JUSTICE, CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE: MAPPING DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN SCOTTISH SOCIETY

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Abstract

The high level of citizen engagement which marked the 2014 Referendum in Scotland was significant. 97 percent of the population were registered to vote, encouraged by the actions of local political activists and a registration awareness campaign. A turn-out of 84 percent appeared to represent a healthy indication of active citizenship and the re-emergence of democratic debate. This study set out to examine the extent to which a reinvigorated public sphere (Habermas, 1962) had emerged and exerted influence on concepts of social justice and active citizenship in Scotland. It examines the extent to which civic participation was sustained following the 2014 Referendum and explores the relationship between concepts of 'justice' and citizenship, and the institutional structures of governance which sustain them. It involved mapping the broader political and social context of the Referendum as well as qualitative interviews with representatives from civil society organisations and political grass-root activists. These interviews explored their perceptions and experiences of the Referendum and how their understanding of civic consciousness was formed, reproduced and often constrained.

Wasteland

The horizon? – Somewhere beyond our frontiers.
The landscape – Undernourished.
The environment – Unsustainable.

Where inspiration is the servant of exploitation.
Where enthusiasm is undermined by scepticism.
Where idealism is overwhelmed by cynicism.
Where creativity is shock-tested to destruction.

Where opportunities merely showcase what we've already seen.
Where craft is not a necessary component of the assembly process.
Where ideas become someone's 'intellectual property'.

Where traditions are corrupted.
Where heritage has an entrance fee.
Where old legends are mocked.
Where new ones are put on a waiting list.

A people alienated from community.
A hostility to outsiders.
A character tested and found wanting.
A kinship dimly recollected by the dying.

For 'safety' read 'suffering'.
For 'freedom' read 'want'.
For 'happiness' read 'fear'.
For 'health' read 'despair'.

If the sun shines, you will pay to sit in it.
If it rains, you will pay for shelter.
If it snows, you will pay extra for heating.
If the wind blows – time to fly the flag.

Travellers will frown when they recall their time here.
When we are travellers, we will simply impose ourselves.
Visitors will make their excuses and leave early.
Every inhabitant will dream of emigrating.

Vincent

INTRODUCTION

This study set out to examine the 2014 Referendum on Independence for Scotland with particular focus on people's engagement in the democratic process and perceptions of justice. The Referendum saw 97 percent of potential voters registered on the electoral roll with a turnout of 84 percent. Many voters were mobilised and motivated by door-to-door canvassing, local discussions and meetings which took place across the country in the two-year build up. Levels of engagement were underpinned by the emergence of campaign groups and organisations from across the political spectrum. The campaigns took the form of cross-party alliances, new forms of civic engagement (Adler and Goggin, 2005; Ekman and Amna, 2012) such as Imagination Cafes; support from artists and cultural leaders; crowd-funded social media and the emergence of 'Citizen journalism'. This mobilisation and politicisation of Scottish society emerged from a position described only two years prior as 'an existential crisis' for local democracy (Bort, McAlpine and Morgan, 2012).

It appeared on the surface at least, that this was a democratic revitalisation at a time when Western liberal democracies no longer appeared capable of sustaining democratic engagement, particularly the politics of popular democracy (Crick, 2002). As Mair (2013) argues, the contention that control over political decision-making lay beyond the reach of the ordinary citizen has been a familiar theme in political science since the 1960's and has again been more prominent recently in the debates surrounding Brexit and the Trump presidency in the United States. The increased participation in the 2014 Referendum, in terms of those registered, voting and engaged in political activity in the run up to it, led to claims that Scotland was witnessing a 'democratic transformation'. This claim was further strengthened by the extension of voting rights to 16 and 17 year olds and the increased participation of women (with for example Women for Independence, and Women Together).

The Referendum created a social and political climate for the reimagining of what a future Scotland might look like, with considerable emphasis placed on democratic principles as a way of moving towards a prosperous and fair society (Scottish Government, 2013); a direction that seemed in opposition to the indifference to politics and the new managerialist rhetoric employed by various politicians from the late 1990's to the present (see Mair, 2013).

The importance of 'social justice' as a central concept of Scottish politics, and the opportunities afforded by new forms of governance in Scotland have been highlighted before. In the first parliamentary session of the devolved Scottish Parliament, an action plan was produced under the leadership of Donald Dewar: *Social Justice – a Scotland Where Everyone Matters* which emphasised the importance of social justice and set out plans for how child poverty and social injustice might be eradicated by 2020. In the optimistic era of the newly devolved

Scottish Parliament Wendy Alexander, introducing the Action Plan, noted (Scottish Executive, 1999: foreword):

> "Our vision is for a new nation with new politics - built on enduring values. In making those commitments to social justice for Scotland we can only deliver in partnership with the United Kingdom. As we look forward, we can take inspiration from all those who, in their time, have advanced the cause of social justice: individuals like Robert Owen, Elsie Ingles, John Wheatley, William Beveridge and Aneurin Bevan".

Although social justice was not defined, and has not been subsequently, the Scottish Referendum provided a revitalisation of the concept and represented a society in transition: creating opportunities to reimagine how things might be in a future Independent Scotland. At the heart of the campaign for Scottish Independence, was a view that things could be better in Scotland and that the enhanced democracy which the Scottish Referendum offered, provided the way to make change. The space that the Referendum created provided an opportunity for dreams, imaginings and the envisioning of a new society (Paterson, 2015).

This reimagining and re-visioning has affinities with the work of Anderson whose definition of a nation was of an *imagined and political* community. A nation was imagined because 'the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson, 1991: 6). In this sense the 2014 Referendum was not a conflict over nationalism and unionism but one between different imaginings of a political community. In other words it was between two different forms of nationalism. This reimagining necessarily concerned how best to organise society and the distribution of 'justice' played a key role in this process; with social justice suggesting a more equal society. Inevitably, visions of a 'just' society raise questions around material and social inequalities, private ownership and power relations (see Malloch and Munro, 2013). Similarly, recognition of the intersectionality of class, 'ethnicity' and gender relations becomes evident as the basis for overlapping structural inequalities that determine and shape processes of criminalisation and disadvantage. Fundamental reform requires imaginative alternatives but also a radical change in structures of power and the rethinking of dominant cultures, both institutionally and politically.

Both 'civil society' and the 'public sphere' as political concepts are closely entwined with the Scottish Enlightenment; an important period in 18th century Scotland characterised by an outpouring of intellectual and scientific accomplishments. Scottish Universities were active intellectual centres, animated by the free and independent spirit of Calvinism (Hawthorn, 1987). In particular the European influence from France, Holland, Germany and the role of intellectual clubs, publishing

and other activities created in the eighteenth century what can now be defined as a Scottish Public Sphere. Civil Society is often traditionally viewed as a key arena for social integration and democratic participation. Many theorists such as Cohen and Arato (1992) and Alexander (2006) present society as a civil sphere, a world of values and institutions that generate the capacity for social criticism and democratic integration at the same time. Civil society consists of: "a wide array of groups, associations, and organisations, including community and local organisations; human rights, peace, and environmental groups; educational or cultural activities; churches or religious organisations; sports or recreational clubs; and women's, veterans', youth, elderly, disabled, animal rights, health and self-help groups" (Howard 2003: 35).

However, the essential feature of civil or 'civilised society' that emerged with the Scottish enlightenment, was as an institution outside the state but including the capitalist market i.e. including economic society. The concept was first used by Adam Ferguson (1966) in his book *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* in 1767. Much ambiguity has always surrounded the concept and even in the eighteenth century there was a *Janus-faced* aspect to its development that reflected perhaps Ferguson's orientation towards the two faces of eighteenth century Scottish Society, the *gemeinschaft* of the clan and the *gesellschaft* of the commercial Lowlands (Forbes, 1966). This *Janus-faced* aspect of civil-society was reflected in the 2014 referendum where on the one side traditional civil society organisations oriented towards the economic interests of the centre and operated in the conventional media, the other face, representing the self-organisation of local community and activist groups. This *Janus-faced* nature of the referendum also reflects two important components that must work together in order for liberal democracies to work in practice, firstly, the constitutional component providing the checks and balances across institutions that entails government *for* the people, and on the other, the popular component that emphasises the role of the ordinary citizen and popular participation, and which entails government *by* the people. It is this second, popular, and essential element that emerged during the 2014 referendum at a time where it had not only declined in other Western democracies, but had been deemed by many as no longer necessary for modern complex societies. For them, civil society was enough. Mair (2013: 11) encapsulates this attitude in the formula: *NGOs (non-governmental organisations) + judges = democracy.* It can be argued that the 2014 referendum was not only about competing forms of nationalism, but also competing forms of civil society and democracy. It is in this context that conceptions of justice and the public sphere are entangled.

Civil society is predominantly interpreted as being autonomous and outside of the state, a "diffuse assemblage of anything and everything which could be located somewhere in between politics and state power on the one hand and the family on the other" (Nairn, 1997: 77). This constitutional arrangement is perceived as having a

common character, and as being autonomous, in the sense of not being state-dominated in a day to day sense. However as Nairn (1997) also notes, there is nothing autonomous or apolitical about civil society. Its unique situation was made possible by an imposed state-level arrangement and a by-product political expedience.

Liberal democratic traditions are grounded in particular historical and political conditions. Societies in transition require legitimacy and can encounter contested concepts of justice, the basis for which can be seen in the emergence of social movements which seek to re-legitimise shared notions of justice in realizable and sustainable sets of social arrangements (Goodall, Malloch and Munro, 2013; Persak, 2014). In recent years the distinctiveness of Scottish identity, and justice, has been redefined. For example, the context surrounding the Scottish criminal justice system is reflective of national and international developments more broadly, where limitations often appear to exert an influence on the potential to imagine or to reimagine what transformative elements may be possible and/or desirable. (McAra, 2008; Croall, Mooney and Munro, 2010; Mooney and Scott, 2012; Mooney et al, 2015)

In the social upheaval surrounding the 2014 Scottish Referendum, considerable effort was made to inform the Scottish people about the potential impact of independence versus the status quo, with various bodies consulting widely with their membership culminating in the production of a (or often a series of) reports to this effect. For example, in 2012, the Scottish Trades Union Council (STUC) published its first report on the Referendum drawing attention to the concerns of its membership about their "frustration at the level of information and analysis currently available and the overall poor quality of the debate" (STUC, 2012: 3). Setting out information intended to inform its membership, the report attempted to provide balanced information on key areas of interest. This initial report was followed by two others (STUC 2014a and 2014b) which continued to raise issues of interest to the wider trade union membership and to consider the implications for justice for Scotland, while not providing a definitive recommendation to members on how to vote in the Referendum.

