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NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE BRITISH ISLES: POSITIVE OR ZERO SUM GAME

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## ABSTRACT

The concept of national identity is central to Psychology and to Political Science. Identity permits the individual to determine who they are as a person. The United Kingdom is a complex, contemporary example of an evolving national identity, in this case Scotland. The idea of how or whether to reconcile English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish identities pre-dates the Norman Conquest of 1066 and continues to evolve, e.g., with a referendum held in Scotland in October, 2014 on whether, after 300 years, to leave the United Kingdom. This topic is expansive. I have narrowed it by using concepts from Game Theory. Then, drawing upon research in the area of identity, I explain how identity it formed, its principal purposes, and key stages to its formation. Finally, I shall assess whether the development of a distinct, separate national identity in the British Isles is a positive or zero sum game.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Identity is a social construct that helps someone to answer that primordial question “Who am I?” Psychology has examined this complex construct in an attempt to better understand it and also explain why and how identity develops. Identity begins on the individual level but then continues, moving to the group level and finally to the national level. Each nation can have its own distinct sense of national identity derived from cultural ideas, beliefs, or social institutions.

Currently the world contains nearly 200 countries but there are many more “nations” than states, such as the Scottish and English. Each nation has a different form of culture and national identity. One recent example of a nation developing its own distinct nation identity is Scotland in the United Kingdom. But, can a country founded on the union of multiple nations, vastly different from each other, survive? Could the possible separation of one culture from that union be a positive or will uncertainty, even chaos, result? More importantly, what exactly is national identity, and how is it created? How does national identity affect political actions, decisions, legislation, etc.? Last fall Scotland challenged the precepts of its identity and attempted to separate from the United Kingdom, a country it has been a part of for 300 years.

But can the development of a Scottish national identity in the British Isles be a positive or zero sum game? Examination of the development of a Scottish national identity suggests the development of a Scottish national identity may harm the United Kingdom, what Game Theory calls a zero-sum game, but the answer may be far more complex.

This thesis first will examine the history of the Scottish and their relationship with the United Kingdom (U.K.). Game theory is used as a tool to understand the Scottish referendum,

examining if this development is a positive or zero sum game in the British Isles. Then identity will be examined on the individual level and moving to identity on the national scale using psychological theories. This thesis will also examine distinct elements, people, and political institutions instrumental to the development of a Scottish national identity. Finally, the results of the Scottish referendum will be compared to other regions where identity is in flux.

## **Chapter 2: Uniting the Kingdom: Bringing the Scots into the United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom was not always a country of united peoples. Before unification, the British Isles were four separate kingdoms, comprised of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, each joining at different points in time. Each of these different kingdoms had their own customs, cultures, and identities. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the English approached Scotland to discuss unification, with the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 beginning the process (BBC: British History, 2014). Elizabeth I was the last of the famous Tudor monarchs and had no living heir, so the throne passed to James Stuart (James VI, King of Scotland) (U.K. Parliament). James, who already had control over Ireland and England hoped to bring Scotland under his influence as well (U.K. Parliament). In October 1604 a commission of both Scottish and English Members of Parliament (MPs) met to discuss joining the two kingdoms (U.K. Parliament). This event became known as the Union of the Crowns. But union was no easy task; each respective group had its own problems with the others. Separate religions between the two nations was a problem that would cause centuries of discord (BBC: British History, 2014). The Gunpowder Plot was a warning to James I, if not other future rulers of England, religion would be a major issue (BBC: British History, 2014). James I (now of England) made small reforms in the Union to try and

satisfy the Scots, though larger, more extreme reforms would happen in the future, attempting to limit the Scottish in many ways (U.K. Parliament).

The English and the Scots had an extremely short lived honeymoon period after unification. James I son, Charles I, attempted to introduce a new prayer book, which the Scots disliked (BBC: British History, 2014). Charles I responded with attempts to crush Scottish distain, which failed (BBC: British History, 2014). Ireland also caused problems for the English and civil war broke out, only to be stopped by Oliver Cromwell in 1649 (BBC: British History, 2014). In order to quell the violence, Cromwell annexed both Scotland and Ireland to England, and the English monarchy fell (U.K. Parliament). Westminster soon represented the entirety of the British Isles, an idea which Ireland or Scotland never supported (U.K. Parliament). While violence had stopped, the Union would take another 40 years to become a reality. During the Convention the United Kingdom Parliament met in Edinburgh, Scotland and proposed official unification (U.K. Parliament).

The process was extremely slow and took until 1705 for real progress on the idea of unification, and the Scots received less than they had hoped for. Lord Somers proposed two bills, one renewed negotiations for the unification while the other entirely undercut the Scottish (U.K. Parliament). This bill, called the Alien Bill, angered the Scots for two major reasons. First, the bill stated unless the Scots agreed to negotiate unification and accept the Hanoverian succession by Christmas day of 1705, any type of “staple” products of Scottish origin would be banned from importation into England (U.K. Parliament). The second part of the bill made the Scots feel like second class citizens; Scots would lose their privileges as Englishmen under English law, a major threat to property ownership in England (U.K. Parliament). The bill became law in 1705



and Scots soon became angry. They would respond with a “ruthless” killing of Captain Green, an English sailor, for entering Scottish waters (U.K. Parliament). The relationship between the Scottish and English was anything but good.

Finally in 1707, union became a reality, and the Scots finally received access to English colonial markets (U.K. Parliament). More importantly, the Alien Bill was overturned by the Articles of Union and returned the Scottish privileges as Englishmen (U.K. Parliament). Despite the positive outcomes for the Scots, there was still protest, which sometimes turned violent (U.K. Parliament). Contrary to the backlash from Scots, including anti-union support from the Country Party, the Acts of Union passed and two kingdoms became one (U.K. Parliament).

### **Trouble in the Union: Civil Unrest in the United Kingdom**

Almost as soon as the Union was created there was unrest among the Scots. First, they essentially voted to end their own parliamentary life (U.K. Parliament). The Scottish electoral map was redrawn, with 30 MPs representing the counties and 15 new burgh districts. But in the new system each burgh no longer had its own representative (U.K. Parliament). The Queen then revealed the reason why the English had pursued unification with Scotland — the war with France (U.K. Parliament). The Scottish continued to feel the abuse of the English, and in 1708 the Scottish Privy Council was abolished by Parliament (U.K. Parliament). The Privy Council was the executive body responsible for overseeing the government in Scotland. Now, Scottish local structures were left to supervise themselves, with little help from England (U.K. Parliament). Even worse, the Scots paid new taxes, to “bring them in line with [England]”, leading to opposition and violent attacks on customs and excise officials (U.K. Parliament).

The death of Queen Anne in August of 1714 sparked violent reactions in Scotland. This was not due specifically to the Queen's death, but instead with the succession of King George I, with English Jacobites suspected of planning an uprising in Wales (U.K. Parliament). Earl of Mar, John Erskine, gathered a force of 16,000 men and took control over much of the Highlands of Scotland. The uprising is important because it showed the massive dissatisfaction of Scots with the Union (U.K. Parliament). Despite having the larger force, Erskine lost to the English state and retreated to France in 1716 (U.K. Parliament). Attempts to peacefully subdue the Highlands of Scotland were ineffective so leaders of the rebellion were executed or deprived of their estates (U.K. Parliament).

Problems between the English and Scottish would continue. Charles Edward, son of the "Old Pretender", gathered a force of 3,000 men to challenge England (U.K. Parliament). As he marched to London the massive force, he was massacred by English forces (U.K. Parliament). As Edward escaped to France, the British responded harshly towards the Scottish.

In 1746 the English exercised their power and passed various acts against the Scots. The Dress Act banned Highland dress, with harsh penalties (Scottish Tartans Authority). Under the Act, being convicted meant a six month prison sentence (Scottish Tartans Authority). A second offense would result in transportation to "plantations beyond the seas" for seven years (Scottish Tartans Authority). The Dress Act was a smaller section of the Acts of Proscription which had the ultimate goal of assimilating the Scottish Highlands into the English culture, crushing their ability to revolt, and destroying the age-old clan system in Scotland (Scottish Tartans Authority). In order to dissolve the clan system, the Act of Heritable Jurisdiction was passed. The act abolished the long-term social structure of the Highlands which was important because it was central to the power and authority of the clan system (U.K. Parliament). England had all but

stripped Scotland of its culture and now, social institutions disappeared. Over the coming centuries the English established their identity in the world and many of the harsh feelings between England and Scotland were forgotten, mainly because the British shifted focus to the colonies across the Atlantic. Despite the focus shift, English repression of the Scottish had massive implications, and in 300 years, would threaten the future of the United Kingdom.

