

# The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence

Alfred J. Baird\*

**Abstract:** *The quest for Scotland's independence from the British State has involved a lengthy and enduring, if a rather uncertain pursuit, as was Ireland's, the latter still not yet fully complete, though perhaps not far off. Outside of the UK, not much appears known about Scotland's actual constitutional status as a sovereign people and nation roped into a dubious treaty-based parliamentary alliance with England since 1707. Similarly, within Scotland itself there remains limited awareness of Scotland's constitutional or political and cultural reality; constant delivery of a prevailing distorted and biased historical narrative obscures the nation's ongoing political, economic, and cultural domination and exploitation. Here, in-depth research and analysis based on development of a theoretical framework and application of relevant theoretical perspectives reveals a disturbing picture amidst the rapid need for improved understanding and explanation behind the motivation for Scottish independence as being a consequence of colonialism in all its well-practised, albeit often disguised features: notably, the political and economic subjugation and exploitation of a distinct people – the Scots – which is enabled through their ongoing cultural and linguistic oppression. The theoretical framework as developed by the author on the subject of Scotland's independence provides for new insights into Scotland's oppressive colonial reality as the underlying rationale and motivation for independence, which is also about decolonisation. The research demonstrates the fundamental importance of Scottish national culture and the Scots language as key drivers of national identity and national consciousness of a people, the latter forming the essential basis of independence movement solidarity, and highlights mechanisms necessary to finally bring the scourge of Scotland's colonial oppression and exploitation to an end.*

**Keywords:** *Scotland; Colonialism; Internal-Colonialism; Imperialism; Independence; Decolonisation; Self-Determination; Culture; Language; Oppression; Socio-Political Determinants*

## Introduction

In the Scottish referendum on independence held in September 2014, the Scottish people voted 55:45 in favour of Scotland remaining part of the British (UK) state, the latter created though the Treaty of Union in 1706-7 by the Kingdoms of Scotland and England. This followed two earlier referendums for Scots seeking a measure of 'home rule' in 1979, and then in 1997 when a 74 percent majority voted in favour of a Scottish Parliament with devolved (i.e. limited) powers. A devolved Scottish Parliament with limited powers (i.e. a non-sovereign entity) was duly established in Edinburgh in 1999, courtesy of the Scotland Act as ratified by the UK Westminster Parliament.

In recent years Scots have lost their EU citizenship and membership through the UK's withdrawal from the European Union (Brexit), despite a majority of Scots (62 percent) voting to remain in the EU. The continued constitutional disquiet of Scots has resulted in the unprecedented election of three successive Scottish National Party (SNP) majorities in Scotland at UK General Elections since 2015. Prior to the creation of the devolved Scottish Parliament in 1999, the election of a majority of nationalist Members of Parliament (MPs) in Scotland was deemed sufficient to end the UK union alliance between Scotland and England, and this was also SNP policy – and arguably its primary purpose – prior to devolution. However, the elected SNP majorities, who claim to be in favour of independence, have instead continued to take their seats at Westminster, which reflects the party's (if not the peoples') consent to Scotland's membership of the UK union treaty-based alliance.

Meantime, the SNP, which has also been elected to run the devolved Scottish Government, depends on securing independence via holding another '*Section 30*' UK sanctioned referendum, the latter requiring permission of the UK Government and the Westminster Parliament under The Scotland Act which created the devolved Parliament. However, despite the election of several Scottish nationalist majorities in Scotland (at Westminster and the devolved Parliament in Edinburgh) on a mandate of holding a second independence referendum, the UK Government has consistently refused to issue a Section 30 Order. This results in the present political stasis whereby the British State is blocking a democratic electorally mandated referendum on independence and has also taken the Scottish people out of the EU against their will, whilst elected majorities of 'nationalist' MPs continue to refuse to withdraw Scotland from the treaty-based alliance with England.

The context in which Scottish independence is often discussed therefore raises many questions, not least what independence actually means, why it is considered necessary and is being pursued actively by a substantial portion of Scottish society, and also why some Scots

oppose independence. The aim of this research is to provide an in-depth analysis into the question or phenomenon of Scottish independence and, in particular, to identify and appraise what are considered to be the key *Social and Political Determinants of Independence*, factors which serve to prevent and block independence and which will need to be overcome in order for Scotland to become an independent nation again.

### **Methodology**

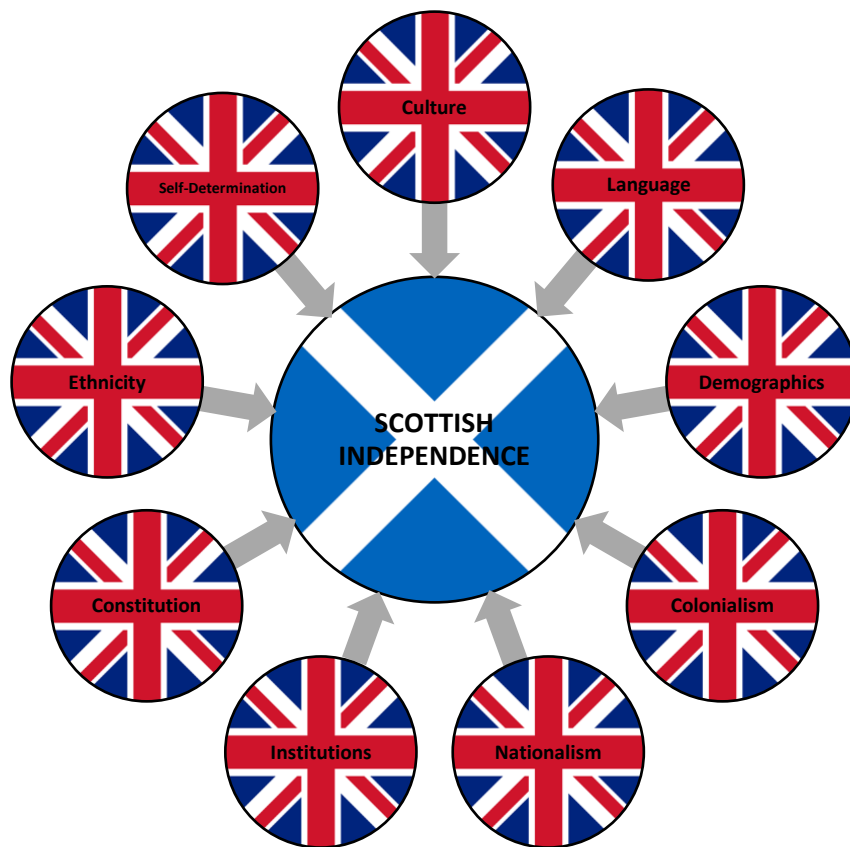
In order to identify and then analyse key factors relating to the question of Scottish independence, the methodological approach developed and applied has involved ‘*grounding out*’ a theoretical framework from analysis of data collected on the subject.<sup>1</sup> The research is also informed and aided by reference to postcolonial literature, the latter relevant and informative in relation to ‘*a people*’ seeking self-determination and independence. The subsequent framework developed is collectively considered to represent ‘*The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*’ (Figure 1).<sup>2</sup>

---

\* Formerly Professor of Maritime Business at Edinburgh Napier University; also holds a PhD in strategic management and a BA(Hons) Degree in Business Studies, also from Edinburgh Napier University.

<sup>1</sup> Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Baird. *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*. Kindle Direct Publishing, 2020.



**Figure 1: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence**

*Behavioural Determinism* assumes our actions are reflex reactions developed in us through our *environmental conditioning*.<sup>3</sup> In this process it is necessary to identify key aspects relating to the environmental conditioning involved and associated factors that *determine* and hence enable or act to block independence.

The methodology employed has therefore resulted in development of a structured theoretical framework which may be applied to investigate, analyse and more fully understand the phenomenon and dynamics of Scottish independence.<sup>4</sup> Here a framework-based analysis helps to: elucidate the reality of Scotland's current socio-political situation and status; highlight

<sup>3</sup>Vincent A. Anfara and Norma T. Mertz. *Theoretical Frameworks in Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Paula F. Silver. *Educational Administration: Theoretical Perspectives on Practice and Research*. New York: Harper & Row, 1983.

the key challenges that the Scottish people need to overcome, and; indicate how these challenges may be overcome in order to secure Scotland's independence.

## Culture

Culture relates to our customs, beliefs and values which are transmitted and influenced through language.<sup>5</sup> *Cultural Imperialism* involves promoting the culture and language of one dominant nation on another, which is a common feature in colonialism.<sup>6</sup> Scots are subject to imposition and hence domination of a British *Anglophone* culture and the marginalisation of Scottish culture and Scots language.

*Cultural Imperialism* creates and reinforces an alien *Cultural Hegemony*<sup>7</sup> that is imposed on Scots resulting in an Anglophone *Establishment* that is by nature anti-independence. Here the theory of *Enculturation*<sup>8</sup> reflects the domination and prejudice of a supposedly *superior* anglophone elite culture that is imposed on Scots, and Scots speakers in particular; in this, the latter are rendered *subordinate* and their Scots language, which is not taught to the people, considered *invalid*.<sup>9</sup>

This has led to development of what is termed the *Scottish Cultural Cringe*, which is a feeling of cultural inadequacy experienced by the subordinated (Scottish) people extending to self-hatred.<sup>10</sup> This condition and its effects are closely related to the psychological condition

---

<sup>5</sup> Duncan Spiers. "Education after Wittgenstein: A Causal-Cultural Theory of Reference and Meaning". Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Trinity College Dublin, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Phillipson. *Linguistic imperialism and linguicism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; John Tomlinson. *Cultural Imperialism*. London: Continuum, (2nd Edition), 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph A. Buttigieg. (ed.) *Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

<sup>8</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications, 1990.