The Scottish Government produced a strategy document published in 2013, *Scotland's Future,* in which (then) First Minister Alex Salmond stated (Scottish Government 2013: viii):

> "At its heart independence is not about this Government or any political party. It is about a fundamental democratic choice for the people of Scotland. It is about the power to choose who we should be governed by and the power to build a country that reflects our priorities as a society and our values as a people"

The lengthy document sets out three reasons why Scotland should become an independent country: (i) to create a more democratic Scotland (ii) to build a more prosperous country (iii) to become a fairer society.

A wide range of organisations and foundations as well as other disparate groupings spent time considering how things might be done differently in an independent Scotland, while organisations such as the Centre on Constitutional Change monitored events and policy developments. A number of policy documents were produced during the build up to the Referendum, many emanating from Common Weal (previously the Jimmy Reid Foundation) which identified and posited potential solutions to specific social problems (including education, housing, inequality, gender discrimination, tax and democracy to name but a few). One example was Danson and Trebeck (2013) on how a Common Weal approach could end poverty in Scotland. This firmly locates the problem of poverty as a failure of economics requiring the restructuring of the economy[1]. Danson and Trebeck (2013: 6) note: "A society where esteem and self-worth are derived from acquisition, material consumption, and perceived status, rather than from relationships, mutuality or the pursuit of equality, is problematic".

Calling for 'Scottish solutions to Scottish problems of poverty' (Danson and Trebeck, 2013: 9), the authors argue that this requires the involvement of organisations, but also the collective involvement of members of society "in debating, highlighting and meeting the challenges of poverty and deprivation" (Danson and Trebeck (2013: 10). While business and government also have a role in tackling poverty, they argue that enhanced democratic participation is central to better decision-making. Solutions for problems as seemingly intractable as poverty, they argue, are linked to improved political engagement.

In September 2014, after the voting had finished, the final result showed a 55 percent majority vote for the status quo while 45 percent had voted for independence. However, the outcome was not the end. While this may have been the result of developed networks and communities established during the campaign, it also had much to do with the speech by David Cameron who, on the morning the result was announced, stood outside Downing Street to declare that a new era would be introduced, with 'English votes for English Laws' (Jeffrey et al, 2014). This was perhaps as clear a message as any that this was a deeper struggle over contested understandings of nationalism rather than between nationalism and unionism. As many of the claims made during the campaign were unveiled in the days that followed as empty and untenable (notably the promise of federalism made by ex-Labour leader Gordon Brown), the despondency of many changed to calls for

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[1] Reflecting many of the points made by the later All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry Report into Hunger, published in 2014.

renewed action to take forward the potential for change that had been inhaled during the campaign.

In the days and weeks that followed the Referendum result, membership of pro-independence political parties (notably SNP and Green Party increased dramatically) while activist groups and social media forums, set up to campaign for independence, rose from their momentary despondency to call for ongoing activity and continued momentum to take forward the next stage of the journey. Politically focused events were fully booked within days of registration and the aftermath continued, resulting in an unprecedented shift in voting patterns across Scotland. In the subsequent General Election in 2015, the SNP secured all but three Scottish seats (56 out of 59), sweeping aside long held Labour and Liberal Democratic majorities. In some areas, the swings in voting patterns were so significant, they could not be accounted for in the media 'swingometers' used to illustrate changes in voting patterns from one party to another on the night of the election.

At the time of writing, the UK is in the pre-Brexit phase as the Westminster Government, under the leadership of Theresa May, prepares to negotiate the terms of separation from the European Union (EU). While the fact that the majority of Scots voted to remain in the EU, and with the likelihood of leaving the single market to the fore, there are now calls for a second Referendum (Indyref 2) with groups already in the process of collectivising around political activity, marked in January 2017 by an attendance of around 800 at a sell-out convention in Glasgow to launch the campaign. With this period of transition in mind, this study set out to explore the extent to which the events of 2014-16 had reinvigorated the Scottish Public Sphere and what, if any, were the consequences for 'democracy' and more specifically, concepts of 'justice'. The study received ethical approval from the University of Stirling School of Applied Social Sciences (now Faculty of Social Sciences) Ethics Committee in June 2015.

The first stage of the study consisted of a mapping process aimed at providing a structural geography of legal and social space intended to aid in identifying conditions and developments which structure social movements and their relationship to the public sphere. Our initial task identified organisations and groups which make up civic society enabling us to identify the emergence of key issues that arose/were identified for these groups (specifically in relation to gender/ethnicity/religion/disability/age/ sexuality). The result of this mapping process was a poster designed and utilised as a working document for the duration of the project (see Annex One). Key areas of citizenship, activity and activism were identified along with the issues to emerge from this.

Ongoing searches of national press and social media sites were reviewed on a daily basis (see Annex Two). This revealed a rich mine of sources and information that

covered many aspects of the Referendum campaign. For example, twitter hashtags #indyref and #scottishindependence were two of the most popular hashtags in relation to the Scottish Referendum, and since then #indyref2 and scotref has been created alongside these[2]. Not only were these hashtags important for the dissemination of information and knowledge, but they also created virtual spaces for engagement across different sectors of society. Active participation in the use of digital space for political communication and discourse can be considered to form what Frame and Brachotte (2015) term as 'ad hoc (mini-)publics'. 'Following' of, and using particular hashtags contributes to the creation of these mini-publics which are particularly evident during elections or televised debates, as they create a network of people engaged in commentary, discussion and also debate. Such virtual space offers opportunities for deliberation and consideration that would not have been possible without social media.

With the increase of political discussions on social media, these virtual spaces were also sites of mobilization and resistance. Through interaction and use of hashtags, language comes to be shared and in turn a sense of 'community' is constructed. Although virtual and digital spaces can be considered in many ways as elusive, and as webs or networks, links are being formed when individuals use or engage with particular hashtags. Facebook more clearly illustrates the creation of a discursive space and as a site of mobilization and resistance given that people self-identify and request membership to particular 'groups'. Whilst there were many Facebook groups established prior to the Scottish Referendum, many more have also been created since. The creation of groups in relation to political ideas and relations suggests that "the internet has a particularly strong potential for channeling actions of large numbers of individual users into something larger" (Lindgreen and Lundström 2011: 17). Lindgreen and Lundström (2011) suggest that with politics emerging from new places and a consideration of social movement studies, there may be the creation of a third wave of movement, which can quickly adapt to new issues and where public support and contribution is both active and strong. Observation of social media sites and mainstream media coverage continued throughout the duration of the study.

As part of engaging others during the research process we led on two key contributions to wider debates. First, a public event was organised in December 2015 (co-funded by the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research and supported by the School of Applied Social Science at the University of Stirling). This event, *Constructing 'Problematic' Identities*, brought together academics and practitioners to explore issues around the construction and reconstruction of identities in relation to legislation, policy and criminal justice practices. The key objectives of the seminar were:

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[2] Although not as prominent during other politics events, similar trends can be found in relation to the EU Referendum with the use of hashtags such as #euref, #inorout, #remain, and #leave. Since the result, the hashtag #brexit increased in popularity.

- To consider the ways in which some individuals and groups become 'problematised' and subject to regulation as a result of their attachment to cultural and/or national constructs, while others may feel that their security is threatened by the same cultural and/or national constructs.
- To explore the gap between law and rights-based approaches to policy within specific cultural contexts.
- To examine the antinomies and contradictions surrounding 'civic society' and explore the efficacy of civic society approaches to challenging and addressing 'intolerance'.

These objectives were derived from discussions and debates surrounding the meanings of identity and nationality which were heightened in the lead up to, and in the aftermath of, the Scottish Independence Referendum in September 2014 (Bond, 2015). Building on these themes, this symposium endeavoured to unpack the ways in which identities are defined within cultural and policy contexts and how they have resulted in problematic depictions, and consequent regulation, of individuals and groups.

Second, we agreed to act as editors for a Scottish publication *Criminal Justice Matters* on a Special Edition, *Reimagining Punishment and Justice* (Vol 4: 1, March 2016). In this special edition of Criminal Justice Matters (CJM) we invited a selection of contributors to consider the complex concepts of 'justice' and 'punishment', recognising both as historically nuanced and ideologically saturated. We asked what it meant to 'reimagine' them, bringing together a number of contributors from practice and academia to explore their visions for justice and to consider the tension between the *imaginary*, a vision which we consider to be captive to a particular ideological representation, and the *imagination*, here defined as the creative openness towards new concepts and social practices.

Stage Two of the study consisted of semi-structured qualitative interviews which were conducted with representatives of civic organisations and community activists from across Scotland, identified in Stage One of the study, in order to plot the intersection with competing fields and institutional structures external to the public sphere. Formal interviews were carried out with representatives from 12 organisations, coalitions or assemblies totalling 14 individuals. Group discussions were held with a range of non-statutory organisations or representatives from activist groups (see Annex Two) and observations at key events[3].

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[3] While intending to cover a wide spectrum of view during the course of this study, we found that access to pro-independence activities and activist networks was prominent. Indeed many of the groups established to campaign for 'No' during the Referendum disbanded almost immediately after the result was announced. Access to groups in support of the union was difficult even prior to the Referendum itself (see McAngus and Rummery, 2015).

The implications for law, state formation and civic space, were explored, identifying levels of citizen participation in local and national political events and seeking views on how social justice as a concept was understood and realised in the public sphere. Initial interviews were conducted in 2015, with the majority of interviews carried out in summer 2016. The interviews reflected the rapidly changing social and political environment evident at each of these points. The context was one of fast-moving changes, reflected in an ongoing analysis of social media and commentary which continued across the time-span of the project. It included informal individual and group interviews at events and on-going communication with activist groups and organisations[4].

A REINVIGORATED PUBLIC SPHERE? RESEARCH FINDINGS

The central aim of our study was to explore the impact of civic engagement (and political activism) arising from the 2014 Scottish Referendum and the events that followed. This exploration used the metaphor of mapping as a way of conceptualizing dominant themes ('democracy', 'public sphere' and 'civil society[5]') emerging from the campaign, and considered how, if at all, these themes impacted on understandings, representations and notions of 'justice'. In so doing the study attempted to move beyond what may be described as more conventional constructions of the Referendum, i.e. a managed constitutional process led by the established political machine presenting a clear 'choice' between two options. The Referendum signified a brief break in normal constitutional politics, but was essentially the continuation of a preceding series of familiar political and constitutional practices, for example, the 1979 Referendum and the 1997 Referendum for a Scottish Parliament (more of which below).

