

UNITED KINGDOM

Catholics in Northern Ireland

Activity: 1945-2020

General notes

NA

Movement start and end dates

- Ireland was partitioned in 1921. The South (i.e., the Republic of Ireland) attained independence from the UK while Northern Ireland – which unlike the Republic had a Protestant majority – remained with the UK.
- In 1948, the liberation of Northern Ireland became the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) official goal (Atkins 2004: 142). Before that, the IRA's main focus had been on Ireland's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth (Encyclopedia Britannica). However, the anti-treaty faction of the IRA had made claims for Irish unification already before that (Rees and Hodge 1995; Younger 1988; Kissane 2005). Therefore, we code 1921 – the year of the partition – as the start date. In the dataset, we code the movement from 1945, the first year we cover.
- Between 1942-1944 the Northern branch of the IRA conducted its 'northern campaign', i.e., attacks against security forces in Northern Ireland, which led to 9 casualties (Brandon 2001: 523; Bower 2004). Despite this, we code prior nonviolent activity because the 25-deaths threshold was not met in 1944 (Brandon 2001: 523, Bower 2004).
- Initially, the IRA received little active support. Still, the IRA attracted significant attention when it initiated a series of attacks in the Border Campaign between 1956 and 1962. Support increased dramatically in the late 1960s, when Catholics in Northern Ireland began a civil rights campaign. The "troubles" began in summer 1968 with demonstrations on behalf of Catholic rights that were organized by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, which had been formed the previous year. Catholic political action has taken every conceivable form, from conventional politics to rallies, campaigns of civil disobedience, hunger strikes (especially in 1980-81), and riotous attacks on army and police.
- Another important organization associated with this movement is Sinn Féin, an Irish-nationalist and republican party that had been formed in 1905 (Bell 1972; Hanley and Millar 2009). Sinn Féin had allied with the IRA in 1951 and rose to prominence in the North in the 1960s during the civil rights campaign (Sinn Féin 2022).
- In 1998, the Good Friday Agreement was signed, which was followed by the St. Andrews Agreement in 2006. The IRA has increasingly become sidelined in the Catholic movement since then while Sinn Féin has become the movement's main representative. The mainstream IRA unilaterally disarmed in 2005. Sinn Féin remained active as of 2020 and continued to make claims for Irish unification (Campaign of Social Justice in Northern Ireland; Goldstone 1998: 254; Hewitt & Cheetham 2000; Marshall & Gurr 2003; Minahan 2002: 1400; Pinkerton & Campbell 2002: MAR; O'Neill 2010. Sinn Féin 2022). [start date: 1921; end date: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- Catholics in Northern Ireland are represented by various militant and conventional organizations among which the Irish Republican Army and its political arm, Sinn Féin, are the most prominent. Both organizations demand unification with the Republic of Ireland, a claim that both IRA and Sinn Féin emphasized on the occasion of the signing of the 'Good Friday Agreement' (English 2003; Minorities at Risk Project). Less militant nationalists tend to support the Social Democratic

and Labour Party (SDLP), which is also committed to Irish unification but by peaceful means. In the political arena, Sinn Féin and the SDLP are the two parties with most political support. The unification claim continues to be dominant by 2020 (The Times 2016: Irish News 2016: The Sun 2018: Belfast Telegraph 2019: SDLP 2022, Sinn Féin 2022). [1945-2020: irredentist claim]

Independence claims

NA

Irredentist claims

- See above. [start date: 1921; end date: ongoing]

Claimed territory

- The territory claimed by the Northern Irish movements consists of the six counties: Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone. We code this claim based on the Global Administrative Areas database.

Sovereignty declarations

NA

Separatist armed conflict

- From 1948-1968, we code NVIOLSD as we found no evidence of violence above the threshold. Notably, the Border Campaign from 1956-1962 resulted in just eight deaths altogether (O'Neill 2010: 226).
- The Troubles began in 1968 and lasted until 1998. According to annual casualty estimates, the 25 deaths threshold was met only in 1970. Specifically, Sutton (n.d.) reports 26 deaths in 1970 compared to 16 in 1969. For 1968, we only found evidence of injuries, but not deaths.
- The HVIOLSD coding for 1971-1998 follows Sambanis & Schulhofer-Wohl (2019).
- The movement has mostly used conventional politics since the Good Friday agreement in 1998, hence a NVIOLSD coding for 1999 onward. [1948-1969: NVIOLSD; 1970: LVIOLSD; 1971-1998: HVIOLSD; 1999-2020: NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- Following several Irish Catholic rebellions against English Protestant rule, Elizabeth the First of England confiscated Northern Ireland and colonized the region with Protestant Scots and later also loyal English Protestants in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, thereby dispossessing the Gaelic population. As a consequence, the province of Ulster developed a distinct culture and character compared to the rest of Ireland (Minahan 2002). The British government policies favored Protestants and brought about centuries of discrimination and repression that in turn caused repeated Catholic rebellions against England. The incorporation of Ireland into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801 by the Act of Union further fuelled the Irish agitation for home rule (autonomous self-rule), which was however opposed by Protestant unionists, who feared Catholic discrimination in an independent, Catholic-dominated Ireland. Rebellions and sporadic violence continued. With World War I approaching, and in order to bring a halt to Catholic rebellion, the British granted Ireland home rule (autonomous self-rule) in 1914,

but suspended it for the duration of the war. The Easter Rebellion of 1916 by Irish republicans to end British rule was crushed, but continuing guerilla warfare in the Irish War of Independence eventually led to the passing of the Government of Ireland Act in 1920 that divided Ireland into a southern Irish part and a northern (Protestant dominated) British part consisting of the counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Londonderry. In each of the two entities, parliaments were established. The parliament of Northern Ireland ('Stormont') was granted responsibility for internal affairs and elected twelve representatives to the parliament in London. Since Protestants constituted a two-third majority of the population, they dominated the parliament. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922 confirmed the partition of Ireland and established its southern part as an independent Irish Free State (later Ireland) (Hewitt & Cheetham 2000; Minahan 2002). This had dire consequences for the Catholics in Northern Ireland. Ever since Northern Ireland came into being, its Catholic minority has suffered decades of discrimination in education, employment and religion by both the government and by British Protestants living in the region (UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia). This discrimination and the question of Northern Ireland's status in the United Kingdom lie at the root of the conflict between Protestant Unionists, who want Northern Ireland to remain within the United Kingdom, and Catholic Irish nationalists and republicans, who want Northern Ireland to break away from the United Kingdom and join a united Ireland.

- We found no concession or restriction in the ten years before the start date.

Concessions and restrictions

- When violent protests erupted in the late 1960s, the British government intervened and sent in troops in July 1969. In the years that followed, violence escalated and it became clear that the Northern Irish government was no longer able to handle the situation and to guarantee security. Through the Northern Ireland (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1972, London suspended the Northern Ireland government, announced direct rule and took over the administration of the province (Hewitt & Cheetham 2000; Minorities at Risk Project). This is not coded as a restriction as the Northern Ireland government was dominated by Protestants at this point and the abolishment of Northern Irish self-determination thus did not affect the Catholics.
- In December 1972, the British Parliament decided to hold a plebiscite on Northern Ireland's status (whether Northern Ireland should remain with the UK or unite with Ireland). The vote was held March 9, 1973. Given that Northern Ireland had a Protestant majority, the result was a foregone conclusion: almost 99 per cent voted for continued union with the UK (the vote was boycotted by the Catholics; see c2d). Hence, we do not code a concession. The vote could even be considered an independence restriction, but we consider this too ambiguous to be coded.
- March 20, 1973, the British government proceeded to propose a 78-member Northern Ireland Assembly, to be elected in a proportional system. It was hoped that Protestant domination would end under a proportional system. The proposal became law on May 3, 1973, and the first elections were held on June 28. While radical Ulster Unionists were opposed to the agreement, pro-agreement forces won the election. In November, pro-agreement parties reached a compromise about a power-sharing regime whereunder both Protestants and Catholics would be represented in the regional executive. Moreover, in December 1973 the Sunningdale Agreement was signed. The Sunningdale Agreement revived the idea of (limited) Irish involvement in the Northern Irish government: it foresaw both a joint Irish-Northern-Irish executive and legislative council, though with very limited competencies in the areas of tourism, conservation, and aspects of animal health (Minahan 2002; Minorities at Risk Project). [1973: autonomy concession]
- A Protestant general strike led to the collapse of the Sunningdale Agreement and the consociational Northern Irish government on May 28, 1974. Direct British rule was imposed (Minahan 2002; Minorities at Risk Project). [1974: autonomy restriction]
- In 1985 the UK and Ireland signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement. The two governments agreed that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would require majority consent of the Northern Irish population. The agreement also gave Ireland a consultative role in Northern Irish affairs and established an intergovernmental council that would consider political matters, security and

related matters, legal matters, including the administration of justice, and the promotion of cross-border cooperation (Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 22). No autonomy was devolved to the Catholics in Northern Ireland.