<sup>9</sup> David Purves. *A Scots Grammar*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull. *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989.

known as ‘*Internalized Racism*’.<sup>11</sup> Here there is an *illusion of culture* imposed on Scots, which is a primary tool elites use to retain power<sup>12</sup>, particularly in a colonial environment.<sup>13</sup>

Culture and national identity are closely connected and the motivation for independence of a culturally discriminated/oppressed people is therefore directly related to their national culture and associated emotion. Indeed, in postcolonial theory, the independence of a people is regarded as a fight for their *national culture* against that of an imposed alien and hence oppressive culture and language.<sup>14</sup> A people’s quest for independence is thus primarily dependent on their national culture, their national identity, and hence their *national consciousness*, the latter a function of culture and language.

### **Language**

Linguistic perceptions directly determine our national attachments.<sup>15</sup> Language and culture intersect to form a people’s identity, making us who we are, also influencing how we think and view the world.<sup>16</sup> In forming a crucial part of national culture and identity, a people’s language therefore defines and unites a nation; clearly, language is far more than merely a means of communication. However, the indigenous language of the Scots, also known as ‘Scots’, is not taught to the Scottish people.<sup>17</sup> The British state has effectively deprived Scots of properly learning their own mother language, preventing them from fully absorbing the main ingredient and basis or foundation of their national identity. The result of this is that many

---

<sup>11</sup> Rebecca Rangel. “The Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale Development and Initial Validation.” Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, USA, 2014.

<sup>12</sup> Buttigieg, *Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks*

<sup>13</sup> Albert Memmi. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. London: Profile Books, 2021.

<sup>14</sup> Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1970.

<sup>15</sup> Mike Medeiros. “Redefining the Influence of Language on National Attachment: Exploring Linguistic Threat Perceptions in Quebec.” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 23, No. 4, (2017): 375-390.

<sup>16</sup> John M. Lipski. *Varieties of Spanish in the United States*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008.

<sup>17</sup> Billy Kay. *Scots – The Mither Tongue*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2006.

Scots today have a confused or dual national identity – British and Scottish – and hence a *dual persona*.<sup>18</sup>

In seeking to justify only the English language being taught to Scots in school, British educationalists, even until recently, maintained that Scots was not a ‘valid’ language<sup>19</sup>; this is ethnic discrimination and an abuse of a people’s human rights – i.e. the right to one’s own language, or ‘mother tongue’.<sup>20</sup> The Council of Europe in its minority language reports has repeatedly criticised the UK and Scottish Governments for failing to teach and give authority to the Scots language.<sup>21</sup> Despite this, the indigenous language of Scots remains ignored by British State authorities, including its devolved Scottish administration responsible for education of the people.

The Scots are a minority ethnic group within the UK context and a people who speak a minority language (Scots), which they are prevented from learning by the British State education system. It is important to recognise that the purpose of *Linguistic Imperialism* is to marginalize and destroy indigenous language; the aim of *Linguistic Imperialism* is linguistic genocide or ‘*linguicide*’, which is to bring about the death of a language, and with that the removal or significant diminishing of a minority people’s sense of national identity.<sup>22</sup>

Removal of a language is therefore intentional, its ultimate demise inevitable when it is not taught or given authority, as is the case with the Scots language. The Scottish census in 2011 indicated that there remained only around 1.6 million people in Scotland who speak Scots out of a total population of 5.6 million people, i.e. less than 30 percent; this implies that some

---

<sup>18</sup> Tom Devine. “Carving out a Scottish Identity.” 2013. <https://blogs.sps.ed.ac.uk/referendum/carving-out-a-scottish-identity>.

<sup>19</sup> Basil B. Bernstein. *Class, Codes and Control: Volume 1 – Theoretical Studies Towards A Sociology Of Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan, 1971.

<sup>20</sup> Kay, *Scots – The Mither Tongue*, 20.

<sup>21</sup> Council of Europe. “European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages: Fifth Report of the Committee of Experts in respect of the United Kingdom.” 2020. Secretary General's reports on the application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (coe.int)/.

<sup>22</sup> Phillipson, *Linguistic imperialism and linguicism*.

70 percent of the Scottish population are today primarily Anglophone. Meantime, separate state provision has been made for the minority Gaelic language speaking community in Scotland, the nation's other indigenous language, albeit spoken by a much smaller group, while the larger Scots-speaking community continue to be ignored.

Loss of language therefore undermines a people's sense of identity and sense of belonging, which is an established aim and feature of colonialism.<sup>23</sup> Because it is our native language and culture which forms the basis of our national consciousness,<sup>24</sup> without these aspects a people's motivation for independence or nationhood and hence sovereignty is sorely diminished. Language policy in Scotland within a UK Anglophone dominated social hierarchy therefore aims to deprive Scots of the Scots language, to kill it off, and with that to diminish and weaken desire for Scottish nationhood and independence.

The cultural objective of the British State towards the *Celtic Periphery* nations has therefore been to make the Scots (and the Welsh and Irish) ever more Anglophone and hence Anglicised, this forming part of a long-established imposed colonial language educational policy.<sup>25</sup> In this regard the native bourgeoisie, including the teaching profession, have generally been the most receptive group toward such a policy, which is necessary for them to maintain their socio-economic status and privileges. Postcolonial theory tells us that native elites and bourgeoisie are eager to cast off their supposedly *inferior* indigenous native language and culture and to embrace (i.e. *mimic*) that of the colonizer's, reflecting the fact that colonialism is always a *co-operative venture*.<sup>26</sup>

Motivation for cultural assimilation is also heavily influenced through the promotion of negative stereotypes of native (i.e. Scots) speakers supplanted in peoples' minds via colonial

---

<sup>23</sup> Iain A. MacKinnon. "Education and the colonisation of the Gaidhlig mind." *Bella Caledonia*. December 3, 2019. <https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2019/12/03/education-and-the-colonisation-of-the-gaidhlig-mind>.

<sup>24</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 198.

<sup>25</sup> Michael Hechter. *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017.

<sup>26</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 48.



media, broadcasting and educational policy etc., always highlighting the oppressors supposedly *superior* language and culture and placing the native in an inferior light. Further, this cultural and linguistic transition or gymnastics explains why most peoples in self-determination conflict are linguistically and hence culturally divided, in part as a consequence of *colonial bilingualism*.<sup>27</sup>

Culture and language are clearly key factors in formation of national identity, which may become confusing for any people subjected to *Linguistic Imperialism*.<sup>28</sup> The divide in the Yes/No independence debate will therefore be, to some extent, at root linguistic; that is, the divide is *broadly* between Scots speakers who identify as Scottish and who mostly tend to vote ‘Yes’, and the ever-increasing Anglophone population (see section on Demographics) in Scotland (which includes Scots) who identify as primarily British and who tend to vote ‘No’ to Scottish independence.<sup>29</sup>

Hence the desire for and against Scottish independence is heavily influenced by culture and language which serve to determine national (and *ethnic*) identity. Ethnicity is considered important in that the desire for independence reflects the *ethnic solidarity* of an oppressed and marginalised group, i.e. Scots speakers, amidst an imposed *Cultural Division of Labour* favouring the dominant group, which is Anglophone.<sup>30</sup> In this context it may be hypothesized that ethnic solidarity of the Scots speaking group, the latter mostly pro-independence, is a reaction to being subjected to political, economic and cultural exploitation, with inequalities in

---

<sup>27</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 151.

<sup>28</sup> Patricia A. Shaw. “Language and Identity, Language and the Land.” *BC Studies – The British Columbian Quarterly*, No. 131 (Autumn 2001): 39-55.

<sup>29</sup> Ross Bond. “National identities and the 2014 independence referendum in Scotland.” *Sociological Research Online* 20, No. 4, (2015): 92-104. <https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.379>

<sup>30</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*, 356.

Scottish society reflecting the outcome of prevailing institutionalised ethnic discrimination and related socio-linguistic prejudice.<sup>31</sup>

### Demographics

Between three and four million Scots 'left' Scotland since the UK Union in 1707, which is equivalent to more than half the present population. This was proportionately the largest loss of population in Western Europe for a country of Scotland's size.<sup>32</sup> Successive British Government's implemented policies and provided incentives (e.g. Empire Settlement Act) to assist with the removal of people from Scotland. Meanwhile, at the same time as millions of Scots were being given incentives to leave their country of birth, over much of the same period the largest ethnic migrant group into Scotland comprised people from the rest of the UK, mainly England.

Outbound population flows consisted mostly of working-class Scots lacking economic opportunity in their own land, whilst inbound flows to Scotland have been historically oriented towards a professional and managerial class sourced mainly from England. This resulted in a *Cultural Division of Labour* in Scotland within what is described as the '*UK Internal Colonialism Model*'.<sup>33</sup>

With *Internal Colonialism*, Scotland's industrialisation remained narrowly specialised and hence more subject to shocks, and was geared to serving the needs of the core (Imperial) nation (i.e. England). Historically, economic growth in Scotland has been below that of the core nation, with unemployment higher and wages lower. A quite different industrial

---

<sup>31</sup> David Ross. *Scotland: History of a Nation*. New Lanark: Lomond Books, 2008; Baird, *Down-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*, 261.

<sup>32</sup> Michael Anderson. "Migrants in Scotland's population histories since 1850." *National Records of Scotland (2015) Scotland's Population – The Registrar General's Annual Review of Demographic Trends, 2015*, No. 161 (2015). United Kingdom Statistics Authority. Chapter 11: 79-106.

<sup>33</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*, 346.

orientation between these nations resulted in higher and sustained levels of poverty and deprivation in Scotland, as is also evident in other parts of the UK's Celtic Periphery.

Due to the British State's imposed limitations and constraints placed on Scotland's economic development, and controlling for the size of population, Scotland's (and Ireland's) net emigration rate was always several times greater than that of England.<sup>34</sup> This means that a disproportionately large share of the Scottish population has effectively been displaced (directly or indirectly) since the UK union, as a consequence of the specific economic, industrial and migration policies pursued by successive UK Governments.

Scotland today has the lowest birth-rate of all nations in Britain. This may in part be due to a continued lack of affordable housing which is exacerbated by significant levels of immigration, low wage levels and limited access to better paid jobs for indigenous Scots speakers, as well as questionable educational policies on matters such as gender identity and the longstanding state policy blocking teaching of the Scots language. Economic underdevelopment of a people and nation is known to parallel linguistic underdevelopment in a colonial environment.<sup>35</sup> In Scotland, the elite is mostly Anglophone reflecting the dominant cultural hegemony and *Cultural Division of Labour* imposed through the UK Union arrangement, which is further enabled by the fact the Scots language is not taught and hence is marginalised, considered invalid and given no official status, as are those who speak it.