Mapping is a spatial metaphor and is often adopted as a means of clarifying how conceptualizations of space and time operate within a historical moment. Mapping is not merely a means of framing (see Goffman, 1986), but of being able to reflect on such frames, a way of moving beyond the obvious, repeatable *what is there* (see Badiou, 2001) and to understand their relationship in the rich totality of an 'event'. When reviewing the institutional history of the 2014 Referendum it is important not to lose sight of its uniqueness and the distinct traces left by it on the imagination of a community and its identity.

To focus on an event's uniqueness, however, is not to deny its relationship to its historical continuities, but to place it within a more complex constellation of forces,

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[4] We offered anonymity to all our research participants and recognise that indicating the organisation or network which they represent may encroach on this. As a result, we have identified participants as 'Citizens' when providing direct quotations. A list of the groups who took part in the study is available in Annex Two.
[5] Where civic engagement refers to the ways in which citizens participate in the life of a community in order to improve conditions for others or to help shape the community's future.

both domestic and international. It is to ask why and how the specific character of the British state had become a focus for national politics at the time it did and why narratives of nationhood, both Scottish and British became central to understanding Scotland's place in Europe and internationally. As Davidson (2014) argues, compared to the turbulent constitutional history of Britain's European neighbours, for example Germany, France or Spain, the multinational parliamentary monarchy founded by the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland, appeared only until relatively recently, both durable and a model of successful partnership between nations.

The recent emergence of nationalism in Scotland in comparison with its correspondence with mainstream European nationalism is what Nairn (2014) describes as 'Scottish belatedness' (Bambery, 1999; Bell, 2004). He places its emergence from the 1920's and argues that it is the chronological companion of anti-imperialist revolt and Third World nationalism, rather than of those European movements which it 'superficially resembles.' In the 1970's, where the rise of the SNP and its argument for independence is often reductively explained away by the party's campaign slogan at that time 'It's Scotland's oil!' Such 'local' explanations ignore the political and constitutional conflict in Ireland as well as the emergence of similar independence movements in Europe. Whether one agrees with Nairn's reading or not, it is useful to place the key constitutional moments which led to the 2014 Referendum within the changing political transitions internationally where they at least share a chronological space.

Placing the 2014 Scottish Referendum in its European context is an attempt to place it in its historical context. As Nairn (2014) argues, what nationalists say about themselves and their movements must be given due weight, but such self-consciousness must be treated with caution. Understanding one's own national history begins only when it is placed within the general historical process and place in confrontation with European development as a whole. The belatedness of Scottish nationalism and the problems of Britain's multi-national state must therefore be placed within the context of the deepening economic crisis of the 1960s and 70s, and at the moment of its development at the time of the 2014 Referendum, the effects on the Scottish economy of neoliberal restructuring by successive Westminster governments, whether Conservative, Labour or coalition (Davidson, 2014).

Davidson (2014) argues that although independence was a major issue in Scottish politics in the late 1940s and had re-emerged in the late 1960s, the institutional origins of the 2014 Scottish Referendum can be traced to 1976 when the UK's Labour government, led by James Callaghan, had lost its parliamentary majority. In return for the support of the minority nationalist parties - the Scottish National Party and Plaid Cymru - the Callaghan government would instigate legislation to devolve political powers from Westminster to Scotland and Wales. Although a recommendation on devolved assemblies for Scotland and Wales had already been outlined in the

Kilbrandon Committee report, commissioned by Harold Wilson's government and published in 1973. As Nairn (2014) points out, given the reluctance of Westminster at that time to devolve power, acting on such recommendations, outside of inter-party deals, required a significant political commitment in both Scotland and Wales in order for them to be carried out.

The 1979 Scottish Referendum was won by the Yes vote by 52 to 48 percent. However, as the turnout did not reach the 40 percent of the total registered electorate - the bar set by Westminster - devolved government for Scotland and Wales was eventually blocked. As Lindsay (1992) notes, the Scottish Assembly Referendum in 1979 took place in the context of intense political divisions and even those who supported devolution had great difficulty working together. By the time of Margaret Thatcher's appointment as Prime Minister, the political context had again shifted and provided a new alignment of support for independence/devolution. Thatcher's Conservative Government's relationship to Scotland was perceived by many to be one which lacked democratic legitimacy; a situation that was not the case during the earlier Referendum. The democratic deficit in relation to Scotland's relationship with Westminster was based on the 1983 general election result where the Conservatives received only 28 percent of the vote, and in 1987, 24 percent when it held only 10 out of 72 seats.

With no concession to its questionable democratic standing in Scotland, the Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher implemented highly controversial and unpopular policies, including the poll tax that was initially introduced in Scotland and extended to England a year later. Many have argued that it was this democratic deficit and the unpopular policies of the Thatcher government that saw the development of a much stronger consensus in favour of constitutional change as well as a greater maturity in the Scottish political community. It was after the 1987 general election that the Campaign for a Scottish Parliament invited a group of prominent individuals from different backgrounds to state the case for the establishment of a constitutional convention. The convention was formally established in March 1989, its democratic legitimacy coming from the fact that the majority of its members were elected representatives. Its remit was to produce proposals for a Scottish parliament and to campaign for their implementation (Lindsay, 1992). A significant document published by the Campaign, in the lead up to the establishment of the convention was the *Scottish Claim to Right*. This document, signed by most Labour and Liberal-Democrat MPs, criticised the excessively centralised and undemocratic nature of the British state, but more importantly attributed all sovereign rights in Scotland to the Scottish people, rather than to the Crown in Westminster.

 At that time the European context had again shifted with the fall of the Berlin wall and the emergence of what has been termed the 'velvet revolutions'. In contrast to

the often major upheavals which were a feature of Central and Eastern European state transformations, calls for change in Scotland were marked by democratic participation and civic engagement as in the build up to the 2014 Scottish Referendum. However with similarity to the debates taking place in Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union there was much concentration on the emergence of civil society in relation to the extension of social criticism and debate as well as democratic integration and good governance (see Howard, 2003). As Lindsay (1992: 46) notes on the makeup of the constitutional convention:

> "The secretariat was provided by the Scottish local-authority organisation, COSLA, and financed partly by the Rowntree Trust and the member organisations. The membership comprised the majority of MPs and MEPs representatives from all regional and island councils, and all but a few district councils, the Scottish Churches, the trade unions, party representatives from Labour, the Liberal Democrats, the Greens, the Communists, the Orkney and Shetland Movement, the Federation of Small Businesses, the ethnic communities and the Scottish Convention of Women".

Gender was given significant attention from the convention and agreement was reached on issues such as working conditions to encourage women to stand as candidates as well as proposals for a legal requirement to ensure gender balance within the new parliament. It is in the context of the constitutional convention and the re-engagement with civil society that the Scottish Devolution Referendum of 1997 should be understood. The Referendum on whether there was support for the creation of a Scottish Parliament with devolved powers, and whether the Parliament should have tax-varying powers, was a Labour manifesto commitment, held four months after their landslide victory in the 1997 UK General Election. Turnout for the Referendum was 60 percent and the result was a 'Yes-Yes' majority in favour of both proposals. However, the work that provided the foundation of the new Parliament in 1999 had already been carried out during the establishment for the convention, the question of gender being particularly relevant to the overall tenor of the 2014 Referendum campaign:

> "It was outside traditional politics, bang suddenly there was just an upsurge of hope I think, so the Referendum, having it called was obviously a trigger for that. But suddenly people were talking about doing all sorts of things differently. And Women for Independence definitely wants to do politics differently and that's what's really quite refreshing about it...I would say we're sort of getting into doing 'constitutional light' if you know what I mean, you do need to constitute yourself as an organisation and you need to have some things about how you manage meetings and stuff. But generally it's all

done differently and it just feels lighter, and...more kind of able to get things done...so a certainly women friendly type organisation" [Citizen #10]

While the question of the 'democratic deficit' had been solved it is clear that in the years following the establishment of a Scottish Parliament, 'Scottish independence is about more than a 'democratic deficit' in general terms' (Nairn, 2014: 390):

"It's a huge change and it's to do with a sense of being in control of your own place; you no longer have to go through the intermediary of a big landowner who has to give agreement for everything, and who requires a kind of supplication and you're no longer [...] tied in with the influence of capital everywhere, where housing was buy to let people taking it over and just...sucking everything they can out of a community in the names of their pensions or whatever. I mean you can understand why people do it but it has a toxic effect on people's sense of ownership and belonging. I think it makes a big difference to people if they   have a sense of ownership at least with the place where they live" [Citizen #11]

The new Scottish Parliament, while open and democratic in its procedures, was still financed by a block grant from Westminster and lacked control over key areas. Successive SNP manifestos had also included the commitment to hold a Referendum on Independence if the party won a majority in the Parliament. In 2011 after winning a significant overall majority a Referendum was duly called. The SNP's preference was for a triple-option Referendum: full independence, the status quo or 'maximum devolution' (fiscal autonomy), otherwise known as 'Devo Max' an option that was supported by the majority (70 percent) of the Scottish people. However, the coalition parties and the Labour opposition in London were determined to keep the option off the ballot paper (Davidson, 2014). On 8 January 2012 the British Prime Minister David Cameron took the initiative, announcing that his government would legislate for a Referendum. It would be a straight two question In–Out Referendum, with no third option.

