed a kind of centralised monarchy, but economically speaking, Scotland was weak at that time. The Scottish usually avoided wars with England, since the latter was strong enough to prepare for a war. In 1502, James IV made a peace treaty with Henry VII, the first with an English king since 1328; it was called the Treaty of Perpetual Peace. In addition, he married Henry's Margaret daughter, Margaret Tudor. This political plot was produced with cleverness by King Henry who saw it as a prelude for the Union of the Crowns. "In August 1503 James IV of Scotland married Margaret Tudor, the eldest daughter of Henry VII of England. Extensive negotiations had taken place during the previous years and the marriage was agreed in 1502 as part of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between the two kingdoms."¹

Henry VIII always fostered direct rule, a direct attack when something was in his mind. Therefore, he wanted Scotland to be under his control. In 1513, King James decided to invade England, but the decision seemed somehow foolish; the English Army destroyed the Scottish one at the battle of 'Flodden', consequently, the Auld Alliance was aborted by the Treaty of Edinburgh. It ended with the withdrawal of both the French naval force and the papal authority in Scotland. In this battle James himself was killed, and a poignant disagreement rose between those who wanted an alliance with England, and those who cherished the remaining of the Auld Alliance, the thing which kept the Scottish monarch in danger and uncertainty. But, the latter heard about a Catholic invasion of England from French and Spain, therefore remaining allies with the Catholics was better than with England.

The 'Auld Alliance' has generally been held to have ended with the death on 5 December 1560 of Mary, Queen of Scots' first husband, Francis II, who was the first and last king of both France and Scotland. The origins of the Anglo-Franco-Scottish relationship are to be found in 1295 when the Scots formed the first defensive/offensive alliance with France against the English king, Edward I. But from its very shaky beginnings, as a mutually offensive/defensive military alliance against England, the 'Auld Alliance' gradually developed other familial, personal, social and cultural associations which did not die with Francis II, nor entirely ever disappeared.

¹Stevenson. k, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics: undercurrents of antagonism in Tudor-Stewart relations', *Historical Research*, Volume. 86, issue 234, November 2013, pp.1.

However, it was the advent of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Anglo-French competition for her hand in marriage; the treaties, alliances and military engagements this provoked; the resulting role of France in the government of Scotland, culminating in the union of the French and Scottish crowns; and the effects of the Habsburg/Valois conflicts of the 1550s, which inevitably included England and Scotland, which ultimately led to the end of the formal military 'Auld Alliance' in 1560.¹

King Henry VIII defeated King James's army in another attack. Shortly after, the Scottish king died and Queen Mary was sent to France where she married the King's son Francis II in 1558; however, in 1561, she returned to Scotland and hauled the crown. In her absence, Scotland became officially and popularly Protestant on behalf of political and economic reasons, the shared religion brought the two kingdoms close together. The economy of Scotland was in rush during this Anglo-Scottish friendship, since the yearly income of the church in Scotland was twice that of the monarchy.

The "Kirk", the new Protestant, Scottish church had a General Assembly unlike the church in England which had bishops, it taught the bible and the personal belief which led to the importance of the education for the individual in Scotland, for that reason the Scottish remained better educated than the other Europeans². Protestantism was gaining a huge prevalence in Scotland which sows hatred in the Scottish people towards their Catholic Queen Mary.

For her Catholic Fanaticism, Mary found herself in war with her Scottish Protestant opponents; however, in 1568 she escaped to England, held by Elizabeth I for nineteen years, once there she claimed for the throne and many Catholics considered her as a legitimate

¹Elizabeth. Bonner, 'Scotland's 'Auld alliance' with France, 1295-1560'. *The Journal of Historical Association History*, Vol.84, Issue 273, January, 1999, pp 8.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/>

².McDowall, *An Illustrated History Of Great Britain*, Longman, England, 1989, pp78.

sovereign of England, but Elizabeth conceived her as a threat. Mary was found guilty of plotting to assassinate Elizabeth, and was subsequently executed in 1587.

Queen Mary was succeeded by her son James VI, who started to rule at an early age, as a clever diplomat, he rebuilt the disasters of his mother as he kept an alliance with the French and the Spanish hoping for a Catholic invasion of England; moreover, with wisdom he remained publicly a protestant ally of England. In fact, like the Tudors he believed in the authority of the crown, thus he did bring the Protestants, the Catholics and the Kirk under his control.

After Elizabeth I death, she left behind her a wealthy, strong kingdom proud of the vanity of their Queen, as one Italian visitor to England gives an interesting view of English society in Tudor times¹: "The English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no otherworld but England: and whenever they see a Handsome foreigner, they say that 'he looks like an Englishman'." a visitor said.

Inheriting the English throne in 1603 was a great success for King James VI; however, English people did not cherish the idea that they will be under the control of a Scottish King; The first king to be of the Stuart Period. His period of ruling was recorded a complete failure for the repeated quarrels with the parliament, since he continued with the Tudor's way of ruling, i.e., working with Ministers rather than calling for a Parliament; this turned the parliament against him. During his reign many religious and political crisis emerged.

King James I, had been pleased with the presence of the bishops in the Anglican Church because they really supported him as a head of the church, whereas, in Scotland, he disliked the Presbyterian Kirk, because it was more democratic and without Bishops, it was controlled by a general Assembly, the thing which empowered the literate classes in Scotland.

¹.McDowall, *An Illustrated History Of Great Britain*, Longman, England, 1989, P.84.

The Archbishop Laud tried to make the Scottish Kirk in similarity with England, for which he restored many Catholic practices which were extremely unpopular by the Protestants, but made King James realized that this kind of changes would lead to a disaster and refused so. A decade after King James's death, Laud tried to introduce the new prayer book in Scotland, but the result was a national resistance for fear of the return of Catholicism.

James's son, Charles's I came to be the King of England, but like his father, he faced serious problems with the Parliament, even with the Scottish. In 1638, the Scottish army rebellions made him resort to the Parliament for help; it was a good opportunity for them to force him to rule under parliamentary control, and to meet every two years to discuss royal matters. However, when time went by, Charles started to get fed up of this system and it became increasingly obvious that he will dissolve the agreement with the parliament; tension started increasing between both sides. These problems ended with a civil war (1642-1649).

King Charles I (1625-1649) was captured in 1645, and executed on 31 January 1649 by Oliver Cromwell, an East Anglian gentleman farmer¹. The Scots were shocked by Charles's execution, they invited his son, whom they recognised as King Charles II to join them and fight against the English Parliamentary army, when they get defeated, and young Charles himself was lucky to escape to France. Scotland was brought under English republican rule.²

The Glorious Revolution of 1688–89 saw the overthrow of the King James VII of Scotland and II of England by the English Parliament, and invited Prince William of Orange and his wife Mary to become king and Queen not by inheritance, but by choice, so that this monarch could rule with the support of parliament; this was revolutionary.³ As late as the 1690s, Scotland witnessed a tacky situation of life where famine was as a plague that reduced the population in some parts of the country. Crudely then, working with the parliament was as diminishing the power of the king or the queen for the Tudors.

¹ D McDowall, *An Illustrated History Of Great Britain*, Longman, England, .p.92

².Ibid, p.93.

³Ibid. p. 95.

1688-89 “was the ‘glorious revolution’ – in the 17th century sense of that word,” concurs Jonathan Scott, “because at last it restored, and secured, after a century of troubles, what remained salvageable of the Elizabethan church and state¹. It was to be said that the Glorious Revolution did not bring much of success but rather it did little to change either the political arrangements or the economic trajectory of England, a belief that is widely accepted by economic historians as well, such as for Clark Gregory who argues that the increase in taxation after 1688 meant that “The Glorious Revolution had an immediate negative effect” on economic growth and that none of the political events of the 17th century had any impact on total factor productivity².

In this regard, one can say that The Glorious Revolution brought momentous and significant institutional change, a change which is clearly seen on the economic scale, as it was described by some historians, as a dramatic shift in the political equilibrium in England than in Britain; moreover, to a political equilibrium that led to a balance of power between the legislature and the executive. One can argue that the shift was not one of re-writing the de jure rules of the game, as they characterised it, but was rather a change in the distribution of power in favour of Parliament which had important consequences for de facto institutions. Actually, all this featured parliamentary sovereignty and parliament were to be dominated by the Whig Party for the coming decades that is to say a ‘New Britain’ was to be born.

4. The Acts of Union:

In 1690, William of Orange defeated King James II, and this affected badly the Irish people. Indeed there was a clash between the Protestants and the Catholics. All the social, economic privileges were for the Protestants; however, the Catholics were deprived from their

¹Steven C.A. Pincus, and Robinson James A. “*What Really Happened During the Glorious Revolution?*” The Legacy of Douglass North. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p2.

<http://scholar.harvard.edu/>

²Gregory Clark, ‘Political Foundations of Modern Economic Growth: England, 1540-1800,’ *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Vol. 26:4, issue. 565, spring, 1996. Gregory Clark, *A Farewell to Alms*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, pp.149, 241-242.

rights since the Protestant Parliament set laws which prevented the Catholics from taking any part in national life, for instance, they could not go to university, they have not the right to join any public post. Rougher than that, their children could not be educated according to their religion which was forbidden-- they were foreigners on their own land. Rancour and hatred were unavoidable between the two religions, and life for the Catholics was unbearable. Actually, Ireland presents a far more complicated picture.

The Acts of Union 1800 signed by George III, united the kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Ireland to beget the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It was passed by both the Irish and British parliaments despite much opposition, and it came with many regulations, as it would be represented at Westminster by only “Anglican” representatives. As for religion, the Anglican Church was to be recognized as the official Church of Ireland, and economically, free trade was to be between the Kingdoms and Ireland, was to keep Exchequer¹ separate and to be responsible for two seventeenths of the general expense of UK. However, the Irish were to be responsible for their own juridical matters, concerning Justice and civil service.²

The incorporation of Wales to Great Britain was a smooth process for King Henry VIII since he was of Welsh extraction. He passed the Laws in Wales Acts aiming to turn Wales under his authority. Indeed, Wales became part of Great Britain in 1707, and then part of the United Kingdom. Truly, Wales was incorporated to and ruled by England from 1284, and officially annexed to England by the Wales Acts between 1535 and 1542. Since 1301, the Crown Prince of England has been referred to as the Prince of Wales to symbolise this union between the two countries. And the other countries, it was adjourned to the United Kingdom in 1800.

¹ Exchequer: (in Britain) the government department that controls public money.

Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English, Oxford, o.p, pp 506 Dictionary

² Bloy. Margie, Britain, Ireland, The Disastrous 1801 Acts of Union, Ph. D., Senior Research Fellow, The Victorian Web.

<http://www.victorianweb.org/history/ireland1.html>. Viewed on 20 September 2014.

Queen Anne took the throne on 8 March 1702, she was the Queen of both England and Scotland, then on 1 May 1707, under the Acts of Union, the two realms joined together to engender one of the Great kingdoms in the world Great Britain. Well, the Scottish institutions were carefully protected from change by the new parliament of Britain, a Scottish private Law, the courts, the church and universities. Until nowadays, these institutions remain distinctive from their English equivalents.

Thus, a Great kingdom emerged encompassing four countries, England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. It is however of great interest to say and to know the difference between the state and the nation, while the nation is recognised as a country considered as a group of people with the same language, culture and history, who live in a particular area under one government¹. The state is a country as an organised political community controlled by one government²

4.1 The State and the Nation, what makes different?

So patently, there is a distinctive path for nation-and-state-building in the united Kingdom, for instance in Europe, in some cases, the nation came before a state and gave rise to it particularly in the 19th century, in others the state came first and build the nation within it over a long period, as it is the case for France. More generally, in Western Europe and least, nation and state were constructed together, with the one sustaining the other. Terrorists were integrated institutionally, the state break through the society, cultures and languages were unified, and national identity constructed. After the French revolution, the doctrine of popular sovereignty reinforced both the nation (since this defined who the people were) and the state (as the vehicle of this sovereignty). The nation state thus, came to represent the coincidence within the same territorial boundaries of identity, a shared culture, a polity, a system of the representation, an economy and a civil society. This in turn provided framework of democracy based on trust and shared values, and later for social solidarity and the welfare state.

¹ Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of Current English, Oxford, o.p, .p.975.

²Ibid. 1442.

Oddly, the slight distinction between the nation and the state can be used on England and Britain with France as one of the first nation states, contrasting these with the latecomers like Italy and Germany or the uncompleted nation states like Spain or Belgium¹. The Norwegian Scholar Stein Rokkan 1980, in this conceptual map of Europe, identifies the Atlantic periphery as the first part of Europe to engage in state-building and sees England as one of the earliest examples², yes indeed, England was a state as once separated from the unity and the whole unity (Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland) or the United Kingdom is a unitary state as for Rokkan 1980, 170³ he agreed on the idea that the ‘United Kingdom as a unitary state formed in the middle ages’. In other words, the United Kingdom had always had hardships with a foreign Union, if it is out of their interest.

Whereas for Anthony Smith 1999⁴, who sees nations as based on “ethnic cores”, exemplifies that the south of Britain is encompassing the rest of Britain. Leah Greenfield 1992⁵ sees England as the first nation in modernity and, although she is careful not to confuse it with Britain, does suggest that it became and remained a state. The problem with these approaches is that they try to explain two very different things – the forging of England, and the United Kingdom – with the same theoretical apparatus. This is a salient contradiction, since if a strong and unitary English nation was forged medieval or early modern times, this should struggle against its assimilation in a multinational state. A similar inconsistent

¹ Michael Keating. *The Independence of Scotland: Self Government and the Shifting Politics of Union*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009. p.18.

² Ibid. Pp19

³ Stein Rokkan (July 4, 1921 – July 22, 1979) was a Norwegian political scientist and sociologist. He was a professor in comparative politics at the University of Bergen

⁴ Anthony D. Smith (born 1939) is a British historical sociologist who is Professor Emeritus of Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics. He is considered one of the founders of the interdisciplinary field of nationalism studies.

Smith took his first degree in Classics and Philosophy at Oxford University and his master's degree and doctorate in Sociology at the London School of Economics.

⁵ Leah Greenfield (born 1954) is University Professor and Professor of Sociology, Political Science and Anthropology at Boston University. She is also Distinguished Adjunct Professor at Lingnan University, Hong Kong.

thoughts and beliefs seems to affect those people coming from different parts in Europe, who try to reconcile their vision of the United Kingdom as a homogenous unitary state with their knowledge that there are nations beyond England. While for Ralf Dahrendorf 1982¹, in his lectures on Britain, managed a brief reference to the non-English parts and to the devolution but insisted that Britain has managed to avoid a “national question”. These definitions are more or less related to the European sphere that the United Kingdom has always precluded and discarded.

However, Scottish historians who have examined the union, on the other hand, agreed that it did not immediately create Britons out of English and Scots. There is less agreement on what happened subsequently. Until the 1960's scholars tended to argue, explicitly or implicitly, that British nation was forged. For others, especially those writing in the light of developments in recent decades, nation-building never took place, and the union remained a marriage of convenience, of purely instrumental value, variously for the Scots or for the English².

Since the 1990's the debate has been dominated arguing that during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a sense of common ‘Britishness’ was forged from common Protestantism. The disappearance of these factors in turn explains the loosening of the tie, clearly than that the religious factor that has led a nation into an inevitable tempest., while war with neighbours (as with France) has been the common European experience since the end of the Roman Empire which more crucially conducted the Nation to the demise of ‘Britishness’, since national identities are, by most accounts, self-sustaining, surviving the conditions in which they were created,

¹ Ralf Gustav Dahrendorf, Baron Dahrendorf, KBE, FBA, PhD (1 May 1929 – 17 June 2009) was a German-British sociologist, philosopher, political scientist and liberal politician. A class conflict theorist, Dahrendorf was a leading expert on explaining and analyzing class divisions in modern society, and is regarded as "one of the most influential thinkers of his generation. Dahrendorf wrote multiple articles and books, his most notable being *Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (1959) and *Essays in the Theory of Society* (1968).

² Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: Self Government and the Shifting Politics of Union*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p43.

4.2 Functional Integration

It is salient to say that despite the social and cultural divergence between England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland; they work as one unit with the creation of national markets, and the spread of common language, the fact that they share one NHS, National Health Service, and one channel, the BBC, the British Broadcasted Channel. Thus, we can say that there is a sort of functional integration within the United Kingdom.

4.2.1 The theory of modernisation

A theory which is connected to the field of social sciences particularly the one of society and economy; this theory sustained the belief that the social and societal conflicts are a pure product of ‘cultural discordance’. It was demotic during the 1950s; the theory of modernisation explains the south underdevelopment caused by their inability in founding an appropriate policy, knowing that their infrastructures, their administrative matters, their economy and their politics endured a cultural backwardness. As it focused on the idea, that if the northern parts are living in rich societies at all scales; their economy is rich, their politics are stable and their technology is advanced, this is not out of the blue however, it is because these countries had taken collectively or individually suitable decisions that fit their politics. According to Walt Whitman Rostov¹, all societies pass through variable degrees of development². So did those who prefer the traditional or those who liked the innovative,

¹ Walt Whitman Rostow was a United States economist and political theorist who served as Special Assistant for National Security Affairs to U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966–69.

Prominent for his role in the shaping of US foreign policy in Southeast Asia during the 1960s, he was a staunch anti-communist, noted for a belief in the efficacy of capitalism and free enterprise, strongly supporting US involvement in the Vietnam War. Rostow is known for his book *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960), which was used in several fields of social science.

²W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge University Press, 1960, p 8.

As there is a long tradition of modernisation theory which argued that nation states were forged by a process of functional integration, with the creation of national markets, the spread of common language and values of the displacement of territory by function as main principle of social differentiation.¹

Saliently, there is a lot of evidence that this did happen in Britain, when industrialisation and urbanisation had a similar impact across England, Wales, and Scotland creating one of the first recognisably modern societies where the social class became the defining feature of social relations, taking similar forms in the three nations of Great Britain. The railway age was a communicational link between Scotland and England as there was also free movement of population which was limited by the on-going of the Scots to England, but not vice versa. For its strength Scotland did not relinquish the idea of strong identity as an economic power, even though, when it was as an internal colony of the British state.

From economic integration to the linguistic assimilation which was already well under way before the union of 1707. The language of court and law in Scotland was undermined by the removal of the Court to London in 1603 followed by a failure to produce a Scot Bible, until 1983. It was only to the local dialect used by poets and popular singers that it did survive but never had it intended to be standardised, advertently the British did this to affect the Scottish society and to weaken their Scottish Nationalism, however it was not an intelligent step forward, and it was miscalculated, by depriving them from their national pride they had broadened their powerful adjuration and appeal.²

From linguistic to society, changes in relative populations helped homogeneity, the growth increase in the population was to be seen in England as the largest country rather than in Scotland. England's population went from five times that of Scotland in 1707 to ten times in 2001. And its share of the UK population was consistently dominant.

¹ Michael Keating. *The Independence of Scotland*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.2009.p.30.

² *Ibid.* p. 21.

4.3.1 The Economics of the Union

Before the Union Act, the English interests were not merely on the Economy of Scotland but towards Expansionism and Wealth in all over the world, as each part of Great Britain at that time was to be neglected and left in its troubles alone. Famine, poverty, plagues and crimes were to be resulted from this disregard, but after 1760, there was an economic salvation in Scotland, exceeded during the nineteenth century when Scotland's commerce and industry gained greatly from access to imperial markets and the British free trade regime. This was an important steppingstone forward to make better the situation in Scotland, and by the end of the century, Clyde Side was the shop market for the world, the powerful producer of heavy goods, the union now became of economic interest, As Campbell said in 1980 that the union was being defended as an economic send.

Industries of steel and coal were to be the premium production of Scotland's industrial regions. This heavy production with heavy incomes was to be calculated legally, (GDP) Gross Domestic Product and Gross added Value (GVA), were to do so. GVA measures the contribution to the economy of each individual producer, industry or sector in the United Kingdom; Whereas, GDP is used in the estimation of Gross Domestic Product. GDP is a key indicator of the state of the whole economy. In the UK, three theoretical approaches are used to estimate GDP: 'production', 'income' and 'expenditure'. When using the production or income approaches, the contribution to the economy of each industry or sector is measured using GVA. Thus, it was supposed that once Scotland became an economic power the sense and ideas of Nationalism thrives.

5. After the union

The union did not seem of much importance, since Britain's interests in the 18th century was much more towards economy and trade, wealth was their only interest. Lord

Chatham¹ catalysed the idea of wealth, he wanted Great Britain to be one of the economically strongest realms in the world, it was mentioned that he sustained Daniel Defoe's saying² in 1728, "Trade is the wealth of the world. Trade makes the difference between rich and poor, between one nation and another."

Freedom of speech was allowed, Wilkes won his case and was released; in fact it was when Wilkes wrote a report in his newspaper, *The North Britons*, attacking the government, the thing which angered the king and then imprisoned him. His victory established principles of the greatest importance: that the freedom of the individual is more important than the interests of the state, and that no one could be arrested without a proper reason.³ Wilkes was very popular after his success, as he brought the age of Public Opinion, where ordinary people started to think and discuss political matters without fear, and knowing about politics was accessible to everyone. The war in America gave strength to the new ideas of democracy and independence.

