Representations of Scottish Identity and Devolution: the relationship between the arts, cultural confidence and political autonomy from the 1980's

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The motivation for this thesis was the simultaneous increase of 'national feeling' and flourishing of the arts in Scotland from the 1980's. From this period - increasing through the 1990's towards the Referendum on Devolution in 1997 - the Scottish cultural community began to relate identity, art and politics, and frequent use was made of the word 'confidence'. As this implied a previous lack of it, the view that there was a sense of Scottish cultural inferiority is a thread running through this study, which examines beliefs about the relationship between cultural 'confidence' and support for political autonomy by focussing on the role of cultural representations of Scottish identity.

The study concentrates on ideas about Scottish identity among a number of people from the Scottish cultural sphere - several of whom can be described as key figures in terms of the representation of Scottish identity - on how these have been influenced by existing representations, and how they have been understood and legitimated.

Data was gathered by interviewing individuals in the arts and broadcasting in Scotland, attending debates and conferences, exhibitions and plays, and by examining key 'texts' in the field, from analyses of Scotland and Scottish identity, to plays and novels. Theories and analyses other than those specifically on Scotland (for example, on nationalism) were also reviewed because of their availability to influence ideas on the Scottish situation; therefore, while background data is presented in a 'Thematic review' chapter which is similar to a traditional literature review, the literature review is actually a process continued throughout the thesis.

The thesis focussed on how 'history' has been used by people in Scottish cultural life to legitimate beliefs about cultural 'differences' between the Scots and English and a 'power imbalance' between the two nations, and that the representation of Scottish identity had 'suffered' as a result of the England's dominance. A few Scottish artists have represented this in terms of colonisation, but it was found that most interviewees saw it as symptomatic of being the small neighbour of a powerful culture.

A strong link was perceived as existing between class and negative representations of Scottish culture, and most interviewees, particularly younger ones, represented Britishness as having been culturally English, and English cultural dominance (and hence, any sense of Scottish cultural inferiority) as having been influenced and perpetuated by metropolitanism and elitism. The period of Conservative governance from 1979 were found to be crucial in terms of the development of such 'ideas' about Scottishness; 'Thatcherism', Conservatism, and the south-east of England being represented as culturally - and, to an extent, morally - 'alien' to Scottish society and 'values'.

It is noted that a number of analyses (and stereotypes) from prior to the 1990's, which had represented Scottish identity as flawed, were now interpreted as 'positives' or advantages. Overall, Scottish culture was perceived as 'more' democratic, egalitarian, and socialist than 'English' culture, and the majority of interviewees felt that Scottish artists and other cultural interpreters had a role to play in redressing 'misrepresentations', and in further breaking down elitism. It was found that the re-presentation of Scottish cultural identity from the early 1980's acted with and upon a 'new' Scottish confidence provoked by Thatcherism, which can ultimately be argued to have influenced the 'Yes/Yes' vote in the Devolution Referendum of 1997.
DECLARATION

This thesis has been composed by me and is entirely my own work.

Linda Gunn
First and foremost, I would like to thank all of the interviewees who gave up their time to take part in this research, particularly, Tom McGrath.

I am very grateful to my supervisors, Professor Lindsay Paterson and Professor Cairns Craig, for their advice and support. Within the School of Education I also owe many thanks to Dr. Joan Stead for reading my Methodology, and Lesley Scullion, not just for computer support and always knowing what to do about all sorts of other problems, but for her friendship and reassurance on the frequent occasions on which it was required. I also have to thank many friends who acted as last minute proof-readers and editors - to whom I now owe a huge debt of alcohol - and fellow inmates of the Graduate School, all of whom provided much needed light relief and ears to bend on bad days (weeks....months....), especially Kat and Mirriam, now back home in much sunnier and warmer climes, and my buddies, Drs Katie and Karen, who should be locked up.

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Many friends - too many to mention - were made at Napier University and Emma made a difference to all of our lives, particularly myself, Alex and Mairi, both of whom have always been on my side. Also, very much on my side - though grossly neglected - were family and (very) old friends. Mum, Dad, Gillian and Seonaid, who are, miraculously, still speaking to me in spite of the last six and a half years.

Note
Page numbers of articles and essays footnoted throughout the thesis are given in the Bibliography.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The thesis explores the idea that a sense of Scottish cultural inferiority existed prior to the 1990's, and is interested, specifically, in what people involved in Scottish art and cultural life believe about this, and the relationship between it, the representation of Scottish cultural identity, and Scottish political autonomy. It investigates this through interviews with prominent members of the Scottish cultural sphere, through analysis of a variety of cultural products, and through a study of historical, sociological and political writing about Scottish culture. This chapter sets out the motivation behind the study, then goes on to further explain the research problem, and introduce how it was approached. The methods and Methodology adopted are explained in much more detail in Chapter 3.

1.1 Motivation and Context

The early 1980's saw what has been referred to in both the academic and cultural spheres as a 'flourishing' of the arts in Scotland; a new Scottish 'renaissance'.¹ This, and an apparent increased interest in national identity² in the country from around the same time, provided the motivation for this study, since I had 'been around' at the time (in terms of methodology, my position as a researcher, or 'in the research' is addressed in more detail in chapter 3). To set the scene though, in addition to the above 'burgeoning' of the arts, I encountered various signs of the increased interest in 'Scottishness', or Scottish culture and identity. For example, 'Open Learning', or evening courses had started up specifically in Scottish literature, Scottish History, Scottish


² The past decade has seen...a considerable increase in writing about Scotland, and the UK. What is striking about that literature is how eclectic it is: history, politics, sociology and culture...' McCrone, David. Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation (London: Routledge, 1992) p2. See Chapter 8 of this thesis, on the public's 'obsession' with national identity; and also Brown, Alice,
Culture and Society, and Scots language at the University of Edinburgh's Centre for Continuing Education\(^3\); Billy Kay (interviewed for the project) had broadcast his television programme on Scots.\(^4\)

It could be said (and can be seen) that I was not just an observer, but a participant, having long had an interest in the arts, but also having been influenced by the cultural climate of the period. I was not only interested in the novels, plays and so on being produced at the time, but also in changes taking place in this area in terms of attitudes towards Scottishness. Something I have had to bear in mind, then, is the possible relationship between my awareness of this climate of change and my personal 'discovery' that there were (contemporary) Scottish novelists, playwrights and artists, and that Scottish history and culture were valid subjects for study. However, research demonstrated (see Chapter 3) that 'I wasn't the only one', and, reflecting discussions on the arts in Scotland through the 1980's and 1990's, I became interested in the relationship between Scottish identity, the arts and the country's constitutional situation.\(^5\)

A word frequently used in such discussions and debates on Scottish art, culture and identity, was 'confidence', the implication being that prior to the 1980's it had been lacking, and related to this was the belief that old ways of talking and thinking about Scottishness, old images or 'representations', should be rejected in favour of more contemporary ones which presented Scottish culture and identity as something to be taken seriously. This led me to a main thread which runs through the thesis: the belief that a sense of cultural inferiority had existed; and its main focus, representations of Scottish identity. As subjects for investigation, references also existed for these.\(^6\) To put it more concisely, I became interested in the belief that there was a relationship between this new 'cultural confidence', the way Scottish cultural identity had been represented, and support for some sort of social, political or constitutional change. Confirming the relevance of this, Scottish identity and politics was an issue raised through the 1990's by

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\(^3\) Some were pilot courses for the Open University.

\(^4\) The Mither Tongue television series by Billy Kay (screened by BBC Scotland 1988).

\(^5\) Several publications, debates, conferences and lectures relating these subjects are referred to in later chapters, for example, the BBC's 'A Sober Look at the Thistle' series of discussions on Scottish art, identity, and Devolution. Featured on The Usual Suspects in April 1997.
several people involved in Scottish art and cultural life. Some did this through their creative work, while others did so more directly by joining political pressure groups such as 'Artists for Independence', aligning themselves with protagonists in cultural/political controversies during the period, or broadcasting their opinions through the media and through polemical writing (referred to in the thesis as their 'public persona').

This period of cultural change in Scotland made the question, 'Why', an interesting one: what else had changed or was changing and acting in tandem with this? In a study of Western European and North American societies, Baumeister examines 'the historical changes and developments which involve identity' on the basis that 'finding an identity has become a problem in the course of social changes in [our] history'. This study's area of interest - Scotland in the 1980's and 1990's - is much smaller and has a particular focus (representations), but late twentieth century social, ideological and economic changes and events seen as potential influences on the changes taking place in Scotland have been acknowledged. While it is not within the remit of this project to focus specifically on the decline of industrial economies in the West, how de-industrialisation may have influenced cultural change and Scottish identity is discussed (in Chapter 2 theme 4 and Chapter 7). At the other end of the scale, though again (arguably) related, a Referendum on Scottish Devolution had been held in 1979 which, although a majority voted in favour, failed to see a Scottish Parliament materialise as, according to Finlay, the Scots were fairly 'ambivalent' about the idea. That year also heralded the beginning of seventeen years of 'Thatcherism' - Margaret Thatcher's eleven year Prime-ministership of

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6 For example, see Beveridge, C. and Turnbull, R. The Eclipse of Scottish Culture (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989). This was also a theme which had been investigated in relation to other cultures, for example see Kiberd, Declan. Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation (London: Vintage, 1995).

7 See following pages for a discussion of some of the terms and descriptions used here and throughout the study.


Britain, followed by six years of John Major's - an element seen as particularly interesting and therefore explored in detail in the study because it has been focussed on by both academics and cultural commentators in debates related to Scottish identity in the 1980's and 1990's.12

1.2 Interviewees
While acknowledging larger issues, taken together, the problem to be investigated was focussed down to: what people who create or broadcast representations of Scottish identity in or through the arts and media in Scotland believed the influence of cultural representations to have been on support for political autonomy (shortened and often referred to in the study as 'the relationship between cultural and political confidence'), and it was decided to carry out interviews with individuals from this - the cultural - sphere. The nineteen who contributed are, as follows.

- Colin Cameron, Head of Production, BBC Scotland.
- Dr. David Clarke, Exhibitions Director for New Museum of Scotland project.
- Stuart Cosgrove, Head of Channel 4 Nations and Regions.
- David Greig, playwright.
- Hamish Henderson.
- Billy Kay, independent radio producer.
- A L Kennedy, author.
- Elspeth King, Curator of Smith Art Gallery and Museum, Stirling.
- Janice Kirkpatrick, Designer.
- Tom McGrath, playwright, Associate Literary Director at the Royal Lyceum Theatre.
- Duncan McLean, novelist, playwright and former publisher of new writers.
- Professor Duncan Macmillan, author, Reader in Fine Art and Curator of the Talbot Rice Gallery at Edinburgh University.
- James Macmillan, composer.

• Edwin Morgan, poet and translator.
• Peter Mullan, actor, filmmaker.
• Iain Reekie, artistic director of 7:84 Scotland at time of interview.
• Ali Smith, writer.
• George Wyllie, sculptor.

The reasons why such people were seen as important is discussed in Chapter 3 (where the selection for interview process and 'potted biographies' of each are also given). Ultimately, the beliefs and perspectives of individuals from this population were considered of interest simply because they have been involved in creating or broadcasting images or representations of Scottish identity - the main focus of the research - which could potentially influence beliefs about it in general. It was not assumed that they had necessarily been influential, simply that they have had the potential to be. In addition, while it could be assumed that such people would be highly culturally 'literate' or aware, at the same time I was interested in whether and how they themselves have been influenced by already existing stories of Scottish history, culture and identity, and also by existing theories, analyses and discourses surrounding this problem. Interviews with them were considered valuable therefore from the perspective that an insight would be provided into how existing representations influence subsequent ones.

1.3 Terms used
At this point it might be helpful to expand on some of the terms used in the study, or to clarify the sense in which I am using them, starting with one used several times in the last few paragraphs.

Representations
This is used here and throughout the study when referring to 'depictions' of, in this case, mainly Scottish identity, but also of other cultures (for example English identity); sections of society (for example 'the working-class'); and concepts communicated through a range of 'texts' and
communicative media which Hall refers to 'representational systems'.

This includes a range of ways in which ideas, images and perspectives on a subject or object can be communicated through speech, visual medium (such as photographs or paintings), writing (from narratives or plots in a novel or play to academic analyses), performances (the persona adopted by a comedian, the identity of the 'good guys' and the 'bad guys' in films and plays) and events. The social, ideological, personal or political perspective which an author, painter, or exhibition curator takes of a subject or object, influences their interpretation of it and ultimately the messages or 'meanings' conveyed or broadcast via their media: novels, plays, exhibitions in museums or galleries, and so on. At the same time, it is acknowledged that the audiences or receivers of such texts are also participants, to varying degrees, in the meanings they take from such texts and representations.

Culture, 'high' and 'low' or 'popular'

Raymond Williams acknowledges that 'culture' is 'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language'. In this study it is often used in its broad sense - meaning the values and practices, or shared social meanings of a society as well as languages and customs. But as the project's focus is representation in the arts and culture (or what I have referred to above as the cultural industries, for example television, film, heritage, and even literature), it is also used to describe this domain. This combines the traditional - 'the sum of the great ideas' of a society 'as represented in the classic works of literature, painting, music...' or the 'high culture of an age' - and more modern definitions: 'the widely distributed forms of popular music, publishing, art, design and literature' or elements of 'popular culture'. High culture' or 'high art' is a concept which was actually discussed with interviewees (see in chapters 4 and 8, particularly) and it was widely understood by them as referring to Hall's 'traditional' category (above) as opposed to 'popular' culture. Importantly, a status difference between the two was indicated: that 'high' has been represented as 'serious', universal and, in other words, superior; 'popular', or 'low' as inferior.

15 Williams, Raymond. Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society (London: Fontana, 1988) pp87 - 93.
Cultural artefacts and events

The terms 'cultural artefacts' and 'cultural events' are used as shorthand to cover some of the 'communicative media' referred to above, specifically in the arts and emanating from the cultural industries, for example, novels, paintings, music, plays, films, television ('cultural artefacts') and exhibitions, pageants, festivals ('cultural events').

Scottish cultural sphere, or realm

'Scottish cultural sphere', or 'realm' is used to stand for a range of people involved in Scottish cultural life in various fields who:

- create or 'produce' work referred to above as cultural artefacts and events (playwrights, directors, television writers, novelists, musicians)
- are in other ways responsible for the production and broadcasting of images of Scottish identity (those who commission work for television; are involved in Scottish cultural institutions such as, for example, the Scottish Arts Council, or museums and galleries)
- involve themselves publicly in Scottish cultural and social life through having a public profile (whether gained through arts criticism in the media, or commercial and academic publishing).

While this is a fairly delineated population (although broad ranging as demonstrated above) 'realm' and 'sphere' are used here in preference to 'community' as they are looser, taking into account the fact that this population is never constant or contained: that individuals move into and out of it over time.

Discourse

A number of 'discourses' are referred to in the study (for example, the discourse of Scotland as Colony; the Scotch Myths Discourse). The word is used here to describe ways of referring to, or speaking about ('language and practice'17) an idea or subject (for example, that traditional representations of Scottish identity were inaccurate and detrimental).

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1.4 The research

It was recognised that interviewees' testimonies would inform the study in several ways, from shaping the project to providing empirical data on the arts and culture in Scotland and in general. They afforded insights into both creative processes and production constraints in several areas of 'cultural production' and broadcasting; from playwriting to filmmaking, to decisions made in cultural institutions such as public museums, and also provided different perspectives on theoretical debates and analyses. At a pragmatic or common sense level, interviewees with in depth knowledge of film (design, direction or production) for example, felt that the *Scotch Reels* critique (see Chapter 2) was flawed by its contributors' failure to acknowledge the constraints on Scottish filmmaking as an industry (funding and market considerations, and the absence of an infrastructure for film in Scotland).

The latter is an example of how empirical research and theory interacted in the project. While a set of theories initially reviewed contributed to the initial structure of the project, interviews often provided the impetus for research in other (theoretical) directions. This variously raised questions, or themes hitherto not considered; influenced the decision to include 'sub-themes'; or prompted reconsideration of whether some theoretical ideas studied were as relevant as previously considered (again, see Chapter 3 on selection criteria).

The above begins to demonstrate how the interviews were a crucial, or integral part of the project in a theoretical sense, but also influenced its structure and presentation, both reinforcing an already recognised difficulty and yet helping suggest a 'shape' or structural solution to the presentation of the research. The broad, 'interconnectedness' of ideas encompassed by the project did present a difficulty, but not one which was felt should be avoided by inventing a 'false' cut-off point: this interconnectedness and breadth mirrored 'reality' in the sense that this is the way individuals thought and talked about the subject (as interviews demonstrated). Full details of the selection criteria adopted in the research are described in Chapter 3, but briefly, as suggested above, some 'themes' given less consideration before the interviews were conducted, were subsequently reconsidered and included as sub-themes if they emerged in several interviews or offered different perspectives. In terms of structure, interviews were influential because of links made in them between one idea (or sub-theme) and others. This, in some instances, was done in
ways that differed from conventional debates on the subjects explored and suggested different perspectives.

The interaction between interviewees' testimonies and the direction of the research influenced another presentation decision, the literature review, seen in this study as an ongoing process which takes place throughout and which was felt a more realistic response than presenting a separate chapter. As the 'problem' the thesis explores (along with its sub-themes, or hypotheses) had never been discussed with these individuals in this way before (several interviewees confirmed this), or with this particular group of individuals, no literature or texts exist which could provide the depth of information required. Therefore, while literature could be used to provide background material for the subject, interviews were necessary, providing unique primary research material.

The organisation and presentation of research material is returned to later in this chapter.

Reflecting the breadth and interconnectedness of the various issues which relate to the subject, the thesis is interdisciplinary and this is demonstrated in the background reading undertaken. This covers a range of disciplines and fields from politics and sociology, to literature and media studies. Analyses which relate to, support, contradict and question beliefs discussed in the project were studied. The selection process here began with reading on the overarching subject of the project: national identity and nationalism in general (for example, Gellner, Hobsbawm and Anderson), and specifically in Scotland. At the same time reading into representations of Scottish identity in the arts was being carried out and continued throughout the project. As the above progressed, other related subjects, analyses and discourses - either suggested by the initial readings, or by the empirical data collected - were studied, broadening the range of influential theoretical ideas to be acknowledged. For example, the discourse of Scotland as Colony (see Chapter 6) can be traced back to the empirical data (from interviews with artists to beliefs others had expressed in the public arena) and to academic analyses, which suggested that background research should be carried out into post-colonial theory and related cultural analyses (such as Fanon's analysis of cultural colonialism).
A common factor, therefore, to all data other than the interviews is that - from general theories (for example on nationalism) and discourses such as 'Scotch Myths' which can be used to interpret interview responses, to empirical data such as events and cultural products - all can be said to have been available to influence interviewees' beliefs (several being directly familiar with theoretical ideas). Thus, even theory can be considered as potentially contributing to discourses studied here, and potentially, as with earlier representations, influencing the cultural community in some way, and hence influencing subsequent representations.\footnote{In later chapters, for example, Spring's claim that the representation of the British working-class is influenced by nineteenth century ethnography is referred to. See Spring, Ian. \textit{Phantom Village: The Myth of the New Glasgow} (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990) pp15 - 16.} As stated previously, the criteria used to decide what research material to collect and present, how interviewees were selected, and how interviews were structured is presented in detail in Chapter 3.

As the study acknowledges that histories are contemporaneous with the period in which they are produced, some contemporary writing (whether journals or novels\footnote{Johnson, Samuel and Boswell, James. \textit{A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland} and \textit{The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides} with introduction by Peter Levi (London: Penguin Classics, Penguin Books Ltd., 1984). (Johnson's \textit{Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland} first published in 1775, Boswell's \textit{Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D.} first published in 1786, and novels such as Smollett's \textit{The Expedition of Humphry Clinker}, first published in 1771.}) and analyses of Scotland produced when the social, political and economic situation differed from that of the late twentieth century, were examined.\footnote{See for example Graeme Morton's thesis on mid-nineteenth century Unionist Nationalism in Morton, Graeme. \textit{Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830 – 1860} (Phantassie, East Linton: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1999), and contemporary analyses of Scotland and Scottish art, for example, Muir, Edwin. \textit{Scottish Journey} (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1985) and Smith, C. Gregory. \textit{Scottish Literature: Character & Influence} (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1919).} This served as a reminder that previous generations of Scots had different attitudes towards Scottish and British identity and, as in the late twentieth century, that these were not homogeneous. This was considered important in terms of, for example, a belief that Scots in earlier decades and centuries had felt a sense of cultural inferiority, or had been represented as culturally inferior, since such beliefs were used by interviewees in their narratives about Scottish history which in turn were used to legitimise their beliefs about Scottish identity and the power balance in the relationship between England and the other nations of the United Kingdom. The study is not concerned with arguing the accuracy or otherwise of contrasting 'histories'; history and the selection of 'facts' being seen as 'a manifestation of the historian's perspective as "narrator"...’ and shaped by the 'viewpoint and
predilections21 (political or ideological) of both 'narrator' and subsequent interpreters. Rather, it is interested in the range of understandings which existed amongst interviewees, and in whether and how these related: to theoretical ideas and analyses; to the understandings of other interviewees; and to any apparent dominant perspectives in the 1980's and 1990's.

1.5 Organising and presenting the research material

The thesis as a whole responds to the difficulties noted earlier, of dealing with such a breadth of interconnected subjects. This is done by organising and presenting the material in a thematic format because, as in reality, it is not possible to simplify this problem enough to completely separate one thread from another. Each theme gave rise to several other issues and sub-issues - the example of the 'Scotch Myths'22 discourse was used earlier as it raised questions of 'authenticity' and cultural prohibition; the idea of a Scottish inferiority complex was related to issues such as 'high culture' (see 'Terms used' earlier) and analyses such as cultural inferiorism (Chapter 2 theme 3).

1.5.1 Structure of thesis

• Chapter 2 introduces the five research 'themes' examined and provides background material - reviews of theoretical ideas, analyses and discourses seen as potential influences on representations and beliefs about Scottish identity - to aid the interpretation of interviewees' beliefs and to clarify references made in Chapters 4 to 8 where each theme is dealt with individually.

• Chapter 3 sets out the methodology used (with explanations of how texts, sources and interviewees were selected).

• In Chapters 4 - 8 the emphasis is on primary or empirical data: the interviews, and cultural products and events (the latter referred to where clarification is required of references made by interviewees). Chapter 2 is referred back to for similar reasons: to explain what interviewees are alluding to where this is not self-evident, demonstrating how the texts, analyses and theories reviewed there relate to or have influenced interviewees' beliefs.

22 This began to appear from the late 1970's and criticised the recycling of romanticised stereotypes of Scottish identity ('tartanry', or 'traditional' representations) in film, literature, and advertising.
1.5.2 Themes explored

The research began initially with an exploration of stereotypes, 'essentialized' or limited representations about Scottish identity, focusing on a number which were considered dominant as available to the wider public, for example ideas broadcast in newspapers, by comedians, through advertising (from packaging to posters), on television, in films, through public events and the tourist industry. Barker describes stereotypes as 'vivid' representations 'which reduce persons to a set of exaggerated, usually negative character traits' and Scottish ones considered include the Lad o' Pairts and egalitarianism; the working-class 'hard man' (aggressive and violent); the noble savage (exotic, but wild, barbaric or backward); the quaint, couthy, drunken, or comic Scot. They were considered relevant and important as they could also be expected to be potential influences on the opinions and perspectives of interviewees, as the response of individuals to initial approaches for interview and interviews themselves confirmed (any exceptions are noted). This was refined by considering the appearance, treatment and debate over them in Scottish art and in academic analyses, and the responses of interviewees. Hence the decision to include as a separate theme (and chapter) a dominant representation, 'Scottish identity as Working-class' (Chapter 5), and later one considering the relationship between Margaret Thatcher and representations of Scottish identity.

Each of the themes listed below is reviewed in the next Chapter. The first three are concerned with discourses of Scottish identity; ways in which each have been interpreted by various analysts (from historians, political theorists, sociologists and artists). Chapters 4 to 6 explore how these have influenced, been negotiated or were used to legitimate interviewees' beliefs about Scottish identity. As mentioned earlier, the fourth is interested in the cause and effect of Mrs. Thatcher or the relationship between the 'cultural identity' of the Conservatives under her and the Scots. The last considers more specifically how ways of thinking about Scottish history, politics and identity came together and how representations were used by various parties in the approach to the Referendum on Devolution in 1997.

Theme 1: Measuring Scottish against English culture (Chapter 4)

At the beginning of this chapter, one of the main threads or questions running through the study, is referred to: the belief that there has been a sense of Scottish cultural inferiority. This raises the rather obvious question, 'To whom have the Scots been compared if a sense of Scottish inferiority has existed?', and the equally obvious or conventional answer to it: England. This idea - 'Measuring Scottish against English culture' - was selected as a theme partly because it was felt to be so conventional or often unquestioned by many Scots, and this also accounts for its being one of the largest themes. Reflecting the focus of the project, it is examined in the context of representations and their influence upon the idea, with a particular interest in how people have sought to legitimise it.

**Theme 2: Scottish Identity as Working-class (Chapter 5)**

As mentioned earlier, this is a representation and discourse which has been dominant, particularly in television, film, the Scottish novel and Scottish theatre, at least from the 1960's. Both it and theme 4, 'Scotland and Margaret Thatcher', are issues which it was felt could not be omitted from the study, so crucial are they in terms of their influence on representations of Scottish identity through the 1980's and 1990's and so frequently were they referred to in analyses (and in interviews).

**Theme 3: The Discourse of Scotland as Colony (Chapter 6)**

This discourse, reasonably self-explanatory, focuses on the belief that Scotland has been, or been treated as, a Colony, and that the Scots have suffered from cultural inferiorism as a result. It is a discourse variously acknowledged, disagreed with and supported within the Scottish cultural sphere.

**Theme 4: Margaret Thatcher and Scottish Identity (Chapter 7)**

This chapter provides a demonstration of how several ideas of Scottish identity examined in earlier themes and chapters manifested themselves, or were mobilised by the Scots in their rejection of Conservatism through the 1980's and 1990's. It also considers how identity and history were mobilised by the Conservatives during the period - including Conservative attempts to popularize themselves with the Scottish electorate by 'playing the Scottish card' - relating Margaret Thatcher's representation of British identity and of herself to perceptions in Scotland of the Conservative Party thereafter.
Theme 5: *The Employment of Scottish Identity and Devolution* (Chapter 8)

The last theme extends the focus of the previous one beyond the relationship between Scotland and the Conservatives, to how beliefs which developed during that period were mobilised in the years leading to the Referendum on Scottish Devolution in 1997. This theme concentrates on how the Scottish cultural community reacted to Thatcherism, and to de-industrialization, and explores the relationship between their reaction and already existing beliefs about Scottish identity (potentially influenced by earlier representations discussed in previous themes, such as that of Scottish as working-class). It also notes how politicians from various Parties attempted to mobilise and manipulate these beliefs in the approach to the Referendum of 1997.
# CHAPTER 2

## THEMES

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2.2 Introduction

As set out in Chapter 1, this project is concerned with ideas about Scottish identity which existed within the Scottish cultural sphere in the late 1990's (terms defined in Chapter 1), and with how earlier representations appear to have influenced these ideas. This chapter is intended as a reference point for later ones in which research material collected from interviews with a sample group from that community is presented (see Chapter 3 on selection process and for explanation of literature review as ongoing process). It introduces the themes around which the research has been organised, and reviews discourses and debates which either substantiate the existence of beliefs explored in the study, or have potentially influenced the representation of Scottish identity themselves. The Chapter comprises references to theories (for example on nationalism and national identity in general) and analyses which relate either directly to the subject of Scottish identity, or to the representation of various other identities (for example, working-class identity) and is referred back to from subsequent chapters in order to clarify comments, or allusions made by interviewees.

As explained more fully in Chapter 3, the thematic format of the study developed out of the original research question: how a number of stereotypical representations of Scottish identity relate to one another and to the late twentieth century movement towards more political autonomy for Scotland. Attention was finally focussed on a number of themes which emerged as research progressed; appearing in several analyses of Scottish culture and considered important by interviewees, these were therefore considered dominant in the arts and popular domain. The main argument of the study is that they have had tacit influence on subsequent ideas and therefore representations of Scottish identity.

The link between several of the themes - particularly Themes 4 (Scotland's Relationship with England: legitimating late twentieth century beliefs), 5 (The Representation of Scottish Identity as Working-class), and 6 (The Discourse of Scotland as Colony) - is cultural inferiority, a question which developed out of claims that the 1980's represented a period of new confidence in Scottish art (see Chapter 1). The first focuses on ideas that Scottish identity has been found 'wanting' in relation to English culture and identity; the second explores the idea that any sense of Scottish inferiority is related to representations of Scottish identity as working-class; and the third, that Scotland was 'colonised' through cultural inferiorism. The last two themes focus on the influence and employment of identity in the context of politics over the 1980's and 1990's. Theme 7 (Margaret Thatcher and Scottish Identity) explores the relationship between ideas of Scottish identity from 1979 and the
representation of the Tories under Margaret Thatcher, and theme 8 (Scottish Identity in the 1990's and Devolution), the mobilisation of ideas of Scottish identity towards Devolution in the 1990's. The selection process is detailed in Chapter 2. Overall, what is of interest in the study is the mobilisation of ideas (for example 'traditions') of Scottish identity, and the resurfacing and re-presentation of earlier debates about it to legitimate contemporary beliefs.

2.3 Theme 1: Scotland's Relationship with England: legitimating late 20th century ideas through 'history' (see also Chapter 4)

This is the first of three themes linked to the belief that there was a lack of confidence in Scottish cultural identity, or a sense of cultural inferiority, prior to the 1980's which are examined here in the context of Scotland's relationship with England.

Davie suggested that the 'historic rivalry between the national groups...over the question of excellence in culture, knowledge, thought, etc.,' was one of the elements 'which gives human life its distinctive character,'1 but this theme is concerned with a discourse of the 1980's and 1990's - examples of which can be found in the Scottish cultural community (see Chapter 4) and in academic analyses - that Scottish identity has suffered from being measured against English culture (Scottish art, language, society and traditions against English art, language and so on). The implication of this is that measuring Scottish culture against a 'different' culture, as though it were superior or an ideal model, resulted in representations of Scottish identity as inferior and, consequently, in the development of a sense of inferiority.

A range of beliefs and representations relating to, or available to influence, this discourse is examined in this theme along with a review of some ways in which history has been used to legitimate them. For example, the first section below looks at ways in which Scottish 'difference' and independence from English identity have been legitimated through geography and history: that the Scottish and English cultures developed differently because their 'geographies' were different; and that there is a history of English attempts to dominate Scotland. This introduces the view that there has been a history of disadvantage and domination which is explored in the next section on representations of the circumstances under which the Scots entered into the Union in 1707. Ways in which the Scots' involvement in Empire and identification with Britishness were negotiated in the 1980's and 1990's are

examined next, focussing on representations that the Scots suffered from cultural denigration, directly or indirectly (for example 'centrism' and Metropolitanism).

2.3.1 Scottish difference and independence
Claims and counter claims regarding the history of Scotland as a 'nation' appeared in the 1990's, a decade of increased national feeling. The past, for example, the Middle Ages - the period of William Wallace and the Scottish Wars of Independence - could be used to provide 'evidence' legitimating (or negating) late twentieth century desires for more autonomy. While historians such as Ferguson claimed the Scots had had the story of their nation 'well worked out before the advent of the Anglo-Normans in the twelfth century', this line was occasionally challenged with arguments that a sense of 'national consciousness' had not existed at that time. The period was useful also as from it could be drawn representations that there was a historical precedent to English attempts to dominate Scotland. The 'origin myths' constructed by the nations of the British Isles in the early middle ages 'proving' their antiquity could be interpreted as supporting this; the English being represented as constructing their myths with a view to claiming sovereignty over the peripheries, and the peripheries constructing theirs in order to resist this. This representation of England (or 'the English') as having a predisposition towards 'taking over' less powerful peoples also makes available the interpretation that there is an element of moral difference between Scottish and English identity. The latter could be then be used to further justify a modern Scots' desire to achieve or retrieve (some degree) of 'freedom' from 'English rule', 'freedom' being Wallace's battle cry in the well-timed Hollywood film Braveheart (1995) adopted on the street as a tongue-in-cheek expression of Scottish nationalism. Both pro and anti-Union politicians mobilised the period in the 1990's (see Chapters 4 and 8) and in doing so continued a centuries old debate concerning the interpretation of the Wars of Independence, the Declaration of Arbroath, and the story of William Wallace.

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3 See, for example, Davidson, Neil. The Origins of Scottish Nationhood (London: Pluto Press, 2000).
The unreliability of 'histories', or the selective use of 'historical facts', having a precedent itself, as demonstrated above, 'indisputable' facts were employed by some during the 1990’s. Alasdair Gray, for example (cited in the thesis as an artist and political commentator: see Chapter 3), claims: 'My argument is not based on differences of race, religion or language, but geology. Landscape is what defines the most lasting nations.' While commentators such as Scott acknowledge that geography is largely responsible for Scotland's ending up 'in bed with an elephant', Gray uses it in preference to history, to support his suggestion that the Scots are 'naturally' inclined towards devolution and autonomy, or averse to (centralised) authority in contrast with the English:

...the geography which helped the Roman occupation explains why the English...Churches have been ruled from Canterbury from AD 596; why the English state has been ruled from London since 1066, and has two ancient universities in what were market towns near the capital.

2.3.2 'History' of disadvantage and domination: Union 1707

Of Union, Hearn states: 'Any number of counterfactual histories can be imagined in which nationalist potential would have been diffused and Scottishness fragmented and assimilated to other identities. But that is not what happened'. Opposing ideas about the circumstances under which Treaty was entered into in 1707 demonstrate this. By the 1980's and 1990's analyses that Scotland had been 'under military and economic pressure' to do so were available to support representations that, as in the Middle Ages (see earlier), the Scots had effectively been bullied by the stronger nation. At the same time the opportunities made available to them (through trade and Empire) are emphasised by some such as Whatley who claims that '...in part', 'Union can be interpreted as a necessary building block on the way to opulence and evidence of the acceptance of the economic realism which characterised the

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writings of several Scots on economic affairs'. Others - Scott, for example - acknowledged this with qualification, claiming that Scotland did start to reap some benefits after English pre-Union objections to the expansion of Scottish trade declined.

That the Scots had chosen partnership with England and had identified themselves as British, or with Britishness in the past, was problematic in the 1980's and 1990's when those loyalties had declined, but could be negotiated through the representation that Union, Britishness and Empire were embraced, not by the population as a whole or uniformly, but by certain sections of society. The belief that British identity had been a social identity initially, 'made up of English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish ruling classes', or those who had an immediate personal interest in Union and the expansion of Empire - a representation popular from Burns' period ('Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!) and earlier - can be seen as more attractive to Scots in the 1990's, who were in general (middle as well as working-class) identifying themselves as working-class and voting Labour (see themes 2 and 5). This representation provided a means of explaining how Empire had come to be 'the major manifestation of Britishness' by the nineteenth century, by which time Scottish nationalism is claimed, by Morton, to have co-existed alongside it. He argues that by the period 1830 to 1860, the middle-class should be looked to for the location of Scotland's 'ethnie' as they 'resisted Westminster centralisation', but were equally opposed to the idea of a Scottish

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21 Morton claims the 'exercise of infrastructural power' lay in the hands of the urban middle class, hence this was where 'Scottishness was encapsulated'. See Morton, Graeme. Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830 – 1860 (East Linton: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1999) pp49-60, p130 and p132.
Parliament as they controlled civil society having 'all the resources necessary to structure and administer the towns and cities in Scotland...’ (Morton rejects what he calls one of nationalism theory's 'universals': that only movements whose goal was to achieve their own Government, Parliament, sovereignty, or independence can legitimately be called nationalisms).22

Morton's analysis, can be described as claiming that the mid-nineteenth century Scottish middle-class were confident in their national identity. In this analysis he refers to culture in the sense of history - for example the nineteenth century Unionist mobilisation of Wallace (see also Chapter 8 on the 1990's) - but not the arts.23 In interviews for this study (with people involved in the arts) and in other academic writing in the 1980's and 1990's, art and politics (or society) were frequently related24 (see later chapters), one justification for this being that modern ideas of the nation-state and national identity25 were negotiated, even shaped, through the novel or 'national tale'26 which developed simultaneously27 (in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries). This is seen as important here, as a belief expressed by some interviewees and also in academic analyses was that contemporary criticism of Empire and Britain had been 'left out' of histories of Scotland, but that evidence of it could be found in art, specifically in literature.28 This is an issue returned to in later chapters. Focussing on this period, however, Trumpener claims that people from peripheral cultures such as Scotland and Ireland misplaced 'their age-old anti-English, anti-British, and

27 Cairns Craig 13 October 1997 ('Scottish Literature: Course 1, Recent Writing', Centre for Continuing Education, The University of Edinburgh, Winter 1997).
anti-imperial hatreds in a form of 'collective amnesia' on emigrating (the implication being that they had them before doing so) and this analysis was reflected in beliefs expressed by some interviewees (see Chapter 4). The above is mentioned here as a reminder of the 1990's view that there has been Scottish inferiority and that this was related in some way to how Scottish identity has been represented. This has been described in the study as the relationship between Scottish cultural and political confidence, defined in Chapter 1 as the relationship between confidence in Scottish art from the 1980's, and increased support among the wider population for some degree of political separation from Westminster. This relationship is reflected in the discourse that Scotland has been represented as a 'cultural desert' or void, as expressed by Cairns Craig (and others, for example, Murdo Macdonald), which argues that Scottish writers, for example, have been hi-jacked and subsumed as part of the canon of English literature: '...when Leavis and Graham Greene leave England, they don't suddenly stop being considered English writers. This is a game where powerful cultures claim anybody for themselves.' Evidence of this belief amongst interviewees for the project is submitted in Chapter 4.

2.3.3 'Cultural denigration'

In spite of the unpopularity of un-reformed Union and Empire in the 1990's as facets of Scotland's past (see previous section), even figures who had been committed to both, such as Sir Walter Scott, could be redeemed if they could be used to support the idea that there was a 'long history...of cultural denigrations by the English' (in his 1829 preface to Waverley, the author hoped his novels should present the Scots in a 'more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto'). The idea of 'cultural denigration' was discussed with interviewees and is another subject believed by some interviewees and academics (such as Trumpener) to have been 'left out', or misrepresented (Colley, for example, claims that English nationalist


30 Cairns Craig 13 October 1997 ('Scottish Literature: Course 1, Recent Writing', Centre for Continuing Education, The University of Edinburgh, Winter 1997).


33 Colley, Linda. Britons: Forging the Nation 1707 - 1837 (London: Vintage, 1996) p112 - 120. On the monopoly major cultures have on history, or Scotland's being portrayed as left-out 'of history' in terms
John Wilkes' '...forthright hostility to Scotland is often marginalised as a regrettable vulgarity of no real relevance to the movement that gathered around him...').

Related to the above, Trumpener suggests also that there had been a 'coercive imposition\(^{34}\) of English and language was frequently referred to by interviewees (several recounting personal experiences and memories) often relating it to Scottish cultural inferiority and the belief that this had existed. Using history to legitimate this relationship, several also referred to the eighteenth century: to beliefs about the Scots middle-class's rejection of their national tongue, and to the 'great standardising pressures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' when Scots as well as Gaelic - which had become popular again by the 1990's after the post-war Scottish folk revival\(^{35}\) - 'became widely associated with the vulgar, the barbaric, the parochial'.\(^{36}\) Several interviewees mentioned Dr. Samuel Johnson in this context regarding opinions he was believed to have expressed about the Scots.\(^{37}\) Johnson is a useful figure for the 1990's when, as noted earlier in this section (see also theme 5), the decline in Scottish identification with Britain and a desire for more saw many Scots wishing to represent the country as having been historically disadvantaged in their partnership with England. He was represented by some interviewees as an example of English cultural hegemony which was being rejected again in the 1990's as on previous occasions (particularly in terms of language) from Burns\(^{38}\) to MacDiarmid. Samuel Johnson was therefore available to be used in legitimating beliefs that there was a history of the English representing their own culture as more advanced or civilised and Scottish as inferior. Trumpener claims, in fact, that Johnson was anti-Enlightenment \textit{because} it was Scottish, and that it is in deliberate opposition to Enlightenment ideas (that a people's history should be traced in order to

\(^{34}\) of Scottish literature, see also 'The Body in the Kit-bag' pp31 - 63 and 'Out of History' pp64 - 81 in Craig, Cairns. \textit{Out of History} (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996).


\(^{37}\) Corbett, John. \textit{Language and Scottish Literature} (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p7. (Similar terms were used by Scottish Enlightenment figures such as Hume, discussed in theme 3)

understand them 'in their own right') that he 'continually measures and misjudges the situation of Scotland against the standards of London, as if it provided the only model of intellectual and political life' (see also Crawford, Davies and Ferguson).³⁹

2.3.4 'High culture' and metropolitanism

For the purposes of this study 'high culture' was defined as 'art' rather than 'popular' fiction, popular music, film and so on (see 'Terms Used' in Chapter 1 for full definitions). The term was understood by interviewees as carrying an implication of status: that there was a history of high art having been thought of as superior to popular, implying in turn that those who appreciated it or could 'speak' its language were superior to those who had not been taught how to, generally the working-class. It was to counter this orthodoxy that workers and the labour movement had seen the study of literature as important in the struggle for empowerment - Rose defines the threat many educated people saw 'in the efforts of working-class people to educate themselves': 'culture was a force for equality and was destructive of ideology, including the ideology supporting the British class structure'.⁴⁰

Most interviewees were opposed to the elitism with which high art has been associated, a few representing it as an English tradition, a belief for which academic references can also be found. Inglis' description of high culture's emphasis on aesthetics as a 'deeply English formation' introduced by the late eighteenth century English ruling-class and 'its junior intellectual partners' to suppress 'class politics in the conversation of the culture' could be used in attempts to legitimate the former representation.⁴¹ High culture was therefore available to be used as reinforcement of 1990's representations of Scottish society as left-wing, through suggesting that Scottish culture had 'traditionally' been less elitist than English. For example, one interviewee (Morgan) believed that Scottish art had divorced itself less fully from popular traditions than English art had, the implication of this being that the Scots


⁴¹ 'The invention of aesthetics as a special zone of academic and educational significance' came 'sometime towards the end of the eighteenth century'. Inglis refers to this as 'England's ethical anti-polities'. Inglis, Fred. *Cultural Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993). See pp39, 44 and 182.
middle and upper classes had divorced themselves less from the 'lower classes' than their social peers in England. (See also themes 4 and 5 on 1990's interpretations of Scottish egalitarianism).

By representing the separation of 'high' from 'low' (or popular) culture as 'alien' to Scottish traditions, and thereby representing Scottish art as closer to 'the common people', the disenfranchisement of the lower classes can be perceived as related to (perhaps partly responsible for) the disenfranchisement and possibly inferiorising of Scottish national culture. Aestheticism and 'universalism' can be considered as part of this process of retaining power: art from the centre, core (the powerful) culture is claimed by them to be 'universal' and hence superior, and that of minority or peripheral cultures described by core critics as parochial and therefore inferior\(^{42}\) - a 'no-win' situation for minority cultures whose art will often and inevitably be bound up with politics as a consequence of their disenfranchisement by the powerful culture.\(^ {43}\) In terms solely of class (a relevant point in view of the next theme which notes the belief that Scottish artists are predominantly from the working-class), several interviews for this study took place when the debate over whether art had been 'dumbed-down' resurfaced (at several events) during the 1999 Edinburgh Festival.\(^ {44}\) Some interviewees (for example, Mullan) suggested that this was in fact a disguised attempt to devalue the contribution to the arts and culture of people from working-class backgrounds, not a concern over falling standards in the sense of the intellectual and aesthetic demands made on audiences (which is how it was presented). Returning to national identity, however, a belief also exists, as the interviews demonstrated, that the association of 'Scottish' with 'working-class', may have been a factor influencing perceptions of 'Scottish', culture as inferior (see Chapters 5 and 8).