### **Chapter 3: Understanding Game Theory**

Originally an idea from economics, game theory examines a person's most favorable activity and the opportunity costs associated with that decision. Specifically, it examines the outcomes made between two parties and the choice they make. The first example of game theory was in 1838 and since then has been widely used. The theory has been adapted for use across a wide variety of different disciplines, political science being one. Game theory assumes that "individuals rationally pursue goals subject to constraints imposed by physical resources as well as the behavior of other actors" (McCarty & Meirowitz, 2007, p. 5). According to Turocy & von Stengel (2001) game theory is:

The formal study of conflict and cooperation. Game theoretic concepts apply whenever the actions of several agents are interdependent. These agents may be individuals, groups, firms, or any combination of these. The concepts of game theory provide a language to formulate, structure, analyze, and understand strategic scenarios. (p. 2)

Several important terms must be understood before proceeding. In game theory, a "player" is an agent, which can be individuals, groups, or firms, who make a decision in the

“game” (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). Each player is seeking a “payoff” which “reflects the desirability of an outcome to a player” (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001, p. 3). This “payoff” incorporates the player’s attitude towards risk (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). In order to secure a “payoff” the players must engage in “strategy”, which is one of the possible courses of action for the player (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). A huge advance in the theory came in 1950, with economist John Nash. Nash showed that finite games, games with only a limited number of choices, have an equilibrium point (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). This equilibrium point is the point at “which all players choose actions which are best for them given their opponents’ choices” (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001, p. 4). At the most basic level, John Nash showed that people act in their best interest, based on the choices at an opponent’s disposal.

To apply this to the case of Scotland and the United Kingdom, both are considered “players” in the “game”. Scotland seeks the “payoff” of more autonomy from the United Kingdom in the form of independence. The United Kingdom seeks the “payoff” of maintaining the Union that had stood for three centuries, as well as the economic benefits of keeping Scotland in the Union. In order to secure their respective “payoff” the two players engage in “strategy”, in this case the referendum this past September. During the engagement in strategy, players are assumed to have *complete information*, in that they have a sufficient amount of knowledge about the context of their choices and can accurately predict the consequences (McCarty & Meirowitz, 2007). However, there are only a finite number of options that the two players can choose as a form of payoff. In this case, the only viable options are remaining in the Union or leaving.

Game theory posits there are two different types of games players can employ; first are cooperative games which are coalitional in nature (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). Like two parties in a parliamentary system who do not quite have the majority. Multiple parties must work together to achieve their goals and accomplish their ultimate goals, or “payoffs”, while splitting the outcomes with each other. Scotland and England have shown to have engaged in a cooperative game back in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, despite the civil unrest that frequently occurred. However, the two worked together to make the United Kingdom stronger, contrary to harsh treatment of the Scots. On the opposite side of game theory, there is conflict; these games are known as noncooperative (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). Instead of focusing on splitting the outcomes and working together players focus on strategic choices, how can they benefit most while their competition benefits the least (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). In noncooperative games, players will not always agree; in noncooperative games, players only look out for their interest and how to maximize their goals with no concern for other players. Timing is everything in noncooperative games, as are details of the decision which are “crucial” to understanding the outcome of the game (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). For example, having the referendum in Scotland in October, or a point when national identity is high, versus having the referendum two years later. By having the referendum when national identity is high in the country, the Scottish National Party can maximize its goals and gain the payoff of separation. If the referendum were held in two years, or when national identity is at a low point, there could be time for the English and Scottish to remedy the problems. In this case, the “payoff” of independence would be unlikely. The referendum, and years leading up to it, can be seen as a noncooperative game. The Scottish attempted to gain the most benefit while leaving the English with the least possible. To the Scottish, total autonomy was the main goal of the game.

## Chapter 4: Explanation of Identity: Who Am I?

Identity is a social construction that allows for someone to answer the question; who am I? Formation of identity goes beyond this simple question. First identity will be examined on the individual level. Next, identity will be examined in relation to the larger group, citing both the positives and the negatives from group identity. As the group continues to grow, a nation could develop with its own distinct sense of identity shared by each of the citizens now part of the “nation”.

Psychology has studied identity, its formation, and provided some crucial information to better understand its nature. Development of an identity is a process each person experiences and continues throughout life. But for a social construction that all of us develop, the fact that identity is universal does *not* imply it is easy to understand. William James, an American psychologist, explained identity as

A man’s character [which] is discernible in the mental or moral attitude in which, when it came upon him, he felt himself most deeply and intensely active and alive. At such moments there is a voice inside which speaks and says: ‘*This* is the real me!’ (Myers, 1986, p.49).

James’s definition is very complicated, Cobb (2010) offers a simpler definition, “the aspect of one’s personality of which one is aware and experiences as a meaningful coherent whole” (p. 149). Defining identity is important but the more difficult question, how is it formed, remains. Erikson, provides the answer; “to form identity requires the experiencing of an inner sameness so that some order, which must continue over time, exists in one’s actions and

decisions” (Lavoie, 1994, p.1). Typically, in order to establish this sameness, “the dynamics of identity formation involve synthesis and resynthesis of previous identifications as well as differentiation and integration” (Lavoie, 1994, p.1). Essentially, in order to form an identity someone must continuously undergo reformation of their own identity while differentiating themselves from others and integrating themselves with others. The whole process seems almost contradictory, defining yourself *by* others while defining yourself *from* others. Identity is not a fixed trait, and in order to continue to develop the sense of who we are we must *continuously* compare ourselves to others to determine who we are and how we compare with others.

Why is identity formed? What purpose does it serve? In his book, *The Evolving Self: Problem and Process in Human Development*, Robert Kegan (1982) explains that individuals partition their experiences into “rough cuts” which help determine the “me” versus the “not me”. This action is what Lavoie (1994) discusses when we distinguish ourselves from others. We determine what aspects are similar to us and those that are not. Erikson’s statement confirms Kegan’s (1982) hypothesis of identity formation. In defining “me” someone is integrating themselves with others all while also defining “not me” and differentiating themselves. This process is known as individuation, in which one distinguishes their own attitudes and beliefs from those of others (Cobb, 2010). Typically, adolescents develop their own views and attitudes different from their parents while integrating with their friends’ views. Adults would differentiate between friends, colleagues, and other people they interact with. These experiences have frequently been divided into three different forms of identity: sexuality, occupational and ideology (Cobb, 2010). Someone must develop one of these forms to progress to another; for example, someone must define their sexual identity, such as their gender preferences, before they

can determine their occupational or ideological identity (Cobb, 2010). But there is not a linear progression, sexual identity is not necessarily the “first” in the list. Any of the three can be explored and developed. For example, one person can develop a sexual identity and then move to developing their occupational identity. Another person could develop their occupational identity and then move to their ideological identity. There is no fixed order in which someone must progress.

Knox, Funk, Elliott & Bush (2000) offers a different perspective entirely; people, specifically adolescents, try out different “possible selves” to determine which fits best for them. Again, Lavoie (1994) statement provides support for Knox, Funk, Elliott & Bush (2000); in order for identity to be formed, it must be resynthesized multiple times. Berzonsky (1992) argues identity serves as an “organizer of experience”. Kegan (1982) idea of identity as formation of “rough cuts” is very similar to Berzonsky’s (1992) idea of identity as an “organizer of experience”. These two theories support the idea that identity serves the final purpose of helping us define and understand our reality, our experiences, and define ourselves from those experiences.

### **Defining Myself from Others: Social Identity Theory**

An individual can develop a sense of individual identity but people do not exist alone without any interaction with others. Humans inherently group together with others in order to fulfill some sort of primordial need, after all, humans are social creatures. The group someone becomes a part of can play a role in how that person comes to identify themselves. Erikson again explained:



It dawns on us, then, that one person's or group's identity may be [in] relation to another's, and that the pride of gains a strong identity may signify an inner emancipation from a more dominant group identity, such as that of the 'compact majority'. (1968, p.30).

Erikson's statement references one of the most prominent psychological theories which explains why national identity is developed: Social Identity Theory. This theory was developed by Henri Tajfel, with help from John Turner in 1979. The theory attempts to explain how people identify with a group and assist in the cementation of their own of identity. This group is conceptualized as a

collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and their membership to it. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40).