In the mid 18th century, Britain became more careful with people's life there, larger streets were rebuilt and lighted, and London for instance became cleaner and tidy to welcome people from all the neighbouring parts. It was described by Samuel Johnson, when he said: "When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life, for there is in London all that life can afford."⁴

In the Highlands there was a new practiced process named "clearances", the chiefs clan heard about the profits gained from the woollen trade so they replaced people by sheep, bringing by doing this, such a miserable life which ended by the disappearance of the clan

¹William Pitt, the Elder, also called (from 1766) 1st Earl of Chatham, Viscount Pitt of Burton-Pynsent, British statesman, twice virtual prime minister (1756–61, 1766–68), who secured the transformation of his country into an imperial power.

<http://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Pitt-the-Elder>

²McDowall, *An Illustrated History Of Great Britain*, Longman, England, 1989, p 109

³Ibid. p, 111.

⁴ Ibid.p.114.

society. People who were fired from their lands found themselves poor on the streets of Glasgow; others went to Canada whereas others fled to Australia. Farming in the countryside was more developed, and investment in lands for crops and cereal went wider, especially after the new invention of Jethro Tull, “the Seed Drill” in the 18th century where greater crop was produced.

In the family life, a child was no more considered as a little adult, but one of special needs, who needs to be treated in a perfect manner, handbooks emerged to teach mothers how to up bring their children, in 1798 handbook told mothers that "The first object in the education of a child should be to acquire its affect ion, and the second to obtain its confidence. The most likely thing to expand a youthful mind is...praise"¹, in fact, the idea of individualism emerged that is to say having a good, healthy, educated child will certainly bring a healthy, civilised society.

By the end of the 18th century, a group of Christian people came by the idea of abolishing Slave Trade in Britain, arguing that no man should be a slave in Britain. It was the “Evangelical Revival “which was extremely against slavery, thus it was just as Britain had taken a lead in slavery and in Slave Trade, it also took the lead in ending them, then slave trade was abolished by Law in 1803. After the success made from the Industrial Revolution, Great Britain became the workshop of the world, as well as Britain reached its zenith of proud and vanity by the end of the 19th century The novelist Charles Dickens nicely described this national pride. One of his characters, Mr Pod snap, believed that Britain had been specially chosen by God and "considered other countries a mistake".²

The period in between 1815-1832, Britain witnessed a great change in economic than in political spheres. in fact, the overgrowth of population led to serious problems, people were starving because of the bad quality of wheat exported, by consequence rural migration happened triggering a political threat, because several riots took place claiming for a better situation of life in the towns, for instance in 1819, a large mass of working class accompanied with their families were protesting against the way of life they lived, for fear of a revolution,

¹McDowall, *An Illustrated History Of Great Britain*, Longman, England, 1989, p.119.

²Ibid. p. 131.

an attack was ordered ending by serious numbers of deaths and wounded people. By 1832 the Reform Bill was a political recognition that Britain had become an urban society.¹At that time In Scotland, women were calling for sex equality, even though morality was widespread as a fruit of the affective Kirk.

The railway system was also considered as a great achievement in Britain, people could easily travel around the country with ease and internal trade was easier, life's situation was in improvement in all the scales; Whereas, a new Law emerged to accept the Catholics and the non-conformists to enter parliament and government service. Liberalism protruded stimulating free trade, as Lord Palmerstone who strongly believed in the theory that the totalitarian rulers would discourage free trade, thus there must be somehow a degree of freedom of practice, as for Gladstone's view that "the foreign policy of England should always be inspired by a love of freedom."

Crudely then, by the end of the 19th century, Great Britain started to lose its importance, its white colonies started to claim for their independence referring to the principle of the British foreign policy.

5.1 Wales, Scotland and Ireland in the early twentieth century:

the early 20th century, was a period of more economic and social ease for Wales and Scotland, it was the age of industrialisation and steel, when people were afforded jobs and universities and social institutions were settled. However for Ireland, things remained worse with the great famine that ravaged a significant chunk of the Irish population.

5.1.1 Wales:

The Welsh population grew from half million in 1800 to over two million by 1900, a survey which made Wales facing fewer problems than in Scotland and Ireland. Wales was

¹Ibid.p.134.

also affected by industrialisation; its industrial zone was located in the south where there were rich coal mines that rendered the area the centre of rapidly growing coal and steel industry. Welsh People needed jobs which were afforded in this corner, thus the two-thirds of the population rushed into the southeast, the thing which yielded Wales a mainly industrial society in 1870. Regarding religious matters at that time, the working-class community in the southeast of Wales became more and more mindfully in Nonconformist Christianity and Radicalism, for they were in the side of the working class, the week suffering people, while others became interested in the Nonconformist chapel choir, creating a new culture typically Welsh. Politically, the Welsh were given the right to vote in the 19th century which was in favour of the Welsh workers who were extremely against the Tories. In Wales schools had begun to grow rapidly in the middle of the century, partly for nationalist reasons. By the middle of the century Wales had a university and a smaller university college.¹

5.1.2 Scotland:

Like Wales, Scotland also lived the industrial époque, thus it was divided between a new industrialised areas, around Glasgow which was the world's premier tobacco port and Edinburgh, and the Highland and lowland areas. There were coal mines and factories of steel and iron. In the later 19th century the growing importance of the working classes under Liberalism attracted Scottish people and Scotland became by the way strongly liberal.

In the Highlands The Clearances process persist, however, sheep became replaced by deer which were more profitable source of wealth, but the real Highlanders as indigenous population were no more the actual population of the Highlands, their lands were sold to new landowners who had not the skill in dealing neither with land nor with animals, in fact, it was the collapse of the Highland clan system either socially or economically. In Scotland there had been a state education system since the time of the Reformation. There were four Scottish universities, three dating from the middle Ages.²

¹ Ibid.p.151

² McDowall, An Illustrated History Of Great Britain, Longman, England, 1989.p 151

5.1.3 Ireland:

Religious schism has always been the source problems and conflicts within the Irish country. The Irish situation was to be more severe than that of Scotland and Wales, both Protestants and Catholics suffered from each other on behalf of religious differences, Protestants presence in Ireland has always been conceived as a reminder of that England, thus a struggle between Protestants and Catholics was increasing. But by allowing the Catholics to enter Parliament in 1829 was somehow a comfortable success which triggered the Irish National feeling, absolutely, England was not as generous, in return the Irish were deprived from some political and civil liberties.¹The Great Famine or the Irish Potato Famine², also was a disastrous phase in the Irish history, it resulted in catastrophic remnants ever seen in Ireland. During the famine, approximately 1 million people died and millions more emigrated from Ireland. It was because a commonly potato disease “Phytophthora infestans” which damaged the poor’s food in 1845 and ravaged poor’s’ lives.

Ireland could feed its population with wheat, but it was recorded that it was exported to England by the Protestants. Because of the wretchedness in Ireland, many decided not to stay, and even they preferred to move to the eastwards to the towns and cities of Britain, rather to stay in a miserable country starving to death and others sailed to the United States of America. By 1880 many Irish Americans became rich and powerful, and they didn’t forget what did happen in their old country. they took the decision to revenge by supporting the Irish freedom movement. Their hope was on Charles Parnell who was a protestant Irish Prime Minister and who claimed for the right³ of self-autonomy. He was majorly supported by the Liberals, but the Tories rejected the suggestion. Thirty years later Ireland did get its self-government.

This era was remarkably known for the political and economic ease; however, it was after the First World War that the Kingdom faced a huge wave of complications.

¹Ibid, p.149.

² [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Famine_\(Ireland\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Famine_(Ireland)),

³ Ibid, p 150

Conclusion:

Crudely then, the United Kingdom in the earlier times of its ruling system, was the master, the leader in everything, authoritarianism, absolutism, supremacy than the faked democracy, these were to be the phases in which the kingdom passed by. In fact, great Britain in the aftermath of the Second World War grew more and more stronger, proud and happy for the achievements reached, for the coal mines they possessed, for the new inventions invented, for the organizations, which they set and for its alliance with two great powers in the world. Britain than has lived its zenith of power and delight in the twentieth. But The end of the twentieth century were not but the era called the loss of Empire, Britain grew a little bit anxious and restive and this was due to the miscalculation of Britain when it decided to buy its goods to her members of Commonwealth who were largely populated but poorly living.

Thus, the economic status of it started to macerate; it was the end of Great Britain. Furthermore it faced a storm of Nationalism that spurred Britain's colonies to claim for their decolonisation. This was not exclusive for the Commonwealth members but also to the three major component of United Kingdom; Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland. These countries needed strongly a relief from the unfair Britain.

The United Kingdom has lived in the warm of economic ease, centuries of fame and glory; however, in recent times the insular empire drowned and problems emerged to make Great Britain in an awful situation. The Union did not long-lasting as it was expected, the fact that there was a quasi-cultural propinquity between the four components of UK. Thus, National identity spouted to conduct to Nationalism, in this regard the question to be raised here is whether Nationalism will evaporate Unionism or not.

Chapter II

Devolution in Great Britain

Introduction

It was in 1990s that a whole genre of literature has emerged about the question of the British union crisis. Many politicians started to question the situation of the British National identity, a range of hypothesis emerged such as for McLean and McMillan, who said that unionism if not the Union has expired¹ and for Hasler, he said “we are coming to the end of Britain”². Devolution is for many a word devoid of clear meaning; however, it has a deeper connotation far from this. In fact, it has a special political usefulness. In this chapter, ‘devolution’ will refer to the transfer of power from central government to a subordinate tier of government, as it is defined as follows: “The widespread transfer of powers downwards towards regions”³. This process, which in some cases involves the creation of new political entities and bodies at a subnational level and in others an increase in their content and powers, is known depending on different national contexts, as regionalisation, devolution, or decentralisation⁴. That is to say, Devolution in current British politics is largely a response to nationalism or Nationalistic Movements.

‘Nationalism’ will refer to the active solidarity of a group of human beings who share a common culture or history and a sense of nationhood, and who seek to give these a political reality, for example through self-government. ‘Regionalism’ also necessitates the solidarity of a group of people, but their bond need only to be in geographical juxtaposition, and an active desire for political recognition, helped perhaps by a few cultural similarities. The question raised here, is how these movements emerged, and to

¹ Keating, Michael, *The Independence Of Scotland: Self-Government and the Shifting Politics of Union*, Op. cit, Oxford, 2009, p.1.

² Ibid.

³ Andrés Rodríguez-Pose and Nicholas Gill, ‘Environ Plann C Gov Policy’, vol.21. Issue no 3 333-351, June 2003, p. 4.

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/geographyAndEnvironment/research/Researchpapers/rp72.pdf> . Viewed on 15 April 2015.

⁴ Although the words regionalisation, devolution, and decentralization may refer to different things in different geographical contexts, they all imply a transfer of authority, responsibility, and resources from the national government to lower Governmental tiers.

what extent they affected the British Union. But, before attaining the devolution as a major motif of my dissertation, it is preferable to know how the British situation was described in the late of the 20th century, and after the First and Second World Wars.

1. The United Kingdom after the First World War

During the First World War, Britain was vigilant to keep an empathy with its neighbour countries awoken, for it needed military force to participate in the war. However, the promises given to Scotland, Ireland and Wales as a reward were aborted which spur the wrath of the political forces in these provinces. In fact, more attention was directed toward a new belief that is to divorce the union.

1.1 Political change:

After the ending of the terrible world war, Britain witnessed the rise of the Labour Political Party, which increasingly was gaining more and more seats through a short period of times, as it was for the first time in Britain that twenty-one men and women of over thirty years, were granted the full right to vote, thus the number of voters grew twice during this period, and the majority were from the working class. As part of the Trade Unions, The Labour Party grew popular since it represented the working class matters in the parliament. For instance, in 1906 election of the Labour Party gained twenty nine seats; in 1918 they won 57 seats, in 1922 there were 142, whereas in 1923 the number was much higher since 191 seats were gained. These numbers had participated in the emanation of a labour government. As a product of strongly socialists and liberals, the Labour Party composed of members from the middle classes who wanted to develop a kind of Socialism, “which is a social and economic doctrine that calls for public rather than private ownership, or control of property and natural resources. According to the socialist view, individuals do not live or work in isolation, but live in cooperation with one another. Furthermore, everything that people produce is in some sense a social product, and everyone who contributes to the production of a good is entitled to share in it. Therefore,

Society as a whole should own or at least control property for the benefit of all its members”¹. That goes with the situation in Britain.

It was in fact with the coming of the leaders of Socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels who brought with them an extreme rejection to Capitalism. They hoped that one day the working classes would become genuinely Socialist. However, people from the working class wanted and hoped, if their social and financial situation goes to the best without the interference of the absolute socialism. The Conservative saw the evolution of the Labour Party as a threat, which lay behind liberal and social ideologies; in addition, they remarked the strong spur of both the Working class and the Radicals in the Parliament.

In 1924, the Labour Party won in the elections which led to the dissolving of the Liberals. Those who supported the traditional capitalist ideas joined the Conservative Party, whereas for the others, the Liberal Reformers joined the Labour Party.

It was inevitable that there should be an increasing disagreement between workers and the government, for the Government promised lands for people who participated in the First World War as heroes, but it was not the case. Although Britain emerged victorious from the First World War, economic cracks below surface signalled to arise the amount of taxation from 6 % of income in 1914 to 25 percent in 1918, in addition to that, the size of the civil service was required to be doubled which restored the greater control on national life.²

Additionally, Britain found itself facing a storm of workers’ strikes, which sometimes were disunited with force by the soldiers. This public discontent with the Government was unavoidable; those strikes were widespread larger when the coal miners

¹Terence Ball, Socialism. <http://www.britannica.com/topic/socialism>. Viewed on September 2015.

²McDowall, An Illustrated History Of Great Britain, Longman, England, 1989, p.164

owners cut the wages from the workers, something which was threatening for the British economy.¹

All over Europe and America a serious economic crisis, known as the "depression", was taking place. The areas mostly affected by the depression were those which had created Britain's industrial revolution, including Clyde side, Belfast, the industrial North of England and Southeast Wales. The working class population was living under very poor conditions of life, as there was little hope for these people because almost no one was willing to invest the large amounts of money needed to get industry working again.² The Labour Party was no better at dealing with the situation than the Conservatives, in most severely from 1930 to 1933, when over three million workers were unemployed. The British economy started to recover in 1930s.

In point of fact, the period of economic healing did not last longer since there was an alarming for another one, The government found itself obliged to rebuild its armed forces in order to get ready for the worst, And in 1937 The British industry started to produce weapons. And to rebuild its armed forces, this meant investing a large amount of money in heavy industry. In September 1939 Germany invaded Poland, and Britain entered the war. The British recognize again that they were fighting for the weaker nations of Europe, since Poland was not of much importance at that time. They had also heard about the cruelty of the Nazis from Jews who had escaped to Britain where between 1941 and 1945, five to six million Jews were systematically murdered by the Nazi regime.³

¹ Ibid.p.163.

² Ibid.p.164.

³ Adam Jones, 'The Jewish Holocaust', *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, Second Edition, Routledge/ Taylor and Francis Publishers, August 2006. P233.

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The German's power under the Nazism rule was so strong, Adolph Hitler¹ was known for his authoritarian ruling system, many did not realised the power of this country, which was already thinking of restoring its supremacy in Europe. In fact it attacked and defeated the French port in just few days; by consequence driving cannily the British army to the sea. Actually, the wind blew in favour of the British who could successfully escape the German wrath by being rescued in Dunkirk² that was a miraculous safety from military disaster³. Winston Churchill⁴ was proud of this victory, professed to the nation about this immense success in the darkest hours of Britain, stating that surrender, peace negotiation would never be of the nation's thoughts.

*"We shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight on the hills; we shall never surrender Until in God's goodtime the New World, with all its power and might, sets forth to the liberation and rescue of the Old."*⁵

As it was expected, Germany attack on Britain did happen resulting serious damages in London, where half million died there. The war first had begun as a traditional European clash, with Britain fighting to save the balance of power in Europe, and to control the Atlantic Ocean for the sea routes, however the war became a war of world rather than a war of Europeans. The axis of Germany, Italy and Japan attacked Britain's colonies, and

¹ Adolph Hitler: Adolf Hitler (20 April 1889 – 30 April 1945) was an Austrian-born German politician who was the leader of the Nazi Party (NSDAP), Chancellor of Germany from 1933 to 1945, and Führer ("leader") of Nazi Germany from 1934 to 1945. He was effectively dictator of Nazi Germany, and was a central figure of World War II in Europe and the Holocaust

² Dunkirk: The Battle of Dunkirk was an important battle that took place in Dunkirk, France, during the Second World War between the Allies and Germany. As part of the Battle of France on the Western Front, the Battle of Dunkirk was the defence and evacuation of British and allied forces in Europe from 26 May–4 June 1940.

³ McDowall, An Illustrated History Of Great Britain, Longman, England, 1989, p.166

⁴ Winston Churchill:

⁵ Ibid, p166.

the British army under pressure surrendered Singapore to Japan, which was the harshest surrender Britain had ever seen.

In alliance with the two most powerful nations in the world, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, Britain attacked Germany and it was a fatal blow, In May 1945, Germany finally surrendered. After defeating Germany, British and American eyes turned to Japan Britain, and then used their bombing power to defeat Japan. This time they used the new atomic bombs to destroy most of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, two large Japanese cities. Over 110,000 people died immediately and many thousands more died later from the after-effects.

In post-World War Two, Britain grew wealthier and stronger at all the scales, Britain became a Welfare State which improved people's lives, workers were decently paid, National Health Service emerged, granting free health care for all the British, popular Music was developed, people could go to the Cinema in week-ends, cars production was improving, in 1948, the National Assistance Act provided financial help for the old, the unemployed and those unable to work through sickness. Mothers and children also received help. It was paradise on land as one Prime Minister said: "'You've never had it so well,"¹ a remark that became famous.

In fact, in 1948 an organization for European Economic cooperation (E.E.C.)² was set up, it included six countries—Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, East Germany and France— This organisation was based on a permanent basis, and it aimed to put a joint recovery programme in the wake of the devastating world war by portioning and making the best use of the post war; in addition, another objective behind the creation of this

¹Ibid. p.171.

² EEC: The European Economic Community (EEC) was a regional organisation which aimed to bring about economic integration between its member states. It was created by the Treaty of Rome of 1957. Upon the formation of the European Union (EU) in 1993, the EEC was incorporated and renamed as the European Community (EC). In 2009 the EC's institutions were absorbed into the EU's wider framework and the community ceased to exist

organisation was an encouragement of closer economic cooperation between the member states, by developing intra-European trading activity, towards this end, measures were taken to lift the different forms of restrictions such as high tariffs and custom duties¹. As there was also the creation of the N.A.T.O.² in order to enhance military cooperation. Actually Britain's joining this bloc didn't happen overnight, instead it was a long process, it was not easy for them to get in the EU. When a proposal was made in the first time in 1930 by France, one British politician spoke for the majority of the nation:

*"Our hearts are not in Europe; we could never share the truly European point of view nor become real patriots of Europe. Besides, we could never give up our own patriotism for an Empire which extends to all parts of the world ... The character of the British people make it impossible for us to take part seriously in any Pan-European system."*³

Britain did not accept to join the union at first because it feared the loss of its ally- the United States of America; whereas, for other politicians thought that their imperial grandeur cannot let them submit to much less prestigious countries as with France, Italy and Belgium. However, Britain made a U-Turn in early 1960s due to the success story of the EEC and decided to join this organisation, but now with the presence of Charles De

¹ Custom duties: A tax levied on imports (and, sometimes, on exports) by the customs authorities of a country to raise state revenue, and/or to protect domestic industries from more efficient or predatory competitors from abroad.

Customs duty is based generally on the value of goods or upon the weight, dimensions, or some other criteria of the item (such as the size of the engine, in case of automobiles).

Read more: <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/customs-duty.html#ixzz3zt0EchgB>

² NATO: also called the North Atlantic Alliance, is an intergovernmental military alliance based on the North Atlantic Treaty which was signed on 4 April 1949. The organization constitutes a system of collective defence whereby its member states agree to mutual defence in response to an attack by any external party.

³ McDowall, An Illustrated History Of Great Britain, Longman, England, 1989, p.173

Gaulle¹ who resisted firmly to the acceptance of the British within the EEC. During this period (1960), Britain was in a dire straight; they were struggling economically.

The French refusal of letting Britain to be part of the EEC didn't last longer because Charles De Gaulle retired and was succeeded by George Pompidou² in 1969, who by the way gave his approval for the British application in EEC. In the first of January 1973 Britain joined officially the organisation.

The First World War was also an important period for change in Ireland, since the latter saw the light during this period. Britain owed many for the Irish people, since the latter was to suffer as much as it did, but after the famine the oppressed Catholic faction identified itself with growing cause of Irish Nationalism, itself part of a wider European nationalist movement that swept the continent in the 19th century, to the extent that people started to think if someone is not Catholic, he is not a native Irish.

These Nationalist drains drawing much of their support from the Catholic south, which wanted a new Irish Parliament and to re-introduce protectionist measures in all scales. When William Gladstone, the Britain's Prime Minister, proposed Irish legislative

¹ Charles de Gaulle: Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle; 22 November 1890 – 9 November 1970) was a French general, resistant, writer and statesman. He was the leader of Free France (1940–44) and the head of the Provisional Government of the French Republic (1944–46). In 1958, he founded the Fifth Republic and was elected as the 18th President of France, until his resignation in 1969. He was the dominant figure of France during the Cold War era and his memory continues to influence French politics.