- After decades of violence, the Belfast Agreement ('Good Friday Agreement') was signed by eight parties in April 1998. The agreement gave legal force to the Northern Ireland Act and led to the devolution of power to the Northern Ireland Assembly, which has legislative and executive authority for all matters that fall under the responsibility of the Northern Ireland Government Departments (Minorities at Risk Project). At the same time, the agreement reaffirmed Northern Ireland's status as part of the UK, unless a majority of the Northern Irish votes against continued union. Both the parliament and the coalition government contained mechanisms guaranteeing the influence from both Catholic and Protestant parties. Additionally, the agreement also included provisions that the paramilitary groups should decommission all weapons within two years. In addition, the agreement foresaw the establishment of joint Irish-Northern-Irish institutions to "develop consultation, co-operation and action" in 12 areas of mutual interest, and thus institutions similar to the ones in the 1973 Sunningdale Agreement. The Belfast agreement was ratified on May 22 by referendums in both the Republic of Ireland (94 percent in favor) and Northern Ireland (71 percent). According to polls both communities in Northern Ireland supported the agreement, with higher support among Catholics (99 percent) than among Protestants (51 percent) (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000: 211-213; UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia). The agreement led to the end of the long-term civil war in Northern Ireland (Sambanis & Schulhofer-Wohl 2019). [1998: autonomy concession]
- When disarmament of the IRA still had not started by February 2000, direct rule from London was reintroduced for a period of a little more than three months (Minorities at Risk Project; UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia). [2000: autonomy restriction]
- The same happened in 2001, this time, the Northern Irish institutions were suspended for two 24-hour periods in August and September (Minorities at Risk Project; UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia). Given the very limited amount of time direct rule was imposed, we do not code a restriction.
- In October 2002, following continued discontent with the IRA's lack of commitment in the decommissioning process and allegations of intelligence activity in the Northern Ireland Assembly by the Provisional IRA, the Northern Ireland Assembly was again suspended and direct rule re-imposed for several years (Minorities at Risk Project; UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia). [2002: autonomy restriction]
- Following the 2006 St. Andrews Agreement, the devolved power-sharing government was reinstated on 8 May 2007. Under the agreement, Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), which viewed Sinn Féin as not having completed its transformation from a political arm of the IRA to a peaceful, democratic political party, accepted power-sharing. Additionally, the agreement, among other things, also included the devolution of powers related to policing and justice (Guardian 2006; UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia). [2006: autonomy concession]
- As part of the St Andrews Agreement, further substantiated in the 2020 Stormont Agreement, the Irish Language Act was to be amended with a view to elevating the formal status of the Irish language. However, by the end of 2020, these changes had not been made (The Journal.ie 2019; BBC 2020).
- The 2020 Coronavirus Act conferred new, temporary powers to the UK's devolved nations, including Scotland, in areas including health, education, and justice. For instance, the Act empowered devolved ministers to temporarily close educational establishments (Grez 2021). We do not code a concession because the measures were temporary.
- In December the UK government passed the United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020. The act aimed to prevent market barriers between the four countries of the UK (Centre on Constitutional Change 2020: 4). The act restricts the exercise of devolved competencies both legally and practically and, in particular, the ability of devolved governments to regulate economic activity (McEwen 2020). The act was passed despite the opposition of the Scottish Parliament, and of the other devolved legislatures, and has been one of the contributing factors in the breakdown of devolved governance in Northern Ireland (BBC 2020). [2020: autonomy restriction]

Regional autonomy

- See above and under major territorial changes. In line with general practice, we do not code the suspensions of the power-sharing agreement in 2000, 2001, and 2002-2007 as interruptions of regional autonomy because the agreements were suspended rather than abolished (BBC 2022). [1974: regional autonomy; 2000-2020: regional autonomy]

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

- In 1973 a consociational government emerged in Northern Ireland; the new power-sharing executive had its first meeting on 1 January 1974. [1974: establishment of autonomy]
- In 1974 the government collapsed and direct rule was imposed. [1974: revocation of autonomy]
- The 1998 Belfast Agreement foresaw the establishment of a consociational autonomous government; the Agreement was formally implemented on December 2, 1999 (The Northern Ireland Act 1998 (Appointed Day) Order 1999). [1999: establishment of autonomy]
- The temporary impositions of direct rule are not coded as interruptions of regional autonomy as the assembly was only suspended and not abolished.

EPR2SDM

<i>Movement</i>	Catholics in Northern Ireland
<i>Scenario</i>	No match/1:1
<i>EPR group(s)</i>	Catholics In N. Ireland
<i>Gwgroupid(s)</i>	20006000

Power access

- We follow EPR and apply the 1946 discriminated code also to 1945. [1945-1971: discriminated; 1972-2020: powerless]

Group size

- We follow EPR. [0.012]

Regional concentration

- While most Northern Irish Catholics reside in Northern Ireland, they do not form a majority there according to Minahan (2002: 1400): 53% are Protestants, and only 46% are Catholics. This matches with information from MAR. Note: Catholics tend to dominate in the western areas bordering Ireland, but these are relatively sparsely populated, and the majority of the Catholics does not live there (see e.g. data from the 2011 census). We found no territory, however

alternatively defined, that would fulfil the threshold for spatial concentration. [not concentrated]

Kin

- EPR notes three kin groups: the Irish in Ireland, but also English-speakers in Australia and New Zealand. Whether or not the latter makes sense is debatable, but is irrelevant to us. MAR also codes the Irish in Ireland as kin (also see Minahan 2002: 1400). [kin in adjoining country]

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Cornish

Activity: 1973-2020

General notes

NA

Movement start and end dates

- Mebyon Kernow (Sons of Cornwall), a Cornish organization rooted in a cultural revival, was founded in 1951. At the beginning it was not a political party, but rather a pressure group whose main objective was to have Cornish difference accepted and to promote the Cornish language, cultural traditions and flag. By maintaining a non-party and neutral identity, the MK hoped to gain the support of the traditional political parties.
- In the 1960s the MK decided to change its strategy. After a century of out-migration, the population in Cornwall started to expand as Cornwall became a popular place to settle by people who wanted to get away from the over-populated and industrialized areas of other parts of the UK. These changes created a “direct threat” to Cornwall and led to the transformation in 1964 of the MK into a political party, which then entered local elections. We did not, however, come across evidence that self-determination as we define it was at the agenda yet.
- Minahan (2002: 483) notes that Cornish nationalists began to make autonomy demands in 1973, when the United Kingdom entered the European Community (EC). Hence, 1973 is coded as the start date. Cornish nationalists appear to have continued to demand an autonomous status similar to neighboring Wales and Scotland (Minahan 2002: 484).
- MK remains an active part of politics as of 2020, advocating Cornish autonomy and a Cornish devolved government similar to Holyrood or Stormont. The movement gained widespread attention due to the Devonwall incident in which the Conservative government attempted to ‘violate the integrity of Cornish constituencies’ by partitioning and combining it with parts of Devon. The proposal was eventually abandoned. In 2018, MK unveiled an updated version of its manifesto in which it made claims for a Cornish National Assembly (Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 189; Keesing’s; Marshall & Gurr 2003; Mebyon Kernow; Minahan 1996: 131ff, 2002: 180ff; Morris 2012; Nationalia 2008; Synak 1995; Cornish Stuff 2018; Cornwall Live 2022; Mebyon Kernow 2022). [start date: 1973; end date: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- Mebyon Kernow is the key political organization. Initially a pressure group that promoted the Cornish language and aimed at a cultural revival, the Cornish nationalists began to make autonomy demands in 1973, the year the United Kingdom joined the European Community (EC) (Minahan 2002; also see Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 189). The party claims “greater self-government for Cornwall” (Mebyon Kernow – Policies and Manifesto) and a legislative Cornish Assembly similar to the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales or the Northern Ireland Assembly. The Cornish nationalists have continued their demand for an autonomous status, as illustrated by their 2001 petition for a Cornish Assembly that had the support of 50,000 people and of all five Cornish LibDem MPs as well as the Cornwall Council (BBC 2001). Similar claims were made in subsequent years (Cornish Stuff 2018; Mebyon Kernow 2020 2022). In addition, Cornish nationalists have sought greater cultural recognition and acknowledgement for their heritage particularly in relation to their Patron Saint Pirian (Politics Resources Net 2010). [1973-2020: autonomy claim]

Independence claims

- Besides MK, there is also the Cornish National Party (CNP), which splintered from MK in 1975 and has made independence claims. However, the CNP's level of public support appears strictly limited as the party rarely participated in elections. When it did participate, CNP usually did not make more than 3-400 votes. An exception is the 1984 European Parliament elections, when they scored 1,892 votes in the Cornwall and Plymouth constituency (1%). This is a borderline case; we decided to not code an independence claim due to low political significance. [no independence claims]

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- Cornish demands for autonomy concern Cornwall county in southwestern England, which includes the Isles of Scilly (Minahan 2002: 480). We code this claim based on the Global Administrative Areas database.

Sovereignty declarations

NA

Separatist armed conflict

- We found no evidence of separatist violence, hence a NVIOLSD classification. [NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- The withdrawal of the Roman garrison and the following invasion of Germanic peoples from the mainland caused many of the Romanized Celts to flee westwards into what is today Cornwall and Wales. The distinct Celtic language and culture have survived until today, making Cornwall one of the six Celtic nations (Minahan 2002).
- In 1337, the status of Cornwall was changed from an earldom to a separate duchy by Edward III of England whose son, Edward, Prince of Wales, became the first Duke. The transformation came along with greater rights for the Duke.
- The Local Government Act of 1888 created county councils and established Cornwall as an administrative county (National Archives). With the Local Government Act 1972, the status of Cornwall was replaced by that of a non-metropolitan county under the heading of "England".

Concessions and restrictions

- In 1998, the UK government recognized Cornwall as having "distinct cultural and historical factors reflecting a Celtic background" (Parliament: Publications & Records). It did so in order to justify an (administrative and statistical) split from Devon, with which Cornwall had been merged under the Devonwall concept. Cornwall was given the status of a statistical region through NUTS 2 (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics). The GDP/capita of Cornwall now measured less than 75 percent of the EU 15-average and Cornwall was therefore classified by the European Union as an Objective One region in 2000, a status that entitled it to over £350m of funding to

stimulate the local economy (European Funding; European Union Committee 2005). The recognition of Cornwall's Celtic identity has to be seen in this context and is thus not coded.