People become part of a group because of similarities in some aspect, whether those are, religious beliefs, political ideology, etc. As Erikson discussed, to form an identity someone must feel "inner sameness" as other people so order can "exist in one's actions and decisions" (Lavoie, 1994). Michael Billig offers another approach to national identity, similar to Tajfel & Turner's idea; "an identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life" and to have a national identity "involves being situated physically, legally, socially as well as emotionally: typically, it means being situated within a homeland" (Billig, 1995, p. 8). For example, many Scots share a common definition, better yet, the perception, of belonging to the same social category. Phinney

(1996) added the status of one's group in society is an important component of ethnic identity. Remember, England passed many acts that limited the Scottish people in some way. The Dress Act prohibited highland dress, the Alien Bill banned any type of "staple" products of Scottish origin from importation into England, and the Acts of Proscription sought to end the Scots' power to revolt. While England did repeal many of the Acts passed against the Scottish, those Acts had more immediate effects on the Scottish. By simply passing and maintaining those Acts the English showed the Scots their distaste. The Acts served to show the Scottish, the English perceived them as inferior by stifling manifestations of their own culture. The actions of the English, by treating the entire Scottish population as inferior, brought the Scots together. For example, if the English see the Scottish as inferior the Scottish people could then think, "so if we are all second to the English we must be the same". This would serve to bring the people together as a more cohesive group.

Social categorizations serve a deeper purpose than simply uniting a group of people. Social categorizations allow the social environment to be "segment[ed], classif[ied], and order[ed]" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This idea is reminiscent of identity serving as an "organizer of experience" (Berzonsky, 1992). These social categorizations serve as a system of self-reference, which allows someone to define their place in society (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Membership within the group, "along with the value placed on it, is defined as the social identity" (Trepte, 2006, p.258). Tajfel & Turner (1979) posit there are three key general assumptions when it comes to social identity:

1. Individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem; they strive for a positive self-concept

2. Social groups people belong to can have a positive or negative connotation. This depends on the evaluations of the group which contributes to someone's social identity

3. Someone evaluates their own group in comparison to other groups in "terms of value-laden attributes and characteristics"

Using these three assumptions we can reason, social identity occurs because someone hopes to boost their self-esteem. This boost in self-esteem depends largely on the group's effect on that person, in relation to other groups. For example, a Scotsman joins the local political party. He hopes by joining this group he can feel acceptance and boost his overall self-esteem. The political party views him favorably and he receives a boost in his self-esteem in return. While being part of this group, the Scotsman also compares his group to a rival political party. He sees his party helps the local community while the rival party does nothing to support the community. The Scotsman could then receive an increase in self-esteem because of the good things his group does for the community. But is social identity always a good thing? No. Identity involves comparisons with other people in order to determine where the individual fits into the group. Tajfel & Turner (1979) explained, "social groups that people belong to can have a positive *or* negative connotation" (p.40). Part of the comparison involves rejection of those we feel we are not similar to. When done often this can turn into a sense of inflated self-worth, and feeling the other of lesser worth. For example, returning to the Scotsman from the previous example; as he compares himself and his group to the rival political party, he sees his group helps the local community while the rival political party does not. He could see himself as a better than the other party because he helps the community while they do not. This can create feelings of insecurity and widen divisions among groups. This action is known as out-group bias.

### **Out-Group Bias & Realistic Conflict Theory**

In order for one to define themselves based on group identity, the group itself must be compared to other groups, known as social comparison (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). But what happens when this social comparison goes too far? In-group and out-group bias are major problems of a social identity; comparison often leads to an evaluation of superiority or inferiority of their own group in relation to others (Trentham, 2006). If someone views their group as superior to another group, this can lead to out-group hate. Typically, the out-group does not share similar characteristics as the in-group and is then viewed negatively. Tajfel (1970) was one of the first to test this idea of in-group/out-group bias; in his experiment subjects were randomly assigned to two “nonoverlapping” groups. Money was then assigned to pairs of *other* subjects, not including the self. Recipients were anonymous, except for codes that distinguished the group receiving the amount of money. The important part of the paradigm was subjects had no social interaction or “any ration[al] link between economic self-interest and the strategy of in-group favoritism” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.38). Tajfel (1970) found more money was assigned to someone’s own group and less to the other groups, suggesting a type of “discrimination against the out-group”. This finding is important to social identity theory. It appears, as one group defines itself, the group shows a type of favoritism towards themselves and has a more negative, discriminatory view of the other group.

Realistic Conflict Theory offers an explanation (Sherif, 1966). The central hypothesis of this theory is the “real conflict of [a] group’s interests causes intergroup conflict” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.1). Sherif (1966) found when conflicts are more intense between two groups, the more often individuals from opposing groups will act harsh towards each other. These actions

towards the out-group relate to their group membership instead of individual characteristics (Sherif, 1966). Basically, if two groups are feuding, their respective members will act towards the out-group based on the group ideal, not their personal ideals. This then cements their own social identity with their in-group while rejecting those unlike them. Typically individuals define each other as alike or different from the others, usually this takes on a “better” than the others or “worse” than “us”. Tajfel, Flament, Billig & Bundy (1971) found similar results; members of the in-group showed favoritism towards their own group and subsequent discrimination against those in the out-group. Participants tried to increase the overall reward for their in-group while trying to lessen the rewards the out-group received, even to the point of disregarding in-group profit among members. This finding suggests that in-groups will be more concerned with hurting the out-group than helping their in-group. This appears irrational though, to have a group so focused on hurting the other group, they disregard their own benefit. This action shows the strength of group allegiance.

According to Game Theory (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001) this could be an aspect of a noncooperative game. Players are more concerned with their own goals while disregarding the goals of the other player entirely. This occurred 300 years ago in the British Isles. The English had their own group identity as did the Scots. After the Union of the Crowns and during the unification, England passed several laws that hindered the Scots. The Dress Act, among others, directly showed out-group bias towards the Scots. Certain acts protected English self-interest and heightened their group, while bringing down the Scots. This is a perfect example of a zero sum game from game, one player’s gain is the other player’s loss. The Scots were negatively impacted in that their dress and other cultural customs were inhibited by the English’s out-group

bias and thus the Scottish national identity was threatened while the English benefited by encouraging the Scottish assimilate.

### **Identity Goes National: The Development of National Identity**

As other people join a group the size of that group grows. This larger collective could then come to constitute a country or nation of people. Identification with a larger group is key to developing a sense of nationalism and national identity.

To many people, the term “nation” is synonymous with country. France, the United States, and China are typically seen as both countries and nations, the term is used interchangeably. Currently there are almost 200 *countries* in the world, but there are many more than 200 *nations*. A *nation* is a “named human population” (Thomsen, Andersen, Christensen, Nielsen, & Troest, 1998). For example, the United Kingdom is made up of differing populations of Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English, each perhaps a different nation. So, those people in Scotland that feel more Scottish are an example of a named human population in the United Kingdom. These people would comprise the “Scottish nation”. In the present world, nations do not exist in “isolation” but exist in a “world of nations” (Billig, 1995, p. 20). Identity is formed from different experiences, usually during adolescence, as identity is continuously formed and reshaped. However, identity is influenced by a multitude of different events, people, or experiences and “as far as nationality is concerned, one needs to look for the reasons why people in the contemporary world do not forget their nationality” (Billig, 1995, p. 7).

Two of these factors are ethnicity and culture. Ethnicity and culture not only help a person develop an identity, but also play a large role in the development of a national identity. Cohen (1993) explains that the ethnic aspect of identity refers to a “decision people make to depict themselves or others symbolically as the bearers of a certain cultural identity” (p. 197). Cobb (2010) offers another definition; ethnic identity is the “awareness of belonging to an ethnic group that shapes ones thoughts and feelings” (p. 157). Again the idea of integration from Erikson presents itself. Integration continuously seems to appear whenever an identity is formed. People need to integrate and be part of a group in order to define who they are, referencing Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Cohen’s (1993) statement has an interesting part to it; “bearers of a certain cultural identity”. Cohen’s (1993) statement suggests people carry on their own culture through their identity. Typically those that are similar in ethnicity do share similar cultures. Cohen (1993) explains the reason for why culture develops as a “result of social interaction” with people being “agents” in its creation. Ethnicity would therefore be responsible for the creation of culture which then aids in development of a national identity. If this statement is accurate, then ethnicity aids in the creation of culture which in turn develops identity. Therefore, culture must play an important role in the development of identity. This “culture as identity” refers to the attempt to represent the “person or group in terms of a refined and/or emblemized culture” (Cohen, 1993, p. 1).

Geographic state boundaries do not always correspond with national boundaries, such as the United Kingdom or the Catalans in Spain. Scotland is instead a smaller “nation” inside the United Kingdom. Scottish culture, the kilt, the bagpipes, and even the haggis are important parts

to the Scottish cultural identity. These items can serve almost as “ingredients” for a national identity.