Andrina Schroderus-Nevalainen, Charles De Gaulle AND the French Resistance, February 2014.

² George Pompidou: Georges Jean Raymond Pompidou; 5 July 1911 – 2 April 1974) was Prime Minister of France from 1962 to 1968 - the longest tenure in the position's history - and later President of the French Republic from 1969 until his death in 1974. He had long been a top aide to President Charles de Gaulle. As president, he was a moderate conservative who repaired France's relationship with the United States, and maintained positive relations with the newly-independent former colonies in Africa.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges_Pompidou

independence (called Home Rule) in 1885, the north-east exploded with sectarian rioting against his proposals. Ulster Protestants feared that “Home Rule means Rome Rule”, thinking they would lose the religious and economic freedoms they enjoyed as part of the United Kingdom by becoming a minority in a mainly Catholic Ireland¹.

Before the beginning of the First World War, the British government had agreed to home rule for Ireland. However, it was not granted for fear of a beginning of a civil War, and because Britain wanted Ireland to participate in the war. It delayed the question until the end of it. The Irish on their own didn't rebel, on the contrary they accepted to join the War hoping that this act would show loyalty which on its own would ease the self-government process for them. However, an Irish group didn't want to join the war and considered it meaningless, for the British treated them cruelly and badly. Furthermore, they didn't want only Home Rule but a full independence was needed, these Republicans rebelled and Britain frustrated, executed all the leaders which resulted in shock among people; not only at Ireland but also in the neighbourhood countries².

Hopefully, these rebellions did not end without result. In fact, precisely in 1918's elections, the Republicans reached their aim, they won in almost every area except in Ulster who didn't want to join the Irish Free State, and thus the British Government was obliged to partition the six most North-Eastern counties of the new Irish State to form Northern Ireland. Peace was not destined to Northern Ireland since it witnessed severe sectarian violence between its Protestant majority and its Catholic minority. Thus, The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 led to a civil war between the Irish themselves. However, it was until 1937 that Southern Ireland was declared a republic. And the British Crown was now no longer sovereign in Ireland.

Northern Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom and then it was under the Government of Ireland Act 1920 that it had its own Parliament, Prime Minister, Cabinet and Civil Service. However, it had limited powers to legislate or to raise taxes, by the way,

¹McDowall, *An Illustrated History Of Great Britain*, Longman, England, 1989, p.163.

²Ibid , p.149

Westminster retained supremacy. Simultaneously, the division in the North still existed. Two paradoxical beliefs showed publicly their desires. On one side it was the wish of the Catholic-Nationalist minority who wanted to reunite with the other Catholics all over Ireland, in the other side there was the desire of the Protestant-Unionist who wanted to stay within the United Kingdom.¹

1.2 Ireland, Wales and Scotland in the late twentieth century

1.2.1 Ireland

Actually, after the schism of Ireland in 1921, with only 5% Protestants were living in the new Republic and in Northern Ireland with a majorly Protestant population 67%, things appeared working well, it seemed that everyone was pleased with the arrangement. However, views changed when many people in Northern Ireland started to claim their system of government unfair, a self-governing province controlled by Protestants. The latter feared the Catholics and kept them aside from responsible positions, depriving them from the right to vote. Unexpectedly, both Catholics and Protestants join together on the streets demanding a fair system to reside. There was indeed a nationalist rebellion against British rule; it evolved from grouping and gathering to shooting and bombing between the British Army and the republicans. To keep things under control, Britain removed the Irish Government, and replaced it with direct rule from London. And in 1985, the Hillsborough Agreement² resulted after a continuum of struggles.

¹McDowall, *An Illustrated History Of Great Britain*, Longman, England, 1989, p.164

² The Hillsborough Agreement: the agreement made at Hillsborough on 4 February 2010, the First Minister and deputy First Minister will table a joint resolution for a cross-community vote in the Northern Ireland Assembly on 9 March. It allowed the devolution of policing and justice powers to the Northern Ireland Executive.

David Foster, and Gay Oonagh, 'Parliament and Constitutional Centre': *The Hillsborough Agreement*, 18 March 2010. P4.

1.2.2 Wales and Scotland:

In 1970, Wales and Scotland were of much proud of the power gained by the government in London. In Wales in fact, a nationalist party, Plaid Cymru¹, became a strong political force in 1970s, however it did not last longer or rather it did lost support, for many of the Welsh people did not accept or welcome the wider official use of the Welsh language, as it was the main interest of that party.

While for Scotland, a Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP)², a left party, which is of much popularity in Scotland, to the extent that in a national vote, the numbers were obviously mounting from 20% to 30% during 1974. This Party positioned the second putting backward the conservative party. When Scotland was offered the same limited form of self-government as Wales, just over half of those who voted supported it. But the government decided that 54% of those who voted were not a big enough majority, and to the anger of the SNP it abandoned the self-government offer. As a result the SNP itself collapsed at the next election, losing nine of its eleven seats. But like Plaid Cymru in Wales, the SNP remained active in Scottish politics. In both countries most people continued to support the Labour Party, partly in protest against mainly Conservative England. Although in Wales Welsh was declining, and although in Scotland only a very few people still spoke Gaelic, the different political and cultural life of Celtic Wales and Scotland seemed unlikely to disappear.

¹ Plaid Cymru: is a social-democratic political party in Wales advocating for an independent Wales from the United Kingdom within the European Union formed in 1925.

² SNP: The Scottish National Party, was founded in 1934 but remained on the fringe of Scottish politics for the next three decades. It won its first seat in Parliament in 1967 in a by-election and has consistently, if often precariously, retained a presence in the House of Commons since then.

Paolo Dardanelli, and James Mitchell, 'Forthcoming in the National Spectator', *An Independent Scotland? The Scottish National Party's Bid for Independence and its Prospects*, volume.49, Issue.3, 18 August, 2014, p2.

2. Nationalism

In a broader sense, the nation is described as “an extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history, as to form a distinct race or people usually organised as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory.”¹ Whereas things differ completely when it comes to Nationalism, in preliminary definition nationalism can be considered either a “devotion’s to one’s nation or a policy of national independence.”² Here, nationalism or national identity is strongly correlated to the nation, in fact there is the presence of the latter but also the sentiment or the belief of “devotion” to the nation, as it is known for the British citizens that loyalty resides amongst them to their kingdom, but things changed as a result of many social, and economic reasons, therefore the idea of nationalism differs from one individual to another, and the nation is the gravity centre where a sort of national identity is founded.

Nationalism also may not be viewed positively since according to Quiong Li and Marilyn B. Brewer: “Nationalism is related to insecure in-group identification and inter-group differentiation; including the view that one’s own country is superior to others and thus should be dominant... nationalism is more likely to be associated with authoritarian values and intolerance.”³ Thus, in this sense, the idea of nationalism protrudes from the infant idea of ethnic “super culture”.

De facto, there are many approaches to the definition of ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’, and nationalism differs according to its context. For the economic nationalism, it is defined as a competition among states for power and wealth as it was the case in the 19th century in

¹ J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. Oxford, GB: CLARENDON Press, 1991, p 231.

² *Ibid*, p.234.

³ Quiong Li and Marilyn B. Brewer, *What Does it Mean to be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism, and American Identity After 9/11*, International Society of Political Psychology, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, MA, USA, 2004, P.728.

Europe; rush for prosperity and position in the world. Thus economic nationalism is described as follows:

Perspective is national (not global, not a class perspective) • The State should direct the economy for the good of the nation • Relationship between wealth and power: state must amass national wealth in order to enhance national power. • Beliefs about the international economy: It is competitive. States will always struggle for power and wealth will necessarily be imperialist. Relative wealth and power are what matter most • Relative gain is more important than mutual gain or aggregate gain.¹

In this regard, we can say that the economic nationalism will for sure boost the cultural nationalism, in essence of self-efficiency, when people feel the economic safety and peace. They will systematically be more proud and confident to their government, and vice-versa. For instance very recent events in the United Kingdom make people lose trust to the crown, as for O'driscoll, he said in his book that during the last forty or so years, the traditional confidence in the British political system has weakened². The following broadsheet will show the statistics of British people thoughts towards the various aspects of life in the country.

¹ Wilson E. S. THE Battle over the Bank: Hamilton v. Jefferson,

<http://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/hamilton/resources/battle-over-bank-hamilton-v-jefferson>.

² O'driscoll James, *Britain the Country and Its People: an introduction for learners of English* (revised and updated), Oxford, Oxford press, 1995, p.75.

An opinion poll about British citizens to various aspects of life in the country.

	Agreeing with statement	1960	1992
The British monarch is something to be proud of		86%	26%
The British Parliament is something to be proud of		75	35
The British Health service is something to be proud of		89	41
The British Education System is something to be proud of		77	27

According to the table above, one can clearly notice that there is a big change through years, in the sixties British people were of much proud and confidence towards the crown; whereas, for the generation of the twentieth century, there is what we call a loss of confidence. this change of attitude is mainly due to the fact that Queen Elizabeth II is considered one of the richest woman in the world, though she neither pay her taxes by her proper money nor she carries her needs by her money too, which triggered suspicion in the British society: “there has been a general cooling of enthusiasm”¹, where people started to notice the material abuse of the crown family out from public taxes, they consider the fortune of the Queen as an exceeded one. “Sympathy quickly turned to anger”², this was a remarkable event in 1992, that when one of the Queen’s houses was damaged by fire, and the government signaled that the repairs are going to be funded from public money, this triggered the wrath of people in the county.

In the matter of fact then, since economic nationalism has a significant effect on cultural nationalism, than if the British people start to suspect the economic power of their Kingdom, cracks on the surface of the national identity will systematically appear and emerge. Moreover, there is what we call also the political and the economic stability which empower the trust of each individual in each country in the world.

2.1 Nationalism in Ireland

Irish society has been frequently cited as one of the most religious societies in Europe, and the Catholic nature of Irish society became a defining element of Irish national identity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries³

¹ Ibid, p.80.

² Ibid, p.81.

³ Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture © 2007 (University of Westminster, London), Vol. 4(1): 47-64. ISSN 1744-6708 (Print); 1744-6716 (Online)

One can say that the stories of the Irish have never been updated at least for a century, although there was a palpable change in mood and outlook, but the hitch to the past and to the old myths and symbols such as: Unionist and Nationalist, Protestant and Catholics, still existed but married to new patterns and forms. First and foremost, Ireland was the country which knew a significant amount of sufferings; in fact, Irish people endured a lot from famine, from religious persecution and so on. In the aftermath of the Easter Rising, a radical and violent nationalism emerged.

Actually, it is not trivial, but essential to restate the definition of the nation, “The nation encompasses a common culture, history, territory and destiny and a political self-awareness that distinguishes it from other forms of collective political or sociological organisation. The nation entails an awareness of rights, privileges, and responsibilities which are a condition of membership in It.”¹ however, in Ireland a religious clash between the Protestants and the Catholics was uncontrollable, where there were a division within one country, the radicals who wanted to keep tight their religion “Catholicism”, and on the other hand the Unionists who wanted to keep their union with a Protestant England, Furthermore the political Rights were not fairly granted for these two opposed sects, or in other words the Protestants were afforded much more life facilities as contrary to the Catholics.

In fact in the 19th Century, two forms of Irish Nationalism arose as a result of persecution and oppression; one known as Irish Republicanism, supported by the Republicans who are purely Catholics, and who believed in force and violence to revive a secular, peaceful and free Ireland. whilst, the other form was more moderate, of elites who believed in non-violence to demand renunciation from the British Government, albeit under one kingdom.²

In point of fact, one can say that many overlapping reasons were the source of nationalism in Ireland, The latter derived from a reaction against British imperialism, and

¹ Githens-Mazer, Jonathan, ‘Cultural and Political Nationalism in Ireland: Myths and Memories of the Easter Rising’ (published Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2005), pp. 27.

<http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/1838/1/U206020.pdf>

²Kee Robert, *The Green Flag: A History of Irish Nationalism*, Penguin Books, England, 2001, pp 179-193.

from a desire to resuscitate a Gaelic culture. An attempt to overthrow the yoke of British tyranny united the different elements of Irish society. In fact Catholicism as a dominant religion in Ireland played a significant role in modeling the unity that was necessary for nationalism to become a mass movement in this country. Crudely then, religion was the basis or the pillar of Nationalism as a movement, as the Irish people were known for their faithfulness and loyalty for their religion, thus it was easier to dwindle the power of the British Government in Irish people's eyes especially in the period from 1860 to 1870.¹ And as a Gaelic Ireland increasingly lost its position and importance, and regressed much more to the western corners, a requirement for something that could reattach again the Irish masses was strongly needed and religion really knew how to fill this lacuna.

Thence, many scholars agreed upon the idea that Irish people will hold their identity and their unity tight as Pádraic Pearse said: 'Irish nationality is an ancient spiritual tradition, and the Irish nation could not die as long as that tradition lived in the heart of one faithful man or woman.'² Briefly then, it is salient that a strong nexus existed between Catholicism and Nationalism in Ireland in the 19th century.

2.2 Nationalism in Wales

Nationalism in Wales was not of much difference with that of Ireland, it was in fact the upshot of cultural appeals, the desire to revive both the Welsh language and the Welsh culture. Actually, the forays of the English and the Normans in the 12th century had partitioned Wales to many Kingdoms; the thing which allow the English Crown to forge a considerable fortune in Wales. Many rebellions and resurrections happened against the Kings of England aiming to keep a Welsh culture flourishing; however, England with no doubts knew how to crack these rebellions. It was with the same strategies that England knew how to defeat the ambitions of its neighbours.

¹ Larkin, Emmet, *The Consolidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1860-1870*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1987, pp

² Pearse, Pádraic, *Political Writings and Speeches*, Dublin, Phoenix, 1924, pp 304.

It was to be said that the Welsh feverish to get independence was aborted with its sense of Nationalism when a king of Welsh descendent positioned the English crown, King Henry VII, the thing which render the procedure of annexing Wales to the English crown smooth, ‘The end of the 13th century saw the end of the country's political independence, though it was not until the 16th century, with the Act of Union, 1536, that Wales was incorporated in England by a king of Welsh descent.’¹ According to many scholars, the belief of forging an independent Wales originated in the mid 19th century when the word ‘cenedlaetholdeb’ which means ‘Nationalism’ was used for the first time². And for Gwynfor Evans, the President of the Welsh Political Party ‘Plaid Cymru’, he said:”

The sixth century saw the earliest literature in the Welsh language, which has survived to our time. The end of the thirteenth century saw the end of the country's political independence, though it was not until the sixteenth century, with the Act of Union, 1536, that Wales was incorporated in England by a king of Welsh descent. Though the history of Welsh law ends there, the attempt to destroy the national language had no great success until the present century.”³

De facto, the proposition of ‘Home Rule’ by Joseph Chamberlain in 1886 was followed by a young Wales Movement called ‘Cymru Fydd’ which attempted to further the cause of

¹ Gwynfor Evans, M.P., Welsh Nationalist Aims 1966-1970 Published by Plaid Cymru. 8 Queen Street, Cardiff. Printed by Western Telegraph, Haverford. Pp 11-11.

<http://www.gwynfor.net/lluniau/welsh-nationalist-aims.pdf>

² *The Welsh Academy Encyclopedia of Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008

³ Gwynfor Evans, M.P., Welsh Nationalist Aims 1966-1970 Published by Plaid Cymru. 8 Queen Street, Cardiff. Printed by Western Telegraph, Haverford. Pp 11-11.

<http://www.gwynfor.net/lluniau/welsh-nationalist-aims.pdf>

Nationalism, in other words Welsh begun to ask for a devolved Assembly, a partial political liberty rather than a full independence, only this Movement broke down in 1896 because of personal contentions between the representatives of the North and the South, the East and the West of Wales. That is to say, these rifts between the elites were the major paralyse to help Wales to get its needed independence. However Britain with pragmatism was vigilant not to grant these three countries this portion of self governing for fear they will not participate in the First World War. In 1925 the emergence of a newly political trend appeared, 'the Plaid Cymru'¹, the latter produced few results that were impossible to be achieved in the 19thC.though the proposed Welsh Assembly knew a heavy defeat in 1979,The majority of the inhabitants of Wales had no pity for that, and it was stated that they had no heartiness to see their country having a national future.² Nevertheless, there was a Welsh enthusiasm crawling somewhere to see a further independent Wales.

2.3 Nationalism in Scotland

Scotland has always been seen as the most powerful nation within the British Monarch, for it positioned a strategic and an important economic sphere once in the world and recently in the European Union. It was once one of the world's leading industrial cities and now lies at the centre of the Greater Glasgow conurbation. Scottish waters consist of a large sector of the North Atlantic and the North Sea,³ containing the largest oil reserves in the European Union. This has given Aberdeen, the third-largest city in Scotland, the title of

¹Plaid Cymru, in full Plaid Cymru–The Party of Wales, also known as the Welsh Nationalist Party, political party that has sought self-government for Wales and worked for the protection and promotion of Welshlanguage, culture, and traditions.

<http://www.britannica.com/topic/Plaid-Cymru>

²*The Welsh Academy Encyclopedia of Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008

³ *The Scottish Adjacent Waters Boundaries Order*. London: The Stationery Office Limited. 1999. ISBN 0-11-059052-X. veiwed on .

Europe's oil capital. Though it had been conjoined to England by the Act of Union in 1707 to form Great Britain despite popular opposition and anti-union riots in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere; a separate legal system and distinct Scottish institutions continued to exist. As for Keating M., he stated that the Union has left the Scottish Legal system intact, with parliament passing separate Scottish laws in various fields.¹ Because of the continuing existence of educational, religious, and legal institutions, Scotland succeeded in keeping the continuation of Scottish culture and national identity sound in contrary to those in the remainder of the UK.

Scotland played a significant role in the WWI, when it sent half a million of men to the war, however, a quarter of those men died, and 150.000 were seriously wounded. A data which made Scotland's inhabitants rethink their union, whereas for the economic situation, it was badly affected by the war resulting deep social, cultural, economic, and political dislocations which did not recover until 1939. For the Second World War, things went better though there were extensive bombing on the Scottish cities.

Simply then, one can say that Scotland was much fortunate than the other components of the Kingdom, and it was until 1997, that Scotland came in with an official idea of self-government as a product of nationalistic movements. In this regard, Scottish nationalism was known for its components of a primordial nationalism since tight links of ethnic elements are between its people, the traditions and the symbols shared between them; furthermore, it is also said that Scottish nationalism reflects the economic nationalism, for the shared economic grievances, and for the relative deprivation also. However a discrepancy is registered regarding the Scottish Nationalism for its dual identities held by most Scots, in fact 'Britishness' and 'Scottishness' are mingled together to form a modern Scottish identity where there is a sentiment of pride towards the British institutions:

Another complication in considering the nature of Scottish nationalism is the dual identities held by most Scots. When Scotland and England voluntarily joined their

¹ Keating M. The Independence of Scotland: Self Government and The Shifting Politics of the Union, op.cit, United States, 2009, p.35.

respective parliaments in 1707, Scotland retained a number of important civic institutions including its legal and education systems, as well as its Church, and system of local government. The retention of these important institutions encouraged the continuance of a separate Scottish civic and cultural identity. At the same time, Scots took pride in, and strongly supported, common British institutions, such as the National Health Service and the British Broadcasting Corporation, especially during the 20th century.¹

Nationalism in its modern form, demanding an elected Scottish Parliament, is the product of the late 19th century when it emerged in parallel with similar movements across Europe.

A Scottish Home Rule Association was set up in 1886 following Gladstone's conversion to Irish Home Rule Bill, and another one after the First World War, with support from advanced Liberals, the labour movement and land reformers. The movement has often been dismissed as not real Nationalism since it was not separatist, but this is to assume that Nationalism must be state seeking. Thus, twenty Home Rule Bills were presented to Westminster claiming self-government attitude, however the Two World Wars was a cripple for these demands, but the agitation reached its peak in the aftermath of the end of the wars.

Due to the failure of the last bill, a break between Home Rulers and supporters for full independence, this led to the spout of the first explicitly Nationalist party in 1928,

¹Carol m. Glen, Nationalism, 'Identity and Scotland's Referendum', *Contemporary European Studies*, January, 2001, p 1-15.

turned after that to be called the Scottish National Party in 1932.¹ However, the concept of independence in those times was not accepted, and it became so till the times of the loss of the empire. Indeed, it was only when the empire faded and European Union² emerged, that clear independence project on offer was permitted. However, this was at a time when sustenance for the Nationalist Party was weak and at a very low point.

Despite all their ambivalences, nationalist movements and home rulers (supporters of institutional autonomy) served periodically and simultaneously to restore the Scottish identity, to challenge the unionist settlement, and to force unionist governments to extend recognition of Scottish distinctiveness and administrative, if not, political, devolution. They exposed a weakness in the unionist settlements, since Scottish opinion, in all cases has shown themselves in favour of self-government. These three formats of nationalism led to what we call “devolution”, in the 20th century; a threatening matter for the British Government, in a real sense.