Ongoing demographic change has significant consequences for independence. This is mainly because people whose heritage is from other nations in the UK, primarily people from England which contains the bulk of the UK's population, who come to live and work in Scotland represent the *ethnic group* that is least likely to vote for Scottish independence.<sup>36</sup> This

---

<sup>34</sup> Michael Anderson. *Scotland's Populations from the 1850s to Today*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

<sup>35</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 150.

<sup>36</sup> Bond, "National identities and the 2014 independence referendum in Scotland", 99.

factor alone highlights the significance of culture, language, and hence national identity on the question of independence.

The *colonial nature* of Scotland's prevailing demographics coupled with *national* voting rights given to an ever-growing population of people now living in Scotland who do not primarily identify as Scots serves to hinder the prospect of Scottish independence. Uncontrolled demographic change in Scotland – a country currently lacking sovereign control over its own borders and therefore over its population whilst remaining within the UK Union – plus the application of a local government/municipal voting franchise based on residence, is believed to have prevented independence in 2014<sup>37</sup> and serves to diminish the prospect of a 'Yes' vote in any future referendum.<sup>38</sup>

### **Colonialism**

Scotland's exit from the European Union, enforced by the UK Government and Parliament against the wishes of the majority of the Scottish people, and the blocking of an electorally mandated second independence referendum, demonstrates Scotland's rather colonial status in the union.<sup>39</sup> Colonialism is defined as a people who are subject to external political control, economic exploitation, and settler occupation and Scotland's present reality reflects all three of these features. Postcolonial theory tells us that colonialism is primarily about political and economic exploitation of a people, and that colonialism is also a *cooperative venture* between the oppressor/imperial power and the native elites/bourgeoisie.<sup>40</sup> This helps explain why some Scots, particularly those among the socio-economic elites, oppose independence.

---

<sup>37</sup> Lindsay McIntosh. "Majority of Scottish born voters said 'yes'." The Times. March 27, 2015. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/majority-of-scottish-born-voters-said-yes-z7v2mmhc8nt/>.

<sup>38</sup> Baird, *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*, 346.

<sup>39</sup> Baird, *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*, 145.

<sup>40</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 48.

Scotland is subject to *Internal Colonialism* which involves a *Cultural Division of Labour* favouring the oppressor group (and the native elite/bourgeoisie who adopt the culture, language and values of the colonial power), economic exploitation, and continued economic and social underdevelopment of the people and territory.<sup>41</sup> The rise of an independence movement reflects the ethnic solidarity of indigenous (Scots) language speakers and is viewed as a consequence of *Internal Colonialism*, its oppressions and exploitation.

Exploitation relates to the colonizer's extraction and interception of the colony's extensive resources (e.g. oil and gas, renewable energy etc.) at low prices, and sales back to the 'natives' at higher prices<sup>42</sup>, with regulation of the territories essential utilities and resources favouring external economic interests. Necessary land reforms, including dealing with a feudal legacy, are prevented by the ruling cultural hegemony and cannot be expected until after independence/decolonisation.<sup>43</sup> With an emphasis on serving primarily the needs of the core (imperial) nation, Scotland is also used to house the UK's nuclear weapons and submarines, a warfare system roundly rejected by most Scots, at a naval facility located downstream from Glasgow on the River Clyde.

Internal Colonialism results in the territory and most of the native (i.e. Scots-speaking) population remaining under-developed. Barely a quarter of the Scottish population are educated to degree level, and almost half of Scotland's people today live either in or close to poverty, with high levels of drug and alcohol addiction, illness, and lower life expectancy.<sup>44</sup> These are all features of cultural dislocation and marginalisation (i.e. inequality) of a people due to colonialism, unable to access their own resources or benefit from socio-economic

---

<sup>41</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*, 40.

<sup>42</sup> Duncan Hallas. (1969) "Britain's Oldest Colony: A history of famine, brutality and heroism." *Socialist Worker*, No. 137, 11 September (1969). Duncan Hallas: Britain's oldest colony (1969) (marxists.org).

<sup>43</sup> Andy Wightman. *The Poor Had No Lawyers: Who owns Scotland (and how they got it)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013.

<sup>44</sup> Joseph Rowntree Foundation. "Poverty in Scotland 2021." Poverty in Scotland 2021 | JRF.

opportunities in their own land as they would be if they were a sovereign people in control of their own affairs.

In a colonial environment deprivation is associated not with membership of an oppressed and exploited social class, but rather with membership of an oppressed and exploited ethnic group – i.e. the Scots.<sup>45</sup> A common feature relates to Scotland's top jobs – which are advertised primarily in the Metropolitan capital, London – hence the highest wages and social status which comes from these things are reserved for members of the dominant (Anglophone) culture<sup>46</sup> or (and the qualification here is important) for members of the subordinate group who choose to embrace the dominant culture and language. The latter aspect is referred to in the postcolonial literature as the native '*mimicking the colonizer*'.<sup>47</sup> Such outcomes indicate that the ongoing oppression of Scots is ethnically driven, hence liberation (from colonialism) must by necessity reflect solidarity of the oppressed ethnic group. Given the global call for colonial restitution there would seem a reasonable case for the Scots, once independent, to likewise pursue the matter.

In Scotland as elsewhere, it is already established that national identities are highly significant when it comes to support for constitutional change.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the Scottish independence movement in the *Internal Colonialism* model reflects primarily the ethnic solidarity of Scots speakers.<sup>49</sup> This in turn implies that voters opposed to independence will mostly tend to be Anglophone and hold primarily to a British identity; this includes those elements of the Scots, in particular the elite/bourgeoisie native group who have opted to

---

<sup>45</sup> James Hunter. (1977) "Reviews. Internal Colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development, 1536-1966." *The Scottish Historical Review* 56, No. 161, Part 1 (April 1977): 103-105.

<sup>46</sup> Baird, *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*, 219.

<sup>47</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 146.

<sup>48</sup> Ross Bond and Michael Rosie. "National Identities and Attitudes to Constitutional Change in Post-Devolution UK: A Four Territories Comparison." *Regional & Federal Studies* 20, No. 1, (2010): 83-105.

<sup>49</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*, 345.

become (more) Anglophone by casting off their own culture, language and identity (or at least part of it) in the pursuit of socio-economic advantage within what is a colonially structured environment.

Colonial domination and with that the elevation of what is an alien culture and language (and hence ethnicity) above the culture and language (and ethnicity) of indigenous peoples, involves racism and socio-linguistic prejudice and is known to develop into fascism.<sup>50</sup> Here it may also be noted that for some time Scotland has recorded proportionately per head of population the highest prison population of all nations in north-western Europe, as might be expected where a dominant imposed cultural hegemony and its 'values'<sup>51</sup> differ markedly from indigenous native group culture. The UN rightly regards colonialism as a '*scourge*' (a form of punishment) on a people, which should be ended through self-determination and decolonisation.

Further, postcolonial theory considers colonialism as a '*disease of the mind*'.<sup>52</sup> This results in a psychological condition which adversely affects both the colonised group through development of a subordinate '*colonial mentality*' and '*Appropriated Racial Oppression*', and also in respect of the coloniser group (which co-opts and includes native elites and bourgeoisie) and the latter's propensity for racism, prejudice, exploitation and fascism.<sup>53</sup>

The UK's devolved (i.e. colonial) *regime* in Scotland is currently administered by a dominant *Scottish National Party* (SNP) which has made its own '*accommodation with colonialism*'; the resultant political *stasis* represents a common feature in the decolonisation process leading to a delay in independence which may be combined with state oppression and

---

<sup>50</sup> Aime Cesaire. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.

<sup>51</sup> Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 34.

<sup>52</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 168.

<sup>53</sup> Edward W. Said. *Culture & Imperialism*. London: Vintage, 1994 ; Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 20.

persecution of independence campaigners.<sup>54</sup> This leads to further conflict, and the creation of new National Parties seeking independence with somewhat greater urgency. Here independence may also be defined as *decolonisation*<sup>55</sup>, and necessarily involves the liberation of a people from colonial oppression in all its forms.

## Nationalism

As previously noted, the motivation for national independence of a people primarily depends on their *national consciousness*, the foundation of which is culture and language; in this regard postcolonial theory tells us that *national consciousness* is not nationalism.<sup>56</sup> As in any colonial environment, many Scots retain a confusing *dual sense of identity*<sup>57</sup>, a consequence of the long-term effects of being subjected to *Cultural* and *Linguistic Imperialism* and *Colonialism*. In this environment a colonised people are forced to live within and between *two psychical and cultural realms* in which two tongues are in conflict and the native culture and language subordinated into a form of *clandestine culture*.<sup>58</sup> In the context of a British Anglophone cultural hegemony being imposed on colonised nations and peoples, the outcome has also been described as giving the people involved a *culturally intertwined political identity*.<sup>59</sup>

Language deprivation, with the UK State and its devolved administration in Scotland refusing to teach the Scots language to Scots, serves to further inhibit perceptions of Scottish

---

<sup>54</sup>Craig Murray. "13 Events, No Witnesses: The Prosecution Concludes the Case Against Alex Salmond." March 16, 2020. 13 Events, No Witnesses: The Prosecution Concludes the Case Against Alex Salmond - Craig Murray/; Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 48.

<sup>55</sup> United Nations. "Special Committee on Decolonization." Special Committee on Decolonization | The United Nations and Decolonization/.

<sup>56</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 199.

<sup>57</sup> Devine, *Carving out a Scottish Identity*, 5.

<sup>58</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 107.