- In 2002, the Cornish language was officially recognized by the government of the United Kingdom under the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages which committed the government to recognize and respect the language (BBC 2002). The UK government had signed and ratified the Charter already in 2000 but at first excluded Cornish. [2002: cultural rights concession]
 - o Note: the UK recognizes also other minority languages under the charter: Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, Irish, Scottish and Ulster Scottish. Note that this is not coded for all other groups since with the Welsh Language Act of July 1967, the Welsh Language Act 1993 and far-reaching territorial and linguistic autonomy to the Welsh, the Scots and the Northern Irish there had already been equivalent legislation in place.
- In 2011 the Conservative government attempted to 'violate the integrity of Cornish constituencies' in an event that became known as 'Devonwall' by partitioning and combining Cornish electoral boundaries with parts of Devon (BBC 2011). The proposal would have severely limited the number of councilors returned from Cornish communities, but was subsequently rejected by the boundaries commission.
- In 2014, the government recognized the distinct Celtic identity of the Cornish and granted them minority status within the United Kingdom. The government furthermore announced funding of £120,000 to the Cornish Language Partnership (UK Government 2014; Guardian 2014). [2014: cultural rights concession]

Regional autonomy

NA

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

NA

EPR2SDM

<i>Movement</i>	Cornish
<i>Scenario</i>	No match
<i>EPR group(s)</i>	-
<i>Gwgroupid(s)</i>	-

Power access

- EPR does not code the Cornish as such; in EPR terms the Cornish could be seen as forming part of the ethnic 'English', but this is ambiguous. According to EPR, the English are senior partner throughout the movement's activity. However, to infer that the Cornish are also senior partner is, of course, not accurate. Cornwall is divided into six constituencies (five until 2010), which each elects a Member of Parliament to the House of Commons. We found no evidence for a consistent Cornish representation in the national executive (cabinet, PM). [1973-2020: powerless]

Group size

- We found very conflictive information on the number of Cornish. According to the 2011 Census, 73,200 people stated that they have Cornish national identity. According to Minahan (2002: 480), in contrast, there are about 600,000 Cornish in the United Kingdom. We draw on Minahan in line with general practice. According to the World Bank, the UK's population was 59.37 million in 2002. [0.0101]

Regional concentration

- According to Minahan (2002: 1680), the Cornish are a majority in the County of Cornwall and Isles of Scilly, where they make up 86% of the population. This amounts to 406,000 Cornish, which is more than half of the 600,000 Cornish in all of the United Kingdom. [concentrated]

Kin

- According to Minahan (2002: 480) there large Cornish populations in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa. We found various sources that estimate the Cornish diaspora in the United States and Australia to amount to over 1 million. Also, following MAR we code ethnic bonds between the peoples of Celtic language (Bretons, Welsh, Scots, Cornish), and thus code the Bretons in France as a kin in an adjoining country. [kin in neighboring country]

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English

Activity: 1974-1981; 1998-2020

General notes

NA

Movement start and end dates

- In 1974, the former New Freedom Party changed its name to the English National Party (ENP). The ENP made claims for a devolved English parliament. We found no evidence that the ENP's predecessor, the New Freedom Party, had also made separatist claims, thus 1974 is coded as start date.
- The ENP ran in the 1974 and 1979 General Elections, but got limited support. In 1976 it had an MP (John Stonehouse) during a short interlude, a former Labour MP that was excluded from Labour due to criminal charges (he had faked his own death!). The ENP did not stand a candidate in the by-election that followed when Stonehouse had to step back, but parliamentary representation clearly makes the movement politically significant.
- According to Inman (2007), the English Nationalist Party was dissolved in 1981. We code an end to the first phase in 1981. [start date 1: 1974; end date 2: 1981]
- There were some activities in the rest of the 1980s and until the mid-1990s, but support was very limited. Specifically, in 1984 Edwin Shenton, who associated himself with the defunct English National Party, ran in a by-election for the English National Party and in 1991 the ENP was refounded and contested a couple of elections, but does not appear to have had any substantial support.
- Only in the late 1990s significant contention re-emerged. In 1998 the Campaign for an English Parliament (CEP) was formed, thus 1998 is coded as the second start date. The CEP is not a political party but a pressure group that favors devolution and lobbies for the establishment of an English Parliament. The group emerged in response to the program for asymmetrical devolution by the Labour government that devolved power to assemblies in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland (Bryant 2008: 665).
- The CEP is supported by the English Democrats (ED), a political party that was founded in 1999 (under the name of the English National Party) and renamed the English Democrats in 2002, and the England First Party, another English nationalist party that was formed in 2004 (Hazell 2006: 54). ED proposed a devolved English Parliament, but also made claims for an independent England. Together with the CEP, the party launched the English Constitutional Convention (ECC) in 2004. The convention demanded English parity as a distinct nation within the UK, the recognition of statehood for England, equality as a culturally and historically distinct nation and fair funding in comparison with other parts of the United Kingdom (Bryant 2008: 671). ED has a very small number of members (1,036 in February 2007), little visibility in British public life and polled a total of a mere 15,149 votes in the 2005 General Election (Mellows-Facer 2005: 91).
- The England First Party was de-registered in 2012, but both the ED and the CEP continued to be active as of 2020. The demand for a devolved English government has gained renewed relevance in the context of Scotland's 2014 independence referendum (e.g. The Economist 2014; Roth 2015; English Democrats 2018, 2020; CEP 2022).
- Note that the CEP is significantly more relevant than the ED/England First have ever been, given the latters' poor electoral performance and the fact that parts of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) have begun to support the CEP (e.g. MEP Paul Nuttall, see paulnuttallmep.com 2014). Note as well that parts of the Tories now promote the English Votes for English Laws (EVEL) idea by which non-English MPs would be stopped voting on English matters in Westminster. [start date 2: 1998; end date 2: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- The first period of activity (1974-1981) is coded due to the former English National Party's (ENP) claim for a devolved English parliament. [1974-1981: autonomy claim]
- The second period was initiated by the establishment of the Campaign for an English Parliament (CEP) in 1998. In response to the program for asymmetrical devolution by the Labour Government, the CEP advocated devolution in the form of an English Parliament (Bryant 2008: 665). In this endeavor, the CEP was supported by the English Democrats (ED), founded in 1999 under the name of the English National Party, and the England First Party, another English nationalist party that had been formed in 2004 (Hazell 2006: 54). The claim for more autonomy finds additional evidence in the 2004 launch of the English Constitutional Convention (ECC) by the ED and the CEP. The ECC demanded English parity as a distinct nation within the UK, the recognition of statehood for England, equality as a culturally and historically distinct nation and fair funding in comparison with other parts of the United Kingdom (Bryant 2008: 671). Although there were isolated claims for an independent English state, autonomy was clearly the dominant claim (see e.g. The Economist 2014; Roth 2015; English Democrats 2018, 2020; CEP 2022). [1998-2020: autonomy claim]

Independence claims

- There were isolated claims for an independent English state from the ED in 2004 (Hazell 2006: 44, 54). However, the political significance of this claim is low; clearly, the main and, for all intents and purposes, only politically significant claim is for autonomy. [no independence claims]

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- Claims for autonomy by the various English parties and lobby groups concern the current territory of England. We code this claim based on the Global Administrative Areas database.

Sovereignty declarations

NA

Separatist armed conflict

- No separatist violence was found; hence the entire movement is coded with NVIOLSD. [NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- 1st phase:
 - o Devolution to England was considered in the early twentieth century. Winston Churchill, as a Member of Parliament, proposed the creation of a parliament for England or separate parliaments for the English regions in 1912. However, this idea of 'Home Rule all round' as a solution to demands for Irish Home Rule was rejected in 1920 also because England

was considered too populous in relation to other nations of the United Kingdom (Deacon 2012: 24).

- In addition to the status of England vis-à-vis the other nations in the United Kingdom, there have been various changes in the degree of local government within England. The Local Government Act of 1888 created county councils and laid the territorial basis for England's modern two-tier local government structure which persisted until 1972. These local councils were granted authority over a broad range of responsibilities, financed almost exclusively through locally levied property tax (Wollmann 2004). Norton (1994: 352) describes this system as the "golden ages of local self-government" (Norton, 1994: 352). The degree of local self-government in the early twentieth century has undergone continuous change. Wollmann (2004) argues that the central government, with the emergence of the welfare state, has centralized many competencies, particularly so after the election of the Labour government in 1945. Nationalised bodies were established for gas and electricity, health care (NHS), and the social assistance scheme. At the same time, however, the mandate of local governments in the area of education and social services (e.g. social housing) was expanded.
 - We found no concession or restriction in the ten years before the start date.
- 2nd phase:
- We found no concession or restriction in the ten years before the start date.

Concessions and restrictions

- The Government of Tony Blair passed the Regional Development Agencies Act of 1998 which established regional chambers (regional assemblies) for all regions except Greater London. These chambers were "voluntary gatherings of local councillors and others, primarily intended to monitor the activities of RDAs [Regional Development Agencies]" (Tomaney 2000: 118). The assemblies and the RDA were not directly-elected but appointed by local government and central government respectively. Plans for elected regional assemblies were substantiated with the Regional Assemblies (Preparations) Act of 2003 that made provisions for referendums. After a staggering defeat in the first referendum in the region of North East England with only 22% in favor of elected regional assemblies, other referendums were dropped. These reforms were more of an administrative nature, and thus too insignificant to warrant a concession code. The assemblies were abolished between 2008 and 2010. In addition, there was also a referendum on the establishment of a Greater London Authority (directly elected mayor and a London Assembly) in 1998. The referendum was accepted with over 70 percent voting in favor, leading to the passing of the Greater London Authority Act in 1999. Given the population share and the small territory in relation to all of England, the scope is too insignificant to apply to England as a whole. Hence, we do not code a concession.
- In 2015, the Conservative UK gave MPs representing English constituencies a veto over laws which only affect England (English votes for English laws). The veto was scrapped in July 2021 (BBC 2015, 2021). [2015: autonomy concession]

Regional autonomy

- The unique status of the Greater London with its own assembly and directly-elected mayor could qualify as regional autonomy. However, given the population share and the small territory in relation to all of England, the scope is too insignificant to apply to England as a whole. Hence, we do not code regional autonomy.