## **Chapter 5: The Ingredients of a National Identity**

National identity is important to any nation, as it allows for preservation of that culture. One early hypothesis, proposed by Eller and Coughlan (1993), was that national identity was created as a form of “primordial tie”. According to Eller and Coughlan (1993) this primordial tie ultimately serves to bring the person and nation together. Many different aspects of a country, a type of food, national monument, even a style of clothing is a form of national identity which can bring people in a nation together. The French have the Eifel Tower, the English have their tea and bowler hats, the Scots have bagpipes and haggis. Each of these different items serve as symbols of the culture and are a part of their national identity. So is there a list of the “ingredients” to make an identity? Cohen (1993) explains one aspect needed to develop a type of cultural identity. For one, a “patrimoine and history, or acknowledged need for one” is essential (Cohen, 1993). Other important parts of a cultural identity include symbols and “invention of tradition” (Cohen, 1993). Billig also explained the importance of tradition, often a key aspect in a national identity; “through the invention of traditions, national identities were being created as if they were ‘natural’, even eternal, features of human existence” (Billig, 1995, p. 26). So it appears that tradition is the first important ingredient to a national identity.

Cohen’s (1993) checklist for a cultural identity is 20 years old, and has it held up to time? Ruiz, Kosic & Kiss (2006) examined what different aspects help define a national identity. Ruiz, Kosic & Kiss (2006) found among the aspects were a common history, language, and a common



culture. So these findings are quite consistent with Cohen (1993). Therefore, it is possible in order for a nation to develop a sense of identity there needs to be a history, symbols of the culture, a culture itself and also tradition. One element Cohen (1993) did not single out, but Ruiz, Koscic, & Kiss (2006) found important, was a common language. 18<sup>th</sup> century philosophers, Johann Gottfried von Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, suggested that language was the original basis for the nation (Billig, 1995). After all, people who speak a similar language often group together as if they were “irresistibly drawn together” (Snyder, 1976, p. 21). Further support for these ingredients can be seen; Thomsen, Andersen, Christensen, Nielsen, & Troest (1997), when defining a nation explained there was a “sharing of a historic territory, common myths, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members”. So we see much agreement in what sort of “ingredients” are needed to develop a cultural identity, or a national identity. Therefore, it appears the *key* aspects that are needed to develop a national identity:

- a common history/myths about the people
- symbols that represent the nation
- a similar culture between the people
- tradition of the people

Other research has suggested language is also an important component (Ruiz, Koscic & Kiss, 2006). But these ingredients are not the only requirements for a sense of identity in the nation. A nation is a “named group of people”, and in order for a nation to exist there must be a group of people. People play a role in the development of not just a singular person’s identity but

as the identity of the nation as well. Cohen (1993) called people of the nation “agents” who through, the “result of social interaction”, create a nation.

### **Chapter 6: Influences on National Identity Formation in Scotland**

There are many different “ingredients” that influence the creation of a national identity. Previous research (Cohen, 1993; Ruiz, Kotic, & Kiss, 2006; Andersen, Christensen, Nielsen, & Troest, 1997) has shown the main components are:

- a common history/myths about the people
- symbols that represent the nation
- a similar culture between the people
- tradition of the people

Now I shall focus on Scotland as an important, current aspect of an evolving national identity. The development of a cohesive, unique Scottish national identity has been influenced by many parts of their society. While there are several, if not hundreds, that have influenced the Scottish national identity this thesis will examine some of the key influences.

#### **Educating the Scottish in National Identity: The Role of Education**

Education is an important part of every nation as it allows for the passing on of ideas, customs of the culture. Scotland is no exception. Education allows for the development of many aspects of culture which were explained in Ruiz, Kotic & Kiss (2006), namely a common

language, myths and history of the Scottish people (BBC: Education Act). However, the Scots did not always have control of their education system. During unification, Scotland relinquished control of education to the English. In 1872 that changed with the Education (Scotland) Act. Due to Scottish pressure, the English passed the Act which returned control of education to the Scots. Reform of the Scottish education system contributed to the development of a Scottish identity. The Act brought the education system under governmental control instead of being left to the church (BBC: Education Act). Previously, “education authorities were actively discouraging Gaelic and pushed young speakers towards speaking English fluently” (BBC: Education Act). By returning power to the government children of Scotland could be taught about various aspects of their own culture and language. This event was pivotal in helping to develop a national identity in Scotland. As Ruiz, Pascal & Kiss (2006) explained, among other theorists in the discipline, a culture is a key aspect of a national identity. Education is important because it is essentially a “mirror” of the culture being taught; Scottish culture in this case (BBC: Education Act). By learning similar things students could feel part of a related group, with a common culture. This would allow social comparison and social categorization in which case Scottish children would “perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and their membership to it” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Bringing the education system back under Scotland’s control turned out to be very important. The education system would help develop a sense of what Michael Billig (1995) calls, banal nationalism. In his book, *Banal Nationalism*, Billig explains that “banal nationalism” is

“ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced” (p. 6). Billig explains that every single day “the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’, in the lives of its citizenry” (p. 6). But, as Billig explains, this “flagging” is not simply due to “the flag hanging outside the public building, or the national emblem” or “on the coinage of the realm” (p. 93).

Citizens of established nations are “unmindfully reminded of their national identity” (Billig, 1995, p. 95). Therefore, through this constant reminder of “who we are” people feel an attachment to their country. The Scottish National Party (SNP), the party largely responsible for the referendum, took this banal nationality and, using the Scottish parliament as a platform, turned it into a political force. Billig (1995) continues by explaining, “nations have traditions of arguing about who ‘we’ are” (p. 96). Arguing is important because it allows different factions to “argue about how ‘we’ should think of ‘ourselves’ and what is to be ‘our’ national destiny” (p. 96). The SNP could be seen as a faction that represents who the Scottish people are, how they view themselves and, most important, national destiny. In 1951 the SNP only polled 0.3% of the vote, however, by 1974 the SNP had polled over 30% (BBC: Devolution). The constant gains in electoral seats and political power show the SNP in changing banal nationalism into active nationalism.

### **Holyrood: Creation of the Scottish Parliament**

The Scottish Parliament is another institution in the development of a Scottish national identity. The Scottish Parliament represents how Scots feel different than the English. The Scottish Parliament can also serve as a symbol of the difference between the two in politics. This symbol can then aid in the development of a distinct Scottish national identity. The Scottish

pushed for a restoration of their own parliament because they felt English should not be making political decisions and became known as Home Rule (BBC: Devolution). With the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the push for Home Rule and ultimately an increase in national identity grew (BBC: Devolution). In 1932, *The Scottish Daily Express* conducted a poll in 35,000 homes and found 113,000 people favored Home Rule with only 5,000 against (BBC: Devolution). But, despite clear ties to the Scottish identity, people were concerned about joining parties only focusing on Home Rule, so the idea was sidelined (BBC: Devolution). Many Scots fought for decades trying to advance this idea of Home Rule, with much help from the Scottish National Party. Home Rule, an idea once considered a marginal or “fringe” idea was soon advocated by mainstream parties; even the Conservative Party. Originally against the idea, they picked it up in 1968 with the Declaration of Perth (BBC: Devolution).

Scotland would never enter serious talks of devolution until the middle 90’s (BBC: Devolution). In 1995 the Constitutional Convention created a blueprint for Scotland’s Parliament with the idea, Scotland Parliament, Scotland’s Right (BBC: Devolution). The Convention was led by “priestly” Reverend Canon Kenyon Wright who suggested the “Convention itself was about preserving and improving the Union” (Smith, 1994, p. 20). Eventually the Scots received their own Parliament, separate from Westminster.

### **Scotland Gains Some Autonomy: The White Paper**

Scots continued to assert their national identity, and helped to create the White Paper, an influential plan for legislation in the United Kingdom. July 24, 1995, the White paper was

released, and was probably one of the most significant pieces of legislation for Scotland's devolution debate (BBC: Devolution).

The White Paper provided insight on the development of Scottish national identity. The White Paper essentially allows the Scots to make many decisions about their own country, with some reservations, such as taxes. The largest and most defining characteristic of the White Paper is "in the devolved areas the [Scottish] Parliament will be able to overturn laws previously passed by the Westminster Parliament" (BBC: Devolution). This statement is important because it allows the Scottish to examine the laws Westminster has passed and change some of them. The Scottish can essentially compare themselves to the English. If the Scots feel they are best governed by the English, English law remains. But if they feel they are best governed by themselves, the law is overturned. By comparing themselves to the English, they establish a group feeling and thus an identity, what it means to be Scottish (Trepte, 2006). Simply put, the Scots showed they did not feel English on a political level and therefore should be allowed to make their own decisions. This led to the White Paper. The Scottish public felt a stronger attachment to their own nation, voiced their opinion by choosing the SNP to represent them and accomplish devolution for Scotland. The idea itself, devolution from a union that has lasted for almost 300 years, occurred for essentially one reason; the Scots are not the same as the English.