The official 'Yes Scotland' campaign was launched on 25 May 2012. However, reflecting the Janus-faced depictions of the emergence of eighteenth century Scottish civil society outlined earlier, the 'Yes' campaign also comprised of 'two campaigns': one traditional and led by the political party machine, arguing in conventional media set-piece debates, the other, described by the *Sunday Herald* as a 'ground war', 'one-to-one, door-to-door, intentionally bypassing the media' (see Ascherson, 2012). As one participant noted:

> "It was the local groups who curated almost everything. So Yes Scotland did not run events, none of the central organisations ran substantial amounts of events, even when they did it was very much local self-organised groups, so if you saw RIC [Radical Independence Campaign] events apart from the three big conferences…jeez um…it really was…the local groups who did most of this…" [Citizen #1]

It was this 'other' campaign which Ascherson (2012) argued drew in previously marginalized and working-class communities and which suddenly flowered, over the course of the summer, into an extraordinary process of self-organization. Over 300 local community and activist groups sprang up, including Women for Independence, Common Weal, Generation Yes, a National Collective of musicians, artists and writers (see Hames, 2012; Common Weal, 2015a), complemented by drop-in centres, Yes cafés, and websites like Bella Caledonia and Wings over Scotland, with the aim of developing broadly a democratic movement for independence. The contrast between the two campaigns, the 'one-to-one, door-to-door' approach with the professional approach is highlighted in the following story from a research participant:

> "The thing I always remember is about 200 public meetings, arriving at the door, wee town halls all over Scotland with petrified looking amateurs wondering if anyone is going to come. All dressed up, all with a shirt and tie on, looking like they were going to a wedding you know? And they'd been putting this together for weeks, firing the whole thing and they're up to high-do will anyone come, will anyone come and they almost always…they did come. […] I've got a more visceral sense of the campaign than just kind of analytical or conceptual, a lot of what I remember is very, very people focused not organisational or institutional focused, but again that sense of we'll need to do something, what will we do? Let's hire out a hall, what will we do in the hall? Let's get folk together, what if we ask this guy do you think he might come? That sort of thing. And that's what I think is the really interesting part of it. The problem is that the people who by definition…the people who curate history were not standing outside town halls in their best shirt and tie, their best frock hoping people would come. They were all sitting in offices somewhere watching opinion polls which is valuable but it doesn't tell you what happened" [Citizen #1]

Ascherson (2014) wrote how this long campaign built around the Referendum had changed Scotland. What was unique about the campaign was that instead of politicians persuading people how to vote, it comprised of people persuading politicians. Activist groups did not merely provide the carnival atmosphere and argue for a particular outcome, they also provided the substantive content to the debate:

"I came out of that meeting late February on Hope Street and the door closed behind me and I picked up my phone and I phoned a bunch of people and said we need to do something. There needs to be some ideas and content here" [Citizen #1]

The campaign surrounding the 2014 Referendum was not about the support of a particular political party or the choice between two abstract choices but reflected a broader range of issues relating to what sort of Scotland people wanted and what kind of engagement people should have in delivering that. By the time of the vote 97 percent of the Scottish population had registered including a significant number of 16 and 17-year-olds who were enfranchised specially for the Referendum. As Davidson (2014) notes this was the highest level of voter registration in Scotland or Britain since the introduction of universal suffrage.

Concepts of 'citizenship'

Although research participants represented a range of diverse organisations with different focus and remit, 'citizenship' was viewed as central to their work. Recent events, including the 2014 Referendum in Scotland were viewed as having opened up opportunities for engagement, with the Scottish Government having "improved and broadened, and built its capacity and its knowledge about engagement and what it means, and how to engage with people" [Citizen #4].

In order to inform policy, various organisations were formally funded to represent the voices of particular communities such as women (Scottish Women's Convention) and older people (Scottish Older People's Assembly), black and ethnic communities (BEMIS; Scottish Refugee Council) faith-based groups (Interfaith, Joint Faith Board, Scottish Council of Jewish Communities) [see Annex Two]. As noted above, civil society consists of a range of different level organisations, some with closer links to government than others, and with different degrees of participation in political governance (i.e. campaigning organisations/ advocacy groups). There was a distinction among participants between third sector organisations and grass-root activists, although there were overlaps in activities and objectives. Representatives identified the role of their organisations as being to: increase knowledge and understanding of public bodies, voluntary organisations and employers about their constituent groups, providing good practice guidance training, supporting policy development, and also building an evidence base of what the needs of their group/members were. Other tasks included empowering their members to understand their rights and to feel confident in engaging with public service and employers, and to improve visibility of their members in Scotland. A key focus of the work of many third sector organisations was to influence policy. Accessibility to

the Scottish Government, and the Scottish Parliament, was seen as important and progressive.

Organisations like Scottish Older People's Assembly (SOPA) and the Scottish Women's Convention (SWC) were active in travelling round Scotland to obtain the views of their constituent members in order to represent these views to the Government. SOPA, for example, also had access to the Scottish Parliament to hold their meetings. Some organisations, such as local churches directly engaged with communities to try to encourage people to get involved in creating healthier better communities while others, for example BEMIS: Empowering Scotland's Ethnic and Cultural Minority Communities (BEMIS), one of the national umbrella organisations for ethnic minority voluntary sector and the communities that this sector represents, work to build the capacity of the ethnic minority voluntary sector organisations in local communities. In addition to training and engagement with local groups, such organisations also aim to influence policy development, working with stakeholders and the government. In essence, this involves the promotion of active citizenship and an active citizen's agenda. For several participants, the relationship between civil society organisations and government in Scotland was notable for the proximity between the two.

> "...[[...] We hold these meetings in the Parliament so that we could have a connection with the politicians because another main objective of what we do is to influence the politicians, and the civil servants, in the voice and experience of older people". Citizen #4

The emphasis on consultation was notable, although the extent to which citizen representatives were able to influence decision-making was not always evident, with representation on boards sometime by third sector organisations, rather than individuals. While another participant noted:

> "I think that there was a concerted effort to try and make sort of the...the Scottish Independence Referendum discussions accessible and kind of fill people in, and bring people up to speed. But that hasn't necessarily followed on into sort of other kinds of topics like health, or um...or budgets, or...kind of...economic development strategies. I think that when you kind of get to the day to day decision making of politicians its business as usual in terms of the way that those are framed and phrased". Citizen #7

Civil society participation

For some research participants, the Scottish Referendum had a considerable impact on how their organisations and the people who accessed them viewed politics. For

example one participant described a "seismic shift in how women view politics now". Their organisational role, to inform policy makers of women's views, inevitably involved them in going into communities and engaging with women. Another participant noted "Something is...fundamentally changed". From a situation of a few years previously, it seemed to research participants, that people in Scotland were much more engaged with politics as a direct result of the Referendum.

Many participants indicated that the Scottish Referendum (in 2014) had engaged many people: 'it captured Scotland'. This in itself had an impact on how other issues were perceived, in particular, the focus on the economy and issues such as currency and taxation appeared to be central features of Referendum debates. The Scottish government were seen as willing to engage with grass-root organisations as well as formal organisations and there was a view that the Government were keen to encourage a range of views to inform the policy process:

> "There was obviously a real appetite in 2014 to get information. I think people realised the importance of the decision they were making, so...you know...it was really important that we held these events... They said, you know, we feel like we've woken up politically and all that kind of thing cause we'd been so engaged". Citizen #8

> "I certainly I felt that there was very significant changes that I noticed in that time and afterwards. So my sense is that there was...a real increase in the number of people, the type of people you had conversations with about the Referendum particularly, but also other related political issues around it because it was the sort of question that wasn't just a yes or no, it linked into views around Liberal versus Conservative society and attitudes towards economics and towards immigration, and towards defence and so many other things. Yeah so definitely the first answer is yes I do think there was a very significant change in the run up to the Referendum, and that that change has lasted to an extent afterwards". Citizen #2

For many participants, it seemed that changes in civic participation were reflected by an increase in the number of people who actively participated in these political events alongside increased involvement more generally: "... so there's some friends of mine who have always been quite politically engaged and they became even more politically vocal if you like around the time of the Referendum" Citizen #2.

Many participants noted 'more visible engagement':

> "...it was easier to get behind the slogan of Yes and so on and so forth in terms of that being a positive...there was Polish for Yes, and

Nigerians for Yes, and so on and so forth. Maybe that dynamic wasn't as easily transferable into Something for No just because it's an inherently negative slogan. So … I'm sure that the communities participated within both campaigns but it certainly seemed to be much more visible within the Yes campaign. But maybe that was just the nature of that campaign anyway". Citizen #13

Increased political visibility was denoted by stickers in windows, badges and other forms of political identification/affiliation. This was further underlined by ongoing political events:

"It seems like almost every other night in the lead up to the Referendum itself they were hosting some kind of an event or discussion group, or panel of speakers or something like that…so much activity in the centre of the city, the way that George Square became quite a kind of focus for stalls from various organisations, um…it gave the impression that the city was very much leaning in the direction of voting for independence". Citizen #2

For some organisations, this opportunity to engage was viewed as a positive opportunity to present ideas of social justice and active citizenship amongst disenfranchised groups, such as refugees and others who may not be actively engaged in politics.

"I don't know if that's so much to do with a change, a recent change in politics, or more to do with the way that the Scottish Parliament was set up and the principles of the Scottish Parliament – that it would be much more open and accountable. [...] So I think it's kind of a combination of factors, but I think the way that the Parliament was set up with the Committees, and with the Cross-Party Groups, and with that openness and accountability and equality at the heart of it. Again, it's not perfect but because that's been allowed to continue then that's how that's, kind of, grown and blossomed". Citizen #9

Civil society institution involvement in political process

Enhancing a distinctive sense of national identity, many research participants expressed the view that the Scottish Parliament was more accessible than Westminster and that politics in Scotland had traditionally been 'done differently' to England (in particular) and the United Kingdom (in general). Active citizenship was seen as the solution to many problems which might otherwise be viewed as insurmountably structural, for example racism.

For many people, it was suggested that the lead up to the Scottish Referendum engaged people politically, overcoming stereotypes that politics was either a 'middle-class' conversation or one only accessible to 'educated' people. This was reinforced by the encounters local people had with established MPs in the campaign itself, where conversations took place involving people from all walks of life. "I'm not sure that's really about the role of the parties, so much as the size of the country perhaps is a factor. Maybe also how the Scottish Government communicates maybe slightly better" Citizen #2.

This also resulted in 'aspirational narrative' around the Scottish Referendum which supported the development of new alliances united by a "narrative of hoping for a more progressive and equal independent Scotland" which went beyond the outcome of the Referendum itself, continuing with aspirations for a more equal society (Citizen #7). For organisations which were reluctant to take a political position on the Referendum, it was possible to take advantage of the opportunities presented to reflect on some of the issues it raised:

> "So certainly in the run up to the Scottish Referendum I was very conscious about that (immigration) being raised. [...] So we'd be talking about refugees and somebody would say a sort of 'oh I wonder how Scottish independence would relate to the issue of refugee protection'. ....So a lot more discussion around the specific issue of Scottish independence but also the related political issues that went along with people's decisions in the run up to the Scottish Referendum and for me I thought that was a very positive aspect of the process". Citizen #2

This, for some participants, provided opportunities to 'champion' equality and human rights, shifting political debate. Although there were a number of community events around the Scottish Referendum, feedback from some organisations was there was a need to support those who didn't feel confident in speaking out or asking questions. "So we have a reputation of providing that safe space for women, so during that year of 2014, we were round the country and we were blown away by the number of women who came along – there was obviously a real appetite in 2014 to get information" (Citizen #8). Although for one participant, while the Scottish Referendum may have: "repoliticised people and maybe a new generation of people. So...I think that's still around, I'm not sure that it translates into actual engagement that's what I'm not sure about" (Citizen #12). As the participant went on to note: "I think organisations that are active, struggle with getting people really involved in doing the work".