**Summary**

It was noted above that a belief existed in the 1990's that British (and Imperial) identity had been embraced by members of the *core* culture, peripheral elites, or the ruling-classes'  

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\(^{42}\) See Craig, Cairns. *Peripheries* in *Cencrastus* No.9 Summer 1982.  
\(^{43}\) On the separation of cultivated and uncultivated and Burns, for example, being a 'cultural broker' between high and low (folk culture and cultivated; Scots and English) see Crawford, Robert *Devolving English Literature*, Revised edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) p106 - 109.  
\(^{44}\) For example, John Tusa, Director of the Barbican Centre, was main speaker in 'What's wrong with cultural elitism?: Culture Wars' at the Edinburgh Book Festival 19 August 1999, claiming the words 'good' and 'excellent' had been 'shied away from': 'We should have had enough of the fear of being called elitist because we take up the cudgels of robust, disinterested criticism'. Andrews, Richard. 'Backstage Whispers' (http://www.theatrenet.co.uk/archives/130899.html) accessed 16.10.02.
'junior' or aspiring partners.\textsuperscript{45} It was therefore discussed with interviewees whether Scottish aspirations towards 'Englishness' - perceived by many Scots as different socially, or as 'higher up the social scale', and seen by some as the reason why many socially aspirant Scots adopt an English or anglicised accent - demonstrated or disproved the existence of a sense of cultural inferiority among those sections of the Scottish population.

The next theme focuses specifically on the dominance in the late twentieth century of the representation of Scottish identity as working-class.

2.4 Theme 2: The Representation of Scottish identity as Working-class (see also Chapter 5)

This is the second theme which examines a discourse viewed here as related to the idea that there was a lack of confidence, or Scottish cultural cringe, prior to the 1980's. In it, an element introduced towards the end of theme 1 - the relationship between class and any sense of inferiority over 'Scottishness' - is examined further, focussing on a representation of Scottish identity dominant in Scottish writing and theatre by the 1970's.46

While the focus of the study is the representation of Scottish identity in the arts and Scottish cultural community in the 1990's, analyses from wider sources are referred to in this theme for two reasons: firstly to demonstrate the widespread acknowledgement of the representation of Scottish identity as working-class, and secondly, because several of these (including academic ones) have also been available to influence the discourse and its dominance. (Theories on class and national identity are referred to in theme 4). In the following pages references to this representation in the arts and in analyses of Scottish art are also reviewed alongside more logistical reasons as to how the image came to prominence (for example the 'visibility' of labour and industry in Scotland). Also examined here is the representation of Scottish identity as left-wing along with some of the ways in which it has been legitimated through interpretations of Scotland's 'history' of Socialism by academics and artists (for example Clydeside).

2.4.1 The representation's appearance in academic analyses

David McCrone notes that the Scots tended to think of themselves as working-class in the 1990's, acknowledging at the same time that this could only be 'measured, "not entirely" explained' by examining data and setting this against the class structure of the country: 'class structure and class culture are not homogeneous or one and the same thing'.47 This is referred to here (as said in the above introduction) in order to demonstrate that the association, or 'confluence' as McCrone has termed it,48 of class with national identity in Scotland' is recognised in academic writing from analyses of Scotland's sociology, to

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examinations of Scottish politics. In terms of the arts, several analyses refer to 'culture' in the sense of 'traditional' representations of Scottishness (see later in this section); however, with reference to class and Scotland, suggestions which might solve the incongruity McCrone identified between attempts to understand Scotland using surveys or 'scientific' enquiries, and what actually happened over the last decades of the twentieth century, can be found in analyses of Scottish art. As a solution to the anomaly, for example, Watson claims in a cultural analysis of Scotland that while 'class and cultural tensions are just as likely to be found in England', there they lack 'the high visibility factor which is given by a claim to "national" difference and a "national literary tradition"'. He argues that in Scotland these 'national claims' became associated with 'the common man' through the association of (literary) Scots with them, a claim which can be related to beliefs about the rejection of Scots by the Scottish upper and middle-classes from the eighteenth century which were referred to in theme 1 (see also Chapter 4).

As stated earlier, the representation of working-class experiences dominated in the novel and in Scottish theatre from the 1970's and the last in the list of the 'constituent complaints' quoted below, which Wallace claimed recurred in the Scottish novel, can be related to one of the main ideas explored in the study (returned to later in this section): the idea of a 'Scottish inferiority complex':

...the spiritual and material deprivations of unemployment and decaying communities; failures to find – or accept – self-fulfilment in education, work, emotional relationships; inarticulacy and alienation escaped through alcoholism; destructive mental instability; the paralysing hyper-awareness of class and cultural differentiation...

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52 As 'unrefined and defective'. Beveridge, Craig and Turnbull, Ronald. The Eclipse of Scottish Culture (Edinburgh:Polygon Determinations series, 1989) p12.
53 See Corbett, John. Language and Scottish Literature (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University
The following paragraphs examine influences of the representation of Scottish identity as working-class including how history has been employed and interpreted in the legitimisation of this belief.

Firstly, 'visibility' can be taken more literally than in Watson's analysis earlier (in the context of language). Industrialisation and the changes which came with it - its effect on land and townscapes; the influx of masses of working-class people crowding into the towns and cities of the Scottish central belt - meant that this aspect of Scotland and this section of the Scottish population became highly visible in an area of the country which was also the centre of Scotland in terms of the arts and the Scottish cultural community. In contrast, England's major industrial and manufacturing region was remote from the cultural centre, London. Although an alternative representation of Scotland as 'small town' and parochial is claimed to have been broadcast - literally, through 'Kailyard' fiction, but generally, as Craig argues, as a consequence of the country's being 'on the periphery of a major culture' - this theme's focus is the representation of Scotland as urban, industrial and working-class, as this had become dominant in Scottish writing from the 1970's. Later in this section the part played by left-wing academics is reviewed, but the following paragraphs consider other factors and their use in the legitimisation of both the representation of Scottish identity as working-class, and the notion that the Scots have been disenfranchised by virtue of a combination of class and national identity.

Attitudes towards 'the masses' during the Victorian period (manufacturing and engineering peaked along with Empire in the mid nineteenth century) are suggested by Spring to have influenced future representations of the working-class. Overcrowding forced middle-class society into a position where they could less easily avoid acknowledging the lower-classes and the social problems which accompanied poverty. In an analysis based on Victorian photography Spring suggested that 'respectable' society represented the poor as a 'disturbing alien phenomena' or race apart, a practice he relates to ethnographical representation (which developed from the late eighteenth century), citing Foucault and Said who point to the 'power relationship between the represented and the representer' which results in 'the subject of the enquiry' being represented 'as, literally, the "other" - a people or race

55 Craig, Cairns. 'Peripheries' in Cencrastus No.9 Summer 1982 p3.
exhibiting characteristics...structurally opposed to the characteristics of the culture or race of
the observer – generally the supposed dominant ideology and culture of the "civilised"
world." From this Spring concludes:

...it is not surprising that would-be reformers of the time should refer to their
fellow Glaswegians as 'arabs' or 'natives'...

The above can be seen as making available notions that through their representation as
working-class, the representation of Scottish identity can be linked to Victorian 'racialisation'
(although Spring is referring explicitly to the British working-classes) and eighteenth and
nineteenth century middle-class attitudes towards 'other' cultures and races as inferior.
Alternatively, this can be interpreted as demonstrating that the English 'then latterly British'
were not racist in their treatment of people in overseas territories of the Empire, but were
replicating the social structures of home onto non-English cultures and societies. Cannadine
claims, for example, that the British Empire's hierarchical view of the world and of colonised
peoples:

...was not just based on the Enlightenment view of the intrinsic inferiority of
dark-skinned peoples: it was also based on notions of metropolitan-peripheral
analogy and sameness. For as the British contemplated the unprecedented
numbers massed together in their new industrial cities, they tended to compare
these great towns at home with the 'dark continents' overseas, and thus equate the
workers in factories with coloured peoples abroad...one additional reason why
' natives' in the empire were regarded as collectively inferior was that they were
seen as the overseas equivalent of the 'undeserving poor' in Britain.60

These interpretations are presented here because they are viewed as ideas which have been
available to influence 1990's debates on how working-class identity has been represented,
and (since Scottish identity has been represented as working-class) how Scottish identity
has been represented. Another 'duality' - that between urban and rural poor - considered here as
involved in the debate about the representation of Scottish identity, is introduced next.

Another representation of Scottish identity - the nearest equivalent in Scottish terms, perhaps,
to the rustic (peasant) of English identity - has been the more 'exotic', but noble 'savage': the
Scottish highlander. This theme is not concerned with this representation other than to

The author also notes that Engels used this and similar phrases to describe the working-classes.
59 Spring uses deconstructions of photographic representations of the working-class by late nineteenth
century photographers including Thomas Annan and (earlier) 'Shadow', or Alexander Brown in his
p19.
pp5 - 6.
describe its background sufficiently that its later rejection by sections of the Scottish cultural and academic community from the 1970's can be put in context. Briefly, it has its roots in late eighteenth century national tales, and in spite of the initial political (nationalist) objective of many of these, the image of rural 'primitives' in general developed through Romanticism and an interest in foreign cultures into the 'travel' novel. Trumpener claims that the representation of peripheral cultures (the Irish, Welsh and Scottish) thereafter became more picturesque or romantic than political and, one of the most popular images which developed (largely through Walter Scott's Scottish novels) - the Scottish highlander - was 'distant enough to be exotic (in customs and language) but close enough to be noticed; that was near enough to visit'. This introduces the idea of 'traditional' images of Scotland (rural, or highland) as 'safe', or de-politicising, one which was to influence the mobilisation of 'Scottish as urban working-class' from the 1980's. Before reviewing the latter, an idea introduced in Chapter 4 - that Scotland has been represented as a 'cultural desert' - is reviewed below in the context of class.

The idea that Scotland had suffered historically from (mis)representation in various analyses was introduced in theme 1. Here, the legitimisation of this through class is suggested. The image of the Highlander was in stark contrast with Scotland's closer and more visible urban 'savages' who were less easily perceived as romantic, separated as they were from both scenery and 'ethnic' traditions. Based on the representation of Scotland as 'industrial' and 'working-class' during the twentieth century, Craig has claimed that the above has influenced analyses of Scotland generally as 'nothing to do with culture' (and also that culture was 'nothing to do with Scotland': Scotland as cultural desert). By the 1990's several commentators and magazine editors had made efforts to redress this type of analysis of Scotland - as cultureless - including Cairns Craig (Cencrastus), Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh Review), George Davie (The Democratic Intellect), Alexander Broadie (The

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63 Lecture given by Cairns Craig as part of 'Scottish Literature: Course 1, Recent Writing', Centre for Continuing Education, The University of Edinburgh on 13 October 1997. Craig claims that Scottish writers have been hi-jacked and subsumed as part of the canon of English literature: '...when Leavis and Graham Greene leave England, they don't suddenly stop being considered English writers. This is a game where powerful cultures claim anybody for themselves'.

64 Murdo Macdonald holds the Chair of The History of Scottish Art at The University of Dundee. See also Beveridge,C. and Turnbull, R. The Eclipse of Scottish Culture (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989).
Tradition of Scottish Philosophy), Joy Hendry (Chapman), and Duncan Macmillan (Scottish Art 1460 - 1990). (See also theme 1 and beliefs about Samuel Johnson’s interpretation of Scottish identity.)

2.4.2 Scottish identity as left-wing: working-class and Marxist intelligentsia post-WWII, 'Scotch Myths', and 'Clydesidism'

By the late 1970's and into the early 1980's a number of people in the arts and academia were suggesting that the working-class was a more appropriate repository of Scottish identity. The political motivation behind this can be defined as being related to class (see below) but also to nationalism - this was the period before and immediately after the 1979 Referendum on Devolution and the year that Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government came to power. In what could be referred to as a cultural nationalist movement, the main thrust was the belief that an antidote to 'traditional' representations of Scottish identity ('Highlandry', or 'tartanry' introduced with the 'noble savage' earlier) were required if the political situation in, or of Scotland was to change.

The combination of left-wing politics with nationalism in Scotland, as introduced above, was discussed with interviewees as 'an idea' which exists about Scottish identity, and as such it has been legitimated through the use of history and further ideas about Scottish 'traditions' (see Chapter 5). The 'problem' of 'traditional' Scottish culture, or rather of the way in which 'Scottishness' had come to be represented in the twentieth century, is summarised in a quote from a publication on Scottish film produced in 1990: the 'highly liberal interpretation' of highland costume by Lowland bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century had, it was argued, 'subsequently metamorphosed into a class division within Scotland,' the continued use of which was related by the author, to 'the connection between bourgeois cultural display and performance' and the use of these elements for political control and manipulation. This comes from one of several essays which put into perspective, with hindsight, a critique or discourse referred to throughout this study as the 'Scotch Myths discourse'. Another example of the relationship between culture and politics, this was taken up with renewed vigour (similar concerns over Scottish culture and representation had been expressed much earlier by figures such as MacDiarmid) after the failure of the referendum and the coming to power of the Conservatives under Margaret Thatcher in 1979.

65 Brief unrecorded conversation with Murray Grigor 1997.
66 The author refers to Gramscian analyses of culture and power, or control. Noble, Andrew. 'Bill Douglas's Trilogy' in Dick, Eddie (ed.). From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book (Scottish Film Council and British Film Institute, 1990) p149.
Though not a new critique, as stated above (Nairn was also criticising Scottish 'kitsch' culture as well as the Scottish public's 'passive' acceptance of it from the late 1960's\textsuperscript{67}), two events can be seen as representative of it in the 1980's: Scotch Reels (1982),\textsuperscript{68} a film event and publication which focussed on the representation of Scottish identity in film; and Barbara and Murray Grigor's exhibition 'Scotch Myths'\textsuperscript{69} in 1981 (the Grigors also were filmmakers and Murray Grigor had contributed to Scotch Reels). The latter highlighted the 'falsity' of tartan kitsch with more humour and, arguably - since accessible to the public - with more direct effect than Nairn's The Break-up of Britain, 'interrogating'\textsuperscript{70} it through its use in the marketing of Scotland as a 'historic' tourist destination, and of associated goods, such as shortbread and whisky. Behind this and behind Scotch Reels, though, was the belief that the way Scotland and Scottish identity were represented had political repercussions. The premise of the Scotch Myths critique was that tartanry and 'Kailyardism' (taken from the name used to describe a genre of fiction writing from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries\textsuperscript{71}) were culturally and politically reactionary. These were considered as 'almost entirely regressive ...launching their appeal from a vanished or vanishing past',\textsuperscript{72} indicating that Scotch Myths critics felt that representations of Scotland ought be more contemporary, rather than reflections of the fact that there had been 'no confident, flexible, and...relevant Scottish national culture', a situation McArthur in Scotch Reels diagnosed as a consequence of various 'socio-historical reasons', going on to refer to Scotland's position after Union in 1707 as 'a junior partner'. Scotch Reels included several essays indicating that the political motivation behind it was left-wing (for example, on the Workers' Film Society movement, on


\textsuperscript{68} A three-day discussion of Scottish Film Culture at the Edinburgh International Film Festival in 1982. accompanied by a publication of the same name: MacArthur, Colin (ed.). Scotch Reels (London: British Film Institute, 1982). See also McArthur, Colin 'Scotch Reels and After' in Cencrastus 11, 1983.

\textsuperscript{69} 'Scotch Myths', film, 1982, and Exhibition, 1981, produced by Barbara and Murray Grigor.

\textsuperscript{70} McArthur, Colin (ed.). Scotch Reels (London: British Film Institute, 1982) p2.

\textsuperscript{71} This critique contributed to the use of the term 'Kailyard' to imply poor quality, sentimental and parochial writing and representations of Scotland. It is referred to later in the study, and though not discussed here, an analysis of Scottish writing from the late Victorian period which puts Kailyard in another perspective and is hence part of the 1980's discourse - revalidating various aspects of Scottish culture - can be found in Donaldson, William. Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language, Fiction and the Press (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986. See also introduction to Craig, Cairns (ed.) The History of Scottish Literature Volume 4 Twentieth century (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), p1.

\textsuperscript{72} Caughie, John. 'Representing Scotland: New Questions for Scottish Cinema' in Dick, Eddie (ed.). From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book (Scottish Film Council and British Film Institute, 1990) p15.

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the debate over realism versus modernism), the underlying message being that the 'material reality of Scottish life' had not adequately been represented in a way that could offer 'points around which political mobilisation' could have taken place. It also argued that Scotland should be represented as a modern society allowing Scots to take themselves, and be taken, seriously as a political force; however the bias was left-wing and nationalist.73

The preferred alternative of Scotch Myths critics to Kailyard and tartanry - Scottish identity as working-class and left-wing - was also to be legitimated through history and beliefs about Scottish traditions (see below). The zeal with which the above agenda was followed was also open to criticism and felt by some as having approached the level cultural proscription (see later Chapters). The quote below, for example, comes not from the right, but from Colin Bell, a former Scottish Nationalist and now member of the Scottish Socialist Party:

...film is preferred by Left-wing intellectuals to other arts, and certain subjects - supply your own list of weavers riots, shipyard sit-ins, etc. - are therefore considered intrinsically more valuable than others... an attitude which would assume, a priori, that a historical treatment of the Jacobite period must be tartan kitsch, while one of Scots in the International Brigade would be meaningful.74

The idea, 'Red Clydeside' - that Scotland (focussing on the Clyde and the Scottish working-class) had been highly politicised and strongly Socialist if not Communist in the earlier half of the twentieth century - was highly attractive with the rise of Marxism among Scottish (and British) artists and academics from the early 1960's. By the late 1980's and 1990's, analyses were being produced which attempted to legitimate the idea that the Scots had a history of radical Socialism. Spring, for example, cites writing by an English journalist in the 1920's which suggests that 'the Red Clyde' posed a threat 'to the rest of industrial Britain'.75 At the same time, others questioned the extent to which both contemporary opinion and modern beliefs about the period may have been influenced by exaggeration and earlier representations of the situation: for example, Foster claims that the Communist threat in Clydeside was exaggerated by the Government - Scottish novelist, John Buchan was Director of Intelligence in the Ministry of Information from February 1918 - to divert public

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74 Bell, Colin. 'Scotch reels and Tartan Junk' in Scots Independent, October 1982.
75 William Bolitho acknowledged that poor housing and hardship had created the right conditions for Communism to take hold and suggested it had also been able to feed on the Scots' 'vigour of character'. Spring, Ian. Phantom Village: The Myth of the New Glasgow (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990) p64.
sympathy from protesting workers. The period is one of 'the most debated and researched' in Scottish Labour history, and the 'myth' of Red Clydeside is one to which some, such as Buchan have (allegedly) contributed, and which others (such as Foster and Knox) have attempted to put in perspective. It contributed to the Clyde and Glasgow ('workshop of Empire') becoming thought of as politically radical although Communist support may actually have been stronger in the Scottish mining communities of Fife aided also in terms of 'visibility' due to events such as the clash between protesting workers and troops in George Square in 1919. This is examined further using empirical evidence in Chapter 5 where 'icons' and stereotypical representations influenced by the period and the myth are also reviewed.

2.4.3 The disenfranchisement of the Scottish middle-class
A consequence of the dominance of the representation of Scottish identity as working-class and left-wing as discussed earlier is the relative absence of the Scottish middle-class voice or experience in Scottish writing and theatre from the 1970's, illustrating Roderick Watson's assertion used at the start of this theme, on the close association of 'national claims' with 'the common man' in Scotland. Although the representation of middle and upper class Scottish identity is not a subject pursued in this study, an issue raised with interviewees was whether the dominance of the representation, 'Scottish as working-class', had disenfranchised middle-class artists or suppressed the Scottish middle-class voice. Their responses to this are submitted and the issue discussed further in Chapter 5, its relevance becoming clearer in later themes and chapters, where the way middle-class Scots were identifying themselves by the 1990's - as working-class - is explored.

76 He was also 'Director of the Department of Information when in the War Office'. Foster, John 'Red Clyde, Red Scotland' in Donnachie, I and Whatley, C (eds) The Manufacture of Scottish History (Edinburgh: Polygon Determinations Series, 1992) p117.
Summary

This theme reviewed some of the elements and events which have been available to influence the dominance of the representation of Scottish as working-class. It suggested that this reflected, firstly, a reality: in the sense that industry was an important and real part of the economy; some of those industries (shipbuilding in particular) were highly visible, making strong visual images available; and the concentration of this in the central urban belt resulted in a highly visible Scottish industrial working-class. Secondly, it noted claims that this representation and certain aspects of it (working-class radicalism and the Communist 'threat') have been exaggerated and been mobilised by various groups for political reasons, influencing ideas in the 1990's that Scotland is more working-class and left-wing than England. Evidence for the dominance of this 'idea' can be found in surveys carried out with the wider public, from which McCrone claims, for example, that:

...middle-class people in Scotland, especially those who are upwardly mobile, are much more likely than their counterparts in England to describe themselves as 'working-class'. In terms of national identity, self-defined middle-class as well as working-class people in Scotland describe themselves as Scottish, whereas in England both classes opt for describing themselves as equally English and British.

Chapter 5 examines the way interviewees in the 1990's thought about the representation of Scottish identity as working-class, its dominance and repercussions. Class is an issue which appears again in theme 3, as it is an element which has been used in legitimating the discourse of Scotland as Colony.

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81 '...people in Scotland are, by and large, left of centre in their views about state intervention, social welfare, the redistribution of income and wealth, as well as a whole slew of attitudes to moral and political conduct.' p174. McCrone, David. *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992). See also the association of middle and upper class with Englishness through language referred to in this theme, and through party politics (Conservatives) in theme 4 and Chapter 7.

2.5 Theme 3: The Discourse 'Scotland as Colony' (see also Chapter 6)

The theme of this section is the discourse 'Scotland as Colony', that is, ways of thinking and talking about Scotland in the 1980's and 1990's which indicate the existence of a belief that Scotland has been a colony of England, or that the Scots have been treated in similar ways to colonised peoples. The discourse's acknowledgement in academia is noted here, and analyses which have expressed this belief are reviewed along with an examination of ways in which the belief has been legitimated. As Fanon's analysis of cultural inferiorism has been cited by some commentators by way of legitimating their analyses; this too is reviewed here, particularly since this thesis focuses on culture and cultural representation, as Fanon did. Class is an element also considered by Fanon and which, again, is of particular interest in this study considering Scotland's 'narrative' or 'culture' of class which is discussed in several sections (specifically in theme 2). Towards the end of this section a debate first introduced in theme 1 is reconsidered in relation to the discussion here: the belief that a sense of Scottish inferiority has existed.

2.5.1 The discourse's existence and legitimisation: culture or economics?

The discourse is acknowledged among the Scottish cultural community (as endorsed by interview excerpts and other empirical data in Chapter 683) and in academic analyses. Hearn also notes its significance in the wider public arena. In a study involving people in or on the fringes of the Scottish nationalist 'movement' in the early 1990's amongst whom he found evidence of the 'colonial idea', Hearn claimed that the range of opinions expressed by them was 'representative of attitudes in the population as a whole', from people who fully supported the idea, to those who acknowledged its resonance, but had 'reservations' about it.84 Support was high among 'younger, left-oriented party-activists' (Scottish National Party), a fact interpreted by him as a result of their having grown up with ideas 'disseminated through Scottish culture during the period of the Tory government, broadly influencing political and nationalist discourse'.85 (The next theme in this study examines the relationship between the Thatcher period and the way Scots have represented themselves from the 1980's)

83 For example, journalist Peter Arnott's contribution to 'A Sober Look at the Thistle'. Series of monologues followed by studio discussions featured on The Usual Suspects, BBC Radio Scotland, broadcast in April 1997.


Hechter's *Internal Colonialism* is considered to have been a key influence on this discourse by McCrone and others (for example Hearn). McCrone suggests that analysis, written in 1975, had 'chimed with a burgeoning sociology and politics of development in the Third World', or in other words was part of a 'fad' through the 1960's and 1970's, a period influenced by the development of post-colonial nationalisms and the breaking away from Britain of former imperial territories (for example, in Africa). Although some Scots feel there is some 'resonance' between the colonial experience of peoples from former colonies and what they believe has 'operated' in Scotland (see interview extracts in Chapter 6), the idea is dismissed by McCrone on the grounds that unlike such 'real' colonies Scotland was not taken over by an Imperial power for the purpose of exploiting its natural resources, or raw materials. Available to those attempting to legitimate the discourse, however, have been suggestions such as Colley's, that London viewed Scotland's manpower as a natural resource which could be exploited in the expansion of Empire (see theme 1 on references to history). Hechter's thesis had focussed on an economic analysis - that the peripheral economies of the British Isles had been tied into a cycle of uneven development after Union, through an encouraged dependency on, and through, English markets instead of direct trade with Europe, as had formerly been the case. This perspective, again, makes available the possibility of perceiving Scotland, like Ireland, as comparable with overseas colonies; exploited to provide cheap labour and materials for consumption or export by the Imperial centre, Britain. However in his study, Hearn found that amongst those expressing it 'economic inaccuracy' was seen as an irrelevance. He relates this to its lying in what he calls the 'middle ground' between ideology and culture, the former being defined by him as 'a relatively explicit political analysis and agenda a definition which positions culture at the

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opposite end of the scale (that is, free of political analysis and agenda and only providing a grounding for 'specific forms of practical political action in a broader cultural context').

Hechter's value, then, in terms of legitimating the discourse, can be seen as lying in the fact that he claimed both cultural and economic evidence in support of his argument. The resurfacing of nationalism in Scotland in the 1960's and 1970's was viewed by one school of political and economic thought at the time as a return to ethnic rather than class ties and therefore retrogressive. This was based, in Nairn's case, on an adherence to the theory that ethnic solidarity should wane with industrialisation as people begin to form ties with individuals in similar economic situations, rather than ethnic background, but Hechter had argued that there had been an institutionalised national division of labour in the British Isles, England having maintained their dominance (and identity as the core culture) through representing the peripheries (Scotland, Ireland and Wales) as 'low prestige' cultures (see also Chapter 4). In terms of cultures and prestige, an element which became important in terms of the Scots' self-presentation through the 1980's and 1990's was class. This was explored in the previous theme, and the relationship between language, class and national identity in Scotland was introduced in theme 1. In 1996 Hearn noted:

Scots are used to existing in the cultural shadow of England, having their history, language and culture measured against the English standard. For centuries Scots have been told that historical progress was a matter of following England's example. Getting ahead has meant suppressing Scots language and adopting middle-class English speech. If nothing else, this illustrates how or where a 'resonance' (see earlier) - a cultural one - can be felt to exist between the Scots and colonised peoples, and in Internal Colonialism Hechter cited Fanon's analysis of how culture was employed by imperial or colonising powers to maintain their dominance. Fourteen years later, we see this reappearing in an analysis entitled The Eclipse of Scottish Culture where Beveridge and Turnbull devote a chapter, 'Scotland in History: Inferiorist Historiography', to the subject:

Fanon uses the idea [cultural inferiorism] to describe those processes in a relationship of national dependence which lead the native to doubt the worth and significance of inherited ways of life and embrace the styles and values of the coloniser.

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While the authors later\textsuperscript{97} claimed their naivete in citing Fanon in relation to Scotland, this is further demonstration of the 'significance' of the colonial idea, in that its resonance has influenced academic as well as popular thought.

\subsection*{2.5.2 Colonisation, 'cultural inferiorism' and class}

The above example demonstrated how links might be perceived between the relationship between colonised peoples and their colonisers (Fanon's analysis was based on that between native Algerians and the French), and that between Scotland and England, or rather between the way Scottish culture has been represented in relation to English, the dominant culture of the British Isles. Hearn's research showed that class was often mentioned alongside the belief that the Scots had suffered from 'cultural colonisation', and Hechter also refers to the historical separation which had long existed internally between peripheral elites and masses:

The conscious rationale behind anglicisation among the peripheral elite [Irish, Welsh and Scottish] was to disassociate themselves as much as possible from the mass of their countrymen, who were so strongly deprecated by the English culture.\textsuperscript{98}

The idea of the Scottish elites' 'co-optation' towards Englishness\textsuperscript{99} and the 'confluence' of national with working-class identity (theme 2) can therefore be seen as important in terms of legitimating the discourse of Scotland as colony. This can be seen in Beveridge and Turnbull's \textit{The Eclipse of Scottish Culture}, where the authors cite Fanon on how the results of cultural inferiorism could be seen demonstrated in, or through, language: the Negro from the Antilles, said Fanon, adopted French in order to 'prove to himself that he...measured up to the culture' of that society, even adopting it at home 'to emphasise the rupture'\textsuperscript{100} between himself and his native culture and society. This suggested how a sense of induced cultural inferiority led to native elites or middle-classes aiding the outside culture in incorporating then governing the imperial territory,\textsuperscript{101} and - as an analysis of colonialism - it makes

\textsuperscript{96} Beveridge, C. and Turnbull, R. \textit{The Eclipse of Scottish Culture} (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989) p5.

\textsuperscript{97} 'Only specialists and nostalgics now study Sartre and Guevara, Fanon and Marcuse, and many of us who came to what we naively took to be our intellectual maturity while reading them now wonder at how innocent, ignorant and uncritical we then were'. Beveridge, C. and Turnbull, R. \textit{Scotland After Enlightenment} (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1997) p154.


\textsuperscript{100} Fanon, Frantz. \textit{Black Skin, White Masks} (London: Pluto Press, 1986), p36.

available to some the possibility of perceiving a resonance between what they see as Scotland's relationship with England and that of colonised peoples, regardless of whether Scotland was 'in fact' a colony of England. Even claims such as Cannadine's, that this model of 'indirect rule' was only later taken out to the colonies, having first been used by England to govern Wales, Scotland and Ireland,\(^{102}\) could potentially provide further legitimacy for supporters of the 'Scotland as colony' discourse. For example, the latter claims that the British encouraged native regiments (such as the Indian regiments) in the adoption of exaggerated symbols of native culture and traditions, easing incorporation by suggesting native 'partnership' in Empire\(^{103}\) (analogies have been drawn between colonised cultures and others closer to home, such as Ireland\(^{104}\)).

The involvement of elites is interesting also as it refers to the same groups which are conventionally alleged to mobilise the masses towards nationalism. Gellner noted:

> Nationalist sentiment is deeply offended by violations of the nationalist principle of the congruence of state and nation; but...is most acutely offended by ethnic divergence between rulers and ruled. A culturally homogenous population which has no state at all to call its own is deeply aggrieved (its members are obliged to live in a state...run by other and alien groups).\(^{105}\)

As already noted in theme 1, both Scottish nationalism and the extent to which the Scots have felt 'offended' or run by an 'alien' group, have fluctuated throughout the period of Union. The belief (and analyses) that 'British' was originally an elite identity was also introduced in that theme; appearances in academic writing were cited, and Hearn's interviews (and those carried out for this project) demonstrate its existence in the popular domain over the last decades of the twentieth century. Hechter linked this to the analysis that Scotland and the other peripheries of the British Isles had been colonies, by claiming that this identity - British - made those who embraced it vulnerable to being perceived as alien,\(^{106}\) and McCrone

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*Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin, 2001) p61 and p69 on how, he claims, the British maintained 'indirect rule' in overseas colonies and territories, by 'relying on indigenous hierarchies', and did this 'in Wales, Scotland and parts of Ireland'.


\(^{103}\) Pomp and ceremony' - displays such as the great Durbars organised by British governors for visits to India by the British monarchy - bolstered images of the British as powerful and superior and encouraged those natives taking part as part of that 'greater' entity. Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin, 2001).

\(^{104}\) Kiberd, for example, refers to this in respect of the representation Irish identity in Kiberd, Declan. *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (London: Vintage, 1995).


notes that the 'view that class was an alien imposition from England has been supplanted...in nationalist quarters by a more radical view that Scotland is itself a "class", or rather an "ethno-class colony" of England'. As noted later (see theme 4 and Chapter 6), there is a history of debate over the issue of key positions in Scotland (from Government posts to influential positions in the arts) being held by either English people, or the anglicised Scots middle and upper-classes, and a relationship can be seen between this perception and the colony idea, a feature of overseas territories being that imperial powers required administrators to run them on their behalf, providing opportunities for individuals from the 'imperial metropolis', but also for the native population's elites.

2.5.3 Self-inferiorism
Scottish aspirations towards Englishness (explored, as said earlier, in theme 1) and even the Scots' embracing Britishness could also be related to the colony idea through citing Fanon's and another aspect of his analysis, or result of cultural inferiorism: self-inferiorism:

...every colonized people - in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle.

From this perspective, or from a perspective within the colony discourse, even major figures could thus conceivably be interpreted as having been affected by cultural inferiorism and a 'Scottish inferiority complex' as a result; for example, Hume's opinion of the Scots language is cited by Trumpener: "in our Accent & Pronunciation, (we) speak a very corrupt Dialect of the Tongue which we make use of" (1757). The conventional view, though, is that aspects of Scottish culture have often been rejected as part of 'modernising', even by cultural nationalist movements - MacDiarmid's rejection of Kailyard in the first half of the twentieth century, for example, falls into the latter category, having been motivated by the

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poet's wish to revalidate Scottish art and re-present Scotland as a culture to be taken 'seriously'. 'Serious', in this context, is interpreted by Anderson and Norquay as having meant intellectual and rational, or 'male' qualities to MacDiarmid's generation, in opposition to Kailyard's 'feminine' ones (domesticity and 'sentimentality') - a polarity and value judgement they criticise for implying the former's superiority over the latter.113 Craig does define a Scottish form of 'self-hatred' - 'it is not our personal self that we hate, but that self when seen moulded by the group' - and in doing so also refers to Fanon (see footnote 100 on Fanon's 'cultural imposition'), but he sees this as a consequence of living 'on the periphery of a major culture', a situation which causes any culture to be represented as 'inevitably...parochial':

It is not by our colour, or course [sic], that we stand to be recognised as false within the British context, it is by the colour of our vowels: the rigidity of class speech in Britain...is the direct response of a dominant cultural group faced by a society in which the aliens are indistinguishable by colour.114

Returning to class (and language) as Craig does above, and also to the late twentieth century in the next theme, the idea of a class/nation differential can be suggested to have both coloured, and been coloured by, perceptions of the post of Secretary of State for Scotland in the 1980's and 1990's. The following section examines the relationship (in the context of representations of cultural identity) between Scotland and Margaret Thatcher, and linking the subject of this section with that relationship, one of the legacies of the Thatcher period was the increased perception that (Tory) Secretaries of State were unrepresentative of Scottish interests. This perception allowed those for whom the colonial idea had some resonance, to see comparisons between the post of Secretary of State and that of colonial Governors.115 In 1988 the 'Claim of Right' stated:

...the Secretary of State may be either Scotland's man in the Cabinet or the Cabinet's man in Scotland, but in the last resort he is invariably the latter. Today, he can be little else, since he must impose on Scotland policies against which an overwhelming majority have voted.116

113 See Anderson, Carol and Norquay, Glenda. 'Superiorism' in Cencrastus No 15 1984.
114 Craig, Cairns. 'Peripheries' in Cencrastus No.9 Summer 1982 p3.
2.6 Theme 4: Margaret Thatcher and Scottish Identity (see also Chapter 7)

This theme’s focus is the cultural 'relationship' between the Scots and Margaret Thatcher in the light of beliefs expressed by interviewees from the cultural community and claims made in academic writing, that Mrs. Thatcher - both her policies and public persona - had a decisive effect on increasing national feeling in Scotland, and subsequently support for Devolution in 1997. The section considers perceptions which exist in Scotland about Mrs. Thatcher and about the Conservatives in general, and the relationship between these and already existing representations of Scottish identity. Conservative support in Scotland had declined to the point of almost complete rejection by the late 1990's; therefore the first part of this theme reviews the situation prior to that decline. Next, because their rejection developed over a period of de-industrialisation, job losses and labour unrest, some theoretical ideas about class and nationalism are presented. The representation of Scottish identity as working-class, or the background to it - including beliefs about the history of the Scots as Socialists, and the rejection of traditional or 'conservative' representations by many in the arts and academia in the 1980's - was examined in theme 2. In this section the interaction between that discourse and Scottish perceptions of the Conservatives as an English party of the middle and upper classes (and therefore alien) is examined. The fact that there is a history of debate over the 'Englishing' of British is also raised here in relation to Mrs. Thatcher's (then John Major's) representation of 'Britishness' and its possible contribution to the Tories' decline and to representations of Scottishness in the 1980's and 1990's.

2.6.1 Conservative decline and late 20th century perceptions of them as culturally 'alien'

The degree of autonomy Scotland is perceived to have had within the Union has influenced the extent to which British identity has appealed to Scots. The autonomy question has helped to fuel many of the political arguments for constitutional change and this section focuses on the period from 1979, specifically on the relationship between 'Thatcherite' Conservatism and ideas of Scottish identity. Brown, McCrone and Paterson confirm that:

The decline in control over economic decision-making in Scotland is said to have been exacerbated by the electoral divergence between Scotland and England and the centralisation of political decision-making after the election of the first Thatcher Government.


This section considers that the Scots' reception of Margaret Thatcher and of the Conservatives from 1979 was influenced by already existing ideas about Scottish and English identity. The main concern of the thesis being representations of Scottish identity, the relationship between the dominant image of Scottish identity in the 1970's and 1980's (as working-class) and de-industrialisation is considered a major influence on perceptions of the Conservatives from Margaret Thatcher's Prime ministership until the end of the twentieth century. The response of people in the cultural community to the new ideology which was emerging with de-industrialisation is introduced here.

The Conservatives' decline in Scotland has been claimed as resulting from the fact that '...there simply was not a sufficient social base left in Scotland in which to domesticate the Conservative social message'. The social groups who had traditionally spread their message had become too small to be effective in that role and also cultural and historical elements which had made British appear to embody things the nations of the British Isles shared or had in common had been steadily diminishing:

The ending of empire, of military conscription, together with forty years without wars, coupled with the extensive secularisation of Scotland and Britain, have eroded and enfeebled the connection between Conservatism, Protestantism and British national identity.

According to this viewpoint, Conservatism and British identity were strongly interdependent. Protestantism could no longer mobilise the working-class, and in terms of Empire, Anderson claims that "the metropolitan popular classes eventually shrugged off the 'losses' of the colonies..." with 'equanimity', but

In the end, it is always the ruling classes, bourgeois certainly, but above all aristocratic, that long mourn the empires...

The relevance of the last statement becomes apparent when Conservative attempts to re-mobilise British identity are examined.

Paterson finds 'an irony in the Scottish reaction to Thatcherism: for all the importance of working-class alienation from the Conservative government' (and this can be seen as highly important in the longer term, since 'support for a Scottish Parliament has been higher in


working-class than in middle-class groups in every survey that has ever asked the question;\(^\text{122}\) '...the most striking protests often came from vested interests',\(^\text{123}\) or middle-class sections of Scottish society. Thatcher's attempts to interfere with Scottish 'institutions' were provocative, particularly (and on two levels), according to Paterson, her proposals to reform the Scottish legal system: firstly, this was a middle-class profession, and secondly, it was one of the symbols 'of the entire semi-independence of Scotland within the Union'. Hence, attempts to interfere with it had the potential of alienating even Scottish Unionists, or ruling elites who saw their power threatened.

Thatcherite economic policies, specifically, the shift towards the free market and away from commitment to social and economic welfare, could also be translated into cultural terms and interpreted as anti-Scottish. Paterson and Hearn explain this as a breakdown in the 'Social Contract' between Scotland an England.\(^\text{124}\) The trust broken between capital and labour, between the welfare state and its citizens, is experienced and articulated as a breakdown in the contract between Scotland and England'. Paterson suggests that this too may have been influenced to an extent by the 'vested interest' of the Scottish middle-class, many of whom worked in the public sector and 'preferred to use public medicine and public education'.\(^\text{125}\) However, of interest here is the cultural representation of Thatcherism, the Prime minister herself, and by association, of Conservatism. The 'culture' or 'narrative' of class\(^\text{126}\) in Scotland (explored in theme 2 and in Chapter 5) is considered an extremely important influence in this context, as are Mrs. Thatcher's public persona and association in Scotland of the class (middle and upper-class - the Conservatives' traditional 'social base') with Englishness.

Hearn claims that 'the profound antipathy between Mrs. Thatcher and most Scots ...strengthened Scottish nationalism, both "hard" and "soft",'\(^\text{127}\) the Prime Minister's

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\(^\text{125}\) They had a 'greater personal stake in the welfare state than their English counterparts'. Paterson, Lindsay. The Autonomy of Modern Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) p170.  
personality, influenced by a lower middle-class, South of England (evangelical) methodist background\textsuperscript{128} reinforcing perceptions of a cultural gulf. Statements such as, 'There is no such thing as society',\textsuperscript{129} for example, could be interpreted as at odds, on several counts, with the way Scots were thinking about themselves. In terms of legitimating late twentieth century representations of Scottish identity through history, there were also beliefs (shared by some people interviewed for this study) that sovereignty in Scotland\textsuperscript{130} had traditionally lain with the people (explored in more depth in theme 5). As noted earlier though, the welfare state is important. While many middle-class Scots may have been protective of it for their own reasons, this must also be viewed - as many Scots apparently did - as motivated by some degree of altruism, the Welfare state having been set up to give support to the less advantaged in society (see 'social concern' later). Working-class support for it, and antipathy towards Mrs. Thatcher by virtue of her assaults on it (and on traditionally working-class jobs in the industrial and manufacturing sectors), are taken here as a given, and the reaction of middle-class Scots viewed from the perspective that many of them identified themselves as working-class.\textsuperscript{131} In an explanation of how the middle-class's 'rebellion' in Scotland came to take a nationalist form (they had been educated through a 'thoroughly Scottish education system'), Paterson notes that the 'new middle-class' which 'emerged' after the second World War, had done so 'from working-class origins',\textsuperscript{132} a situation which can also be seen as accounting to some extent for their rejection of, what could called, Mrs. Thatcher's 'anti social' ideology. This returns the debate to an element examined in theme 2 - the representation of Scottish identity as working-class - and anticipates a problem examined in theme 5 - the belief that Scottish artists and the Scottish cultural community either are working-class (although, arguably, members of a middle-class 'elite'), or are 'closer' to the working-class as a group than their counterparts in England.

'Egalitarianism' is one of a list of Scottish 'traditions' much referred to over the 1990's. Hearn claims it is one of a group of values - along with 'democracy, socialism or at least a certain vision of distributive justice' - which had 'underwritten' the contract between Scotland and


\textsuperscript{130}See Grant, Alexander. \textit{Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306 - 1469} (London: Edward Arnold, 1984) p28 - 31 on 'the community of the realm'.

\textsuperscript{131}See McCrone, David. 'We're A Jock Tamson's Bairns: Social Class in Twentieth Century Scotland' pp 102 - 121 in Devine, T.M., Finlay, R.J. \textit{Scotland in the Twentieth Century} (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997) on Scottish 'culture of class'.

England, but which were 'reappropriated as distinctively Scottish values...seen as having been betrayed by capital/the state/England'\textsuperscript{133} by the 1990's. The appearance of this 'popular' myth, along with the assertion that it is less prevalent in English tradition, can also be traced in academic writing.\textsuperscript{134} It is linked with ideas of 'Scottish democracy' and the notion that the Scots have historically valued the ('virtue' of the) common man\textsuperscript{135} (see also theme 5), all elements which have been available to contribute to representations of Scotland as more socially 'equal' and also as a more Socialist society than England. Mrs. Thatcher's definition of egalitarianism (and the problem of equality or inequality) was, unsurprisingly, a conservative one; McCrone et al note that the conservative perspective on the problem of 'the co-existence of man-made inequality and primordial equality' is that 'nothing needs be done' about the man-made variety. The view espoused by Margaret Thatcher was that everyone in Britain had the same opportunities: a denial of social, cultural and economic inequality. In contrast to this, non 'conservative' (in both senses of the word) Scots wished to represent themselves as part of a society which wished to actively 'resolve' man-made inequality. At the same time, another related 'tradition' is that of the 'Lad o' Pairts' which promotes the idea of Scotland as a meritocracy - fine for the few, or the exceptional lad, or lass o' pairs - but still side-steps the issue that more could be done to make that society more equal for the many. While these anomalies existed, allowing such symbols of Scottishness to be employed by both Left and Right, Hearn claims that 'although opportunity and egalitarianism in Scotland lack the mythical proportions often attributed to them, to the extent that they do exist, their long association with...dominant social institutions' such as the Kirk and educational system' is 'quite real',\textsuperscript{136} and Margaret Thatcher was to attempt dialogue with the Scots through the former in the late 1980's.