3. Devolution, deconcentration and decentralization

These are three different conceptual meanings linked by one word which can generally define them, ‘transfer’. In fact, the same word is often used to describe different things, and Interpretations vary, and have led to different conceptual frameworks,

¹ Keating M, *The Independence of Scotland: Self Government and the Shifting Politics of Union*, Op. Cit, New York, P.43.

² European Union: The European Union (EU) is a political and economic partnership that represents a unique form of cooperation among sovereign countries. The Union is the latest stage in a process of integration begun after World War II, initially by six Western European countries, to foster Interdependence and make another war in Europe unthinkable. Today, the EU is composed of 28 member states, including most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and has helped to promote peace, stability, and economic prosperity throughout the European continent.

Kristin Archick, ‘Questions and Answers’, *Congressional Research Service*, vol.7-5700, January 19, 2016.

<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21372.pdf> retrieved on 13 March, 2015.

programs, implementation and implications. Such differences have invited debates and discussions.

3.1 Decentralisation

Decentralisation is the act of giving some of the power of a central government, organisation, etc, to smaller parts or organisations around the country¹. Moreover, “Decentralisation is usually referred to as the transfer of powers from central government to lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy², it also means according to Ribot the official power transfer which can take two main forms. Administrative decentralisation, also known as deconcentration, refers to a transfer to lower-level central government authorities, or to other local authorities who are upwardly accountable to the central government³, for Larson, “in contrast to the administrative decentralisation, political, or democratic decentralization refers to the transfer of authority to representative and downwardly accountable actors, such as elected local governments.”⁴ Thus, the definition of the political devolution in the context of UK is that bunches at various levels of government—central, meso and local—are enabled to settle on choices identified with what influences them.

¹ A. S. Hornby, Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, (7th Edition), Op.cit, p378.

² Crook, R. And Manor, J. ‘Democracy and Decentralization in South Asia and West Africa: Participation, Accountability and Performance’, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Dec. 1998, pp. 271-304.
<http://www.gsdr.org/>

³ Ribot Jesse C., *Democratic Decentralization of Natural Resources: Institutionalizing Popular Participation*. World Resources Institute, Washington, DC, 2002, p 4.

⁴ Larson, A.M. *Democratic Decentralization in the Forestry Sector: Lessons Learned from Africa, Asia and Latin America*, Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), Earthscan, London, UK, Feb 2004, p3
http://www.cifor.org/publications/pdf_files/interlaken/anne_larson.pdf(viewed on 14th March 2015)

3.2 Deconcentration

For deconcentration, there is also an apparent set of conflicting views, such as for Sayer, it is the process by which the agents of central government control are relocated and geographically dispersed.”¹, and for Ribot, it is defined as follows “Administrative decentralisation, i.e. a transfer to lower-level central government authorities, or to other local authorities who are upwardly accountable to the central government.”², thus for Ribot deconcentration is the equivalent of Administrative decentralisation. It was also stated that Deconcentration is a term used to describe the process whereby a central organisation transfers some of its responsibilities to lower-level units within its jurisdiction. This process redistributes the balance of power and authority between the central administration and the other units in varying proportions.³

3.3 Devolution

As far as my topic is concerned with, devolution with its largest meanings is the transfer of power of central government towards other entities, the case of Great Britain with its neighbouring countries, as it is defined as follows, devolution is “The transfer of governance responsibility for specified functions to sub-national levels, either publicly or privately owned, that are largely outside the direct control of the central government.”⁴

¹Sayer, J., C. Elliott, E. Barrow, S. Gretzinger, S. Maginnis, T. McShane and G. Shepherd Implications for biodiversity conservation of decentralized forest resources management. In *The Politics of Decentralization: Forests, Power and People*, eds. C. J. Pierce Colfer & D. Capistrano. London: Earthscan, 2005, pp.121-137

² Ribot Jesse C., *Democratic Decentralization of Natural Resources: Institutionalizing Popular Participation*. World Resources Institute, Washington, DC, 2002, p.4.

³ Aucoin, P. and H. Bakvis (1988). *The Centralization-Decentralization Conundrum: Organisation and Management in the Canadian Government*, Halifax (NS), The Institute for Research on Public Policy.

⁴ Ferguson, I. and Chandrasekharan, C. ‘Paths and Pitfalls of Decentralization for Sustainable Forest Management: Experiences of the Asia-Pacific Region’, *The politics of decentralization: forests, people and power*, Colfer, C. J. P.;Capistrano, D., 2005, pp. 63-85. ISBN 1-84407-205-3.

However for other politicians, devolution is described or rather associated with political decentralization. It is considered as a form of decentralisation. As for Gregersen and others it is defined as “One form of administrative decentralisation which transfers specific decision making powers from one level of government to another (which could be from lower level to higher level of government, in the case of federations, or government transfers decision-making powers to entities of the civil society. Regional or provincial governments, for example, become semi autonomous and administer forest resources according to their own priorities and within clear geographical boundaries under their control. Most political decentralisation is associated with devolution.”¹ these are the definitions of devolution from different lenses, so how devolution in its real sense is defined when it comes to the context of the UK?

3.3.1 Introducing devolution in the United Kingdom

Different are the questions that can be asked in order to find a definition that can fit the real meaning of devolution in the United Kingdom, the ghost that breakthrough the stability of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Devolution is the transfer of power from a central government to subnational (e.g., state, regional, or local) authorities. Devolution usually occurs through conventional statutes rather than through a change in a country's constitution; thus, unitary systems of government that have devolved powers in this manner are still considered unitary rather than federal systems, because the powers of the subnational authorities can be withdrawn by the central government at any time in contrary to Federal countries which are united states; however, governed by a written codified constitution.

Actually, Devolution became a major political issue in the United Kingdom at least as far back as the First Home Rule Bill introduced by the then Prime Minister, William Gladstone, in 1886 (formally known as the Government of Ireland Bill). It was from

¹Gregersen, H., Contreras-Hermosilla, A., White, A. and Phillips, L. Forest Governance in Federal Systems: An Overview of Experiences and Lessons, Center for International Forestry Research, Center for International Forestry Research, March 12, 2004, p4

Web site: www.cifor.cgiar.org

Ireland that the initial impetus came, when Ireland wanted UK to extend 'Home Rule' for its other parts, but it was until 1998 that Ireland succeeded to reintroduce devolution and make it possible under the Belfast Agreement or 'Good Friday' as the Irish prefer to call it.¹In the meantime devolution was called for both Scotland and Wales.

To better understand the impulse of devolution process within the United Kingdom, one needs to understand the history of these nations, indeed, devolution is associated per se with the political tension and even with the violent conflicts especially those happening in Ireland which rapidly arose in the late 19th century, and in the wake of the twentieth century; Furthermore, with the controversy divisions within the political parties and elites, and predominantly because of the nationalist movements which Britain outshined to avert them rather allowing them to threaten the domestic politics that it always feared.

To back up this idea, the process of devolution in the United Kingdom is neither new nor necessarily complete. Attempts to provide Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales with degrees of legislative autonomy have existed in various forms since the 19th Century; however the present Labour government has been the first government to succeed in providing all of these countries with home-rule.²

3.3.2The evolution of devolution

In the united Kingdom, devolution meaning is connected with the legal granting of powers from the Parliament of UK or it combines self-rule with shared rule (through Westminster), to the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales, to Northern Ireland Assembly and the London Assembly and to their associated executive bodies as the Scottish Government, the Welsh Government, the Northern Ireland Executive and the Greater London Authority.

it is indeed a major event in the Scottish politics, it was described by Hazell as an 'extraordinary achievement', "as a set of decisions to transform a highly centralised unitary

¹ Dr. Andrew Blick, King's College London

²Dr. Andrew Blick, Devolution in the UK: Historical Perspective, King's College London, p.3.

<http://www.local.gov.uk/documents/>

state into a devolved and quasi-federal system of government”¹, in fact, there are many assumptions that agree upon the idea, that UK after a complete devolution will become a Federal State, especially when these countries tasted the fruits of devolution, they will systematically claim for total independence. As for Dicey he stated in his *The Law of Constitution* that devolution differs from federalism, for that Federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of coordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by a constitution² in contrary to Britain which does not have a written constitution with fixed laws and Articles, thus it can easily grant them --Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland-- with degrees of power as it could easily remove them, this was seen unfair. Thus legislation creating devolved parliaments or assemblies can be repealed or amended by central government.

Long before the term ‘devolution’ came to prominence in the 1990s; the UK enjoyed an ‘asymmetrical’ system of government. Scotland possessed a distinct legal, educational and local-government system and its own established Church. Northern Ireland had a devolved Parliament from 1921, Suspended in 1972. Wales had a Secretary of State from 1964 and the Welsh Office became operational the following year. Consequently, while the UK was often described before the 1990s as having a ‘unitary’ system, it was not as homogeneous as this term might imply.

3.3.3 Devolution in Ireland

The process of devolution for Northern Ireland has been a far more complex and fragile process than has been experienced in Wales and Scotland, regarding the trouble that besieged the country in 1921. Even though granted its devolution the Northern Ireland

¹ Hazell R., *The State and The Nation: The First Year of Devolution*, Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2000, p.3.

² A.V Dicey, *Introduction to the study of the Law of the Constitution*, 5th Edition, Macmillan, London, 1897, p.87.

<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/1684> viewed on 15 March, 2015.

Parliament (Stormont) acting as a devolved Legislative body was representing only the unionists Matters rather than of the nationalists.

As it was developed in the first chapter, Ireland was the first to be granted devolution because of the religious schism, and because of famine and poverty, Irish's struggle did not apprehend at all since they got their own Parliament in 1921, which was abolished after in 1972 as a result of worker' strikes with the British military forces.

Another Ireland Assembly was elected on June 1973, following the Sunningdale¹ Agreement, but collapsed after, due to Ulster worker's strike. Due to the outbreak of peace Laws in Ireland, genuine devolution seemed difficult to be achieved. An Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed on 15 November 1985, resulting security, political and judicial cooperation; besides, more progress reigned after the Provisional IRA² ceasefires in 1994 and 1997. One year after, in 1998, Northern Ireland Assembly was founded after the Good Friday Agreement, aiming to join Nationalist and the Unionist together to govern Northern Ireland, however the Assembly was abolished for the second time.

¹Sunningdale Agreement: was an attempt to establish a power-sharing Northern Ireland Executive and a cross-border Council of Ireland. The Agreement was signed at Sunningdale Park located in Sunningdale, Berkshire, on 9 December 1973.

BBC News. 9 December 1973. Retrieved 24 May 2015.

²IRA: Irish Republican Army (IRA), also called Provisional Irish Republican Army, republican paramilitary organization seeking the establishment of a republic, the end of British rule in Northern Ireland, and the reunification of Ireland.

The IRA was created in 1919 as a successor to the Irish Volunteers, a militant nationalist organization founded in 1913.

Kimberly Cowell-Meyers, Irish Republican Army (IRA): Irish Military Organization.

<http://www.britannica.com/topic/Irish-Republican-Army>, retrieved on 22 March, 2015.

One can see the progress on the Irish soil when the two once opposed parties, the Catholic, anti-Unionist party Sin Fein¹ headed by Gerry Adams and the other Protestant Party, the DUP, The Democratic Unionist Party met for the first time together and declared that a devolved government would be returning to Northern Ireland, by consequence the executive power was restored.

Patently, because of the destabilisation in Ireland, the Assembly had been aborted thrice times. And it was until 12 May, 2011 that the fourth Assembly was established.

3.3.4. Devolution in Wales

In fact, Devolution in Wales germinate from the sense of cultural nationalism with the emergence of the nationalist political party Plaid Cymru, who wanted first to make Wales a Welsh speaking country only, What mattered the most was the fact that the Welsh people did refuse the English domination: Beyond political and economic matters, what was at stake was the survival and the supremacy of the Welsh culture and language within the Welsh nation. As Charlotte Aull Davies, believes that Wales's distinctive history, culture and language have played a major role in the expansion of Welsh nationalist parties. According to her, beyond political, economic and administrative issues, it is the culture and language of a country which makes a people proud of its identity, and which makes it feel different and culturally independent from other nations/cultures.²

¹ Sinn Fein: (Irish: "We Ourselves" or "Ourselves Alone") political wing of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA). Sinn Féin, organized in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, is a nationalist party in Northern Ireland, representing Roman Catholics who want to achieve a united Ireland through whatever means are necessary, including violence. The party was led by Gerry Adams from 1983.

Paul Arthur, Sinn Fein Political Party, Ireland and the United Kingdom,.

<http://www.britannica.com/topic/Sinn-Fein>, retrieved on 22 March, 2015.

² Charlotte Aull Davies, *Welsh Nationalism in the 20th century: the ethnic option and the modern state* (April 1989; Praeger Publishers).

In 1979, a real trial of strength began between Wales and the British newly-elected Conservative government. Led by Margaret Thatcher, the Conservatives won the 1979 General elections and one of the things they had promised to do in case of victory was to create a Welsh-language television channel. But, after their victory, the Conservatives went back on what they had promised to the Welsh, arguing that Welsh nationalism was losing of its strength and influence. This of course angered the Welsh population deeply, and the reactions that followed clearly showed to what extent the creation of that Welsh-language channel was of importance for Welsh people. The following year, in 1980, about two thousand Welsh citizens refused to pay the TV license fee in protest against the government's refusal to create that Welsh-language channel. Even more determined, former President of Plaid Cymru Gwynfor Evans threatened to go on a hunger strike if the promise of creating a Welsh-language TV channel was not kept by the Conservative government. This situation lasted for a couple of months during which the situation between Wales and the British government was rather tense. By September 1981, Gwynfor Evans addressed a speech to thousands of activists in order to maintain their determination. Soon after, the government had no choice but to yield, and by the end of 1982, the Welsh Four Channel (S4C) was created¹. This does not but illustrates how much Welsh people respect and love their nation and national identity.

Despite the failure of popular political movements such as CymruFydd, many institutions had been created, such as the National Eisteddfod (1861), the University of Wales (1893), the National Library of Wales (1911) and the Welsh Guards (1915) were created. An expedition reached in removing the Anglican Church in Wales; hence it was significant in the development of Welsh political consciousness.

Plaid Cymru was formed in 1925 with the goal of making a newly Welsh country speaking wholly Welsh, but it gained fewer voices in the election. It was not of far success. In 1949, an appointed Council for Wales and Monmouthshire was established in 1949 to "ensure the government is adequately informed of the impact of government activities on

¹John Davies, *A history of Wales*, Penguin, Revised Edition, January 2007, p.667.

the general life of the people of Wales"¹. The council had 27 members nominated by local authorities in Wales, the University of Wales, National Eisteddfod Council and the Welsh Tourist Board. A post of Minister of Welsh Affairs was created in 1951 and the post of Secretary of State for Wales and the Welsh Office were established in 1964 leading to the abolition of the Council for Wales and Monmouthshire.²

By the way, in 1979, a referendum was held in Wales asking the people whether they wanted a more autonomous Wales with its own assembly. The Welsh voted —no! in majority, showing that they might not have been ready at the time to make this step towards devolution. Another referendum asking the same question was held again in 1997, and this time Wales said —yes. But it was not a frank —yes, as 50.3% of the voters only did vote in favour of the proposition. Nonetheless, the Government of Wales 1998 Act was passed, and the Welsh Assembly created the following year. Though it wasn't a frankly yes, but it is patent that the Welsh people favoured more autonomy for their country with its own culture, customs and traditions, than they did before.³

While for The National Assembly for Wales, as a consequence of the Government of Wales Act 1998, it possesses the power to determine how the government budget for Wales is spent and administered. The 1998 Act was followed by the Government of Wales Act 2006 which created an executive body, the Welsh Assembly Government; separate

¹Records of the Council for Wales and Monmouthshire, 1949-1969. <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> viewed on 28 April, 201

²Council For Wales (membership), HC Deb, 26 April 1949, vol. 464, cc11-4.

<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1949/apr/26/council-for-wales-membership>. viewed on 14 May, 2015.

³ Andrew. Blick, Devolution in the UK: Historial Perspective, King's collodge London, APPG, p2. <http://www.local.gov.uk/> accessed on 13 March, 2016.

from the legislature, the National Assembly for Wales. It also conferred on the National Assembly some limited legislative powers; But the Assembly also has the competence to make assembly measures concerning culture, history buildings, sport, tourism, and the Welsh language¹. The assembly members in 2007 were constituted of: 26 representatives for the Labour Party, which is about 43% of all the seats, 15 representatives for Plaid Cymru, which is about 25% of all the seats, 12 representatives for the Conservative party, 6 representatives for the Liberal Democrats, and 1 independent member.²

It is axiomatic to say that the Welsh devolution is not likely to stop, but rather to continue further. As in March, 2011, a new referendum was held asking the Welsh people: “Do you want the Assembly now to be able to make laws on all matters in the 20 subject areas it has powers for?” The result of this referendum was clear as 63.5% of people voted yes.³

With this devolution referendum, the Welsh Assembly acquired direct law-making regardless the British Parliament as far as legislative powers are concerned. Now what is interesting about this referendum is that unlike the one in 1997 where, yes-voters were mostly inhabitants of the most Welsh-speaking areas, a majority voted , yes in 2011 in all Welsh constituencies except in Monmouthshire.⁴

A Commission on Devolution in Wales was set up in October 2011 to consider further devolution of powers from London. The commission issued a report on the devolution of fiscal powers in November 2012 and a report on the devolution of legislative

¹ Ibid. p. 7.

² Sylvain Scaglia. *The role and importance of the Welsh language in Wales’s cultural independence within the United Kingdom*. 2012. P.11.

<http://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-00719099>

³ Wales Government Official Website – Welsh Referendum 2011
<http://wales.gov.uk/legislation/referendumpowers/?lang=en>. Retrieved on 12 May, 2015.

⁴ The Electoral Commission - Referendum on the law-making powers of the National Assembly for Wales
<http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/elections/results/referendums/wales>. Retrieved on 25 May, 2015.

powers in March 2014. The fiscal recommendations formed the basis of the Wales Act 2014.

So it seems that Wales is still on the path towards more devolution. We may guess that this trend will not reverse if we take a look at the Scottish example. But Wales seems more concerned about cultural matters; what seems to matter the most to the Welsh people is the preservation and perpetuation of what makes them Welsh: their language and culture.

3.3.5. Devolution in Scotland

Unlikely the other part of Great Britain, Scotland has never been conquered by England; however both countries voluntarily united. Granting self-government as a product of democracy to Scotland, will evidently lay down serious and considerable problems, bearing in mind that the United Kingdom without Scotland will be amputated from 10% of its GDP¹. To that degree at least, devolution appears to have weakened the Union.

Actually, for its entire existence, the Labour party has officially been committed to devolution for Scotland in 1958-1974. The Liberals have supported it since Gladstone's time. At first the SNP sought only the establishment of a devolved Scottish assembly, but in 1942 they changed this to support a full independence. This caused the resignation of John McCormick² from the SNP, when he formed the Scottish Covenant Association. This

¹ G.D.P. total market value of the goods and services produced by a country's economy during a specific period of time: It includes all final goods and services—that is, those that are produced by the economic agents located in that country regardless of their ownership and that are not resold in any form. It is used throughout the world as the main measure of output and economic activity.

Peter Bondanerko, Gross Domestic Product, economics.

<http://www.britannica.com/topic/gross-domestic-product>

² Michael Keating, *The Independence Of Scotland: Self Government and the Shifting Politics of Union*, op.cit, New York, 2009, p.43.

body proved to be the biggest mover in favour of the formation of a Scottish assembly, collecting over two million signatures in the late 1940s and early 1950s and attracting support from across the political spectrum. However, without formal links to any of the political parties it withered, devolution and the establishment of an assembly were put on the political back burner.

Thus, History took an ironic twist when the Labour Government led by James Callaghan lost an SNP-inspired vote of no confidence on the issue. This ushered in 18 years of Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher¹, and then John Major², who both strongly resisted any proposal for devolution for either Scotland or Wales. As they were known for their resistance to any political change as it was for the Euro problematic whether to join the Euro zone or not;³ ‘flexit’ or ‘Brexit’.

¹Margaret Thatcher, in full Margaret Hilda Thatcher, Baroness Thatcher of Kesteven, née Margaret Hilda Roberts (born on October 13, 1925, Grantham, Lincolnshire, England—died on April 8, 2013, London) British Conservative Party politician and prime minister (1979–90), Europe’s first woman prime minister. The only British prime minister in the 20th century to win three consecutive terms and, at the time of her resignation, Britain’s longest continuously serving prime minister since 1827, she accelerated the evolution of the British economy from statism to liberalism and became, by personality as much as achievement, the most renowned British political leader since Winston Churchill.

Hugo Young, Margaret Thatcher.

<http://www.britannica.com/biography/Margaret-Thatcher>, retrieved on 13 March, 2015.

² John Major: (born 29 March 1943) is a British Conservative Party politician who was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1990 to 1997. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Foreign Secretary in the Thatcher Government and was the Member of Parliament for Huntingdon from 1979 to 2001.

³Michael Keating, *The Independence Of Scotland: Self Government and the Shifting Politics of Union*, op.cit, New York, 2009, p.182.