### **Power in Print: The Role of Scottish Press on National Identity**

As with every country, the press played an important role. In Scotland, the press was instrumental in helping to develop a national identity and in supporting devolution. Papers in Scotland are extremely important, "Scots read more newspapers per head than do the rest of the

British population” (Smith, 1994, p.1). Also, newspapers were thought to be “pillars of the Scottish establishment” and had “much to do with the Scottish dichotomy”; “we are a nation without a Parliament, without a ‘real’ capital in terms of having a genuine seat of power” (p. 1). Perhaps the most important influence the papers had was the “important distinction about our identity as Scots rather than Britons” (p. 1).

What have papers done other than to help the Scots determine their anti-English feelings towards their southern neighbors? Papers were largely instrumental in pushing for Home Rule and overall devolution. Since 1974, Home Rule has been strongly supported by Scottish newspapers (Smith, 1994). Newspapers would continually play a role in constitutional lobbying, in hopes of constitutional reform (Smith, 1994). Scottish newspapers would report on the “continued humiliation of a stumbling and bereft Scottish Conservative and Union party” which, the papers felt, would lead to an “inevitable progression towards a Scottish Assembly” (p. 15). Even more, Scottish newspapers would begin what was thought of as the “media bandwagon on Home Rule” (p. 17). The newspapers played a larger role in policy making and the creation of the Scottish parliament, probably more than previously thought (Smith, 1994).

Scottish newspapers again aided the Scottish cause, this time focusing on the development of a Scottish parliament. During the process of the Scottish Parliament’s creation, the Glasgow Herald “published its own blueprint for ‘The Governance of Scotland’” and the Scotsman “produced a formula for tax-raising by a Scottish parliament. It was one of those moments when newspapers play at policy-making” (p. 28). The clearest example is the poll the *Scotsman* published showing the strong support of home rule in Scotland. But why would these be important? For one, with the large base of readers the poll would be able to reach thousands of Scots. Then, according to social comparison, people would compare themselves to others, in

this case the 50 percent that support Home Rule (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Then Scots would examine their own views in relation to others. This could result in changing their views, and in order to feel a positive self-esteem, thereby changing their beliefs. Suddenly, an aspect of the Scottish national identity is supporting Home Rule, fueled by the *Scotsman* poll.

Further, the *Scotsman* had many adamant and active members of the Scottish National Party working at the newspaper and it frequently ran articles that were distinctly Scottish (Smith, 1994). Eric Mackay, editor of the *Scotsman*, even once exclaimed “my job is to unite Scotland!” (p. 32). So, even if the newspaper did not openly support devolution or independence, there could have been some type of undertones in the writing or even the stories featured. But how would this translate into the development of a national identity? Perhaps by continually seeing articles, those who already support the idea of independence would come to support it even more strongly. Additionally, those that are not as supportive may come to support those ideas. Suddenly, more of the population of Scotland feels they are different and the English should not be dictating how the Scottish should be “ruled”.

Finally, one must discuss Scottish views of Margret Thatcher and her conservative policies. To the Scots, she was someone who could openly blame them for their own problems and tell them simply, it is their fault. Scottish newspapers frequently ran articles featuring her right wing hatred, which could increase dislike for her and also the Tories. Realistic Conflict Theory explains people can further their own group identity through the hatred of others and see how the others are “different” than them (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This theory explains people will highlight the difference between each other could serve to bring the two separate groups closer together. For example, Margret Thatcher would be the source of hatred, with the Scottish unity increasing because of their own hatred for her, in addition to the continued hatred she



would display towards them. This cycle would serve alienate the Scottish from the English, while simultaneously bringing the Scottish people closer together.

Soon all the forces that helped the development of a Scottish national identity: education, the Scottish Parliament, the White Paper, Scottish newspapers and the Scottish National Party would move the Scottish attitudes towards the idea of complete independence. This time, Scotland came closer to independence than ever before in just a third of a millennium.

### **The Scottish National Party: Protectors of Scotland or Destroyers of the Union?**

The final, and perhaps the strongest, influence on Scottish national identity is the Scottish National Party (SNP). Generally, the party has favored independence for Scotland, explaining the Scots are not English and should not be joined with them or allow them to make decisions for Scotland. When people cast their vote for the SNP, they are essentially saying yes, I agree with this statement.

1992 was a watershed year for Scotland and the SNP. Newspapers predicted the Tories would ultimately lose Scotland during the election; which occurred, and the results of the election were shocking in the number of seats the SNP won. All nine of the seats previously under Tory control were lost (Smith, 1994). This massive loss showed Scottish feelings against the Tories. William McIlvanney, a writer for a Scottish newspaper, commented: “When someone rejects utterly your beliefs and your identity, the only pride, the only pragmatism, is to return that rejection in total” (p. 23). The SNP was able to turn banal nationalism, a result from the Scottish education system, into active nationalism. This gained the party votes which then translated into power. The SNP could then use this political might to teach the English a lesson. The lesson was

clear: if the Tories reject the Scottish identity, then Scotland will answer by rejecting them as representatives in London. With the Tories expelled from their seats, McIlvanney made a statement which suggested the only way Scotland could show its demand for Home Rule:

This is the time for gathering the fuel for the rage of a country. That fuel can only come from a massive pro-Scottish and anti-Westminster vote. If we can, through the ballot-box, make Scotland almost exclusively represented by Labour, SNP [Scottish National Party] and Liberal Democrat MPs, we will have made a mirror in which there will be a visible reflection of the nation's demand for Home Rule. (Smith, 1994, p. 23)

1992 continued to be a tough year for England. Alex Salmond, leader of the SNP at the time, first embarrassed and then berated Donald Dewar MP who “wilted under increasing attack from Salmond” (Smith, 1994, p. 17). Meanwhile Salmond was “cheered on by the hundreds and hundreds of SNP supporters among the Usher Hall crowd” (Smith, 1994, p. 17). The English now had Salmond and the SNP to contend with, along with this massive setback and the removal of the Tories from their seats in Parliament. The Scottish began to show their own opinions and true feelings: we are different and England has a very limited right to rule over us, if any right at all.

In October, 2014 the SNP brought Scottish national identity to the forefront with the referendum, this time focusing on separation from the United Kingdom. This time though, the SNP showed their political might and power to help promote a Scottish national identity. In only a month, the SNP promoted Scottish national identity unlike any other time in Scottish history. On August 2014 only about 38% of the Scottish electorate wished for independence (Brooks, L., Carrell, S. & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014). This would mean sure defeat, but by September

2014 polls showed 51% of the electorate would favor independence, and a possible victory for the SNP (Brooks, L., Carrell, S. & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014). While the final vote was only 45% yes to separation, the quick change in attitude showed the power role of the SNP in promoting a Scottish national identity.

National identity is a very important social construction for any country. National identity is made up of two aspects, a cultural basis and a social aspect. The cultural aspect of national identity seeks to preserve the culture of the group and show how they are different from others. The social aspect of national identity seeks to bring people who can be thousands of kilometers apart into the same group and feeling like they belong. During the 1990s, national identity grew substantially with the creation of the Scottish parliament and the White Paper. The White Paper allowed the Scots to change many decisions the English had made, but were limited in some extent, such as taxes. The Scottish National Party used the Scottish parliament to continually grow the Scottish national identity, taking the nationalism children learned in school and making it a more active aspect of “who we are”. The SNP then helped promote national identity in the wake of the referendum for Scottish independence.