Taking the above discussion into account, Mrs. Thatcher's approach in and towards Scotland suggests either that the Prime minister had been inadequately informed about contemporary ideas about Scottish identity and that her interpretation of certain Scottish traditions would be at odds with these, or that she was unable or unwilling to accept the situation. The latter can be related to what has been called (see in Chapter 6) her brand of populist


\textsuperscript{134} Even non-Scots such as Eric Hobsbawm are shown to have 'participated' in this. McCrone, David., Bechhofer, Frank., and Kendrick, Stephen. 'Egalitarianism and Social Inequality in Scotland' in Robbins, D (ed.). \textit{Rethinking Social Inequality} (Aldershot: Gower, 1982) p128.

\textsuperscript{135} McCrone, David., Bechhofer, Frank., and Kendrick, Stephen. 'Egalitarianism and Social Inequality in Scotland' in Robbins, D (ed.). \textit{Rethinking Social Inequality} (Aldershot: Gower, 1982).

authoritarianism, of which her Address to the General Assembly, can be seen as an example: this was described in Scotland as the 'Sermon on the Mound' as the Prime minister had used the invitation as an opportunity to preach her political ideas to the Scots and instruct the Church of Scotland audience on how her values related to Christian ones.\textsuperscript{137} Another example, the following year (1989), was her decision to introduce the Poll Tax in Scotland only,\textsuperscript{138} in spite of widespread opposition to it there (it was perceived by Scots as unfair to those on low incomes and advantageous to the better-off). This combination of economic (or policy) and cultural tensions arising at the same time, and protest manifesting itself as national, allowed the Thatcher Government to be perceived as culturally foreign and 'labelled' an 'English' party by political opponents.\textsuperscript{139} Both the Conservatives and Westminster could then be perceived as unrepresentative of Scotland which 'since the 1970's' had 'retained an essentially social-democratic majority while large parts of southern England...moved to the right'. In the wake of the Conservative win in the 1987 General election, by which time the Scots' rejection of what was perceived as a particularly right-wing Conservatism was manifest, a 'Claim of Right' was drafted asserting 'the right of the people of Scotland to decide on their own constitution'.\textsuperscript{140}

Class and nationalism

Benedict Anderson's analysis of nationalism emphasises (like Gellner's), the importance of print and print vernaculars which facilitated the spread of nationalism's 'message'\textsuperscript{141} from its 'missionaries' (the intelligentsia and bourgeoisie) to the 'reading classes' (and, to varying extents, the masses).\textsuperscript{142} The 'popularist' nationalisms of the 1820's (modelled on the American and French revolutions)\textsuperscript{143} are interpreted as the invention and tool of the ruling classes and bourgeoisie in theories of nationalism which sidelines what Guibernau describes

\textsuperscript{137} The text of this speech given by The Prime Minister, The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP to the General Assembly of The Church of Scotland on 21\textsuperscript{st} May 1988 is reproduced in Raban, Jonathan. God, Man and Mrs. Thatcher (London: Chatto & Windus Ltd., 1989) pp7-20.


\textsuperscript{142} Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities, revised edition (London: Verso, 1991): 'How far the urban and rural masses shared in the new vernacularly imagined communities naturally...varied...' depending on the relationship between these masses and the missionaries of nationalism', p80; 'half the British population was illiterate in 1840', p76.

as 'the psycho-social need for "identity"'.

Acknowledging that culture is employed by those in power, Guibernau suggests:

...however nationalist feelings have been fostered and invoked ideologically by dominant elites, it is not merely an invention of the ruling-classes to maintain the unconditional loyalty of the masses, making them believe that what they allegedly have in common is much more important that what separates them. I do not think that millions of people around the world are that naive...Nationalist feelings are not just force-fed to an unwilling or indifferent population, although this certainly occurs.

A denial among post-war British Marxists of the rise of nationalist feeling in Scotland is illustrated to a degree by Tom Nairn's 1980 claim that to Internationalists, 'National struggles are (e.g.) class struggles in disguise'.

Although a belief exists that nationalism has 'traditionally' been compatible with Socialism and Communism in Scotland (see theme 2 and Chapter 5 on this and how the icons of John MacLean and 'Red Clydeside' have been used to legitimate it). There is much ambivalence on this question; claims such as Nairn's are noted and disputed by nationalism theorists such as Anderson and Gellner. For example, Gellner argues that though 'Marxism...likes to think of ethnic conflict as camouflaged class conflict...classes, however oppressed and exploited, did not overturn the political system when they could not define themselves "ethnically"...neither nations nor classes' on their own 'seem to be political catalysts: only nation-classes or class nations are such'.

In Scotland, pressure for a devolved Parliament 'gained momentum in the 1980's as the negative economic consequences of so-called Thatcherism and monetarism affected the Scottish economy'; this, apparently, gives credence to materialist theories of nationalism (for example, those of Gellner and Anderson) which propose that economic change is the motivation behind political change. McCrone (analysing Gellner) states that nationalisms are


middle-class impulses and that '...it is rarely the poor who form the base of nationalist movements, but the relatively economically privileged who suffer relative political under-privilege' (see Paterson earlier on Scottish middle-class). But at the same time he notes the effect of a perceived lack of autonomy: 'it is relative and perceived deprivation, especially resulting from dislocation between economic and political power which matters'.

Finlay can therefore be excused for seeing as 'paradoxical', that the 'gap in political behaviour' between the two countries widened just as Scotland and England were becoming more similar in terms of social profile (Scotland 'has a slightly smaller middle-class and...slightly larger manual working-class', but surveys conducted in the late 1970's indicate that 'patterns of social mobility between Scotland, and England and Wales' were similar).

The Conservative Government's mistake after the 1992 election has been diagnosed as due to their interpreting their lack of support in Scotland 'as being about symbols', indulging in little more than 'flag-waving' ('especially after Michael Forsyth became Secretary of State in 1995') instead of responding to 'the reasons for Scottish discontent - the preference for public welfare and so on', but the latter are culturally as well as ideologically influenced. Hearn suggests that the 'concepts' culture and ideology '...tend to shade into one another', ideology conventionally being thought of as 'a relatively explicit political analysis and agenda and culture as a more loosely cohering set of assumptions and beliefs' and also (see earlier paragraph on this) that, 'While one might expect Marxists to privilege economics over culture, in Scotland this does not appear to be the case'. McCrone notes, consciousness, particularly '...the individual's awareness of one's class position' is the least understood of the factors affecting the significance of class in Scotland which has a 'culture'

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155 The clearest examples of ideology are associated with tightly bound groups with common social and political goals, while culture tends to create a diffuse sense of commonality among people who often have quite different interests and perspectives on reality. Hearn, S. Jonathan. The Colony at the Core: Scottish Nationalism and the Rhetoric of Colonialism' in Marcus, Anthony (ed.) Anthropology for a Small Planet: Culture and Community in a Global Environment (St. James, New York: Brandywine Press, 1996) p62.
or 'narrative' of class, and an idea which exists in Scotland is that, proportionally, a greater number of Scottish artists – the intelligentsia: artists in particular - come from working-class backgrounds.

2.6.2 Tory mobilisation of identity in the 1980's and 1990's

Although claiming to have embarked on the modernisation of British society the Thatcher Government was 'anti-historical', according to writer and journalist Neal Ascherson, its leader's 'call to modernity' [rested] heavily upon appeals – often spurious – to the values of the past' (for example her 'pseudo-historical' slogan of 'Victorian Values') setting the tone for the next few decades which were notable for the confidence with which some 'pasts' were re-shaped and others attacked. The surfacing of the Conservative impulse to historicise in appeals to Scottish identity (previous paragraph) could be perceived and were represented as patronising and de-politicising in discourses such as Scotch Myths (theme 2). When John Major took over from Mrs. Thatcher in 1990 attempts to present his regime as less centralising saw the appointment of non-Tories to Scottish Boards administering social policy in order to present a message that Scots (through the Scottish Office) 'retained considerable autonomy'. Both Conservative Governments made attempts to 'play the Scottish card' in order to diminish Scottish perceptions of them as 'foreign', but tended to use 'traditional' or 'conservative' symbols of Scottish identity, for example, Michael Forsyth's staging of the return of the Stone of Destiny (Chapter 6) and Secretary of State for Scotland, Ian Lang's use of the Unionist nationalist interpretation of the Wars of Independence (theme 5).

While Wallace was a popular image mobilised in the 1990's (as discussed in the next theme) this mode of representing Scotland as wholly in the past was at odds with a discourse which preferred it to be presented as contemporary and therefore politically potent. At the same time however, the project for a new National Museum of Scotland may have gained from the Conservatives' troubles in the 1990's, but it too became an issue in the context of representing Scottish identity as contemporary and independent, and in Chapter 5 the debate

around the architectural design for the new Museum of Scotland is examined. Ironically, in view of the Conservatives' anti-Devolutionist stance in the approach to the 1997 Referendum and the fact that museums were vehicles for asserting, validating or 'imagining' the national community, it was sanctioned while they were in office, a point also examined using empirical evidence in Chapter 7.

Fred Inglis has referred to the (small 'c') 'conservative's classic appeal to custom, value and tradition.' While the Conservatives used such terms in their appeals to 'British' identity in the late twentieth century, the images they employed can be described as representing traditional ideas of Englishness (Fry states that 'because of their own nationalism, the English are more ignorant of the Celtic fringe than of some foreign countries') thus consolidating a Scottish discourse that British meant English to the English, particularly to the Conservatives. According to McCrone too, 'The long hegemony of the Right at Westminster was built firmly on English, not Scottish (nor Welsh) votes', and Conservative representations of British identity go some way to revealing why. The England represented was an idealised one – the county (cricket) grounds, warm beer and Shakespeare in John Major's 'back to basics' speech to the Conservative Party Group in 1993 conjured up 'a highly stylised world of England in the 1950's' – but could be equated by many Scots with the Home Counties; the 'Conservative heartland' or 'affluent' south-east of England. In this instance, Major was projecting an image of England from a representational discourse Patrick Wright calls 'deeply conservative and Conservative', as employing heritage which was related to representations of an 'ancestral nation' (which McCrone claims included

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165 'Scottish Conservatism...had lost its traditional social leadership amongst Scotland's bourgeoisie at a time when national differences between Scotland and England became more salient'. McCrone, David. Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation (London: Routledge, 1992) p114.
Scotland 'only as part of a greater England'\textsuperscript{168}. Major, or his speech writers, borrowed partly from George Orwell, whose writing reflects his Socialist politics and his working-class sympathies, but - Orwell coming from a colonial background and a family with aristocratic links\textsuperscript{169} - also contained images of England ripe for nostalgic hi-jacking (and mis-quoting) by the Right by the late twentieth century.\textsuperscript{170}

**Summary**

This theme explored Scottish perceptions of Margaret Thatcher and the Conservatives (to date), and considered how several beliefs about Scottish identity which were examined in earlier themes acted, or were mobilised in the Scots' rejection of Conservatism through the 1990's. The next and last theme, 'Scottish Identity in the 1990's and Devolution', continues an element introduced here, by examining the mobilisation of several of these representational elements by artists and broadcasters, and by politicians in the approach to the Referendum on Devolution in 1997.


\textsuperscript{169} Born in India where his father had been a Sub Deputy Opium Agent, Orwell was 'burdened from birth by colonial guilt', particularly over his father's personal involvement in 'imperialistic exploitation' (the export of opium to China by the British). Meyers, Jeffrey. *Orwell: Wintry Conscience of a Generation* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000) p5.

2.7 Theme 5: 1990's Devolution and Representations of Scottish Identity (see also Chapter 8)

This theme concentrates on the Scottish cultural community's response to de-industrialisation in the 1990's, specifically in relation to the representation of Scottish culture and identity as working-class and left-wing. It also considers the influence of the latter (the representation of Scottish identity as working-class and left-wing) on how politicians and political Parties presented themselves to the Scottish electorate towards Devolution. The section uses a Gellner claim regarding the use of culture by nationalist movements as a starting point (below) from which to consider the Scottish situation in the 1990's when concerns over the ideological changes which accompanied the shift away from an industrial economy interacted with beliefs about Scottish identity. For example, one concern aired - illustrated here by referring to a 'cultural controversy' of the 1990's - was that labour history and thus working-class identity were being replaced with culture and heritage. The theme also uses a phrase of Gellner's to examine the notion of 'self-deception' in the Scottish cultural sphere in the context of their involvement with the representation of 'Scottish' as working-class.

While 'entrants' into a 'new order who are drawn from cultural and linguistic groups that are distant from those of the more advanced centre suffer considerable disadvantages', Gellner argues that this ultimately proves an advantage for them as a collective group, because their shared cultural differentiation allows them to 'conceive and express their resentments'. To avoid nationalism, he suggests that a state or government should therefore avoid a situation which enables a politically and/or economically disadvantaged population 'to distinguish itself culturally', 'impelling' it towards 'the nationalist option'. Theme 4's exploration of Scotland and Margaret Thatcher in terms of cultural representation suggests that this is what happened in Scotland over the course of the 1980's and 1990's, the Thatcher period having acted as a catalyst in consolidating ideas of Scottish identity as working-class. In such a representational climate, Conservative attempts to reverse electoral antipathy towards them by associating themselves with traditional symbols of 'Scottishness' (see later in this section) were inappropriate and could be seen as 'old-fashioned' even further alienating the Scots from the Tories, since such images of a Scotland 'in the past' had been rejected by the cultural and academic communities (see Scotch Myths discourse discussed in theme 2). Although it is acknowledged later that periods and icons in Scotland's more distant past (for example William Wallace) were to be mobilised by several Parties in the 1990's, the presentation of Scottish identity as working-class is introduced first, particularly with reference to the relationship between that and de-industrialisation.

2.7.1 Responses to de-industrialisation in the cultural sphere

Replacement of labour and history with culture and heritage

The response of some members of the Scottish cultural community to Thatcherism can be seen as a reaction also against the emerging economic and ideological climate of the post-industrial period. Glasgow is presented here as an illustration of what was taking place in Scotland (and globally, as noted later) in terms of the replacement of manufacturing and traditional 'labour' with culture and the service economy. Alongside this came the rise of the Heritage Industry - which Hewison argued was endangering heritage[^172] - a subject returned to later. Glasgow is also seen here as the place in Scotland most associated with Scottish identity as urban or industrial working-class, a representation explored in theme 2. In Britain events such as the National Garden Festival scheme, which was hosted by Glasgow in 1988, were seen as exemplifying the shift from industry to culture, as the following quote from Spring indicates:

> The predominant theme is leisure as opposed to industry ... situated on a site once the hub of industrial Glasgow now laid waste and recuperated once more by the thirst for consumption – not the need for production. The Garden Festival does not represent but replaces industry...it can be seen as the first of (perhaps a succession of) great post-industrial exhibitions.[^173]

Some members of the Scottish cultural community (see later and in Chapter 8 where extracts from interviews are submitted) expressed the opinion that the replacement of industry or production with 'consumption' (bars, restaurants, galleries and heritage centres) also threatened to de-politicise Scottish working-class history and thus the working-class by selectively representing only aspects of that history which were politically 'safe' or non-threatening. In the wider community (see theme 2) Conservative support had fallen, Scots 'across all social groups' were identifying themselves as left-wing,[^174] and were 'much more likely than their counterparts in England to describe themselves as "working-class".[^175] One of the purposes of this theme is therefore to consider parallels between the cultural community

and the wider Scottish public, or the relationship between culture and politics at the time. Cultural events used to change Glasgow's image (from the Garden Festival to the 'City of Culture'), and concerns which existed in the cultural community about culture's employment to bring about these changes, are focussed on in Chapter 8. One instance is of particular use here as it demonstrates how these concerns were taken into the public domain by people involved in Scottish cultural life (including the media): the Spalding/King 'debacle', detailed in Chapter 8, illustrates neatly an early 1990's concern, that working-class history and the history of working-class radicalism in Scotland was being politically sanitised.

'Self-deception' of Scottish artists

As mentioned earlier, Gellner argued that shared identification should be prevented if control is to be maintained over an economically or politically disadvantaged group,\(^\text{176}\) for example ethnic identification. Nationalism theorists are not unanimous in dismissing the cultural elements, or aspects of nationalism by using terms such as 'false consciousness' (in the manner of Gellner and other 'modernists' such as Hobsbawm).\(^\text{177}\) Anthony Smith, for example, sees the 'ethnic' - symbols, myths and common sets of beliefs about history and 'ways of life' - as at the foundation of many nationalisms. Relevant in terms of Scottish nationalism in the 1990's, Smith claims there is an alternative 'ethnic' to that originating from the 'aristocratic type which developed around a centralised and elitist state before filtering down such as in England...\(^\text{178}\); which he calls 'vertical' or 'demotic' one which can develop in resistance to the former, or state nationalisms.\(^\text{179}\)

Gellner claims that nationalisms have traditionally drawn from 'putative' folk culture: 're-embracing peasant music, dance, costume etc. to express real or imagined roots', and that as this is indulged in by the middle-class who are, in theory, 'products of the standardised high culture', he diagnoses this as 'sociological self-deception'. Of vertical, or demotic ethnies, Smith claims that an indigenous intelligentsia:

\(^{175}\) They also described themselves as Scottish (rather than British, or equally Scottish and British) while their social class equivalents in England described themselves as equally English and British. McCrone, David. Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation (London: Routledge, 1992) p166.


...redisCOVERs, authentiCates, and appropriates for political use the vernacular cultures of the lower strata and through the vernacular mobilization of these strata attempts to rouse them to political action so as to create ethnic nations.\(^{180}\)

These two perspectives are presented here in order to examine the situation in Scotland in the context of the representation of Scottish identity as working-class, focusing on those involved in producing and broadcasting images of Scottish identity - the cultural community.

Hearn lists several writers - Alasdair Gray (in his 'pamphlet', *Why Scots Should Rule Scotland* and in articles for the Press),\(^{181}\) William McIvanney, James Kelman, and Irvine Welsh - 'who have been particularly concerned with producing work that reflects and speaks to the Scottish experience, especially the central-belt working-class experience',\(^{182}\) and the involvement in politics of Scottish artists and other members of the Scottish cultural community in the 1990's is explored further in Chapter 8. The question here is whether this deserves to be diagnosed as 'self-deception' (see Gellner above). Firstly, McCrone has argued that 'The writer in a secular society is the "keeper of the spirit" as the politician is not',\(^{183}\) and therefore the use of empirical research in Chapter 8 provides the opportunity to explore the extent to which Scottish cultural producers and broadcasters claimed to be working-class, or could be described as articulating the 'cultural psychological state of mind' of Scottish society. Secondly, where Scottish artists do not claim this, the question of who does and why is interesting, in view of the belief that their social make-up as a group differs from that of 'English artists' (English culture having been perceived by many Scots as dominated by a metropolitan middle-class: see theme 1).

### 2.7.2 Language

'Language' was frequently referred to in the context of class and of national identity by people interviewed for the study (see Chapter 8). According to theory again (Gellner's for the purposes of this section), non 'state' language speakers, they and their children are at and will remain at the bottom of the social hierarchy until they can communicate either in it or


\(^{183}\) ...though in some secular societies religion can be politicised and used to represent the national culture in nationalist movements', for example former Yugoslavia or Northern Ireland. David McCrone interviewed 2/01/99 and see McCrone, David. *The Sociology of Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998) pp52 - 53 on 'narrating the nation'.

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until their own language becomes the 'educational, bureaucratic and commercial language' of a new independent nationalist state. This is as problematic in Scotland as it has been in other countries with several different dialects and no standardised form of the indigenous language. With reference to questions raised by Gellner's diagnosis 'self-deception' (discussed earlier in relation to 'Scottish as working-class'), Chapter 8 also explores whether and how people he might describe as having learned the 'language' of the state or 'standardised high culture' - the indigenous intelligentsia of Scottish nationalism - claim to be representative of the social class and experiences many of them have 'articulated' through their work and political personae.

2.7.3 Left-wing or nationalist

As stated earlier, there were concerns in the Scottish cultural sphere that culture was being used not simply to replace traditional industries, but to insinuate a new ideology which involved depoliticising working-class history and, arguably, encouraging the notion that the working-class (and disadvantage) no longer existed. Some represented this as evidence that a set of 'alien cultural values' were being 'imposed', a disproportionate number of senior posts in Scottish cultural institutions being occupied by people who neither shared nor understood Scottish 'attitudes and priorities'. As an example of this view, journalist and broadcaster Ruth Wishart claimed that this affected 'all of Scotland's cultural organisations and some of its other arts-related institutions' which were headed by 'English chief executives' whose 'perspective and cultural values' might be at odds with those of Scots which had developed under a different set of circumstances. A relationship between this and class can still be traced here: Gellner added to his diagnosis of 'sociological self-deception' the qualification that there is 'a certain element of truth' in situations where a nation 'is ruled by officials of another, an alien high culture'. While the language used here might seem extreme, themes 3 and 4 (The Discourse of Scotland as Colony and Scotland, and Margaret Thatcher and Scottish Identity) looked at the situation whereby Westminster and 'British' were thought of by some Scots as English, and theme 1 suggested that an influence upon this was the perception that 'Englishness' was predominantly an upper or middle-class identity, therefore to an extent socially alien to Scots.

186 A phrase used in relation to what some felt was the disproportionate number of people from the South (England) who held senior posts in Scottish cultural institutions. Wishart, Ruth. 'The arts, culture and identity' in Linklater, M. (ed.) Chambers Anatomy of Scotland (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992) p146.
Again, according to theory, oppression by an 'alien' culture is resisted first by a cultural 'revival and reaffirmation', and this is examined in terms of Scotland from the 1980's below and in Chapter 8. Gellner claims, for example, that 'If [a] nationalism prospers it eliminates the alien high culture, but does not then replace it by the old low culture; it revives, or invents, a local high culture (literate, specialist transmitted) of its own', maintaining links with the earlier folk styles and dialects, which 'survive only artificially, kept going by language and folklore preservation societies' to avoid a return to domination by the 'alien high culture'. There had been what could be described as 'reaffirmations' of national culture, in the sense of language and traditional or folk culture, ranging from the work of interviewees such as Billy Kay revalidating the Scots language and dialects, to the late Hamish Henderson who had led the folk revival from the 1950's. However, one of the features of the 'renaissance' which came in the wake of the 'failed' Referendum on Devolution in 1979, was the rejection of traditional, or folk, representations of Scottish identity. The situation has not conformed strictly to Gellner's theory though. The results of efforts such as Henderson's have been described as 'utterly counter to rural idiocy or inert sentimentalism', a situation which might be seen as problematic in terms of the Scotch Myths discourse which argued that traditional representations were influenced by conservative elements, the establishment, or 'ruling-classes' (and these were perceived by many (working-class) Scots as synonymous with the 'alien' culture, English). Also, as national identity progressively became an issue through the 1990's impelling the Labour government towards another referendum in 1997, modern representations of Scottish identity, such as the belief, for example, that the Scots were more racially tolerant than the English, began to be questioned as much as the old ones.

Role and positioning of media
Schlesinger describes the media as a battlefield in the cultural defence of the nation-state, whether from outside, or from within 'e.g. by challenges to received linguistic and cultural orthodoxies':

Notions of strategic and tactical uses of communication are far from alien to our understandings of the construction of cultural collectivities and the workings of the media. This is no accident, for the media and wider cultural fields are indeed to be conceived of as battlefields, as spaces in which contests for various forms

188 The Mither Tongue television series by Billy Kay (screened by BBC Scotland 1988).
189 Calder, Angus. Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic (London: I B Tauris, 1994) p(viii) and pp1 - 13; 'A Sober Look at the Thistle', monologue given by Douglas Gifford, Professor of Scottish Literature, Glasgow University on The Usual Suspects, BBC Radio Scotland, broadcast 20 April 1997.
of dominance take place. They are by their very nature part of the public domain and therefore objects of public-policy-making and legal action.191

In the 'battle' over more autonomy for Scotland over the last decades of the twentieth century there has been both development and conflict in terms of the media and its political 'tone'. In 1980 Murray Grigor (see Scotch Myths) described BBC Scotland as having become 'a by-word for puritanical parochialism', failing to provide a 'broadcasting service which could have done...more to cope with Scotland's social and cultural problems'.192 Grigor claimed it had been the victim of extreme centralisation influenced by a conservative local establishment. From the late 1980's however, when James Boyle (now Chair of the Scottish Arts Council) was Secretary of BBC Scotland,193 this changed, to the point where as part of the 'public sphere' it contributed to a hegemony which was nationalist, democratic and left-wing in tone,194 considering the deeply British complexion of the BBC historically,195 thus (Radio Scotland in particular) increasing the forum for debate on nationalism. According to Hearn, the representation of Scottish identity was influenced by the working-class sympathies of the (now) middle-class focus in the new media (see earlier paragraphs), but the left-wing, democratic, and nationalist tone referred to above, can be described as having been 'widely shared'.196

Scotch Reels (theme 2) had pointed out two problems: that 'the dominant film representations' had been made outside of Scotland, and that 'indigenous Scottish institutions' had 'never attempted to...help remedy the problem' through creating film policies or analysing and producing counter discourses197. Committed to decentralising film and television production198 and nurturing the creative potential and professional skills which

192 Murray Grigor 'Some countries live in their past, but Scotland lives in its invented past'. The Glasgow Herald 31 December 1980.
existed outside of London, thus giving non-core groups the opportunity to represent themselves. Channel 4's inception ('embarrassingly', according to Caughie) under a Conservative Government in the 1980's altered the landscape.\(^{199}\) Their intervention is claimed to have influenced the increase in film-making and opportunities for film-makers in Scotland, and although Eadie claims they had 'needed Scotland as much as Scotland needed Channel 4'\(^{200}\) the presence of the extremely 'pro-Scottish' Jeremy Isaacs and 'a sprinkling of Scottish commissioning editors'\(^{201}\) can be considered to have helped. Further extending opportunity (and the channel's commitment to encouraging production based outside London), their national regions strategy was expanded with the creation of the post, Head of Programmes for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in 1997\(^{202}\) (holder of this post, Stuart Cosgrove was interviewed for the study).

2.7.4 Employment of 'Scottishness' by politicians
As introduced earlier, there was some employment of traditional symbols of Scottishness, much encouraged by the release in Scotland of the 1995 Hollywood film Braveheart\(^{203}\) on one of Scotland's icons, William Wallace. The high profile and success of this film ensured much media coverage providing photo opportunities for politicians including the Conservative Secretary of State, Michael Forsyth, who attended its premiere Ceilidh (see Chapter 8), and stories about its alleged influence on bringing to the surface anti-English racism. Politicians on all sides saw advantages in associating themselves with the film\(^{204}\) and its representation of an ethnic Scottish nationalism. SNP leafleted cinema queues for it, while both Conservatives and New Labour (coincidentally, the Referendum for Devolution was held on the date of the anniversary of the Battle of Stirling Bridge) mobilised Wallace's fight for 'freedom' and the representation of him as a man of 'the people' (see below) in attempts to present themselves as culturally akin to the Scottish electorate.

\(^{199}\) Caughie in Dick, Eddie (ed.). From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book (Scottish Film Council and British Film Institute, 1990) p22.

\(^{200}\) Douglas Eadie quoted in McPherson, Robin. 'Declarations of Independence' in Dick, Eddie (ed.). From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book (Scottish Film Council and British Film Institute, 1990) p215.

\(^{201}\) Gormley, Charlie. 'The Impact of Channel 4' in Dick, Eddie (ed.). From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book (Scottish Film Council and British Film Institute, 1990) p185. Gormley suggests that apart from lack of funding and other factors, union resistance to freelance work also prevented the selling or screening of films not monitored by the ACTT.

\(^{202}\) From Channel 4's April 1998 'mission statement', Licensed to be different, p6.


The phrase 'the people of Scotland' was much in evidence (used, for example, by politicians, Donald Dewar and by Tony Blair205) in public speeches and statements made in connection with the Referendum and the new devolved Scottish Parliament. This can be interpreted as another example of politicians attempting to align themselves with the Scottish electorate at a time of heightened national feeling and, as said above, can be associated with Wallace, the freedom fighter and 'common man',206 and with the way Scots were thinking about themselves by the 1990's: as working-class, or non-elitist and socially concerned. Smith claims that 'Lateral, or aristocratic, ethnies...rarely resort to cultural penetration of "the people" whom they may fail to recognize as "theirs",207 and this example could be considered from the perspective of British being a state identity constructed for political reasons, and originally, as suggested in theme 1, an identity of the elites or ruling classes. In this case Blair could be seen as a British politician attempting to present his Party (which had provided the Referendum and therefore 'proved' its commitment to Devolution) as 'on the same wavelength' as the Scots, in an attempt to contain the nationalist momentum and prevent possible increased support for SNP and independence. Chapter 8 also indicates that some interviewees perceived 'New Labour' as less Socialist by the 1990's.

This climate of concern for some of the British Parties also saw Conservatives' interpretations of various events and causes in Scottish history from egalitarianism to Wallace and the Wars of Independence. As introduced earlier, in order to present their Party (which took an anti-Devolutionist stance in the 1990's) as 'Scottish' and 'patriots' they broadcast their support of Wallace through the channels of the Scottish media with a Unionist nationalist interpretation to the effect that had Wallace not 'liberated Scotland from English dominance at the beginning of the fourteenth century...Scotland would not have had the historical strength to negotiate a Union with such a powerful country as England'.208

The issues and ideas raised in this theme are examined further in Chapter 8 using empirical data including extracts from interviews with members of the Scottish cultural community.

206 For example, from Sydney Goodsir Smith's 1960 play, 'The Wallace' (performed by Scottish Theatre Company in 1985) to writing on William Wallace by museum curator Elspeth King (referred to earlier in this chapter), Wallace has been represented as a man of the people, or commoner.
Summary

The aim of this chapter was to provide background to the set of themes which developed out of an initial interest in stereotype representations of Scottish identity, in the light of beliefs expressed by people in the Scottish cultural sphere in the 1990's, that there was a relationship between these, a sense of Scottish cultural inferiority, and support for Scottish political autonomy in the late twentieth century. The main aim of the study is to investigate the belief that stereotypical representations, or limiting and (allegedly) inferiorist representations of Scottish identity, have had a negative influence on subsequent ones, and on Scottish cultural confidence.

The following chapters (4 to 8) explore each of the themes individually and examine the way these have been thought about by individuals from the Scottish cultural community (see Chapter 2). This chapter is referred back to from the following ones in order to clarify comments or allusions made by interviewees.
3.1 Chapter contents
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    Individuals approached, but not interviewed 73
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    Brief profiles of Interviewees 79
3.5 Cultural artefacts and events 86
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Chapter 1 explained that the motivation behind this study was what appeared to be happening in terms of the arts in Scotland from the early 1980's: an apparent 'renaissance' which seemed to occur simultaneously with a growth of interest in 'Scottishness'. As also said earlier, this suggested the problem explored and, to an extent, the shape or structure and final presentation of the study, which was influenced by both the subject under enquiry and the actual process of carrying out the research, particularly interviews conducted with nineteen key figures involved in the arts and culture in Scotland. A rough guide to terms used, such as 'key', 'the arts' and 'cultural artefacts', was given in Chapter 1, and later in this chapter the methods and selection criteria employed are detailed, but the following paragraphs are intended as a sort of theoretical guide to how and why it developed as it did.

3.2 Pre-fieldwork
While researchers might attempt to 'suspend, or set aside, their own perspectives and taken-for-granted views of the world', Clough and Nutbrown state that few 'would want to insist that their work is neutral, value-free or uninfected by their own personal and political ideology'.2 The following paragraphs provide some indication of where I, as the researcher in this case,

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'am coming from' (or came from) as this has inevitably had some influence on the project, starting with the subject or question explored.

As a phenomenon the aforementioned 'Scottish renaissance' was remarkable to me personally due to an interest in drawing, writing and drama from an early age which - in spite of minimal contact with the theatre (mainly Christmas pantomimes and TV) and my secondary school education - survived, but only as an interest. I had no personal knowledge of anyone 'like me' (Scottish, working-class, and not outstanding any way) ever going on to work in any of these areas and it was not until after three years in a 'good, steady' clerical job from the age of sixteen, that I confused friends and family by going into Further Education to study Graphics and exhibition design. After working as a graphic designer for several years I did a degree in Interior design then some theatre design and set-painting. Prior to this project then, I had been involved in design for most of my adult life.

My experience is that the practice (as opposed to the history and criticism) of design has not, until recent years, been approached as and considered an 'academic' discipline. While research and writing on art and design history have been, to varying degrees, integral components in design courses, art and design students have tended not (again, until very recently, in my experience) been trained in or encouraged to verbalise about the design process - research, exploration and experimentation, the development of design concepts and the criteria used to make decisions about what approach to adopt in solving a design problem. Many designers are used to dealing with concepts and at the same time working within or around material, economic, structural, social, and cultural constraints, but, again in my experience, it is only in the last decade or so that theorising these processes has started becoming more prevalent. Coming from the background described above, in the initial stages I approached the project from a 'common sense' position or from what seemed to me the most obvious things to do first: a need, simply, to collect information on the subject and subjects touching on it; and to work out, over the period of study, how best to collate it and put it together in some sort of accessible form. It was only later that it began to become apparent that I was operating in a vaguely 'social sciences' way, and only more recently that I have been able to recognise that I had to verbalise how and why I did what I did. The following paragraphs, and the theory addressed in Chapter 2, are an attempt to do that.
3.3 Back to the motivation and 'problem' explored

I was not only interested in the actual art or changes which appeared to be taking place in the arts in Scotland. I was also curious about the relationship which appeared to exist between this and the feeling that something was changing in terms of attitudes towards Scottishness, or Scottish identity. In my role as researcher though, I realised that a question I had to bear in mind was how much the 'feeling' above was one sensed by other people, and how much it might be a consequence of my own recent discovery that there was such a subject as Scottish history; that there were Scottish writers, playwrights and artists, and so on; that the 'new confidence' in Scottish culture and identity referred to in Chapter 1 was not simply my own. As I began to collect research material though, I found that the phenomenon, or climate I had 'sensed' had been either shared or recorded by a range of people. Scotland's 'lot' as part of the United Kingdom had not gone away after the 1979 Referendum (see introduction) and as interest increased through the 1980's, so also the subjects of culture and politics had been related by people involved in the arts and culture. Amongst these, several talked about changes in the way Scottish identity was being represented and this made me interested in the influence of cultural representations, or representations of national, in this case Scottish, identity in or through the arts and culture (also in analyses and interpretations of Scottish culture). In Chapter 1 'representation' was defined as standing for the presentation or communication of an idea or image communicated in various ways. For example, through speech or narratives (constructed and told accounts or 'stories' of events); academic analyses; visual media (such as paintings, sculpture and photographs); the narrative or characters of plays and novels; exhibition interpretation; or perhaps the narrative voice in a novel.

This made me interested in two areas. Firstly, in whether and in what ways individuals involved in creating and broadcasting representations or images of Scottish identity (writers, playwrights, filmmakers, people of influence in television and so on) believed existing representations had influenced the way Scots felt about themselves and whether they believed that this had been an influence in terms of support for Devolution and even independence. Secondly, I was interested in what beliefs about that relationship existed within the cultural

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realm mentioned above; in how they 'made sense' of their beliefs, focusing particularly on how and in what ways - as people one might reasonably expect to be more cognisant with the issue of cultural representation than the wider population - they themselves might have been influenced by existing representations and narratives, or 'stories' of Scottish identity and history.

I had anticipated early on that some of the novels, performances of plays, exhibitions or cultural artefacts I had consumed and taken part in as reader, viewer and audience member during the 1980's and 1990's would comprise the project's empirical data and saw it as inevitable that references would be made to some of those figures whose names had been or had become prominent in Scottish art and culture and who, for that reason, I saw as key players in the context of what I was investigating. While my intention was not that I should attempt to infer anything, or make generalizations about the wider Scottish population, such people are, in effect, power-brokers through whom 'ideas' about Scottish identity are interfaced to a wider universe, representations or ideas broadcast by them (through their work and public personas) being 'out there' in the public domain, making them a potential 'agency of cultural change' and at the same time the agency through which attitudes towards changes taking place in society might be interpreted and negotiated (see Chapters 7 and 8 on this in the 1980's and 1990's). In 'Making Movies', Duncan Petrie claims that 'the understandings and experiences of the individuals involved' - that is, key players from the field of film making and production - 'is of major importance and interest as well as providing major insights as to how the industry functions on a day to day basis', and I would make a similar claim as to the importance of my interviewees. But, as already suggested and detailed further in following paragraphs, unlike Petrie's, this study is concerned not only with production, but with consumption or the possible influence of existing cultural artefacts and representations on a sample of Scottish 'cultural elites'.

7 See later in chapter. By 'public persona' I mean things they have written, said, or been reported as saying in the media; taking part in public demonstrations, and so on.
8 Martin, Bernice. A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1985) p2. Martin argues that 'an international movement involving the arts and the politics of a cosmopolitan intelligentsia' were the main agency for change in the 1960's in England.
In spite of the fact that as the fairly broad yet quite specific 'question' in which I was interested had not been explored with such people in this way and therefore no appropriate or relevant secondary research material existed, it took some persuasion from one of my early supervisors before I began approaching people in order to carry out interviews. This was mainly due to a lack of confidence (returned to later in relation to the interviewing style adopted) as I was relatively inexperienced as a researcher and interviewer, but also because in addition to new figures who had emerged during the period focussed on (1980's to 1990's), others I had in mind were fairly high profile, either holding formal positions of power (for example, Channel 4's Head of Nations and Regions) or having been at the forefront of changes in Scottish art and culture (for example, Hamish Henderson). However, encouraged by the positive responses received from my first batch of approaches (see methods later) I persevered and the result was a valuable and unique set of in-depth interviews.

I describe the individuals approached and eventually interviewed as having been of 'influence' (and therefore key figures in the Scottish cultural sphere) and below is a rough guide to the criteria under which individuals might be described thus in the study:

• they were widely known within their specific field and within the cultural community, to audiences interested in their field, or in Scottish culture; their work has been received and reviewed (generally) favourably, or at least with interest by critics; their work has been referred to in analyses of Scottish culture; they have been or are regularly invited to comment on, or take part in debates on Scotland and Scottish culture in the media, at conferences and other events.
• their work has reached - and therefore been available to 'influence' - a larger section of the population (outwith the confines of those 'interested' in culture and the arts defined in the previous category), for example individuals involved in the film and television industries.
• they have formally recognised positions of power in cultural institutions such as public museums and broadcasting companies: 'the wielders of power, or those whose opinions and actions count most'.
• they have achieved a certain celebrity status (or notoriety) through their work, or involvement in cultural controversies.

10 Mordaunt, Dr. Enid (Department of Social Policy, University of Edinburgh). 'The Use of Elite Populations in Qualitative Research'. Unpublished paper given at the Faculty of Education, The University of Edinburgh, 18/01/2000, p2.
As earlier paragraphs perhaps suggest, I did not feel the problem being explored was one which could have been measured quantitatively. While survey approaches using large samples might be argued by some to be more 'representative', I was interested not simply in 'how many people think what?', but in what individuals from a particular 'specialist' population believe about the problem studied and how they legitimate, or make sense\textsuperscript{11} of their beliefs. McCrone et al focussed on 'members of the arts and landed elites' in Scotland for similar reasons ("ways in which people order and negotiate their national identities") in 1998\textsuperscript{12} as both were groups which 'had good reason to be sensitive to the problematic and negotiated nature of national identity in a changing cultural and political context in Scotland', but the aim of this study was to gain a much deeper and broader insight into 'ways' this was negotiated using representations of Scottish history and culture by people in the cultural sphere.

Largely because of what my target population was (people 'of influence' for various reasons as suggested above, often in the public 'eye', or carrying an element of celebrity status) interviewing a large number would at any rate have presented a practical problem, in addition to being methodologically unsatisfactory. The main reason was a problem often faced by field researchers - that of gaining access to their subjects which often has to be negotiated through 'gatekeepers'. In this project I had to go through (on occasion several) gatekeepers to make even an initial approach to all but three individuals who were either personal acquaintances, or whom I had met and approached at social gatherings or debates. In research with organisations, the gatekeepers are conventionally those 'in charge' whereas the problems encountered here were those of a researcher attempting to gain access to individuals in the 'upper echelons', of organisations, or other 'elite' groups (perhaps politicians, or 'power elites').\textsuperscript{13} Many members of this population (who may be referred to from here as 'cultural elites') particularly those who have acquired some degree of public profile or celebrity status, do not wish to be 'contactable'; they can only be reached through their publishers, agents or secretaries, and even tracking down the right 'gatekeeper' was time consuming, let alone waiting to see whether those approached would reply. Those who did, on receiving an introductory letter briefly summarizing the subject of the thesis, demonstrated their interest in the subject by doing so, although two sent written refusals which are discussed later. Attempting to achieve a larger interview sample would therefore

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also have consumed more of the research time available for the project and, I felt, constrain what could be achieved through carrying out a 'do-able' number of 'in-depth' interviews which would afford more also in the way of the context 'necessary to understand many of the perspectives' in which I was interested.

### 3.4 Selection of Interviewees

While the scope of the study was large, the main subject was specific - representations of Scottish identity - and so a sample comprising individuals from a range of areas encompassed under the umbrella term of the 'Scottish cultural sphere' (used here to denote the wider population in which the study is interested) were approached. My definition of the 'influence' of individuals interviewed was given earlier, but beneath this there was an attempt to achieve a spread in terms of age, political sympathies, class and gender, in order to collect as wide and varied a 'range' of perspectives or narratives as possible, but again, they were interviewed genuinely as individuals with real public identities:

- **Age.** Interviews with older interviewees who had experienced social and political climates other than those of the last thirty years (particularly those who were adults before the Second World War) were expected to bring different perspectives to bear on the subject of Scottish identity (and Britishness in Scotland) from those of younger interviewees.

- **Class and political sympathies.** Early into the research it was noted that a majority of people from the Scottish cultural community - from statements they have made or opinions they have expressed publicly - came from working-class backgrounds or were Left-wing in their political sympathies. Even among interviewees in what might be regarded as 'establishment' or fairly powerful positions (see definition of 'influence' above) in cultural institutions, this scenario persisted and is significant in view of some of the themes explored in the study (see theme 2 and Chapters 5, 7 and 8: 'Scottish Identity as Working-class', 'Margaret Thatcher and Scottish Identity', and '1990's: Devolution and Representations of Scottish Identity'). Some attempts were made to


arrange interviews with individuals who did not appear to have come from Scottish working-class backgrounds, and who had publicly expressed non-Left or non-Devolutionist opinions, for example Timothy Clifford, Director of the National Galleries of Scotland and novelist Allan Massie, but neither replied (see later note on 'access' and selection).

3.4.1 Individuals approached, but not interviewed
As mentioned earlier, several individuals were approached, but were either unable or unwilling to take part. Playwright John Byrne and poet Jackie Kay, for example, were written to, but no reply was received from either and while this may have been a 'gatekeeper problem', because of the time constraints already referred to I felt that I had to press on and follow up positive responses. Poet and playwright, Liz Lochhead, one of the generation who came to prominence during the 1980's renaissance was approached before interviews with Edwin Morgan, Tom McGrath, A.L. Kennedy and senior figures in the BBC and Channel 4 had been carried out (later, initial written approaches to potential interviewees included the names of people such as Morgan and others already interviewed, in the hope this might encourage others to take part). Ms Lochhead replied in writing saying that all she had to say on the subject was 'inside the writings...overall meanings and myths expressed by the plays as a whole or the poems as a whole...' adding: 'It seems important to remind academics that writers write to find out not to explain something they already know.'