In May 1997, the Labour government of Tony Blair was elected with a promise of creating devolved institutions in Scotland. In late 1997, a referendum was held which resulted in a "yes" vote. The newly created Scottish Parliament (as a result of the Scotland Act 1998) had powers to make primary legislation in certain 'devolved' areas of policy, in addition to some limited tax varying powers (which to date have not been exercised). Other policy areas remained 'reserved' for the UK Government and parliament.

Devolution for Scotland was justified on the basis that it would make the government more responsive to the wishes of the Scottish people. It was argued that the population of Scotland felt detached from the Westminster government (largely because of the policies of the Conservative governments led by Margaret Thatcher, and John Major. However, devolution for Scotland has brought to the fore the West Lothian question which is a complaint that devolution for Scotland and Wales without devolution for England, has created a situation where MPs in the British parliament, including Welsh and Scottish MPs, can vote on matters affecting England alone but on those same matters Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland can make their own decisions.

A shaking referendum on Scottish independence was held on 18 September, 2014, The question asked, to which voters were required to vote either yes or no, was: 'Should Scotland be an independent country?'

As a matter of fact, The Scottish referendum was a highly significant political event for the UK. 4,283,938 people were eligible to vote in the Scottish independence referendum, and 3,623,344 votes were cast, a turnout of 84.6 per cent. 1,617,989 (44.7 per cent of valid votes cast) voted Yes; 2,001,926 (55.3 per cent) voted No.¹

This data was more poignant for UK government than it was soothing for the Scottish people, because a yes Scotland was the main drive group for independence, the latter was

¹ Results published by Electoral Management Board for Scotland, www.electionsscotland.info. The referendum question was 'Should Scotland be an independent country?'

the driving force to vote for a free Scotland, whereas another group, was rather leaning towards 'better together', and union was their main interest. The referendum in fact came with outstanding issues which included: which currency an independent Scotland would use, EU membership, North Sea Oil and public expenditure. Wherever the statistics of such a referendum were, and whatever were the results out of this poll, Scotland will never recede to get its independence.

In fact there is much to say of this referendum, which was and remain an important event in the history of the United Kingdom. Queen Elizabeth II issued a politically neutral statement following the referendum, stating that it was "a result that all of us throughout the United Kingdom will respect". She said that she and her family would support all efforts to "work constructively for the future of Scotland and indeed all parts of this country"¹.

Whereas, to the Prime Minister David Cameron said he was "delighted" with the result, adding: "it would have broken my heart to see our United Kingdom come to an end and I know that this sentiment was shared not just by the people across our country but also around the world".² While attending a public event with Michael Bloomberg later in September, Cameron told Bloomberg that the Queen had "purred down the line" when he informed her of the result. Cameron admitted he was "very embarrassed" for revealing the Queen's political view, which she had guarded in her own comments.

Alex Salmond, the Scottish First Minister and leader of the SNP, stated that he accepted the "verdict of the people" and called upon "all Scots to follow suit in accepting the democratic verdict of the people of Scotland"³. He called the referendum a "triumph for the democratic process and for participation in politics". Salmond confirmed that following the result he would step down as SNP leader and as Scottish First Minister, saying that "for

¹10 September 2014, Scottish referendum: Queen urges referendum 'respect'.

<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-29287662>

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

me as leader my time is nearly over, but for Scotland the campaign continues and the dream shall never die".

Despite the referendum terminated with a majority for “No” voices, the SNP as ambitious members who usually put the independence for Scotland in bold, decided not to surrender the defeat which one cannot conceive likewise because the results were not of much difference. However claims for further devolution were initiated in the aftermath of the results. (see table in page 140)

In June 2014 the leaders of the Scottish Conservative, Scottish Labour and Scottish Liberal Democrat parties issued a joint statement which stated that the power is firstly and lastly to the Scottish people, as it is for them to decide whether to further this unity or to abort it, as they agreed upon the fact that the pooling and sharing of resources across the United Kingdom is to Scotland’s benefit in a partnership of four nations with four identities can flourish and be celebrated, as they kept the belief that the two sides (Scotland and the United Kingdom) have been more or less strengthened the ties since the advent of devolution when they argued that they support a strong Scottish Parliament in a strong United Kingdom and that they support the further strengthening the powers of the Parliament.¹

Conclusion

If self –government has been a success for United Kingdom’s components, then the Anglo-Scottish union is in serious difficult. And this is not due to the profound cultural divide between England and Scotland, but it is because in the last decades Scotland is rebuilding itself as a political and an economic community, and the ideology and practices of the old unionism have been weakened. The attempt of withdrawal of Scotland from the United Kingdom, and the changes made to the constitution will be for sure the end of a unity and the beginning perhaps of a federal state as many stated. Moreover, while

¹ John Curtice, ‘So Where Does Scotland Stands on More Devolution’, *ScotCen Social Research*, pp.1- 10.

<http://www.scotcen.org.uk/media/282285/ssa13-devo-max-briefing-report.pdf> retrieved on 26 April 2015.

Scotland is leaving UK, the latter would evidently lose an important financial support, since the hydrocarbons fields are particularly based on the Scottish territorial waters with a level of 96% for the petroleum production and for 52% for those of Gas production. But still to be a controversial matter that whether the United Kingdom would remain as one emerging force, or this unity would dissolve and then creating one federal state.

Bearing in mind that the creation of a new Scottish state, will evidently lead to considerable problems that would be emerging, such as the currency of it as a newly state, its membership to the European Union and also the question of the sharing dept. Thus, no one can deny that the divorce with the union will be certainly the source of political, social and economic problems.

Thus the debated question is confined on whether the UK is becoming a federal state or it remains a unitary state after the Scottish nationalist temptation in 2014. Whether this union will evaporate or will retain its unity.

Chapter III

*The UK is becoming a
federal state*

Introduction

Once again, in the 19th century, A.V. Dicey¹ in his writing *The Law of Constitution* stated that Unitarianism in short, means the concentration of the strength of the state in the hands of one visible sovereign power be that Parliament or Czar. By contrast, federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of coordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution.

Clearly then, Dicey did well explain the definition of Federalism, aiming to say that the sovereignty of Parliament meant that the united kingdom had to be a unitary state because Parliament did not share its supreme legislative authority with any other person or body, however in a federal state, supreme authority would lie in a written constitutional document, it would divide power between the central authority and the regions, provinces or states. Thus it is worthwhile to consider the structure of the UK to establish whether any divisions of power between different governmental spheres may be identified. Thus, since the structure of UK is not a uniform as it is supposed because it is a union of countries that were once separate, this structure would it fit the parameters of a federal state or not?

In the aftermath of devolution many questions had been engendered among politicians, as in Paul Cairney's book, 'Has Devolution been a success?'², for Alan Trench

¹A.V.Dicey : Albert Venn "A. V." (4 February 1835 – 7 April 1922) was a British jurist and constitutional theorist, and was the younger brother of Edward Dicey. He is most widely known as the author of *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (1885). The principles it expounds are considered part of the uncodified British constitution. He became Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford and a leading constitutional scholar of his day. Dicey popularised the phrase "rule of law",^[1] although its use goes back to the 17th century.

² Paul Cairney, *The Scottish Political system since Devolution*, Imprint Academic, UK, 2011, p.241.

said: 'has Devolution Made a Difference?'¹; However different and endless are the answers to such queries.

Devolution is still considered as a new-born issue. After being discussed for more than a century, it has been part of the constitution of the United Kingdom for only five years. Thus, to try to reach a judgment about it after such a short time is a questionable assignment. Be that as it may, we do now know enough to shape an interval evaluation about devolution as Labour has brought it into being. In fact, numerous inquiries stay, some of which will need to anticipate that shift of force and some of which will need to anticipate access to authority reports (still twenty-something years away)². In any case, we do now have a sensible feeling of the topic, on the off chance that daily papers are the principal unfinished copy of history.

Moreover, judging the impact of devolution is not something that could be said in two sentences, for the changes it has brought about cannot be described in one or two neat phrases; however, they vary from territory to territory. Thus, in order to get a constant conclusion about whether devolution did bring success to the United Kingdom or not, it is better to scrutinize the main phases that devolution passed by, particularly the 2014' Scottish referendum. As Alan Trench said in his book "...deciding on 'success' involves deciding what devolution should have achieved, and views about what devolution's objectives were, or should have been, vary widely."³

Firstly, devolution has rapidly turned into a settled part of the UK's established scene, broadly acknowledged over the UK as a "right" for Scotland and Wales. Indeed, it charges broad political backing from all major parties as for Plaid Cymru in Wales, or to the Scottish Nationalist Party or to the Sinn Fein for Ireland. The questions about it are

¹Trench, A., 'The More Things Change, The More They Stay The Same: Intergovernmental Relations Four Years On', in A. Trench (ed.), *Has Devolution Made a Difference? The state of the Nations 2004*, Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004).

² Ibid, p. 2.

³ Ibid.

related either to issues confronted by the peace process in Northern Ireland, or to its expansion to the locales of Britain or rather England. Second, the forecasts made before devolution by numerous figures, counting strikingly Tam Dalyell and John Major, additionally to such patriots as Tom Nairn, agree upon the idea that devolution would lead in short measure to established tumult and to the deterioration of the United Kingdom, have not been acknowledged and now appear to be very doomsayer or idealistic, contingent upon one's perspective. Third, spilling out of the initial two, devolution has had a surprisingly smooth ride so far. Fourth, in light of that devolution remains basically untested. Work's control of the administrations in London and its predominance of those in Edinburgh and in Cardiff implies that genuine intergovernmental pressures have not yet created. Until there is genuine political clash between organisations and parties, which will require a change of government or genuine weight on their accounts, hard inquiries concerning devolution will stay unanswered. In the light of these recommendations and regardless of a craving to keep up due scholarly alert, there are still few conclusions that can become to about the record as such.

To say in brief, devolution brought success, as it dragged anomalies which are initiated in this chapter as for the Barnett Formula, and The West Lothian Question, two unresolved problems that left the United Kingdom in a Dire-straight. Whilst it granted a self-governing issues for Wales and much more for Scotland as it escorted peace for Northern Ireland in days of plunge. If this devolution did turn up with changes for the UK's constitution, knowing that a probable written constitution for UK, would evidently bring an end to Unitarianism. So how the union of the United Kingdom could be seen in the future?

1. The future of devolution after the Scottish referendum

Proposals for devolutionary change in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and England have been made at what appears to be dizzying speed since Scottish referendum resulted in September 2014. We have considered what these developments mean for the future of devolution across the United Kingdom, and have found that the settlements have been approached in a bilateral fashion and without much consideration of what each means

for the future of the Union as a whole. In part this is due to the asymmetric nature of the UK's territorial relationships and existing devolution settlements, and reflects the state of debate in each of the constituent nations of the UK: Scottish devolution has been able to move further and faster because many of the key issues had already been debated fully during the referendum campaign.¹

In this essence, tasting the sweetness of a fruitful devolution, the three major component of UK will probably claim for more other forms of devolution, if not for a complete divorce with the union, while it is a threat for the political life in the United Kingdom, sincerely for the independence of Scotland which will certainly bring UK to the chaotic ending that will damage its prestigious image, as it will most and foremost determinate its economy.

Clearly then, If this country run over fame for centuries, to gain an impotent picture in the world, it gathered as much loyalty as it could, but Scotland can easily broke those pillars, if it will manage another consultation for independence. As it was expected then, after the Scottish referendum in Scotland, further political manifestos emerged on what concerned further devolution to Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales and they were as follows: legislation giving the Northern Ireland Assembly the power to set the main rate of corporation tax in respect of certain trading profits from April 2017 has passed both Houses and awaits Royal Assent.²

For Scotland there was a cross-party convenience which lay upon agreed recommendations for further devolution of powers to the Scottish Parliament. Actually, the recommendations will deliver more financial, welfare and taxation powers, strengthening

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¹<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmpolcon/700/70003.htm>

²House of Commons Political and Constitutional Reform Committee, *The future of Devolution after the Scottish Referendum*, London, 23 March 2015, p. 11.

the Scottish Parliament within the United Kingdom. All the parties accepted to join this commission in which they found a compromise satisfactory to both parties. Whereas for Wales the Silk Commission was established to rehearse the financial and constitutional arrangements in Wales, but after the remit, the leaders of the political parties tabled to jibe on a further devolution for Wales.¹

Regarding Ireland, it was until 23rd December 2014 that the agreement upon the peace process was reached, moreover other issues was tabled to reform Ireland institutions, restructuring the welfare and benefits system in Northern Ireland, and devolving certain fiscal powers, including powers over the rate of corporation tax, to the Northern Ireland Assembly.² The Stormont House Agreement is the latest in a series of agreements stemming from the 1998 Belfast Agreement which provide for further devolution to the Northern Ireland Assembly and contribute to the continuing operation of the Northern Ireland peace process.

It was then argued that if devolution in its own is good, more devolution would be better as Callaghan said:

Professor Jim Gallagher, of Nuffield College, Oxford, took issue with *“the simple proposition that devolution is good and therefore more devolution must be better”*, which he said was not the right answer to the challenge set in finding a new devolution settlement *“that is consistent with the maintenance of the union that was described and defended in the campaign itself”*. The settlement which had to be found, he said, needed to be *Consistent with the structure of the UK as a political union, with the integrated economy of the UK, which was defended during the campaign, and [. . .] a social*

¹ Powers for a purpose: Towards a lasting devolution settlement for Wales, Wales Office, Cm 9020, February 2015

² Northern Ireland Office, The Stormont House Agreement and The Stormont House Agreement—Financial Annex, December 2014

union, that is to say social solidarity inside the United Kingdom, because without all of those the UK will not be stable in the long run? That is what the people voted for, that is what they were offered and that is what they should get.¹

1.1 Devolutions' impact on United Kingdom

It was said that devolution was a risky event for the union of UK, concerns have been growing about the effect that devolution has had on the stability of the Union as a whole. These concerns were brought into sharp relief by the Scottish independence referendum in 2014, and by the subsequent process leading to the Scotland Act 2016 with its associated fiscal framework. 'We detailed our concerns about these events in our report *Proposals for the devolution of further powers to Scotland*².

Many critics of the devolution settlement have called for clarity and stability in a written constitution. However, such a constitution would be based on the sovereignty of the people, not of parliament, as it was stated in the 1980s through the charter named

The future of devolution after the Scottish referendum, Eleventh Report of Session 2014–15, House of Commons, Political and Constitutional Reform Committee, by authority of the House of Commons London: The Stationery Office limited, 29 March 2015, p. 13.

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmsscota/835/83502.htm> . Retrieved on 23 may 2015.

² UK and Scottish Governments, 'The agreement between the Scottish government and the United Kingdom government on the Scottish government's fiscal framework' (February 2016): <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-agreement-between-the-scottish-government-and-the-unitedkingdom-government-on-the-scottish-governments-fiscal-framework> [retrieved] 23 May 2015.

Unlock Democracy which is a survey that assess to what extent the parties are committed to democratic reform¹.

The recent creation of devolution in each of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland has introduced a radical change in the government of the United Kingdom since 1922. Knowing that devolution ended officially in 2010, but its existence is still fresh. Thus, knowing its impact on the UK is to be considered just as hypotheses. When Northern Ireland got its Parliament and the Irish Republic left the Union, questions started to be raised on whether it is the end of a union or a stepping stone to more strength for a national identity. Whichever argument is correct; this was an introduction to make the UK components apart.

Eventually, the judgement on devolution whether it has strengthened or weakened the Union is related to the public opinion. To strengthen it, the devolved bodies need to be seen as a success by the people they seek to serve and people's sense of commitment to a sense of "Britishness" needs to be enhanced, In order to keep Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland within the UK. If the devolved bodies are seen as a failure, or if they come to encourage a separate sense of identity and a taste for national independence, or, indeed, if they create a feeling of resentment in England, then the Union will undoubtedly be weakened. (see table in page142)

Of all the recent moves towards devolution, nothing appeared serious and momentous, since the creation of a separate Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh which becomes a serious threat, later on. In Scotland, the second largest component of the United Kingdom, a parliament has been created that can pass laws across a wide range of responsibilities including health, education and criminal justice. In short, what for nearly 300 years had been considered the best way of managing the Union between Scotland and

¹ Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: The Shifting of Politics of union*, op.cit, New York, 2009.p. 162.

England has simply been overturned. In addition there was a decline of “Britishness”¹ in both North and South of the border between 1997 and 1999, finally, whether devolution is eventually judged a success depends on the skills and actions of the politicians who have been entrusted by the public with the task of making it work. Since evolution had widely reflected the constitution, it is crucial then to know much more about the constitution and constitutional anomalies in UK

2. The Constitution in the UK

After the union, many Scottish Whigs connived in this narrative, adopting English constitutional history as their own while denuding it from its extreme chauvinistic and exceptionalist characteristics.

It is remarkable that Britain is a monarch shaped with different features, regarding the other monarchies in the world. Thus, there is one feature which makes Great Britain different from other countries that its constitution² is an unwritten or rather, it is an uncodified one.

Actually, this characteristic is not regarded as modern at all, certainly there are rules, regulations, principles and procedures for the running of the country, but there is no single

¹ Britishness: is the state or quality of being British, or of embodying British characteristics, and is used to refer to that which binds and distinguishes the British people and forms the basis of their unity and identity, or to explain expressions of British culture—such as habits, behaviours, or symbols—that have a common, familiar or iconic quality readily identifiable with the United Kingdom. Dialogue about the legitimacy and authenticity of Britishness is intrinsically tied with power relations and politics; in terms of nationhood and belonging, expressing or recognising one's Britishness provokes a range of responses and attitudes, such as advocacy, indifference, or rejection.

² constitution: the set of political principles by which a state or organization is governed, especially in relation to the rights of the people it governs.

<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/constitution#translations>

legal document in which one can refer to “Article1” or the “First Amendment”¹. Indeed, it is based on statutes (laws passed by parliament) and important document such as the “Magna Carta” (1215), which is a charter that limits the Queen’s power and prerogatives at that time , i.e. she could not do whatever she pleased . In addition to that, the case law which are decisions taken by courts of law on constitutional matters, customs and conventions that they can simply be modified by an Act of parliament just like any other law.²

Some principles and procedures on which the country is governed, some of them are written down in laws agreed by parliament, some of them have been spoken and then written down, and others have never been written at all, for instance there is not a written down law that says anything about the Prime Minister’s power and limitations, or who can be the Prime Minister. Another debatable issue is that, there is no single document which can identify Britain’s subjects Rights , unlike the other countries who have some Rights that are commonly recognized (for example , the Right not to be discriminated against on the basis of sex or race.)

Even though , there is no legal concept of the “people” at all in the repertoire of the British monarch, as it is the case in other modern democracies such as in the American constitution which talks about “government of the people for the people by the people” , albeit, British constituents have a great confidence and pride in their ruling system , they trust their Queen despite their point of views are not taking into consideration when it comes to political affairs , i.e. in making laws’ changes, a Referendum is never headed to take into account the citizens agreements or disagreements.

However, a loss of faith emerged when crimes in the country started to increase as a result of a multicultural nation which the British themselves relate it to the matter of identity card which has to be held by each living member in Britain. Another distinguishing characteristic which makes Britain a different country is that, its subjects are used to consider not circulating with any document whose main purpose is to identify them as the identity card or the driving license; a pure freedom and democracy linked to their

¹ James O’driscall, Britain: *The Country and its People - An Introduction for Learners of English*, op.cit, New York, 1995.

²ibid.

Rights, but then after, they argued that an unwritten constitution would work very well if everybody in the country shares the same attitudes and principles about what people's rights and obligations are ,i.e. it will be ideal in a society where everybody belongs to the same culture.

But the thing is that Britain now is a melting pot, where sometimes radical different ideas are about many issues, and the case of Salman Rushdie exemplifies what was said above, radical opposing views emerges about this matter when he published a book *The Satanic Verses* using blasphemy, Muslims in Britain were extremely angry, they regarded it as a terrible insult to the Islam. As a consequence people started to question the issue of free speech and freedom of religious views, they consider it unequal to have a law against blasphemy but which refers only to the Christian religion.

Many politicians and historians conceived it an Irony as Great Britain does not have a written, codified constitution. A country that had a rich heritage of pioneering constitutional charters and documentation and Magna Carta illustrates this. Thus, this matter will be an open one till the British Monarch will take a step to codify all its laws, rules, and conventions.

To finish up with this burning issue, as a great country and power in the world, Great Britain should rethink of a written constitution. Even though the unwritten constitution gives a feeling of being proud and different but what is the good in being different if different means worse, i.e., the written constitution has crucial advantages, for instance it helps making rules more accessible and intelligible to all, not only to legal experts and parliamentarians or politicians, moreover, it could bring the government and the governed close together, as it enables the citizens to shape politics of his/her country when necessary.

Finally, the flexibility of the British constitution has never been a hitch or a hindrance for the development and the growth of such a special, conservative and pragmatic country. Margaret Thatcher an ex-Prime Minister in Britain, though she desired reform, she refused to take the "Euro" as a new monetary system which makes this country the most economically flourishing one in Europe.

The United Kingdom as the name suggest is the union of once separate states countries, but it is not federal because Parliament still hold the supreme legislative

authority. Though it has granted different amounts of self-governance, they could easily abort those Acts and retrieve total powers to govern Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland, for there is no written constitutions which stand against this. This was a frustrating debate at all. Hence, from these poignant events, the burning issue in this thesis lays on whether there would be a change in a British unwritten constitution or not, there will be a federal state in the future or not, since devolution was a turning point in the British history.