<sup>59</sup> Mark Pettigrew. "Red, white and blue unionism: An ideological nationalism of its own." 2016. <http://www.judecollins.com/2016/12/red-white-blue-unionism-ideologicalnationalism-mark-pettigrew/>.



national identity and national consciousness.<sup>60</sup> The main outcome and assumed purpose of this *linguistic oppression* and *cultural colonialism*,<sup>61</sup> which becomes institutionalised and embedded in a colonial environment, is that it serves to constrain Scottish national consciousness and hence limits feelings of (Scottish) national identity, whilst meantime promoting a more British/Anglophone identity which serves to inhibit the motivation for independence.<sup>62</sup>

In the case of the UK/England exerting political and economic control over Scotland and other nations, this involves what is known as *Trans-national nationalism*.<sup>63</sup> Here we have imposed on Scots a British ‘*One Nation*’ political ideology which, in order to be effective, includes and requires *Cultural* and *Linguistic Imperialism* policies and with this comes an Anglophone *Cultural Hegemony* and meritocratic elite. It is primarily these key features of imperialism and colonialism, i.e. an imposed dominant culture and language, which enables external political control and power to be exerted over a people and territory<sup>64</sup> in order to facilitate their economic exploitation, as well as their cultural subjugation.<sup>65</sup>

Scottish independence is viewed from a British nationalism standpoint as a perceived threat to a ‘British’ identity, however artificial and theoretical such a notion may be in reality for many Scots.<sup>66</sup> It can therefore be argued that Scottish independence is less about nationalism per se; rather, it is primarily about *self-determination* of a people driven largely by

---

<sup>60</sup> Medeiros, *Redefining the Influence of Language on National Attachment: Exploring Linguistic Threat Perceptions in Quebec*, 375.

<sup>61</sup> Kay, *Scots – The Mither Tongue*, 211.

<sup>62</sup> Baird, *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*, 316.

<sup>63</sup> Adam Hochman. “Of Vikings and Nazis: Norwegian contributions to the rise and the fall of the idea of a superior Aryan race.” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 54, (2015): 84–88.

<sup>64</sup> Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. “Linguistic Genocide.” In: Valodas Politika Baltijas Valstis/Language Policy in the Baltic States. Riga, Krajumu sagatavojs. Latvijas Republikas Valsts valodas centrs, 1994: 140-150.

<sup>65</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 193.

<sup>66</sup> Jamie Maxwell. “It is unionists, not nationalists, who are obsessed with identity.” *The New Statesman*, July 31, 2014. <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/07/it-unionists-not-nationalists-who-are-obsessed-identity/>.

their national consciousness (the basis of which is culture and language),<sup>67</sup> which is about their liberation and, for oppressed and colonised peoples, independence is also about *decolonisation*.<sup>68</sup>

Conversely, the *UK Internal Colonialism model* is entirely an Imperial and hence artificial cultural and socio-economic construct.<sup>69</sup> In terms of political ideology, the UK represents ‘*Trans-national nationalism*’ which involves colonialism and imperialism methods and practices being imposed upon and throughout the *Celtic Periphery* nations.<sup>70</sup> This is an aggressive and dominating form of nationalism that has involved, inter alia: occupation and displacement of native populations; assuming political control over neighbouring countries, and; banishment of cultures, domination and marginalisation of indigenous peoples through imposing an alien culture and (Anglophone) linguistic-based hegemony. Its key purpose is primarily facilitating and enabling the economic exploitation of an oppressed and marginalised people and their territory.

The inevitable outcome of unfettered *Trans-national nationalism*, which is effectively colonialism, is the ethnic oppression, marginalisation and exploitation of a people and their land. In large part this is what then gives rise to the motivation of ‘a people’ for independence, which is based on the solidarity of the oppressed ethnic group.<sup>71</sup> This relates in particular to the remaining residual and thus far not entirely culturally ‘*consumed*’ Scots-speaking Scots, and with intellectuals able to define the wretchedness of the people, as constituting the essential foundation of the pro-independence movement.

## **Institutions**

---

<sup>67</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 198.

<sup>68</sup> United Nations, *Special Committee on Decolonization*.

<sup>69</sup> Said, *Culture & Imperialism*, 284.

<sup>70</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*, 28.

<sup>71</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 179.

In the colonial environment a nation's social institutions will obviously be expected to be colonial in *nature*. This implies that, rather than necessarily serving the people, the state's social institutions may oppress them.<sup>72</sup> This oppression may be via laws introduced and policies (e.g. on recruitment, education, language etc.) involving socio-linguistic prejudice and ethnic discrimination in which the indigenous native population tend to be marginalised, and in some instances even earmarked for punishment; lest we forget that colonialism is defined also as '*geographic violence*'<sup>73</sup> and lies at the root of fascism.<sup>74</sup>

Given that Scotland is controlled by an *Anglophone Unionist Establishment*, its meritocratic elite therefore reflects and prioritises what is an *Ethnic and Cultural Division of Labour*.<sup>75</sup> This dominant power arrangement depends on and perpetuates *sociolinguistic prejudice* throughout society,<sup>76</sup> reflecting an *Anglophone elite Cultural Hegemony and Establishment*.<sup>77</sup> Here we see the marginalisation of what is known in postcolonial theory as a '*subaltern people*', i.e. the native language-speaking group who are deprived of learning and valuing their own language as well as much of their history, and mostly excluded from socio-economic institutions in order to deny their political voices and access to resources.<sup>78</sup> The consequence of this is reflected in social exclusion and marginalisation primarily of ethnic Scots speakers<sup>79</sup> and it is in this way that *ethnic* discrimination becomes *institutionalised* within society.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Nelson Mandela. *Long Walk to Freedom. Vol. II. 1962-1994*. London: Little, Brown & Company, 1994.

<sup>73</sup> Said, *Culture & Imperialism*, 288.

<sup>74</sup> Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 20, 39.

<sup>75</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*, 356.

<sup>76</sup> Alan Barcan. *Sociological Theory and Educational Reality: Education and Society in Australia since 1949*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 1993.

<sup>77</sup> Adam Jack Aitken. *The good old Scots tongue: Does Scots have an identity?* In E. Haugen, J. D. McClure and D. Thomson, eds., *Minority Languages Today*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981, 72–90.

<sup>78</sup> Elliot D. Green. "Decentralization and political opposition in contemporary Africa: evidence from Sudan and Ethiopia." *Democratization* 18 (2011): 1087–1105.

<sup>79</sup> Kay, *Scots – The Mither Tongue*, 203.

<sup>80</sup> Rebecca C. Rangel and Robert T. Carter. "The Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale: Development and Preliminary Validation." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 21, No. 4 (2015): 497-506.

*Social segregation* and protection of a *Cultural Hegemony* (and its *values* and *symbols*) is ensured via an educational divide maintained primarily through private/independent (i.e. *colonial*) schools and elite universities aimed mainly at serving the more privileged (Anglophone) group. Although only around 3 percent of people in Scotland attend private ‘elite’ fee-paying schools, the mostly privileged pupils attending the latter account for a disproportionate 50 percent of all senior positions in Scotland’s social institutions.<sup>81</sup>

Top positions in Scotland’s social institutions and commerce are primarily advertised in the metropolitan capital press and hence in the dominant *core* nation (England) and thus are mainly targeted at (Anglophone) elites.<sup>82</sup> There is here the added linguistic requirement that all prospective candidates seeking positions in Scotland must speak English, but that absolutely no knowledge or even basic understanding of the indigenous Scots language is necessary for professional and managerial appointments in Scotland.

In the higher education sector, many Scottish applicants from state schools find it difficult to gain a student place in Scotland’s elite universities;<sup>83</sup> these institutions remain heavily focused on attracting higher fee students from outside Scotland, as well as from private school backgrounds. With only around 1 in 10 academic staff employed in Scotland’s elite universities comprising Scots, and Scots also forming a small minority of PhD researchers, the intellectual opportunities afforded to native Scots in their own land in what is a colonial environment remain severely constrained.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> The Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission. “Elitist Scotland?” 2015. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/elitist-scotland/>.

<sup>82</sup> Baird, *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*, 331.

<sup>83</sup> Audit Scotland. “Audit of higher education in Scottish Universities.” 2016. Audit of higher education in Scottish universities | Audit Scotland ([audit-scotland.gov.uk](http://audit-scotland.gov.uk)); Academy of Medical Royal Colleges and Faculties in Scotland. “The Scottish Medical Workforce – an outline of challenges and offer of solutions.” 2019. [AoMRCFS-Scottish-Medical-Workforce-2019.pdf](https://www.rcpsg.ac.uk/AoMRCFS-Scottish-Medical-Workforce-2019.pdf) ([rcpsg.ac.uk](http://rcpsg.ac.uk)); Helen McArdle.. (2019) “Doctor’s leaders: Scotland’s medical schools must have much higher intakes – and a greater share of Scottish students.” The Herald, January 14, 2019. <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/17981746.doctors-leaders-scotlands-medical-schools-must-much-higher-intakes---greater-share-scottish-students/>.

<sup>84</sup> Baird, *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*, 218.

A range of negative outcomes are connected with this institutionalised ethnic discrimination and resulting *Cultural Dislocation*. This includes continued economic underdevelopment of the *peripheral* nation and many of its people, societal inequalities, a widening wealth gap, lack of educational attainment, poverty and deprivation.<sup>85</sup> Adverse health impacts for the oppressed group include the development of a *schizoid personality*,<sup>86</sup> depression and anxiety, in addition to various other conditions commonly associated with oppression of indigenous or aborigine peoples, including drug and alcohol addiction.<sup>87</sup>

Institutionalised oppression also tends to arrive via the *justice system*, which remains a rather theoretical concept within a colonial environment insofar as the indigenous native is concerned.<sup>88</sup> This is reflected in Scotland having the largest prison population rate per capita of all countries in Western Europe,<sup>89</sup> in the ongoing state persecution of leading independence campaigners,<sup>90</sup> and in the apparent immunity from prosecution afforded to those active on the anti-independence ‘unionist’ side, including a dominant pro-British media.<sup>91</sup> Scotland’s justice system also has the highest proportion of probationers under supervision for offences in all of Europe. Significant levels of state punishment inflicted mostly on an ethnic and institutionally ‘subordinate’ (Scots-speaking) group by what is essentially a different ethnic (i.e. Anglophone) elite group and cultural hegemony reflects this colonial reality, which corresponds with what Cesaire referred to as *the law of progressive dehumanization*.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*, 344.