Despite the concerns of some organisations that ideas might have changed but actual political activity may not have, some participants noted the sense of increased empowerment that had emerged, reflected in "continued and expanding political

activism among a diverse range of people. .. I'd hope that people just generally continue to feel more empowered to have their say. That there are possibilities and it's worth thinking what you would like and not just going well that's just how it is" (Citizen #7).

In contrast to many political campaigns and elections where people are often both cynical and/or resigned to the outcome, the Scottish Referendum was seen differently according to one participant:

"I think a lot of people expressed deep cynicism about the process leading up to general elections, you know how fair and how representative and how inclusive they are but also how much the decision will actually affect them. People saying that thing about no matter which way the election goes the government will always win. Or just generally expressing a view that all politicians are the same really and what does my vote matter? I didn't hear anybody saying that sort of thing about the Referendum you know? People really felt a faith in the process and that the decision was going to be a big deal". Citizen #2

Grass-root versus 'formal' organisations

As noted above, there appeared to be a difference between civil society groups and their relation to the Scottish government in comparison to Westminster. So too, there were notable differences between more constitutionally focussed and the activist direct democracy groups emerging around the Referendum.

Organisational representatives outlined a number of roles that their organisations were expected to carry out, providing advice about rights and entitlements, advocating on the rights of individuals and the groups they represented, and often encouraging their constituent groups to participate collectively on their own behalf. There were different views on what this translated to in terms of the Scottish Referendum with some organisations noting their reluctance to be identified with a political position, specifically a 'yes' or 'no' stance. For others, this was mediated through encouraging people to get involved more directly in grass-root organisations: "I think a lot of the, kind of, charitable sector was quite quiet during the Scottish Referendum and where I think civil society played out was more in the grass-roots organisations and the emerging grass-roots organisations" (Citizen #5).

Changing the language around politics, for example presenting political debate as a 'conversation' was viewed as a more effective way to get people involved and was certainly a key feature of the Scottish Referendum campaign, with the emergence of 'conversation cafés' set up by local people and/or local groups: "consultation is something an organisation does. That's away up here somewhere. A conversation

means that you want a chat with somebody, so it engages people more. So, you know, there is that change in language which is making people feel part of something. Which I think is quite exciting, kind of, moving forward" (Citizen #9).

Most representatives from formal organisations who participated in the study claimed to be "strictly neutral within the debate", however participants from these organisations also voiced concerns about the conception of 'nationalism'. For some of their members, 'nationalism' could be taken to mean 'ethnic nationalism' rather than 'civic nationalism'.

> "We can say anecdotally you know that certain minority communities were more likely to vote yes. I think over all they voted no just…it was like 57-43 and that was people born overseas so not born in Scotland […] a lot of those votes were predicated on the fear of Scotland being taken out of the European Union and so on and so forth. Citizen #13

The perceived tone of the Scottish Referendum campaign was seen by some organisational representatives as problematic and indeed, a barrier to participation.

> "…that kind of campaigning certainly did have an effect on the community and I have to say that there were…there are some people …who whether they don't realise that the SNP is the Scottish National Party rather than the Scottish Nationalist Party or whether they don't understand the difference, or whether they're just frightened of nationalism in any sense and form whatsoever,…but there are people unfortunately who are…vocally concerned about the ascendancy of any form of nationalism and immediately start seeing…echoes of the 1930s". Citizen #5

Constraints on citizen access

While seeking to increase and support citizen access, participants noted that in practice, a numbers of barriers to active engagement existed. For some, notably members of ethnic minority communities, basic language skill could act as a barrier. Similarly, the use of social media could exclude groups such as sections of the elderly population. The role of the media in exacerbating barriers was noted by one participant who highlighted the portrayal of, and engagement with, minority communities:

> "For example, BBC Scotland last year did a big piece on immigration and migrants coming to Scotland. And they were speaking to people who are fourth or fifth generation Scottish citizens with south Asian heritage. They are not migrants, they're Scottish citizens who happen to

have ethnic characteristics which are quite easily identifiable so when a national broadcaster maintains and continues to discuss, and speak to these people…and they participate in it, accepting those boundaries, and those definitions put upon them, you know it's so uh…it's so incompetent from a policy perspective and from a social and cultural perspective…" Citizen #13

Gender was a complex issue, with leadership of political parties in Scotland suggesting women's participation in politics but less evidence of this in positions of political power more generally. Women appear to be particularly under-represented at local authority level, with certain demands manifesting as barriers throughout the political structure:

> "So there is a need for that new kind of politics and there's an appetite for it, I would say, at a grass-roots level and there is leadership with the Scottish Government, with the 50/50 Cabinet, with the First Ministers' 50/50 by 2020 pledge and it is a commitment but it's almost at that kind of middle level that's where the women are missing. They're missing from the middle to the top, let's be honest… […] but we had to bring it back to, well who runs your local authority? Who's in charge? Who's your local Councillor? Who's the Chief Exec at your local Council? Who's making all these decisions? Citizen #8

Social and economic disadvantages could present barriers to marginalised groups more broadly. "I think about the concept today that we have um…poor communities that almost are like victimised by their own poverty and that people are coming into help them" (Citizen #12). Organisations themselves were often constrained by lack of resources to support local communities, however more formal organisations who had a remit of representing particular groups, did agree that there was a need to empower people:

> "Well I think like others in communities it's just, you know, poverty, isolation, additional barriers around language and having huge things going on in their life around the asylum decision making process…Groups do need, I think, to be supported to be brought together. Things like going to meetings, travel expenses, so, you know, all of these things for people to come together as a collective can be difficult and can be resource intensive". Citizen #5

For some organisations, providing support for groups to engage politically could have significant benefits:

> "…one thing we did about five years ago was create a, sort of,

community development policy project which was not just about supporting refugee women to come together and identify issues of common concern and try and raise those; but was to sit that alongside our policy work. So it meant that they were able to shape that, that we were also able to get them access to the policy arena into, maybe, areas that they would find difficult if you just took a purely community development approach. And they've had, you know, they're involved in, for example, Scotland's national strategy for refugee integration, they engage with the Home Office and...so a whole host of different things. But the groups do need to be supported to be able to do that so I would say that's also a part of democracy and active citizenship – is having a say in issues that affect you, not necessarily always being able to influence change but at least being listened to and I think that's a positive thing in Scotland". Citizen #6

It was suggested amongst some groups in society, there was a sense of inefficacy, a cynicism that individuals and communities could actually change things. One participant suggested that while this disempowerment came from different roots but essentially from the breaking up of the unions, which had, in the past, provided a source of education and empowerment for working people and men in particular. But broader cultural shifts may also have had a role:

"I strongly suspect that if you think your raison d'être is to have a better lifestyle, owning desirable things, consumerism, which is...wildly abroad in our society if that's what you think your aim in life is then you're not looking over your shoulder to see what's out there and whether you like it, and whether you think it needs changed. You're just driven by this economic wheel that says work hard spend hard, enjoy!" Citizen #12

Social media

Social media was used in different ways during the campaign preceding the Scottish Referendum, with some funded groups noting the usefulness of this medium in highlighting or drawing attention to particular issues, in essence providing information, rather than for stimulating discussion:

"We use it basically as a dissemination channel so we have a huge amount of information on our website. ...last year we had about 1 and a quarter million hits on the website in the course of the year...this year it looks like we're heading for two million. But...we tend not to use it as an interactive medium unfortunately ... far too much of the response that we get to anything that we post is ...offensive...so we minimise the

interactive nature of it, we simply use it if you like as a… notice board to stick things on". Citizen #3

Some organisations noted that their website provided information about the organisation and how it operated: "we have a Face Book and a Twitter, and it is…active but I think that it's not as active as it could be or possibly should be. You really require a kind of dedicated person to do this. We do have somebody who helps us with our web page and our communications. And we've been trying…we have had help over the last couple of years so it has improved" (Citizen #4).

By contrast, for others, and particularly for activist groups, social media had a greater role in stimulating debate through blogs and other forms of networking: "I think it opens up discussions, some of what is said is not very profound, that's probably a problem. But getting people to ask questions is good, it's shaking the tree and that has to be a positive thing" (Citizen #12).

Anderson (1991) argues that a nation is an 'imagined political community', created and sustained by virtue of publications and the written press. Concerns around the mainstream media appeared to intensify during and after the Referendum, with regular protests outside the offices of the BBC in Glasgow. On 4 May 2014, the Sunday Herald became the only newspaper in Scotland to back independence, announcing this with a front page cover designed by the famous Scottish artist, Alasdair Gray, resulting in an increase in sales. This was followed by a new national newspaper, on 24 November 2014, *The National,* describing itself as 'The Newspaper that Supports an Independent Scotland', and which continues to sell to a pro-independence audience in 2017. For many people in Scotland, mainstream media sources were considered to be unreliable and for some, 'biased' in their coverage of key issues such as economic and social data. Many turned to social media for information. Websites emerged which were incredibly popular in countering some of the claims and allegations made by mainstream media (Wings Over Scotland[6], Wee Ginger Dug, Bella Caledonia, Scot Goes Pop and others) (see Annex Two) however, this could result in a limited view of wider debates:

> "I think that the main thing that kind of surprised and shocked some people was …I think that the Referendum result …it was maybe the first time people really recognised just how the Face Book friends effect works. Where you think that …there is a larger majority of people

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[6] Wings over Scotland, created and maintained by Rev. Stuart Campbell provided daily blogs with facts and figures in the run up to the Referendum. On the morning of the result, he blogged out, claiming it was all over. The public response was such that he has continued to edit Wings, with crowd funding surpassing all expectations, enabling him to keep the website going and to date producing two publications *The Wee Blue Book: The Facts the Papers Leave Out* (Campbell, 2014) and *The Wee Black Book, What Happened after Scotland Voted No* (Campbell, 2016).

agreeing with your views because your friends agree with your views".
Citizen #7

CONCEPTS OF 'DEMOCRACY'

Research participants were enthusiastic about the importance of political engagement as active citizenship. Views of democracy varied however, and there appeared to be a shared perspective that democracy was something that had to be created and shaped, rather than existing as an abstract entity: "…if there's more women engaged, all kinds of different women, then it should stand to reason that that would encourage greater democracy and better representation. It should" (Citizen #8).

This view was reinforced by a sense that the role of constitutional groups was to challenge decision-making beyond communities and to represent the voices (and/or actively encourage) the participation of people from local communities such as "women who are the backbone of communities, so, you know, their voices have got to be heard as part of this" (Citizen #9).