Author, James Kelman was felt another obvious person to interview because, in addition to his novels he had built up a very public and publicly political persona through his articles and other non-fiction writing, and interviews he has given in newspapers and magazines. Mr. Kelman wrote to say that he did not have time to take part and suggested his essays and interviews might supply the relevant information on his thinking. Kelman and Lochhead's replies (submitted in full in Appendix 1) were taken to imply that they are happy to be perceived and interpreted through both their creative work as public proclamation and their public personae, and by extension, that they were happy for me to interpret them accordingly. Kelman, particularly, was researched for (and referred to in) the project as he has frequently 'proclaimed' his stance on the representation of 'Scottish writers' and of the Scottish working or 'under' class (mostly, himself and critiques of his own representations of the latter). It could be suggested also that these people are happy also to be perceived through the collective public persona of the Scottish cultural sphere, since this is a relatively small

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Murray Grigor, who with his wife Barbara produced the 1981 'Scotch Myths' exhibition, is an important contributor to the debate which argued that 'tartanry' and 'highlandry' - representations of Scottish identity as culturally exotic and in the past - were unrepresentative and politically regressive, the discourse's preferred representation being Scottish as working-class. Unfortunately Mr. Grigor's work commitments made it impossible to arrange enough time for an interview, but he supplied copies of several of his films on Scottish art, culture, and the representation of Scottish cultural identity (including 'Scotch Myths'19) and was very interested and supportive, offering the use of his office and archives while he was out of the country (though no formal interview was recorded, comments made by Grigor have been referred to in the text).

3.4.2 Final sample and interviews
The final group consists of a fairly high proportion of writers, although there is variety within that category (poets, playwrights and novelists). This is partly because I felt more knowledgeable about these areas and therefore more able to 'get more' out of my interviewees, and also (as one of the representatives of the visual arts interviewed and one of my supervisors pointed out) I was already taking on a huge challenge. The lower number of representatives from the visual arts in the final sample (three) is reflected in the empirical material collected, for while there was much available on museums and art galleries and on interpretation within these during the 1980's and 1990's, there was much less evidence of painters, for example, who had involved themselves overtly in debates over how Scottish identity was represented. Exceptions are referred to in the study - for example, Ken Currie who was commissioned to produce a series of panels for The Peoples' Palace Museum on the history of Socialism in the West coast of Scotland; and Peter Howson, whose work was cited in the debate by cultural commentators. A question actually addressed in the research is the belief expressed by some interviewees that Scotland is 'better known' for writers than, for example, classical musicians, a point made by another interviewee, playwright David Greig, which led to my approaching composer James Macmillan, a 'selection' technique referred to as 'snowballing'20 in the qualitative research literature, which demonstrates how the interviews

19 'Scotch Myths', film made for and with the Scotch Myths exhibition. Produced Barbara and Murray Grigor, 1981.
developed the research project by suggesting another perspective and line of enquiry. Again, although the huge scope initially suggested something which could potentially have been unmanageable within the constraints of a PhD thesis (particularly had all areas of the arts and Scottish culture been focussed on to the same degree) it was decided that simply ignoring certain areas (such as, for example, the visual arts) would have resulted in a rather pedestrian study with 'gaps'. Data was therefore collected with individuals from a range of fields in anticipation that these might go some way to filling these gaps, and, perhaps more importantly, to provide 'ways of thinking' or connections which differed from (and might act as counterpoints to) those collected from individuals involved primarily with written 'language' in Scotland, its influences and history.

The initial approach to prospective interviewees was made by informal letter (see Appendix II) giving them a loose outline of the area I was studying: 'the way Scottish identity has been represented in the arts from Noble savage to noble dosser' (a reference to the Howson painting 'Heroic Dosser', 198721) and whether this related to 'the Scottish inferiority complex' (if they agreed to its existence); and asking whether they would be able to discuss their thoughts on the subject. The interviews were also fairly loose and informal, carried out mostly in cafes, bars and in some of the interviewees' homes. All (except one by telephone with writer Duncan McLean from Orkney) were recorded with the interviewees' permission using a small, discreet tape-recorder, and it was confirmed with all interviewees that I had their permission to quote them. In order to ensure some consistency, they were semi-structured, based around a set of questions and themes I had selected (see below). However, for flexibility, the interviews were conducted as two-way conversations as although part of the same target population - the cultural sphere or realm - individuals came from a variety of specialized areas within it. This format allowed for questions to be adapted encouraging individuals to consider the subject from their (professional and personal, or experiential) perspective, as well as more generally, thus eliciting more in-depth responses than would have resulted from a rigid list of questions.22

A set of questions and themes for discussion had been prepared in advance in order that each interview would have a common base. These had been arrived at because of their appearance in critiques of Scottish identity (whether in creative work such as art, popular

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21 Exhibition catalogue published by the National Galleries of Scotland, 1987 for The Vigorous

culture and exhibitions): for example measuring Scottish against English culture, Scottish identity as working-class and the ideas of Scotland as colony. The flourishing of the arts and apparent increased 'cultural confidence' from the 1980's was the impetus for both hypothesis and interviews, suggesting that earlier representations may have been responsible for the alleged Scottish inferiority complex and may have influenced Scotland's political situation and support for devolution or independence in the past. The relationship being discussed therefore was that between cultural 'confidence', or confidence in Scottish identity and culture, and support (or lack of it) for political autonomy: between culture and politics.

As mentioned earlier, the interviews influenced or helped 'refine' both my hypotheses and the eventual shape or structure and presentation of the study and using the type of interview described above facilitated this. I was able to react to each interviewee as an individual, to respond to issues raised by them 'as they emerged' allowing for ideas and perspectives which I might otherwise not have considered to be taken into account, and to explore connections, or 'uniformities' I was beginning to notice (as a result of carrying out and transcribing earlier interviews) as well as noting 'irregularities' or 'departures'. The aim of carrying out these interviews was, after all, to discover what ideas existed, not simply to test already existing assumptions. Denzin argues that 'the basic concepts and questions the investigator brings to a study are part of the research' and it would be artificial to pretend that the data collected from these interviews could have been unaffected by myself as the researcher. While I would not describe myself as having been at the same level of involvement in the field as my interviewees, my interest, position as a 'consumer', interpreter and witness of literature, drama, and various other cultural events and controversies meant that there was a degree of 'cultural consistency' between myself and the interviewees: I was familiar or at least cognisant with many of the works, debates and people they referred to. While those who believe in the possibility of objectivity might view this familiarity as a negative, I see it as an advantage. I had enough 'experiential knowledge' of the field to know to some extent 'what to look for' and to enable me to ask some of 'the right questions'. I agree with Lawlor that it is

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'inevitable' a researcher's 'intervention' will influence research and that this begins in the initial stages, from formulating the research question to the selection of field questions, but that, as in these paragraphs, this should be acknowledged. As regards this study, the process of producing it was an education not just in 'data management', but in something at which I had already thought myself fairly proficient; being open to having some of my 'expectations...disconfirmed'.

With interviewees who were born in Scotland, an introductory question was used to set an informal (and personal) tone for the interview and to open-up their expectations of what I as a researcher might be looking for: 'Can you remember when you first became aware of, or thought of yourself in terms of being 'Scottish' and what was it that made you think of yourself in those terms?' Answers indicated elements which were important or personal to the contributor (class, family, philosophy or religion, language and so on) and also gave some indication of the extent to which they saw Scottish identity and its representation as a political issue. As indicated earlier, I lacked confidence at the start of the research, being to an extent overawed at the prospect of interviewing people from what was an elite group. The power differential between researcher and researched came into play to an extent, as it was the reverse of that conventionally encountered - Ward and Jones claim that 'researchers rarely study those more powerful than themselves', their power being the reason why (a related problem, that of access, is discussed later). However, I feel that ultimately, the 'power differential' proved an advantage in this case as I was able to approach this set of interviewees not from the position of professional or hard-bitten interviewer (people several of my interviewees had encountered frequently), but from an apparent position of naivete and genuinely 'wanting to find out', and feel that they may have been more responsive and candid with me than they might often be with the former due to 'journalist fatigue' and concerns about how their opinions might be presented.

These were all assumed to be highly articulate and fairly well-informed people, very aware of issues surrounding cultural representation and discourses of Scottish identity. Identity was an issue all had considered (most art being concerned with identity) and broadcasters and curators were particularly aware that it was a sensitive, political issue at the time the interviews were being conducted, and one over which they took their responsibility very seriously. Several who took part said they had done so because they felt the project sounded very interesting and, as said above, felt it was important and topical. While fully acknowledging critiques such as 'Scotch Reels' which was mentioned earlier, interviewees perhaps more familiar with film and television as an industry felt that its contributors had perhaps been either unfamiliar with, or simply failed to take cognizance of structural or economic constraints upon cultural production and representation. This issue – the 'real' versus the 'theoretical' – arose in several interviews, as and how it affected people in their fields or other areas in their experience.

Much research related to art, artists and culture focuses on aesthetic 'texts' (music, visual arts and writing, in particular), but it should perhaps be repeated here that the main interest in this project lies in what these people thought and how they make sense of the problem explored. Therefore, while the work of some interviewees may be referred to (for example, George Wyllie) where it clarifies a point made or opinion expressed in interview, no systematic analysis of their aesthetic work has been included. It should also be pointed out that not all of the individuals interviewed were 'artists'.

Interviewees' comments on particular points such as, for example, 'Scotch Reels', have been collected and referred to in Chapters 4 to 8, each of which addresses one of the 'themes' introduced and discussed in Chapter 2: Chapter 4 deals with theme 1; Chapter 5 with theme 2 and so on. Interview material was selected for different reasons: to show how interviewees' ideas relate to theoretical ideas and the influence of earlier, already available representations; how they compare or contrast with the opinions of other interviewees. Observations are made as and where appropriate, for example, the interviewee's age, social background, claimed political or ideological beliefs and so on.

3.4.3 Brief profiles of Interviewees

Listed below are the individuals interviewed. The set of criteria used in the selection of interviewees was given earlier, and the brief profiles of each given below demonstrates why, according to those criteria, each was approached. They are listed here under the sub-headings 'Writing', 'Theatre', 'Art and Design', 'Film and Television', 'Music', 'Museums' and, for want of a phrase which might act as a succinct categorization, the list begins with the late Mr. Hamish Henderson, whose potted biography can only list some of the things he has 'done' - not convey how important his contribution to Scottish cultural life is perceived to have been.

Hamish Henderson: retired from Edinburgh University's School of Scottish Studies (which he established in 1951 with Calum Maclean33); poet and writer of several songs, and the first translator of Gramsci into English. Henderson is renowned for his work through the School of Scottish Studies (recording Scottish song and traditional singers such as Jeannie Robertson), was a key figure in the folk revival of the 1950's and one of the organisers of the Edinburgh People's Festival (with Norman Buchan and Ewan McColl).34 Several of his own songs have become standards on the Scottish folk circuit (The John MacLean March, Freedom-Come-All-Ye35) He was a contemporary and acquaintance of Hugh MacDiarmid with whom he corresponded for several years.


(Writing)

Edwin Morgan: poet. Morgan has also translated work from Russian, Hungarian, Latin, French and Old English into English and classics of European drama into Scots, for example, Cyrano (1992) and Phaedra (in development at time of interview) in 2000.36 As well as being highly respected Morgan also represents the older generation (see earlier

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34 Calder, Angus. Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic (London: I B Tauris, 1994) p238 (Gramsci) and p244.
In 2000 Morgan's first original dramatic work\(^{37}\) a three part play on the Life of Christ, *AD* was staged at the Tron theatre in Glasgow.

Interviewed 3 June 1999.

**A.L. Kennedy**: novelist and short story writer (*Night Geometry and the Garscadden Trains*, 1990, *Now That You're Back* 1994; novels *Looking for the Possible Dance* 1993; *So I am Glad* 1995; *Everything You Need* 2002; Film and television work include the film *Stella Does Tricks* 1997). Like Duncan McLean, Ali Smith and David Greig (below) Kennedy is one of a generation of Scottish writers who grew up or began their careers during the Thatcher period (see Chapter 8). She describes herself as coming from a lower middle class background, both parents - one English, one Welsh - having been teachers.

Interviewed 30 March 1998.


**Ali Smith**: novelist and short story writer (novels, *Like* 1997 and *Hotel World* 2001 which was short-listed for the 2001 Booker Prize; short story collections, *Free Love* 1984 and *Other Stories and Other Stories* 1999) was known to be interested in the subject studied for the thesis and in the political climate in Scotland. She has lived in England for some years, but attended University at Aberdeen and was born and brought up in Inverness. She describes herself as being aware when she was growing up that she and her family were moving from working into middle-class.

Interviewed 27 August 1999.

*(Theatre)*


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of identity in general (for example, *Timeless*) and national identity in particular (*Europe* and *Caledonia Dreaming*). The latter was set in Scotland against the backdrop of despondency - the 'mood of the country' - when a Conservative government was re-elected in 1992.


**John McGrath:** founder-director of 7:84 Theatre Company (1971 to 1988), playwright, screen writer and filmmaker, is not Scottish, but is considered here as having been a major figure in theatre in Scotland and, hence, having been influential in terms of representations of Scottish identity. 7:84, which followed a left-wing tradition of taking theatre out to working-class communities, separated into English and Scottish companies in 1973 when Liverpool born McGrath's '7:84 Scotland' produced the *The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil.* He left 7:84 in 1988 ('in protest at changes recommended by the Scottish Arts Council'), but continued to write for the stage (*Border Warfare* 1989 and *Ane Satyre of the Fourth Estate* 1996) and returned to film writing and making (with his production company Freeway Films) setting up Moonstone to support new film-makers and screenwriters in the development.


**Tom McGrath:** playwright (*The Hard Man*, 1977, *Animal* 1979, *Laurel and Hardy* 1976) and Associate Literary Director (Scotland) at the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh represents the older generation here and is highly thought of by both critics and other artists for pushing the boundaries of theatre through experimenting with styles and formats beyond conventional expectations of 'a play', most notably with *Animal* 1979. He is perhaps best known for *The Hard Man*, co-written with ex-Peterhead and Barlinnie Prisoner and sculptor, Jimmy Boyle which was also adapted for television. His facility for improvisation is further demonstrated in his other talent as a jazz pianist and he has been committed to encouraging new writing, and facilitating communication between foreign and Scottish writers and audiences.

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41 A Scottish Arts Council post.

Ian Reekie: director of 7:84 Scotland from 1992 until 2000. 7:84 had thrived in the left-wing climate existing from the early 1970's and through the early 1980's when workers, Unions and the Left were resisting the decline of various industries. From a younger generation than the original founders (see John McGrath earlier), Reekie was Director over a period which saw de-industrialization accepted as inevitable, and the Labour Party metamorphose into New Labour. He describes himself as having been 'politicized' from an early age, his parents having been actively involved in left-wing politics and Trade Unionism. Interviewed 14 December 1998.

(Art and design)

George Wyllie: sculptor (probably best known for his 'Paper Boat' first launched in May 1989 and 'Straw Locomotive' 1988). The two examples of Wyllie's work listed here reached a wide audience (aided by media coverage) because they functioned as 'spectacle' and were exhibited at the Glasgow Garden Festival, considered an event with cultural repercussions for the representation of Scottish identity here. They were also commentaries on the cultural/political climate of 1990's Scotland, (the first literally) raising questions over the loss of traditional industries such as shipbuilding and engineering, and highlighting the impact of deindustrialization and disneyfication on identity,\(^{43}\) and over the neglect of material history (when the 'Paper Boat' later sailed under the Forth Bridges) for its own sake and as representative of Scottish innovation and achievement. Wyllie had contributed to a Murray Grigor\(^{44}\) documentary on the conservatism inherent in institutions with an influence on the commissioning and preservation of public art, design and architecture in Scotland in the 1990's.

Interviewed 10 and 19 September 1999.

Janice Kirkpatrick: designer and founder/director of design company Graven Images, was known to be a frequent and very articulate commentator on design in general and specifically in relation to Scotland, for example, the infrastructure (education and opportunities) and attitudes towards design in Scotland (including the confidence of Scottish designers). She has contributed to debates on design and culture on Radio, in the Press, and

\(^{43}\) The Straw Locomotive was suspended above the Glasgow Garden Festival site from the Finnieston crane then symbolically burnt. Ian Spring found himself unable to decide whether these pieces were 'gross irony or effrontery' in Spring, Ian. **Phantom Village: The Myth of the New Glasgow** (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990) p127.

\(^{44}\) Fakelore produced by Viz Productions (Murray Grigor) in 1995.
through writing and presenting a television series on design. She claims that locating her (now internationally known) company in Scotland was a deliberate act of defiance against a conventional notion that 'the best' design could only originate from London.

Interviewed 7 May 1998.

**Professor Duncan Macmillan:** art critic, Professor in Fine Art and Curator of the Talbot Rice Gallery at the University of Edinburgh, and writer of several publications on Scottish art and painters. Macmillan's *Scottish Art 1460-1990* published in 1990 presented a comprehensive history reinterpreting Scottish art in context, that is against the framework of Scottish history (social, economic and political conditions, the cultural milieu, and relationships with other cultures), and against the framework and influences of other art movements European and North American art on it (and vice versa).

Interviewed 6 May 1998.

*(Film, Television and Radio)*

**Colin Cameron:** Head of Production for BBC Scotland at time of interview, previously a programme maker for the BBC in London. Cameron was selected for interview on the same basis as Cosgrove below, except that working for the BBC, it was considered that the constraints which inevitably influence the representation of various identities would be different from those governing programme and filmmaking at Channel 4 which has a perhaps less mainstream profile and policy. Cameron was also responsible for commissioning writers, film and programme makers and was, like Cosgrove, in a position of huge influence in the context of the subject explored for the thesis.

Interviewed 23 April 1998.

**Stuart Cosgrove:** Head of Channel 4 Nations and Regions, writer and commentator on the arts, popular culture, and football (presenting Radio Scotland's *Off the Ball*); previously involved in film through his independent production company 'Big Star in a Wee Picture' and presenter of BBC2's arts and culture review show, 'The Late Show', in the early 1990's. Cosgrove was selected as an articulate commentator on culture and because he had just been given the post as head of the newly created Nations and Regions division of Channel 4 which was seen as an attempt to move away from the traditional metropolitanism of the broadcasting and film industries. Channel 4 (and the BBC in recent years, see Colin Cameron profile above) commission writers and filmmakers and co-produce films for cinema release, the relevance for this study being that they therefore have a huge influence on cultural
representations - both in terms of the representations that are produced and the size of audience these can potentially reach compared to the arts and museums.

Interviewed 10 April 1998.

**Billy Kay:** independent producer of radio documentaries (broadcast frequently on BBC Radio Scotland). Kay focuses on different aspects of Scottish history and identity, frequently on relationships and links between the Scots and other cultures (for example the history of the Scots in America and their relationship with native Americans, the Scots and the French). He was selected because of his interest in identity including his television series *Scots: The Mither Tongue* broadcast in the 1980's which, for the purposes of this study, is seen as part of a cultural nationalist movement, and one of a number of projects from the 1980's which re-validated Scottish culture (in terms of re-validating Scottish art, see also Professor Duncan Macmillan's *Scottish Art 1460 - 1990*).

Interviewed 9 April 1998.

**Peter Mullan:** actor (television, *The Steamie* and films *Braveheart*, *Trainspotting*, *My Name is Joe* 1998 and *Miss Julie* 2000) and filmmaker (full length feature films *Orphans* 1997 and *The Magdalene Sisters* 2002). As well as representing a successful Scot living in and working out of Scotland, Mullan is an outspoken commentator on the film industry in Britain and on elitism in the arts, claiming that working-class artists have traditionally been disadvantaged and that the representation of Scottish working-class identity has been limited as a consequence of the expectations (middle-class) of those in positions of power and influence in the British film and television industries. He is a supporter of the Scottish Socialist Party.

Interviewed 7 August 1999.

(Music)

**James Macmillan:** Composer and classical conductor (work includes *The Confession of Isobel Gowdie* 1990, *Veni, Veni, Emmanuel* 1992 and *Ines de Castro* 1995) was approached specifically because he is unusual in Scottish terms. He has become successful in a minority field - possibly one of the last still considered 'high' art - and having achieved international status (feted also in London with a major retrospective of his work held there in the late 1990's) he continues to live in and work from Scotland. In the weeks prior to being interviewed Macmillan catapulted himself into the media spotlight with a lecture given

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during the Edinburgh International Festival claiming that anti-Catholicism was 'rife' in Scottish society (see Chapter 8).
Interviewed 20 August 1999.

(Museums)

Dr. David Clarke: Head of Archaeology at the Royal Museum of Scotland and Exhibitions Director for the New Museum of Scotland project (opened in 1998). Clarke was heavily involved in attempts to see the New Museum Project become a reality (first mooted in the 1960's then agreed to 'in principal' by the Conservative Government in 1981) although funding for it was not finally announced until January 1990. The new museum was researched for this study as it was considered both cultural event and product (project, building and related controversies) and of special interest because of the period during which the project came to fruition, that of increased national feeling in Scotland. Dr. Clarke was also responsible for the commissioning and installation of contemporary work from Scottish artists (for example, Eduardo Paolozzi) and artists who identify (and have been identified) with Scotland (for example, Andy Goldsworthy), often as integral parts of the exhibitions in several of the Museum's galleries.
Interviewed 14 July 1999.

Elspeth King: Curator of the Smith Art Gallery and Museum, Stirling at time of interview; previously Director of the Dunfermline Carnegie Trust developing the Abbott House Heritage Centre, Dunfermline (opened in 1995); Keeper of the People's Palace Museum, Glasgow from the 1970's until 1990. King was involved in a cultural controversy which reached the wider public in Scotland through the media due to widespread support from the Scottish cultural community (detailed later in the study). Director of Glasgow Art Galleries and Museums, Julian Spalding's decision not to give her the post of curator of social history in 1990 was perceived by King's supporters as political, confirming their fears over the

48 A New Museum for Scotland. Unpublished papers from symposium held at Royal Museum of Scotland, 16/10/90. Royal Museum of Scotland archives department: Ms.069(411) Edi.NMS. Funding was announced by Secretary of State, Ian Lang after the project had been confirmed by his predecessor, Malcolm Rifkind in June 1989.
49 Hillel, Mira. 'After the tin boxes, shapes from a can' in The Standard, 23 May 1996.
50 Ms. King, had developed the Peoples' Palace as a museum of the Glasgow working-class.
51 'Elspeth King Supporters'. Letter to Glasgow Herald, 8 June 1990. Signatories to this letter include Stewart Conn, Billy Connolly, Janice Galloway, Alasdair Gray, Marcella Evaristi, Hamish Henderson, Joy Hendry, Archie Hind, Philip Hobsbawm, James Kelman, Tom Leonard, Bernard MacLaverty, Spike Milligan, Edwin Morgan, and Alan Spence.
impending political climate which they interpreted as threatening to the Left and to working-class identity in Scotland.


It should be noted that while he was an important figure, little of the interview with Hamish Henderson has been used in the study. The interview was unfortunately less informative than might have been expected due to the elderly Mr. Henderson's ill health and lack of concentration at the time.

3.5 Cultural artefacts and events

In addition to interviews, research material also comprises a range of 'cultural artefacts' and 'cultural events', terms discussed in Chapter 1. The following paragraphs define in more detail what is meant by these and sets out the criteria used in their selection for both study and use in the final presentation. In general terms first though, empirical research operated and was used as follows: cultural artifacts and events are presented where clarification of references made in interviews is required; where it was felt that their reason for doing so or the context in which they mentioned them is unclear; or to illustrate the prevailing climate of a period being discussed (for example, to illustrate increasing sensitivity or interest in national identity in Scotland, or the 'mood' of the country in relation to the Conservative Governments of the 1990's). Others have been referred to if they have been mentioned either in critiques of Scottish art or analyses of Scotland and Scottish culture, in which case they have been considered 'influential' in the context of this study, for example, Alisdair Gray's novel, Lanark. Within this broader set of criteria, works and products have also been referred to if:

- they contribute to the theme under discussion, whether in support, or in contradiction of the hypothesis: for example, the idea of a new confidence in Scottish art and identity (Gray's Lanark mentioned above has been described as marking a turning point or 'literary landmark' in Scottish literature); the question of whether art filters through to

53 'A Sober Look at the Thistle', The Usual Suspects 20th April 1997, BBC Radio Scotland. Douglas Gifford prologue followed by studio discussion with Joyce Macmillan, Cairns Craig (Edinburgh University and editor of Cencrastus) and Gordon Graham (Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen)
54 See theme 4: '...Gray's novel detonated a cultural time-bomb which had been ticking away patiently for years...'; 'the publication of...Lanark, whose still-reverberating effects on Scottish literature can be
influence what the book trade refers to as the 'non-book-buying public', but more widely, people who are not direct consumers of the arts (Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting* was mentioned by several interviewees in the context that it reached a wider audience due to media interest in the novel, its author, and the film adaptation)

- they illustrate stereotypes of Scottish identity or have been available to inform the stereotypes. These might range from the arts (dominant genres or narratives, for example Kailyard and anti-Kailyard, urban realism and 'Urban Kailyard') to popular culture (fiction such as *No Mean City*\(^5\), television dramas, or comedies which recycle stereotypes of Scottish identity such as Rab C. Nesbitt, and so on)

- they illustrate that alternatives - in terms of representations of Scottish identity as well as producers of Scottish art - have existed (for example Alan Massie's novels set in twentieth century Scotland provide representations of a middle and upper middle-class Scottish identity which has been 'at odds', for several decades, with the dominant representation of Scottish identity as working-class and left-wing).

Several films and television dramas researched for the project were selected according to the criteria above, for example, ones which subvert (or were made with the intention of subverting) stereotype representations (for example *Trainspotting* and the television series *Hamish MacBeth*); films mentioned by interviewees and in analyses studied as background research (for example, the Bill Douglas Trilogy). Similarly, documentary films were researched (for example 'Seawards the Great Ships\(^6\)') if referred to in analyses, and also as they are evidence of how Scottish identity (industrial working-class in this case) was being represented at different periods with different political climates.

Theatre productions attended from the early 1980's – the period considered as marking the renaissance, or of 'remarkable transformations of Scottish culture' - up until the time of final writing are considered valuable research data for this project.\(^57\) As well as new works there were revivals of earlier classics of Scottish writing within this period, for example 7:84 Theatre Company's 1982 production of Ena Lamont Stewart's *Men Should Weep* (1947).


\(^6\) Made by John Grierson for the Films of Scotland group in 1960.

part of the company’s 'Clydebuilt' season58 (relevant here, again, in terms of the theme, 'Scottish identity as Working-class'). The latter provides a case in point with regard to the fact that 'a play' (in this instance) is not fixed or static, and that different productions (even performances of the same production on different evenings) can vary radically. This is a point acknowledged throughout the thesis (see Chapter 1), as is the fact that both audience and critic responses and interpretations are contemporaneous with the climate in which they are formed: for example, some writers, directors and so on have explored the subjects of Scotland, Scottish politics and identity deliberately59, while others - and their creative work - have been 'unwillingly' dragged into the debate by audiences (see footnote60), other cultural commentators, and later adaptations of earlier non-Scots works.

3.5.1 Cultural events

Events which, for the purposes of this study are collectively referred to as 'Cultural events', are those which do not fall into the category of cultural products explained earlier, but are referred to in the thesis for similar reasons. That is, broadly (see detailed explanation on selection of cultural products given earlier), they are referred to:

- where interviewees have referred to them and it is felt that some clarification is required
- where they have been widely referred to in analyses and critiques of Scotland, Scottish cultural life, society and politics
- where they support the discussion of various themes and sub-themes explored.

The cultural events considered most significant in this study, as opposed to any others referred to according to the criteria given above, are ones which are considered to 'illustrate the climate of the period in which they took place...increasing sensitivity in Scotland about national identity and Scotland's political situation', as stated earlier. These range from the more obvious and fairly substantial 'cultural events', such as the Glasgow Garden Festival, Glasgow’s year as 'City of Culture', or the day of the opening of the new (devolved) Scottish Parliament, to smaller ones such as the staging of the return of the Stone of Destiny to Scotland by Conservative Secretary of State, Michael Forsyth, and to 'cultural controversies'

58 Part of 7:84's 'Clydebuilt' season reviving several classics of Scottish working-class theatre from people such as Ena Lamont Stewart and Joe Corrie. Stevenson, Randall and Wallace, Gavin (eds.). Scottish Theatre Since the Seventies, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1996) p68-69.


60 As an example of the mood in the mid 1990's, David Greig described an after-show discussion of David Harrower's play Knives in Hens which is deliberately non-specific about its geographical location: 'Audiences wanted it to be about them and wanted to drag it towards them and it wasn't unwilling, but it was just that they were missing other things because they were so concerned with 'Is this a Scottish play'. David Greig, interviewed 20 June 1997 and 17 March 1998.
such as the Elspeth King/Julian Spalding 'debacle'\textsuperscript{61}, and Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales\textsuperscript{62} attempt to influence the architectural style of the New Museum of Scotland. Each of these received media attention and attracted the attention and (occasionally) involvement of members of the cultural community. Also, comparison between reactions to them at the time (from newspaper reports, articles and polemical essays) and more recent interpretations (by interviewees and in recent publications), illustrate how the cultural and political climate has developed over time.

3.5.2 Crossover between background and empirical research

'Scotch Reels' and 'Scotch Myths'\textsuperscript{63} are referred to in the study as they were cultural events; were influential as they presented critiques and analysed perceived problems in the representation of Scottish identity; and they are also well-known in the field (referred to in several subsequent analyses and critiques, and also familiar to several interviewees). The publication accompanying the film event Scotch Reels\textsuperscript{64} was studied as background data, but also provided some of the impetus for carrying out empirical research. Several artefacts mentioned by its contributors (mainly film and television, but also literature) were studied and are referred to according to the same set of criteria as other cultural products and events (detailed earlier above). The two events/analyses combined also comprise a discourse referred to in the thesis as 'the Scotch Myths discourse'. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 5 (theme 2), but can be summarized as a critique of the recycling of 'traditional' representations of Scottish identity: 'tartanry' and Kailyard.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{61} The passing over of Peoples' Palace Museum curator, Ms. King for a senior post by Mr. Spalding, the Director of Glasgow's Galleries and Museums, which was presented as a political decision.

\textsuperscript{62} His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Debrett's Peerage Ltd., extract from Debrett's New Guide to Etiquette and Modern Manners by John Morgan. (http://www.debretts.co.uk) accessed 23.02.03.

\textsuperscript{63} 'Scotch Myths' was referred to earlier in this chapter as a discourse, but its title was taken from an exhibition and accompanying film 'exposing' kitsch ideas of Scottish culture and identity, produced by Barbara and Murray Grigor in 1981. 'Scotch Reels' was a three day discussion of Scottish film culture, accompanied by a publication, which took place during the 1981 Edinburgh International Film Festival. MacArthur, Colin (ed.). Scotch Reels (London: British Film Institute, 1982).

\textsuperscript{64} MacArthur, Colin (ed.). Scotch Reels (London: British Film Institute, 1982).

\textsuperscript{65} According the editor of Scotch Reels, Colin MacArthur, 'tartanry' was exemplified in the extreme in Hollywood films such as 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', starring David Niven and 'Brigadoon', starring Gene Kelly and made in 1948. Kailyard refers to Scottish writing produced at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century which has been criticized as sentimental and as representing Scotland and Scottish identity as parochial and domestic. Films claimed to fall into such a category range from 'Whisky Galore', made in 1949 and, arguably in Bill Forsyth's 'Local Hero', 1983. MacArthur suggested the two were found combined in representations of Scotland and Scottish identity in film: '...tartan
The representation of Scottish identity as working-class (see themes 2 and 4) was the preferred alternative to traditional stereotypes though there was also a suspicion of social or urban realism among proponents of the Scotch Myths critique (also discussed in more depth in later chapters). As an example, the television plays of Peter McDougall have been criticized as sensationalizing working-class experience, and Bill Douglas's film Trilogy, 'My Childhood', 'My Ain Folk' and 'My Way Home'—representing the filmmaker's deprived childhood in a mining district on the outskirts of Edinburgh and his 'escape' from it—is considered to have been 'left out' of the Scotch Myths equation (discussed in later chapters).

3.6 Other Research

Debates, courses and conferences (open to the public or otherwise) were attended if considered particularly relevant to the study whether directly dealing with representations of Scottish identity (for example a course on representations of Scottish identity in film: 'Kilt Fiction') or focusing on subjects related to the thesis such as Scottish art, literature, history, society and politics. Like the interviews and several of the cultural artefacts and events researched these were doubly pertinent, if not topical, because they were taking place in the period being studied - that leading towards the Referendum on Scottish devolution - and many addressed their subjects in this context. For example, a series of lectures on Scottish culture and politics was held as part of the Edinburgh International Festival in 1999 in which a number of artists, broadcasters, critics and other cultural commentators took part. Useful data in itself is the fact that media interest in these provided an example of how the arts, or debates in the arts filter through to become available to the wider community (described


66 Just Another Saturday then Just A Boy's Game (1979).

67 Peter Mullan, actor. Interviewed 23 July 1999. Also see Noble, Andrew. 'Bill Douglas Trilogy' in Dick, Eddie (ed.). From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book (Scottish Film Council and British Film Institute, 1990).

68 'Kilt Fiction: Scottish Film'. 1997 International Spring Course, run by the Centre for Continuing Education, The University of Edinburgh.

69 'For example, 'Scotland's Boundaries and Identities in the New Millennium?', hosted by the Division of Sociology, University of Abertay, Dundee and sponsored by The British Sociological Association (Scotland). 14 - 15 April 1998; and 'The New Scotland: Politics: society, culture and the future of Scotland'. Run by the Centre for Scottish Public Policy at the Tron Theatre, Glasgow 30 and 31 May 1998. See relevant section in Bibliography for further examples.
earlier as non-direct consumers or participants in the arts) in the late twentieth century. The lecture given by composer and James Macmillan claiming the widespread existence of anti-Catholicism in Scotland led to subsequent publications, thus extending the debate on that subject. Several similar events were attended on the above basis (see footnote and bibliography).70

The subject(s) of Scottish culture, identity and politics was the theme of several television and radio broadcasts throughout the 1990's, and one referred to in the thesis - 'A Sober Look at the Thistle', featured on BBC Radio Scotland's The Usual Suspects - focussed specifically on Scottish culture, identity, and politics for several weeks preceding the Referendum on Devolution.71 In it a monologue was delivered each week by different contributors (including Douglas Gifford, Professor of Scottish Literature at Glasgow University; writer and journalist Peter Arnott; sculptor Alexander Stoddart; and museum curator, Elspeth King), followed by a studio discussion involving several people considered experts in their fields (for example, theatre critic and journalist, Joyce Macmillan; Head of English Literature at Edinburgh University and former editor of Cencrastus, Cairns Craig; and Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen, Gordon Graham).

Some less public debates - organized or held at Universities (although the Sunday Times' 'A Most Historic Nation' was covered by its sponsor) - were also attended, again, because of their relevance to the subject of the study and as a means of collecting background data (for example from unpublished papers which were delivered). These are also considered as empirical evidence too, for while the in-depth interviews conducted as two-way conversations were detailed earlier, attendance at debates such as the above also falls into the category of 'participant observation' in terms of collecting qualitative data, as they allowed me to note the profile of and interest in 'Scottishness' in the 1990's, both contributors and audience members comprising, in effect, my 'informants'.72 Conferences on Scottish history were attended for background material on how histories (representations of Scottish identity) have

70 'Shaping the Nation: Scottish Culture in the Curriculum', Edinburgh Book Festival 25 August 1997. Tom Devine, Bruce Lenman, Derrick McClure, Robbie Robertson and chaired by Graham Caie. Organised by the Saltire Society; 'Writing Scotland: Michael Shea and Paul Johnston', Edinburgh Book Festival 25 August 1997. Michael Shea, State of the Nation and Paul Johnston, Body Politic, discussing the subjects of their latest novels which are, respectively, a 'struggling' independent Scotland, and an Edinburgh whose 'citizens lives are dedicated to the welfare of tourists attending a year round festival'.

71 'A Sober Look at the Thistle', The Usual Suspects, BBC Radio Scotland, broadcast in April 1997.
always been influenced by the climate of the period in which they were produced\(^7\) (for example representations of the Scots and Empire\(^7\)).

### 3.7 Summary

Theoretical ideas or background data relating to the problem and hypotheses examined in the study were reviewed and set out as 'themes' in Chapter 2, and this chapter has detailed how the research problem, the methodology, and structure of the thesis were interdependent.

In the following five chapters, each of the themes set out in Chapter 2 (which, as shown here, were developed for theoretical as well as data management reasons) is returned to. The emphasis in these later chapters is on empirical material - mainly, on the responses of interviewees to the themes explored. This is supported and clarified where relevant or deemed necessary (see earlier paragraphs) by the other forms of empirical data detailed earlier: broadcasts, conferences and cultural events observed; references to cultural artefacts and further cultural events; analyses of written or other material from people involved in Scottish cultural life who were not interviewed (and occasionally of non-interview material from interviewees). As said here, empirical data including cultural artefacts were used where it was felt that they supported, illustrated or were considered representative of beliefs expressed about Scottish identity and its representation or analyses of it, and while the use of some was suggested by existing analyses, most could be seen as 'primary' sources read, watched, or observed by myself over the years during and prior to undertaking this project.

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\(^7\) Taylor, Steven J. and Bogdan, Robert. *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: a Guidebook and Resource* third edition (Canada: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1998) p.24, and pp.36 - 37 on 'covert research'.

\(^7\) 'A Most Historic Nation'. Sunday Times Conference held at Glasgow University, 8th March 1997; 'The New Scotland: Politics: society, culture and the future of Scotland'. Run by the Centre for Scottish Public Policy at the Tron Theatre, Glasgow 30 and 31 May 1998; 'Scotland's Boundaries and Identities in the New Millennium?'. Hosted by the Division of Sociology, University of Abertay, Dundee and sponsored by The British Sociological Association (Scotland). 14 - 15 April 1998; 'Scottish History and the Scottish Media', Symposium held at Research Centre in Scottish History, University of Strathclyde, 19 February 1998.

\(^7\) 'Guns for Hire: Empire and the Scottish Soldier' 3rd Conference in the Scotland and Empire Project a joint research programme of National Museums of Scotland, University of Lancaster, University of Strathclyde, Research Institute if Irish and Scottish Studies, and University of Aberdeen. Held at the Museum of Scotland on 12 May 2000.
CHAPTER 4
SCOTLAND'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ENGLAND: LEGITIMATING LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY BELIEFS THROUGH 'HISTORY'

Always defining yourself against something else. Always. It makes me terribly uneasy and I also know it's a source of creativity.

Writer, Ali Smith, 27 August 1999

This chapter extends further the first 'theme' of chapter 2, one of three related to the belief that Scots have suffered (consciously, or not) from a sense of cultural inferiority and that this may have been influenced by the representation of their national identity in the past. Chapter 2 suggested the importance of the Scottish/English relationship and that 'histories' of it were being used to legitimize the Scots' rejection of Westminster and British identity by the late twentieth century. While chapter 5 looks at the use of the more recent past, this one focuses on beliefs surrounding earlier events which can be described as iconic in terms of both Scottish history and identity, such as the Wars of Independence and the 1707 Treaty of Union.

The first section is concerned with ways in which difference between the two cultures, and the representation of the Scots as having 'historically' had to defend themselves against English imperialism, have been legitimated. After looking at representations which suggest that military and economic force were brought to bear in the latter, beliefs about cultural dominance and 'denigrations' are considered, particular attention being paid to the late eighteenth century's standardisation of language and the invention of 'high art'. Several points introduced in this first chapter will be returned to again in later ones including: the question of the relationship between art and politics; the notion of 'British' or Unionism as an elite then middle-class identity; and that of middle and upper-class Scots having 'bought into' notions of English culture as superior.

The structure of chapter 2, where theoretical ideas and analyses were reviewed, is repeated in this and the next four chapters, but the emphasis in these is on empirical material, in descending order of importance: on excerpts from interviews conducted with key figures from the Scottish cultural sphere; on analyses of writing or comments made by figures from that realm but who
were not interviewed; on cultural events and artefacts (see chapter 1 for definitions of terms used).

4.1 Histories of difference, disadvantage and domination

The value of the Middle Ages in legitimating the Scots' desire for independence from England was suggested in chapter 2. Symbols of it - such as William Wallace and the Declaration of Arbroath (submitted to Rome as part of the Scots' defence against English claims to sovereignty over them) - were used by both unionists and nationalists in the 1980's and 1990's to legitimate their aspirations and present these as in tune with Scottish identity. The representation of the Scots as 'more' democratic, for example, was popular at the time and writer Alasdair Gray used this period to suggest that the Scots had a long history of democracy: 'The Bannockburn victory of 1314 made Scotland the first European state to have territorial unity under one ruler chosen by his subjects.' Likewise, the Conservatives also had to play this particular 'Scottish card' which resulted in Ian Lang, Secretary of State for Scotland, reviving 'nineteenth century unionist nationalism through the claim that Union was the "real legacy" of the medieval wars of independence'. While the latter interpretation was criticised (historian Michael Lynch, for example, claimed that history was being manipulated by Conservative politicians) a 'history' of the re-presentation of the period, particularly of Wallace, was also acknowledged, even by interviewee Elspeth King whose exhibition on the 'cult' of Wallace was running at time of interview in 1997 as part of a year of events celebrating the anniversary of the Battle of Stirling bridge.

3 Milligan, Tony. 'Tories in Kilts: Mourning for the Aristocracy' in *Cencrastus* No. 56, New Year 1997 pp3 - 5.
Gray used geology in what can be seen as an attempt to suggest the 'indisputability' of his 'scientific' argument that 'natural borders' separating the different terrains of Scotland and England prove 'real' rather than imagined cultural differences between the two peoples:

The geography which helped repel Rome explains why the Scottish Church, Catholic and Protestant, had no based archbishop, or single official to command it; why Scotland had no single capital city before James VI emigrated to London in 1605, but four ancient universities in very different cathedral towns.7

Writer Duncan McLean also felt that geography (and water) shapes a people suggesting again that a shared physical environment influences a sense of communal identity. He points out that this also operates within Scotland:

...not artificial or man-made/government-drawn borders or lines or boundaries. For example, Scotland and England seems like a natural border; water separating Shetland from Orkney, from the rest of Scotland; Northern Ireland (can't imagine that boundary existing forever - there's no geographical reason why it should be where it is - it won't last. Yugoslavia - won't last). People in Orkney weren't into Devolution as they couldn't see the advantage in being ruled from down there - Shetlanders say they're going down to Scotland.8

Accordingly, McLean wasn't 'all that excited' over Devolution because he had 'known all along that it would come...at last, politicians have caught up with reality'. Like Gray these references to 'Land' are presented as solid evidence and can be interpreted as attempts to oppose analyses that the relationship between people and land is a consequence of physical conditions, rather than an imagined romantic 'myth'. Playwright, Tom McGrath9 (who would not describe himself as a nationalist) expressed the relationship through references to art, saying he only started to feel 'at one with Scottishness' after reading Neil Gunn:

...you start to think reading about this place and seeing it for yourself, "what an amazing place, what an amazing conglomerate - I want to see it all and meet everyone in it!".