Today in Scotland national identity remains a major issue. The Scots maintain a strong national identity by continuing to preserve their culture. While it did not pass, the Scots sent a clear signal: they want more autonomy. This demonstrates the Scots commitment to their own country, as they still feel they are different from the English. Also, the SNP experienced a huge surge of party enrollment, both prior and after the referendum, showing Scottish national identity is not only alive but still growing in importance. Overall, the SNP was instrumental in the overall development of a singular Scottish national identity. First, they demonstrated their ability to turn banal nationalism, the result of the Scottish education system, into active nationalism. By gaining

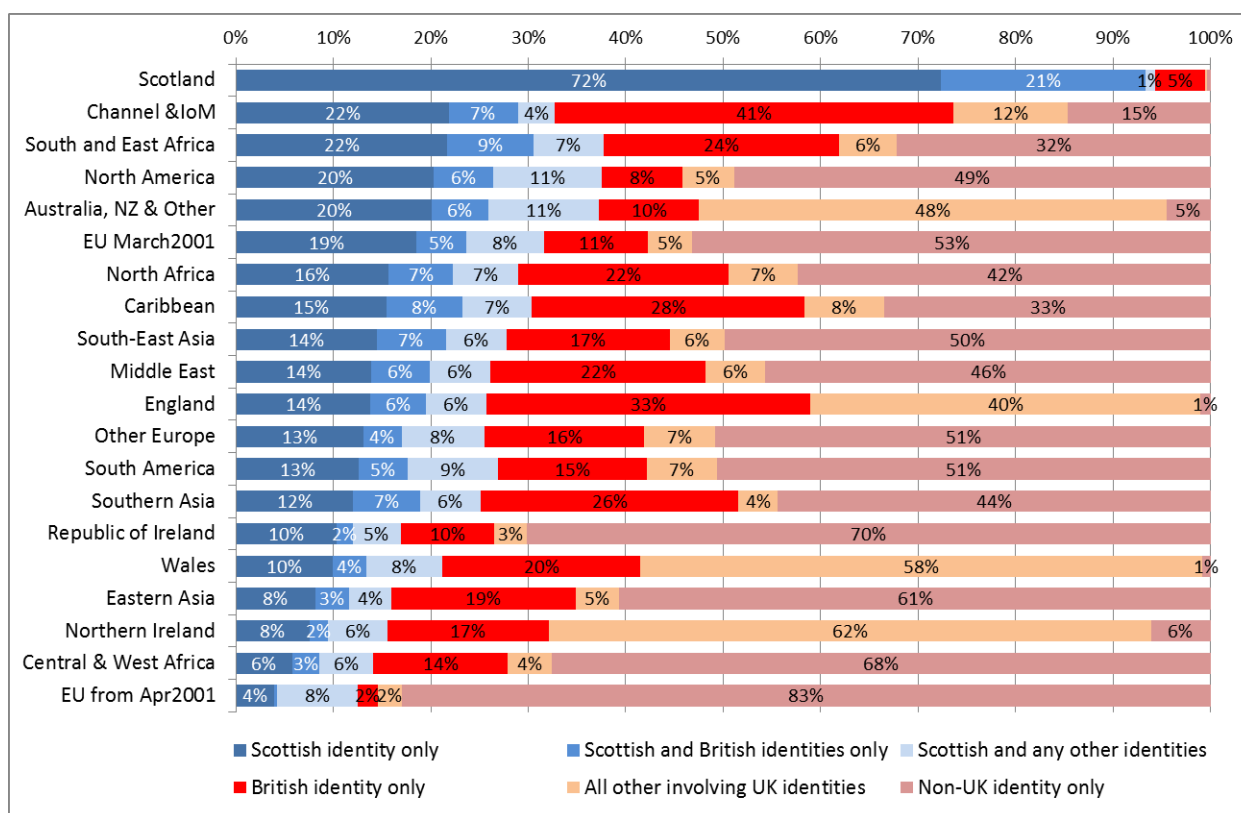
political power the SNP then helped in the creation of the Scottish Parliament and the White Paper. Both of these served as symbols to the Scottish people. Symbols are considered to be one of the key ingredients in the development of a national identity. Therefore, we can conclude, the SNP played a large role in developing a distinct national identity of the Scottish people.

### **Chapter 7: The Road to Independence: How We Got to the Referendum**

With national identity continually growing, the question, perhaps most important of the century was finally asked; should Scotland be a separate and independent nation? The road to this historic vote was not easy. Scotland has had aspirations for regaining independence almost since the beginning of the Union 300 years ago. Scottish national identity has always been an issue, especially recently, with the Scots feeling strong ties for their native country of Scotland instead of a broader British identity. But May 2011 was perhaps the “springboard” for the idea of separation with the Scottish National Party gaining victory in Westminster (Brooks, Carrell & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014). Finally, after years of attempting to gain enough power in Parliament, the Scottish National Party was heard. Alex Salmond again rose to the occasion, this time leading the Scots towards hoped for independence. But the referendum did not come without a cost; David Cameron, current Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, “offered to give that power to Holyrood [the Scottish Parliament] but only if Salmond dropped plans for a second referendum question on giving Holyrood more devolved powers” (Brooks, Carrell, & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014). October 15<sup>th</sup>, 2012 the two leaders signed the Edinburgh Agreement, giving Scotland the chance to be independent; this was one of the first times a national

government has decided to permit a part of its country to decide whether to leave (Brooks, Carrell & Guardian Interactive Team (2014).

In 2011, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation examined national identity and ethnicities within Scotland during the 2011 census. Of the 5.29 million people in Scotland, 83% felt they were Scottish (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2014). That 83% represents about 4.4 million people, quite a large group. But the Foundation went a step further and examined ethnicity as it relates to national identity. 61% of Scotland's residents identify as being White Scottish in ethnicity but also feel that Scottish is their only national identity (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2014). Cohen (1993) helps to understand this finding. Ethnicity is responsible for the creation of culture which is an ingredient to developing a national identity (Cohen, 1993). Finally, the Foundation examined country of birth and how it related to national identity. Figure 1 shows the findings of the study. The Foundation determined those born in Scotland feel they are predominately Scottish (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2014).



**Figure 1: National identification by nation**

Finding 72% of those born in Scotland is important because it shows the influence of birth place on national identity. This finding confirmed Ruzic, Pascal & Kiss (2006) finding that one of the important aspects of national identity is a territory or place to live in.

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation's findings are extremely important. With 83% of Scotland's residents believing they are Scottish, clearly they feel attachment to this nation. But what is unclear, do they feel they are singularly Scottish and entirely different from the English and the rest of the United Kingdom or do they have a type of bi-national identity in which they feel both Scottish and British? After all, there was 21% that felt they were both Scottish and English, this finding was quite interesting. Essentially, one fifth of the country felt ties to both England and Scotland.

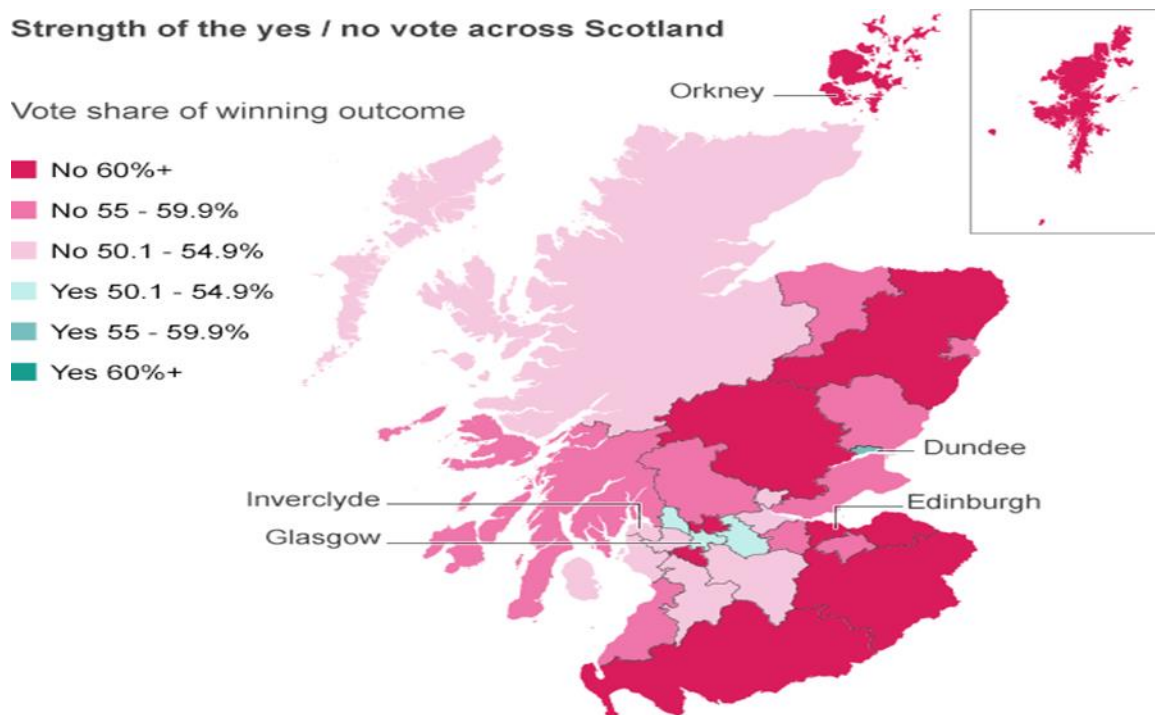
The stage was set for Scotland to leave, but there was one huge obstacle, the SNP lacked voter support (Brooks, Carrell & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014). In an attempt to close the gap and gain the majority needed to leave, coalitions were formed between the SNP, the Scottish Green Party and socialist parties (Brooks, Carrell & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014). These coalitions are an example of a cooperative game in Game Theory (Turocy & von Stengel, 2001). Each player must join together but, in their strength, they must ultimately share in the winnings, in this case would have most likely been power in the new Scottish national parliament.