2.1 Changes in the constitution:

The legal scholar Eric Barendt¹ argues that the uncodified nature of the United Kingdom constitution does not mean it should not be characterised as a "constitution", but also claims the lack of an effective separation of powers. And the fact that parliamentary sovereignty allows Parliament to overrule fundamental Rights makes it to some extent a 'facade' constitution.²

Thus, a general view of the development of the constitution during a period filled with many changes both of law and of opinion. There was indeed during the last thirty years the development of new constitutional ideas; they were stated as follows in *The Law Of Constitution* for A.V. Dicey: 1) Women Suffrage, 2) Proportional Representation, 3) Federalism, 4) The Referendum³. The first idea was connected with the Right for women to vote in Parliament, whereas for proportional representation which was objected, just because it aims at the representation of opinions rather than of persons tends to promote the existence in the House of Commons of numerous party groups. And also fosters the admitted evil of log-rolling⁴.

In this regard, it is obvious that a desire for the change of the British constitution dated back before the devolution process in the twentieth century. And the constitution is

¹Barendt, Eri. 'Is there a United Kingdom Constitution' *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 1997. P. 137.

² Scarman, Leslie, "Why Britain Needs a Written Constitution", (20 July 2003).

³ A.V.Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*, 8th edition, Mcmillan, 1915, P. lxxx.

⁴ Ibid. p. lxxviii.

considered as a reflective one, as If the authorities of government are entitled to make any legal changes or modifications in it. This type of constitution indeed is characterised by many advantages, and weak points which are presented in the table below:

Table 1: the presentation advantages and disadvantages of an unwritten constitution

Advantages of an unwritten constitution	Disadvantages of an unwritten constitution
1) Compatibility of which with time situations	1) Lack of fixed condition of this type of law
2) Easy modification of this type of law	2) Demagoguism by policy makers by misuse of reflections of Constitution
3) Adjustment and compliance of which with daily necessities of society	3) Lack of compliance with any changes in constitution with national needs and benefits.
4) Passing any political & social crisis and also prevention from riots and revolution by the use of this property of constitution	

Openly then, these characteristics frustrated on both scales, politically and socially, for it triggered the wrath of the British people in post-devolution and for anti- unionist elites. De facto, there was no significant change set among the real moves in political sentiment in the 1980s. There was the transformation of numerous Scottish and Welsh Labour lawmakers to grasp devolution, when they had been unbiased or antagonistic before; one of numerous progressions created by the experience of the augmented time of Tory guideline. This was joined by a movement in the Scottish National Party (SNP) toward a "gradualist" position and far from looking for prompt by and large freedom, with devolution viewed as a supportive stride along that way. The Liberal Democrats had since quite a while ago, bolstered home tenet in different structures as well, so the outcome was

that by 1997 there was a solid agreement of backing for devolution from among the non-Conservative gatherings.

There is also a salient discrepancy between the constitution in reality and the constitution in theory, and this can be embodied in devolution as an example that is because devolution is in tension with that traditional approach in not one, but two ways.

2.2 The West Lothian Question

None can deny that devolution did bring two major anomalies, but none has received more attention than the West Lothian Question. Primarily presented by Tam Dalyell in the 1970s, the enigma is that after devolution Scottish MPs at Westminster had the ability in keeping to vote on English and Welsh matters, whilst neither England nor Wales can vote on the equivalent Scottish issues. As it is defined by Dalyell as follows:

If the United Kingdom is to remain in being, then there can be no question but that the Scottish constituencies must continue to be represented at Westminster.... Yet once the [Scottish] Assembly had come into being, and was legislating for those areas that had not been reserved to the United Kingdom Government, the position of the seventy one Scottish Westminster MPs would become awkward and invidious. Their credibility - like those of their counterparts in the Assembly - would be deeply suspect, simply because there would be so many areas of concern to their electors on which they could not pronounce.¹

¹ Tam Dalyell, *Devolution: the end of Britain?*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1977, p.245-6

The question arose on how come Scotland kept on intervening on English and Welsh matters, whereas there is no right in letting the counter countries to do so. Indeed, it was a frustrating matter. Thence, many politicians, amongst Dalyell, said that there is no response or rather any answer to this issue, or if it could be any answer, it is in essence no devolution or Scottish independence, an alternative that could relief the whole. As it was also declared that Gladstone received the West Lothian Question as a burning issue on which he lost sleep, for the queries over his Irish Home Rule Bills in the nineteenth century without arriving at a palatable conclusion. In 1886. During his speech on the first Irish Home Rulebill in 1886 he said:

“If Ireland is to have domestic legislation for Irish affairs they cannot come here for English or Scottish affairs.”¹

Furthermore, Tam Dalyell said: For how long will English constituencies and English Honorable members tolerate ... at least 119 Honorable Members from Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland exercising an important, and probably often decisive, effect on English politics while they themselves have no say in the same matters in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland². It is axiomatic to say then, that the West Lothian Question has been a frustrating matter for both the public and politicians.

It was by reducing the number of Scottish MPs to their population based-share by the 1998 Act, that there was a waning over the public discontent towards the WLQ. In 2011 the Government of the United Kingdom set up a commission to examine the question, in effect, it would examine how the House of Commons and Parliament as a whole could deal with business that affects only England and is devolved in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The commission would not look at reducing the number of MPs from the other three constituent countries or financing of the devolved institutions.³The commission ended by a positive consideration in proposing asset of changes to be issued.

¹*Gladstone Papers*. MS 44255: BL Add. pp. f. 178.

²Tam Dalyell, *Devolution: the end of Britain?*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1977, p.244.245.

³*BBC News*. BBC. 8 September 2011. Consulted 25 September 2015.

On 18th September 2014, the population of Scotland voted against freedom in a choice by 55% to 45%. Soon after the result of the vote was declared, the Prime Minister, David Cameron, expressed that the "subject of English votes in favour of English laws – the supposed West Lothian question – requires a conclusive answer." He reported the arrangement of Lord Smith to lead a commission to create recommendations for established change to be incorporated into a Bill to be distributed in January 2015. And the Labour declined to take part in cross gathering discourses about the issue.

Another possible remedy for this question was raised on 9 July 2015, when Grayling said that, taking after two days of civil argument in July, a last arrangement of standing requests would be tabled and voted on after the mid-year recess. Labour said the "foolhardy and disgraceful" arrangements had dropped into "disorder" while the SNP said it was a "shamble". The new techniques were endorsed by a Commons vote in October 2015 and utilized interestingly as a part of the House of Commons in January 2016.¹

Actually, even if a perfect distinction cannot always be made by English and Scottish business, there should be a decisive separation between the two parts, in order to decrease the problems of the union. To sum up with this burning issue, one can say that as devolution deepens, this would become more difficult and a convention is likely to develop barring Scottish MPs from these posts. Again, more self-determination for Scotland increases the cause of WLQ, whereas, The creation of a devolved English parliament or assembly, with full legislative powers, akin to the Scottish Parliament is seen by some as a solution to this problem. You can see in this essence the influential role or weight of Scotland, or rather Scottish devolution.

Another anomaly engendered as to be considered more economic than political, 'The Barnett Formula'. it was christened the Barnett Formula by David Heald, after Joel Barnett, financial secretary to the treasury in the late 1940s. Lord Barnett himself has

¹ Wiener, Libby. *"English votes for English laws 'is driving Scotland out' of the UK, SNP MP claims"*. *ITV News*. Retrieved 17 January 2015.

frequently disowned it, insisting that it was a temporary expedient to which he had given little thought, rather than a spending formula.¹ So, if The West Lothian Question was purely political, what can be the Barnett Formula in its real sense?

2.3. The Barnett Formula

The Barnett Formula is a technique utilised by the Treasury as a part of the United Kingdom to consequently alter the measures of open consumption assigned to Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales to reflect changes in spending levels dispensed to open administrations in England, England and Wales or Great Britain, as suitable. The equation applies to a huge extent, yet not the entire, of the degenerated Governments' financial plans – in 2013-14 which is connected to around 85% of the Scottish Parliament's aggregate spending plan.²

Knowing that Scotland replete with wealth, a country known for its sea oil riches, on agriculture level it is a fertile land, perfect for any kind of agriculture, thus an Anglo-Scottish relationship is indispensable. Thus you can see that there is a redundant tolerance towards the Scottish parliament than it is for Wales and Ireland.

From the late 1970s, apportionment were decided by the so-called Barnett Formula, under which most disbursement afforded by the Scottish Office was concentrated into one block, the block's size is calculated in reality by historic spending and a population-related of the increase of decrease in English expenditure on equivalent functions. This now accounts for about 60% of all government expenditure in Scotland; a number which should be taken into consideration when the remainder is expenditure on UK government

¹ Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: Self Government and The Shifting Politics of Union*, OP. cit, New York, 2009, p.184.

² Barnett Formula definition in Scottish Draft Budget 2013/14 <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2012/09/7829/22> retrieved 28May 2015.

functions and prerogatives, notably social security, pensions, and defense.¹Saliently after devolution, this ‘Barnett’ squeezed, when Scottish relative expenditure levels coming down towards those in England.

This Barnett Formula de facto, has been perceived as an unfair by commentators in England as well as the West Lothian Question, these two issues arose many public conflicts, if not, and both became the driving force for a more sense of nationalism when people call for an end to this mechanism. This was of course a misinterpretation, as it was stated in Keating book: “...a mechanism for convergence—rather than calling for the end of Barnett. They should logically be calling for its more stringent application.”² Whilst the Labour ministers intentionally and deceptively insisted that expenditure is allowed only when it is needed, albeit no such criteria have ever been figured. Whereas for the Treasury’s 1978 Needs Assessment Study, guaranteed that Scotland's higher spending levels could be defended just partially by more prominent needs.

Thus, it was argued that no matter what happened, if Barnett does result in convergence over time this would undermine a pillar of the unionist argument, in other words if Barnett results in meeting after some time this would undermine a mainstay of the unionist debate, that Scotland’s generous welfare state is only possible thanks to English tax-payers. Other shared view was that of Scottish pro-nationalist who proclaimed that an independent Scotland will evidently raise all its own revenues if this come to happen. Thus, one can say that the independence of Scotland is a crucial remedy to solve any cause within the United Kingdom, but it will also lead to the ending of a respectful union.

In spite of the disappointment of that lead, the formula was held to encourage extra regulatory devolution in the Conservative Governments on 1979 to 1997 under Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and John Major, and after that with regards to the political

¹ Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: Self Government and The Shifting Politics of Union*, OP. cit, New York, 2009, p.105.

² *Ibid*, p.106.

devolution of the Labour Governments drove by Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, and the coalition Government of David Cameron. The Government still pronounces its expectation to keep on using it as the premise for financing the three degenerated governments. Furthermore, this formula has been conceived no more than convention which is not legal, and which can be adjusted at will of the treasury¹. In this regard, In 2009, the House of Lords Select Committee on the Barnett Formula concluded that "the Barnett Formula should no longer be used to determine annual increases in the block grant for the United Kingdom's devolved administrations... A new system which allocates resources to the devolved administrations based on an explicit assessment of their relative needs should be introduced."²

After the September 2014 Scottish autonomy poll, the Barnett formula came to across the board consideration in the midst of worries that in a very late government offer to influence voters against freedom, Scotland had been guaranteed proceeded with high open spending. It was a widespread worrying argument. The founder of this formula has conceived it unfair where In *The Scotsman* in January 2004 he wrote, "It was never meant to last this long, but it has gone and it has become increasingly unfair to the regions of England. I didn't create this formula to give Scotland an advantage over the rest of the country when it comes to public funding." as he called it a 'terrible mistake'³

Indeed, the absence of a statutory premise for the formula disturbs Northern Irish, Scottish and Welsh nationals. The devolution enactment states just that the Secretary of State for every district will make an award of such monies as Parliament makes accessible. This is seen as depending too intensely on the cooperative attitude of the Westminster Parliament, and molesting the autonomy of the degenerated Executives. Especially with

¹Timothy Edmonds, The Barnett Formula, Economic Policy and Statistics Section, House of Commons Library, Research Paper 01/108, 30 November 2001, pp 10-13

²HoL Select Committee on the Barnet Formula, Summary, paragraphs 4 and 6
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200809/ldselect/ldbarnett/139/13903.htm>retrieved on 6 May 2015.

³<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scottish-independence/11100400/My-funding-formula-for-Scotland-is-a-terrible-mistake-Lord-Barnett-admits.html>

Northern Ireland where there has been no survey of the components required with respect to reverting of monetary force and obligations - unlike Wales with the Commission on Devolution in Wales, Scotland with the Scotland Act 2012, and England with the Heseltine Growth Review. This had launched debatable views and opinions that the formula favours Scotland much more strongly than it did with Wales and Northern Ireland.

As to finish up with this formula, a final remedial proposal was introduced by the Scottish National gathering which proposed Full Fiscal Autonomy for Scotland which would have given the Scottish parliament full control of Scottish tax collection. The aftereffect of which would have been an inversion in subsidizing with the Scottish parliament paying the UK government a gift to cover the Scottish offer of held issue spending. This choice was rejected by the UK parliament.

However another belief was set off in the aftermath of this Barnett Formula. It is called 'Union Dividend', which means that financial benefits portioned for Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales are not, but a product from being part of the United Kingdom, in other words this is a recall for the devolved countries that it is due to the sovereign of unity that these three countries are benefitting. This dependency however has always been conceived as frustrating argument for the nationals, though each country is depleted with its territorial wealth. Now to say if this devolution brought changes to the British constitution, than it is acceptable to say that Unitarianism or a unitary state will vanish to create a federal UK, thus, further explanation is given in this chapter to Federalism.

1. What is meant by Federalism?

As any political issue, scholars did not find an accurate definition to Federalism¹ though we can find a clear image brought with illustrating examples which can absolutely introduce Federalism, "they instead by default acknowledge the existence of 'numerous

¹ Sbragia Alberta, 'Thinking About the European Future: The Uses of Comparison', in Sbragia Alberta (ed), Euro-politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the 'New' European Community, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1992, 257-91.

overlapping definitions', and in their analyses either adopt coping strategies for working within these constraints or skirt quickly around the matter, viewing the concept as unamenable to precise specification".¹ It is said that there is no a fixed definition in politics, for things and events change as much as people and generations come and go. As there is no fixed rules and laws, there is no a stable definition at all.

Federal means having of government in which the individual states of a country have control over their own affairs, but are controlled by a central government for national decisions, etc: a federal republic; connected with national government rather than the local government of an individual state: a federal law.²

Other definition for Federalism reports that it is amode of political organisation that unites separate states or other polities within an overarching political system in such a way as to allow each to maintain its own fundamental political integrity. Federal systems do this by requiring that basic policies be made and implemented through negotiation in some form, so that all the members can share in making and executing decisions. The political principles that animate federal systems emphasize the primacy of bargaining and negotiated coordination among several power centers; they stress the virtues of dispersed power centers as a means for safeguarding individual and local liberties.

The various political systems that call themselves federal differ in many ways. Certain characteristics and principles, however, are common to all truly federal systems.³

The deficiency in defining this concept leads on to an ungainly irregularity of treatment among the fundamental scientific categorisations of political science. In spite of

¹ Pollack Mark, 2010, '*Theorizing EU Policy-making*', in Wallace Helen, Pollack Mark and Young Alasdair editions, *Policy-making in the European Union*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.15-44

² A S Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, Seventh Edition, OP.cit, Oxford, p.539.

³ The Editors of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Federalism: Political Science*.

<http://www.britannica.com/topic/federalism> retrieved on 13 March 2016.

congruence of its definitions amongst politicians, the EU is classed by Burgess¹ and Elazar² as a confederation, by Hueglin and Fenna³ as a federation, and for others as a member of a separate hybrid category combining elements of both forms⁴.

Similarly, while Keating considers Spain to be a system of devolved government within a unitary state, Hueglin and Fenna class this polity as a federation. The deficiency further manifests itself in confusion of terminology in scholarly writings, which inevitably causes misunderstandings. Wallace, for example, appears to contradict his own characterization of the EU as a 'loose federation' (as just noted) when he emphatically asserts subsequently: 'The EU is not a federation'. The literature thus, overall, seems not yet sufficiently rigorous and systematic in its nomenclature and its treatment of intermediate forms of political system.⁵

In analysing what have been said above, we consider that there is an overlapping definitions regarded to this issue, in reality, there is three major political systems that the majority of politicians agreed upon, first there is what we call the Unitary system, it is then described as a concentration of the whole power in the hands of the national government; state governments just follow the orders of the national government as it is the case for (Japan, Sweden, Saudi Arabia, and France), another main political system is the Federal where regional and national governments have both real power, however the national government is usually supreme over the regional, this definition indeed can be applied on (United States of America, Canada, Australia, Nigeria, India, and Germany). The third one called the Confederal system which diffuses nearly all the power to the state government;

¹Burgess Michael, *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice*, Routledge, London, 2006. P.261.
<https://www.amazon.co.uk/Comparative-Federalism-Practice-Michael-Burgess/dp/0415364558>

² Elazar Daniel, *Constitutionalizing Globalization: The Postmodern Revival of Confederal Arrangements*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, 1998.

³ Hueglin Thomas and Fenna Alain, *Comparative Federalism: A Systematic Inquiry*, Broadview Press, Peterborough, 2006.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20831960?selectedversion=NBD40197384>

⁴ John Law, 'Perspectives on Federalism', *how can we define Federalism*, Vol. 5, issue 3, 2013, p.E91.

http://www.on-federalism.eu/attachments/169_download.pdf

⁵ Ibid.

the national government merely keeps the states loosely bound together, as to illustrate we have (the Confederate States of America, the United Nations, and the European Union). This was nothing, but to give an overall counter of these different taxonomies. One can immediately notice that the United Kingdom is not categorized in any of these systems.

In fact, it is undeniable to say that there are rules and regulations for each ruling system of any country, however there is for these systems common characteristics and principles. Such as the Constitution which is a written constitution that outlines the terms by which power is divided or shared; the constitution can be altered only by extraordinary procedures. These constitutions are distinctive in being not simply compacts between rulers and ruled but involving the people, the general government, and the states constituting the federal union. The constituent states, moreover, often retain constitution-making rights of their own.¹ This is not the Case for an ‘Unwritten British Constitution’.

Second, there is what we call ‘non- centralisation’, the political framework itself must mirror the constitution by really diffusing force among various significantly self-maintaining focuses. Such a dissemination of force might be termed non-centralization, which is a method for guaranteeing that the political force can't be detracted from the general or the state governments without basic assent.

Third, there is areal division of power; this means an existing and an equal division of power, it is also called territorial Democracy in the context of the United States, indeed, this use of areal division allow the presence of neutrality and equality of various groups and interests, in addition it secures the local autonomy for different groups within the same civil society, on the contrary to the United Kingdom which lack this issue of areal division of power, a thing that engendered the West Lothian Question.

We can thus compare a system, in which there is an obvious deficiency of these previously cited elements. You can find an unwritten constitution, as you can find unfair disperse of political and economic power within one collective society. If we incarcerate the ruling system within the elements, truly there would be a real dissonance.

¹ <http://www.britannica.com/topic/federalism>

3.1. Devolution and federalism

Once again, the definition of both concepts is essential to be refreshed, Devolution differs from federalism in that the devolved powers of the sub national authority ultimately reside in central government, and thus the state remains, de jure, a unitary state which means that a federal state is rather protected by a constitutional union, if there would be not a common assent on changing something, things will remain intact. Whereas, Legislation creating devolved parliaments or assemblies can be repealed or amended by central government in the same way as any statute¹. This means that in UK, is legally a unitary state even though it has granted varying degrees of power to the regional components of it.

Federalism covers a wide variety of systems, but its essential feature is the division of the state into self-governing units such as for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, a directly elected federal legislature, a federal executive and a constitutionally established division of power such that neither tier can bother upon the competences of the other. These self-governing units are equally viewed by the central power, aiming to bypass any domestic political conflicts. In addition, there is a longstanding theory which states that federalism only works in relatively homogeneous states, where the units represent just territory and not national identities. And that it should be symmetrical as Tarlton said.²

It was argued that globalisation has been joined by a similarly worldwide propensity towards the devolution of power and assets from country states to districts and regions³.

¹Analyses of the Kelly Report: demanding Democracy, p.6.

http://victims.org.uk/s08zhk/pdfs/cons_subm/kelly%20reportfinal.pdf. Retrieved on 5 September 2015.

² Tarlton, Charles D. 'Symmetry and Asymmetry as Elements of Federalism: A Theoretical Speculation', *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 27: 861-74.

This worldwide pattern is obvious crosswise over various national and territorial connections, for case including crosswise over Europe, in Mexico and Brazil, China and India. Progressively, in any case, globalisation, regionalisation and Europeanisation are creating new sorts of multi-level administration – and various types of regionalism, decentralisation, federalism and devolution – upsetting the suppositions of a nearby "fit" amongst welfare and a nation. A repeating subject in the federalist writing identifies with the conceivable effects that federalism may have on social spending and on social welfare. One of the fundamental claims that has been progressed is that federalism (and by suggestion decentralisation and devolution) undermines welfare states since there is not a full sharing of economic power as it is presented in UK. To some extent such contentions recommend that decentralising and regressing propensities can undermine social citizenship and a mutual national feeling of social equity¹. With regards to devolution in the UK, such claims were additionally best in class before devolution in 1999 and have re-developed from that point in contentions that it has expanded intra-and between provincial imbalances over the UK.