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8 See also O'Toole, Fintan. 'Imagining Scotland' in Granta 56: Winter 1996: people living in Scottish lowland cities might say they are 'going to see Scotland'; and the film version of Irvine Welsh's novel Trainspotting (made by Channel Four Films, 1995) where the main characters take a train out of the city for the day, 'It's the great outdoors...doesn't it make you proud to be Scottish?'. Welsh, Irvine. Trainspotting (London: Minerva, 1994).
9 McGrath is of Irish/Italian parentage. Tom McGrath, playwright and Associate Literary Director (Scotland) at the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh (Scottish Arts Council position). Interviewed 23 March 1998.
McGrath said that he felt he had much in common with people like Peterhead playwright, James Duthie and artist Will McLean whose work has often been inspired by fishing communities, the fishing industry, and the sea, and talked of the 'flow of the language' in Gunn's *The Silver Darlings*\(^{10}\) and the feeling 'that these were the same people as the Irish; the visionary nature of the Celtic mind'. While this suggests that representations by other artists have been an influence on him - or at least McGrath perceived this to be so at time of interview - he also mentioned an earlier first hand experience (trout fishing in the Tweed with his 'dad') which had made him begin 'to feel...glad it's [Scotland] your country' and rationalised the process:

> You become aware through geography, nature, you learn birds names and they're the Scottish names - Scottish birds, even - you buy into an idea, a concept of Scotland. You start choosing to identify with a group.\(^{11}\)

Duncan Macmillan suggested that the 'concept of the...landscape having this poetic investment in it' is not exclusive to Scotland having modern parallels in Europe and America, and, existing from the 1760's in Scotland, and the seventeenth century in Dutch painting, it precedes Scott whose novels have stereotypically been 'blamed' for 'romantic' traditional or conservative representations of Scotland as (little more than) landscape.\(^{12}\)

### 4.1.1 Union 1707

Gray's use of topography (earlier) presents the difference between 'us' and 'them' as value free, but the image of Scotland's disadvantage is then introduced: 'the geography that made Scotland poor',\(^{13}\) a representation which supports late twentieth century beliefs that Scotland has, effectively, been 'bullied' by its stronger neighbour:

> ...the national identity of the Scots, first defined when the territorial ambitions of their southern neighbour provided an incentive for the unity of the several nations which formed Scotland...\(^{14}\)

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11 McGrath made the point that when researching ape and monkey behaviour for his play 'Animal' he had noted how 'in nature, animals create a group, and create a common enemy', suggesting the natural inclination homo sapiens have towards forming a group. Tom McGrath, playwright and Associate Literary Director (Scotland) at the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh (Scottish Arts Council position). Interviewed 23 March 1998.
12 Professor Duncan Macmillan, Reader in Fine Art and Curator of the Talbot Rice Gallery at Edinburgh University, and author of several books on Scottish Art and artists. Interviewed 6 May 1998.
On the development of 'the nation', Scotland, Brown (above) claims that it was formed in 'necessary reaction to English expansionism' and this idea underlies narratives of Union, or rather the conditions under which the Scots had entered into the Treaty in 1707. A fairly large extract from A. L. Kennedy below illustrates this and how historical narratives could be related to what interviewees saw as the contemporary political climate in Scotland. Kennedy, for example, draws a direct analogy between 1707 - the greed and self interest of those 'bought' (a point returned to in chapter 7) and the existence of an 'immensely corrupt established right-wing government in London' - and the Thatcher period. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, she also suggests that the 'truth' about Union has been distorted or left-out (she also suggests that the British Broadcasting Company tried to suppress it. See references to the BBC in chapter 8):

...what isn't being taught is that the Act of Union was a complete sham...arranged the year before, and it wasn't about "primarily that it would be to our advantage as regards trade" - that's the lie beyond the lie. No, they blackmailed and finagled everybody in Parliament, they bought them. they didn't buy the country and it wasn't about trade it was about "You owe us so much that we now own your soul, and...you can have a seat in Parliament. Cheers, next!...I'd read a lot of Scottish history by the time I did the Act of Union [research for a BBC broadcast], and there was a specific time when...I really did think "I don't live in the country that I thought I did! This is so completely illegal. So completely self-serving", and it was very - like I was doing it when there was still a Thatcher government - you were looking at an immensely corrupt established right-wing government in London and the unification of all the forces against that, and they just bought their way out of trouble.

There was huge opposition from the BBC\(^\text{15}\) ...we basically got sabotaged...we had an imposed historical expert who would say, "That's not true, that's not true, that's not true" ...So we had to appeal to a higher authority in a University and he went through and went "No that is true, no that is true.... ...they always said..."it's a sad truth - trade will be better". It's not. We lost all of our trade with the West. They [England] hated...didn't like that we had a trade with America, and we lost all of our traditional trade allies...and because you'd had all the Jacobite risings, we were a threat...academics like Lenman are frowned upon because he's pro-Jacobite, and equally for anti-Union academics....


\(^{15}\) See later references to the BBC and to Scottish perceptions of it.
An element here is the belief that the 'truth' about Union and its 'boasted advantages' has been left-out - 'All of that other information is there and we've been consistently lied to by academics because still the winners are writing the history and its amazing that it resonates through time'.

Further, Kennedy also introduces the issue of elites versus 'the people', an issue which chimes with the way many Scots were thinking about their national identity in the 1990's:

...it was a fix...it was bumped through while petitions were coming from all over the countryside saying "For God's sake, don't do it!" But the people in Parliament did not care because they were all in debt and they were all bought! So it was bought and sold for English gold...the Scottish people didn't want it (it wasn't a democracy, I know - only 80 people had the bloody vote, but all the people who had the vote were bought the year before). It wasn't about "this is a sad necessity", it was about "we're being threatened by a military power, there will be a war, we don't have to give a bugger because we're gonna get nice estates in England and a seat in the House of Parliament...Thank you very much...

As said earlier such interpretations are influenced by the late twentieth century rejection of Westminster governance and the movement towards Scottish Devolution, but could be legitimated through first-hand accounts from contemporaries of the Treaty; for example, Scott quotes English writer Defoe (who had worked to undermine the anti-Unionist lobby at the time): 'Scotland was...in a political though not legal sense, always under the subjection of the English court...subjection without the advantages'. Such evidence was available also, therefore, to support analyses that Union and the dissolution of their Parliament was experienced as a 'loss' and possible trauma to the Scots in spite of their apparent confidence in their national identity (see Morton's analysis of Unionist nationalism between 1830 and 1860 in chapter 2). British identity, claimed Scott, had provided 'some compensation for the loss of independence'.

The idea of Britishness associated with the Empire was not an all embracing national identity which displaced and replaced the long established national identities. In Scotland this Britishness was seen as something separate from, and

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17 '...the notion that the Union was the outcome of "the politics of the closet" has become the new orthodoxy...'. See Whatley, Christopher. A. Scottish Society 1707 - 1830 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) p48.

18 Scott, Paul Henderson. The Boasted Advantages: The Consequences of the Union of 1707 (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1999) p8. Scott reproduces sections from Defoe's The History of the Union. Defoe's remit on behalf of the English Government in the run-up to Parliamentary Union in 1707, had been to 'report on developments in Edinburgh ... to ingratiate himself with Scottish politicians and try to influence them ... As a propagandist he was tireless...'.

compatible with, the continued existence of Scotland as a nation with its own sense of national identity...

(Morton blames twentieth century representations that nationalism was absent in nineteenth century Scotland on one of the 'universals'\(^{20}\) of nationalism theory: that all nationalisms are motivated by the desire for political independence.)

Dr. David Clarke (Exhibitions Director for the New Museum of Scotland project) stated that the Royal Museum of Scotland, established in the nineteenth century, reflected '...what Scotland wanted it to reflect:

...most of the intellectuals and the powerful in Scotland wanted to be British! i.e. they wanted to play-down being Scottish and play-up being British and the museums did exactly that...

When national museums were being established (by the middle-class in whom Morton located the Scottish 'ethnie'. See chapter 2) in small countries as opposed to the large Imperial powers in the nineteenth century, Clarke suggested, '...Scotland was this sort of absolute anomaly that had been collecting its history for two hundred years, but had never built the building in which to display it':\(^{21}\)

...most national history museums were developed in the nineteenth century as part of the assertion of nationalism and by and large they were developed in small countries. So you don't really have a National History Museum in France, or England, or Holland, or Spain. And those - not surprisingly - are also the great Imperial powers. They don't need a national history museum, but Portugal needs one, and Poland needs one, and Denmark needs one...the national history museum was set up after the defeat of Denmark by Germany. It's...one of the acts of bringing the country together in the face of disaster...anyway small places need them. So Scotland and Wales and Ireland have all got them, but England hasn't.

Duncan Macmillan made sense of the Scots willingness to buy into Britishness and partnership with England as follows:

They felt they were part of something which was a bigger...they could take their place in it...they were comfortable because they were looking outwards, there was a much bigger set of relationships going on so they weren't just focusing down on


\(^{21}\) Dr. David Clarke, Exhibitions Director for New Museum of Scotland project. Interviewed 14 July, 1999.
that [between Scotland and England]...it was genuinely supranational, whereas it came down to being just one island...

However, the belief that the Scots' 'political circumstances' - the loss of independence - had some effect on Scottish identity is expressed by sculptor George Wyllie, below:

It might just well be from 1707...something must have happened then - we lost our self respect a bit.

While describing the Scots entry into Union as a consequence of their own 'muck-up' with the Darien Scheme rather than 'bullying', John McGrath believed that Union was a key point in terms of Scottish cultural inferiority. McGrath:

...immediately after the Act of Union the entire aristocracy in Scotland suffered an inferiority complex through the eighteenth century. They - the middle-classes also suffered the same feeling - they had to be upsides with the English...in terms of culture...

Chapter 2 referred to the concentration in some historical analyses of Scotland on 'culture', in the sense of badges of national identity as opposed to the arts and writing in particular, suggesting that this might have influenced beliefs that voices of opposition to Empire and Union have been left-out. Trumpener argues that the prominence of Sir Walter Scott - who 'emphasised the heterogeneous nature' of Britain22 - may have contributed to this, effectively submerging alternative perspectives (Galt, for example, is claimed to have obviated the link between Empire and 'economic modernization's' derailment of 'the political struggle for democratization'23) This can also be seen as having potentially influenced the diagnosis24 that the Scots have suffered from internal conflict or 'division'125 over the pragmatic decision to give up their national independence. The idea of a 'split' in the Scots' psyche can be traced from C. Gregory Smith's

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'Caledonian Antisyzygy' in 191926 - a split 'between the worlds of realism and fantasy...inherent in the Scottish character' - to Daiches in the 1960's - 'kind of schizophrenia in Scottish letters' partly 'caused by thinking in one language and writing in another'. Having occasionally appeared in Scottish writing (for example, Stevenson's Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde and Hogg's Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner27), Calvinism has also provided critics with an explanation and therefore justification for finding inner conflict and contradiction national traits of the Scots. Writer Ali Smith: Jekyll and Hyde. It's the 'Caledonian Antisyzygy'. It's there - we have it to deal with. It's just the same kind of Hegelian synthesis of thesis and anti-thesis and we have to always be working against something. Your opposites are always inclined to meld together and be the same thing. Stevenson saw it then.

Young designer and business woman Janice Kirkpatrick was asked about similarities she had come across between design in Scotland and in other cultures, and it was pointed out to her that recent developments in Glasgow might be seen as having less in common with other northern cultures (as might be expected) and more with Barcelona (on which, as discussed in theme 5, it was re-modelled). Kirkpatrick: ...you do have things which are particularly Scottish: an irony, a conflict, a hypocritical work. I mean even this little hotel (The Brunswick in Glasgow designed by Graven Images) which is sort of very Calvinist on the outside and very Catholic...there is a real tension, a real duality about it which I think does have a very true relationship with things like Catalan architecture, Catalan design.

What can be termed nationalist critiques were able to re-present such tensions as having positive outcomes which could even have the result of finding Scottish culture and identity superior. Billy Kay: ...one of the important strands in Scottish identity...and one of the things that gives Scots this sense of distinctiveness all over the world...almost right through to the present day, is that they were among the earliest educated peoples in Europe. And that is all (thank God) to Calvinism! You know, John Knox established the first ideal of universal education, of universal literacy. Now it was basic literacy, but it was three centuries before England even contemplated it. I mean in the English...the British Parliament in the 19th century you have English aristocrats debating whether it's not a dangerous idea to have working-men being able to read

or write because, naturally it would give them desires beyond their station. Now Knox – three centuries before that – said everybody should be able to read the work of God to communicate directly with his maker etc. and that had an amazing effect on Scottish identity. I mean they were spreading all over the Baltic, all over the United States etc. They could read and write when no-one else could around them! (...that's exaggeration, but the mass of them could do that). And today that would be the equivalent of...going into a tropical Rainforest and having a Laptop computer. And that's what the Scots had because they could read and write! A lot of people couldn't read or write because education wasn't advanced in a lot of countries in Europe that early.

MacDiarmid's reference to Scotland's 'smallness' in A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle, for example, convinced Davie that in common with other 'small countries characterised by literary renaissances' this had resulted in the Scots' acceptance of 'endless struggle and debate', a feature 'absent from, or not prominently present in England'. In terms of the arts, therefore, this analysis posits that the existence of tension and ambiguity in small cultures saves them from slipping into the kind of cultural stasis or complacency which powerful cultures (with no compulsion to examine themselves) might: what had formerly been represented as a flaw (circa Smith) was being presented as a positive by the 1990's, and the peripheries as forging a genuinely 'British' culture and developing English literature. The 'disadvantages' of the unequal relationship with England were considered ultimately to have been advantageous in terms of cultural richness and identity, according to Stuart Cosgrove who saw his newly created post as Head of Channel 4's Nations and Regions as an opportunity to promote the peripheral cultures and express their perspectives, correcting the imbalance of London 'centricity' in the arts and broadcasting:

...if we look at other nations...smaller central American countries, or...the Republic of Ireland...parts of Spain...part of the reason that those areas have provided and produced rich cultural and literary traditions, is...the nature of their economic suppression...you can't have it all ways: you can't turn round and say "out of this suppression we've written this greatness", you can't turn round and say "well we would have written the greatness if we hadn't been suppressed". Well, no, I don't think we would have done. I think a lot of the best literature and culture that's come out of Scotland has come out of the sense of kind of, if not direct at least kind of condensed opposition as in a sense of striving to find an identity.

In a discussion about the relationship between Scottish identity and Scottish art and of making advantages out of disadvantage, Ali Smith brought in democracy (see earlier and Reekie later) but also says:

...you've got the enoble-ising of the small. Again it comes back to romanticism: it's the same thing as Charlie fighting the English; it's the same thing as Mary Queen of Scots being beheaded by...it's the heroic enoble-ing, it's the transfiguration of the commonplace, the thing that Muriel Spark...wrote about in The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie. That is what our country is about: the enoble-ing of the ordinary, of the small. I studied it at University and thought about it there. I always find it I'm coming back to, our country who [sic] has taken the small detail, the small person, the small country and make it not just important, but almost...to give it properties which are deeply romanticised...What is it Archie Hind calls it? Scottish understatement: you make of a drop of rain on a railing, you know, the kind of, stuff of God.

Broadly, there was a difference of attitude towards 'Britain' and British identity between younger and older interviewees though most tended to be anti-Union. Duncan Macmillan felt that 'the Scots had joined almost cynically to be part of the larger thing' and that, simply, '...when the larger thing ceased to be there, they ceased to have an interest in it'. This was acknowledged by Billy Kay:

[William] McIlvanney's got a nice line in one of his novels...being in the New Town of Edinburgh and all the names of like the Hanoverian succession in the place names and he says that, 'Scottishness was alive, but Britishness was a career'. And for a lot of people Britishness has been and still is, to a certain extent, a career...

He qualifies this by suggesting reasons as to why it was 'bought' into - to choose the Scottish option was to put yourself out on a limb because 'the purse-strings and the control of how that [Scottish] culture is represented is controlled by people who have that attitude as being something not quite central to Scotland'. Kay:

...a lot of people I know...who were very interested in Scottish culture and very proud to be Scottish, chose English options because they thought they would get on in life...would have better opportunities. Going into education, for example: what was the use of doing Scottish literature when all the teachers taught was English literature and if you went into a school all that would probably be taught would be English literature. Now this has changed a bit in the past 20 years, but when I was a student in the 1970's that was the prevailing attitude...because of that...I still feel like a stranger in my own country...

While one of the younger interviewees, Iain Reekie (Director of 7:84 at time of interview) acknowledged that in the past 'the Union did work for Scotland...in many
ways'. He then goes on to suggest that, as far as the Scots were concerned, it failed 'democratically'. The latter introduces a belief which existed about Scottish identity in the 1990's; that the Scots were more inclined towards democracy than the English (see in Chapter 8) and explains, 'there came a point where, politically, it couldn't serve Scotland well enough'. Reekie:

...purely in terms of democracy – it couldn't work well enough and that's one of the reasons why...the ultimate drive for autonomy in Scotland is a quest for democracy and not a quest for cultural and national identity.

Colley has said that Protestantism and Empire had been the 'glue' of British identity,30 but the notion of homogeneity this representation depended on could not for long be sustained in the twentieth century with large numbers of Catholic immigrants, particularly from Ireland, settling in Scotland. Playwright Tom McGrath, whose parents were Italian and Irish had identified with Britain when he was a child though: 'because of the war'. His allegiance then had been to the Union Jack (he had seen the St. Andrew's Cross or Saltire, he was 'surprised' when he saw the Lion Rampant) and still liked the idea of a United Kingdom today, 'OK - if it's equal', suggesting that he had doubts as to the power balances within such partnerships:

The difference is when peoples choose to link up, not have it imposed upon them.

The paternalism of British Imperial Protestantism can be detected in one of the major vehicles in attempts to construct mid-twentieth century ideas of Britishness as coherent and 'umbrella-like' the British Broadcasting Company and 'the architect' of what was in fact an extremely centralised organisation31 (as its predominantly English representation of British identity illustrates) was another Scot, John, Lord Reith.32 The BBC was seen by several interviewees to have been hugely influential in promoting 'British' identity and an establishment line as Kennedy suggests in an earlier extract, and was also believed to have broadcast a message about the status of peripheral voices (regional, and therefore working-class dialects and accents were restricted mainly to comedy, announcers using what Edwin Morgan refers to below as BBC English (language is a subject returned to again in the following section, 'Scotland as cultural desert'):

...when I was growing up, you listened to the wireless and, yes, I think you got the impression that here was a way of saying things. It wasn't the way of you and your family, it was different. I think we were probably brought up to believe this was the right way to do it. It wasn't called the King's English (or later it would be the Queen's English I suppose), but the idea of BBC English was...I think I can remember hearing that before the war, it was quite widespread and the reaction against that came...I think the war probably was the watershed there, because after the war the BBC itself changed and began to welcome a variety of accents. It took a while for this to happen, but it gradually began to be aware that there wasn't really a 'best' way of talking English. But I think I grew up with the idea that there was...not a best way, but certainly a better way of forming one's sentences than I was doing at home. And the BBC was supposed to be the guarantor of that kind of thing.

The perception that the BBC, like Britishness, was 'not' or even 'anti' Scottish existed amongst some interviewees (of the younger age group) and it must be assumed that this was a widespread view by the 1990's as according to Colin Cameron, Head of Production at BBC Scotland, this was something the BBC had been struggling to break-down - 'It's what 90% percent of my life is dealing with'. This reflects a late twentieth century Scottish perception that British means and has meant 'English to the English'.

Cameron:

...the BBC in Scotland performs less well than the BBC in the rest of the UK, and the audience research tells us that one of the reasons for that is because of the perception of the BBC within Scotland [is] of the BBC as a London-centric or south east-centric place. One of the things - and over the last 5 years we've improved that reading, we've closed the gap, it's not as wide now as it was 5 years ago - and one of the reasons that I think we've achieved that is because we have a much better representation across the board now on the network and the Scottish audience really responds well to seeing itself reflected to the rest of the UK and takes pride in that and watches it...and that improves perceptions.

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33 For example, playwright Peter Arnott monologue from 'A Sober Look at the Thistle', The Usual Suspects, BBC Radio Scotland, broadcast 13 April 1997.
4.2 Scotland as cultural desert.\(^{34}\) material poverty and parochialism

4.2.1 'Cultural denigration'

While Samuel Johnson admitted that there were Scottish men of learning and that a Scottish literature (which had 'found its way to Scotland') had existed from 'the middle of the sixteenth century, almost to the middle of the seventeenth', he also stated:

Till the Union made them acquainted with English manners, the culture of their lands was quite unskilful, and their domestick life uninformed; their tables were coarse as the feasts of Eskimeaux, and their houses filthy as the cottages of Hottentot.\(^{35}\)

Representations of Scottish culture and identity influenced by Johnson's equating of material with intellectual poverty could still be found as late as 1932 (Unionist politician Robert Boothby: 'Prior to 1707, the Scottish People were a pack of miserable savages, living in incredible poverty and squalor, and playing no part in the development of civilisation').\(^{36}\) The impulse to present Scottish identity in a more positive light from the 1980's saw the appearance of several analyses which attempted to correct earlier 'inferiorist' representations (from Fanon's 'cultural inferiorism' discussed in theme 3 of chapter 2). As discussed in the following paragraphs, such representations could be defined as evidence of prejudice, or of metropolitan or 'core' culture versus periphery. Alison Kennedy suggests the Scots are not unique in being subjected to what she claimed would be deemed racism if levelled at Asian artists rather than the Irish, Welsh or Scots:

...somebody like John Banville will never actually do all that well in Britain because he's a clever Irishman. He'll do great in America, he'll do fine in Australia, but can't actually do that well in England because he'll never get reviewed well, because he's a clever Irishman. It's not gonna happen. They don't like clever people anyway - if he was a clever Englishman he wouldn't do well, a clever Irish bugger is like, no way!

\(^{34}\) Craig suggests that those who surfaced out of this 'void' were represented as 'freaks' or accidental blips on an otherwise empty horizon. Craig, Cairns. Tutorial for 'Scottish Literature: Course 1, Recent Writing', Centre for Continuing Education, The University of Edinburgh, Winter 1997.


If nothing else, instances of English anti-Scottishness suggest that the relationship between Scotland and England was not entirely without tension in the centuries which saw the Scots embrace Britishness. While there were obvious 'denigrations' of the Scots in the eighteenth century, by parties exploiting English nationalism to their own ends - politician John Wilkes, for example, denounced the Scots as 'inherently, unchangeably alien...never, ever to be confused or integrated with the English', and described their advancement in the United Kingdom as indication that 'English history had gone into reverse' - several interviewees saw less direct means or insinuations of Scottish inferiority as having been more damaging and longer lasting in their effects, concurring with Davis' claim that the 'struggle' between Scotland and the core culture 'eventually centred itself in the domain of culture'. The 'cultural desert' analysis (see chapter 2, and later) argues that there is a history of Scotland being represented as cultureless, and the most literal method of doing this has been to simply leave Scots out of analyses of art - 'you can be damned by omission quite easily', claims Duncan Macmillan - or to leave art out of analyses of Scotland. Macmillan:

You'll get a figure like Fergusson: the only British artist who was really part of the Modernist movement in Paris at the beginning of the century...he was ignored, consistently ignored throughout the 20th century. Even the big 20th century art exhibition in the Royal Academy 10 years ago or less - he was not included...Any book about (any English published book)...20th century Art in Britain will mention people like Alan Davie or Paolozzi, but as English artists. They won't sort of acknowledge that their status is anything to do with being Scots. You look at the situation in Britain post-war: the only artists who were consciously part of international Modernism were Scots. They had naturally went [sic] back to Europe and picked up their connections and carried on, whereas the English had this enormous problem.

Composer James Macmillan said that 'music divides people' but that this was 'not...to do with nationality, but aesthetic', then went on:

...I have had no difficulty with my music down south, but...I think there's... a lack of comprehension sometimes about the cultural dimension of any Scottish artist...and they have no real knowledge of the Scottish history...there is an ignorance about Scottish culture in England...sometimes through ignorance, even

38 Scots were beginning to gain influential positions, in particular a rival, Lord Bute had become Prime Minister. Colley, Linda. Britons: Forging the Nation 1707 - 1837 (London: Vintage, 1996) p120.
though there's an ignorance there, it doesn't necessarily mean that it leads to an unfairness in approach. Sometimes it does, sometimes it doesn't.

Macmillan's 'Scottish dimension' included, above, the paralleling of 'England' with London (see metropolitanism later) and of 'working-classness' as an aspect of Scottish culture, an issue explored in detail in Chapter 8:

...there's a particularly kind of precious, ponsy aesthetic that is valued by a particular kind of London critic, and I think I came up against problems because [a piece he had written] is not ponsy, or precious...they assume (especially in music) that to be a musician you've got to come from the same kind of privileged middle-class background as them...

This equation of Scottish with working-class can also be traced in an English film critic's review - as related by Peter Mullan's - of his film Orphans. Like Kennedy earlier, Mullan believed that the tone of this criticism might be interpreted as racist had it been applied to an Asian or black film. Mullan:

...one of the best examples I've seen of rabid anti-Scots racism is the London Evening Standard Review awards - unbelievable! Unbelievable! Cos Alexander Walker (I've got a copy in the hoose...you've got to read this, it's brilliant, best review I've ever read). This thing's about...two hunner words (and Walker was a big Joe fan) and he pens the review after going nuts: he hated the film, fuckin hated it: "Disgusting, detestable, obscene, incomprehensible (to my ears anyway)...", close brackets! He ends by saying, "I say, give these people their freedom! Give them their independence. We'll all be much safer!" It's a stormer, you'll laugh! Now if he said that about a black film or an Irish film or...he would have lost his job.

As mentioned earlier, language is an aspect of culture several interviewees saw as crucial in terms of Scottish and English perceptions of British identity, and as both cause and evidence of Scottish inferiority (considered in the context of class and the influence of post-colonialism in themes 2 and 3 respectively). Billy Kay:

...I have never had that inferiorism [sic] complex. Now that might be to do with the fact that my parents, my grandparents, never once in their life said, 'Talk proper'...they were proud of the way they spoke and that might be to do with the depth of the Burns tradition in Ayrshire where...at family get-togethers Burns would be a living tradition along wi contemporary pop music. So I never had that alienation thing that a lot of people have, but the strength of identity I got from my family – political, cultural, linguistic – was so strong that I was surprised when I came across that cultural inferiority thing among other Scots.
Chapter 2 suggested that 'the language of religious and literary prestige' had started to become 'associated with southern English' as far back (at least) as the Scottish court's removal to London in 1603. While several interviewees (such as Morgan, below who has translated from Old English) were familiar with this analysis, the eighteenth century appeared to be viewed as important. This was the century in which Union took place, but which also saw the standardisation of English in which Samuel Johnson played a key role, arguably further inculcating the idea that English was 'proper' and the other dialects and languages of the British Isles (and their cultures) were backward. Edwin Morgan talked about Scots not having been standardised prior to Union, in effect, Scotland having lost its independence before 'national languages' had been constructed:

...because people do pronounce words differently in different parts of the country. Is two 'twa' or 'twaa', or 'twae'...so how do you spell it? Even if you think of the middle-ages when Scotland was still an independent country and people in all ranks of life spoke what - well they mightn't have used the word 'Scots', they probably called it Inglis, because they knew it was very closely linked to English...in the fifteenth century...the language was clearly different, but it wasn't really standardised. You wouldn't be able to buy a grammar of Scots in say the year 1500, it just didn't exist, so writers wrote in very different ways, in different spellings and would often use English words at times: Dunbar, if he couldn't get a rhyme in Scots he would just bring in an English word, so there's that kind of uncertainty, a kind of fluidity about the situation [which] has never got really settled and if Scots had continued to be spoken and admitted and admired throughout the eighteenth century as it was in earlier centuries, instead of people all learning English and trying to speak good English, there would have been probably some sort of Scottish - I don't know, academy: some attempt to have a settled kind of Scots which we never actually got, not even today.

...there wasn't even a standard English at that time, no. It took a long time for English to settle down itself. Shakespeare could spell as he liked, you know he spelled his own name in five different ways so the idea of a settled language is relatively recent I think. In English it wasn't until Dr. Johnson - not really till the 18th century - that you got the idea of a proper English.

John McGrath believed:

...the whole Scots accent changed during the eighteenth century: of the aristocracy and the middle-class. Sheridan, the playwright's father, came and gave elocution lessons to the Scottish aristocracy and middle-classes - all who could afford it...And if that isn't an inferiority complex, I want to know what is!

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He qualified this by saying that this 'wasn't just inferiority in a sort of comparison with England' (and that the English too had felt a sense of cultural inferiority in relation to the French), but the important element here is his singling out of the aristocracy and middle-class (see earlier):

A lot of the older [Scots] aristocracy also had houses in Paris and spent a great deal of their income (which they rack-rented the tenants for) on high-living in Paris. Not many of them were very happy to stay in Scotland and that's a kind of geographical inferiority complex which was extraordinary...the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France kind of changed subtly so that the Scots were trying to be like the French. Some of the aristocracy...spent a fortune...there's a lot of songs about this in the Gaelic: Highland landowners shoving off and spending all the rent in Paris.

The extract from Alison Kennedy links language with (words such as) 'domination' and 'oppression', and suggests that the Scots' continued willingness to accept this or to buy into a British identity which was culturally English (until the last decades of the twentieth century) is evidence of a sense of Scottish inferiority:

...because you had no articulate way of getting out of it you were stuck with agreeing to be repressed and saying "Yes I am less than you and I am incorrect and I am actually very sorry about, and I'll do bad English impersonations, or I'll go to London and spread anti-Scottish propaganda and go home". And I mean if you look at the Victorian cartoonists who were the most unpleasantly successful at cartooning the Irish - they were Scots! You look at the people who were most unpleasantly successful at imposing the Empire - they were Scots!

Although the earlier extract from John McGrath introduces the subject of class and it is mentioned again below where he talks of what he regarded as still existing prejudice:

Rab C.Nesbit accent is what people in England think the Scottish working-class people speak like - all of them, every single one!...So there is a sense in which being working-class, because you haven't been able to improve - 'improve' in the 18th century sense - your accent, or anglicise your accent does work to create a feeling of inferiority...

As said earlier, the subject of class and Scottish identity is returned to in Chapter 5 which also focuses on beliefs about the nineteenth and twentieth century.

**4.2.2 High culture and metropolitanism**

Remaining in the eighteenth century, analysts such as Crawford argue that some Scottish writers, for example Burns, celebrated the 'enlarged territory' which, linguistically, the Union made available to them, but at the same time 'lamented the dominating effect of purely English taste in literature'. The latter delighted in 'mingling...the low, dominated Scots language with the high,
dominant language' of 'proper English' to convey his opposition to the valuing of the 'cultivated' over 'uncultivated' taste and language.\(^41\)

With the exception of phases when the rustic or 'untaught' (though in cultivated forms or in a cultivated medium) became fashionable through figures such as Burns, 'high art' or culture resisted the encroachment of 'popular' forms and the (realistic) representation of the lower classes maintaining a distinction between the masses and social groups (the late twentieth century argument, 'dumbing down' is discussed in chapter 2, theme 1 and in chapter 8\(^42\)). Ironically, since Burns opposed the position taken by those whose aim was to ape English language and manners, completely jettisoning Scots (see chapter 2), Billy Kay's (who comes, like Burns, from Mauchline in Ayrshire) remembered his schooldays in the 1970's:

\[\ldots\text{getting a certificate one day a year to recite Burns's poetry then given the belt the other 364 days for speakin his language. And that was part of the Scottish experience, always feeling that Scottish culture, in a way, in official institutions was very underplayed or was a wee holiday from reality. The real business of the world was English and you were patted on the head and advised to go in an English direction.}\]

A movement towards presenting Scottish identity in a positive light in the 1980's and 1990's saw the appearance of several other ways to set right earlier 'inferiorist' analyses. One suggested that some negative critiques were influenced by the perspective that art concerned with politics or social conditions was either 'bad' art, or 'not' art, in other words, that they were the result of either elitism or centrisim. The former is examined in Chapter 5 (on the representation of Scottish as working-class), and the notion of 'centrist' or metropolitanism here. In the context of Scotland and British identity for example, Dr. David Clarke suggested there had been resistance to acknowledging the politics of museums and nationalism:

\[\text{It's interesting you know - there's a part of the Museum's Journal...has an article about the new museum [the new National Museum of Scotland] and...articles about other new museums - that's new national museums. There's one about the new museum in [Brazil] and there's one in Bhutan or somewhere...four relatively short articles...the interesting thing is that the other three places all talk in terms of the political dimension, but the article about the museum of Scotland never mentions it. And the fact is that in Britain we - I mean it's not as if the political}\]

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dimension's not there - but we act as though there is no political dimension to our museums, yeah?

Representing Scottish art as overly concerned with the political and social can be seen as linked to representations of it as parochial, for both side step real and perceived consequences of being a small nation or minority culture (see earlier section, 4.2.1 Union 1707) reflecting analyses which link economics and culture such as Hechter's which had appeared in 1975. This suggested that economic investment in the peripheries was motivated by 'ethnocentrism', and that having been 'conditional on political stability' this amounted to cultural suppression.\(^{43}\) Hechter's analysis is referred to in chapter 2, theme 3 on the discourse 'Scotland as colony', a discourse which illustrates how thin a line there was between the ideas 'metropolitanism' and 'cultural colonialism' in the 1980's and 1990's: both can be seen as ways of talking about the cultural relationship between England and the other nations of the UK. Models of culture (or art) emanating from the metropolitan 'centre', London, influenced Scottish art for much of the twentieth century: for example, until the 1960's the influence of English drama (the banality of which was criticised by contemporaries such as Sean O'Casey\(^ {44} \)) can be traced in mainstream Scottish theatre, an unfortunate fact of life, according to playwright David Greig:

...unlike the novel, London really, really is the theatre capital of the world, and it's just unfortunate that it's also the capital of Britain. It wouldn't matter if you were from Bradford or Denmark: your play being on in London would be some kind of validation. Not the same as it is in Scotland, but to some degree it's the same. The validation comes cos' it's a world theatre capital, but unfortunately we just do have the chip [on the shoulder].

Channel 4's Stuart Cosgrove acknowledged that there was 'an over sensitivity' about identity in Scotland, but rather than seeing this as a 'chip on our shoulder' he felt it was:

...prime and principally because we've always had a kind of economic and cultural imbalance between ourselves in relationship to England, and particularly towards the domination of London as a centre for kind of media imaging. There's no doubt about that.


Colin Cameron of the BBC turned the term 'parochialism' on the 'centre':

...while we've always looked to London as a term of reference, they never looked to us. You know, we just don't exist...it's a very, very parochial place, much more parochial than here.

Paradoxically perhaps, those areas of the arts conventionally considered superior because of their universality - still often thought of as elite forms, or 'high' art - are those used to represent 'the nation': National Opera Companies; National Ballet Companies; National Orchestras. Composer James Macmillan felt he had always been '...involved in a culture that didn't seem foreign, but seemed universal' and using the idea of universalism related his involvement in one of the 'elite' art forms with his early involvement with the Communist Party: '...I suppose my interest in political internationalism through the Communist Party, was mirrored in artistic internationalism':

...the composers I studied and was interested in were Germans...Austrians...Italians. Their nationality was an exotic and romantic thing to me growing up, but the fact that their music spoke universally was the most important thing and I wanted to be on track with that - not with their Italian-ness or their German-ness, but the fact that this music had a profound historical tradition and I wanted to be involved in it whatever way possible.

Earlier in this chapter, reference was made to the discourse that there is a 'split' in the Scottish psyche. As said, Calvinism is one of several causes posited to account for this and has also been used to justify interpretations of Scotland as a cultural desert, a belief Dudley Edwards describes as an 'orthodoxy'.\(^\text{45}\) Alternative interpretations suggest that it has stimulated creativity - in the form of critical responses to the hypocrisy of Kirk and 'respectable' society, for example, poets Fergusson and Burns' ('Holy Willie's Prayer\(^\text{46}\)), and that it may be responsible for the social (and hence political) content or concern present in much Scottish art\(^\text{47}\) (see Chapters 7 and 8). This analysis of Scotland is recycled in an extract from James Macmillan below (the week before being interviewed, Macmillan had given a lecture claiming that anti-Catholicism was rife throughout Scottish society\(^\text{48}\)):

\(^{48}\) Lecture delivered as part of the 'Cultural Reflections' series at the Edinburgh International Festival's headquarters, The Hub, 9 August 1999.
...the reasons why Scotland got lost...from the European mainstream is [sic] purely political. There are two body-blows\(^9\) to our historical culture. One I think, is the Reformation because not only was it a theological iconoclastic thing, but it was also an anti-art experience - it was anti-art, it was anti-music. It destroyed the arts, it destroyed the statues, the buildings, the altars, artefacts and it destroyed the music. It took the music out of the liturgy - they destroyed the composers (composers were killed at the Reformation), so there was a hugely iconoclastic break with the past at Scotland's Reformation.

Professor Duncan Macmillan acknowledges this discourse, but describes it as proof of the:

...success of the anti-Reformation propaganda, really from very early on. The sort of notion that you couldn't be civilised if you'd been so radical. I mean I think it is interesting the way in which the Reformation... people now still regard Knox as a joke figure, as a baddie. He was one of the first great European radicals! It's sort of coming to terms with your history. Its part of that.

While Billy Kay believed there was a 'reserve' in east coast people (which 'you find all over the North Sea') he also suggested that Calvinism got 'a bad Press':

...this idea that it stopped people singin and dancin etc. There's a myth about that. One wee example: when I did my work about Scotland and wine, the minister at South Leith Parish Church noticed that after the Reformation the amount of Communion wine...doubled than was drunk at Communion time...and the theory is that people started...no drinking and being serious. Well he noticed that they were still knocking it back after the Reformation!

Kay also believed that much of that in Scottish culture and identity defined as 'Calvinist', existed before the Reformation, an analysis supported by research such as Broadie's on pre-Reformation Scottish philosophy:\(^{50}\)

I was readin aboot Robert Henryson last night and the author suggested that that puritanical streak is in Henryson and is in Dunbar - and they're both pre-Reformation poets! So... it's been in the psyche of the Scot ... probably somebody from Norway and Sweden would say, "Aw it was with us too before the Reformation - it's just a Northern ... you know, the climate etc., etc".

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\(^9\) Macmillan believed the other 'body-blow' was the Union of the Crowns 'which involved the forced disappearance of all the court musicians at the very time that all over Europe the Princely court, the Royal court, the aristocratic court was becoming the very breeding ground of for the new art music...all our musicians went south'.

4.3 Summary

Beliefs introduced in this chapter are as follows: that Britishness was and has been culturally English - crucially, influenced by metropolitan notions of language and cultural superiority - and that both English culture and British identity were (hence) 'bought into' by peripheral elites then middle-classes. This sets the scene for beliefs that there is a relationship between Scottish national inferiority and class (see earlier on high culture and the arts having resisted popular forms and 'the discussion of class politics'), a premise explored in the next chapter, chapter 5, which examines the representation of Scottish as working-class.
CHAPTER 5
THE REPRESENTATION OF SCOTTISH IDENTITY
AS WORKING-CLASS

This chapter extends the second of three themes concerned with the belief that a Scottish inferiority complex has existed, and that the representation of Scottish identity has been a factor in this. Broadly, chapter 4 examined the notion that any sense of inferiority had been influenced by the relationship with a dominant (and, it was believed by some) dominating culture - that of England. There, in addition to Union, the late eighteenth century was seen by some as a key point; with the standardizing of the English language came the assertion that English culture was a model or represented an ideal of what a 'national culture' should be (see references to Dr. Johnson). This chapter explores the notion that there is some kind of relationship between Scottish inferiority, 'high culture' or the arts, and class, and it focuses on ways in which history has been used to legitimate late twentieth century representations of Scottish identity as different from English identity, in terms of class and political ideology.

As before, more comprehensive discussions of theoretical ideas and analyses referred to in this section can be found in chapter 2 (theme 2), for example, on claims as to the Victorians' influence on contemporary representations of the working-classes; and on the 'racialisation' of the working-classes (analogies were drawn between the representation of the British working-classes and that of non-white peoples in the colonies). In chapter 2 it is suggested that social and economic change after World War One acted as a catalyst to ideological and cultural changes which influenced the development of the representation of Scottish identity as working-class. More people from working-class backgrounds began to move into the arts and academia and (new) Marxism enjoyed renewed popularity with the post-1960's generation (social theories on class and national identity are reviewed in theme 4 Scotland and Thatcherism). A key discourse on the representation of Scottish identity which can be related to the above set of circumstances - the 'Scotch Myths' discourse - was detailed in chapter 2.
Other than in fields focussing on the arts, conditions – the economy, employment, health and housing – have often been emphasised in histories and sociological analyses of Scotland, and while several claim to take 'culture' into account (for example, see Morton and Nairn in chapter 4), often they are actually talking about 'symbols' or 'badges' of national identity. The main concern of this chapter is to consider how the cultural representation of Scottish identity as working-class has been understood and legitimated by people involved in the arts and Scottish cultural sphere, first and foremost by those interviewed for the study, but it also includes observations gathered from broadcasts and debates held in the 1990's and references to cultural artefacts and events related to the discussion.

5.1 The representation's existence and dominance

In chapter 2 it was suggested that this representation was widely acknowledged (in academia, for example, McCrone states, 'Scotland's relationship with England has taken on "class" connotations to the extent that class and nationality are often insinuated'). The fact that by the 1990's the representation of Scottish identity as working-class was being questioned, its narratives subverted and criticised as 'stereotyped', can also be argued as proof of its dominance. Further ways in which such criticism has been negotiated are looked at later, but there is a belief that this representation reflected the majority in Scottish society and therefore represented the 'reality' of Scotland. In an essay on Scottish television in 1983, for example, John Caughie argued:

...the traditions...of the literature and theatre based in working-class experience...since the twenties, seemed to offer the only real and consistent basis for a Scottish national culture.

Its dominance - particularly in theatre and the novel, as above - was also believed to be a reflection of the fact that Scottish artists were closer to the (urban - see later) working or lower-

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1 See also T. C. Smout's two volumes of *A History of the Scottish People*, published in 1987.

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classes than artists in other societies where the latter might represent exotic subject matter (chapter 8 explores the premise that Scottish artists have been guilty of 'self deception' in this respect). Billy Kay:

...there always has been an alternative tradition that Scottish writers and artists have been able to draw from. And I remember a friend of mine (who works in literature in Europe) - they'd a conference about contemporary writing and the underclass, and the realities of contemporary urban Europe - and more and more, it was the Scottish writers who were representing contemporary urban Europe wi a greater degree of accuracy than any other writers of any other country...I think the reason for that is...we already had an alternative to tune into...it would have been very difficult for Irvine Welsh to have invented himself in...Lisbon because...all there is, is the grand tradition in Portuguese letters, there isnae the tradition of the working-man having a voice. In Scotland there is this tradition, through Scots and although Irvine Welsh wouldn'nae regard himself as part of the Scottish tradition, I'm convinced that a lot of these writers that are portrayin urban reality in Scotland, the reason they can do that is because there was an alternative...whereas in a lot of countries there is no alternative to that grand tradition and that's a very Scottish thing.

Colin Cameron of the BBC thought there were '...all sorts of representations of Scotland which make up bits of truth' and wasn't sure there was anything that made up 'the whole total reality' (’...television and radio are as trapped in that problem as anything else') and wondered 'whether the sense of nationhood and who we are in Scotland is a very middle-class concern':

...as a middle-class Englishman, you just are...there's a kind of sense of right about it and you belong to something called Great Britain, you've ruled the world for a very long time, and that's the way it is, and the expressions of a kind of rampant nationalism in England tend to be in you know, the football supporting, Union Jack waving - arguably the working-class levels of it. Whereas in Scotland, the representation of that is in the middle-classes...people wear flags, get dressed up at Murrayfield on a Saturday afternoon. If you go to a kid in Falkirk on a housing estate, his parameters are nothing to do with Scotland. His parameters are extremely local or else they're very international - they're about America, they're about being Bruce Willis, that kind of thing.

(This in contrast with, for example, David Greig's observations on football's 'Tartan Army' later.)

5.1.1 Scotch Myths

Changes in society after the war (see chapter 1 and theme 4 in chapter 2) were reflected in the changing social profile of academia and the arts from the 1960's influencing a shift away from

telling history in terms of the monarchy or ruling classes towards telling it in terms of 'ordinary' men and women or 'social history'. This climate is reflected in the re-interpretation of Scottish history and culture from the 1970's which involved the rejection of traditional representations - tartanry or Highlandry, which (see Scotch Reels and 'Scotch Myths' in chapter 2) were criticised as fixing Scotland in the past. Billy Kay:

It is an image that has been verkitsched. It was one that started in the Romantic era and Water Scott propagated it and a culture that had been despised for the centuries before gradually became fashionable and then Scots began to adopt Highland Dress as their National garb.