One research participant outlined her understanding of democracy based on her own experiences: "It involves…participation, I can't blame others if I'm not active, I can't sit back and say well I voted for you what did you do? The question is for me what did you do? So I always had a concept of democracy that involved …an active participation…" (Citizen #12). Other participants reflected on the work of their organisations to engage and empower people and to support them to 'do things for themselves' which was understood to be the key basis of democracy. Another participant had a more modest understanding of this, considering it in terms of 'being heard', and again, coming from a more formal organisation, suggesting that some people required support to access this public forum: "But the groups do need to be supported to be able to do that so I would say that's also a part of democracy and active citizenship – is having a say in issues that affect you, not necessarily always being able to influence change but at least being listened to and I think that's a positive thing in Scotland" (Citizen #6).

However, being 'heard' did not necessarily translate into influencing policy:

> "There is no doubt that the opportunities for older people and other citizens to contribute to engagement, to participation, to consultations is clearly there. And of course for those who are engaged and know about it they probably will make their voice heard. But what we have discovered is that whilst older people can make a contribution to the

policy it's the implementation of the policy which is going array". Citizen #4

The view that the Scottish Referendum was quite distinct to other referenda was noted by a number of participants, for example, one noted: "...the...Scottish Independence Referendum kind of reassured me to a degree about the fact that [...] people were engaging actually really...in quite an informed and empowered manner" (Citizen #7).

> "...I think the Scottish Government has been pretty good at that kind of thing. I mean it encourages communal representative organisations. The Scottish conception of multiculturalism as distinct from the English conception of multiculturalism is based around communities having a structure and engaging at all levels...so...in that way...I think democracy is alive and well in Scotland. People obviously have their reservations when things go the way they didn't like, but that's just democracy. Citizen #3

The possibility for political engagement, both at local and national levels, in Scotland was viewed positively, despite the fact that Scotland is actually one of the least democratic countries in Europe in terms of actual local democratic structures of governance (Bort, McAlpine and Morgan, 2012). Nevertheless, it was in taking advantage of such opportunities for engagement that participants reflected on the significant role of their organisation: "Yeah I feel like the Scottish Independent Referendum...enabled quite a lot of people to feel part of something bigger and to feel that there were political decisions that...could change things" (Citizen #7).

There was a relatively widely held view that more people in Scotland, from diverse backgrounds, were now interested in engaging with political discussions as a result of the Scottish Referendum. Moreover, participation in the Scottish context was seen as distinctively different from England, described by one participant as 'elitist' (Citizen #7).

> "In the lead up to the Referendum the people that I was interacting with had a strong feeling that it had the potential to affect them and their communities, a very strong feeling. [...]. Whereas I feel like I hear from people in the rest of the UK about the UK government more cynicism, more of a sense of distance and what does it matter they're all the same, just different colours of the same thing? Yeah, more of a sense that it doesn't really have a big impact on their lives". Citizen #2

This was in contrast to Scotland where "…for the most part the energy and the passion, and the interest that so many new people showed in political engagement was a very positive thing" (Citizen #2).

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Research participants highlighted the ways in which the build up to the Scottish Referendum engaged people, from a diverse range of backgrounds, in questions about what a future Scotland could look like. Central to this, were questions of 'justice' and what that could mean for citizens of the country. For many of the organisations, the groups that they claimed to represent held a variety of different ways of defining 'justice'. For some, this could mean "making sure that nobody's left behind and that everybody's given an opportunity" (Citizen #8). But it also had resonance for a more equitable society: "They want Scotland to be a better place, not just for themselves and their families, but for their communities. They want Scotland to be prosperous and, kind of, progressive and moving forward and that's…that's come out since the Referendum, it doesn't matter what side you were on" (Citizen #9).

It was also noted that equality was not about the same treatment for all, but required a recognition of, and response to, difference. It did however, for most participants, involve some for concept of 'fairness'. This could also include "the eradication of the barriers and the structural features that sustain and maintain poverty… […] so yeah for me it's about in the broadest sense trying to work towards a fairer society and one of the big indicators I think of the fact that we don't have that is the wealth and income disparity…" (Citizen #2). Another participant noted:

> "I mean, for us it helped to crystallise what it is we stand for. You know, we are working in a number of different areas and trying to effect change and lobby for change here but, actually, it was like taking a big, big step back and saying, you know, not thinking about who is in government or what level of government but what is it that we are actually here for and what is it that we're trying to change. So I think definitely from an organisational perspective it did really help, sort of, crystallise what it is that we want and refugees want – an improvement of their lives. And I think for many people as well in civil society too was the Scottish Referendum allowed that, sort of, step back and asked you to think about how we are governed and what kind of society is it that we want to live in". Citizen #6

Inequality in pensions, and the increasing impact of inequality in creating a growing gap between the rich and the poor was identified as an important issue that was inextricably linked to how 'justice' was understood. The disproportionate experience of poverty among those from an ethnic minority background in Scotland was one of the concerns expressed by one participant who noted that they were twice as likely to live in poverty, twice as likely to be unemployed, twice as likely to have poor housing; circumstances that were not only destructive in their own right, but also made it very difficult for people to get out of these circumstances: "it's so much harder for a child or a young person to really attend to their studies, to work or study in an environment where the housing is very poor, or where they're living in an unsafe condition. Just there is so much more stacked against them so there is a sense that it's not just the poverty here and now but the way that it often means poverty is ongoing" Citizen #2.

This was represented for one participant (an activist), in terms of 'social justice' manifested at the local level:

> "...social justice to me is where we're living in communities where...with more egalitarian communities where people have what they need. They don't all have the same, they never will have, but they have what they need and their lives are not scarred by poverty, or...without housing, or um...various forms of disadvantage, where they can contribute to society and be part of it. They're not excluded. And I think that we're now in a position where we have structural violence happening to people because our systems are actually disadvantaging people...its sectors of people, not all of us...[...] Now there's active participation, they're actively involved in helping with these food banks. Now through that work they see what poverty means. The myths that can be put across about the deserving and undeserving poor are shattered if you actually work with people who are poor and in need, and in need of food". Citizen #12

This recognition was evident in the continuation of events organised by local groups, organisations and faith communities aimed at promoting an understanding of economic justice which aimed to bring people together to continue campaigns that had their roots in the campaign for the Scottish Referendum. For one participant (from a formal organisation), social justice operated at a more 'micro' level:

> "Social justice is how people interact in their day to day lives and its very...its personal and its communal... [...] but the nitty-gritty of social justice is how we interact with each other in our day to day lives. And for minority communities social justice is their interaction with the DWP, their interaction with the Job Centre, their interaction with

schools, their interaction with the police, their interaction with so on and so forth..." Citizen #13

Engagement and active citizenship was seen by some participants as key to addressing these structural issues, creating an environment where social, economic and cultural rights were recognised and strived for.

"When it was the Independence Referendum we opened Pandora's box in terms of people putting their hearts...putting out there what they really believed and what they wanted to achieve, and what they wanted to aspire, what they wanted for their family and their communities. And that's not going to disappear quite clearly". Citizen #13

For some participants, social justice meant recognising the contribution their members made to society: "over the last few years there's been a little bit of a mantra about the aging population and its burden on the services. Well this is not right. This is not right because many, many older people make a very valuable contribution to active citizenship" (Citizen #4).

The issue of 'hate crime' was highlighted by research participants, challenging any notions that Scotland as a society does not experience racism and other forms of discrimination and violence. While most of the participants in this study indicated that their organisation was geared towards challenging any form of discrimination against their members (in both policy terms and practice), it was noted that the cross-Scotland networks had enabled a shared recognition of the ways in which other groups experienced similar problems/disadvantage as a result of perceived characteristics. One participant noted that the Scottish Independence Referendum had been a "catalyst to what is more a kind of collaborative engagement across different interest groups in the social justice sphere". Citizen #7

For some groups this had impacted upon their ability to participate politically, for some organisations, it presented a challenge in actually identifying the people they aspired to represent: "unfortunately we've lots of people telling us that they...one way or another they hide their Jewish identity and even more so Israelis in Scotland do not admit to being Israeli (Citizen #3)".

Political activism in the build up to the Scottish Referendum had raised questions about what a future Scotland could and might look like, creating space to reflect upon 'social justice' and what it meant for participants: "There is very much a narrative of hoping for a more progressive and equal independent Scotland" (Citizen #7). Through the process of participation and engagement, people began to recognise shared issues and to overcome differences in some areas. "There's more of

a sense of we should provide for people needs and that's part of being a good government" (Citizen #7). One participant noted:

> "[...]I'm certainly aware that I think if you had asked me about my definition of social justice five years ago I would have probably thought in a more narrow way just about...just the fact that poverty exists. Not even really necessarily thought about the ultra-wealthy versus the very poor. I would have probably just thought about the fact there is poverty... Um...but I wouldn't have thought about it in terms of its link to things like education and how the police treat you. How the justice system treats you, all these things that have become for me more related to social justice". Citizen #2

However, for some participants, the issue of 'justice' was complexly related to 'rights':

> "I think obviously in a...very...diverse society like the one we have then social justice, justice in society if you like has to be concerned with balancing rights and obligations. And it may very well be that in the last couple of decades we've sort of...tipped over a bit too much towards rights". Citizen #3

Few participants spoke specifically about 'criminal justice' although when they did, it was related to wider issues of 'social justice' more broadly:

> "...I think we've moved from a place of being focused on penal reform and um...what was happening in prisons,...we are still concerned with that but we've widened that to look at the communities we belong to and what is ours to do within these communities...[...] there was a slow realisation by us that the...the real answers lie with....in communities themselves and are not imposed by other people and they're really there...local communities have the potential to grow healthy places for all their citizens. And community justice sits within that and it's not something separate from that. I think...that the tipping point with that was in the period in the run up to the Scottish Referendum but at that time the wider community was talking about how...what kind of society do we want to live in?" Citizen #12

REFLECTIONS ON LONGER-TERM IMPACT OF THE 2014 SCOTTISH REFERENDUM

The level of engagement that was evident during the 2014 Referendum, and the issues that engaged people was viewed by many participants as having had an

impact on the later European Union Referendum in 2016. "... we've already had many conversations about what sort of society do you want to live in at the time of the Referendum ...so we were quite a long way down that road when this current Referendum hit us and so...we had opinions about what sort of Scotland we wanted to live in" Citizen #3.