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

NA

EPR2SDM

<i>Movement</i>	English
<i>Scenario</i>	1:1
<i>EPR group(s)</i>	English
<i>Gwgroupid(s)</i>	20001000

Power access

- We follow EPR. [1974-1981: senior partner; 1998-2019: senior partner; 2020: dominant]

Group size

- We follow EPR. [0.815]

Regional concentration

- The English are concentrated in England, where they also make up a clear majority. [concentrated]

Kin

- EPR codes ethnic kin in South Africa (English speakers), Zimbabwe (Europeans), Namibia (Whites), Botswana (White), and Australia (Whites). Although not coded by EPR, English speakers in the United States, Canada, and New Zealand, can also be considered ethnic kin. [kin in non-adjacent country]

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Orcadians

Activity: 1979-2004; 2017-2020

General notes

- Orcadians are also known as Orkney Islanders.

Movement start and end dates

- Minahan (2002: 1465) reports that nationalist organizations demanding autonomy began to mobilize during the 1970s (also see Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 219). The first clear evidence of organized activity we could find is in 1979 when, according to Roth (2015: 36), “demands for autonomy and even outright independence were loudly made, especially by the Shetland Movement and Orkney Movement.”
- The Orkneys are rich in oil; increased local control over natural resources is at the core of the movement’s demands. Also, Orkney islanders have opposed coming under Scottish control in the context of the first Scottish devolution referendum in 1979, as well as the second in 1997.
- In 1987, the Orcadians and the Shetland Islanders formed an electoral pact and fielded a common candidate, John Goodlad, as a pro-devolution representative. Goodlad went on to finish 4th with 14 % of the vote (Scottish Parliamentary Research Unit 2011).
- In 1994, there was a formal demand for a referendum on separating the islands from Scotland to give them a special status within, or in association with, the UK (Roth 2015: 37).
- Similar to the Shetlander movement, we could not find evidence for continued organized claims after 1994. In line with the 10-year rule, the end date is coded in 2004. [start date 1: 1979; end date 1: 2004]
- Demands for self-rule re-emerged in the context of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum (Carell 2013; The Guardian 2014). According to the BBC (2017), there is currently no organization making self-rule claims; however, in January 2017, a majority of Orkney legislators backed a motion to explore options for greater autonomy or self-determination for the Orkneys, which can be seen as an organized claim (BBC News 2017; The Independent 2017). Orkney legislators repeated their desire for self-rule in 2020 (The Express 2020). [start date 2: 2017; end date 2: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- The claim of the Orcadians is clearly for autonomy. In addition to increased control over natural resources in the form of higher shares of the oil royalties, Minahan (2002: 1466) names a “separate legal status within the United Kingdom” similar to the status of the Channel Islands or the Isle of Man as their primary goal. This claim has been reiterated in various polls and is also in line with Hewitt and Cheetham (2000: 219), who state that the Orkney Movement “advocates autonomy for the 20,000 islanders”. Autonomy continued to be the dominant claim in the second period (The Guardian 2014; Carell 2013; BBC 2014; The Independent 2017; The Express 2020; Shetland News 2021). [1979-2004, 2017-2020: autonomy claim]

Independence claims

- Roth notes a claim for outright independence in the 1970s, but this was not an organized claim (2015: 36). There has also been more recent discussion of independence in the context of Scotland’s 2014 independence referendum, but this referred to independence from Scotland in case it were to secede from the UK and the intention to remain with the UK (Moss 2014). [no independence claims]

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- Orcadians' demands for autonomy concern the Orkney Islands north of Scotland (Minahan 2002: 1463). We code this claim based on the Global Administrative Areas database.

Sovereignty declarations

NA

Separatist armed conflict

- We found no reports of separatist violence, hence a NVIOLSD classification. [NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- The island was annexed by Norway in 875; Viking culture prevailed in the ninth century. Following Norway's union with Denmark in 1379, the Orkney Islands pledged to James III of Scotland who annexed the territory in 1472. In 1540, the islands were granted a separate status as a county.
- The Orkney Islands started to demand separation from Scotland when the latter was united with England in 1707. A status similar to the one enjoyed by Guernsey and Jersey was aspired.
- The discovery of oil in the 1970s brought an end to the long period of economic and demographic decline and resulted in the influx of English and international oil companies (Minahan 2002).

Concessions and restrictions

- There is no policy that explicitly targets the Orcadians and their status of self-determination in their period of activity. Devolution has been applied to the whole of Scotland only. According to Hewitt and Cheetham (2000) and Minahan (2002), the Orcadians had voted against both the 1979 proposal for a Scottish parliament and the 1997 devolution proposal. Neither of the acts did significantly alter the status of the Orkney Islands.
- In the run up to the 2014 Scottish Independence referendum, First Minister Alex Sammond offered a '10-point plan' amounting to increased autonomy for Orcadians on the condition that the islands support independence from the UK (The Guardian 2014). The Orkney Islanders proceeded to vote against Scottish independence (BBC 2014).
- In 2021, the UK government proposed increased powers and autonomy in a few specific areas such as trade, infrastructure and tourism (Shetland News 2021). However, by 2022, the proposal has not been implemented.

Regional autonomy

NA

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

NA

EPR2SDM

<i>Movement</i>	Orcadians
<i>Scenario</i>	n:1
<i>EPR group(s)</i>	Scots
<i>Gwgroupid(s)</i>	20002000

Power access

- The Orkney Islands are part of Scotland and the Orkney Islanders a sub-group of the EPR group 'Scots'. EPR codes the latter as junior partner throughout the movement's activity. However, to infer that the Orkney Islanders are also junior partners is, of course, not accurate, also in light of the fact that they only make up a very small share of the Scottish population (around 0.4%). We found no evidence for a consistent representation of Orkney Islanders in the executive (cabinet, PM) of the United Kingdom. [powerless]

Group size

- Minahan (2002) reports approximately 40,000 Orcadians (Orkney Islanders) in the UK. According to the World Bank, the UK's population was 59.37 million in 2002. [0.0007]

Regional concentration

- According to Minahan (2002: 1463), the Orkney Islanders are a majority in the County of Orkney, where they make up 94% of the population. This amounts to 19,270 Orkney Islander (in 2002), which is very slightly less than half of the 40,000 Orkney Islanders in all of the United Kingdom in that same year. Nevertheless, we code the Orkney Islanders as concentrated throughout. [concentrated]
 - o The Orkney Islands' population has been shrinking since 1971, thus the threshold was likely met in the movement's earlier years.
 - o We also code more recent years as concentrated because Minahan's population figures are only estimates and because it is very close.

Kin

- According to Minahan (2002: 1463) there are Orkney Islander communities in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. We could not come across exact figures, but most likely they are below the numeric threshold. However, according to Minahan there are strong ties with the Icelanders and the Faroese according to Minahan (2002: 1463). The Icelanders in Iceland cross the numeric threshold. [kin in non-adjacent country]
 - o Note: While we do so in case of the Scots, we do not code the Celtic Peoples as kin. The

Orcadian language is not purely Celtic, but a mix of Old Norse, Celtic, and English influences. Furthermore, the Orcadian culture has long been isolated from the Scottish culture and, according to Minahan (2002: 1463), the ethnic and historical ties with other national groups of the British Isles are not very close.

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Scots

Activity: 1945-2020

General notes

NA

Movement start and end dates

- Scotland voluntarily entered into a union with the United Kingdom in 1707. But the decision to unionize did not go unopposed; some Highland clans, in particular, were against and rose in support of the Stuart in rebellions in 1708, 1715, and 1745-1746. Following the unsuccessful 1745/1746 rebellion, the British government began assimilationist policies; in particular, the Gaelic language was banned (Minahan 2002: 1689).
- What continues to be the main vehicle of Scottish nationalism, the Scottish National Party (SNP), was formed in 1934 (Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 265). Note: according to Minahan (2002: 1690), the SNP was formed in 1928, which is not correct. However, there were Scottish nationalist organizations that predate the SNP. In 1886, the Scottish Home Rule Association was formed, the first organization we found.
- The Scottish Home Rule movement continued to be active until WWI, when the idea was dropped (BBC; Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 309). But soon after WWI, Scottish nationalist agitation resumed. In 1921, the Scots National League was formed, and in 1927 the Glasgow University Scottish Nationalist Association. In 1928 they combined to form the National Party of Scotland. In 1934 the National Party merged with the Scottish Party (formed in 1934) and formed the SNP (see SNP website; Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 265). All these organizations made claims for increased Scottish self-determination in one or the other way.
- According to Minahan (2002: 1690), the nationalist cause was briefly put aside during WWII, but the SNP continued to exist and maintained its self-determination claim (Lynch 2013: 11) and agitation seamlessly continued after the war. The SNP remained a fringe party until the 1970s. Its popularity increased after the discovery of oil off Scotland's coast in 1971 according to Minahan (2002: 1690). The SNP continues to exist and has become the major player in the Scottish devolved government that exists since 2000. Non-zero MAR protest scores for 1945-2006 also indicate that the movement was consistently active.
- In the 2014 independence referendum, Scots voted against independence, but agitation for independence continued (Minahan 2016: 374; MRGI; Roth 2015: 33ff). After Brexit, the SNP-led Scottish government started to make claims for a second independence referendum, which the UK government refused. The Scottish government is threatening a unilateral referendum (BBC News 2022; McCall 2022).
- Based on this, we code movement activity from 1945, the earliest possible date in the data set. The movement was active prior to 1945; we code the start date in 1921, the year the Scots National League was formed. We do not code the start date in 1886 because the Scottish Home Rule Movement ended with the onset of WWI. We indicate that prior activity was non-violent. [start date: 1921; end date: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- In 1934 the National Party merged with the Scottish Party to establish the Scottish National Party (SNP). At first the SNP, as the major political party representing Scottish nationalist interests, sought the establishment of a devolved assembly. However, soon the party changed its official goal to independence and the "the restoration of Scottish national sovereignty by the establishment of a democratic Scottish government whose authority will be limited only by such agreements as will be freely entered into with other nations in order to further international

cooperation and world peace” (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000). The new program led to a dispute in the party with those who favored a gradual transition. Disgruntled members left the SNP and formed the Scottish Covenant Association. While the SNP was a marginal electoral force and a “fringe party” (Minahan 2002: 1690) in the 1940s and 1950s, the Scottish Covenant Association launched the Scottish Covenant, a petition to the United Kingdom government that was signed by two million people. We therefore code autonomy as the dominant claim in the first years of movement activity. [1945-1971: autonomy claim]