Kay went on to say (from the perspective of the late 1990's - over ten years after 'Scotch Myths'):

But you could quote examples of that kind of phenomenon occurring in other cultures where a more quaint, rural kind of (...)Urvolled, to use a Germanism) idea of a people then becomes what the nation-state adopts as their symbolism. So that has happened, and although the process that made it happen some people would say was a (in inverted commas) a 'false' one, the fact is...it happens and...I think the kilt as a national dress is a very strong badge of identity that no-one else had, so I'm quite happy to adopt certain aspects of it.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, though, the Scotch Myths discourse promoted the representation of Scottish identity as working-class as an antidote to 'regressive' traditional ones. The following provides an example of how traditional symbols were presented as foreign to the Scottish working-class in a critic's interpretation of Bill Douglas's 1972 film My Ain Folk (the first film in Douglas's autobiographical trilogy depicts his working-class childhood). Andrew Noble describes the main character's (the young Douglas) discomfort and embarrassment on being dressed in a kilt by his middle-class foster parent5 as illustrating the cultural and social divide between the Scottish working-class and 'bourgeoisie'. Interviewee, playwright Tom McGrath echoed this by suggesting that 'The Broons' and 'Oor Wullie', cartoon strips from The Sunday Post newspaper (itself considered a reactionary relic of Kailyard Scottishness by commentators such as Nairn and Murray Grigor), demonstrated how urban working-class people viewed wearers of traditional Scottish Dress: as somewhere on a sliding scale between eccentricity and entertaining delusions of grandeur; but generally always mocked by the

cartoon's heroes. McGrath said his enjoyment of trout fishing as a boy (one of the things which made him identify with Scotland, 'through nature and the landscape') was what he thought first made him aware of being working-class and in this excerpt McGrath also makes the equation of working-class with Scottish:

...in the fishing tackle/gear shops and catalogues the men in the glossy photees had tweed hats, big rods, great big waders and great big moustaches i.e. they were big rich or upper class guys, whereas in those days trout fishing was the type of fishing the working-class could afford to do...the poacher was always the Scotsman. You started to equate the working-class Scot with the outlaw (the plain kilt without tartan was the kilt of the outlaw).

5.1.2 Visibility

The use of narratives of more recent history to legitimate the representation of Scottish as working-class (and of Scotland as Socialist) are returned to later. The employment of events, conditions and 'traditions' from much earlier periods are considered first.

In chapter 2, the term 'visibility' was used as an umbrella term for ways in which the representation's dominance might be related to the country's industrial identity, ranging from references to the speed and intensity of industrialisation in Scotland: '...post-industrial Scotland is very similar in many ways to post-industrial Europe...everywhere, except that it was more industrialised than most of Europe and therefore there was more devastation...' (John McGrath), to its concentration around the main 'cultural centres' of the Lowlands (Glasgow and Edinburgh): 'the most populated parts of Scotland, have been industrial' (Stuart Cosgrove). Such narratives suggest that the Scottish working-classes have literally been highly visible and - because of their proximity to cultural creators and broadcasters in the country's cultural centres - that this 'naturally' figured highly in the arts and therefore in the popular imagination.

Such narratives which implicitly contrast Scotland with England reflect the theme of the previous chapter. In terms of this particular representation, chapter 2 noted the analysis that Scotland's claim to 'national difference' is what gave the same sort of class and cultural tensions which exist in English society more visibility in Scotland. The idea of proximity to the creators of images (of national identity), suggested above, relies on the fact that that England's cultural 'core' or centre, London, was distant (geographically and socially) from the intensely
industrialised areas of the country in the North (A. L. Kennedy: '...it's not that the whole of England is middle-class and the whole of Scotland is working-class...What about the English working-class? What about Yorkshire?'). It is interesting to note here that the English stereotype of 'Northerners' is that they also are working-class and (replicating a Johnsonian equation of economic with intellectual wealth suggested in chapter 4) therefore uncultivated and inferior.

5.2 Racialisation of the working-class and Victorian 'duality'
The suggestion that the Victorian middle-classes constructed a notion of 'duality' or in-bred difference between 'respectable' society and the poor ('a disturbing alien phenomenon') was discussed in chapter 2. Spring claimed that representations of the lower-classes presented them as a separate primitive race, 'naturally' inclined towards drunkenness and 'immorality', and interviewees were asked about stereotypical representations of Scottish identity. The roots of some, such as the Scots' over indulgence of alcohol, can be traced from Johnson in the eighteenth century (Journey to the Western Islands) to Punch from the nineteenth. Re-appropriated by Scots music-hall entertainers such as Harry Lauder who took it to international audiences, this continued into the twentieth century, but by the 1990's whisky (the consumption of which Johnson had referred to) - a traditional symbol of Scottishness - was being marketed as a quality product and used to market Scotland as a quality tourist destination. Alcohol abuse and drunkenness have more recently been associated with representations of the working-class Scot, something Harvie attempted to put into perspective against the economic and physical environment of Scottish working-men (pre-1914 alcohol consumption in industrial Scotland was high, but he relates it to lack of time, money and options, comparing drinking habits in Scotland with those in Scandinavian countries). Billy Kay:

6 Watson, Roderick. 'Postcolonial Subjects? Language, Narrative Authority and Class in Contemporary Scottish Culture' in The European English Messenger, VII/1 (Spring, 1998) p22.


8 Johnson’s Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland was first published in 1775.


11 Harvie, Christopher. No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland since 1914 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993) p118. See also Wight, Daniel. Workers Not Wasters: Masculine Respectability,
...the two traditional stereotypes of Scottishness is the kiltie and the hard man. And in a way Rab C. Nesbitt is part of the hard man syndrome, you know: drunken Glaswegian, typical stereotype and acceptable and although the writers and performers in that show have subverted that whole idea and there's actually a whole lot goin on underneath that image, I think initially, why he would have been accepted was because of that stereotype...So there are these stereotypes and they're very, very strong and anything that doesn't fit into those stereotypes is hard to sell to a London audience.

A. L. Kennedy also pointed out though: '...it isn't a stereotype. There are mad drunks with bandages'.

Religion, temperance and church-going were encouraged amongst the working-class providing them the social options of 'roughness' or 'respectability' which was promoted by the middle-class. Temperance, claims Knox, was 'from the outset an alliance between the petty bourgeoisie and the working-class' who had been encouraged to subscribe to the 'underlying values' of the former: 'Its basic premise was that working-class poverty was the result of drink, rather than the inadequacies of the free market economy...assumptions shared by the politically conscious members of the working-class, and, at a later date, by socialists such as Keir Hardie'. But alcohol and violence have been combined with religion in representations of Scottish working-class identity (usually located in Glasgow or the West coast). One side of this divide, Protestantism, had been mobilised in support of British Imperialism and Unionism, but by the twentieth century when these had all declined (see themes 4 and 5) the partisanship formerly encouraged was re-labelled 'sectarianism' and presented as predominantly a problem among the lower-classes. These issues are returned to later in the chapter.

5.2.1 Urban versus rural
In chapter 2 another representational 'split' was suggested: between the urban and rural working-class. The latter was generally (as opposed to only in Scottish terms) represented as more attractive and less threatening than the urban masses, and in Scotland the Highlander offered a romantic image of 'noble savages' who could be perceived as connected to a culture and (Celtic)

folk traditions. This is reflected in contrasting attitudes towards rural and urban Scots (and their dialects and 'dictions') not only among the bourgeoisie but among the lower classes themselves as Grassic Gibbon (James Leslie Mitchell) suggests through Chrissie in *A Scots Quair*, who looks down on the working-class of the town: 'My class...was digging while yours lay down with a whine in the dirt'. Gibbon (a communist) presents the rural working-class as seeing themselves as respectable and their urban equivalents as uncouth, in other words, duplicating middle-class representations of both but as Duncan Macmillan pointed out *Sunset Song* was 'about the move from country into a radical working-class (which is part of Scottish history)', a belief explored in the next section. In painting the representation of the lower-classes from the industrial revolution onwards is predominantly rural even in Scotland up until and including the Colourists, and when considering this dichotomy, art historian Duncan Macmillan referred to language:

When does urban diction come into Scottish...because an awful lot of it is rural diction, I mean the whole tradition is of rural Scots language being the vehicle for Scottish literature, right through. Even with the Scots Renaissance people. Even in *Grey Granite*, the language still by inference is the language of the countryside, so that moving into really urban speech...the playwrights did that back in the 40's, but I don't know to what extent the writers did, the novelists did.

Morgan said MacDiarmid too had no connection with the movement towards using urban dictions, which he also claimed came (earlier) in the theatre, for example, in Joe Corrie's community theatre:

...the use of what you might say the working-class Scots - it came in mostly much more in the theatre than anywhere else like the novel and poetry, and that began when MacDiarmid was still there and he wasn't particularly in that really - that was urban and he's a country boy. He didn't like cities - he didn't like Edinburgh, he hated Glasgow although he lived here for a while. So he hadn't much sympathy really with that kind of writing...

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15 Munro claims that 'for all his sympathy with the slum dweller's plight Mitchell's peasant background was a bar to complete understanding of an industrial community'. Munro, Ian. *S. Leslie Mitchell: Lewis Grassic Gibbon*, foreword by Hugh MacDiarmid (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd Ltd., 1966) p175.


17 Professor Duncan Macmillan, Reader in Fine Art and Curator of the Talbot Rice Gallery at Edinburgh University, and author of several books on Scottish Art and artists. Interviewed 6 May 1998.

In terms of Scotland in film, the rural peasant tended to be portrayed as quaint and unworldly, linked to a 'folk' culture but, as in Whisky Galore (an Ealing Studios film), potentially cunning, corrupt and over fond of alcohol. This has similarities with the way Kiberd says the Irish have been represented: as 'stage-Irish rogues and buffoons for consumption in England' although several Irish writers such as Somerville and Ross (for example, Experiences of an Irish R.M. used the 'cunning' element to reverse the roles: English as superior, and Irish as stupid and inferior. Landscape (see also chapters 4 and 7) has also featured highly in representations of Scotland its 'transforming qualities' providing (inanimate) relief from the 'realities' - the pace and emotional turmoil - of the modern world (for example, I Know Where I'm Going), and Colin Cameron of BBC Scotland suggests below that the commercial constraints influencing film and television have to be remembered.

...what we have to deal with an awful lot of the time in selling ideas is a caricatured version of what people want. When we're talking about making programmes for the network - the BBC1 BBC2 network as opposed to making programmes for BBC Scotland - we're dealing with people based in the south of England who by and large, their only experience is the south of England and who have a south of England view of what is Scotland. You tend to get put into either the Parahandy or the Rab C Nesbit ends of the spectrum, both of which have truths about Scotland, but neither of which are true about Scotland. And so one of the things we've been trying to do...(for example with Hamish Macbeth) was to try and subvert that a wee bit and to have a very knowing sense of the pastiche, but to be able to undermine it and to send it up a wee bit in a way would still work for an audience who didn't necessarily see that on a Sunday night at 7 o'clock, but would also work for people who wanted to get a bit more out of it than that. But there's no doubt that a lot of the kind of ideas that initially get thought about by commissioners in the south of England are pretty stereotypical, and it's our job, I think - whether through subversion or just head banging - to say "There are other things we can be doing. We need to be doing different kinds of programmes across the network".

Cameron's statement above can be linked to Kailyard (see Donaldson) and Kiberd's observations on the representation of Irish identity: the recycling of stereotypical narratives is often influenced by the fact that they are largely for consumption by outside audiences. Donaldson claims, for example, that 'the aesthetics of...Kailyard were substantially different from the

19 Notes for 'Kilt Fiction: Scottish Film'. 1997 International Spring Course, ran by the Centre for Continuing Education, The University of Edinburgh.
basically realist thrust of contemporary Scottish fiction' at the end of the nineteenth and start of the twentieth century.22

5.3 Red Scotland: Socialism and the representation of Scottish identity

Linked to the assertion of Scotch Myths discursists, that the working-class were more truly representative of twentieth century Scottish identity (details in chapter 2), was the representation that, historically, the Scottish working-class (and arguably, the Scots) have been politically radical. Narratives of 'Red Clydeside' have been used to legitimate this since at least the 1960's (see Knox for one summary of the actual events23) and the inter-war period is the key to the Clyde's iconic position in the imagination of the Scottish Left, and to images of the Scottish working-class as radical and anti-establishment. Duncan Macmillan believed that:

...historically, there's no doubt at all that the Scottish working-class was highly politicised, and effectively politicised, from quite an early date and this had a significant part to play in the history of the labour movement generally. And even now, I mean on television if there's ever anywhere, a spokesman for any kind of workers activities - it's always a Scot...invariably, you know, it's quite startling. As soon as you turn on the telly and somebody in Wales with a Scots voice comes out...The whole thing is, I think, very important...how that relates to national identity, I'm not quite sure because there's no doubt that the.....well particularly MacLean, I suppose the Labour movement in the early part of the century was identified with nationalism - with the idea that you had to be articulated as a nation to be international, which is something [Patrick] Geddes talks about as well....the Scots Renaissance, a lot were socialists. Well I suppose that's what Sunset Song's about: it's about the move from country into a radical working-class which is part of Scottish history.

What is 'known' about the period is a combination of fact and fiction, even 'first-hand' accounts being subjective interpretations, some of which have altered over the passage of time. As suggested in chapter 2, there are competing interpretations in academia as to how 'Red' the Clyde actually was, and whether the Communist threat (to 'the whole English middle-class',24 according to contemporary, English journalist William Bolitho) was exaggerated. Tory MP John Buchan

(who was committed to British Imperialism, eventually becoming Governor General of Canada and Earl of Tweedsmuir) has been implicated in this, and his novels have provided some of the most enduring and conservative images of Britishness - much aided by Hitchcock's 1932 film adaptation of The Thirty Nine Steps (first published in 1915) starring Robert Donat. In the year he became Director of Intelligence at the Ministry of Information, his 1918 novel Mr. Standfast features Richard Hannay, hero of The Thirty-Nine Steps, infiltrating the ranks of the radicals on Red Clydeside: 'Them and their socialism!....foreign trash....the world is gettin' socialism now like the measles. It all comes of a defective edication'.

Glasgow presented a near revolution situation and the Government feared Glasgow to the extent that when they sent [English] troops up to put down the riots, they had to lock the local troops up in barracks...to prevent them from joining in the defence of the local population.

The image has also been influenced by the figure of John MacLean whose profile as Communist (and nationalist) activist, orator and teacher (of Marxist economics) saw him become an iconic figure in popular memory of the Scottish Left, available to influence later representations (arguably, stereotypes) of Scottish identity, for example, that of the militant Scottish Trade Union leader. Calder claims that MacLean was mythologised 'because he came to represent a notion of what Glaswegians should be: disrespectful of authority, uncompromisingly on the side of the workers, committed to the communal, rather than individualistic values' and extended a 'distinctive Scottish social ethic':

To prove that a teacher and propagandist...has influenced subsequent events and to show how, are impossible tasks. But it can be said without contradiction that his incorporation into Clydeside legend shows that something politically potent had entered, in his day, west of Scotland working-class culture, and that he came to represent this potency.

Representations influenced by the idea of Socialist and Communist activity and involvement in Scotland were broadcast in the arts in Scotland from the 1960's, for example through John McGrath's 7:84, but drama by, for and about the Scottish working-class was being produced in community theatre from the late 1920's (Joe Corrie and the Fife Miner Players) and by playwrights such as Ena Lamont Stewart and companies such as Glasgow Workers' Theatre Group and Glasgow Unity through the 1930's and 1940's. McGrath's 7:84 theatre company included a production of Lamont Stewart's Men Should Weep as part of a season they named 'Clydebuilt' in the early 1980's.

As said earlier, the representation of Scottish as working-class had become so dominant by the 1980's that it had begun to be labelled 'stereotypical' and romantic ('urban Kailyard') and this extended to representations of Scottish as socialist or which made reference to the Clydeside. Spring, for example, argues that Ken Currie's paintings 'worked as nostalgia pieces...but lacked political clout', while Ken Currie is claimed to have wanted his work to 'help in the struggle for a more egalitarian and just society' (see chapter 2). Although the introduction to this chapter stated that it was one of two related to the belief that a Scottish inferiority complex has existed, this representation of Scottish working-class identity can be traced back in fiction and theatre to at least the 1940's and often represents the worker as pro-active in attempts to alter society. Currie's The Self-Taught Man representing another element in the late twentieth century 'mythology' of Scottish working-class identity, can also be found in earlier work such as Gaitens' novels The Dance of the Apprentices. Education did play an important role in the early days of the Labour movement and the representation is, in effect, strengthened in the popular imagination of the Scottish Left through the image of MacLean (see earlier) who had himself, according to contemporary Guy Aldred, 'earned his education...by the sweat of his brow' before

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going on to teach other working-class men and working to set up the Scottish Labour College.36

James Macmillan related his experience of this ‘tradition’:

...a lot of the sort of left-wing men that I got to know through the Communist Party were passionate about literature, but it was usually as a means of proselytisation or evangelisation in a sense that they saw literature like Dickens and writers like Tom Paine and so on, philosophers that took a Marxist or a quasi-Marxist line. So a lot of the Left had their lives, their intellects enriched by literature. But outside the Labour movement, or outside those involved with political things the vast majority of working-class people don't really get the chance to engage either with literature or anything else and they've been easily drawn into the (ubiquity...?...) of popular culture.

5.4 Stereotypes, 'grim' realism, and 'reality'

As introduced in chapter 2 the dominance of the Left’s influence on the representation of Scottish identity was seen by some (see Colin Bell quote in Chapter 2) as having over-reached itself and its stated aim of representational 'accuracy', effectively hampering creative expression.

Composer James Macmillan, talked about the situation which arose in Stalinist Russia:

...the avant garde in music became quite rigid very quickly, so that there was a kind of party line set down: 'You mustn't use triads, mustn't evoke the past'. There was a kind of, really kind of almost Pol Pot year zero attitude amongst many avant-garde musicians, so they became associated with the restrictive Stalinism of the ultra-Left....

Stuart Cosgrove believed 'affirmative and positive imaging... was a really... important phase in historical understanding of where you are as a suppressed nation or a suppressed group or whatever', but that it was important:

...not to then take the next logical step which is, "because we are hostile, or because we feel restrained, or because we feel negative about these images, therefore we will proscribe them" and for future generations there'll be images which shouldn't really be explored...isn't that going down the route of proscribing the imagination....I'm very opposed...dubious about any attempts to 'police' representation, because...you end up kind of restraining representation...‘Oh, we shouldn't have this image of Scots’ or..."we shouldn't perpetuate this image of our culture". It's to say...that's banned and therefore proscribed...censored and actually it's not a road that I feel particularly comfortable about going down.

The blanket condemnation of the representation or narratives of 'Scottish working-class' identity could be interpreted as having been hyper-critical of Scottish art, and hence, parochial in itself as academics such as Angus Calder have suggested by setting the work of Scottish artists in the wider context of international art (Calder claiming to detect a 'Brechtian practice' in Currie's work, for example). Several interviewees did likewise. Stuart Cosgrove again:

...take Scotland out of the picture and...say, "Where does this fit in the history of art?" It's precisely the thing that Toulouse Lautrec was doing; it's precisely the thing that whole swathes of them - Picasso, the Cubists, the whole lot of them...if you look at twentieth century - no, not even the twentieth century - if you go back to Breughel and all of these, there's a very, very rich tradition through art history of artists seeking to find meaningful representation in the lower and most marginalised sector of a society (prostitutes, dossers, cripples, all of that), that's the stuff of Otto Dix, Bertolt Brecht, and Breughel, Shakespeare even...if you were to take Ken Currie and Howson and people like that out of their Scottishness for a moment and place them in a kind of pan-European tradition of art, they're actually doing something that has a very, very long cultural history...If you showed Ken Currie's early work - which was very based on Grosch and Otto Dix and the Berlin artists of the 20's and 30's...to a school of art students in Berlin or Paris they would have absolutely no problem understanding it, decoding it, making sense of it. And in actual fact its Scottishness would be at the very back-end of their understanding of it, it'd be a thing you'd have to tell them, but they would have already read off it images of poverty, of marginalisation, of debility and disaster, of a personal life gone wrong, of the outsider on the fringes of society - all of those which are shared European experiences which are nothin to do wi bein Scottish.

Peter McDougall's television play Just Another Saturday\textsuperscript{37} begins with the holiday or festival atmosphere of preparations for the annual Orange Walk in a West of Scotland community which develops into confrontation and violence fuelled by alcohol and sectarianism. The latter is returned to at the end of this chapter on the premise that it has tended to be represented as a working-class 'trait'. Of the others, earlier representations were also available to influence representations in this vein. In the 1920's Bolitho (see earlier) describes the Scots' 'vigour of character'\textsuperscript{38} and the novel No Mean City written in 1935\textsuperscript{39} had sensationalised life in the slums of the Gorbals with a story of razor gangs and dance-hall battles (Gillies Mackinnon evoked the

\textsuperscript{37} Just Another Saturday. Television play by Peter McDougall (1979). See also Hector Macmillan's stage play, The Sash (1974).


1960's revival of urban gang warfare in his 1995 film, Small Faces\textsuperscript{40}. Film and television, particularly, passed through a phase of focusing on the more sensational aspects of urban working-class life, often through 'factional' representations and chapter 2 noted Scotch Reels' criticism of 'realism' in these media. Spring's analysis of the Victorian representation of the lower-classes can be traced in accusations that this had the effect of reducing the representation of Scottish working-class experience to such traits and to economic and environmental conditions which resulted in the stereotyping of Scottish art as 'grim' urban realism, from No Mean City mentioned above to Peter McDougall's plays in the late 1970's. Unemployment features in one of these - Just a Boy's Game\textsuperscript{41} - as it had in earlier narratives such as Blake's The Shipbuilders\textsuperscript{42} from the 1930's, and as industry declined and job losses increased, society (discussed in chapters 7 and 8) and the representation of the working-class changed and an 'underclass' reappeared, McDougall's play demonstrating the loss of self respect which could develop out of a climate and culture of unemployment. For artists as much as for many individuals in Scotland, 'work' was no longer an option on which identity could be based, but the hopeless situation of characters such as Sammy in How Late It Was, How Late (who suffers police persecution and brutality, subsequent blindness, and 'Kafkaesque' DSS bureaucracy) presented problems for some critics. One had written that the character was entrapped in a 'paranoid's dystopia....an imaginary place of misery' causing Kelman to diagnose critics as suffering from 'intellectual myopia' or an 'inability to perceive reality'.\textsuperscript{43} Several interviewees made observations about realism and 'reality', for example Duncan McLean (see his comment on James Joyce in chapter 8):

If you look at Scottish writing at any rate, there's all the shitey tartanry and the couthy imagery on the one hand, but all the way through there are occasional flickers of people trying to counter that by writing about reality, e.g. in the 30's: Grassie Gibbon and Edward Gaitens' Dance of the Apprentices; in the 1970's, William MacIivanney and Gordon Williams\textsuperscript{44} did the same with success, although writing about the 'hardman' stereotype. I suppose they had the forerunner in the 1930's in No Mean City, but MacIivanney's stuff is stale and like Soviet realism. The Peter McDougall play on telly the other night [Just a Boy's Game] is actually

\textsuperscript{40} Small Faces was produced by BBC Scotland. Colin Cameron, Head of Production, BBC Scotland. Interviewed 23 April 1998.


\textsuperscript{43} Kelman: 'thinking that this is some sort of fantasy is a perfect example of what Naom Chomsky calls "intellectual myopia".' Catherine Lockerbie 'Lighting Up Kelman', The Scotsman, 18 March 1994.

\textsuperscript{44} Williams, Gordon. From Scenes Like These (Edinburgh: B & W Publishing, 1996) first published in 1968.
(for the most part) quite good - fairly low-key, well observed, a bit like James Kelman except for at the end when we get the 'hardman' stuff.

Bill Douglas's Trilogy of (autobiographical) films was left out of the Scotch Reels debate because 'it did not fit the analysis' and, Caughie subsequently admitted, would have exposed the 'reductive' nature of Scotch Reels discourse which was vehemently anti-realism. Filmmaker Peter Mullan used Douglas to introduce the subject of tension between theorist and practitioner:

I discovered Bill Douglas in 1982 when Arena did the retrospective. I was so angry when I watched that, cos - it was so stunning it just blew me away...but what hurt was, I'd to spend four year at fuckin University - a year of that studying film - they never even mentioned him! One of the greatest ever filmmakers...he can pare down a life to where it becomes important. Before Douglas, really there's only Chaplin and Keaton that can make a solitary object matter on screen: A cobbled street - important! The influence that Douglas has had throughout Europe is incalculable. No just Europe - there's Iranian filmmakers that I've met that were influenced by Bill Douglas because he suited...not just physical landscape, their emotional landscape.

OK. John Caughie [lecturer] now is down on record as apologising...and he has need to...to guys like me...that're running around goin, "How come we never talk about Bill Douglas? You must have known he existed"...It's like Carr says about historians, or history, "Before you can discover history, discover the historian"...it's exactly the same in film - before you can discover the film, find out what his agenda is, cos there's an awful lot of films out there, so if he's choosing certain genres, certain movies, ask about ones he's no fuckin showing you!

On a more general point, Edwin Morgan said that there was more to art than replicating 'reality' but agreed that at certain stages there had been a need to represent literally (referring first to MacDiarmid's use of language):

...he had many followers in poetry, and just a simple aspect of using Scots in an artificial way was taken up by so many other writers that people thought that this is not really the thing to do -what people called Lallans: based on, perhaps distantly on, speech, but on the whole very often taken from dictionaries. Maybe he didn't want it to happen, but it did happen and of course it was almost bound to lead in the end - as it has done - to a reaction: "Let's have Tom Leonard. Let's have the real thing, let's hear what people are actually saying and forget about the dictionary".

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* Caughie, John. 'Representing Scotland: New Questions for Scottish Cinema' in Dick, Eddie (ed.). From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book (Scottish Film Council and British Film Institute, 1990) p19.
While the 'hardman', as McLean suggested earlier, came to be considered a cliché by the 1990's, its wholesale omission (or the omission of any other representation) was something Cosgrove thought we should equally 'be wary of as a culture':

There is a school of thought...within cultural policing if you like, that Scotland has been misrepresented over the years by the 'hardman' image. Now if you had actually accepted that critique (and there's a lot of stuff that came out of Scotland in the 70's, out of BBC Scotland...that might have led you to think there's too many 'hardman' images about, it's too easy a stereotype of the Scots)...if you'd kind of policed that and said 'that shouldn't happen', Begbie would never have emerged. Now in actual fact, the Begbie character [Trainspotting] has all sorts of other really complex elements to his character. First of all he's a psychopath, but he's a psychopath who's clearly addicted to violence and to alcohol, and his addiction to violence and alcohol descant on the addictions to heroin of the other main characters. So a really quite important comment is being made about Scottish society and the extent to which alcohol and violence have been as much of an addiction as heroin over the years, but they've just been socialised differently...quite subtle and sophisticated...which you might not have arrived at if you'd scared people into believing they couldn't deal with the 'hardman' stereotype...the truth of the matter is that in the context of this narrative, the psychopathic Begbie is the only one who's not on heroin and perhaps he's the biggest danger of the fuckin lot of them. So that's a kind of subtle way of coming at that stereotype.

This and other stereotypes were perhaps more frequently recycled in film and (the 'hardman', particularly) on television, both media where economic and infrastructural constraints are considered to impact more on creativity and on the final product than in others. Mullan believed that this restricted opportunities for new writers and filmmakers to break into the industry and that ultimately affected those from low income (generally working-class) backgrounds more, thus perpetuating the recycling of limited representations of the (Scottish) working-class.47

Colin Cameron argued that the commercial nature of film meant that cultural stereotyping was not unique to Scotland: 'Hollywood'll do [that] to whatever culture it enters' and similarly Cosgrove drew attention to how the costs and therefore commercial need for film and television to attract bigger audiences created conditions whereby narratives and representations tend towards feeding rather than subverting existing stereotypes.

...economic pressures and expectations of what T.V. deliver is [sic] exponentially different from what's expected of a small publishing house in Edinburgh. If you take Jamie [Byng] that runs Canongate Press, he can have a success where a book

47 Debate on the arts and culture in Scotland in which filmmakers Peter Mullan and Lynn Ramsay took part. One of a series held at The Hub, Edinburgh International Festival 1999.
might sell 4,000 copies to bookshops in San Francisco and a kind of elite kind of readership...If I commissioned a programme that got 4,000 viewers, I'd be sacked. So we're dealing with very different points of exhibition and exchange.

5.5.1 Sectarianism

Rivalry between Catholic and Protestant in Scotland has been represented through football - the Glasgow clubs, Rangers (representative of a British Unionist identity) in opposition to Celtic (Irish Catholic). 7:84 director Iain Reekie was aware of a belief that there was a link between 'Britishness' and Protestantism and believed that this association was:

...particular to certain parts of Scotland and I don't think it's across the board. I don't think you'd find like a United Free Church of Scotland person, or yer average Church of Scotland person, say, down the East coast of Scotland, associating their religion with Unionism...there's probably more in common...with...Scandinavian Presbyterianism than there is with English Protestantism...I think that aspect of it is a kind of construct: that whole kind of Unionism Protestantism versus Catholicism came in, in the last 200 years...I think that's a more surface...part of religion in Scotland as opposed to the deepest part.

This was in contrast with composer James Macmillan's views on the subject. He had just delivered a lecture at the Edinburgh Festival\(^48\) claiming that anti-Catholicism was 'endemic' in Scotland: 'in the workplace, in the professions, in academia...the media...politics and sport'\(^49\) and that Scots (including many Catholics perhaps, such as Mullan, later) who saw it as in the past were in denial:

...I don't know if you're aware of the lecture I gave here last week, but...the reason why there's been such a hullabaloo about all that I think is this reluctance to face up to dark forces at work in Scottish society, to acknowledge them publicly, and to say as Shakespeare does at the end of The Tempest, 'This thing of darkness, I acknowledge mine'...it's a redemptive thing to get rid of a cancer in the hearts of men by first acknowledging it....Certainly people are likely to harbour a kind of lingering anti-Catholicism in the west of Scotland that's basically disappeared in England. And all the criticism I've got for that, I think is because I raised it when the English were looking in...I did it now precisely because everybody else was looking in. Sometimes that's the only way to get some of these debates about the darker side of Scottish culture out into the open.

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\(^48\) Delivered on 9 August 1999, this was part of the 'Cultural Reflections' series at the Edinburgh International Festival's new headquarters, The Hub.

That year 'Senior Scottish Tory, Donald Findlay QC was forced to resign' from his position as vice-chairman of Rangers Football Club 'after being filmed singing anti-Catholic anthems'.

5.6 Disenfranchisement of the Scottish middle-class

In an essay on Scottish middle-class writers Douglas Dunn claims that some middle and upper-class Scots have felt 'out of step with the political tendency of the country', and defines this as a consequence of the left-wing bias or 'orthodoxy' in Scottish art from the 1970's. Edwin Morgan considered the 'identity' of Scottish dramatists prior to the 1960's:

You've got people like J M Barrie who was obviously of some importance and you find it very hard to place him...writers like that who withdrew a lot of the Scottishness from themselves, but not entirely. Barrie appealed, especially in England, in London especially, he became a great London playwright, so he's sometimes missed out of histories of Scottish theatre or underplayed in that kind of context...and someone like James Bridie a little bit later, but he's obviously quite an important playwright and he is doing something which he hoped would revive drama in Scotland and was very popular for a while, but mainly I suppose with middle-class audiences.

This could be interpreted as confirming Craig's suggestion that Scottish authors, 'like the rest of middle-class Scotland...made their commitment to English culture' to keep their distance 'from a national identity from which [they] wished to be absolved' and the arts have traditionally been the preserve of the middle and upper classes, a belief discussed in chapter 4. Combined, these can be seen as influencing the reaction of some interviewees to the proposal that the dominance of working-class Scots in the arts in Scotland (see chapter 8) and of the representation 'Scottish as working-class' from the 1970's resulted in a disenfranchisement of the middle-class 'voice' and of individuals from middle-class backgrounds in Scottish art (theatre in particular). John McGrath's response was a mixture of amusement and incredulity since he believed that, on balance - the lower class voice having been effectively disqualified for hundreds of years - any

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disadvantage felt for twenty years by middle-class people in the arts was at best an irrelevance.

On theatre in Scotland though (once he stopped laughing):

Well...I mean basically, in the thirties with a gap in the forties (from the end of the forties through the fifties into the sixties) the staple diet of theatre-goers was like the big touring theatres which had London West End shows either before they opened in London ("Try-out tours"), or after ("Exploitation tours"), after they'd been in London. Or you had the Reps (and there were quite a few reps) who were doing reproductions of West End successes. And so this was Scottish theatre apart from the community drama which was a different story and a different class, and they ('theatre-goers') didn't go to that (or maybe they did!), but that was the staple diet of Scottish theatre: either imitation of West End, or actual West End stuff transferred here...

McGrath went on to confirm the point made by Morgan (on Bridie and Barrie) that Scottish playwrights had written for middle-class audiences:

Community drama: well there's been a battle within community drama since Joe Corrie in 1930, but the battle lines in theatre were drawn by James Bridie (Osborne Mavor). Unity was a working-class theatre - it wasn't using working-class forms, but it was doing plays about working-class people - and they applied to the Arts Council for a grant and Mavor [Chair of the Scottish committee of the Arts Council] turned them down several times and also they tried to come to the official Festival in the early days and they were refused, so there was a clear battleground going on in the professional theatre and in the Community drama, between Joe Corrie and his kind of people (and Joe Corrie was an ex-miner) and the people who thought (the middle-class/am-dram [amateur dramatics] people) who wanted it to be about...Jacobites; kiltie...things...we (7:84) published...about this struggle between working-class/Jo Corrie kind of amateur theatre and the...people like sort of Neil Gunn I suppose. Yeah.

McGrath's successor as artistic director of 7:84, Iain Reekie, whose initial reaction was also laughter, went on to acknowledge '...there would have been truth in that, and still is to a wee extent' and noted also:

...in Scottish theatre anyway, it became trendy to be working-class. Definitely. Definitely... But I would say at the same time, just look at 7:84, the make-up of 7:84 as it was in the 70's: John McGrath and Liz MacLennan themselves - they werenae exactly the most working-class. in fact they were aboot as far away from working-class as you could possibly get!

David Greig, one of the younger generation of Scottish artists, felt that the dominance of the working-class 'voice' was less of an issue by the 1990's (Greig writes from his middle-class experience), but said he had been criticised for not writing about 'Scots working-class
experience' and had found frustrating the implication that he or others were 'not really Scottish' because they have anglicised accents.

Ali Smith agreed that the dominance of the representation of Scottish as working-class, or rather the 'hardman' image, had resulted in some exclusions - of women (see later) as well as the middle-class - but her perspective on this issue was, 'Someone's always going to be disenfranchised':

"...we needed 7:84, we needed them terribly, they were terribly important. We needed the surety of a working-class tradition, particularly in theatre, which allowed for pantomime, allowed for politics, allowed for satire, allowed it all in its most addressive language possible for this country, and that's how they did it. And I'm sure it is hard in theatre because theatre is perceived as middle-class, and in Scotland the idea was that 7:84 and Wildcat, that they would change theatre and make it political and perceived as a working-class enjoyment, entertainment and tool. And that was brilliant. I remember being quite shocked when Wildcat emptied out its politics and 7:84 suddenly changed and became very kind of, I don't know, very different from what it had been in the 70's. Suddenly it was the same as all those other theatre groups who were all struggling for money, looking like they were doing one thing when they were actually doing another..."

Asked about the dominance of the representation, Alison Kennedy thought that it was, 'kind of fading' and, '...again, there is complexity', and went on to talk about the 'hardman':

"...I am middle-class and it's an interesting thing...what's happening is: it's very male, it's very working-class, if you sound like me and you have my genitalia you're not required, which is annoying and it's silly and it's not representative of Scotland...you had this kind of intermediate period when it was very macho, and it was very left-wing in a very dogmatic specific way, and if you weren't a bloke or you didn't believe that kind of left-wingness, you could fuck-off. Again I don't think people had a huge amount of patience for that either, over the long term."

Ali Smith also criticised the hard man as it had often not allowed for 'anything but the soft woman image':

"You know, all the women in McIlvanney's books because of the hard language, they have to be supportive of that, or they have to be beaten down by it and that's how, that was our image that we were left with, our kind 'Ma Broon', 'fat Daphne' and 'pretty Maggie' image, and in a way, you know the brilliant and exciting thing has been watching a pattern of, different gender approach coming from that as well."

Composer James Macmillan believed that the representation of Scottish identity as working-class, socialist and egalitarian was 'a very partial thing':

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...it excludes many within the Scottish experience: it excludes women I think, because much of the thrust of that particular literary line was the working-class male experience. It excludes the non-white worker; it excludes the middle-class...as long as we don't confuse "middle-class" with petty bourgeois complacency – yeah...I mean middle-class people - whatever class - can be full of a fertile artistic potential, but can be as challenging as anyone from the Gorbals or Govan and can do it in a way that moves and provokes and can change people's perspectives on things. I think to deny or to limit it into the experiences of a class experience of Scotland is a kind of unnecessary self limiting thing.

5.7 Summary
This chapter focussed on two related representations of Scottish identity: as working-class and as socialist, and the relationship between these in the 1990's is be returned to in chapter 8. The last section finds traces of that relationship in beliefs about the arts and the Scottish cultural sphere by examining the belief that middle class artists (and middle-class identity) in Scotland have been disenfranchised by both. The feelings and experiences of some middle-class Scots from the cultural sphere are considered further in the next chapter, 'Scotland as colony', a discourse which could have been influenced by the Victorian middle-class construct of a duality between themselves and the working-class, which analysis caused Spring to suggest that it was 'not surprising that would be [middle-class] reformers of the time should refer to their fellow [working-class] Glaswegians as "arabs" or "natives".'53

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It is true that Scots were often upholders of empire, both militarily and administratively. But Eric suspects that the dangerous social reflexes of assumed superiority that such an experience can leave may have been modified in the case of the Scots by awareness of their own ambivalent position in the Empire. They were basically service-workers in a multi-national enterprise that didn't really belong to them, they had themselves been colonised to a degree…

(William McIlvanney from his weekly column in The Herald)

This chapter examines what beliefs exist among the cultural 'producers' and 'broadcasters' interviewed for the study, and whether and how these relate to the debate on it in the academic sphere. The focus of the thesis is cultural representation; specifically, the representation of Scottish identity, and two themes which appear in that over-arching debate and which run through the thesis - the belief that a sense of inferiority has existed, and class, which appeared in Chapters 4 and 5. Here, these are examined in relation to the colony idea introduced in Chapter 2 which showed that the discourse (and debate on it) can be traced both in the academic sphere and in the public domain and suggested three claims relating to its development and existence:

• that its appearance in the 1970's was influenced by post-colonial nationalisms, or the breaking away from the British Empire of (former) Third World colonies or territories
• that support for it in the public arena in the early to mid 1990's was high among 'younger, left-oriented party-activists' (of the Scottish National Party)
• that there appears to be a correlation between the reappearance of the discourse or debates surrounding it, and Thatcherism, Hearn claiming that it was 'disseminated through Scottish culture' during this period.

1 From weekly column, 'The Jury Room'. McIlvanney, William. 'We're all in this together' in The Herald 13 March 1999.
3 Research carried out with people in or on the fringes of the Scottish nationalist 'movement' was claimed by Hearn to be 'representative of attitudes in the population as a whole'.
One of the aims of this chapter is to explore these claims, but what is of particular interest to the study is how existing representations of Scottish identity and history are used in interviewees' narratives.

6.1 The Discourse's existence and legitimisation: culture or economics?
While McCrone - who claimed the influence of 1970's postcolonial nationalisms on the idea - acknowledges the significance of what peoples believe, his suggestion that the discourse's existence in the 1990's was 'outmoded' echoes Nairn's reaction to Scottish nationalism in 1975. In that instance Nairn concentrated a deal of attention on the use of symbols of Scottish identity, his interpretation of 'culture' being influenced not by his assessment that Scotland suffered from uneven development within the United Kingdom (Hechter's thesis), but by his commitment to the diffusion model; that cultural diffusion should or ought to have taken place after Union (hence his diagnosis of the Scots as 'backward' or perverse).

The other two claims listed earlier are returned to later in the chapter, but here, ways in which culture - in the sense of peoples' narratives and beliefs about Scottish history - has been used to legitimate or reject the colony discourse is focussed on, since it plays a major role in the debate (Hearn found that economic accuracy tended to be 'an irrelevance' to those expressing the 'Scotland as colony'.)

6.1.1 Union, and the Scots identification and involvement with Britishness and Empire
With regard to the Union (1707) the colony idea has been negotiated through interpreting history in several ways. Some narratives attempt to legitimate it on economic grounds - often trade - but also available are claims that Scotland's manpower was a 'raw material' exploited by London (see Chapter 4: Colley says they were needed for the expansion of the 'English' Empire). The main point to note in these is the idea of exploitation whether through manipulation, or coercion. The first is returned to later, but first representations based on the belief that force was a factor are reviewed. Alison Kennedy:

...you've got armed English forces on the border.....so it (the Union) was either going to go through, or there was going to be a war...

We lost all of our trade with the West. They [England] hated, they didn't like that we had a trade with America, and we lost all of our traditional trade allies! They didn't like it and because you'd had all the Jacobite risings, we were a threat.

Further narratives in this vein - rejecting representations that Scotland entered into Union willingly - were submitted in Chapter 4, and academic analyses of how British Imperialism operated, such as Cannadine's (see Chapter 2) are available to assist their legitimisation; for example that overseas territories taken over by the British (which do tend to be thought of as colonised) also entered into treaties, native elites in effect agreeing to govern by proxy on their behalf. The latter representation - that like overseas colonies, Scotland has been 'governed from a distance' through 'elite co-optation' - appears in several interviewees' narratives and is returned to again later in this chapter where class and the colony idea is discussed.

The Scots' involvement in Empire and in colonising others on its behalf presents a problem for the discourse. This has been negotiated through representations which imply the Scots were manipulated or 'duped' into identifying with Britishness and Empire. This 'cultural' manipulation argument provides an opportunity for the colony idea's reinforcement through drawing analogies between Scotland and overseas colonies or Dominions. Such elements can be traced in narratives from some of the interviewees. A. L. Kennedy said that 'they did everything to [the Scots] before they did it to everyone else. We were an experimenting ground for all the stuff they did to other peoples':

Look at the militarisation of Scottish culture. I mean the kilt is now a military uniform... military music...it's been completely taken over by the military and then the Highland regiments are completely subsumed into the British army.

While Playwright Tom McGrath (who is a musician as well as a playwright) claimed that he had an early sense that much which was presented as 'Scottish' culture was 'false', similarly ascribing the blame to the Scottish Regiments and the British Army, a subject returned to later:

... a lot of the stuff you heard on the gramophone/radio was that fake Scottish stuff, especially bagpipe music - it was the introduction of the pipes into the military that saw stuff being played on them that doesn't suit the instrument...

Some interviewees negotiated the problematic of the Scots' involvement in colonising others through narratives of their having been victims of oppression and ill-treatment themselves. Kennedy:

It's purely insecurity. If you have no self-esteem then all you can do is hate other people more than you hate you. You cannot ever be anything other than a pre-empted picture. We're like the Israelis now - you leave a country where
you've been subjected to genocide and you do it to other people before your [masters] come and do it to you ... and you feel much better about yourself.

This, and examples below demonstrate a practice of representing the Scots as, generally the 'good guys', an element which became prevalent in the late 1990's leading many to warn against complacency (see Chapter 8 on the latter). Billy Kay's narrative below acknowledges that the Scots have the capacity for cruelty in their treatment of others, but attributes blame for this to the Highland Clearances, representing the Scots as traumatised victims:

...it was like the Highland Clearances; the forced eviction of the Cherokees. It was called the Trail of Tears. And I actually found the diary of a soldier describing the forced eviction, the 'Clearance', from the mountains and he said that the only brutality he came across was during this eviction...by a man called Macdonald and he felt particularly sorry for the wife of the Cherokee chief (and he was also from Clan Donald, three generations removed, he was Scottish). So it was actually 'the evicted' continuing the process of eviction that had taken place in the Clearances in Skye and places like that, and then evicting other native peoples from their land. So there's an amazing image of how evil begets evil and wrong begets wrong. And this big historical process was just something that we were just taken along in the flow of it, if you like.