Numerous assortments of federalist frameworks, some types of which look somewhat like the devolution settlement ordered in the UK in 1998, federalism and devolution are unmistakable procedures; Federalism for the most part includes a level of sacred decentralisation, while in the UK devolution settlement Westminster holds sole control over the constitution; that is, it stays sovereign and can, at any rate on a basic level, repeal devolution, a procedure that is impractical under federalism The exceedingly uneven type of UK devolution implies that essential ranges of enactment stay "saved" to the UK Parliament in Westminster, alongside very brought together monetary control and fiscal

³ Rodr'iguez-Rose, A. and Gill, N. 'The global trend towards devolution and its implications', *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 2003. 21: 333–51. In Williams, Charlotte and Mooney, Gerry *Decentring Social Policy? Devolution and the Discipline of Social Policy: A Commentary*. *Journal of Social Policy*, 37(3) pp 493. Link(s) to article on publisher's website: <http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1017/S0047279408002018> Retrieved in 2015.

¹ Williams, Charlotte and Mooney, Gerry (2008). *Decentring Social Policy? Devolution and the Discipline of Social Policy: A Commentary*. *Journal of Social Policy*, 37(3) pp.493.

matters. While over the past few centuries successive British governments have been prolific in exporting federalism across the Empire (to Canada, Malaysia and Australia, for instance), federalism has rarely been on the political agenda within the UK. There is another vital issue that rises up out of this examination identifying with the idiosyncrasy of devolution in the UK, which advises us that devolution and federalism are particular and different: devolution is occurring in the setting not of a unitary country state but rather in a multinational or plurinational state.

Since devolution is viewed from Scotland and Wales, are seen as a pure product of expression of national sentiments and which is strongly bound with some sense of national self-determination. In this significant respect, devolution is neither regionalism nor federalism¹. In Scotland for instance the Scottish Government sitting in Edinburgh is seen (though not by New Labour in London!) as the national government of and for Scotland. Be that as it may, the federalist writing, as may be normal, while helping us to see a portion of the uniqueness of devolution and the institutional measurements of this procedure, tends to concentrate to a great extent on nation.

3.2 Political advocacy for a federal UK

There had been proponents of a federal United Kingdom since the 19th century. Ideas of imperial federation briefly flourished around 1900, and for many years a federal United Kingdom has been the official policy of the liberal Democrats, for it would allow an equal treatment for the provinces of the United Kingdom, as it can provide a basis for a clean constitutional division of powers (areal division of power).

¹¹ Williams, Charlotte and Mooney, Gerry. 'Decentring Social Policy? Devolution and the Discipline of Social Policy: A Commentary'. *Journal of Social Policy*, 37(3) pp. 494.

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1017/S0047279408002018>

A federal Scotland in a federal UK argued that the federal approach to the internal governance of the United Kingdom (UK) potentially provides a political context more satisfactory than the existing devolution model for the enhancement of Scottish autonomy. Devolution and regional administration: a federal UK in embryo argued that since 1997, the UK constitution has developed certain significant new features that might be seen as resembling those characteristic of a federal settlement. At the same time, the report argued, the UK cannot yet be regarded as a fully federal constitutional system, or inevitably progressing towards such a destination.¹

In other words, it is not worth to call the United Kingdom a federal UK, unless it will adopt a written constitution that can substantially assure that the autonomy granted to the three provinces could not be repealed by the Westminster Parliament. And if the England, Northern Ireland and Wales have their written constitution in the form of Acts of Parliament, this could make the sovereign Parliament to rethink of its unwritten constitution which could draw contour for the future of the kingdom. However with a remained unwritten constitution, Westminster Parliament could easily recover this devolution, as Munro stated in his *Studies in Law Constitution*: “the United Kingdom is classed a unitary, not a federal state, the Parliament in Westminster is omniscient.” A statement which denotes that the Westminster could relinquish as it could take again.

¹ Andrew Blick. and professor George Jones, *A Federal Future for the UK*, the Federal Trust for Education and Research, July 2006, p. 7.

www.lse.ac.uk/.../A-Federal-Future-for-the-UK.pdf retrieved on 13 March 2016.

John Kandle argues that the federal idea has been a consistent feature of constitutional debate in the British Isles since the union of the crowns.¹ That is to say the concept of a federal UK dated back the 18th century, not as a recent issue as some argues. The idea of federalism was strongly associated with Scotland, a country that had always preferred a union that reflected the equality of it with the English rather than a union which praised the power of the latter. In fact, it was denoted (federal) by the Scottish elites as a remedy in order to avoid Scotland from losing control towards its own affairs.

Within England, where there has been no devolution outside Greater London, there is some resentment about the supposed political and financial unfairness of devolution, focusing on the so-called ‘West Lothian Question’ and the ‘Barnett formula’ for the redistribution of funds within the UK. Finally the programme for the introduction of devolution to the English regions outside Greater London has stopped at an undemocratic, centralised stage of its development. A new Coalition government has taken office. Both parties in this coalition, the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives, had proposals in their respective manifestos that addressed issues relevant to the idea of a federal UK. A Federal Future for the UK statement of their coalition government is also significant in this context.

In particular the government has agreed to establish a commission to consider the ‘West Lothian question’; to implement the Calman Commission² proposals; to retain the commitment under the Labour government to hold ‘a referendum on further Welsh devolution’; and to introduce directly elected mayors for the twelve largest English cities, subject to referendums. More broadly ‘The parties will promote the radical devolution of power and greater financial autonomy to local government and community groups’. Actually there are many questions which have been raised on the problems attendant upon England having been “left behind” within the UK by devolution.

Devolution has driven Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland progressively to take after segments in a conceivable government, UK; yet the English provincial plan has

¹ John Kandle, *Federal Britain: A history*, Routledge, London, 2002, p. I.

²For further reading see: file:///C:/Users/A/Downloads/SN04744.pdf

gotten to be soiled, and new ways to deal with England must be considered. The creators consider whether there are means or courses in which diverse local models could be connected to England, including through the crystal of the 'city area' idea; whether the incorporation of England as a solitary unit inside the UK would be workable; or whether nearby government offers the potential for advancement. At long last, they talk about how the specific parts that are contrived for a UK government may be coordinated into a focal constitution, and what structure it may take.¹

3.3. Recent thoughts towards a federal UK

Great Britain has been described as John Oliver put it, “an archipelagic super group comprised of four variously willing members.”² However this definition had been shaken up after the Scottish Referendum. John Redwood, a Conservative MP from Southeast England, wrote in the ‘Financial Times on Wednesday’, on the eve of the independence vote. “This devolution, he argued, could take the form of an English Parliament as well.” Then he added: “What has emerged from the Scottish referendum is the idea of a federal state, with much greater power being exercised in the constituent nations of the union,”³

According to Bradley and Ewing’s Constitutional and Administrative Law, a federal UK would need a written constitution to guarantee that the autonomy granted to Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales could not legally be removed again by the Westminster parliament, if Northern Ireland Scotland and Wales now have their own written

¹ Andrew Blick. and professor George Jones, *A Federal Future for the UK*, the Federal Trust for Education and Research, July 2006, p.8.

² ‘The United Kingdom Become a Federal State? The unresolved question at the center of Scotland’s independence vote’, *the Atlantic*.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/09/the-unresolved-english-question/380373/#article> retrieved on 13 March 2015.

³ Ibid.

constitution it would not be easy to remove this autonomy back again¹, however the sovereignty of the Westminster Parliament will never agree on such a fact, their leitmotif is what is given away may be back again, as Munro said “the united kingdom is classed as a unitary, not a federal state”. The Parliament at Westminster is Omnipresent. However, this means that the Sovereign Parliament is always there and presents to respond for any political recklessness. In this regard, the Scottish Parliament is the most powerful of the devolved structures, and if the Scottish will vote for a full independence if it happened, no one can predict what will be the Parliament reaction, if not, abolishing the Scottish Parliament.

Thus, one can notice that UK is in need for a federal system rather than a unitary one. In fact it will be a solution for an overall political, economic and social trouble. In this sense, to say a Federal UK, is quite intricate. For Timothy Garton Ash, he said: “So now we need a Federal Kingdom of Britain. Otherwise this most dramatic British election result could mark the beginning of the end of Britain, and of Britain in the EU.”² Back again to a written constitution, this idea is in many ways appealing and could help to entrench the settlement on generally federal principles³; however, another problem would derive once getting a written constitution, this is having one single constitution for a plurinational and asymmetrical state⁴.

¹A. W., Bradley. And K.D. Ewing. And C.J.S.Knight, Constitutional and Administrative Law, (Sixteenth edition), Pearson Education Limited, London, 2015, P. 6.

<https://www.amazon.co.uk/Constitutional-Administrative-Law-Prof-Bradley/dp/1447904214>

² Timothy Garton A., ‘There is one solution to our disunited politics: a Federal Kingdom of Britain’, *The Guardian*.

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/09/federal-kingdom-britain-eu-referendum-scotland-snp> retrieved on 2 July 2015

³ Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: Self Government and the Shifting Politics of the Union*, Op.cit, New York, 2009, P.162.

⁴ Ibid.

But there are potential problems as well. An English Parliament would not be building on already existing administrative units such as are in place for the English regions in the form of Government Offices, Regional Development Agencies and Local Authorities Leaders' Boards, even if all of these bodies lack democratic legitimacy. A project to establish an English Parliament could be undermined if it involved ignoring or overriding the desire for autonomy of sub-units within England such as Cornwall; and there may not be supported from within London for changes which involved a downgrading of its status as a devolved territory.¹

From the point of view of a nation to which devolution has already been introduced, such as Wales, which provides Melding's perspective, the introduction of national devolution all round (putting to one side the status of Northern Ireland) may seem a neat way of solving the perceived problem of asymmetrical devolution. But it is not clear that there is sufficient public demand for the establishment of an English Parliament; nor the appetite for the constitutional upheaval it would entail. While some opinion polls have shown significant support for the idea of an English Parliament (both in England and elsewhere in the UK) the outcome of these polls seems to depend to a considerable extent upon how and what, precisely, respondents are asked.

4. Union or independence for the Scottish?

In Scotland two main options have been emerged after devolution past ten years, these are to boost the future of Scotland. The first is the unionist option mainly suggested by the labour involving further-reaching devolution powers, and the second is presented in the pro-independence plan heads by the SNP. Wendy Alexander², who set out a unionist perspective on constitutional change; this category however did not want a clear cut with the United Kingdom but rather more devolution or power and greater fiscal autonomy; whereas, for the pro-independence there were for full divorce from the Unity in contrast to the unionists. The constitution of a new British Lib Dem-Conservative government in May

¹ Ibid.

² Montserrat, guibernau. *Devolution and Independence in the United Kingdom*. P. 56

2010, and the appointment of David Cameron as Prime Minister have opened up further questions about how the future of Scotland is to evolve. As a result of the 6th May 2010 general election, the Conservatives have only one MP in Scotland, while their coalition government allies, the Lib Dems, have a substantial number of MPs. David Cameron's major interest was to visit Scotland and to appoint a mutual respect between the two. As he promised to the Scottish Prime Minister Alex Salmond not to break the annual grant¹ from Westminster showing a possibility of obtaining some further economic support for the country.

Advertently, this is to show the common willingness to strengthen unionism in making the Scottish recognise how much they did benefit from the union particularly, after the 2011 economic crisis. Conversely, how England needs the cooperation of economic Scotland. This union indeed is complementary to each other.

In concluding the matter of a federal UK, we should then say that politicians and MPs in UK hold conflicting views toward this issue. Regarding David Cameron did not want to put in bold Scotland's relationship with the rest of UK, aiming to avoid much proud by the Scottish people, he left instead the matter to Alex Salmond who positioned as Prime Minister to Scotland in a significant, Scottish, political life (2007-2014). However, Cameron seized again the opportunity to marker a Triple Crown of political victories; this was by furthering the Scottish devolution. By doing so, Cameron will be regarded as a champion who saves the union. Moreover, by promising to balance Scottish devolution with a commitment to new arrangements for the government of England, he can radically

¹The HM Revenue and Customs collects taxes from all UK citizens and residents, the British Government allocates funding to devolved institutions in Scotland, Wales in Northern Ireland in the form of an annual grant calculated according to the number of people and population density of each territory. For instance, the sparsely populated character of Scotland accounts for a larger grant per inhabitant when compared that allocated to other territories. The need to offer services closer to the people even if they live in remote areas justifies this position. The amount of public expenditure allocated to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland is calculated every year according to the so-called Burnett formula.

improve his own party's electoral prospects¹. This is seen as a political rivalry on the expense of the United Kingdom political affairs, each leader of a party will attempt to bring a solution that bring in itself political comfort, and all this is not , but to gain more attention from the public when it comes to electoral issues.

Cameron tactics was more intelligent than that of Alex Salmond, when he unveiled the issue of furthering devolution for Holyrood, however this, he said, could be achieved unless Scottish people vote to stay in the UK. On the contrary, there was some who denied and rejected the idea that Scotland is in need to get more power, and prefer rather to poll that issue by suggesting defeat for independence. The following table will show clearly both Scottish and English voices heard in this account:

	Predominantly English	Equally English/British	Predominantly British
England			
% who favour Scottish independence	23	17	14
% who oppose English devolution	54	52	59
% who believe Scottish MPs should not vote on English laws	69	63	66
<i>Base</i>	61	64	49
Scotland			
% who favour Scottish Independence	37	14	7
% who oppose English devolution	41	54	55

¹ Tim Montgomerie, David Cameron Must Make Brave Steps Towards a Federal UK.

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/feb/19/david-cameron-federal-uk> retrieved on 13 April 2015.

% who believe Scottish MPs shouldn't vote on English laws	52	50	66
Base	1108	350	121

Table 2: Constitutional preference by national identity, in England and Scotland

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/960/1/BSA01b.pdf> retrieved on 3 January 2016

This table is rather to show how much there is a clash in views, if one could say, not only between politicians, but also between people of both provinces, according to their national identities. You can notice that these divergences are not, but a product of nationalism. For instance, to those who are pro- independence in Scotland and are of English ascendancy, they do not bother if Scotland needs independence or union, reciprocally to those of Scottish roots, you can see that 37% is achieved, a number which is quite different; Whereas, there is a similarity for the devolution to England in both provinces.

Though there is a public claim for independence, but there is what we call the shared history, many people in UK or in the three British provinces call themselves ‘British’ instead of Scottish, Welsh, or Irish. They believe that they belong to the same country which has the same territorial boundaries and frontiers; moreover they share the same history to be retailed to generations, as it is worth to say that they have one unique loyalty to their Queen. All these similarities are only, but a driving force hold union. Another hypothesis for whether UK keeps unity or dissolves it, is that there are much debatable issues which are not solved again, such as the Barnett Formula, the West Lothian Question, a written constitution, and an areal disperse of power, these are likely to be solved. For the English Question people, parties are claiming for a fair entrenchment of power as it is for Scotland; however, Scotland is demanding further devolution (devo plus) which can palpably endanger the union. Indeed, relations with the European Union could be another breaking point

If this will tear apart the British union, then it is arguably that the “brexit” will squelch it. David Cameron considers Brexit as a bounce, when he said ‘let us not roll the dice on our children’s future’¹this is the rise of UKIP and the rise of supranationalism at once.

Conclusion

In fact, it seems impossible that the United Kingdom will be a federal state, since the conditions of a federal state are to be absent in UK. First of all it is because of its unwritten constitution that things and decisions are not rigid and fixed; however, they are flexible in a way that the Parliament can twist things whenever it could. In addition, to that Federalism is different from Unitarianism.

Unitarianism in short, means the concentration of the strength of the state in the hands of one visible sovereign power. By contrast, federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of coordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution.

It is in fact clear that the United Kingdom counted itself among one of the most democratic states in the world; however, this democracy brought a serious demand or rather a struggle for freedom which by its own deviated to assigning the monarchy the feature of constitutionalism. Claiming for a codified constitution that will regulate the independence for each country without ratifying or making changes with which they affect the political sphere of Great Britain.

¹<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/davidcameron> retrieved on 16 March 2016.

General

Conclusion

General Conclusion

It is axiomatic to say that Great Britain is one of the most powerful kingdoms due to its achievements reached since history began. Thanks to the industrial revolution and to the movements that UK witnessed. Why the United Kingdom did fear the bursting of the kingdom?

It was after the devolution that the United Kingdom started to fear the dissolution of its union especially the one of Scotland. Primarily, this fear is crystallized in economic reasons, for oil and gas facilities are centralised in the Scottish offshore, as a financial windfall of around 48 billion dollar.

In addition to economic reasons, appeared demographic reasons, sustaining the idea that the eventual withdrawal of Scotland will considerably weakened the grandeur of the United Kingdom, as its prestige vis à vis the great powerful countries in the world, bearing in mind that United Kingdom was once a former colonial power impressed by the world, gleaming on its ex-colonies on the behalf of commonwealth. As well as its role in the international relations, in the view of the fact, the United Kingdom is an influential and permanent member in the Security Council.

Finally, telling you that the eventual withdrawal of Scotland would conduct to the inevitable bursting of the union and other countries will certainly follow the Scottish procedure. Since the final consultation of the Scottish people was a severe threat for the UK government, almost 46% of the Scottish people agreed on separation.

To conclude, I think that a separation of the United Kingdom is unrealizable due to the shared history that bound these countries for centuries, Even though a clear non-hegemony is between the four countries. And to give a fixed answer to this issue is a complex task, for the matter is keeping on in the Westminster Parliament and one can wait for another Referendum to say whether Great Britain and Northern Ireland will keep tight for a stronger future, thus UK is left for time whereas Scotland is claiming for more.

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Political parties and leaders:

Conservative [David CAMERON]

Alliance Party (Northern Ireland) [David FORD]

Democratic Unionist Party or DUP (Northern Ireland) [Peter ROBINSON]

Labour Party [Ed MILIBAND]

Liberal Democrats (Lib Dems) [Nick CLEGG]

Party of Wales (Plaid Cymru) [Leanne WOOD]

Scottish National Party or SNP [Alex SALMOND]

Sinn Fein (Northern Ireland) [Gerry ADAMS]

Social Democratic and Labour Party or SDLP (Northern Ireland) [Alasdair MCDONNELL]

Ulster Unionist Party (Northern Ireland) [Mike NESBITT]**Political pressure groups and leaders:**

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Confederation of British Industry

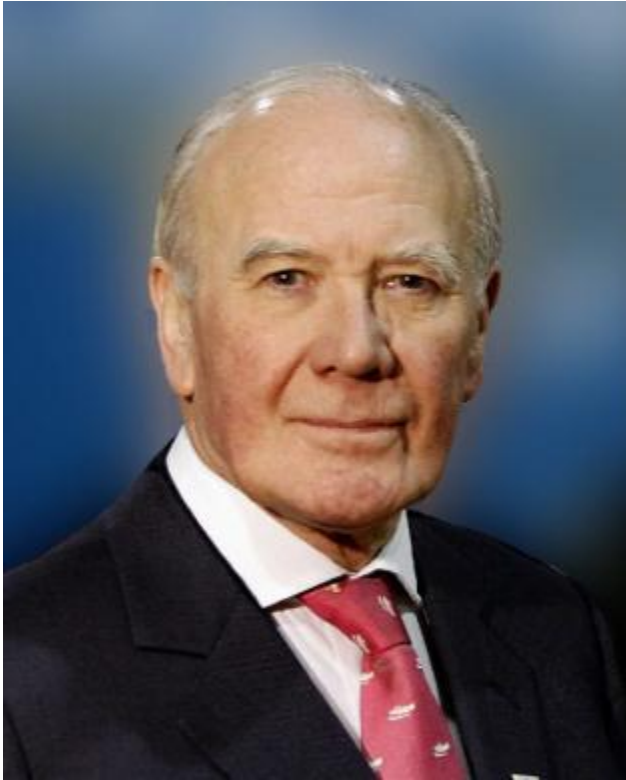
National Farmers' Union

Trades Union Congress

Flag description:

Blue field with the red cross of Saint George (patron saint of England) edged in white superimposed on the diagonal red cross of Saint Patrick (patron saint of Ireland), which is superimposed on the diagonal white cross of Saint Andrew (patron saint of Scotland); properly known as the Union Flag, but commonly called the Union Jack; the design and colours (especially the Blue Ensign) have been the basis for a number of other flags including other Commonwealth countries and their constituent states or provinces, and British overseas territories

Introduction by Sir Menzies Campbell MP¹



Chair of the Home Rule and Community Rule Commission

I have been a supporter of home rule and a Scottish Parliament all of my political life. Home rule for Scotland within a reformed, federal United Kingdom has long been the constitutional aim of Liberals and Liberal Democrats.

Now, the constitutional debate in Scotland is arriving at an important staging post. The future shape of Scotland, and the very existence of the United Kingdom, is at stake in the forthcoming referendum.

It is time that the constitutional debate reached a settlement which will sustain our country in the unprecedented challenges of today and in the future. Our approach represents a

¹Federalism: the best Future for Scotland.

robust view behind which most people in Scotland can gather, one that serves to unite, not divide us.