The time for Scotland had come; polls prior to the referendum showed Scotland may be headed towards nationhood. One of the key arguments stressed by the pro-independence side was the democratic deficit: the Scottish electorate should elect its own governments (Brooks, Carrell & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014). Scotland has consistently voted “to the left of the rest of the UK” and has only sent Conservative MPs to Westminster but is “now governed by a Conservative-led coalition” (Brook, Carrell, & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014). Finally the Scots would be independent after 300 years of England treating them like second-class citizens.

### **The Aftermath of the Referendum: The Union Remains...For Now**

After the votes were counted Scotland, the United Kingdom, and the rest of the world discovered Scotland’s answer. Finally the question of the century, “should Scotland be an independent nation” was answered. The union between the two nations would continue. While pre-referendum polls showed the vote headed towards independence, the Scots decided Scotland should not be an independent nation. After the votes were counted, the Better Together side polled 55% of the vote while the Alex Salmond and the “Yes” campaign only polled 45% (The

Guardian: Scottish independence). While only 45% of Scotland voted yes to independence, the regional voting patterns help us to better understand the results. Figure 2 shows the breakdown of the voting across the counties in Scotland.



**Figure 2: Breakdown of votes in Scotland by area**

One of the most densely populated areas in the nation, Glasgow voted yes to independence. According to the 2011 census, Glasgow has about 600,000 people, more than 10% of the population of Scotland. It raises the question, whether national identity stronger in more densely populated areas? With people being in closer proximity to each other, could they socially compare themselves easier? This could solidify their national identity more.

Either way, the referendum was an emotionally charged decision. Dr. William Matthews of Cambridge University explains the role emotions have in our decisions because they are “coloured by an innate fear of being responsible for bad outcomes” (Green, 2014). To vote for



the “Yes” campaign would mean “accepting responsibility for the risky side effects of independence” while voting “No” could raise the “possibility of anticipated regret if the outcome is enacted but then found to be unfavourable” (Green, 2014). In other words, “voters would be more fearful of tethering Scotland down” (Green, 2014). While Scots voted to remain in the union was due to economics, there are other reasons. But there are other factors involved in making a decision he explains, “namely, a sense of national identity” (Green, 2014). In 2003 the European Union conducted a study on EU referendums; they found “national identity has been proved to supersede worries over risk and loss” (Green, 2014). But remember in 2011, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation found 21% of Scotland had a bi-national identity, Scottish and English. Perhaps the reason the referendum did not pass was because of attachments to both England and Scotland. This could then be the cause for a no vote.

Only days prior to the referendum, Westminster felt a “growing sense of panic” (Watt & Carrell, 2014). Prior to the referendum, Westminster made promises to Scotland if it voted no. One of these promises was “to give the Scottish parliament much greater power over taxation and policy-making” with the ultimate goal to “increase [Scotland’s] autonomy within the UK” (The Brooks, Carrell & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014); these new powers would increase the power of the White Paper. Another promise Westminster made with the passing of a new Scotland Act, “allow[ing] Holyrood to set a different income tax rate by up to 10p in the pound from 2016, to borrow up to £2bn, to control landfill tax (worth £100m) and to have a new property sales tax (worth £236m) to replace stamp duty” which would further the strength of the White Paper (The Brooks, Carrell & Guardian Interactive Team, 2014).

Prior to the referendum, Westminster promised various powers to support devolution for Scotland. In January, David Cameron, Prime Minister of the U.K., visited Scotland. He brought

along the pre-referendum “vow” that he claimed was being “delivered in full” but “sadly, the reality falls a long way short of that boast” (The Guardian: David Cameron, 2015). Unfortunately Home Rule reform was not among the “vows” (The Guardian: David Cameron, 2015). More important is the issue “what is in effect a veto over any Scottish government proposals to chart our own course on welfare policy” (The Guardian: David Cameron, 2015). The welfare reforms that were given to Scotland “do not enable the Scottish parliament to create new benefit entitlements” and proposals for full devolution of unemployment support which also fall “well short of what was promised” (The Guardian: David Cameron, 2015). During the next election the Scottish people will determine if “the Smith proposals go far enough in delivering the powers...to create prosperity, tackle inequality and protect public services” through their votes (The Guardian: David Cameron, 2015). There may be another purge like the one the Tories experienced during the 1992 election.

More importantly, the Scottish referendum, the United Kingdom may have other problems. As the Scots were able to attempt to gain more power from Westminster, the rest of the United Kingdom may hope for the same, mainly Wales and Northern Ireland (Robinson, 2014). After all, these two areas were separate kingdoms, even nations, at one time, before they joined the Union. The Mayor of London as well as Labour leaders have declared “what is good enough for Scotland is good enough for them” (Robinson, 2014). If Scotland achieves more power, what is stopping Northern Ireland and Wales from asking for the same? No one can be really sure. One other potential problem for the Union, is England itself. The Tories have already called for a vote in the House of Commons to “ensure that only English MPs can vote on English laws” (Robinson, 2014). English MPs cannot vote on Scotland’s affairs due to devolution of powers given to Scotland. The English now feel Scotland should not be able to vote on strictly

English affairs. This might drive the two nations further apart. What does the future hold? There may be a new accommodation after the fall 2014 referendum. Maybe the Union will dissolve – 307 years is a long time. Or perhaps Britain will adopt a federal system like its two “children”, Canada and the United States.

### **Chapter 8: The Scottish Inspire the World: Worldwide Results of the Referendum**

The Scottish Referendum was vitally important in deciding the fate of the United Kingdom. Around the world, other nations watched as the Scottish attempted to assert their independence and take their place in the world as a separate nation.

One of the nations that may look to Scotland for inspiration is Japan; specifically those Japanese from Okinawa. The southern Japanese island also hopes to become an independent nation from Japan and join the world as a new nation (McCurry, 2014). Okinawa is an “island chain once formed [as] an independent kingdom, known as the Ryukyus” (McCurry, 2014). But in 1879 Japan “forcibly annexed” it to become part of the Japanese empire (McCurry, 2014). The southern island currently contains a United States military base, which is controversial and faces strong local opposition (Graham-Harrison, 2014). According to Okinawa, the “bases emasculate the local economy” which is “the poorest of Japan’s 47 prefectures” (McCurry, 2014). Those living on the southern island say “the politicians in Tokyo have been ignoring our wishes for decades” and “as far as they are concerned, Okinawa counts for nothing” (McCurry, 2014). Masaki Tomochi, professor of economics at Okinawa International University stated “Scotland has every right to be independent and to take decisions about its own future. That’s what people all over the world want, including the people of Okinawa” (McCurry, 2014). Citing

these transgressions from government control and also Okinawans being considered “ethnically different from mainland Japanese, with their own language and culture” Tomochi, who is also a strong supporter of independence, explains “the only way we can fix this is to declare our independence from Japan and go back to the way we were before Japan used force to take the islands” (McCurry, 2014). But it appears the support for independence is extremely low and the support for devolution not much higher (McCurry, 2014).

The Catalans in Spain have also been inspired by the actions of the Scots. Catalonia is an area in Spain on the northeast coast of Spain and spanning into France (BBC: Catalonia profile, 2012). The Catalonian nation feels it has its own identity and language with “many Catalans think[ing] of themselves as a separate nation from the rest of Spain (BBC: Catalonia profile, 2012). Like the Scots, the Catalans were suppressed, especially during the Franco dictatorship in Spain, in which “Catalan nationalism [was] repressed and use of the Catalan language [was] restricted” (BBC: Catalonia profile, 2012). In response to the Scottish referendum Barcelona mayor, Xavier Trias, stated “Our wishes in Catalonia must be respected, just as the UK government has respected those of Scotland” (Graham-Harrison, 2014). Hundreds of thousands of Catalans “formed a V in the streets of Barcelona...to demand a referendum on independence” (Graham-Harrison, 2014). Among the “sea of red and yellow Catalan flags” were some Scottish flags, signaling support for the Scots (Graham-Harrison, 2014). However, Catalonia faces a formidable obstacle, the Spanish government is much more resistant to the idea of independence than was the United Kingdom. A referendum has been the main goal of Catalan leaders but, unfortunately, the Spanish government says “Catalonia has no constitutional right to break away” (BBC: Catalonia profile, 2012). Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy has “repeatedly”

said, “any type of regional consultation on independence, binding or not, would be illegal” (Graham-Harrison, 2014).