In several narratives interviewees use their beliefs about the experience of Highlanders when talking about 'the Scots': the two become one and the same, a practice which can be said to have been influenced by recent movements such as the post-war folk revival, but is a mode of thinking about 'Scottishness' rooted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the culture of the defeated Highlander became popular (see Chapter 4) with the middle-classes and aristocracy. Developing into 'tartanry', or 'traditional' representations (rejected by Scotch Myths discursists in the 1990's: see chapter 2, theme 2). McCrone states, 'it is important to remember the role of the Scottish soldier in both imperial history and Scottish consciousness' and militarism was referred to by a number of interviewees: however, some were familiar with the analysis that (exaggerated) symbols of native culture were encouraged in native regiments of the British Army overseas to tell a story of their participation in Empire. In addition, the 'Scottish soldier' can be seen as acting upon already existing racial stereotypes of 'the Scots', or rather Highlanders, as '...naturally suited to warfare', a bi-product of their negotiation of Scotland's 'primitive' and barbaric terrain. Kennedy draws the analogy between Scots and Highlanders again in the following extract

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8 See Chapter 2 theme 1 and Chapter 4 on Trumpener's analysis of the 'national tale' as developing in response to the threat all the peripheral cultures of the U.K. were under.
11 See Chapter 4 section 4.1 on 'land'.

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(see her reference to chiefs and the Maori leadership as not unified) which attempts to legitimate the colony idea by comparing the Scots' experience with that of a minority culture, or an overseas race oppressed and subjugated by 'the British': the Maoris.

...there wasn't a unified Maori leadership (which is partly why they lost though they were gonna have to lose anyway)...and there were certain chiefs that had signed the white/Anglo treaty...there's a place (this area now called 'King Country' because it's a sort of hotbed of the Maori King movement) and there was a huge defeat, a massacre at Rangadury. And there's a Tea-room: so like Scotland! There's a Tea-room on a British military theme opposite a British military cemetery. There is a little tiny plaque put up about 8 years ago by a Maori. It's exactly like being in the Highlands of Scotland. It's like being in Fort William. Nobody in Paris would allow you to set up an SS theme coffee house, but the equivalent is in Fort William and Oban; all over the Highlands.

Several excerpts from Kennedy's interview have been used here to illustrate the fact that some people are quite explicit in their expression of the colonial idea. Others accepted that similarities can be drawn between the Scots' experience and that of oppressed or minority cultures (for example writer Ali Smith and poet Edwin Morgan), but were unsure, perhaps uncomfortable about using the word 'colonised'. Morgan believed that much of the 'resonance' many Scots felt between themselves and colonial peoples might come from ideas of sections of Scottish society having been oppressed or dominated, rather than 'the Scots' having been oppressed (an issue returned to below) but nevertheless felt that:

It might be hard to prove these things looking at it in cold blood...it must mean something to them...if they feel that, well they must say so. It has its own reality...

Iain Reekie took the more pragmatic view of the idea that Scotland was a 'postcolonised' culture:

...it wisnae that Scottish culture or Scottish identity suddenly reinvented itself. I think what's happened since the 1930's is [that] Scottish culture's woken up to itself again...To a degree it was because I think a lot of Scottish culture became so entwined with Britain and what Britain did in the industrial revolution and the colonisation of large swathes of the globe, and I think the bottom line is that the Scots played a big, big part in that.

George Wyllie also acknowledged, perhaps celebrated, the Scots involvement in Empire - '...it gave us an opportunity to apply our skills. I mean, we made the locomotives of India, we made the bridges, we did the engineering, we did the fighting and all that' - and similarly took a pragmatic if fairly cynical view:

We were very useful. Very useful nation. Glasgow became the second city of the Empire. Why? Because it serviced it. And it was good times in dear old Glasgow town, but our good times were other peoples' bad times: your principles go when you've got to get a pay packet...
At the same time he differentiates the Scots from the English suggesting that other peoples perceive the Scots in a better light by virtue of their sharing a common experience:

I used to work on the customs in Ireland...we were intercepting Irish guys all the time...there was fisty-cuffs and all that stuff. The Scots were able to handle it better - the English got quite uppity and bumptious and bossy about it, whereas...[the Scots] could smooth it over better, and I felt in a way that the Irish had been the victims of English suppression and to a certain extent (only to a certain extent) we had been...as well. So there was a wee affinity there. We were pig-in-the-middle...we could understand their situation. As a Scot, I was the kind of Swiss reporter in the Great war, you know?

Designer Janice Kirkpatrick suggested that the idea that the Scots have been oppressed has also been 'useful' (see Wyllie excerpt earlier):

It suits us! It suits us to say we're oppressed sometimes. It can be a very handy get-out clause and I think that the more we realise, just the way politically we use that - I think it's very useful being part of the Union.

Wyllie introduces the subject of education (and, to an extent class, discussed later) and the relationship he believed existed between it and the identification of many Scots with Empire and Britishness:

...I know that our education system, public schools are designed to supply the administrators for that Empire...I remember, when I was a youngster, a big guy called Jumbo Smith and he was a District Commissioner in Africa. He only lived up the road from me, but he'd been to University and he'd a pair of khaki shorts, safari boots, so they gave him a job and a tent, and he went and told 'natives' what to do in Africa...the education system was designed to make these people feel important, very assertive, confident...and then they lost the bloody Empire (well, maybe not) and this education system still remained...and the guys were out of a job. A lot of the guys became Gallery Directors and it took a wee while to shoot them down. But they did other useless jobs and that was it...

Edward Said has said that 'colonial education...demoted the native history' and mirroring remarks made by interviewees such as A. L Kennedy, Edwin Morgan and David Clarke (who is English), that many Scots grew up ignorant of their history or culture, Tom McGrath (who described education as a form of media) said that he reached a stage where he began to 'identify' with Scottishness and started to think, 'I'll read all the Scots writers' which he thought was 'because of the cultural dominance...imperial thing: there's a need to go back and look for, or at your culture and identity'.

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12 See Chapter 8 for references to Gallery Directors in Scotland in the 1990's.
6.2 Colonisation, Cultural Inferiorism and Class

Class is an issue which appears in several of the interviewees’ narratives, including some where an analogy is drawn between the Scots and oppressed races. In the following the Scots 'good guys' are represented (almost literally) as the 'Indians' rather than the 'Cowboys', a relationship in which the dynamic of 'good' and 'bad' had been reversed by the 1980's. The following extract paints the Scots as more inclined to live with than exterminate or subjugate other peoples ('...in the early days...they had married into the Indian nations...'). Even here Billy Kay implies a 'character trait' which he parallels with the representation of Scottish identity as working-class:

...that sense of Scottishness is mainly a working-class sense of Scottishness through the working-class experience; all of bein hauden doon. Then from that perspective you’ve every justification to think of Scots in general, as the mass of the people, as bein hauden doon over the centuries...OK, they were sent out there and...they went out and took part in the Empire; they treated people humanely etc. etc. and regarded them (because of that strong sense of egalitarianism14) that they were better than other European people at lookin after the interests of natives...that's an interpretation, but there's definitely evidence...

James Macmillan was asked whether the colony idea confused ideas of 'Scottish' oppression with class oppression, and the relationship between this and the 'Scottish inferiority complex':

...I'm an observer of that more than anything else, because I don't feel any inferiority for a start. I have had an experience of Socialism in a Scottish context which has been important to me (not Socialism, but, you know, a Socialist idealism in a Scottish context...), but I wonder whether there's something dangerous about this. That there's a kind of clapping on the back of each other - self-referring, self-congratulatory smugness of many, not just in the arts, but public life in Scotland, which perpetuates a myth (quite a sanctimonious myth) that to be Scottish means to be more democratic than the English.

On the Royal Museum of Scotland's representation of Scottish identity, David Clarke suggested that the Victorian period15 is crucial with regard to the Scots' identification with Empire and Britishness, and that class is part of that equation:

The middle-classes drive, by and large, the museum movement...it [the Royal Museum of Scotland] reflected what Scotland wanted it to reflect. You know, most of the intellectuals and the powerful in Scotland wanted to be British! i.e. they wanted to play-down being Scottish and play-up being British and the museums did exactly that, it seems to me.16

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14 See Chapter 2, theme 4 and Chapter 7.
15 Morton's thesis on Scottish Unionist Nationalism in Scotland, referred to in Chapter 2 theme 1, focuses on this period.
16 The Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh might be seen as an exception to Clarke's claim.
As said earlier, the relevance of class in relation to the discourse of Scotland as colony is of interest to this study in view of Scotland's 'narrative' or 'culture' of class. Academic contributions to the colony discourse which cite Fanon's thesis that class played a crucial role in facilitating native acquiescence with imperial control, were reviewed in chapter 2.¹⁷ Fanon's analysis of how class and language operated in this has been used to draw parallels between Scotland and colonised cultures through references to the anglicisation of middle and upper-class Scots, an analogy which implies that these sections of Scottish society played a part in the inferiorising of Scottish language, and through it, identity. Duncan McLean said, 'There's a link between accent and education, and class and wealth', and with confidence:

> It's not that I hadn't come across foreigners before - there were lots of English and Americans in Aberdeen - but at University, myself and other lower middle-class Scots experienced the same thing - all the people who were articulate seemed to be middle-class (upper) English (or anglicised); all the inarticulate ones were working or lower middle-class Scots...the Scottish ones who were poorly off were also insecure about their identity and in that situation, were forced to confront their identity.

It is unlikely that writer, James Kelman would allow himself to be described as a nationalist, but he has used the 'rhetoric of colonialism'¹⁸ in the sense of domination by one 'group' or power over another. The main issue in his novels is the (institutionalised) disenfranchisement of the economically and socially disadvantaged, but in an undelivered speech for his acceptance of the 1994 Booker Prize he wrote that he saw his work as part of a movement toward de-colonisation and self-determination...a tradition premised on a rejection of the cultural values of imperial or colonial authority' and has drawn analogies between his use of language and for example 'the breath and rhythm' found in American poetry and in the Caribbean:

> You'll find it's nearly always the the language of a colonised people. It's part of the effect of Imperialism, where standard English is not the language used in the home and in the playground...¹⁹

By then mentioning that African Nobel Prizewinner, Chinua Achebe 'writes about this' ('People look down on this work, they call it "oral rendition" instead of literature'), Kelman can be seen as either suggesting that the Scots (working-class, specifically) have been colonised, or as Roderick Watson claims, 'that Scotland has suffered from cultural

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¹⁷ For example in Beveridge, C. and Turnbull, R. *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989).


colonialism or cultural and linguistic colonialism'.

It was mentioned earlier that Hearn found the colonial idea more prevalent among younger, left-wing oriented nationalists, and amongst interviewees for this project, while the operation of something equivalent to cultural colonialism was recognised and the rhetoric of colonialism was used by some, none supported the analysis that Scotland had actually been a colony. In terms of being Scottish artists, David Greig felt that 'Tom Leonard, Liz Lochhead, Alasdair Gray etc. laid all the groundwork for David [Harrower] and me...standing up and saying, "We're Scottish and we're as legitimate on the (world) stage as anyone",' so felt that as a result they did not need to do that anymore.

A. L. Kennedy concurs with the analysis that Scottish writers have been subsumed into the canon of 'English' literature (as people such as Duncan Macmillan and Murdo Macdonald have suggested of Scottish artists and 'English art') by saying that although 'there's always been a bit of a buzz, a bit of excitement' about Scottish authors:

...they've very rarely gone out of Scotland or if they have Scottish authors have 'become' English authors like Naomi Mitchison, Muriel Spark, Robert Louis Stevenson, J M Barrie, Conan Doyle and , 'they're English aren't they?'. I mean I've still got an Oxford University Press book of English Short Stories and I think there are twenty stories and I think two of them are by English people - a lot of them are by Irish, Scottish or American authors but they're in English - but that accurate title is never used. They're published as English short stories but they're not. The English being used is being used in a Scottish way or in an American way or in a different way, even like Henry James who's pretending to be English. He's not - he's writing like an American.

But Iain Reekie saw the jettisoning of 'Scottish' as a type of commercial necessity:

I think Scottish culture...I suppose it was the pay-off, wasn't it? To achieve the kind of commercial, economic, whatever success, you had to submerge the cultural part of it.

Kennedy felt it was related to cultural colonisation in some way, but that really it was 'just a complacency thing':

It's: 'if you are writing in English you must be aspiring to...'. It's not a conspiracy...it just isn't a mass conspiracy. It's a lot of mental laziness and feeling it's inconvenient to change the way you've always thought and, 'If you really press us on it we'll feel threatened because we don't have an Empire any more' and 'Lets not raise the issue' and 'Why are you being so awkward?' and 'You're one of those, you're a nationalist, aren't you? You've got a problem?' I mean I've not got a problem - you've got a problem. You're not reflecting reality anymore'. But it was accepted, you know. If you wanted to become a

successful writer, you become an English writer. I mean the last thing you wanted until the mid eighties was to be on the Scottish shelf, because it meant cookbooks, and books about Bonnie Prince Charlie...

David Greig:

If there's any oppression, it's been a class oppression. Inferiorist representations created by Scots (even if they were/are British) and even as early as Wallace e.g. the nobles, landowners etc. Theatre is/was as affected by this [class inferiorism] and in turn perpetuated it.

McCrone's claim that the 'view that class was an alien imposition from England has been supplanted...in nationalist quarters by a more radical view that Scotland is itself a "class", or rather an "ethno-class colony" of England22 was referred to in Chapter 2. This can be traced in a 1990's belief that too many influential posts in the arts and cultural institutions in Scotland had been colonised by people with 'alien' cultural values. Some individuals expressed concern over this, representing such people as failing to understand that Scotland's cultural traditions differed from England23 or, occasionally, as considering Scottish art to be inferior. For example, Timothy Clifford's suggestion (Director, National Galleries of Scotland) that Scottish painting should be displayed separately from other works in the Scottish Gallery on Edinburgh's Mound, was presented by some as an attempt to 'ghettoise' it.24 Controversies such as this indicate the sensitivity surrounding Scottish identity and its representation at the time, but in some instances the rhetoric of colonialism was used. Ex-curator of the Peoples Palace Museum in Glasgow, Elspeth King, does this with regard to Julian Spalding (Director of Glasgow's Museums service at the time), his attitude towards the presentation of Scottish working-class history, and to exhibition interpretation in general25 (which King labelled 'shorthandism').

King combines class with national identity, as demonstrated in references quoted here earlier and in references to 'Red Clydeside' she represented the suppression of working-class protesters as having been linked with national identity at the time (see chapter 5). Her

25 The presentation of art in the recently opened Glasgow Gallery of Modern Art caused media controversy. Spalding representing his approach as populist, critics, as 'raising questions about his artistic taste and judgement'. Smith. W. Gordon. 'The Artful Dodger' in Scotland on Sunday, 31 March 1996.
apparent hostility towards Spalding is discussed in more detail in chapter 8, but part of it can be related to her perception that he was anti working-class and not socialist 'enough' for Ms. King and, arguably, for the Scots. If the British Unionist Parties (Labour and Conservative) were both perceived as insinuating ideological changes interpreted as being at odds with 'Scottish identity' (through cultural representation), which is how other of King's statements can be interpreted, it can be seen how, or why this individual and others sharing her political opinions could interpret and present 'British' (not simply Conservative, as discussed in Chapter 7) as anti-Scottish, or 'alien' to 'the Scots'. While some of these, like Spalding, were English, the basis on which their values were presented as 'different' from those of the Scots was frequently class. One of Hearn's interviewees (see chapter 2) suggested that the perception many Scots have of a class and wealth difference between themselves and English people might be due to the fact that most they have encountered living and working in Scotland have occupied professional or managerial positions and Cannadine has claimed that indigenous people in overseas territories often thought that the British people they encountered were of higher social status than they actually were, simply by virtue of their being representatives of the Metropolis: Britain. Combined with the tendency of many middle or upper class Scots to use anglicised Scots or English, it is possible to understand why they might be perceived as 'different from the mass of their countrymen' (see earlier where Kay equates 'a working-class sense of Scottishness' with 'Scots in general...the mass of the people, as bein hauden doon...'), and equally, why the rhetoric of colonialism and Fanon's 'evolue' profile (chapter 2) might resonate less or be rejected by middle and upper-class Scots.

The above and statements such as theatre director, Peter Arnott's (from a monologue presented on BBC Scotland) - that the great business families of Scotland had traditionally 'colonised' the offices of State - illustrate how the (Scottish) person occupying the post of Secretary of State for Scotland could be perceived as 'alien' and representing Westminster (equated with 'English') domination of Scotland, particularly during the Thatcher period

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27 Cannadine claims status and social hierarchies were crucial in the running of the Empire providing the British middle-classes with opportunities for social and economic advancement. By politically supporting and feting those at the top of indigenous social structures, metropolitan aspirations were encouraged among native elites creating consenting servants to British administration. Cannadine, David. Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire (London: Penguin, 2001).

which is examined in Chapter 7. As noted earlier, class is fore-grounded over nationalism (or 'racial' paranoia). Arnott:

This is not a colonialism of the English over the Scots, but of the British over all of us. The most deeply colonised and suppressed nation of the Empire is England itself.29

Colin Cameron said that the BBC was perceived by some Scots as a 'transmitting device' for Britain or Britishness,30 something which can be viewed as consolidating Hearn's claim that the colony idea exists in the wider public domain, but in view of the BBC's representation of itself as British (albeit dominated, until the last few decades, by a south east of England middle-class version of Britishness), Cameron's claim has to be considered from the above perspective that it may be influenced as much by a perceived class, as national dominance.

Hechter's analysis - which includes some reference to the large number of organisational or administrative jobs in colonies31 - was suggested to have been an influence on the colony idea, but expressions of it are also to be found outwith Hearn's 'left-oriented' nationalists. Two of writer Allan Massie's 'most explicitly Scottish novels', for example (with the exception of another which presents 'the idea of "Anglicisation" as a means to the improvement of life') are from the early 1980's,32 and in them the predicament of middle-class characters chimes with that of the 'evolve'. Not only do we find 'self-examination...against a psychological background of belonging to a country but seriously out of step with its contemporary disposition', but in One Night in Winter the characters 'can see themselves as "white settlers" despite sharing the same nationality of the "natives"'.33 At a public debate on Scottish writing and Devolution in 1997, fiction writer and former Scottish (Press) Secretary to the Queen, Michael Shea said:

Scottish Parliament whinge literature will soon have to look around for new targets. They'll have to look around for someone else to blame, the same as other post-colonised countries have had to.34

30 Colin Cameron, Head of Production, BBC Scotland. Interviewed 23 April 1998.
34 Michael Shea, speaking at 'Writing Scotland: Michael Shea and Paul Johnston', Edinburgh Book Festival 25 August 1997. Shea and Johnston were discussing the subjects of their latest novels (chairs
6.3 Self-Inferiorising

The idea of a people's acquiescence in their colonisation was introduced earlier and chapter 2 noted that Fanon's analysis of cultural inferiorism has been cited in academic analyses of Scotland. The concept, 'self-inferiorising' can be perceived as a consequence of the latter, that is the inferiorising of a culture by its natives ('self-hatred' of the group, rather than the individual 'self' according to Craig35). Alternatively this can be interpreted as part of a 'modernising' impulse, or a response to cultural and social change (see discussion in Chapter 1). In the introduction to his re-interpretation of Scottish art Duncan Macmillan traces precedents for this in art history from Vasari's Lives of the Artists which served 'his sense of the way [Italian] art evolved, leading up to its high point', the Renaissance and Michelangelo; then Bellori (in the eighteenth century) represents art in late sixteenth century Italy as having been 'in a state of darkness and terminal decline' until the 'new Renaissance'. Both represent earlier art as barbaric in order to emphasise the leap forward which had taken place.36 The Scottish Enlightenment was similar in that its main motor was the idea of progressive development as (always) 'improvement';37 to underline the intellectual superiority of that period, earlier Scottish culture, traditional societies (such as the Highlanders), their structures and practices were represented as backward and inferior. On whether rejecting aspects of your own culture (for example, MacDiarmid's rejection of Kailyard38 could conceivably be perceived as such from a late twentieth century perspective) was always necessarily a negative act, Edwin Morgan thought not:

The attitude even to something like Kailyard has changed. When MacDiarmid came on the scene he had to take it out of the way, he had to do his own thing, he had to remove that and clear the decks and get on with his own stuff...But the fact that people were writing about their own local doings and perhaps in a small town doesn't mean that they're not writing well...There is some very bad sentimental or melodramatic Kailyard writing that is still true, and some of it is good...there was a terrible lack of literary criticism in Scotland in the nineteenth century. Sometimes scholars, critics, they have their place, and when you're not getting any real criticism you become self-indulgent, you become melodramatic and sentimental and so on...

by crime writer, Ian Rankin) which were, respectively, State of the Nation, on a 'struggling' independent Scotland, and Body Politic, set in an Edinburgh whose 'citizens lives are dedicated to the welfare of tourists attending a year round festival'.

35 See Chapter 2. Craig, Cairns. 'Peripheries' in Cencrastus No.9 Summer 1982, p3.
38 See Chapter 2 and Anderson, Carol and Norquay, Glenda. 'Superiorism' in Cencrastus No 15 1984. Alternatively, Davie states that 'the poet's critique of Scottish culture...was in principle...to put
As suggested in chapter 2, MacDiarmid's criticism of Kailyard can be viewed as an attempt to rescue the reputation of Scottish culture from what nationalists like himself saw as detrimental and de-politicising. By the 1990's this rejection itself had come under criticism in a climate where attitudes towards popular or mass culture had changed, a point Iain Reekie touches on below:

...I'm interested in...the period in the late 19thC and the 20thC when the general population at large became empowered, or became enfranchised so they could vote and all that kinda stuff. Where did or what was Scottish identity during that process or time? And it's difficult, isn't it because after the Union, I think, followed then closely by the Industrial Revolution, when that happened of course then it changed the face of in many ways what Scotland wis, didn't it? Cos it kinda turned it around culturally and economically and socially. So in a sense our development became inextricably linked with British Imperialism. You couldnae disentangle Scotland's identity from that period of time...

Some interviewees, echoing a point discussed in Chapter 4, felt that that any inferiority Scots might appear to demonstrate in their attitude towards their culture and identity, was simply a consequence of being a small nation next door to a large, powerful one, rather than evidence of cultural colonisation. Morgan felt this and that the changes which took place in Scottish art from the mid-1980's had made a difference to cultural confidence; Scottish artists had moved on from 'always looking over your shoulder to see what the English think of what you're doing'. Morgan considered that looking farther than just the border with England was 'a very healthy kind of development':

You realise there are other small nations with roughly the same area, or the same population who are able and do something quite distinctive, and I think you naturally do look at these places and see if there's something you belong to...I think that everyone feels that now you can't really say you just belong to one thing, you are a part of your local community, you're a part of a country which doesn't have a very easily definable status at the moment; to wit Scotland. You're still a part of the UK...you're a part of Europe and you're a part of the global internet kind of thing, but I think that the emphasis is on not worrying too much about what your immediate neighbour thinks of you...Canadian culture has to struggle all the time to assert any difference to America...one can imagine what a Canadian writer would feel. 'it's worth trying, it's worth doing something'.

Reflecting his political beliefs, John McGrath introduced class into the discussion as he felt that the 'small nation' theory and Union ('it wasn't a Union at all, it was accomplished by other means') only 'partly' explained 'Scottish inferiority':

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...during the nineteenth century, I think, the Scottish working-class really suffered (and the English working-class really suffered), so I don't think by comparison with the English working-class they felt inferior, I think they just felt they were put upon and the result of that was obviously the Labour movement...Scotland was in the forefront of all that, so...I very much query that inferiority complex as far as working-class people go, but within, internally in Scotland...

McGrath believed there had been a lack of parity in terms of education (see later quote from Wyllie) and that this was a factor in any sense of 'Scottish' inferiority. Although secondary education may actually have been 'available', the last sentence of McGrath's extract is, arguably, more important: children from poor families had to start bringing money into the home as soon as possible and could not afford to stay in education if old enough to earn a wage. McGrath:

Until 1944 The Education Act you had to have money to get education, so I think during the first fifty years of...this century working-class people who were at all sensitive were aware that they were inferior intellectually because they hadn't had, or been able to afford the education.

While they might have acknowledged or even agreed that there was a resonance between the Scottish experience and that of colonised peoples, some interviewees were uncomfortable about the use of the vocabulary of colonialism, particularly since this evoked images of the way other races, for example African peoples, have been treated by white colonisers. Ali Smith agreed she was slightly embarrassed about '...using the word colonised? Yeah, I know. Aawh, but you know it was true too. Regionalised? Regionalised is the word then. Yeah'.

A fairly large extract from Iain Reekie's interview demonstrates this discomfort, the complexity of the subject and how he struggles to make sense of it. He was fairly ambivalent, but did not disagree that a Scottish inferiority complex has existed, believing that the analysis that it was caused by being 'dominated by a larger culture next door' did not account for it entirely:

I think that is a big part of it, but I don't think it's just that. I think there's a key difference between say, Algeria & France, [and] between like the Scots & the English (or maybe better to say: Scotland & the English monarchy, or Westminster), and I think that's got to do with...1. How Union happened in the first place: if we were to say that it was thrown upon us and it had 'nothing to do wi us'. That's nonsense. Granted, it wasn't the Scottish working-class, or the bulk of the Scottish population necessarily who bought into it, but the Scots (or the Scots kind of...hierarchy/elite whatever) did buy into it - it couldnae happen without them - and I think that makes a key difference. Now, I know you could say, 'Well the vast majority of colonies say that happens; that eventually the kind of dominant power within that culture eventually gives way to the bigger dominant power next door, but I'd say a key difference is that we weren't colonised in the sense of being...eventually we were invaded, if you like, but that's no actually how it happened. D'ye see what I mean? So, I suppose in
historical terms what I'm saying is, it's not as simple as saying 'We were taken over by somebody' I don't think that's how it happened. And as a result, I think our inferiority complex has got a mixture of different feelings in it: it's got a number of different facets to it. 1. is to do with that feeling that we were kinda taken over by a more dominant culture at the end of the day, but 2. also the fact that we were complicit in it. I think that even if it wasn't us it was a fact that it happened: that our people to an extent bought into it. Does that make sense?

Postcolonialism was an established subject of study in itself by the 1990’s, and as a literary theory had been available to influence people interested and involved in the arts. Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism*, for instance (referred to in Chapter 2), is heavily influenced by it, as is evident from claims that the suppression of the native culture of the British peripheral nations was achieved through the suppression of their languages. Language is and historically has been a major issue in Scotland, and writers from colonies and former colonies have used it as a means of demonstrating their rejection of the colonisers' domination. Referring to Scotland's 'peculiar position' in terms of having been an active partner in the extension of an Empire 'that made of English a world language, while at the same time, in its own linguistic experience, it shared the experience of the colonised', Craig argues that 'to understand the development of Scottish literature in the twentieth century we have to see it in relation to the world-wide assertion of cultural independence by peoples who have or have had English as their (imposed) official language'.

In terms of Scottish culture, the perception that it has been English dominated is not new; Burns is claimed to have deliberately confronted this through his use of language (Scots and English), and as it is their stock in trade, writers - poets, playwrights and novelists - could be considered amongst those most sensitive to its power to influence perceptions and opinion. Its suppression (or erosion, depending on the perspective taken) tends to have been represented as a removal of power for much of the twentieth century, and tensions around the dominance of English have been represented with regularity in Scottish writing from the 1970’s, the period when 'working-class' writing and theatre are claimed to have come to dominate Scottish art (see Chapter 5) and here we see language being related to class and imperialism in an extract which demonstrates continued sensitivity over prejudice against

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either Scots or Scottish identity, in an extract from Peter Mullan's interview. Mullan, it should be pointed out, is a member of the Scottish Socialist Party:

I've just done Miss Julie by Strindberg wi Mike Figgis...There's Saffron Burroughs as Miss Julie, there's me as Jean, and Maria Doyle Kennedy (fi The Commitments) plays the maid, and we come to the accents. It's a Swedish play, so when you transport it to the British Isles, well what would be the equivalents class-wise? So, Saffron (she's Miss Julie, she's the lady of the house) does RP; I'm Glaswegian, but servant Glaswegian, so he would say 'down' instead of 'doon'; he would say 'one' instead of 'wan'...because as a servant that's what he would do; Maria Doyle plays her Irish. Now we have the event [as] the perfect Imperial triangle: RP English; Scots and Irish were the serving class...

McGrath believed that both the Scots (and the English working-class) had been inferiorised through language: 'there is a sense in which being working-class, because you haven't been able to improve...in the 18th century sense, your accent, or anglicise your accent, does work to create a feeling of inferiority'. With 7:84 he had regularly, in effect, had to reverse one of drama school's effects on Scots working-class actors, which was to discourage and 'train them out' of using their own accents: 'that is, to me, the perfect example of how to make somebody feel inferior'. This underlines one of the main hypotheses of the study introduced in previous chapters (see chapter 4 particularly): that the arts and 'high culture' have been a major site of conflict in terms of cultural domination and resistance to it. Returning to the 'class' differential referred to by McGrath however, much as it might operate in many other countries (for example, in England, as above) he believed that there was still a national difference:

...Trainspotting: all the jokes about having sub-titles and that kind of thing, and that is all jokey, but it's put-down, it's a very big put-down. I mean, you wouldn't expect a Scouse play (which I've written several of), or a Scouse film, to have jokes about not understanding the Scousers and having subtitles, but in terms of Scotland you do...

He also suggested that messages about Scottish identity had been broadcast through education in Scotland in other ways:

...until very recently, it was English history that was taught - it was the Kings and Queens of England you were taught. It was very anglo-centric geography and literature. And the literature that was taught was not Scots...

The 'neglect' of culture or representation of Scotland as a cultural void, as in the McGrath excerpt above, was discussed in chapter 2, theme 2 and in Chapter 5.

Some interviewees felt that what the colonial discourse describes as an inferiority resulting from cultural inferiorism, 'would apply not only to Scotland, but in any other place', as
Hamish Henderson said on the idea that Scottish work had perhaps not been 'rated' in the past unless first accepted in London:

...in Italy a play might be put on in Milan...eventually it might get a showing in Rome and then it’s 'My God! It must be a good play!'. One's got to think of these things. It's London is the capital...it would be quite wrong to sort of isolate Scotland from a sort of general pattern. Maybe Scotland’s more like that, but...it's quite natural...one can exaggerate these problems.

But he then went on to point out, '...mind you, as I say, I'm not totally in a position [having been educated at public schools in England]...when I was at school and when I was at University at Cambridge (at Cambridge there was Leavis! F.R.Leavis! I met him very shortly after going on to Dulwich College...'). On the prospect that middle-class Scots may have suffered from a sense of inferiority about the Scottish part of their identity, in spite of apparently championing it, Iain Reekie said:

...I'm no saying that like, the vast majority of the Scottish middle-class kind of like, went, 'Oh we're proud of our culture and we're proud of our language' or anything like that. I don't mean that at all; they didn't...in many ways they sold out. You know it was them...who essentially kind of enforced the rule on the rest of us that says you have to say 'Yes' instead of 'Aye', or whatever.

### 6.4 Summary

Chapter 4 referred to recent analyses arguing that doubts existed about British Imperialism's manifestation and effects in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These claimed that contemporary novelists used colonial narratives or settings to draw parallels between British attitudes towards native cultures overseas and those of the English towards the British peripheries and working-classes, the exploitative character of Imperialism and the attitudes it bred.\(^\text{43}\) However, as mentioned earlier, Postcolonialism (as a subject or mode of critical perspective) has been available to influence such analyses. This chapter suggests that people in the Scottish cultural sphere have negotiated and renegotiated Scottish identity, a major element in this having been notions that the right to define culture was often seen as lying with the Metropolis.\(^\text{44}\) This is something which Morgan and several others believed changed in the mid 1980's\(^\text{45}\) and Chapter 7 explores what people believe happened from that period.

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\(^{43}\) Trumpener cites novels which question the involvement, actions and motives of Scots colonisers (including cleared Highlanders) overseas. See theme 1 in Chapter 2.

\(^{44}\) Davis claims that after Union, Scottish identity had to be renegotiated in relation to England more than before. See Chapter 2 theme 1.

\(^{45}\) On the possibility of postcolonised cultures ever being 'uncontaminated' see Hutcheon, Linda. 'Circling the Downspout of Empire' in Ashcroft, Bill., Griffiths, Gareth., and Tiffin, Helen (eds.) The Post-
and the relationship between it and representations of Scottish identity. It suggests also that a
tendency to focus on the accuracy or inaccuracy of the Scotland as colony idea in social and
political theory may have restricted exploration of it, and that the dictionary definition of
colonialism - 'the policy and practice of a power in extending control over weaker peoples or
areas' - illustrates more accurately the beliefs which lie behind the resonance and rhetoric
of colonialism among Scots. What can be said, is that in the 1980's and 1990's a perception
existed that 'the Scots' had been dominated and culturally oppressed in the relationship with
England, and that they were being thought of by many as working-class. The discourse's
expression in the cultural sphere may be explained, to an extent, by postcolonialism's focus
on the relationship between politics and culture, which is their environment.

*colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995) p135: 'the word postcolonialism holds within it its
own "contamination" by colonialism'.

CHAPTER 7
MARGARET THATCHER AND SCOTTISH IDENTITY

In Chapter 5 it was noted that traditional or 'conservative' representations of Scottish identity were rejected from the late 1970's by which time large numbers of people from working-class backgrounds and Socialists had moved into the arts and academia. This chapter focuses on the Scots' rejection of the Conservative Party and British identity, something in which Margaret Thatcher is believed by many (including individuals interviewed for the study) to have been a catalyst. The chapter is particularly interested in the relationship between Thatcherite (then Majorite) representations of Britishness, and Scots' representations of their identity from the 1980's; in how this relates to the representation of Scottish as working-class and Socialist discussed in Chapter 5; and in the question of whether the nationalism of this period can be said to have been driven by the middle-classes and motivated by economics, or was a 'bottom-up' movement influenced by culture.

The theoretical and historical background to this chapter is presented in Chapter 2 (theme 4), as with earlier 'empirical chapters'. In this case, for example, Scottish support for the Conservatives earlier in the century was reviewed in order to put into perspective their later rejection which coincided with huge job losses among industrial and manufacturing workers. Other issues reviewed include Scottish perceptions of a class/nation differential between England and Scotland, and a key element in the Scots' representation of themselves: as more democratic, egalitarian and socially concerned.

7.1 Conservative decline
7.1.1 Beliefs about their appeal in Scotland pre-Thatcher
As discussed in chapter 2, working-class identification with Toryism had formerly rested on Empire and Protestantism. By the 1980's Conservatism's 'native social base...was eroded, and with it its power to mobilise the Scottish Protestant working class...this particular version of the
Scottish identity, centred on religion and patriotism, was relegated to history. Margaret Thatcher acknowledged this herself stating, for example (on her Party's decline in Scotland), that 'The old Glaswegian Orange foundations of Unionist support which had in earlier decades been so important had irreparably crumbled'. Iain Reekie was aware of this legacy:

I think post-Empire, post-industrial revolution and all that kind of stuff - goin into the twentieth century when also the political, the purely, directly political disparity, democratic deficit between Scotland and England and Scotland's needs became clearer and clearer - then the need to assert, the need for that culture to come back out again...was inevitable...

Playwright Tom McGrath, of Irish and Italian descent, remembers that although Catholic and coming from the west coast of Scotland, when he was young people like actor Duncan Macrae 'made it possible to identify with "Scottish" in your dream world of what Scottish is', by which he did not mean Glasgow ('cos Glasgow isn't really Scottish') - Macrae represented Protestant Scotland, 'So you then accept, identify with that'. Although he decided later in life to read all the Scottish writers in reaction against 'the cultural dominance of imperial thing' - '...there's a need to go back and look for, or at your culture and identity' - he thought he had felt British 'because of the war', saying he was 'just a wee boy, but [his] allegiance was to the Union Jack'.

Another factor in their decline was the widening of the franchise in Britain in 1867-8 which made the mid to late nineteenth century the 'age of mass citizen politics', from which time the State came 'under pressure from the working-class' and, overwhelmed by having to 'involve itself in areas of society that it had previously avoided', became more centralised than had previously been necessary. The British State and the central/local state relationship began to move closer towards the twentieth century model, the vote no longer being 'confined to men of "worthy character"'. Liberals and Unionists (Conservatives) were thereafter under pressure by

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3 Further in 1884-5. 'Although the middle-class had obtained the vote after 1832, much of Scotland was still in the grip of aristocratic power...'. Hence Scottish middle-class mobilisation of Wallace and Burns as, respectively, 'man of the people' and 'Lad o'Pairts', and therefore representative of them against aristocratic advantage. Finlay, Richard J. A Partnership for Good?: Scottish Politics and the Union Since 1880 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1997) p23.
the growth of Labour, particularly after the franchise was extended again in 1918. Although the Unionists had been 'pessimistic as to their prospects' in Scotland prior to the First World War they 'benefited' in the mid-twenties from middle-class fears of Bolshevism after industrial unrest at home (see chapter 2, theme 2) and the two-party domination of British politics which was to become familiar for the rest of the century - Conservative and Labour - set in from 1924.6

The decades after World War II represent the end of 'traditional' (particularly heavy) industries across Britain, but the Scottish economy had depended on these, one of the factors which allows Scotland to be represented as 'different' from England. Already existing divergence between the two countries (see chapter 2) influenced Margaret Thatcher's 'undermining' of Scottish civil society (which had been crucial in terms of Scottish autonomy under Union). The 'new right government' increased 'the powers of the central state'7 at a time when internationally, the large dominating state was beginning to be rejected in favour of a culture of diversity and autonomy and recognition that small cultures, particularly, needed protection from the homogenising force of globalisation.8 The excerpt below reflects this climate and suggests perhaps how centralisation was at odds with a mood, Edwin Morgan believed, demonstrating that people were 'more determined to keep their distinctiveness':

...the more globalisation occurs the more people will want to have...differences...that's what's happening in many parts of the world now. So you don't get rid of the small places, or the small nations or the small languages just because modern communications brings everyone together. It's true, we are part of the - the internet is everywhere and everyone is a part of that...because of that people are more determined to keep their distinctiveness, whatever it is that they have...I like to think that things don't move towards 'oneness'. I think things move the other way towards more and more divergence and difference. Our whole evolutionary process is to have more and more differences.

David Greig:

...we could be doing this [interview] in an internet cafe in Barcelona. You could be doing a PhD on representations in Catalonia: we'd probably be wearing much

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the same clothes, smoking similar fags, the menu might even be pretty much the same, but the difference is that when so much of your identity's been homogenised anyway, it actually becomes quite special to you to hold onto the things that other people perceive as being unique about you. What we found more and more as we went into...[rehearsals for Caledonia Dreaming], was how much you yourself hold onto representations that you know to be too simplistic or false...When I lived in England, the images I found myself being homesick for were the highlands, beautiful Edinburgh etc., and that's not my experience.

7.2 Representing the Conservatives as 'alien'

Historically, nationalist feeling had fluctuated in proportion to the degree of autonomy and parity the Scots had perceived themselves as having within Union. In the 1880's, for example, when home-rule 'emerged as an issue in Scottish politics', parity was the problem: from time spent on Scottish matters in Parliament, to spending, and London 'centricity'. It was already bound up with social reform before the First World War when 'remote government in England' had been blamed for many Scottish ills (see chapter 2, theme 2 and chapter 5 on John MacLean, and socialism and nationalism in Scotland) and as periods of economic depression worsened to affect even middle-class professions, traditional Conservative voters began to desert the party and express nationalist 'discontent'. In the 1950's Conservatives support began to fall off and that of Labour and SNP started to increase (from the 1960's).

After the Second World War the idea of a common set of British concerns had been consolidated by the introduction of the Welfare State; therefore Margaret Thatcher's attempts to dismantle it through the 1980's and 1990's further damaged the Conservatives in Scotland (she saw it as a major source of the culture of 'dependency', the conditions of which, she thought, were 'strongly present' in Scotland). This period saw the representation that the Tories were 'alien really inappropriate to their own [Scottish] identity' develop in several ways, one being that they - unlike the Scots - were the party of middle and upper class people, but importantly, people

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11 Finlay, Richard J. A Partnership for Good?: Scottish Politics and the Union Since 1880 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1997) p162 and see pp102 - 113 on 'Union and Dependency'.

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driven by self-interest. This is returned to later in a paragraph on Mrs. Thatcher's denial of society, but the following extract illustrates the complexity of negotiating this perceived difference between the Scots and the Conservatives. In an interview with Duncan Macmillan at the University of Edinburgh, this was explored by considering architecture. Macmillan used the Scottish National Portrait Gallery as exemplifying his belief in a traditional Scots' concern with 'human values as opposed to material values', but I suggested that it appeared to focus on individuals:

...it all goes back to the formation of the nation, that individuals can, as part of the community, change the world - it is worth trying, you're not just a subject, or an object, you're a person who has the right to act...the Portrait Gallery is a community...there's a relationship between the University and the Portrait Gallery which is quite a striking one, which is the projection from a very early day - at least from the 1580's - of the University as a community existing in time...it's not an institution, it is a group of people, and the people by grouping together create an institution...they're not dwarfed by the architecture, they create the architecture and...you also see when you go to the Portrait Gallery, the iconography of the building is all about history but it's about history very much seen in terms of people. It's main central image is this frieze which is a whole community, I mean it's just a group of people marching through time. So it's a balance between the concept of society and the concept of the individual which is what Hume and Adam Smith are talking about - a key area of discussion in Scottish thought is how the two relate to each other.

Theatre Director, Iain Reekie also referred to the built environment to legitimate the belief that Scotland developed as a more Socialist culture:

...look at...slum housing...in England was still very much based on 'the house'...the vast majority of Scotland's urban centres are still based on 16th century to 20th century tenements. The architecture's always played a really important role in Scotland...obviously, in an urban sense because...people are living collectively together in that way...it makes a difference to how the society operates...we're not unusual...the vast majority of urban centres in the world worked like that...But I do think if we have a degree of egalitarianism, or a leaning, a bent towards looking after each other, or a bent towards Socialism to a greater extent than say England, I do think it comes from this kind of collective...nature of Scottish culture.

Reekie's statement suggests that the roots of the 'Scottish' traditions of egalitarianism, community and Socialism are influenced by tenement living.

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12 Professor Duncan Macmillan, Reader in Fine Art and Curator of the Talbot Rice Gallery at Edinburgh University, and author of several books on Scottish Art and artists. Interviewed 6 May 1998.
In general, nationalism theories tend to suggest that the middle-classes mobilise nationalist sentiment (see chapter 2, themes 3 and 4) and in Scotland in the 1980's and 1990's they, unconventionally perhaps, protested against the Tories. In other words, the sections of society from which they might traditionally expect to have drawn support (after the loss to them of most working-class to Labour with the demise of Protestant Imperialism) were now identifying themselves with or thinking of themselves as, working-class - an issue considered in terms of people involved in Scottish cultural life in the next chapter. Theorist Benedict Anderson (who focuses on the motivational significance of economic power in nationalism) sees himself - 'the theorist' - as dealing with the 'objective modernity' of nationalism as opposed to nationalists who think of its 'subjective antiquity'. Hearn has disputed the notion that there was only either civic or ethnic nationalism in Scotland, claiming that 'nationalism's civicness' was 'culturally determined' or 'embedded' in cultural traditions, and this appears to be borne out by his research among Scots in or on the fringes of the 1990's nationalist 'movement' who did indeed privilege culture over economics. In cultural terms, the Scots' representation of Scotland as 'more' Socialist, more socially concerned, and working-class than Mrs. Thatcher, Conservatives, and then England, grew in strength through the 1980's and 1990's, and the belief that they were more democratic appeared, increasingly, to be corroborated by election results. A wealth of other beliefs about Scottish traditions and therefore cultural influences were available for use in legitimating representations of the Scots as having greater social concern (beliefs about Calvinist traditions, civic society, and analyses of fifteenth century pre-Reformation Scottish philosophy); a tradition of egalitarianism; and a history of political radicalism (see Chapter 5). Ultimately such beliefs allowed the Conservatives to be perceived as influenced by a

15 Hearn argues that since ethnicity is not race, but 'culture', the two cannot be separated, and that nationalism in Scotland is a mixture of both. Hearn, Jonathan. *Claiming Scotland: National Identity and Liberal Culture* (Polygon at Edinburgh: Edinburgh, 2000) p194, pp65-70 and see chapter 4 'The Public Sphere'.
culturally and morally different (English) mind-set. As the extract below from Iain Reekie's interview exemplifies, egalitarianism and communitarianism were combined by most interviewees in representing the Scots as different:

...we tend to think of ourselves as being much more egalitarian than we actually are...what's true about Scotland as a culture, is that it is more collective than say, English culture...where did Scotland's industrial base grow up from? I mean a lot of it grew from...the Clearances...I think the problem with that argument is that...[it] died out...in its structural form hundreds of years ago.