- With the discovery of oil in 1971, the SNP got more popular. In the 1974 election, the SNP received 30.4% of the Scottish vote with slogans like “It’s Scotland’s oil!” or “Rich Scots or poor Britons?”. After the defeat in the 1979 referendum, the SNP struggled with internal disputes. Although the independence issue was downplayed, the largest faction was still “in favor of an uncompromising ‘independence or nothing’ position” (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000: 267). Following the first of January rule, we thus code independence as the dominant claim from 1972 onwards. According to Minahan (2002), devolution, home rule and the establishment of a Scottish parliament was much more popular among the population at large. Nevertheless, since the SNP was the most important political party representing the Scottish SDM, we code based on the SNP’s claim. Scottish claims for independence led to the independence referendum in 2014, and continued after Scots had voted against independence by 55% to 45% (Minahan 2016: 374; MRGI; Roth 2015: 33ff). After the Brexit referendum in 2016 (in which Scotland had voted against Brexit, contrary to the UK as a whole), the SNP-led Scottish government started to make claims for a second independence referendum, which the UK government refused. The Scottish government is threatening a unilateral referendum (BBC News 2022; McCall 2022). [1972-2020: independence claim]
 - o Minahan (2002: 1691) states that in 1999, when the SNP won 29% of the vote to the first assembly, the party changed its goal from immediate independence to greater autonomy within the United Kingdom. However, since this was only seen as a first step towards “genuine autonomy and eventual independence”, we continue the coding of independence as the dominant claim.

Independence claims

- In the 1920s, the first openly independentist movement was formed, the Scots National League. However, the Scots National League had limited significance until it merged with the National Party of Scotland in 1928 (Lynch 2013: 38). The latter had unclear goals when it comes to territorial self-determination, though it performed well in elections, gaining 10-17% of votes in constituencies it ran in (Lynch 2013: 40).
- In 1934, the National Party of Scotland merged with Scottish Party to form the SNP. In its early years, the SNP’s goal was self-government, but to share with England responsibilities over the Empire and in conducting Foreign and Defense Policy (Lynch 2013: 45). In other words, the SNP desired an internal autonomy arrangement.
- It was only in the 1940s, with the loss of pro-devolution members to the Scottish Convention in 1942 that the SNP became more oriented towards independence, though the party continued to refer to this as ‘self-government’ (Lynch 2013: 11). Full independence was written into the SNP’s constitution in 1943 as it demanded “the restoration of Scottish national sovereignty by the establishment of a democratic Scottish government whose authority will be limited only by such agreements as will be freely entered into with other nations in order to further international cooperation and world peace” (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000: 266; Lynch 2013: 63). The SNP won its first seat in a 1945 by-election. The SNP would only hold this seat for three months, when the next general election was held. The SNP would not gain another seat until the 1970 general election but contested seats in elections in the intervening years.
- The SNP’s ‘political takeoff’ began in the 1960s, when it rapidly expanded and increased the seats it contested. The party received a large boost in membership in 1965 following its party-political broadcast. By the late 1960s, the party boasted 125,000 members and just under 500 branches. In 1970, the SNP was in a position to gain a seat in the 1970 general election with over 300,000 votes (Lynch 2013: 115, 126). [start date: 1943; end date: ongoing]

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- The territory claimed by the SNP consists of present-day Scotland (Roth 2015: 32). We code the territory based on the Global Administrative Areas database.

Sovereignty declarations

- The October 2004 Calton Hill declaration called for an independent Scottish Republic. Drafted by the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP) and supported by parts of Scotland's cultural elite, the declaration was read out during the opening of the new Scottish parliament by the Queen. The declaration itself and also the event at which it was read out had a rather informal and low-key character (Guardian 2004). No independent Scottish state was proclaimed, thus we do not code a declaration.

Separatist armed conflict

- We found no reports of separatist violence, hence a Nviolsd classification. [Nviolsd]

Historical context

- The long lasting conflict between Scotland and England ended in 1603, when the Scottish king James VI succeeded to the English throne. He combined the two kingdoms in a dynastic union, with Scotland remaining an independent country with its own parliament and king (Minahan 2002).
- With the Act of Union in 1707, the Scots came under the rule of the United Kingdom and the Scottish parliament was adjourned. However, Scotland retained its separate legal system, the Presbyterian Church and its educational structure. The union was particularly favored by the Scottish merchant class, as it provided them access to the English colonial market (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000). However, the decision of the Parliament of Scotland to join the United Kingdom did not go unopposed. The Jacobite rebellions in support of the Stuarts/Stewards, who had ruled Scotland since 1371, were finally defeated in 1746. British assimilation policies followed, including the ban of the Gaelic language (Minahan 2002).
- Inclusion in the British Empire brought industrialization and prosperity, making Scotland one of the first parts of Britain to be industrialized in the nineteenth century. But the influence of English culture and language was also met with rejection and opposition. In 1872, the teaching of the English language was made compulsory.
- In 1885, the office of Secretary of State for Scotland was established in order to represent Scottish concerns and interests and to win wider Scottish support for the government. The Secretary for Scotland was also the head of the Scottish Office that exercised various government functions in relation to Scotland and was only dissolved in 1999, when the Scottish Parliament and Executive was established. The Secretary for Scotland was upgraded to full cabinet status in 1926 (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000; Minahan 2002).
- We did not find any concessions or restrictions in the 10 years before the first year we cover.

Concessions and restrictions

- The Labour government of 1974-1979 responded to growing Scottish nationalism with a proposal for devolution. The Scotland Act of 1978 proposed a referendum on devolution and the establishment of a Scottish Assembly with limited legislative powers but no competencies to raise taxes. The act required that, in addition to a normal majority of votes, at least 40% of the registered Scottish electors would have to vote in favor of the referendum (Cunningham amendment). The referendum was held in 1979. Although 51.6% supported the proposal, the 40% requirement was not met, thus the proposal failed (BBC; Hewitt and Cheetham 2000; Minahan 2002; Mitchell 1999). We code a concession because this was a significant offer of autonomy. We do not code a restriction because autonomy was rejected in a referendum. Note: the insertion of the 40% threshold could be seen as a restriction, but we consider this too ambiguous to code. [1978: autonomy concession]
- The conservative governments of Thatcher and Major opposed decentralization. As a “proponent of centralization” (Fitjar 2009), Thatcher reduced the freedom of local councils as regards housing and education and overruled the Scottish Office at various occasions. Her dismantling of Britain's social welfare system was perceived by many Scots as anti-Scottish (Minorities at Risk Project).
- The Labour government under Tony Blair, elected on May 2, 1997, promised a second devolution referendum on the creation of a Scottish Parliament and the competencies to raise and lower income tax rates by 3 percent. The referendum was held on 11 September the same year and yielded consent for both proposals: The establishment of a Scottish Parliament was supported by 74.3%, tax-varying powers by 63.6% of the population (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000). In response to the majority referenda, the British Parliament passed the Scotland Act 1998 that created the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Executive. The two bodies had powers to legislate in all policy areas that are not reserved to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The first election was held on May 6, 1999 and powers were transferred on 1 July the same year. We code a single concession in 1997, the year the process was initiated. [1997: autonomy concession]
- The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 was passed by the Scottish Parliament and gave formal status to the Gaelic language as an official language of Scotland. The act furthermore enabled the Bòrd na Gàidhlig (Scottish Government's principal Gaelic development body) to promote Gaelic in Scotland through a Gaelic Language Plan (The Scottish Government 2010). The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 and the implementation of the Gaelic Language Plan are not coded since it is the Scottish parliament which legislated itself, a right granted by the Scotland Act of 1998.
- The Scotland Act 2012 devolved further powers to Scotland. The act included additional tax powers, the ability to borrow money and legislative control over issues such as drugs or driving (BBC 2012; Legislation.gov). [2012: autonomy concession]
- After a decisive win in the 2011 Holyrood elections, the Scottish National Party (SNP) government announced that it would hold a referendum on independence in January 2012. The central government disputed the Scottish regional government's competence to hold such a referendum. Yet in October 2012 the two sides stroke a deal. The resulting memorandum of agreement provided that the referendum should have a clear legal basis and be legislated for by the Scottish Parliament (Tierney 2014). The deal was formalized by way of the Scottish Independence Referendum Bill, passed in November 2013 (the bill received Royal Assent on 17 December 2013) (Scottish Parliament). The referendum took place on September 18, 2014, with 55% of voters rejecting independence. We code an independence concession in 2012 due to the memorandum of agreement. [2012: independence concession]
- The three main UK political parties made a series of commitments during the independence referendum campaign. After the referendum, PM Cameron established a commission to take forward these pledges. The Scotland Act of 2016 delivered the agreement reached by the cross-party Smith Commission (UK Government 2014). The Scotland Act 2016 act devolved powers related to elections, policing, the courts, taxes, social policy, and some other things to Scotland (Gallagher 2015; Page 2019). [2016: autonomy concession]
- The 2020 Coronavirus Act conferred new, temporary powers to the UK's devolved nations, including Scotland, in areas including health, education, and justice. For instance, the Act

empowered devolved ministers to temporarily close educational establishments (Grez 2021). We do not code a concession because the measures were temporary.