However, although the high level of participation and political engagement in Scotland continued beyond the Scottish Referendum and into the General Election and Scottish Parliament elections, it did not seem to be so prevalent in relation to the EU Referendum in Scotland..."it just didn't really engage and we didn't do much engagement with communities and, you know, it wasn't necessarily something coming up through them" Citizen #6.

The events in Scotland (prior to the EU Referendum) did seem to study participants, to have heralded a different civic climate:

> "I think that ...we've certainly seen...people feeling that ...Scottish politics has been taking a more progressive and more equality minded approach". [...] which I don't think are always matched by the actual realities of day to day communities. But certainly I feel has been a kind of narrative that people have felt connected to in terms of political discourse". Citizen #7

Other participants referred to "a huge upsurge in participative democratic citizenship which obviously the Referendum was the primary catalyst for" (Citizen #13). Before the Referendum, turnout for Scottish Parliamentary elections was relatively low with marked reductions in areas of social and economic deprivation. The discussions and debates which foregrounded the Referendum were seen by all participants as having engaged local communities to a considerable degree. Efforts were made to continue this engagement:

> "there is a cross equalities...coalition of organisations covering all the characteristics who are now working to develop the 2017 local authority elections as the equality elections to encourage political parties to proactively engage with you know people from ethnic minorities, people with disabilities and so on and so forth so that our parliament and our democratic institutions are reflective of the diverse citizens and people of Scotland so yes we all have a responsibility to progress citizenship and representation across key areas". Citizen #13

> "I'd hope that people just generally continue to feel more empowered to have their say. So that you can get them to feel that...that...they can write to an MSP or they can organise a discussion or they can do a kind

of…a small campaign so yeah my hope is that we kind of see it continued and expanding political activism among a diverse range of people". Citizen #7

For some research participants, inclusion at later political events and subsequent consultations had not necessarily lead to changes in policy. A number of events since the Scottish Referendum (in 2014) provided opportunities for individuals and groups to get politically involved (general election, Scottish Parliament elections and the EU Referendum). The activity around the Scottish Referendum was seen as reinvigorating concepts of democracy which, although attempts were made to sustain this, had in the view of one participant been depleted in the aftermath of the event:

> "Yeah in short there was a huge upsurge in participative democracy citizenship around about the Referendum and we've really strived to maintain that actually. And it was post Referendum when these discussions were taking place, you know we submitted to the Smith Commission after a very short analysis with our members given the time constraints which were in the Smith Commission and we had a concern that that Smith Commission process actually was not representative of the citizen led debate which had went before it". Citizen #13

The result of the Scottish Referendum and the start of the Smith Commission resulted in (formal) organisations having to consult with people very quickly in order to provide information to the Smith Commission (Centre on Constitutional Change, 2014). For some organisations, this was a challenge due to the sheer number of people who wanted to take part in these consultations ("how they wanted to see the future of Scotland, what further devolved powers they wanted to see, you know, how they saw the political landscape in Scotland", Citizen #8). Lack of resources posed challenges for this process "there's four of us, and we're only given a limited pot of money and we weren't given anything extra to hold these events. So, for us as an organisation, we can put these events on but we're very constrained with our resources that we have".

Conversations and increased interest in politics, did not necessarily result in increased political engagement over the longer term for a whole variety of reasons. As one participant commented: "I think there's probably concern, from our point of view, that there was so much engagement around the Independence Referendum in 2014 and there've been so many political decisions since then. A lot of political decisions and a lot of political change. There's a bit of democratic fatigue… (Citizen #9)".

There was a view that after the Scottish Referendum and subsequent events, people did conceive of 'active citizenship' more clearly - that although things may not change, there were opportunities to have a say in local events. However, there remained aspirations that were denied in practice:

> "There was an element of political naivety among a lot of the people who were getting involved in politics for the first time at the Scottish Independence Referendum. They hadn't necessarily engaged that much in political processes before so their expectation of what could be achieved and in what way...I think...was maybe idealistic in some regards. [...] So...I think that that was...you see a little bit of...a...division between kind of hopes and expectations, and political realities. Citizen #7

Another participant was somewhat more sceptical about how 'democracy' was defined in the current social, economic and political system. The opportunity to vote in a general election and the practice of parliamentary representative democracy was viewed with some degree of scepticism:

> "The issue of the EU Referendum one of the things that I was most distressed about with it, the way the vote went, [...] was the sense that a lot of people voted to leave who didn't understand what they were voting for. What they were voting against [...] But you know...I'm not a deeply sceptical person about the general election or representative kind of side of democracy. But my feeling about democracy when it comes to Referendums, yeah it's been damaged I think by it". Citizen #2

Another participant outlined similar concerns:

> [...] I think in the Scottish independence Referendum people paid a lot of respect to that [complexity of the issue] and seriously thought about the questions through a number of different ways. Whereas, I think, for the EU Referendum, [...] in areas of England it was an opportunity to get to the UK government rather than, sort of, trying to answer the question and people, sort of, hung onto very, very simple statements about what the answer to that question was. So, yea, I don't know if I would say it's democratic really as a process". Citizen #6

The EU Referendum and its aftermath raised some different issues for the group of representatives who voiced their views on it in this study, with concerns expressed about increases in 'hate crime' and the impact on immigrants and ethnic minority people in the UK and in Scotland. However for

many (formal) organisations, unlike their engagement with the Scottish Referendum, the EU Referendum, despite its potential impact was largely overlooked:

"So I think those big questions that the Scottish Referendum allowed those to be considered and thought through. I wouldn't say that in relation to the EU Referendum in Scotland […] I just don't feel that…it didn't really set the heather on fire up here, you know, the Referendum. It just wasn't…even for us as an organisation – yes, we saw it…saw it ahead but, you know, we didn't do any of the work that we did previously around the Scottish Referendum and, I don't know, it seems very much a, sort of, English debate rather than a Scottish debate". Citizen #7

However, for another participant there were similar issues to consider:

"You're seeing a lot of the same rhetoric which accompanied the 2014 discussions which are now wrapped up in the European debate. We are European citizens, we are outward looking, we are this, we are that. And it's…I would say that that high level narrative is encapsulated…represents this idea of social justice and quite clearly you're linking it to democracy. So I mean we can go down a rabbit hole of what social justice and democracy are but those divergences (between Scotland and London) seem to have become quite prominent over the last 4-5 days" [following the EU Referendum]. Citizen #13

Homeland

A horizon unbounded by limitation.
A landscape to nourish the soul.
An environment free of contamination.

Where there is inspiration not exploitation.
Where there is enthusiasm not scepticism.
Where there is idealism not cynicism.
Where there is creativity not destruction.

Where each opportunity creates more opportunities.
Where craft is passed willingly from master to apprentice.
Where ideas form from goodwill and spread goodwill.

Where traditions are upheld.
Where heritage is respected.
Where old legends still live.
Where new ones are made.

A people who embody community.
A hospitality that welcomes outsiders.
A character that defies classification.
A kinship inherited from gentle ancestors.

Let everyone be safe.
Let everyone be free.
Let everyone be happy.
Let everyone be healthy.

Let no-one suffer.
Let no-one want.
Let no-one fear.
Let no-one despair.

If the sun shines, may it purify the spirit.
If it rains, may it mean a new lease of life.
If it snows, may it encourage playfulness.
If the wind blows, may it energise the heart.

May travellers smile when they recall their time here.
When we are travellers, may we be welcome everywhere.
May every visitor wish they had lived here.
May every inhabitant not wish to live anywhere else.

Vincent Handley

CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to explore, by examining the landscape of activist activities and hearing the views of those involved, what meanings were attached to the concept of 'justice' and what the participation within this landscape meant for understanding justice through an expansion of civic engagement. In Scotland, in the build up to the 2014 Referendum, there was much concentration on the specifically Scottish context of civil society, with different and often competing, views of 'nationhood'. As Anderson (1991) has argued, a nation is an *imagined and political* community, and likewise as with 'nation', concepts such as civil society only have meaning to the extent that they are imagined (Tester, 1992). In other words, institutional concepts such as civil society, the public sphere, democracy, justice, the state, cannot be fully grasped outside of the consideration of the imaginary. However, the institutional embodiment of such imaginings are in the collective bonds and loyalties engendered by means of the symbolic modes of expression and ceremonial processes of political practice. Our analysis of justice is therefore located within the civil sphere, while recognising that certain kinds of institutions (the state, civil society institutions and criminal justice institutions) cannot be fully explained in functional terms alone.

Justice is a word which excites significant emotional investment, but in proportion to that investment, is hard to realize in reality. In this study, justice was referred to in two key ways: economic (ownership and distribution of economic resources) and social (generally meaning the distribution of punishment and rewards; distribution of rights such as the right to vote or equality before the law). This echoes the relationship between a politics of redistribution and a politics of recognition (Fraser, 2003) where the approach is to change both the social structure and status order. For many respondents not only were both the economic and the social necessarily linked, but strongly tied to identity. Social and economic disadvantages by definition present barriers in relation to accessing justice whether social or economic but the study also outlined how barriers to active civil engagement existed also in terms language skills, in relation to some members of ethnic minority communities, excluded people from participation; or how technology in the form of access to key information on social media was a potential barrier for many elderly people. Gender also was a complex issue in regards to access both to economic and social justice and political engagement (see also Waylen, 1994; Razavi, 2001; O' Hagan, 2014) as active citizenship was seen by many respondents as not only desirable, but necessary in addressing these structural disadvantages and in creating an environment where social, economic and cultural rights were recognised.

The opportunity to engage in the referendum for some organisations was viewed as a positive opportunity to present ideas of social justice and active citizenship amongst disenfranchised groups such as refugees and others who may be marginalised from political life. Many research participants expressed the view that

the Scottish Parliament was more accessible than Westminster and that active citizenship itself, by overcoming stereotypes that politics was 'middle-class', or accessible only to 'educated' people, offered new perspectives to many problems which might otherwise be understood as being beyond their influence. However, there were notable differences between civil society groups and their relation to the Scottish Government. Where a number saw Scottish identity providing an 'aspirational' narrative to the referendum, others voiced concerns about national identity and its effect on the tone of the campaigning as a barrier to active engagement. This difference was noticeable between the activist and grass-root groupings in comparison to third sector organisations.

According to most of the study participants the 2014 Referendum in Scotland did appear to have heralded a different civic climate. Many spoke of a significant upsurge in participative democratic citizenship and the discussions and debates had engaged local communities to a considerable degree and in reinvigorating concepts of democracy. Writing in the Guardian on the 21st September 2014 Neal Ascherson wrote:

> "So this long campaign has changed Scotland irrevocably. Campaign? I have never seen one like this, in which it wasn't politicians persuading people how to vote, but people persuading politicians. At some point in late spring, the official yes campaign lost control as spontaneous small groups set themselves up and breakfast tables, lounge bars, bus top decks and hospital canteens began to talk politics. What sort of Scotland?"