There have been other countries that have looked towards Scotland for inspiration of independence. In Russia, politician Konstantin Rykov seems “gleeful that the Scottish referendum comes as rebels as in eastern Ukraine fight to throw off Kiev” (Graham-Harrison, 2014). Rykov drew “parallels between Scottish voters and the rebel fighters backed by Russian military expertise and hardware” (Graham-Harrison, 2014). In the Middle East the “vote [was] being followed closely by Kurds fighting for an independent state and [were] inspired by the momentum of the yes campaign” (Graham-Harrison, 2014). Even China had been watching the Scottish referendum with concern. China has “fought for decades to suppress separatist sentiment in Tibet and neighbouring Xinjiang province, home to the Uighur minority group” (Graham-Harrison, 2014). To the Chinese, “Scottish independence would be an uncomfortable fact on the ground for Chinese leaders” (Graham-Harrison, 2014).

## **Chapter 9: National Identity in the British Isles**

Identity is a central concept to people allowing us to understand who we are and where we fit in. Identity also plays a role in politics a recent, and complex, example being Scotland’s referendum in fall 2014. Throughout history, the Scottish national identity has been molded by many forces, both centrifugal and centripetal. The English approached the Scottish 300 years ago to unite the two kingdoms. This event happened but not without centuries of problems. The English usually got the best deal while limiting the rights and aspirations of the Scots. However,

while most discriminatory laws were eventually repealed, the wounds never completely healed and continued to affect national identity.

Game theory was employed as a tool to understand national identity. This helped explain the Scottish referendum and the “players” in the “game”, the Scottish and English. Next the concept of identity was explored, drawing upon decades of research from psychology. Identity formation is something that each person *continuously* goes through by comparing themselves to others and defining themselves by others. Identity is a complicated construct, meant to classify an individual’s world and give meaning to it. Others see identity as a way for us to test different versions of the person we hope to be. Social Identity Theory, proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979), investigates how we form an identity by comparing ourselves to others. However, if social comparison goes too far, out-group bias can result. This can lead to out-group hate, and, according to the Realistic Conflict Theory, groups seeking to harm others even if their own group suffers also.

The concept of identity was explored at the national level, drawing upon various research in the area. Cohen (1993) provided an important set of criteria including, a history of the people, tradition, and symbols that define the culture. However, the durability of Cohen’s (1993) research was questioned by others. Ruiz, Kosic & Kiss (2006) found common language, history of the people, and common culture of the people to be necessary ingredients for development of a national identity. Drawing upon various research a list of *key* ingredients was created, these include:

- a common history/myths about the people
- symbols that represent the nation
- a similar culture between the people
- tradition of the people

Among other important ingredients for a national identity: a common territory, common culture, and a similar language.

Numerous institutions, events and people are instrumental in the development of a Scottish national identity. A very influential institution has been the Scottish education system. Scottish children could then be taught about their culture and myths about Scotland. This would serve to unite them in a common identity. Students then could recognize their similarities and compare themselves to others. According to social identity theory, students could begin to form groups, thus increasing their own self-esteem and form a collective which felt a tie to the Scottish nation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The education system could then also develop a sense of banal nationalism which would be used by the Scottish National Party. The Scottish Parliament was also key in developing a sense of national identity among the Scots. By the 1990s, the Scottish were given their own Parliament separate from the Parliament in London. The Scottish Parliament allowed them to show they are distinct from the English. More importantly, the Scottish Parliament served as a symbol to the Scottish people. Providing them with a way to show they have a unique national identity. The White Paper was a major piece of legislation that allowed the Scottish to overturn previous laws made in Westminster. Again, this would serve to show the differences between the Scottish and English. If the Scots felt the previous laws passed

in Westminster were not beneficial to them, they could change them. The White Paper also allowed the Scots to show they are able to determine their own destiny, not the English.

The two most important institutions to developing a Scottish national identity were Scottish newspapers and the Scottish National Party. Newspapers in Scotland frequently featured articles distinctly Scottish in nature. More importantly, the papers served to influence and also display public opinion of an issue. A previous editor of a Scottish newspaper even said his job was to unite Scotland (Smith, 1994). Scottish newspapers were also highly influential in helping with the restoration of the Scottish Parliament, devolution in the United Kingdom, known as Home Rule, and developing banal nationalism in the Scottish people.

The Scottish National Party, recently through its leader, Alex Salmond, was able to energize this banal nationalism to advance the Scottish nation's wishes and requests in the London Parliament. The Scottish National Party was essential to the restoration of the Scottish Parliament, pushing further devolution, and bringing Scotland closer to independence ever before. The Scots began to assert themselves in the world, showing their dislike for control from Westminster.

After examining how the Scottish National Party was able to convince David Cameron and the rest of Parliament to place the future of the United Kingdom in the hands of the Scottish, one better appreciates the difficulty of democratic governance. Both sides fought hard but Alex Salmond and the Scottish National Party was defeated in a 45% to 55%. Despite the loss the Scottish people voiced their opinion and England may have gotten the message. The Scottish people showed the strength as a people as they navigated the labyrinth of national identity.



Finally, the results of the Scottish referendum were compared to different national groups around the world. Some nations, like those Okinawa, Japan and Catalonia, Spain, wish to separate and become independent. However, their respective governments are less willing to allow them to attempt independence than was the United Kingdom was. Other nations, like China, felt the United Kingdom is a nation that will always stand.

It is impossible to tell if Scotland ever will become an independent nation after 300 years of a *United* Kingdom. A broader question addressed in this thesis is whether national identity can be a positive sum game. According to game theory, a positive sum game is a type of game in which both players essentially “win”. An example of a positive sum game in the United Kingdom if a British identity developed could accommodate separate English, Scottish and Welsh identities. Perhaps the Scots developing a national identity would bring them together as a people and they could remain in the United Kingdom. Perhaps, the Scots can differentiate themselves from their English counterparts and consider themselves British. Ultimately the United Kingdom could become a hybrid of British, Welsh, Scottish, English, and European Union nationalities. This seems possible only if British nationality is a positive sum game.

We also need to consider a zero sum game. In this type of game one player wins what the other loses. It is possible to argue the outcome between the Scottish and the English is zero sum. The Scottish would win if they gain autonomy from the English as a direct cause from the development of their own distinct national identity, after almost 300 years of being treated as lesser citizens. The English would then lose because the union between the two nations suddenly ends. But the consequences are more serious than the loss of a historic union between two distinctly different nations. Remember, the goal of the game for the Scottish is to become a

separate and independent nation, or at least it appears that way to many. The ultimate goal in the game for the English is to maintain the union between the two nations. If the Scottish remain they would lose, but if the Scottish leave the union, the English lose. By remaining in the Union the Scottish could continue to lose autonomy, even though more autonomy was promised.

Despite the Scottish people voting to remain in the United Kingdom, the ties between the two nations have changed. “Better together” was the slogan of the “No” campaign. The two nations remain together as one country, but only time will tell if they really are “better together”. The United Kingdom, after the referendum, may have become the United(ish) Kingdom with one nation, Scotland, attempting more autonomy while the English, try to retain it. The answer to our question is this, no one can predict the future of the United Kingdom. Many economic, cultural, political and psychological factors, will determine whether 6 million Scots can achieve a level of “Scottishness” while remaining a part of the United Kingdom. Game theory is an important tool for trying to understand this process. One thing is for sure though, as Michael Billig said in his book, “The world of nations has been divided into a [hodgepodge] of bizarrely shaped and sized entities, lodging tightly, sometimes uncomfortably up against each other” (Billig, 1995, p. 23).

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### RESEARCH EXPERIENCE:

International Law Survey with Dr. John Gamble September 2013 to Present

- Create comprehensive database of law schools from around the world
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- Senior Research Project
- Created experiment based off of findings of past research in the study area
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Treaty Database with Dr. John Gamble August 2012 to Present

- Research international agreements & effects from around the world
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- Henne End International Study Abroad Scholarship
  - Awarded to students based on financial need, using GPA as a determinant
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