- In December the UK government passed the United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020. The act aimed to prevent market barriers between the four countries of the UK (Centre on Constitutional Change 2020: 4). The act restricts the exercise of devolved competencies both legally and practically and, in particular, the ability of devolved governments to regulate economic activity (McEwen 2020). The act was passed despite the opposition of the Scottish Parliament, and of the other devolved legislatures (BBC 2020). [2020: autonomy restriction]

Regional autonomy

- Regional autonomy was implemented with the Scotland Act 1998. The act had received royal assent in November 1998. In May 1999 the first elections were held and full powers were devolved in July. [2000-2020: regional autonomy]

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

- See above. [1999: establishment of regional autonomy]

EPR2SDM

<i>Movement</i>	Scots
<i>Scenario</i>	No match/1:1
<i>EPR group(s)</i>	Scots
<i>Gwgroupid(s)</i>	20002000

Power access

- During the Second World War the UK had an all-party coalition government with the Scots being represented in the war cabinet (e.g. Sir John Anderson). [1945: junior partner]
- For the period after 1945, we use data from EPR, which codes the Scots as junior partner throughout 1946-2019. According to EPR, the Scots are demoted to a powerless status in 2020 because the Scots, even though they continue to have some representation, are generally sidelined by the Johnson government. [1945-2019: junior partner; 2020: powerless]

Group size

- We use EPR's group size estimate. [0.095]

Regional concentration

- The Scots are concentrated in Scotland, where they make up a clear majority (Minahan 2002: 1686). MAR also codes the Scots as "concentrated in one region" with more than 75% living in that region. [regionally concentrated]

Kin

- Neither EPR nor MAR code ethnic kin. Minahan (2002: 1686) mentions large Scottish communities in Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. In the United States census of 2001 approximately 4.5 million identified as ethnic Scottish and in the 2011 Canadian census, 4.7 million did so. Also, we code ethnic bonds between the peoples of Celtic language (Bretons, Welsh, Scots, Cornish), and thus code the Bretons in France as a kin in an adjoining country. [kin in neighboring country]

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Shetlanders

Activity: 1978-2004; 2015-2020

General notes

- The Shetlanders are also referred to as Shetland Islanders.

Movement start and end dates

- The discovery of oil in the North Sea off the coast of the islands spurred the formation of the self-determination movement, which has demanded autonomy and separate legal status. According to Minahan (2002: 1706), the idea of autonomous government emerged in the early 1960s, but only in the 1970s began the Shetlanders to mobilize for autonomy. According to Wikipedia, the Shetland Movement was formed in 1978; this is the best indication we could find and on this basis code the start date in 1978.
- In 1979 Shetlanders threatened secession. In 1987, the Orcadians and the Shetland Islanders formed an electoral pact and fielded a common candidate, John Goodlad, as a pro-devolution representative. Goodlad went on to finish 4th with 14 % of the vote (Scottish Parliamentary Research Unit 2011).
- The Shetland Movement increased its representation to six seats in the 1990 council elections, a level it maintained in 1994.
- We could not find evidence for further activity after 1994 and according to Wikipedia, the Shetland Movement was dissolved after 1994. In agreement with this, Shet News (2020) suggests that the movement slowly petered out in the 1990s. Following the 10-year rule, we code the end date in 2004. [start date 1: 1978; end date 1: 2004]
- Demands for increased self-rule returned in the context of the Scottish independence referendum (Guardian 2012). In 2015, the Wir Shetland movement was founded, which made claims for a devolved and autonomous Shetland. The movement continued to exist as of 2020 (Shet News 2015; Wir Shetlan 2015; Euractiv 2017). In 2020, the Shetland Islands Council voted to replace the council with a more politically autonomous and self-governing body (Shet News 2020). On this basis, we code the second phase of the movement as ongoing (also see Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 267f; Keesing's; Lexis Nexis; Minahan 1996: 636ff, 2002: 1703ff; Shetland Times 2013). [start date 2: 2015; end date 2: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- In addition to increased control over natural resources in the form of a fairer share of the oil royalties, Minahan (2002: 1706) names "greater autonomy" and a "separate legal status within the United Kingdom" as their primary goals. This claim for increased autonomy was also favored by a majority in various polls, with independence and the pro-Scottish option gaining only limited support and following second and third. Recent initiatives in the light of the Scottish independence referendum (see above) lend additional support to the autonomy code. We therefore code autonomy as the dominant claim throughout. [1975-2004; 2015-2020: autonomy claim]
 - o According to Minahan (2002), in 1979 the Shetlanders had temporarily threatened secession, but we found no corroborating evidence and it does not appear to be the dominant claim.

Independence claims

- As noted above, support for independence is incredibly limited. As with the Orcadians, there has been recent discussion of independence in the context of Scotland's 2014 independence referendum, but this referred to independence from Scotland in case it were to secede from the UK and the intention to remain with the UK (Moss 2014). [no independence claims]

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- The territory claimed by the Shetlanders consists of the Shetland Islands north of Scotland (Minahan 2002: 1703; Roth 2015). We code this claim based on the Global Administrative Areas database.

Sovereignty declarations

NA

Separatist armed conflict

- We found no reports of separatist violence, hence a NVIOLSD classification. [NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- The island was annexed by Norway in 875; Viking culture prevailed in the ninth century. Following Norway's union with Denmark in 1397, the Islands pledged to James III of Scotland who annexed the territory in 1472 (in contrast, according to Hewitt and Cheetham 2000, the Shetland Islands only came under Scottish rule in 1649). In 1540, the islands were granted separate status as a county of the Scottish kingdom (Minahan 2002).
- The Shetland Islands started to demand separation from Scotland when the latter was united with England in 1707. A status similar to the one enjoyed by Guernsey and Jersey was aspired.
- The discovery of oil in the 1970s brought an end to the long period of economic and demographic decline and resulted in the influx of English and international oil companies (Minahan 2002).

Concessions and restrictions

- There is no policy that explicitly targets the Shetlanders and their status of self-determination in their period of activity. Devolution has been applied to the whole of Scotland only. According to Hewitt and Cheetham (2000) and Minahan (2002), the Shetlander had voted against both the 1979 proposal for a Scottish parliament and the 1997 devolution proposal. Neither of the acts did significantly alter the status of the Shetlands.
- In the run up to the 2014 Scottish Independence referendum, First Minister Alex Salmond offered a '10-point plan' amounting to increased autonomy for the Shetland Islands on the condition that the islands support independence from the UK (The Guardian 2014). The plan was not implemented (BBC 2014).

- In 2021, the UK government proposed increased powers and autonomy in a few specific areas such as trade, infrastructure and tourism (Shetland News 2021). However, by 2022, the proposal has not been implemented.

Regional autonomy

NA

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

NA

EPR2SDM

<i>Movement</i>	Shetlanders
<i>Scenario</i>	n:1
<i>EPR group(s)</i>	Scots
<i>Gwgroupid(s)</i>	20002000

Power access

- The Shetland Islands are part of Scotland and the Shetland Islanders a sub-group of the EPR group ‘Scots’. EPR codes the latter as junior partner throughout the movement’s activity. However, to infer that the Shetland Islanders are also junior partners is, of course, not accurate, also in light of the fact that they only make up a very small share of the Scottish population (around 0.4%). We found no evidence for a consistent representation of Shetland Islanders in the executive (cabinet, PM) of the United Kingdom. [powerless]

Group size

- According to Minahan (2002: 1703), there are about 35,000 Shetlanders in the United Kingdom. According to the World Bank, the UK’s population was 59.37 million in 2002. [0.0006]

Regional concentration

- According to Minahan (2002: 1703), the Shetland Islanders are a majority in the County of Shetland, where they make up 94% of the population. This amounts to 21,620 Shetland Islanders (in 2002), which is more than half of the 35,000 Shetland Islanders in all of the United Kingdom in that same year. [concentrated]

Kin

- According to Minahan (2002: 1703) there are Shetland Islander communities in the United States,

Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. We could not come across exact figures, but most likely they are below the numeric threshold. However, according to Minahan there are strong ties with the Icelanders and the Faroese according to Minahan (2002: 1703). The Icelanders in Iceland cross the numeric threshold. [kin in non-adjacent country]

- Note: While we do so in case of the Scots, we do not code the Celtic Peoples as kin. The Shetlanders' language is a mix of Old Norse, Celtic, English, Dutch, and German influences, and is unintelligible to mainland Scots. Furthermore, the Shetland Islanders have retained their traditional island culture and, according to Minahan (2002: 1703), the ethnic and historical ties with Scots and other Celtic Peoples are not very close.