We have always believed that the constitutional future of Scotland requires a broad consensus if it is to attract the support and loyalty of the bulk of the people.

We offer our contribution in that spirit.

We do so by asserting our conviction that the four nations of the United Kingdom are best served by continuing a partnership which has served them well; by recognizing that constitutional reform is necessary to ensure that the structures of the United Kingdom reflect the aspirations of its people and the demands of a modern democracy. To do so requires an approach which maintains the United Kingdom but allows its different parts the opportunity to make such decisions as they and their citizens require in relation to those issues which most directly affect their daily lives.

Our approach is federalism, a system of government used across the world which allows for the expression of different identities within one system, but combines with it the additional influence and strength which comes from co-operation and common purpose.

We argue for a distribution of powers among the nations of the United Kingdom, for joint action where that is necessary and effective, and for parliaments and assemblies across the United Kingdom to have substantial democratic choice and opportunity combined with the responsibility that comes from significant financial powers.

We have set out in detail in our report how to proceed on the road to federalism. We shall not be content with ensuring a good outcome for Scotland – we regard it also as a first step for the United Kingdom towards a modern constitutional future. Others may in sincerity wish no more than to redefine Scotland's relationships within these islands, but our ambition is necessarily greater.

It is now very clear that there are essentially two options: the breakup of the United Kingdom into its constituent units, or a modernized, federal United Kingdom.

Home rule within a federal United Kingdom is the best way forward for Scotland and for Britain.

For us the need for reform does not stop at Holyrood; it is also clear that the approach of the current SNP Government which argues for independence is actually a highly centralized one, replacing Westminster with Holyrood. It is destructive of local democracy, and contrary to Liberal Democrat values. The view of other parties may be that the debate

is entirely about the balance of power between Westminster and Holyrood. Our view is that it should be about real empowerment of the people and communities across Scotland. Building on the work of the Steel Commission on *Moving to Federalism* we have set out our vision of what a home rule Scotland would look like, and what the implications are likely to be for a United Kingdom reformed on a federal basis. We invite other parties, organizations and individuals across Scotland to consider our views and engage in principled debate. We are conscious that the constitutional structures of our country should be built on the broadest possible consensus if they are to endure and be sustainable.

The ideas and structure we have laid out are unlikely to be achieved in one leap. Our priority is to secure and entrench a broader home rule settlement for Scotland, but there can be no doubt that this would benefit from major change at Westminster too. Over time, we are confident that the constitutional debate in England, currently under-developed, will progress and reach a conclusion – but time will be required for that debate. We expect that Scotland will contribute to the terms of that debate, at least by example, but it is for people in England to determine how they wish their own national and regional identities expressed within the constitutional structures of our United Kingdom.

The Liberal Democrats and their predecessors have long argued for federalism, which is not only compatible with home rule but should be its ultimate destination.

We make our report to the autumn 2012 Conference of the Scottish Liberal Democrats. If the recommendations are adopted by the party both in Scotland and in the United Kingdom the principles will form part of the Liberal Democrat manifesto to be put to the electorate across Britain in the General Election of 2015. In that election we will seek a mandate for the approval of Scotland acquiring full home rule status. We will also set out to persuade people across the UK that a federal structure will serve them best, wherever they live.

A useful contemporary illustration of the benefits of a United Kingdom which is of particular interest to me can be found in the remarkable success of Team GB in the London Olympics and Paralympics. The unity of support from the whole of the UK underpinned these successes and was the focus of the celebrations which followed them.

We set out our views in this report with confidence and a firm belief that our proposals are in the best interests of all of the citizens of the United Kingdom.

Scotland will thrive with the fiscal responsibility and authority that comes with home rule, but that home rule settlement can only be stable if it forms part of the move to a truly federal United Kingdom. We shall promote home rule and federalism at every opportunity.



Willie Rennie MSP, Leader of the Scottish Liberal Democrats¹



I am delighted that the members of the Home Rule and Community Rule Commission led by Sir Menzies Campbell MP have published this report.

They were asked by our party, the Scottish Liberal Democrats, to set out the details of ‘home rule’ for Scotland within the United Kingdom where we would have control over most aspects of our domestic affairs but still enjoy the protection and strength that come from being part of the United Kingdom. They were asked to set out how home rule would

¹Federalism : the best Future for Scotland.

The report of the Home Rule and Community Rule Commission of the Scottish Liberal Democrats. October 2012.P.3.

work in the 21st century, taking account of the changes in the world since the 2008 financial crash and the changes across the UK since devolution started in 1999.

They have shown how home rule for Scotland could work well, but would be even better if it were part of a move towards a federal United Kingdom, where every part of the United Kingdom could have similar levels of responsibility.

The report sets out radical tax plans that would give the Scottish Parliament the powers to raise the greater part of the money it spends while confirming the advantages of social and fiscal equity across the United Kingdom. The proposals for control of taxes on income and wealth give powerful tools to address inequality in Scotland. The recommendations for partnership-working between different tiers of government will allow us to tackle issues such as poverty across the UK in a fully integrated way.

The Commission has set out a route map for home rule. Its aim is to build a consensus which can be endorsed at the 2015 general election. That plan mirrors the efforts we have made, with others, to enact the great reforms of the Scotland Acts of 1998 and 2012.

The Commission has extended its principles down to the level of local communities. There are radical recommendations for autonomy and power for local councils, together with greater opportunities for the smaller communities within councils to have the power to shape their own areas.

These proposals stop in their tracks the centralizing tendency of governments.

This report will set Scotland on a liberal path, which gives power to the people of Scotland, at a national level and in their communities.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Willie Rennie". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

MAPS

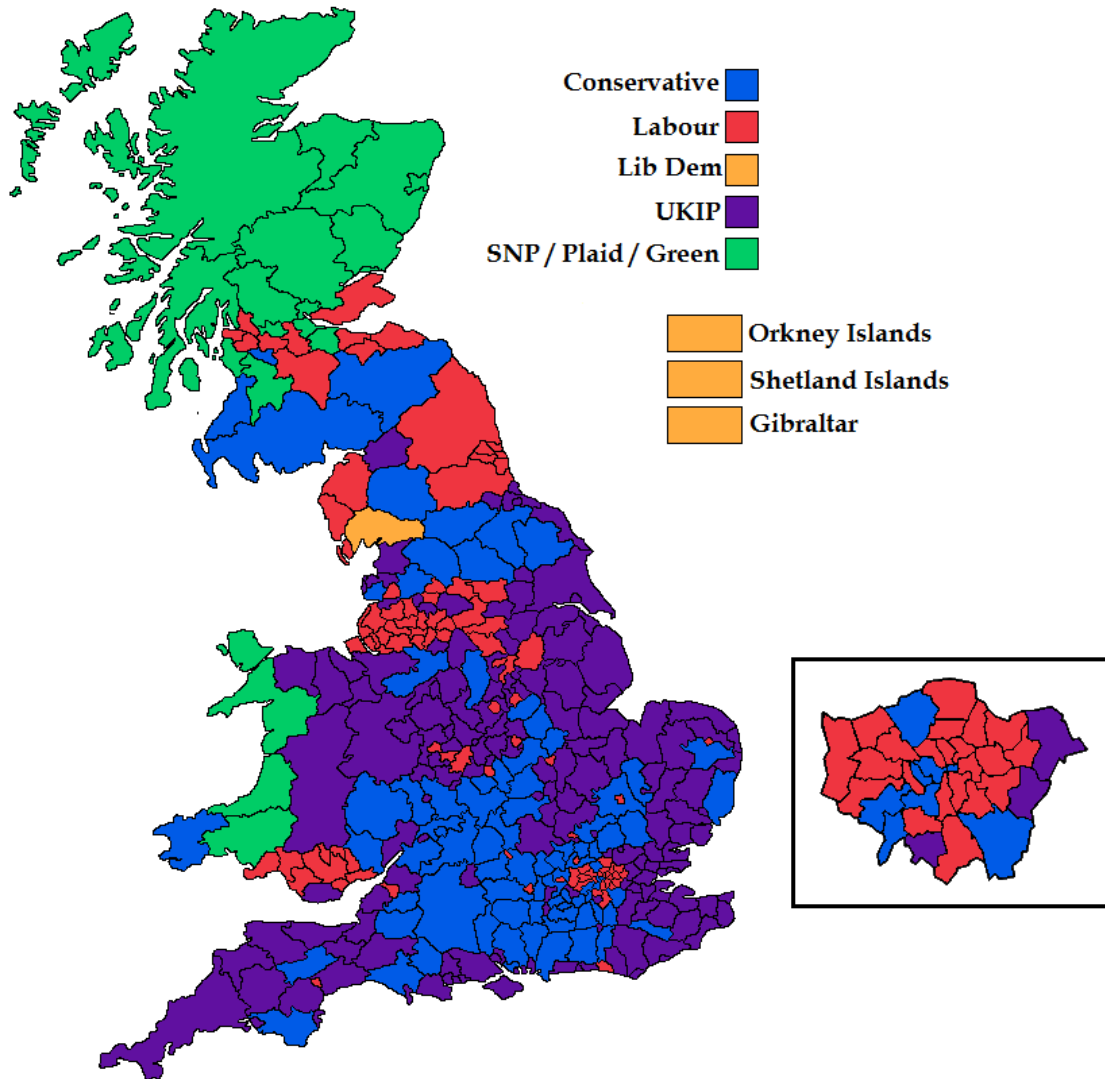


<http://www.mapsofworld.com/united-kingdom/>

Important political and economic regions in the Kingdom

UNITED KINGDOM





<http://www.mapsofworld.com/united-kingdom/>

main political parties in Great Britain



<http://www.mapsofworld.com/united-kingdom/>



Figure 2 the union Jack (flag of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)

The Flag of the United Kingdom was officially adopted on January 1, 1801. The flag is commonly known as the "Union Flag" or the "Union Jack"

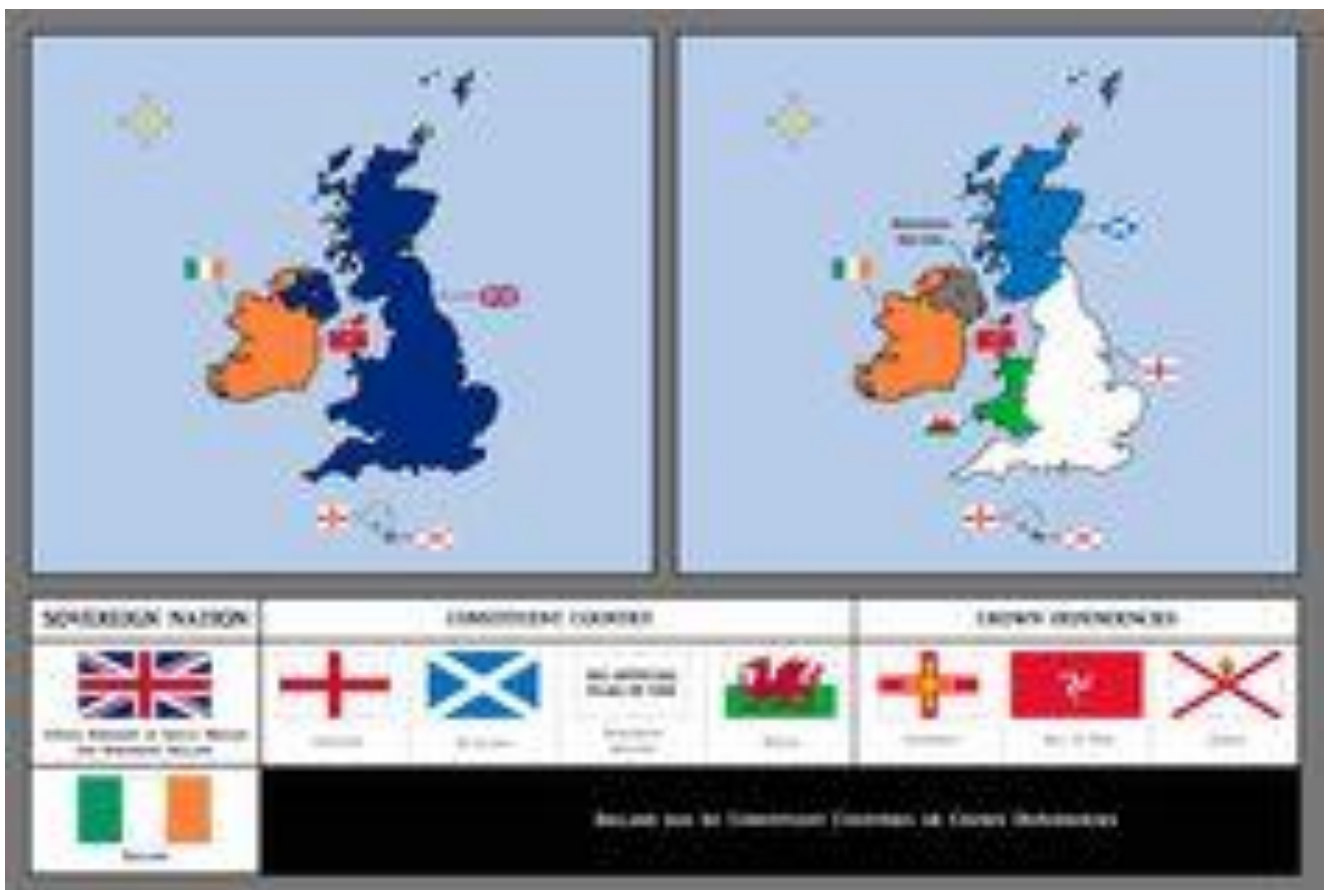
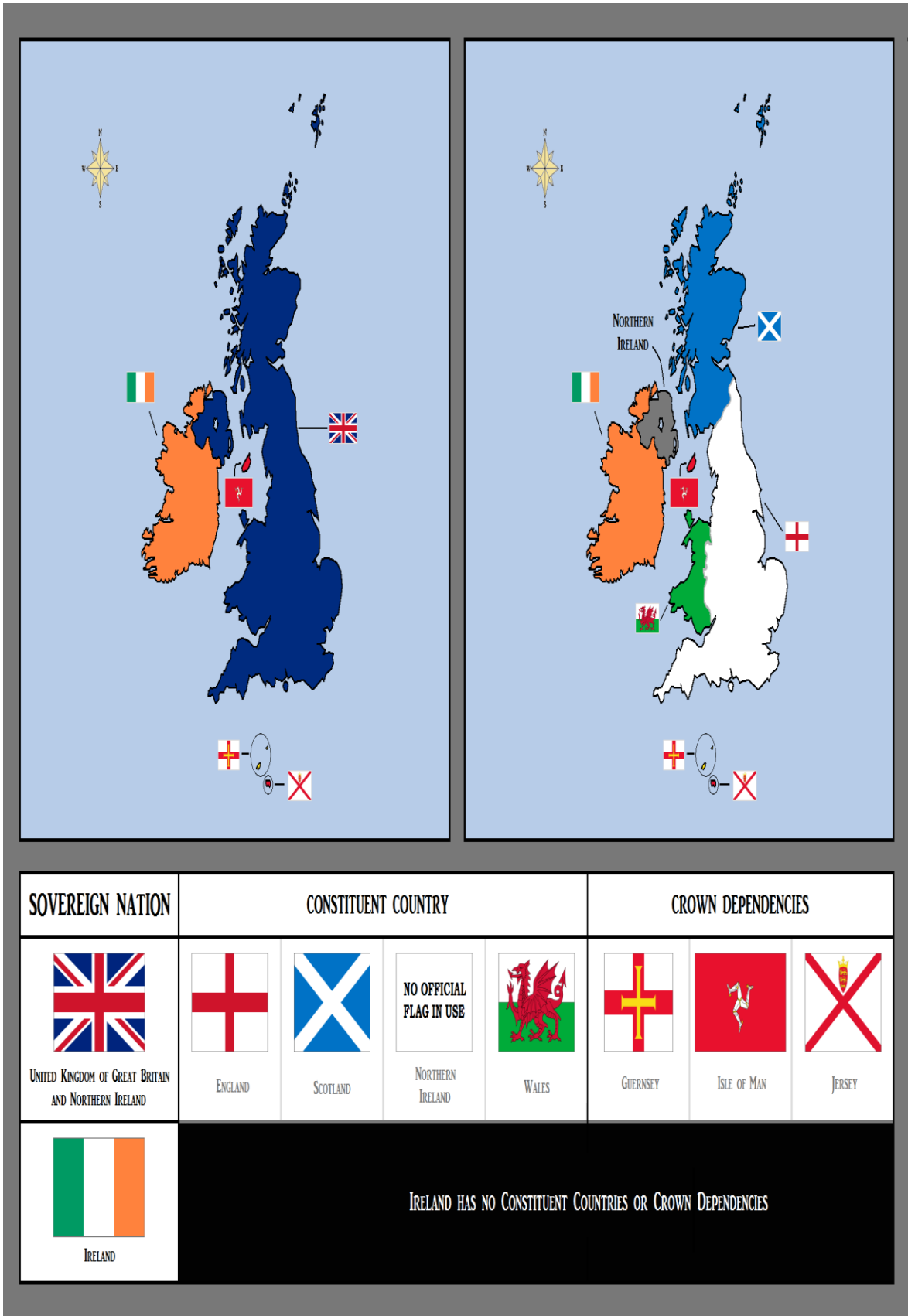


Figure 3 Devolved countries in the United Kingdom

<http://www.mapsofworld.com/united-kingdom/>



Constitutional preferences for Scotland, in England and Scotland,

1997-2000

England	May 1997	September 1997	1999	2000
Scotland should	%	%	%	%
Be independent, separate from UK and EU	6		8	8
Be independent, separate from UK but part of EU	8		16	12
remain part of UK with its own elected Parliament which has some taxation powers	38		44	44
remain part of UK with its own elected Parliament which has no taxation powers	17		10	8
remain part of the UK without an elected parliament	23		13	17
Base	3150		2718	1928
Scotland	May 1997	September 1997	1999	2000
Scotland should	%	%	%	%
be independent, separate from UK and EU	8	9	10	11
Be independent, separate from UK but part from EU	20	28	18	19
remain part of UK with its own elected Parliament which has some taxation powers	44	32	50	47
remain part of UK with its own elected Parliament which has no taxation powers	10	9	8	8
remain part of UK with its own elected Parliament which has some taxation powers	18	17	10	12
Base	882	676	1482	1663

Source: May 1997: British/Scottish Election Study. Sept. 1997: Scottish Referendum study

2/ Attitudes towards constitutional reform for England, in England and Scotland, 1999 and 2000

England	1999	2000
England should be governed as it is now, with laws made by the UK Parliament	62	54
Each region of England to have its own Assembly that runs services like health	15	18
England as whole to have its own new parliament with lawmaking powers	18	19
Base	2718	1928
Scotland	%	%
England should be governed as it is now, with laws made by the UK parliament 45		45
Each region of England to have its own assembly that runs services like health 15		15
England as whole to have its own new parliament with lawmaking powers 28		28
Base		1663

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/960/1/BSA01b.pdf>

3/Moreno national identity, in England and Scotland, 1992-2000

Sources: 1992: Scottish Election Survey 1992. 1997: British/Scottish Election Surveys 1997.

England %	1992	1997	1999	2000
English not British		7	17	19
More English than British		17	15	14
Equally English and British		45	37	34
More British than English		14	11	14
British not English		9	14	12
Other		5	3	6
Base		3150	2718	2887
Scotland	%	%	%	%
Scottish not British	19	23	32	37
More Scottish than British	40	38	35	31
Equally Scottish and British	33	27	22	21
More British than Scottish	3	4	3	3
British not Scottish	3	4	4	4
Other	1	2	3	4

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/960/1/BSA01b.pdf>

Moreno: a "matter Moreno" was designed in the European context of the 1980's when the nation-states of Western Europe have been faced with a challenge to the dominant identity allegiances exclusive view they enjoyed. This is to reflect the awakening feelings of ethno regionalists memberships within a specific category of nation-states - Unions States - that the notion of "dual identity" was coined to explore modes of articulation between territorial identities.

<https://www.cairn.info/revue-internationale-de-politique-comparee-2007-4-page-531.htm>

4/ Forced-choice national identity, in England and Scotland, 1979-2000

England	1979	1992	1997	1999	2000
English		31	34	44	41
British		63	59	44	47
Base		2442	3150	2718	2887
Scotland	%	%	%	%	%
Scottish	57	72	72	77	80
British	39	25	20	17	13
Base	661	957	882	1482	1663

Sources: 1979: Scottish Election Survey 1979. 1992, 1997: British/Scottish Election Survey 1992 and 1997.

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/960/1/BSA01b.pdf>

5/ Constitutional preference by national identity, in England and Scotland

Constitutional preference by national identity, in England and Scotland

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/960/1/BSA01b.pdf>

	Predominantly English	Equally English/British	Predominantly British
England			
% who favour Scottish independence	23	17	14
% who oppose English devolution	54	52	59
% who believe Scottish MPs should not vote on English laws	69	63	66
<i>Base</i>	618	646	499
Scotland			
% who favour Scottish independence	37	14	7
% who oppose English devolution	41	54	55
% who believe Scottish MPs should not vote on English laws	52	50	66
Base	1108	350	121

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/960/1/BSA01b.pdf>