<sup>86</sup> Purves, *A Scots Grammar*, 2.

<sup>87</sup> Jerome Taylor. “Relationship between internalized racism and marital satisfaction.” *Journal of Black Psychology* 16, No. 2 (1990): 45-53; Harry Burns. “From theory to policy – the implications of recent research findings on health inequality.” Glasgow Centre for Population Health. GCPH Seminar Series 5, 2009. [https://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/0484/Harry\\_Burns\\_Summary.pdf/](https://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/0484/Harry_Burns_Summary.pdf/).

<sup>88</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 99; Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 106.

<sup>89</sup> Prison Reform Trust. “Prison: The Facts.” Bromley Briefings, Summer 2019 Prison the facts, Summer 2019.pdf ([prisonreformtrust.org.uk/](http://prisonreformtrust.org.uk/)).

<sup>90</sup> Iain Lawson. “In Solidarity with Craig Murray.” October 15, 2021. IN SOLIDARITY WITH CRAIG MURRAY – YOURS FOR SCOTLAND ([wordpress.com/](http://wordpress.com/)).

<sup>91</sup> Craig Murray. “The Alex Salmond Fit-Up.” February 20, 2021. <https://www.craigmurray.org.uk/archives/2019/08/the-alex-salmond-fit-up/>.

<sup>92</sup> Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 68.

Meantime the Scottish economy remains largely under-developed whilst external ‘*plundering*’ of the territories’ extensive resources and assets continues, facilitated by colonial institutions, laws and governance, the most obvious examples being essential utilities, enormous reserves of oil and gas, renewable energy, aggregates, and a legacy of feudal and highly concentrated land ownership arrangements.

### **Constitution**

Brexit related court case outcomes served to demonstrate the lawful simplicity of a signatory state party to a treaty withdrawing from a treaty-based union. So, what is stopping Scotland from doing likewise and withdrawing from its treaty-based union? The key questions in this regard seem to be: are the Scots a sovereign people, and; who represents this sovereignty and how may it be asserted?

The 1706-7 *Treaty of Union* created the present United Kingdom alliance between the Kingdoms of Scotland and England, therefore Scotland is and remains a signatory party to that Treaty, as does England.<sup>93</sup> Unilateral withdrawal from a treaty under international law is considered to be a matter for each signatory party, according to the European Court of Justice.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, treaties are generally upheld only if they remain in the national interest of a sovereign people, which implies that when a treaty is no longer in the national interest, it is ended.<sup>95</sup>

A treaty can never be cast in stone for eternity for the simple reason that its relevance and import is inevitably bound by time and circumstance. Any treaty will only ever be upheld insofar as it serves *the national interest* of the signatory party. There is here the age-old argument of *alliance determinism* which assumes both an effective international rule of law

---

<sup>93</sup> Peter W.J. Riley. *The Union of England and Scotland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978.

<sup>94</sup> Alastair Grant. (2018) “ECJ ruling to revoke Article 50 rubber stamped by the highest court in Scotland.” 2018. <https://www.heraldsotland.com/news/17311344.ecj-ruling-to-revoke-article-50-rubber-stamped-by-the-highest-court-in-scotland/?action=success#comments-feedback-anchor/>.

<sup>95</sup> Richard F. Hamilton and Holger H. Herwig. *Decisions for War, 1914-1917*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

and honourable alliance partners; however, ‘*experts in international affairs would count those as among the most naïve hypotheses imaginable*’.<sup>96</sup> The British State has violated many of its treaties, including the Treaty of Union, and the recent treaty with the EU being a further example.

Whilst Scotland may not be an *independent state*,<sup>97</sup> its people retain sovereignty over their right to be an independent state, or whether to continue to share sovereignty within the UK union alliance, as at present. The absolute sovereignty of the Scottish people has recently been acknowledged by both UK and Scottish parliaments, as was the Claim of Right, that Scottish sovereignty rests with Scotland’s people.<sup>98</sup> The Treaty of Union itself is *conditional* on Scotland retaining its own distinctive constitution, as contained and described in the Claim of Right Act of 1689.<sup>99</sup> Sovereignty implies that a people are already *de facto* independent as and when they wish to be; in this sense the national sovereignty of a people is regarded as *indefeasible*.<sup>100</sup> Under the UN Charter there is an obligation on all States to respect the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity (United Nations 1945: art. 7).<sup>101</sup>

It is Scotland’s national elected representatives who hold Scotland’s *political* sovereignty at any given time and they therefore hold the right and the obligation to exercise political sovereignty on behalf of the people, and hence to make Scotland *de jure independent* as per the instruction of the people. SNP policy prior to Devolution was to withdraw Scotland

---

<sup>96</sup> Hamilton and Herwig, *Decisions for War, 1914-1917*, 231.

<sup>97</sup> Colin Hay and David Marsh (Eds.). *Demystifying Globalization*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000.

<sup>98</sup> House of Commons Library. “Claim of Right for Scotland.” House of Commons, London, 2018. <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefings/Summary/CDP-2018-0171/>; Scottish Government. “Scotland’s right to choose: putting Scotland’s future in Scotland’s hands.” Scottish Government, 2019. <https://www.gov.scot/publications/scotlands-rightchoose-putting-scotlands-future-scotlands-hand/>.

<sup>99</sup> Sara Salyers. “The Treaty Bites Back: A ‘Forgotten’ Constitution, Scotland’s Claim of Right.” Scottish Sovereignty Research Group, 2022. <https://www.scottishsovereigntyresearchgroup.org>

<sup>100</sup> Said, *Culture & Imperialism*, 302.

<sup>101</sup> United Nations. “Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice.” 1945. <https://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>.

from the UK union alliance as and whenever a majority of nationalist MPs were elected. Since 2015 such a majority of Scottish nationalist MPs have been elected to Westminster on three successive occasions, yet each time Scotland's MPs have refused to assert the right and democratic decision of the sovereign Scottish people to withdraw Scotland from the UK union alliance.

Post the signing of the Treaty of Union in 1706-7, and for over 300 years afterwards, the majority of Scotland's national elected representatives were pro-union. For over 300 years the political and constitutional outcome for Scotland and its people was therefore rather clear and definitive, being pro-union. It is only within the last decade or so that this reality has changed, and it has changed fundamentally. Today there are consistent majorities of Scotland's national representatives elected who are pro-independence, or who claim to be pro-independence. It is therefore Scotland's pro-independence representatives who now wield Scotland's sovereign power politically, not pro-union representatives; the latter, now an elected minority, no longer wield sovereign political power over Scotland.

However, Scotland's elected majorities of 'nationalist' MPs now advocate that independence may only be secured after a further referendum is held via a 'Section 30' Order, which can only be sanctioned by the UK Westminster Parliament. However, a Section 30 Order has repeatedly been refused and hence is blocked by successive UK Government's, resulting in the current political stasis.

Moreover, '*as a matter of law*' a referendum is not a requirement for independence.<sup>102</sup> In addition, under existing proposals, a local government or municipal franchise is used for referendums and national elections in Scotland. This form of franchise permits people of other nationalities/national identities resident in Scotland to have a vote on the constitutional matter

---

<sup>102</sup> Chris McCorkindale and Aileen McHarg. "Constitutional Pathways to a Second Independence Referendum." UK Constitutional Law Association. January 13 2020. <https://ukconstitutionallaw.org/2020/01/13/chris-mccorkindale-and-aileen-mcharg-constitutional-pathways-to-a-second-scottish-independence-referendum/>.



of Scottish independence; such a franchise is not reciprocal in other countries and arguably represents a leakage of Scottish sovereignty. Crucially, a local government franchise allowing a vote on the matter of Scotland's independence to people of national identities other than Scottish serves to inflate the anti-independence vote and effectively served to block independence in 2014.<sup>103</sup> Scotland's prevailing demographics and the changing identity of the population (i.e. becoming more 'British' and hence less 'Scottish'), suggests the same outcome (a 'No' vote) may well occur if another referendum is held based on usage of the same franchise.<sup>104</sup>

As the majority of Scotland's national representatives represent political sovereignty at any given time, it is ultimately they who must exercise and affirm the sovereignty of the Scottish people in order to secure independence. At the moment these elected representatives are refusing to assert Scottish sovereignty, instead placing their faith solely in a UK Government agreeing to a further referendum based on an irregular voting franchise.

We now see the creation of new National Parties<sup>105</sup> who are proposing that a national election must be used as a plebiscite on independence, and that an elected majority of Scotland's national representatives must then negotiate Scotland's independence and withdrawal from the UK Treaty-based alliance. Such an outcome would respect the sovereignty of Scotland's people, the democratic outcome of a national election, and the fact of the Treaty-based alliance.

In the scenario currently being played out, the dominant national party elites' behaviour aligns closely with established postcolonial theory in what may be termed here the *Decolonisation Template*.<sup>106</sup> In this regard the dominant national party (SNP) has reached its

---

<sup>103</sup> Bond, *National identities and the 2014 independence referendum in Scotland*, 92.

<sup>104</sup> Baird, *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*, 346.

<sup>105</sup> Alba Party

<sup>106</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 98.

own '*accommodation with colonialism*' and its purpose is now to delay and even to block independence. It behaves much '*like a gang*', appointing its friends to key positions and '*feathers its nest*' and '*builds up its pensions*'. It promotes bizarre policies and passes legislation which '*mystify the people*' (e.g. Gender Recognition, Hate Crime Bill, pardoning 17<sup>th</sup> century witches etc). This makes the party appear busy whilst meantime diverting attention away from the lack of progress on its core purpose – independence and the liberation of the people. Additionally, it continuously takes the independence movement up another (Section 30) *blind alley* and only mentions independence close to election time; it attacks and harasses the more 'radical' independence leaders, including using '*the arms*' of the colonial power (i.e. police and prosecutors) to do so; and this, unfortunately, is where colonialism has a tendency to develop into fascism, devoid of human values.<sup>107</sup>

A further aspect of postcolonial theory as explanation for inaction of the dominant national party leaders on independence relates to their *petrification*; they are apprehensive of asserting and affirming sovereignty, which is always a decisive moment for the nation, fearing the imperial power's '*planes and tanks*', despite being handed successive democratically elected nationalist majorities by the people sufficient to deliver independence.<sup>108</sup> This in turn is what leads to creation of new national parties (now at least three more parties) who are intent on securing liberation more rapidly. This therefore appears to be the way the decolonisation template is being played out in Scotland, as has been the case in many other countries, not least in nearby Ireland.