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Welsh

Activity: 1945-2020

General notes

NA

Movement start and end dates

- After a long period of dormancy, organized Welsh nationalism emerged in the mid-1880s when Cymru Fydd (Young Wales) was formed. However, the Welsh national movement collapsed in 1896, and another period of relative dormancy followed (BBC; Morgan 1981: 118).
- Some activity continued until WWI, but “[l]ong before 1914, it was obvious that Welsh political separatism, in such striking contrast to the vitality of cultural nationalism, was quite moribund” (Morgan 1981: 119).
- Welsh separatism re-emerged in the 1920s. In 1924, two Welsh organizations were formed, Byddin Ymreolwyr Cymru (the Army of Welsh Home Rulers, a party that favored home rule for Wales) and Y Mudiad Cymreig (The Welsh Movement, focused on language) (Morgan 1981: 206). In 1925, they combined to form Plaid Cymru, the party that continues to be the major vehicle of Welsh nationalism to date (Minahan 2002: 2049-2051).
- Plaid Cymru remained a marginal force in the immediate post-WWII phase, but it has contested all elections to the Westminster parliament since 1945 (Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 237, 317). In 1966 Plaid Cymru gained its first seat in Westminster (Minahan 2000: 2050). Plaid Cymru has remained the most prominent representative of the Welsh SDM and, at different points in time, has made claims for both autonomy and independence (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000: 317; Minahan 2002; Plaid Cymru 2022).
- In 1979 Welsh voters rejected a home rule proposal. After a 1997 referendum, Wales was finally granted a devolved government.
- Scotland’s independence referendum in 2014 has generated increased demand for independence in Wales (Minahan 2016: 461). The pro-independence organization ‘Yes Cymru’ was established in 2014 to advocate for an independent Wales (YesCymru 2022).
- In 2020, a Welsh independence commission released a report on the practicality of independence (Independence Commission 2020).
- Based on this, we code ongoing movement activity from 1945, the earliest possible date in our data set, but note prior activity. The start date we peg to 1924 in line with the above narrative and consider the movement to be ongoing (Wales Online 2019; The Guardian 2020; Independence Commission 2020; BBC 2021; Plaid Cymru 2022). We note prior non-violent activity. [start date: 1924; end date: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- Founded in August 1925, Plaid Cymru is the major political party representing Welsh nationalist interests. Initially, the party was only a marginal force. Plaid fetched its first parliamentary mandate in 1966. Electoral success came in the 1970s when Plaid Cymru candidates polled 11.5% of the total Welsh vote in the 1970 election. The party was described as “separatist” with a goal to establish “a democratic Welsh socialist state” (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000: 237). We thus code the claim as independence in this period. [1945-1999: independence claim]
- During the campaign for the Welsh Assembly in 1999, Plaid Cymru set aside the goal of complete independence. The refusal to support independence as an objective led many secessionists to leave Plaid Cymru; they formed another party dedicated to secession, Cymru Annibynno. Plaid Cymru remained the major representative of the movement. Following the first

of January rule, we thus change the claim to autonomy in 2000 (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000: 317; Minahan 2002). [2000-2003: autonomy claim]

- In 2003, Plaid Cymru again adopted independence as its objective (Politics.co.uk). Although seeing devolution as the more realistic in the short term, the party's longer-term vision for Wales "remains independence" (Party of Wales).
- Plaid Cymru continued to make claims for independence in the 2010s (Plaid Cymru 2022). A smaller organization called Yes Cymru has also made claims for independence (Yes Cymru 2022). [2004-2020: independence claim]

Independence claims

- Although there is a period of an autonomy claim between 1999 and 2003 due to Plaid briefly becoming autonomist (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000: 317; Minahan 2002), the sources note disagreements and splintering of the party and movement with the establishment of Cymru Annibynno. Their electoral success has been limited but are representative of the diverse aims within Plaid (Nexis). Independence is therefore a consistent claim throughout the SDM. [start date: 1924; end date: ongoing]

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- The territory claimed by the Plaid Cymru party consists of present-day Wales (Roth (2015: 32). We code the territory based on the Global Administrative Areas database.

Sovereignty declarations

NA

Separatist armed conflict

- We found no reports of separatist violence above the low-level violence threshold. There were some terrorist acts in the late 1960s but the threshold is not crossed (Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 318-319). [NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- The three most powerful Welsh kingdoms, Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth had remained largely autonomous until, one after the other, they came under English rule. When in 1282, Edward I of England had finally defeated the last Prince of Wales, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (Llywelyn the Last), Wales lost its last independent kingdom (Minahan 2002; Politics.co.uk)
- Harshly treated as a conquered nation, the Welsh on many occasions revolted against English rule. The most successful rebellion was launched by Owain Glyndwr, who defeated English troops at Plynlimon in 1400 and reclaimed the title Prince of Wales. Though initially successful, the rebellion was eventually defeated in 1409 by King Henry IV. Repressive measures followed (Minahan 2002; Politics.co.uk).
- In 1536 Wales was formally annexed through a political union with England (Act of Union). The act banned the Welsh language in official proceedings and documents and made English the

official language. Welsh laws were replaced with English laws in the Laws in Wales Acts of 1535 and 1542 (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000; Minahan 2002; Politics.co.uk).

- The late 19th century and the early 20th century saw some conciliatory policies from Westminster. With the Welsh Sunday Closing Act of 1881, a concession to nonconformist concerns, Wales was for the first time recognized as a distinct entity (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000).
- The Welsh Intermediate Education Act 1889 and the establishment of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education (1907) “acknowledged the distinctiveness and importance of the Welsh language” (to Griffiths 1999: 800) in the education policy. Responsibility for health and agriculture in Wales was given to the Welsh Board of Health (1919) and the Welsh Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (1922).

Concessions and restrictions

- Already in a 1959 manifesto, the Labour Party proposed the establishment of a Welsh Affairs Office that would be run by a Secretary of State for Wales in the Cabinet and would execute government policy in Wales. When they came to power in 1964, the office was created and given limited responsibilities over education, health, industry, environment, housing, transport, agriculture and town and country planning (Minahan 2002; Politics.co.uk). Although the Office and the Secretary of State were partly in London and were perceived by some nationalists as a sign of “continued colonialism” (Minahan 2002: 2050), we code a concession as important positions in the Office were filled with Welsh nationals, significant competencies were transferred and the creation of the Office reflects the recognition of Wales as a distinct legislative entity. [1964: autonomy concession]
- The Welsh Language Act of July 1967 put Welsh and English on equal terms for governmental and legal purposes, something that had not been the case since the Acts of Union in 1536. The act had a high symbolic value but also brought a significant upgrading of the Welsh language which could now be used in legal proceedings and other domains of public life (BBC 2012; Hewitt and Cheetham 2000: 317). [1967: cultural rights concession]
- The Labour government of 1974-1979 responded to growing Welsh nationalism with a proposal for devolution. The Wales Act of 1978 proposed a referendum on devolution of administrative power and the establishment of a Welsh Assembly. The act required that, in addition to a normal majority of votes, at least 40% of the registered Welsh electors would have to vote in favor of the referendum (Cunningham amendment). The referendum was held in 1979. Only 20.3 % of the Welsh electorate voted in favor of the bill and thus the autonomy offer was off the table (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000; Minahan 2002; Politics.co.uk). We do not code a restriction because autonomy was rejected in a referendum. Note: the insertion of the 40% threshold could be seen as a restriction, but we consider this too ambiguous to code. [1978: autonomy concession]
- The Welsh Language Act 1993 gave further importance to the Welsh language. In addition to the provisions of the Welsh Language Act 1967, the new act set up the Welsh Language Board – a body instructed to promote the use of Welsh – and obliged all public sector organizations to treat Welsh and English equally in Wales (Legislation.gov; Minahan 2002). [1993: cultural rights concession]
- The Labour government under Tony Blair, elected on May 2, 1997, promised a second devolution referendum on the creation of a National Assembly for Wales. The proposal did not envisage for the assembly to have tax-varying powers (in contrast to the Scottish case). The referendum was held on September 18 of the same year and resulted in a narrow majority in favor of the devolution proposal: The establishment of a 60-seat legislature was supported by 50.3% (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000; Minahan 2002). In response, the British Parliament passed the Government of Wales Act 1998 that created the National Assembly for Wales and the Offices of Auditor General for Wales and Welsh Administration Ombudsman. The Welsh received significantly fewer autonomy if compared to the Scots: the Welsh government did not have financial responsibilities nor the authority to make “primary legislation”. Areas of authority included health, education, economic development, regional planning, housing, transport, tourism, sports and culture. The first election was held in May 1999 (Hewitt and Cheetham 2000; Minahan 2002; Politics.co.uk). [1997: autonomy concession]

- The Government of Wales Act 2006 devolved further powers. The act separated the Assembly and the Welsh executive (Welsh Assembly Government) comprising the First Minister, Welsh Ministers, Deputy Welsh Ministers and the Counsel General. The act also provided for the possibility to seek legislative competence from the UK Parliament and established the Welsh Consolidated Fund. Furthermore, legislative powers were enhanced with the creation of a new category of legislation called Assembly Measures (Welsh Government 2007). [2006: autonomy concession]
 - o Another devolution referendum took place in March 2011. 63.49% of the electorate voted in favor of enhanced law-making powers for the assembly in 20 devolved areas, such as health and education (BBC 2011a). The referendum activated part 4 of the Government of Wales Act 2006 that envisaged the passing of primary legislation by the Welsh Parliament in certain areas. This kind of primary legislation is referred to as Acts of the National Assembly of Wales (BBC 2011b). Since the referendum goes back to the 2006 agreement, we do not code another concession.
- In 2012, the UK Government formed the Commission on Devolution in Wales (the Silk Commission). The commission published a report in the same year, in which recommended new financial powers for Wales referring to borrowing and taxation (Senedd Cymru 2014). These were implemented with the Wales Act 2014. [2014: autonomy concession]
- The Wales Act of 2017 devolved additional powers. Furthermore, it elevated Welsh autonomy to constitutional status and required that the abolition of Welsh autonomy would require a referendum. The act also changed the model of operation of the devolved institutions from a "conferred powers model" to a "reserved powers model" (UK Government 2017; BBC 2017). The Assembly was furthermore given the power to decide its own name and voting system of members. [2017: autonomy concession]
- The 2020 Coronavirus Act conferred new, temporary powers to the UK's devolved nations, including Scotland, in areas including health, education, and justice. For instance, the Act empowered devolved ministers to temporarily close educational establishments (Grez 2021). We do not code a concession because the measures were temporary.
- In December the UK government passed the United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020. The act aimed to prevent market barriers between the four countries of the UK (Centre on Constitutional Change 2020: 4). The act restricts the exercise of devolved competencies both legally and practically and, in particular, the ability of devolved governments to regulate economic activity (McEwen 2020). [2020: autonomy restriction]