In considering what effect the changed civic and political engagement evident prior to and in the aftermath of the Scottish Referendum had on concepts of 'justice' requires consideration of the broader political impetus and the degree to which engagement was considered effective at a number of different levels. Certainly, there appeared to be the opening of a space in which to consider and reconsider notions of justice based on the reimagining of a different Scotland. For many, the increased political participation was seen as a chance to recreate society, dismantle or redraw boundaries; make politics more relevant and connected to notions of justice in the minds of citizens. Exploring the extent to which political engagement shapes how justice is perceived and understood highlights the varied meanings of justice and the association of political liberty with active engagement in society.

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SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IN SCOTLAND

GENDER
To reduce and remove the barriers faced by women and men in Scotland. Differing their needs to deliver gender equality objectives.

CROSS-DIRECTORATE WORKING GROUP ON OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION
https://www.royalsoced.org.uk/cms/files/advice-papers/inquiry/women_in_stem/tapping_talents.pdf .

MENTORS IN VIOLENCE PREVENTION
http://www.actiononviolence.org.uk/projects/mentors-in-violence-prevention

EQUATE SCOTLAND
http://www.equatescot land.org.uk/

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S AID
http://www.scottishwomensaid.org.uk/

WOMEN'S SUPPORT PROJECT
http://www.womenssupportproject.co.uk/

AMINA – THE MUSLIM WOMEN'S RESOURCE CENTER
http://www.womenssupportproject.co.uk/directory/179.1.212/Amina-the-Muslim-Womens-Centre-MWRC.html

WOMEN FOR INDEPENDENCE
http://www.womenforindependence.org/

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S CONVENTION
http://www.scottishwomensconvention.org/index.php

GLASGOW WOMEN'S LIBRARY
http://womenslibrary.org.uk/

MEN IN CHILDCARE
http://www.meninchildcare.co.uk/

NATIONAL PARENTING STRATEGY
http://www.gov.scot/resource/0040/00403769.pdf

CLOSE THE GAP
http://www.closethegap.org.uk/

EMPLOYABILITY IN SCOTLAND
http://www.employabilityinscotland.com/

HUMANIST SOCIETY SCOTLAND
https://www.humanism.scot/

EDUCATION SCOTLAND
http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/

JUST FESTIVAL
http://just-festival.org/

EQUALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en

RACE
Recognising that different people have different needs and responding accordingly so that everyone in Scotland can enjoy the same basic human rights.

BEMIS
http://bemis.org.uk/

SCOTTISH REFUGEE COUNCIL
http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/

CEMVO SCOTLAND
http://www.cemvoscotland.org.uk/

COALITION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY AND RIGHTS
http://www.crer.org.uk/

INTERFAITH SCOTLAND
http://www.interfaithscotland.org/

SENSE OVER SECTARIANISM
https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=18069&p=0

EDINBURGH INTERFAITH ASSOCIATION
http://www.eifa.org.uk/

SCOTTISH COUNCIL OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES
http://www.scojec.org/

ACTION OF CHURCHES TOGETHER IN SCOTLAND
http://www.acts-scotland.org/

MUSLIM COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND
http://www.mcscotland.org/

RELIGION
To live free from fear, bigotry, prejudice and discrimination and to increase understanding and respect.

To tackle religious hatred and intolerance, also sectarianism.

ROYAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF BLIND PEOPLE
http://www.rnib.org.uk/

ACTION ON HEARING LOSS SCOTLAND
https://www.actiononhearingloss.org.uk/about-us/scotland.aspx

DISABILITY AGENDA SCOTLAND
http://www.disabilityagenda.scot/

DISABILITY
To fight discrimination and inequality and ensure that people who have disabilities are regarded as equal members of society.

SCOTTISH DISABILITY EQUALITY FORUM
http://www.sdef.org.uk/

SCOTTISH ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH
https://www.samh.org.uk/

SCOTTISH DISABILITY SPORT
http://www.scottishdisabilitysport.com/sds/

SENSE SCOTLAND
http://www.sensescotland.org.uk/

CAPABILITY SCOTLAND
http://www.capability-scotland.org.uk/

SCOTTISH COMMISSION FOR LEARNING DISABILITY
http://www.scld.org.uk/

DISABILITY INFORMATION SCOTLAND
http://www.disabilityscot.org.uk/

ENABLE SCOTLAND
http://www.enable.org.uk/Pages/Enable_Home.aspx

ACCES PANEL NETWORK
http://accesspanelnetwork.org.uk/

SCOTTISH PENSION FORUM
http://www.scottishpensioners.org.uk/

SCOTTISH SENIOR ALLIANCE
http://www.spanglefish.com/ScottishSeniorsAlliance/index.asp?pageid=635882

HIGHLANDS SENIOR CITIZEN NETWORK
http://www.hscn.co.uk/

AGE
To tackle pensioner poverty and to provide security and dignity for older people.

AGE SCOTLAND
http://www.ageuk.org.uk/scotland/

SCOTTISH BORDERS ELDER VOICE
http://www.melroseliving.co.uk/businesses/scottish-borders-elder-voice/

SCOTTISH OLDER PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY (SOPA)
http://www.scotopa.org.uk/

LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER (LGBT)
To promote equality and inclusion for LGBT people.

EQUALITY NETWORK
http://www.equality-network.org/

STONEWALL SCOTLAND
http://www.stonewallscotland.org.uk/

LGTB HEALTH AND WELLBEING
http://www.lgbthealth.org.uk/

THE SCOTTISH TRANSGENDER ALLIANCE
http://www.scottishtrans.org/

LGTB YOUTH SCOTLAND
https://www.lgbtyouth.org.uk/

Annex Two

Bella Caledonia
Bella Caledonia is a website exploring ideas of independence, self-determination and autonomy.
http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/

BEMIS: Empowering Scotland's Ethnic and Cultural Minority Communities
BEMIS is the national Ethnic Minorities led umbrella body supporting the development of the Ethnic Minorities Voluntary Sector in Scotland and the communities that this sector represents
http://bemis.org.uk

Business for Scotland
Business for Scotland, formed in 2012, is a business network and business and economic policy think tank which seeks to give a voice to business people who support Scottish independence.
http://www.businessforscotland.co.uk/

Common Weal
Common Weal is a 'think and do tank' campaigning for social and economic equality in Scotland.
http://www.allofusfirst.org/what-is-common-weal/

Galgael
GalGael provides learning experiences anchored in practical activities that offer purpose and meaning, offering a space that serves as something of a safe harbour for those whose lives have been battered by storms such as worklessness, depression or addiction. Offering a workplace that challenges, inspires and creates the conditions conducive to learning.
http://www.galgael.org/

Generation Yes
Generation Yes was a political organisation established in January 2014 to campaign for a yes vote amongst young voters in the referendum on Scottish Independence.

Glasgow Women's Library
GWL is an accredited museum dedicated to women's lives, histories and achievements, with a lending library, archive collections and innovative programme of public events and learning opportunities.
http://womenslibrary.org.uk/

Interfaith

Interfaith Scotland provides a forum for people from diverse religions to dialogue with one another on matters of religious, national and civic importance
http://www.interfaithscotland.org

Joint Faiths Board on Community Justice

The mission of the Joint Faiths' Board on Community Justice is to promote constructive action, from an Inter Faith perspective, on issues related to crime and its prevention, victims of crime, offenders and their families, prisons, community measures and sanctions and the Judiciary in Scotland.
http://www.acts-scotland.org/activities/community-justice

National Collective

The National Collective was a website and movement that aimed to imagine a better Scotland and to inspire others to campaign through art, written and spoken word, events, local groups and social media for Scottish independence during Scotland's Referendum from December 2011 to September 2014.
http://nationalcollective.com/2014/09/26/david-aitchison-forward-2/

Notes from North Britain

Blog of Adam Tomkins, John Millar Professor of Public Law at the University of Glasgow.
https://notesfromnorthbritain.wordpress.com/about-me/

Radical Independence Campaign (RIC)

The Radical Independence Campaign emerged from the Radical Independence Conference 2012. It is a Scotland-wide, non-party-political campaigning organisation active on issues of social justice, sustainability, democracy, equality and peace.
http://radical.scot/

Scottish Council of Jewish Communities (SCoJeC)

The Scottish Council of Jewish Communities (SCoJeC) is the representative body of all the Jewish communities in Scotland. The Council advances public understanding about the Jewish religion, culture and community, by providing information and assistance to educational, health, and welfare organisations, representing the Jewish community in Scotland to Government and other statutory and official bodies, and liaising with Ministers, MSPs, Churches, Trades Unions, and others on matters affecting the Jewish community.
http://www.scojec.org

Scottish Older People's Assembly

SOPA exists to give a strong voice to older people about their concerns and experience of life in Scotland, and also raises issues about age inequalities.
http://www.scotopa.org.uk

Scottish Refugee Council (SRC)

The Scottish Refugee Council provide essential information and advice to refugees and people seeking asylum in Scotland. It also campaigns for political change, raises awareness about issues that affect refugees.
http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk

Scottish Transgender Alliance (STA)

Scottish Trans Alliance is the Equality Network project to improve gender identity and gender reassignment equality rights and inclusion in Scotland.
http://www.scottishtrans.org

Scottish Women's Convention (SWC)

The Scottish Women's Convention works closely with women in Scotland to ensure that their voices are heard as part of decision-making processes.
https://www.scottishwomensconvention.org

What Scotland Thinks

What Scotland Thinks is a website set up to track opinions on Scottish independence in the lead-up to the September 2014 referendum. It now not only looks at how Scotland thinks it should be run but also at how England and Wales think they should now be governed.
http://whatscotlandthinks.org/

Wings over Scotland

Wings Over Scotland is a Scottish political website, which focuses particularly on the media – whether mainstream print and broadcast organisations or the online and social-network community – as well as offering its own commentary and analysis.
http://wingsoverscotland.com/

Women for Independence

Women for Independence are an open and diverse network of women who aim to improve the representation of women in public and political life throughout Scotland. Women for Independence promote the causes of Scottish independence and other constitutional changes likely to contribute to greater democracy and home-rule for Scotland, gender equality and social justice.
http://www.womenforindependence.org/

Women Together

Part of the Better Together campaign which engaged women in the Referendum campaign. The website for WT was hosted on the Better Together website, which was taken offline shortly after the Referendum.