In addition to the need to support other national parties that are sincere about delivering independence, the Scottish people arguably still have only a rudimentary consciousness and understanding of what independence means, which is *decolonisation* and liberation from

---

<sup>107</sup> Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 34.

<sup>108</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 110.

oppression and exploitation – cultural, linguistic, political, economic, and more. In this regard the nation’s intellectuals have an important role to play, and particularly in social media and the numerous pro-independence blogging sites<sup>109</sup>, given that control of mainstream media and education at all levels is reserved to unionist institutions, the latter providing only a unionist/colonial narrative and associated propaganda on the question of Scottish independence.<sup>110</sup>

### **Ethnicity**

Some consider the racial or ethnic oppression of Scots to be rather historic, mainly related to the post-1745 Highland Clearances and the banning of the kilt and Gaelic language.<sup>111</sup> However, the Scots still constitute an ethnic minority group in the wider UK context and upon whom an Anglophone *Cultural Hegemony* continues to be imposed. This therefore remains an important factor in the marginalisation, subjugation and resulting inequality of the indigenous minority (Scottish) ethnic group encompassing Scots language speakers.

The meritocratic elite, which in a colonial environment is always *mediocre*, reflecting the narrow stream from which it is mostly sourced,<sup>112</sup> tends to be obscured in terms of the way in which institutional ethnic discrimination contributes to inequality among ethnic groups.<sup>113</sup> Social and economic inequalities imposed on the culturally oppressed group become institutionalised within what is an *ethnically stratified society*. An imposed monolingual

---

<sup>109</sup> Iain Lawson. “In Solidarity with Craig Murray.” October 15, 2021. IN SOLIDARITY WITH CRAIG MURRAY – YOURS FOR SCOTLAND (wordpress.com)/.

<sup>110</sup> John Robertson. “BBC bias and the Scots referendum.” Open Democracy, 2014. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/bbc-bias-and-scots-referendum-new-report/>; David Edwards and David Cromwell. *Propaganda Blitz – How the Corporate Media Distort Reality*. London: Pluto Press, 2018.

<sup>111</sup> Ross, *Scotland: History of a Nation*, 221; Tom M. Devine. *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History*. London: Penguin, 2012.

<sup>112</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 52.

<sup>113</sup> Chalmer E. Thompson and Helen A. Neville. “Racism, mental health, and mental health practice.” *The Counseling Psychologist* 27 (1999): 155-223.

English language requirement coupled with the promotion within the rest of the UK of higher status employment opportunities in Scotland, and with no Scots language requirement, has made settlement (in Scotland) an attractive proposition mainly for people from England, according to the census.<sup>114</sup> Here a significant *colonial imperative* is evident, which is associated with imposing a dominant culture and language on a people linked with organised movement of population into and from a territory.

Within a colonial environment, which always involves racism, prejudice and worse, there exists a prevailing institutionalised ethnic discrimination of native (i.e. Scots) speakers and their culture. Colonialism and the imposition on Scots of Anglophone cultural and linguistic domination, and with that the denigration and diminution of Scots (and Gaelic) language and culture, has created what is colloquially termed *the Scottish Cultural Cringe*.<sup>115</sup> This psychological condition is more properly known as *Appropriated Racial Oppression*, and has serious socio-economic and health impacts for an oppressed people. The psychological as well as socio-economic damage caused by the resulting ‘*self-hatred*’ of Scots (due to the effects of colonialism) has been described as *incalculable*.<sup>116</sup>

Thus, ethnic discrimination develops within the consciousness of an oppressed people as *Internalized Racism* or *Appropriated Racial Oppression*.<sup>117</sup> This involves and relates to a peoples:<sup>118</sup> appropriation of negative stereotypes; their subordination and deprivation is considered (by the oppressed group) to be deserved; the ready devaluation of one’s own group’s culture and language; patterns of thinking that support maintaining the (colonial/oppressive) status quo, and; oppressed group members seeking *conformity* with

---

<sup>114</sup> Anderson, *Migrants in Scotland’s population histories since 1850*, 81.

<sup>115</sup> Beveridge and Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture*, 21.

<sup>116</sup> Purves, *A Scots Grammar*, 2.

<sup>117</sup> Donna Bivens. “Internalized Racism: A Definition.” Women’s Theological Center, 1995. <https://www.racialequitytools.org/resource/celes/bivens.pdf/>.

<sup>118</sup> Jones, Camara, Phyllis. (2000) “Levels of racism: theoretic framework for a gardener’s tale.” *American Journal of Public Health* 90, No. 8 (2000): 1212-1215.

oppressor group culture, motivating them to discard their own culture and language and adopt that of the imposed cultural hegemony, which in this instance is Anglophone. This process is referred to as *Cultural Assimilation* in the colonial context<sup>119</sup> and is linked to the theory of *Enculturation*.<sup>120</sup>

In colonialism, ethnic discrimination (of the colonized) thus becomes *normalised*, which places limits on the personal and intellectual freedoms of an indigenous people. Ethnic oppression therefore lies at the root of inequality in a colonial environment. Here the *crushing of the colonized* – and in particular his culture, language and identity – is included among the dominant colonizer’s values; as soon as the colonized adopts these values they similarly adopt their own condemnation and that of their culture and people.<sup>121</sup>

A people’s ethnic culture and language, and hence national identity and national consciousness is intentionally marginalised and ultimately destroyed through *colonialism* and associated *Cultural and Linguistic Imperialism* policies, which is its purpose; hence the reason postcolonial theory refers to this phenomenon as *Cultural Obliteration*.<sup>122</sup> The ruling group, Anglophone in this case, effectively limit the personal and intellectual freedoms of those in the subordinate group (i.e. Scots speakers), which leads to the latter’s self-deprecation. Over time such oppression results in systemic injustice creating institutionalised disparities affecting the well-being and development of the oppressed group.<sup>123</sup>

The prevalence of high levels of *Appropriated Racial Oppression* within a people therefore helps explain why many ethnic Scots still oppose even their own independence and liberation from oppression. In this regard the oppressed group may deny and reject the notion

---

<sup>119</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 169.

<sup>120</sup> Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*.

<sup>121</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 165.

<sup>122</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 190.

<sup>123</sup> Isaac Prilleltensky and Lev Gonick. “Politics change, oppression remains: on the psychology and politics of oppression.” *Political Psychology* 17 (1996): 127-148.

or idea that they are oppressed, viewing their indigenous culture and language and hence their ethnicity as naturally *inferior* (which it is not) relative to the dominant culture/language, and as portrayed to them by the colonizer group and its institutions, media etc.; the latter hold to and promote the imposed supposedly *superior* culture and language and through this maintain the dominant *Cultural Hegemony* and hence maintain power and control – politically, economically, culturally and linguistically – over the colonised people.<sup>124</sup>

Ethnic oppression, which has become institutionalised in a society, is therefore a significant contributory factor in Scotland's anti-independence 'No' vote. Appropriated Racial Oppression may be embedded so deep in a people as to be rigid and unchanging,<sup>125</sup> which to some extent reflects the rather stable proportion of Scots who remain opposed to independence and hence reject their own liberation, an outcome that might appear illogical in other settings.

In this connection we enter into the realms of the *Colonial Mindset*, in that the effects of colonialism are considered to lead to a *disease of the mind*, which an oppressed people must cast out in order to become fully liberated.<sup>126</sup> While the cure for this condition involves '*difficult and painful treatment*', there may well be a more serious drama if colonization is permitted to continue.<sup>127</sup>

Additionally, the active blocking of Scottish independence and hence outright rejection of the offer of Scottish citizenship by significant numbers of non-Scottish voters resident in Scotland may also be considered as a form of ethnic discrimination, for in this they are blocking the *inalienable right* to self-determination of another *ethnic* group. Indeed, this may even be considered a xenophobic act whereby peoples invited into a country to live and work then actively deny the right of the indigenous host people to self-determination.

---

<sup>124</sup> Nancy Krieger. "Discrimination and health." In L. Berkman and I. Kawachi, (Eds.), *Social Epidemiology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: 36-75.

<sup>125</sup> Mark B. Tappan. "Reframing internalized oppression and internalized domination: from the psychological to the sociocultural." *Teachers College Record* 108, No. 10 (2006): 2115–2144.

<sup>126</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 142.

<sup>127</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 191.

The development of ‘*Appropriated Racial Oppression*’ among a people as a consequence of colonialism therefore helps explain much of Scotland’s constitutional dilemma whereby many ethnic Scots continue to vote to block their own independence. In this they are rejecting the offer and right to create their own national citizenship and are refusing their own liberty whilst accepting as somehow deserved their continued cultural domination, oppression and exploitation by another ethnic group amidst an illusion of the latter’s supposedly *superior* culture and language.

As the aim of independence/decolonisation is ultimately about ending ethnic discrimination, oppression, and the political, economic and cultural exploitation and inequality of a people that goes with it, this explains why independence movements primarily depend on and reflect the ethnic solidarity of the oppressed group in question,<sup>128</sup> in this case the Scots-speaking Scots.

### **Self-Determination**

Self-determination of ‘*a people*’ is a cardinal principle of the UN Charter. Here the definition of ‘*a people*’ is normally related to their holding to the same specific traditions, culture, ethnicity, history and heritage, language, sense of identity, the will to constitute a people, and common suffering.<sup>129</sup> This reflects the most common interpretation of self-determination in which a group of people hold strong social, cultural, heritage and linguistic ties, and hence have their own distinct national identity, and who are considered to then have the right to form and determine the shape of their own government and nation.<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 135.

<sup>129</sup> Abulof Uriel. “The Confused Compass: From Self-Determination to State-Determination.” *Ethnopolitics* 14, No. 5 (2015): 488-49.