Regional autonomy

- Wales received autonomy as a result of the 1998 Government of Wales Act. The act had received royal assent in July 1998. The act was implemented in 1999. [2000-2020: regional autonomy]

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

- [1999: establishment of regional autonomy]

EPR2SDM

<i>Movement</i>	Welsh
<i>Scenario</i>	No match/1:1
<i>EPR group(s)</i>	Welsh
<i>Gwgroupid(s)</i>	20005000

Power access

- EPR codes the Welsh relevant as of 1964; from this year on they are coded as junior partner until 2020 (powerless).
- We code the Welsh as junior partner also in 1945-1963: for example, Gwilym Lloyd George (who is from Wales) was Minister of Fuel and Power (1942–1945), Minister of Food (1951–1954), and Home Secretary and Minister for Welsh Affairs (1954-1957). [1945-2019: junior partner; 2020: powerless]

Group size

- We follow EPR. [0.019]

Regional concentration

- The Welsh are concentrated in Wales, where they also make up a clear majority. This is confirmed by EPR and Minahan (2002: 2046). According to Minahan (2002: 2046), the Welsh make up 88% of the population of Wales. This amounts to 2.584 million people (in 2002), which is more than half of the 3.075million Welsh in all of the United Kingdom in that same year. [concentrated]

Kin

- EPR does not code ethnic kin. Minahan (2002: 2046) mentions Welsh communities in Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Argentina. Most of these communities are significant. In the Canadian census of 2011, for example, approximately 460,000 people identified as having Welsh ancestry, the number in the United States is much higher (1.75 million). Also, we code ethnic bonds between the peoples of Celtic language (Bretons, Welsh, Scots, Cornish), and thus code the Bretons in France as a kin in an adjoining country. [kin in neighboring country]

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Yorkshirites

Activity: 1999-2020

General notes

NA

Movement start and end dates

- Yorkshire is a region in northern England. In the 1970s, Yorkshire was split into several counties in the 1970s, a move that has met resistance by Yorkshirites.
- In 1975, the Yorkshire Ridings Society was formed, which aimed to re-establish Yorkshire's historic borders (Yorkshire Riding Society n.d.). We do not code this as the start date of the movement because English counties have very limited autonomy; therefore, the re-establishment of historic borders per se is not an SD claim as defined here.
- In 1998, the unelected Regional Chamber of Yorkshire and Humberside was set up as part of the central government's strategy to establish Regional Development Agencies that steer economic development. However, Yorkshire campaigners feared that their region would be at a disadvantage vis-à-vis Scotland and Wales if they did not form a popularly supported elected assembly to manage relations with the EU and examine regional economic strategy (Press Association 1999). In 1999, the Campaign for Yorkshire was therefore launched by local politicians, trade unionist, and organizations seeking a referendum on the establishment of an elected regional assembly (BBC 1999). Its leadership consisted of high-ranking members of the Trades Union Congress and the Church of England, in particular the Archbishop of York. An opinion poll published shortly after the launch of the campaign indicated that the population of Yorkshire and the Humber was divided over the prospect of setting up a devolved regional assembly, as 42% favored and 42% opposed it (Financial Times 1999). Based on this, 1999 is coded as the start date.
- In subsequent years, the Campaign for Yorkshire pressed the Labour government to hold a referendum on establishing a regional assembly for Yorkshire and the Humber while the Tory party opposed it, given what they perceived as 'apathy' about the issue among the public of Yorkshire (Yorkshire Post 2003). In 2003, the Regional Assemblies (Preparations) Act proposed three referendums on the devolution of limited political powers from the Parliament of the United Kingdom to elected regional assemblies in Yorkshire and the Humber, North West England, and North East England. The referendums were initially planned to be held in November 2004, but in July 2004 the planned referendums in North West England and Yorkshire and the Humber were postponed due to concerns about the use of postal ballots. When the referendum in North East England was defeated, the Labour government halted its policy of devolution for England, and the referendums in Yorkshire and the Humber as well as North West England were dropped indefinitely (UK Newsquest Regional Press). We did not find reports of movement activity between 2005 and 2011 but code the movement as ongoing based on the ten-years rule.
- In 2012, the Yorkshire Devolution movement was formed and in 2014 the Yorkshire Party (Yorkshire Devolution Movement n.d.; Yorkshire Party n.d.). Both have made claims for a directly elected parliament for Yorkshire equipped with a degree of autonomy. The Yorkshire Party obtained ca 7,000 votes in the 2015 general election, 21,000 in the 2017 general election, and almost 30,000 in the 2019 general election. In the 2021 West Yorkshire mayoral elections it received nearly 60,000 votes, coming third behind the Labour and Conservative parties. [start date: 1999; end date: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- The movement's start date is coded in 1999 due to the formation of the Campaign for Yorkshire, which made claims for autonomy (BBC 1999). In 2012, the Yorkshire Devolution movement was

formed and in 2014 the Yorkshire Party (Yorkshire Devolution Movement n.d.; Yorkshire Party n.d.). Both have made claims for a directly elected parliament for Yorkshire equipped with a degree of autonomy (Campaign for a Yorkshire Parliament 2018, 2022; Yorkshire Party 2014, 2020). The autonomy claim is confirmed by Roth (2015: 48). [1999-2020: autonomy claim]

- According to Roth (2015: 48) the famous Yorkshire poet Ian McMillan went a step further and demanded Yorkshire's independence. However, no organization has made claims for independence.

Independence claims

NA

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- Yorkshirites claim four ceremonial counties in northern England: North Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, and the East Riding of Yorkshire (Roth 2015: 32, 48). GADM does not include ceremonial counties. Instead, we code this claim based on map material by the Historic County Borders Project (<https://www.county-borders.co.uk/>).

Sovereignty declarations

NA

Separatist armed conflict

- We found no reports of separatist violence. [NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- What would become York/Yorkshire emerged as the fortified city of Eboracum during the Roman occupation of Britain and was the de facto capital from roughly 71 ad to the 400s ad (York Roman Society 2007). Until the 1000s, Yorkshire was harried by successive Germanic landings and conquests. Similarly, Norman invasions were common between 1000 and the 1400s.
- In the 15th century, three members of the House of York were Kings of England (Morgan 1984).
- During the English Civil War (1642-51), Yorkshire had divided loyalties. The city of York famously shut the gates of the city to the king when he came to enter a few months before fighting began. By contrast, the North Riding of Yorkshire in particular was strongly royalist (Morgan 1984).
- In the 1970s, Yorkshire was split into several counties in the 1970s, a move that was resisted Yorkshirites (Roth 2015: 48).
- Throughout the devolution debates in the House of Commons of the late 1960s, which paved the way for the 1979 referendums on the creation of a Scottish parliament and Welsh assembly, parallel devolution for Yorkshire was suggested (U.K HOC 1969).

Concessions and restrictions

- In 2015, then chancellor of the exchequer George Osborne proposed the creation of new Mayoral positions in several Yorkshire cities. This proposal was rejected by the Yorkshire movement who wanted autonomy for Yorkshire as a whole (The Independent 2015). We do not code a concession.
- In 2018, leaders across Yorkshire committed to developing a joined-up deal for a 'One Yorkshire Devolution'. However, the British government preferred smaller devolution negotiations and agreements with separate Yorkshire councils (City of York Council 2018, 2022). Additional powers were conferred to Yorkshire councils as a result of this process, but this was after 2020.

Regional autonomy

NA

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

NA

EPR2SDM

<i>Movement</i>	Yorkshirites
<i>Scenario</i>	n:1
<i>EPR group(s)</i>	English
<i>Gwgroupid(s)</i>	20001000

Power access

- Yorkshirites are treated as part of the English in EPR. We found several instances of representation in cabinet and ministerial positions. [junior partner]
 - o David Blunkett MP, a well-known Yorkshire autonomy advocate, served as Home Secretary and Secretary of State for Work and Pensions from 1997-2005.
 - o Conservative Yorkshirite politician Baroness Warsi served as cabinet minister without portfolio from 2010-2012 and then as Senior Minister of State in the Foreign Office and Minister for Faith and Communities in the Department of Communities and Local Government from 2012-2014.
 - o Conservative Yorkshire-born politician Gavin Williamson served in the British cabinet as Defence secretary November 2017- May 2019 and then as Education secretary from 2019- 2021.

Group size

- The population is 5.2 million according to Roth (2015: 48). The UK's population in 2015 was ca. 65.1 million according to the World Bank. [0.0799]

Regional concentration

- We could not find information on the number of self-identified Yorkshirites inside or outside of Yorkshire; however, the regional character of this movement makes regional concentration almost certain. [regional concentration]

Kin

- We could not find evidence for numerically significant transborder kin groups. [no kin]

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