<sup>130</sup> Mikulas Fabry. *Recognizing states: international society and the establishment of new states since 1776*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Self-determination independence is regarded as *decolonisation* by the United Nations, the latter establishing in 1960 a Special Committee for the purpose of Decolonization, or C-24, to help facilitate the independence process for non-self-governing territories and peoples<sup>131</sup>. The UN Declaration on *the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples* and subsequent resolutions therefore applies as much to Scotland and its people as to any other.

The Declaration itself provides the required legal linkage between self-determination and its goal of decolonisation.<sup>132</sup> Practically all territories which have decolonized since the UN Charter was created have done so through the processes of self-determination. Here the Declaration's legislative objective, much of which has been fulfilled, aimed to legally terminate the former Colonial Empires and to end their many injustices, including treaty violations. The latter still exists in what might now be regarded as the 'rump' of a formerly vast British Empire which persists in the form of the UK State and its continuing colonial relationship and exploitation of Scotland (Ireland and Wales<sup>133</sup>).

In the question of self-determination of a people it is recognised by C-24 that there should be no external interference in the process: no other countries or peoples should be involved, no external media influence, and the voter franchise should include primarily the 'people' seeking self-determination. Few if any of these conditions appear to have been respected by the UK Government during the Scottish independence referendum in 2014.<sup>134</sup> Indeed, post referendum research established that Scotland only remained in the Union because of the views and votes of those residents who were born in other parts of Britain and further

---

<sup>131</sup> United Nations, *Special Committee on Decolonization*.

<sup>132</sup> Edward McWhinney. "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, 2008. <https://legal.un.org/avl/ha/decolonization.html/>.

<sup>133</sup> Adam Price. *Wales: The First and Final Colony*. Talybont, Ceredigion: Y Lolfa Cyf, 2018.

<sup>134</sup> Robertson, *BBC bias and the Scots referendum*; Edwards and Cromwell, *Propaganda Blitz – How the Corporate Media Distort Reality*.



afield.<sup>135</sup> In other words, people coming from outside Scotland determined the final outcome, effectively blocking independence. Scotland's self-determination process is still in what might be regarded as a '*Decolonisation Phase*' yet remains subject to considerable ongoing external interference, particularly politically, and in respect of a mainstream media active in Scotland which is owned by external interests and promotes a pro-British and anti-Scottish independence agenda and narrative.

Secession, or a territory seeking to become independent from a parent state, is an aspect which does not readily 'fit' in the case of Scotland, the latter a sovereign people seeking to withdraw from its own treaty-based alliance agreement. Nevertheless, under the *Remedial Rights Theory* a territory has a right to secede if it has suffered certain injustices.<sup>136</sup> Scotland's mass population displacement (direct and indirect), continued political and economic exploitation (including an enforced EU exit), economic and social under-development, and cultural and linguistic oppressions, it might be argued, each constitute long-term injustices. Scotland's liberation also arguably fits on all aspects of the *three theories of secession*;<sup>137</sup> just-cause theory, choice theory, and nationalist theory. Additionally, in the case of Quebec's proposed secession, the Supreme Court of Canada found that, in instances of subjugation and oppression of a specific defined people, and in respect of colonies and oppressed states, such entities generally receive international backing for their sovereignty.<sup>138</sup>

Self-determination of a people is inevitably made more difficult where the population has become more ethnically diverse through occupation and demographic change, and where a unified voice has been influenced by movement across ethnic lines.<sup>139</sup> In colonialism, this

---

<sup>135</sup> McIntosh, *Majority of Scottish born voters said 'yes'*.

<sup>136</sup> Vita Gudeleviciute. (2005) "Does the Principle of Self-determination Prevail over the Principle of Territorial Integrity?" *International Journal of Baltic Law* 2, No. 2 (April 2005): Vytautas Magnus University School of Law.

<sup>137</sup> David Miller. *Is Self-Determination a Dangerous Illusion?* Cambridge: Polity, 2019.

<sup>138</sup> Canada Supreme Court Judgements. "Secession of Quebec, Report [1998] 2 SCR 217." 1998. Reference re Secession of Quebec - SCC Cases (lexum.com)/.

<sup>139</sup> Green, *Decentralization and political opposition in contemporary Africa: evidence from Sudan and Ethiopia*.

tends to be the objective of an imperial power via plantation policies, much as the British did in Ireland and many other countries,<sup>140</sup> with the intended aim to weaken the independence movements in such territories. Scotland appears to have been treated little differently in this regard.

The UN self-determination process is mainly considered relevant for colonies; whilst Scotland is arguably not a colony constitutionally, its relationship with the UK is to all intents and purposes colonial in nature and effect. Despite the socio-political reality of Scotland's colonial subjugation and exploitation, *constitutionally* the Scots are and remain a sovereign people and Scotland remains a signatory party to what is an international treaty-based alliance. A sovereign people must therefore retain the right to withdraw from or amend their own treaty-based agreements. Scots therefore have the right to independence and self-governance however this may be determined, whether by unilateral withdrawal by a majority of Scotland's MPs from the Treaty of Union alliance, or via self-determination and decolonisation.

## **Conclusions**

The *Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence* theoretical framework outlines critical aspects of societal power and cultural control mechanisms presently influencing and inhibiting Scottish independence. The 'grounded theory' framework criteria illustrates what is a colonial and hence oppressive and exploitative environment and relationship for indigenous Scottish people within the UK Union. It is this ongoing oppression and associated exploitation, ethnic in its orientation, which constitutes the main rationale for independence; hence solidarity of the oppressed ethnic group forms the basis of this or any independence movement.

The matter of the independence of a people and nation is never primarily dependent upon general policy matters, far less about political *promises* that a people may be better or

---

<sup>140</sup> Said, *Culture & Imperialism*, 283.

worse off; rather, the motivation for independence is primarily dependent on a people's national identity and hence their national consciousness, also influenced by the necessary understanding of their oppression. The basis of Scottish national identity and national consciousness relates mainly to the indigenous (i.e. *Scots*) language and culture, which is sorely diminished through the people being deprived of the right to learn their own mother tongue by a UK State and its devolved administration and institutions.

Postcolonial theory indicates that the main blockage to independence, paradoxically, may come from a dominant national party elite, the latter entering into a private *tête-à-tête* and accommodation with the colonial power and acting to block independence. The party leads the people up one blind alley after another, always stopping short of independence. Hence the creation of new national parties more focused on the urgency of delivering independence, but also creating potential for conflict the longer any delay occurs.

The effect of *Colonial Bilingualism* implies that much of Scotland's population today retains a mixed and confused *dual identity*, reflecting a linguistic and cultural divide that is colonially determined. This is no accident, given over three centuries of colonial and cultural domination resulting in what is, for Scots as with any colonised people, little more than '*a moribund culture and a rusted tongue*'. With the number of Scots language speakers in long-term decline, the sense of Scottish identity and national consciousness will continue to wane so long as the language is not taught and given authority. Postcolonial theory suggests the eventual outcome of colonialism, should it be permitted to continue, is that due to cultural assimilation 'a people' and their culture, language, identity and values will eventually *perish*, and their nation with it.

The Scots' choice here and options for any colonised people is therefore between *independence*, which is liberation from oppression, or *assimilation*; the latter involves the replacement of a people's culture and language, with many of the indigenous people assuming

the supposedly *superior* culture and language of another people. Oppressions take many forms in the colonial relationship but includes primarily political and economic exploitation which is enabled through an imposed Cultural Hegemony reflecting the dominant culture, language (Anglophone, in this case) and values. This process results in the marginalisation and under-development of the indigenous people and their nation, as reflected in Scotland's long-term economic difficulties, external exploitation and plunder of resources, inadequate infrastructure, and continuing high levels of poverty, deprivation and associated adverse health impacts.

Independence first and foremost is therefore a fight for a people's *national culture* in which indigenous language is always a significant feature; the colonized is merely borrowing the colonizer's tongue and on recovering autonomy reverts back to his own language, no matter if the vocabulary is limited. This cultural realisation forms an essential basis and foundation of any quest for '*a people's*' economic and political independence, and holds regardless of political ideology a people may adopt thereafter.

It is hoped that Scots' striving to secure their independence will be able to use the theoretical framework and analysis as set out here to their advantage, by focusing on each of the determinants and developing appropriate strategies to overcome the challenges involved. The framework and its analysis are also intended to help improve understanding more widely of what Scottish independence is really about (*decolonisation*) and why it is essential (*liberation from oppression*). Hence these research findings can be used to improve and widen understanding and awareness of the key determinants and as a strategic analytical tool to aid and secure Scotland's independence.

#### References

Academy of Medical Royal Colleges and Faculties in Scotland. "The Scottish Medical Workforce – an outline of challenges and offer of solutions." 2019. AoMRCFS-Scottish-Medical-Workforce-2019.pdf (rcpsg.ac.uk)/.

- Aitken, Adam, Jack. *The good old Scots tongue: Does Scots have an identity?* In E. Haugen, J. D. McClure and D. Thomson, eds., *Minority Languages Today*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981, 72–90.
- Anderson, Michael. “Migrants in Scotland’s population histories since 1850.” *National Records of Scotland (2015) Scotland’s Population – The Registrar General’s Annual Review of Demographic Trends, 2015*, No. 161 (2015). United Kingdom Statistics Authority. Chapter 11: 79-106.
- Anderson, Michael. *Scotland’s Populations from the 1850s to Today*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Anfara, Vincent, A. and Mertz, Norma, T. *Theoretical Frameworks in Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2015.
- Audit Scotland. “Audit of higher education in Scottish Universities.” 2016. Audit of higher education in Scottish universities | Audit Scotland ([audit-scotland.gov.uk/](http://audit-scotland.gov.uk/)).
- Baird, Alfred. *Doun-Hauden: The Socio-Political Determinants of Scottish Independence*. Kindle Direct Publishing, 2020.
- Barcan, Alan. *Sociological Theory and Educational Reality: Education and Society in Australia since 1949*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 1993.
- Bernstein, Basil, B. *Class, Codes and Control: Volume 1 – Theoretical Studies Towards A Sociology Of Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan, 1971.
- Beveridge, Craig, and Turnbull, Ronald. *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989.
- Bivens, Donna. “Internalized Racism: A Definition.” Women’s Theological Center, 1995. <https://www.racialequitytools.org/resourceles/bivens.pdf/>.
- Bond, Ross, and Rosie, Michael. “National Identities and Attitudes to Constitutional Change in Post-Devolution UK: A Four Territories Comparison.” *Regional & Federal Studies* 20, No. 1, (2010): 83-105.
- Bond, Ross. “National identities and the 2014 independence referendum in Scotland.” *Sociological Research Online* 20, No. 4, (2015): 92-104. <https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.379>
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Passeron, Jean-Claude. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications, 1990.
- Burns, Harry. “From theory to policy – the implications of recent research findings on health inequality.” Glasgow Centre for Population Health. GCPH Seminar Series 5, 2009. [https://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/0484/Harry\\_Burns\\_Summary.pdf/](https://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/0484/Harry_Burns_Summary.pdf/).
- Buttigieg, Joseph, A, (ed.) *Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Canada Supreme Court Judgements. “Secession of Quebec, Report [1998] 2 SCR 217.” 1998. Reference re Secession of Quebec - SCC Cases ([lexum.com/](http://lexum.com/)).
- Cesaire, Aime. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.

Council of Europe. "European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages: Fifth Report of the Committee of Experts in respect of the United Kingdom." 2020. Secretary General's reports on the application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (coe.int)/.

Devine, Tom, M. *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History*. London: Penguin, 2012.

Devine, Tom. "Carving out a Scottish Identity." 2013.  
<https://blogs.sps.ed.ac.uk/referendum/carving-out-a-scottish-identity>.

Edwards, David. and Cromwell, David. *Propaganda Blitz – How the Corporate Media Distort Reality*. London: Pluto Press, 2018.

Fabry, Mikulas. *Recognizing states: international society and the establishment of new states since 1776*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1970.

Glaser, Barney, and Strauss, Anselm. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

Grant, Alastair. (2018) "ECJ ruling to revoke Article 50 rubber stamped by the highest court in Scotland." 2018. <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/17311344.ecj-ruling-to-revoke-article-50-rubber-stamped-by-the-highest-court-in-scotland/?action=success#comments-feedback-anchor/>.

Green, Elliot, D. "Decentralization and political opposition in contemporary Africa: evidence from Sudan and Ethiopia." *Democratization* 18 (2011): 1087–1105.

Gudeleviciute, Vita. (2005) "Does the Principle of Self-determination Prevail over the Principle of Territorial Integrity?" *International Journal of Baltic Law* 2, No. 2 (April 2005): Vytautas Magnus University School of Law.

Hallas, Duncan. (1969) "Britain's Oldest Colony: A history of famine, brutality and heroism." *Socialist Worker*, No. 137, 11 September (1969). Duncan Hallas: Britain's oldest colony (1969) (marxists.org).

Hamilton, Richard. F. and Herwig, Holger. H. *Decisions for War, 1914-1917*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Hay, Colin and Marsh, David (Eds.). *Demystifying Globalization*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000.

Hechter, Michael. *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017.

Hochman, Adam. "Of Vikings and Nazis: Norwegian contributions to the rise and the fall of the idea of a superior Aryan race." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 54 (2015): 84–88.

House of Commons Library. "Claim of Right for Scotland." House of Commons, London, 2018. <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefings/Summary/CDP-2018-0171/>.

- Hunter, James. (1977) "Reviews. Internal Colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development, 1536-1966." *The Scottish Historical Review* 56, No. 161, Part 1 (April 1977): 103-105.
- Jones, Camara, Phyllis. (2000) "Levels of racism: theoretic framework for a gardener's tale." *American Journal of Public Health* 90, No. 8 (2000): 1212-1215.
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation. "Poverty in Scotland 2021." Poverty in Scotland 2021 | JRF/.
- Kay, Billy. *Scots – The Mither Tongue*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2006.
- Krieger, Nancy. "Discrimination and health." In L. Berkman and I. Kawachi, (Eds.), *Social Epidemiology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: 36-75.
- Lawson, Iain. "In Solidarity with Craig Murray." October 15, 2021. IN SOLIDARITY WITH CRAIG MURRAY – YOURS FOR SCOTLAND (wordpress.com)/.
- Lipski, John, M. *Varieties of Spanish in the United States*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008.
- MacKinnon, Iain, A. "Education and the colonisation of the Gaidhlig mind." *Bella Caledonia*. December 3, 2019. <https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2019/12/03/education-and-the-colonisation-of-the-gaidhlig-mind/>.
- Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom. Vol. II. 1962-1994*. London: Little, Brown & Company, 1994.
- Maxwell, Jamie. "It is unionists, not nationalists, who are obsessed with identity." *The New Statesman*, July 31, 2014. <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/07/it-unionists-not-nationalists-who-are-obsessed-identit/>.
- McArdle, Helen. (2019) "Doctor's leaders: Scotland's medical schools must have much higher intakes – and a greater share of Scottish students." *The Herald*, January 14, 2019. <https://www.heraldsotland.com/news/17981746.doctors-leaders-scotlands-medical-schools-must-much-higher-intakes---greater-share-scottish-students/>.
- McCorkindale, Chris. and McHarg, Aileen. "Constitutional Pathways to a Second Independence Referendum." UK Constitutional Law Association. January 13 2020. <https://ukconstitutionallaw.org/2020/01/13/chris-mccorkindale-and-aileen-mcharg-constitutional-pathways-to-a-second-scottish-independence-referendum/>.
- McIntosh, Lindsay. "Majority of Scottish born voters said 'yes'." *The Times*. March 27, 2015. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/majority-of-scottish-born-voters-said-yes-z7v2mmhc8nt/>.
- McWhinney, Edward. "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, 2008. <https://legal.un.org/avl/ha/decolonization.html/>.
- Medeiros, Mike. "Redefining the Influence of Language on National Attachment: Exploring Linguistic Threat Perceptions in Quebec." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 23, No. 4 (2017): 375-390.
- Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. London: Profile Books, 2021.
- Miller, David. *Is Self-Determination a Dangerous Illusion?* Cambridge: Polity, 2019.

- Murray, Craig. "The Alex Salmond Fit-Up." February 20, 2021. <https://www.craigmurray.org.uk/archives/2019/08/the-alex-salmond-fit-up/>.
- Murray, Craig. "13 Events, No Witnesses: The Prosecution Concludes the Case Against Alex Salmond." March 16, 2020. 13 Events, No Witnesses: The Prosecution Concludes the Case Against Alex Salmond - Craig Murray/.
- Pettigrew, Mark. "Red, white and blue unionism: An ideological nationalism of its own." 2016. <http://www.judecollins.com/2016/12/red-white-blue-unionism-ideologicalnationalism-mark-pettigrew/>.
- Phillipson, Robert. *Linguistic imperialism and linguicism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Phillipson, Robert, and Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. "Linguistic Genocide." In: Valodas Politika Baltijas Valstis/Language Policy in the Baltic States. Riga, Krajumu sagatavojs. Latvijas Republikas Valsts valodas centrs, 1994: 140-150.
- Prilleltensky, Isaac and Gonick, Lev. "Politics change, oppression remains: on the psychology and politics of oppression." *Political Psychology* 17 (1996): 127-148.
- Prison Reform Trust. "Prison: The Facts." Bromley Briefings, Summer 2019 Prison the facts, Summer 2019.pdf ([prisonreformtrust.org.uk/](http://prisonreformtrust.org.uk/)).
- Purves, David. *A Scots Grammar*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1997.
- Rangel, Rebecca, C. "The Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale Development and Initial Validation." Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, USA, 2014.
- Rangel, Rebecca, C. and Carter, Robert, T. "The Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale: Development and Preliminary Validation." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 21, No. 4 (2015): 497-506.
- Riley, Peter, W.J. *The Union of England and Scotland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978.
- Robertson, John. "BBC bias and the Scots referendum." Open Democracy, 2014. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/bbc-bias-and-scots-referendum-new-report/>.
- Ross, David. *Scotland: History of a Nation*. New Lanark: Lomond Books, 2008.
- Said, Edward, W. *Culture & Imperialism*. London: Vintage, 1994.
- Scottish Government. "Scotland's right to choose: putting Scotland's future in Scotland's hands." Scottish Government, 2019. <https://www.gov.scot/publications/scotlands-rightchoose-putting-scotlands-future-scotlands-hand/>.
- Shaw, Patricia, A. "Language and Identity, Language and the Land." *BC Studies – The British Columbian Quarterly*, No. 131 (Autumn 2001): 39-55.



- Silver, Paula, F. *Educational Administration: Theoretical Perspectives on Practice and Research*. New York: Harper & Row, 1983.
- Spiers, Duncan. "Education after Wittgenstein: A Causal-Cultural Theory of Reference and Meaning". Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Trinity College Dublin, 2019.
- Tappan, Mark, B. "Reframing internalized oppression and internalized domination: from the psychological to the sociocultural." *Teachers College Record* 108, No. 10 (2006): 2115–2144.
- Taylor, Jerome. "Relationship between internalized racism and marital satisfaction." *Journal of Black Psychology* 16, No. 2 (1990): 45-53.
- The Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission. "Elitist Scotland?" 2015. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/elitist-scotland/>.
- Thompson, Chalmer, E., and Neville, Helen, A. "Racism, mental health, and mental health practice." *The Counseling Psychologist* 27 (1999): 155-223.
- Tomlinson, John. *Cultural Imperialism*. London: Continuum, (2nd Edition), 2001.
- United Nations. "Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice." 1945. <https://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>.
- United Nations. "Special Committee on Decolonization." Special Committee on Decolonization | The United Nations and Decolonization/.
- Uriel, Abulof. "The Confused Compass: From Self-Determination to State-Determination." *Ethnopolitics* 14, No. 5 (2015): 488-49.
- Wightman, Andy. *The Poor Had No Lawyers: Who owns Scotland (and how they got it)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013.