[L.G. 'And had bugger all to do with egalitarianism']

Aye...Indeed! It's got clan chiefs...but again...it wasnae about egalitarianism, it was about collectivism...it grouped people together...I think egalitarianism and Socialism...are more likely to come out of a culture which has been collective in that way than say, your 'Little Englander' which has very much been a culture...based on individualism for centuries and centuries. Parts of it...

Stuart Cosgrove makes similar claims:

...the Thatcher era, because there was such a kind of clear and very evident ideological schism between what you would say to be historically Scottish values of fairness and democracy, of the recognition of respect for community and society and whatever, and Thatcherism was much more individualistic, much more hostile to the idea of community or a society or neighbourhood or support and all those things, then I think you actually saw the real kind of divisions there were, or palpable ideological division between Scotland - and not just central Scotland, whole swathes of Scotland - set against the Home Counties of England which, to be fair to England, they aren't representative of them either...yeah, we're taking the two extremes as it were, and I think that Thatcherism helped to play up those things.

Rather than a 'nationalist' movement, Paterson claims that at the heart of these identity politics was a 'civil conflict between social conservatives and proponents of radical visions' in which both sides took 'the Scottish context for granted'.

Hearn explains this in the context of economics and the increasing 'concentration of political power in Westminster' which contributed to a 'parallelism in the loss of sovereignty and control, to both state and capital'. This, as he describes it, was responsible for 'conflicts between "workers" and "capital," and between "Scotland" and "Britain"...[tending] to become mapped onto one another in the popular imagination'. This 'breakdown in the social contract' between Government and the Scots was subsequently to be interpreted as a breakdown in the contract between Scotland and England.

The extract from A.L. Kennedy's interview below suggests that she believes perceptions of the Government as socially and nationally alien were instigated by the Conservatives:

...you had the Thatcher years and the fact that they were determined that everybody should not only be English, but very specifically south-eastern middle-class to upper middle-class English, and if you didn't fit into that norm you were not human.

In terms of having had an effect on Scottish identity and confidence, Kennedy saw Mrs. Thatcher as having done the Scots 'a lot of good...in a way'...a bit like being inoculated with botulism - it stops you getting it full-blown, you just feel really sick for a while'. This idea that adversity could have positive repercussions for identity (and the arts) was discussed with composer James Macmillan who agreed that Thatcherism 'produced a lot in theatre...and in literature' in Scotland:

...if you look at something like pre-Perestroika Russia, when the arts were in a huge fertile ferment - there was no confidence there [in the wider population]. There was hostility from government and even at a cultural level there was a hostility to the artist and the composer, but yet in their isolation - yet again - they prevailed and it will go down as one of the most crucially important periods in the history of Russia and the other Republics: Shostakovich,...and all these other writers working in adversity. Having an open, civilised pluralistic democracy need not immediately equate with quality and confidence in the arts. In fact the very opposite can be...if we lived in a dictatorship, maybe (I use it as a hypothetical...) the arts would be better. The artist would be inspired and put under so much spiritual pressure that they would excel themselves.

Iain Reekie (then Director of 7:84 Scotland) claimed that, 'the move towards autonomy in this country, or...towards nationalism, if there is one, has got to do with us needing to affirm ourselves as Scots' and that the 1980's renaissance had increased 'political' confidence among Scots in the sense of whether they were capable of running their own country. He felt that Thatcherism had 'prompted' this:

...I think that was when...Scottish culture became most, more and more prolific – you know, wi Kelman and all these people kind of started to really develop...if ye get cornered democratically and yer rights are taken away to a certain extent...you fall back on yer individual voice, yer personality to find yerself...look at yerself and say...'What is it that makes me valuable...that makes me worthy or worthwhile?' and if ye transfer that intae a larger stage...like a nation, or a group of people...you start to look at what they are collectively. So that's where the Scottish voice became really important: about redressing the democratic deficit. It was about saying, 'Why are we not being treated seriously?'...you start to explore all aspects of yourself. I think it's kind of introspective but outward looking as well, at the same time...I don't think that that resurgence of Scotland...whatever resurgence it was, it was not
a resurgence of kilts, or bagpipes. It was a... in that sense it was a new thing. It was maybe the first time that 'people', that Scottish culture in real terms was really looked at artistically.

A.L. Kennedy also believed that in addition to the English/Scottish, middle-class/working-class representations present, 'you also got a more complex reaction':

Because it was so invasive, and it was taking place on every level and you couldn't just oppose it with 'we hate the Tories'... 'we hate the English', 'we hate the English Tories' - that wasn't enough, you needed something more articulate and you needed something that would actually stop you from drowning. So you had very articulate responses and you had lots of artistic responses... that weren't just about 'we are not x' they were about what we are... and this huge kind of anger...

Apparently Mrs. Thatcher was oblivious to all of this, finding it 'strange' that her ideology of 'economic neo-liberalism' which '...claimed descent from the Scottish Enlightenment... found little echo in Scotland'21 (which she refers to as a 'regional exception'):

For Scotland... was the home of the very same Scottish Enlightenment which produced Adam Smith, the greatest exponent of free enterprise economics... had been a country humming with science, invention and enterprise – a theme to which I used time and again to return in my Scottish speeches.

The Labour movement and Labour culture were under the same pressure from the Conservative Government in Scotland as in the rest of Britain, but the Conservatives appeared to 'misjudge' both the economic position of many voters in Scotland and the 'mood' of the electorate. In her biography Thatcher claims that 'about half Scotland's population were living in highly subsidized local authority housing compared with about a quarter in England', a factor she saw as contributing to their advocacy of, or (as she interpreted it) 'dependency' on the welfare state resulting in 'the conditions for socialism'.22 Council (and private) rents were low, but as Harvie notes, the 1971 census had also shown 'that Scotland had 77.5 per cent of Britain's 5 per cent of "worst areas" for social deprivation'23 and that while the rest of Europe had been hit by world recession and de-industrialisation too, the concentration of traditional industries in Scotland had

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21 There were exceptions with whom it was popular including, claims Harvie, for example, Andrew Neil who was at the time an expatriate Scot and heading The Sunday Times (now, The Scotsman). Harvie, Christopher. No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland Since 1914 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993) pp165.


seen massive job losses in that part of the United Kingdom through the 1970’s.24 Thatcherite attacks on the Welfare State could therefore easily (and perhaps justifiably) be interpreted as attacks on the Scots. Lamenting that there had been no ‘Tartan Thatcherite revolution’, Mrs. Thatcher remarked:

...on top of decline in Scotland’s heavy industries came socialism – intended as a cure, but itself developing quite new strains of social and economic disease, not least militant trade unionism.25

John McGrath’s comment below suggests that the above attitude ‘the way she [Thatcher] went about it and what she did with Scottish industry’ had ‘in a perverse sort of way...provoked...a justification for political separation’ and had ‘political’ rather than economic reasons, Scotland being ‘very Left’:

...the political dimension of Thatcherism has got to be taken into account...because whereas a lot of industries became obsolete, Thatcher actually helped that process along with a vengeance, and I do mean ‘vengeance’...certainly the steelworks and the coal-mining and a lot of other industry she just...closed. And that was deliberate policy, it was political act!

He underlined the political rather than national dimension by referring to other areas, for example Merseyside where he came from, which had received similar treatment under Thatcher: ‘...the closing down of Liverpool was another political act. It was a very parallel...Scotland was very Left, Liverpool was very Left’:

...you have to take that whole political dimension of Thatcherism into account in talking about post-industrial Scotland, because there is a feeling, I know, that this was done by the ‘English’ Government and whether it was exclusively done to Scotland, or maybe done for political reasons to other parts of the UK doesn’t really...there’s a great feeling of resentment that it was done by the English, to the Scots, who didn’t vote for it.

From the 1970’s Scotland had ‘retained an essentially social-democratic majority while large parts of southern England...moved to the right’.26 McCrone claims that there was little evidence of representations to the effect that ‘the Tory south of England’ was imposing its political will on the Celtic periphery’, though, until 1983, at which time it was actually a ‘North/south’ political

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division rather than an 'Anglo/Celtic' one. Images of 'Tory England' and 'radical Scotland' were though, 'broadly accurate' and were further reinforced by graphic representations when the media showed constituencies won in the General Elections 1992 and 1997 using a map of the UK. Those won by each party rendered appropriately in their party colours showed Scotland was predominantly (almost entirely in 1997) 'red' compared to England's blue, hence the interpretation that there was a lack of democracy under Westminster, for example. John McGrath referred to 'the obvious injustice of a country that voted overwhelmingly against the government, being then ruled by this government'. His successor as Director of 7:84 Scotland felt:

...the ultimate drive for autonomy in Scotland is a quest for democracy and not a quest for cultural and national identity...when you corner a nation like Scotland and you deprive it of democratic rights – let's just take...Thatcherism as an example: so tons of stuff was goin down in terms of Bills and laws and a' that kinna stuff which we hadnae voted for - in effect...The knee jerk reaction is to retreat into images of, I don't know... Scottishness, or patriotism...But the root cause of it is ultimately a question of democracy.

7.2.1 Margaret Thatcher
Harvie claims that in 1987, recognising Mrs. Thatcher's unpopularity in Scotland, Conservative advisors 'recommended a period of prime ministerial indifference' as the Scots 'regarded her with dislike, occasionally with loathing' a situation she seemed unable to comprehend, believing that the 'rational Scots ought to appreciate her classical economics, and was distressed (though not disarmed) when they didn't.' The Scots did not appreciate either that Mrs. Thatcher ignored their protests against many of her proposals, policies and reforms (from 'the privatisation of public utilities' to reforming the health service to run on commercial or business lines). This attitude is open to interpretation. Firstly, Mrs. Thatcher could be perceived as having thought she knew better what the Scots wanted than they did and that they 'ought' to comply. This

paternalistic attitude - arguably a legacy of British Protestant Imperialism - might appear to be at odds with her simultaneous assertion of 'the individual' (explored later), but commentators such as Anderson (chapter 2) suggest the reluctance of 'the ruling classes, bourgeois certainly, but above all aristocratic'\(^3\) to accept the loss of empires and the Conservatives (formerly Conservative Unionists) have similarly been viewed as aspiring to higher social and economic strata and clinging to Britain's past glories,\(^3\) as demonstrated perhaps by the Prime Minister's call to 'Victorian values'.

By the late 1980's, by which time the British public had become used to a more, apparently, 'bottom up' perspective on Government's role or duty towards its citizens, Mrs. Thatcher had begun to adopt the Royal 'We' and the warning, 'the lady's not for turning'.\(^3\) These, along with other Thatcherite slogans such as Norman Tebbitt's 'get on your bike' (suggesting that the unemployed should move to other areas of the country to obtain employment), can be seen as part of what Inglis refers to as 'the lurid, savoury culture' created by 'the exceptional state': '[that] populist authoritarianism of which Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher were such stars', the 'very spectactularity' of which 'keeps public and private life rigidly separate and incapable of civic mutuality'. 'Get on your bike' was based on an ideology which implied the individual's liberty and autonomy, but was co-dependent on the myth that Britain was a country of equal opportunity, implicitly refusing to acknowledge therefore, the 'private' reality for many individuals: '... free to get on their bikes, or compelled to leave home?'. Thatcherite use of the word, 'freedom', prompted Edward Pearce to make the observation that, 'The word "free" rests in the mouths of politicians as aspiration, ideal, splendid and shimmering. More usually it is a choice of tarnished options':

> Free movement of capital is an agreeable thing to the owner of capital seeking a return. Free movement of labour can indeed be a blessing if Stevenage turns out to be better than Motherwell, but it is a lesser freedom and one into which compulsion slyly intrudes.\(^3\)

An important element in terms of the way the Scots were representing themselves in relation to the Tories was brought up by John McGrath: 'Well you've got her saying 'There's no such thing


\(^{34}\) Pearce, Edward. 'Abusing the idea of freedom'. *The Scotsman*, 24 October 1998.
as society. There's just a lot of individuals'. This - 'Don't blame society - that's no one!'³⁵ is another part of Thatcherite ideology which made it possible for the Scots to represent the Tories not only as products of a different set of social and economic conditions, but of a different set of cultural traditions. Thatcher's taking the 'absolute sovereignty of Parliament literally, neglecting a tradition that it should limit its own power in the interests of tolerable rule',³⁶ could be contrasted with beliefs that sovereignty in Scotland had traditionally lain with the people,³⁷ the ruler holding the nation in trust for them.

From his beliefs about art and society sculptor, George Wyllie demonstrates one of the 'ideas' which contributed to the Scots' representation of themselves by the 1990's, possibly as a result of Mrs. Thatcher's policies and beliefs:

...I could be interested in money, but regeneration is to do with souls, because if you help people to get ideas, working wages and so on, they in turn develop. It's a meaningful way of applying your art really...there's a lot of good arts in Glasgow really - especially for the punter ...Thatcher...knocked the stuffin out of that kind of passion...for life. And I want to stand up and be counted as a believer in that exuberance, in that aspect of...the capture, the retrieval of the soul.

On the Scots representation of themselves by the 1990's as less 'selfish' and materialistic (than the Tories/English), Wyllie points out two sides to that coin:

Suppose you take that Big Issue guy along there and you say, 'Right. Here ye are. Here's a job for you. 400 quid a week.'...He might turn out to be the most dastardly employer...I think you've got to create an understanding that it's worthwhile to abandon the pursuit of riches, money and all that to have a better life. The very fact that Carnegie and so on, they screwed the working man and having done that they give you a few libraries...I always think it comes down, if you like a kind of William Blake-ish thing, the sort of battle between good and evil...even David Hume writes about money and the way we organise money, we allow it to fall into the hands of manipulators...

At odds with Scottish society and its representation of itself in the late 1980's and early 1990's, Conservative crowd-pleasers such as those referred to earlier (see 'populist authoritarianism') were unlikely to promote 'tolerable rule' in Scotland where proposals to introduce a Poll Tax

(before anywhere else in the UK)\textsuperscript{38} had attracted widespread protest. The Scots' rejection of increasingly right-wing Conservatism became more than evident by the late 1980's and when they won the 1987 General election the Scottish Constitutional Convention was set up. It met in 1989\textsuperscript{39} after the publication of the 'Claim of Right' (1988)\textsuperscript{40} asserting 'the right of the people of Scotland to decide on their own constitution'.\textsuperscript{41} In May 1988 Thatcher had delivered what came to be referred to in Scotland as the 'Sermon on the Mound'. Having used the opportunity of her Address to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to instruct the Scots and Kirk on how her values related to Christian beliefs,\textsuperscript{42} she introduced the Poll Tax the following year.

7.3 Tory mobilisation of Identity in the 1980's and 1990's

What has been termed a Tory 'historicising impulse' was referred to in chapter 2. Cannadine writes of the British ruling classes' desire to return (the middle-class's desire to aspire\textsuperscript{43}) to an older social order when advantage and position were a 'given', and, with some regret, Mrs. Thatcher herself blamed the change in Conservative Party's 'fortunes' in Scotland (under her governance) on changes in religious and social attitudes:

The old Glaswegian Orange foundations of Unionist support which had in earlier decades been so important had irreparably crumbled. Moreover, whereas in the past it might have been possible for the Conservatives in Scotland to rely on a mixture of deference, tradition and paternalism to see them through, this was just no longer an option - and none the worse for that. But that did not explain why Scotland was so different from England now after eight years of Tory government.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{38} Conservative leader, Iain Duncan Smith, planned to apologize for this at the 2002 Scottish Conservative Conference in Perth. MacDonell, Hamish. 'Apologies to Scotland for poll tax' in The Scotsman 18 May 2002.


\textsuperscript{42} The text of this speech given by The Prime Minister, The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP to the General Assembly of The Church of Scotland on 21\textsuperscript{st} May 1988 is reproduced in Raban, Jonathan. God, Man and Mrs. Thatcher (London: Chatto & Windus Ltd., 1989) pp7-20.

\textsuperscript{43} 'The historic weakness of the English middle-class', Ascherson, Neal. 'Ancient Britons and the Republican Dream' in Ascherson, Neal. Games With Shadows (London: Radius, 1988) p151.

\textsuperscript{44} Thatcher, Margaret. The Downing Street Years (London: HarperCollins Publishing, 1995 p619.)
Her assertion that Britain should return to 'Victorian values', however, 'spurious' and 'pseudo-historical' - evoking images of monarchy and Empire at their peak (Ascherson claims the middle classes identify with the ancien régime\(^{45}\)) and of the middle-classes struggling to construct and maintain a gulf of 'difference' between themselves and the masses (see Chapter 5 on 'duality') - offered a past attractive in the Tory heartland of 'middle England', but which had little to offer the working-class. The 1990's saw the effects of large and small 'c' conservatism's 'historicising impulse' in the representation of history and culture. Cuts in public spending put museums under pressure to 'heritage-ise' history while the message that traditional industries were now history was pronounced through re-development of industrial buildings, and events linked to urban regeneration (such as the 'Garden Festival' series;\(^{46}\) see Chapter 8). The Thatcherite 'modernisation' of Britain was built on the mobilisation of images of 'a lost past' of 'legends and landscapes...enduring traditions...hallowed sites and scenery...a process' which Daniels claims affords the illusion of a 'homogeneous Englishness'.\(^{47}\)

The Conservatives' mobilisation of heritage was marked by Mrs. Thatcher's assumption that British identity was homogeneous nationally and socially. Symbols of Britishness employed were images of England, but importantly, of a particular England which reassured the traditional middle-class Conservative voter. These were, however, alien to Scots and arguably many English people. McCrone claims that 'notions of English heritage have leant themselves to conservative even racist political accounts and that one of the interesting features of "Englishness" is that it has often been employed as part of a reactionary political discourse'.\(^{48}\) In contrast to such suggestions about English identity, beliefs that the Scots were less xenophobic circulated in Scotland in the 1990's. Iain Reekie:

[it is] because of the fact that we were a smaller nation next door to a bigger nation that have been more dominant that we actually did look over, look around...to see who else was there...and I think probably that's stayed with us. I do think Scotland's a more international culture than England, I do think Scotland will readily accept the Euro, for instance, more readily accept it than the English...I think that we've


got less of a 'British Islands' mentality about it...I think the Scots, in a canny, not a canny sort of way, but in a sensible sort of way say, '...If this is happening to Europe just now, why on earth are we not part of it? It disnae make any sense'....The [sovereignty] thing I don't think is of nearly as much of an issue to us, because...we've survived 300 years with our nationality intact so I don't think we're worried about it in the same way that the English are cos...they're still grappling with the fact that the Empire disnae exist... anymore.

The slow, easy or leisureed lifestyle implied by references to county (cricket) grounds, warm beer and Shakespeare in John Major's 'back to basics' speech to the Conservative Party Conference in 1993 evoked 'a highly stylised world of England in the 1950's' which - although borrowed from a Socialist, George Orwell (see chapter 2 on Orwell's aristocratic links) - was part of the 'deeply conservative and Conservative' employment of heritage of the period, which can be seen as related to representations of an 'ancestral nation' in which Scotland was only included 'as part of a greater England'. This 'definitely anglocentric' Britishness is rooted in ideas of England and the English landscape influenced by the paintings of artists such as Constable who represents both 'English painters' and archetypal ideas of the English countryside as one of hopfields and haywains, relating once again to the Home Counties - the 'Conservative heartland' of the 'affluent' south-east of England. The landscape (and consequently the culture) evoked here was foreign to most Scots since a very different one had featured in 'traditional' representations of Scotland (see chapter 2, theme 2). Once Enlightenment 'order' had been imposed upon the Highland landscape (Burke, for example, defined 'the sublime in nature' as comprising solitude, darkness, and 'vastness' of height), one which had formerly been considered horrifying - that landscape had represented 'Scotland' to people of taste, fashion, and wealth, which suggests also that appeals using land might be interpreted differently by different social classes. Queen Victoria's obsession with Scotland, for example, influenced an association of the monarchy with

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52 Through the study of nature.  
53 For example, 'Scott's perception of the natural world' was '...one he shared with most other educated gentlemen of the eighteenth century' who 'intellectualized reactions which good taste demanded of viewers of natural scenery' as set out in Edmund Burke's Philosophical Enquiry into the origins of our ideas of the sublime and the beautiful published in 1756. Ash, Marinell. The Strange Death of Scottish History (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1980 p17 – 18.
Scotland (or Scottish estates). Perceived as, traditionally, the party of land-owners and the aristocracy,54 the Conservatives' evocations of 'land' were unlikely to have a positive effect on the Scottish electorate whose identity was being represented as working-class with a tradition of Republicanism by the 1990's (see chapter 8).55

A reminder of Colley's claim (see previous themes) that British identity had been constructed for and maintained through wars, came with The Falklands War (1981/2) or 'adventure' which Patrick Wright claims:

...enabled Mrs. Thatcher to draw up the legitimising traditions of the 'nation' around a completely unameliorated 'modernising' monetarist programme. This new and charismatic style of legitimisation fused a valorisation of national tradition with a policy and programme which is fundamentally destructive of the customary ways and values to which it appeals.56

Thatcher's appeals to British patriotism suited (what was later to become) her characteristic stridency. Although forty years after it (against 'the Argies' instead of 'the Jerries' now) the most recent images of the 'Brits' at war for those who did not remember it were those of the Second World War, influenced by films of the 1940's and 1950's - heroism, stiff-upper-lipped Englishmen and the London Blitz. John Major's Orwellian images of England came from the 1950's,57 a period in which Wright claimed the Conservatives were stuck. The intended message may have been that 'Britain [England] will survive unamendable' but by this time the Union Jack had already lost most of its appeal in Scotland.

Having described the Scots as 'whinging-Jocks'58 and a 'dependency culture', the Conservatives made a late attempt to appeal to them in the 1990's. As Brown et al suggest, had their economic policies been accompanied by a more sophisticated delivery the Tories' defeat in Scotland might

55 The poem, 'Arcadia which gives a continuing title to English neo-pastoral was written in a park which had been made by enclosing a whole village and evicting the tenants'. Williams, Raymond. The Country and the City (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973) p22.
57 McCrone, David et al. (eds.) Scotland the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd. 1995) p23
possibly have been marginally less than total, but in 1995 (prior to Devolution) the 'radically right-wing politician' Michael Forsyth\(^59\) was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland and attempted to popularise himself with the electorate by recovering both the 'Stone of Destiny' and his Scottish accent, claiming there was 'no political agenda at all'\(^60\) to what one Scottish journalist described, sarcastically, as the 'happy coincidence of the arrival of the Stone with an in-service training day for teachers'. His rather unsubtle staging of this affair employed conservative representations of Scottishness, an intended highlight being the symbolic handing-over to Scottish military escort at the border, the 'Scottish soldier' a reference to the Scots as loyal servants of the Empire, Queen and country (Britain) and delivered by an acolyte of Mrs. Thatcher, underlined the regime's by then characteristic 'arrogance and insensitivity'.\(^61\) an opinion shared by a number of interviewees, for example John McGrath: 'The insensitivity and the crassness of...that Tory government, or those Tory governments over 17 years. It was pure provocation'. SNP Leader Alex Salmond noted that the Scots were not 'impressed by gestures' and that exhibitions such as Forsyth's would 'simply reinforce the Scottish people's demands for real power', while the Shadow Secretary of State agreed that 'symbols are not what the Scottish people are calling for'.\(^62\) On Forsyth's hi-jacking of the Stone of Destiny, David Clarke said:

Forsyth's not really into culture, it seems to me. You know, in the broader sense. That's [the returning of the Stone] a sign that he hasn't got a handle on the kind of sophistication that you need to pull off those things. I mean if you're going to do that, you have to go the full route, the full pomp and... you know you really have to have a ceremony and stick it right up everybody's nose. You don't put the bloody thing on the back of a sort of chopped off Landrover! And you don't allow Historic Scotland to indulge in crappy display of the thing afterwards. You make sure that the memory is, you know...but he wanted to do it on the cheap, I mean it was typical of...

[L.G. 'underestimating the intelligence of the punter']

I think so. Absolutely.

The idea of a new Museum of Scotland had appeared the 1960's - a decade which had seen SNP success\(^63\) - but had been on financial hold until 1989\(^64\) when it was 'suddenly and unexpectedly'


\(^60\) Gray, Alison. 'Border crossing for chunk of history'. *The Scotsman* 16 November 1996.

\(^61\) Massie, Allan and Stamp, Gavin. 'Scotland decides today': Yes, says Englishman, Gavin Stamp'; No, says Scotsman Allan Massie*. *The Daily Telegraph* 11 September 1997.

\(^62\) Bowditch, Gillian. 'Scots fight for right to house nation's heart of stone' in *The Times*, 4 July, 1996.

revived by then Secretary of State, Malcolm Rifkind, who, claimed Edinburgh architect Richard Murphy, 'astonished the museum...with his sudden announcement of hard cash for the project'. Murphy also claimed that Rifkind's agenda (see on Forsyth earlier), 'was to bolster the Union by showing how the Scots had developed a role within the context of Britain.' Director of the NMS project, Dr. David Clarke relates his history of the project, having come to Edinburgh in 1968 'because there was going to be a new building for the Scottish collection at the end of Chambers Street':

It was cancelled in 1976...because there had been cuts in government expenditure, and the simple choice in Scotland was...they could have the Burrell or they could have the new National Museum, but they couldn't have both. So - not surprisingly, being a Labour Government and the sort of power of west central Scotland - the Burrell got the nod rather than the new National Museum...

Clarke believed that the various Tory Secretaries of State who supported the project - Rifkind, Younger and Lang, who 'were all pretty enthusiastic supporters' - were 'not so stupid' as to see it as 'a simple trade-off in the sense of..."We build a new museum and consequently the Tory party does better"," but that it was part of 'that sort of wider package..."The Tories care about Scotland":

I think, you can look at it like this: the go ahead for it was given in the month after what was then the worst drubbing that the Tory party'd received in an election in Scotland (and that was the European elections '89) and you really felt that it was a question of 'God, we've done badly...let's get down to a few projects that aren't going to cost too much money, but that will assert the fact that we're pro-Scottish, because we're obviously seen as not being pro-Scotland', yeah?...you can take a position which is to say that for a large part of the development of the Museum of Scotland...the project was being funded by a Tory Government which wishes to say 'Scotland is a part of Britain'. And by the time it opens, Scotland is going to have a devolved Parliament, so you can take the view that - you know, the size it is - would it have been that size and would it have been there, if it were starting now? I think the answer is probably, 'No'.

Michael Forsyth...would have cancelled it if he could...but he got to be Secretary of State when it was too late and it was too difficult - it would have been politically damaging to do so.


65 The Times, 'Malcolm Rifkind announces Scotland to get new museum', 10 June 1989.
68 'Dennis Healey pulled in the IMF'. Dr. David Clarke, Exhibitions Director for New Museum of Scotland project. Interviewed 14 July, 1999.
The initial brief suggested that this should be an annexe to 'the main story' of the existing Royal Museum next door, which had been built in 1861, but by the time the building was completed in 1998 - by which time the Conservatives were no longer in office - the final design included a 'separate' entrance and a different story which didn't 'define Scotland in terms of England'. Clarke believed it was a question of 'spins':

...the original brief required that the building had no separate entrance, yeah? That you entered through the existing building, the Royal Museum atrium. And you can see this in two entirely different ways. One is, you can see it as: 'This is a statement by the museum that Scotland is a fundamentally part of the world, of the wider world'. Or you can say 'Scotland is an annexe, a long way from the centre', yeah? You can put either of those two spins on it and you can put a few other spins on it, yeah? I just think that it's very difficult to know what the motivations were of the people, given that museums are full of sophisticated people who are adept liars and very good at not letting you know what their true motives are... you know, they're part of the wider academic community and we all know that they're...that's the way the world works.

...you could say that there was a philosophic... you can have a political spin on it which is to say of course, you know. The developing situation suggests that it must be marked off as a separate building and it can't be a separate building without its own entrance', or at a more practical level you could say that the general view was that the more you thought about it, people coming down George IV Bridge - it's still a long trek and it appears stupid to you as a visitor if you trek halfway down Chambers Street, trek half-way back up that/Chambers Street inside the building to get to where you want to go! So there were sort of practical considerations and now - well, which one was it? I dunno.

Arts critic Joyce McMillan's 'spin' or perception of the new museum was that it would help 'shape a nation fit to make choices on a basis of self-knowledge, confidence and self-respect, rather than that old superstitious fear of being left behind on the edge of someone else's world'.

Media interest in the new museum and the fact that thousands of visitors a day went to see it on opening confirm the public's interest in the project in Scottish, as distinct from British, identity (which is what the Royal Scottish Museum represented) in the 1990's. This can be traced in the rejection of Prince Charles' attempts to influence its design. The contract for this had very

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69 Macmillan, Duncan. 'Welcome Home' in a souvenir supplement on the museum of Scotland produced by The Scotsman, 30th November 1998.
69 The competition was won by architects Benson and Forsyth. Murphy, Richard article (no title) in Architect's Journal 25 February 1999.
publicly been put out to an RIAS competition\textsuperscript{71} and, in tune perhaps with representations of Scottish identity at the time (see 'democracy' earlier), models of the finalists' designs were put on display for the public. In such a climate, and noting suggestions made earlier as to the prevailing attitude in Scotland towards 'Britishness', the establishment and the monarchy, it is perhaps unsurprising that His Highness's attempts to influence the architectural style of the new museum were ignored. His preference that it conform to the style of the Royal Museum and the street it was situated on - Victorian, eclectic, but predominantly pseudo-classical - reflected a personal partiality towards historical pastiche which had been aired with reference to major new architecture in London too, but Scottish artists and academics had been rejecting conservative representations of their culture and identity from the late 1980's (see Chapter 5 and the Scotch Myths discourse) and this was a building which 'could easily be interpreted as a symbol of nationalism'\textsuperscript{72} and therefore politically symbolic of how Scots wanted to be represented at the time.\textsuperscript{73} The rejection of the Prince of Wales' comments could therefore be interpreted as demonstrating a belief that Scottish identity should be represented as contemporary and also, therefore, as demonstrating a prevailing attitude of confidence or independence.

7.4 Summary

Writer Duncan McLean claimed:

Through the Thatcher years till 1992, Scotland was shoved further and further out of the democratic process, and the realisation that 'democracy' had failed is the catalyst for 'we need a real change', 'so you get cultural activists'

\textsuperscript{71} Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland. The competition was unveiled in January 1990. Murphy, Richard article (no title) in Architect's Journal 25 February 1999.

\textsuperscript{72} Murphy, Richard article (no title) in Architect's Journal 25 February 1999.

\textsuperscript{73} See David Clarke quote in Chapter 8.
This quote from Duncan McLean exemplifies the antipathy many in Scotland felt (and still do, as several of the interviews demonstrate) towards Margaret Thatcher and 'Thatcherites'. Another example comes from playwright David Greig, who stated that his play, *Caledonia Dreaming* (the first in 7:84 Scotland's 'State of the Nation' series) was:

...written in the wake of the election campaign of 1992 and a climate of dismay: unbelievably a Tory Government was returned, final confirmation for many that the votes of the Scottish electorate (a majority in favour of Labour) were irrelevant.\(^7^4\)

This chapter explored ways in which earlier support for Conservatism in Scotland was negotiated by people in the 1990's when many Scots were representing themselves and the Tories as at opposite ends of a cultural, and perhaps moral, scale: 'more' fair, democratic, egalitarian. It also looked at how the Conservatives attempted to employ culture and at what interviewees believed about the relationship between politics and culture. Chapter 8 examines further some of the beliefs about Scottish identity mentioned above and in earlier chapters (social concern, working-class and so on) focusing on how these developed and provided legitimisation for the desire of many in Scotland for Devolution, but it does this by focusing more specifically on the involvement of people in the Scottish cultural sphere in the political debates of the day.

CHAPTER 8
1990’s: DEVOLOUTION AND REPRESENTATIONS OF SCOTTISH IDENTITY

While de-industrialisation under-lay the tensions of the 1970’s and 80’s (job cuts and strikes were high profile stories in the media), in this study it is not seen as solely responsible for the way Scottish identity came to be represented by the 1990’s (a view shared by several interviewees). In addition to its not having been an over-night phenomenon, Chapter 7’s examination suggested that Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative regimes of the 1980’s and 1990’s provided Scots with a cultural ‘other’ to oppose in their representation of themselves. This chapter focuses on how the changing social and ideological climate was negotiated by people from the Scottish cultural sphere, some of whom involved themselves in related political debates through their creative work, through protest groups, and through ‘cultural controversies’. A belief explored here is that there was a political desire to suppress working-class identity in the 1990’s and, since the latter was a crucial element in the representation of Scottish identity, Gellner’s idea of ‘self-deception’ (introduced in Chapter 2) is explored further in terms of the idea that in Scotland, those involved in cultural life are, or are ‘closer’ to, the working-class.

As in earlier chapters, more detailed discussions of theoretical ideas and analyses referred to here can be found in Chapter 2 (theme 5).

8.1 Responses in the cultural sphere to de-industrialisation

8.1.1 Replacement of industry and working-class identity with culture and heritage

Throughout the UK, Western Europe and North America1 many ‘post-industrial...second-class cities’2 or working-class areas within them3 underwent changes through the 1980’s and 1990’s as

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traditional industries were replaced by tourism and leisure. In Scotland, Glasgow's reinvention involved some major and highly publicised cultural events which attracted controversy since a number of people in the Scottish cultural sphere saw these as vehicles through which the 'idea' that the working-class still existed was being eroded (see later). Its role in a dominant representation of Scottish identity - Scottish as industrial or urban working-class - was discussed in Chapter 5; therefore what was happening in Glasgow is suggested here as having had repercussions for the representation of Scottish identity and the city is viewed as a site where debates on the latter (and, in effect, on the relationship between culture and politics) took place and were broadcast to the wider public.

With de-industrialisation and lack of investment the city centre had declined and outlying areas such as Easterhouse, designated 'deprived', were consuming Government funding (from schemes such as the 'Urban Aid' fund, for example) to tackle housing and social problems. In order to attract new investment the city fathers and business community felt that Glasgow's '…reputation for industrial and political militancy, religious sectarianism, squalor and urban violence' had to be changed, a long term project which began with PR campaigns such as 'Glasgow's Miles Better' (1982), and the hosting of Garden Festival (1988).

Directly modelled on Barcelona - which used the hosting of the Olympic Games to regenerate run-down areas and attract new capital and had become a prime example of the new 'cultural tourism' - Glasgow's attempt to emulate its success saw it become European City of Culture for 1990. The capital city of Catalonia (later to be much cited again in Scotland, but as a model of an autonomous region) had traded on architect and artists Gaudi, Miro, and Picasso. By the early 1990's (Charles Rennie) Mackintosh 'style' had been so heavily exploited in Glasgow that it inspired the phrase 'Mockintosh' and culture was described as having been 'dragged through the

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3 For example, see Wright, Patrick. 'The Ghosting of the Inner City' in McDowell, Linda; Sarre, Philip; and Hamnett, Chris. (eds.) Divided Nation: Social and Cultural Change in Britain (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989).
7 This was one of a series, or nation-wide scheme introduced by Conservative minister, Michael Heseltine. McCrone, David et al. (eds.) Scotland the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd. 1995) p38.
As poet Liz Lochhead sarcastically commented, 'all we want is a wally close with Rennie Mackintosh puttie'.

Concerns about the replacement of industry with culture as a commodity grew, and as former industrial sites such as the Govan dockyards were transformed into 'one hundred acres of riverside...close to the airport and a few minutes walk from the city centre...', so too did the idea that redevelopment was erasing the 'geographical and social grid of aides memoire' of the working-class. In terms of the direct representation of Scottish identity the Garden Festival in 1998 had broadcast traditional images ('Para Handy' and croft tableaux), but even references to Glasgow's working-class identity - cut-outs of colourful and stylised miniature Glasgow tenements - could be perceived as contributing to a process whereby working-class history and experience were 'prettified' or 'nostalg-ised'. Lochhead claimed the Garden Festival was:

...making Scotland just a theme park,
A dream park,
A Disneyland where work disnae exist...
...in Memoriam: Our Industrial Base.

George Wyllie contributed several pieces to the Festival and is a sculptor who frequently uses his creative work to make statements and question the status quo. Utilizing 'the symbolic structure' of the (redundant) Finnieston Crane, for example, in 1987 he 'constructed and suspended a straw locomotive, thus resurrecting, in the form of parody or post-industrial pastiche, the original purpose of the giant crane which served to load real locomotives...for export to the four corners of the world'. This was then symbolically burned, revealing a question mark in its wreckage. Wyllie:

I think that's the job of the artist. You see I can come up and...people don't think quite same way again. It doesn't change the world, not much...I can do my Straw

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8 Barcelona 'reformulated itself through images; specifically...of architecture...the Olympics supplied the political and economic forces to implement physical changes in the city'. Verona, Irina. 'Triptych: Images of Barcelona' in Precis No.13 (http://www.arch.columbia.edu/Pub/Precisi/site/13/iverona.html) accessed 6.01.03.
**Locomotive** and they say 'Well why did we chuck away an industry? Why don't we sail ships?'...I can...excite and stimulate...and also...be wrong. Maybe my things...are not justified. Maybe I'm wrong.

Wyllie's work reflects his personal love of traditional engineering and invention and his sadness at its demise, but, aware that what was happening in Glasgow was happening elsewhere (see earlier), his criticism is aimed much farther than Scotland, expressing concern over the excesses of capitalism and of spiralling greed in general. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in the extract below (which was prompted by a question on the reception of his work abroad) he believed this was a **Scottish** concern:

...New York – honestly! – I had it in the palm of my hand for a week (that upstages Andy Warhol!) but it wasn't **because** I was Scottish. It was because the Scottish attitude had driven this goddamn good bit of engineering, good bit of theatre, good bit of humour, good bit of compassion, because we were on about Adam Smith in New York...criticising the American interpretation of Capitalism to the exclusion of the moral sentiments. And they placed that in the [world] financial centre and...it was reported in the **Wall Street Journal**. That, to my mind, was better than some potty art criticism...it was to do with people!...Because what affects people more than money? And if you get people manipulating that, it causes all sorts of distress to people, to communities and to the planet. So I'm right against the manipulations of money...And being Scottish and being analytical, like Adam Smith, I have just enough conceit (not too much) to think that I can make a little nudge in that direction, to that effect, and to do a play about it...**A Day Down a Goldmine**...It's a great subject.

[L.G: Hmmn. Money and economics, eh?]
No, it's not, really. If you take it from the technical side you got lost in the technique [theory?]. If you take it from the *logic* side and you're down a mine shoveling up gold and sending it up to the surface, as my two miners did in their *Day Down a Goldmine*, and it goes up and they say 'What do they do with it?' - 'They melt it and they put it under the ground again'. They say 'Excuse me?', and I love that...

Duncan Macmillan also had observations to make on the relationship between industry (and de-industrialisation) and the visual arts in Scotland:

The artists, almost necessarily, use more international language than authors do, I mean the specificity of language is not something which they can exploit, but their concerns are often the same. I mean if you look at someone like Steven Campbell, his approach to the nature of reality if you like, is very similar in ways to somebody like James Kelman or...Alasdair Gray even. That whole kind of post-surrealist sense of paradox, if you like, which is something...I think people were sensitive to in Scotland in a perhaps a distinctive way because of the history, because of the fundamental questions that were being asked, a) about identity, and b) about society, particularly in the west of course with the collapse of the industrial base in
the west. As you say, you've got people very consciously trying to change the nature of a community. So 'now you've stopped making steel - make art!', I mean it's a pretty... 'Make money out of making art!'...which is a very... really that's the Pat Lally philosophy isn't it?

Macmillan is referring to Glasgow's Lord Provost at the end of the above extract, a figure who may have been seen by some, at best, as lacking sensitivity in terms of art, money and, arguably the effect of Glasgow's reinvention process on many of its people (see later pages). As suggested earlier, some on the Left believed that changes to the city's landscape threatened working-class identity. Some, such as writer Jeff Torrington criticised '...the wholesale conversion of derelict warehouses, factories and lofts into yup-market homes', claiming it had been 'obvious from the start that the provision of executive flats in the Merchant City, would inaugurate obnoxious "zones of exclusion" consequences, or..."no-dough, no-go" areas'. In other words, he perceived it as directly contributing to the further disenfranchisement of working-class people. Combined with explicit representations of working-class identity through events such as the Garden Festival and 'City of Culture' - particularly, the latter's official exhibition, 'Glasgow's Glasgow', referred to again later - the situation can be related to what Hewison refers to as the 'heritage-ising' of labour experience (see theme 5). Similar to the term, 'disneyfication', this implies an interpretive approach (in exhibitions, galleries, museums, events and so on) deemed too heavily influenced by the heritage industry's 'selling' of histories and ideas which can result in superficial, stereotype representations, and on occasion, according to Hewison, in 'the restructuring and commodification of private memory itself'. Torrington and others, such as Elspeth King (former curator of The People's Palace Museum; see later), feared that this was operating in Glasgow. In a 1991 piece on the City of Culture's change of image, Lochhead warned British politicians ('...watch out Margaret Thatcher, and tak' tent Neil Kinnock') that Scotland was not only to the left of the Conservatives, but to the left of Labour, illustrating a representation of Scotland which was to develop through the decade.

Museum curator Elspeth King suggested that the interpretive style which began to be used to represent Glasgow working-class history and identity (an approach she labelled 'shorthandism')

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'depoliticised' both. For example, 'Glasgow's Glasgow'18, presented working-class history in colourful and nostalgic snapshots, or as 'the footy', the dancin', the bevvy' which left out political content, according to Ms. King, '...partly through ignorance...partly going for the lowest common denominator'.19 Having left the People's Palace - a museum she had established and ran as a Museum of and for the people of Glasgow - she anticipated that its planned re-interpretation would reflect this. King claimed that radicalism among the Scottish working-classes was being played down or edited out in the 1990's 'to prevent people from being informed about these things', something she saw as part of a bigger political change: the de-emphasising of class as an issue.

Support for the above belief at the time is evident from examining a 'cultural controversy' involving Ms. King, revolving around her being passed over in favour of another candidate for a new post as Keeper of Social History in Glasgow in 1990. It was her opinion that she was rejected because of her (left-wing) political beliefs which she believed were at odds with those of new Director of Glasgow Museums and Galleries, Julian Spalding,20 whom she described in the interview as 'A Labour Party creature',21 implying that this explained his aversion to the representation of the working-class's involvement in politics (from anti-war feeling and conscientious objectors, to the Glasgow rent strikes, and 'Red' Clydeside and the George Square riot). This was in complete contrast to King's policy on how the history of the working-class should be represented: 'in the form of a set of deeply interacting relations between...ways of life and popular entertainments...and...political traditions', artefacts representing both displayed 'side by side' to suggest 'continuity between past and present'.22 When its curator, King had commissioned painter Ken Currie to produce a series of murals for The People's Palace (in 1985) illustrating the history of Scottish Socialism and Glasgow working-class radicalism.23 It should perhaps be noted here that King took legal advice in response to comments allegedly made on

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18 Murray Grigor's exhibition held at same time in the McLellan Galleries could be used as comparison to 'Glasgow's Glasgow' held in the newly converted 'Arches' (a former Railway storage facility.)
20 Spalding's first year as Director of Glasgow's museum service coincided with the City's year as 'European City of Culture'. Smith, W. Gordon. 'The Artful Dodger' in Scotland on Sunday 31 March 1996.
her non-appointment by Glasgow's (Labour) Council Leader, Mr. Pat Lally, that 'so far as he knew, she was a member of the Communist Party'. Ms. King denied this and her being passed over for the post is claimed to have been 'strongly criticised by many influential figures within the Labour Party', yet of Spalding, (the 'Labour party creature'), she claimed:

He has worked around the country, shutting places down, or disempowering them. For example, the National Museum of Labour History which was giving the Labour Party a lot of trouble. Spalding, sent in to sort it out...a well-known hatchet-man...to produce a report on the place. He came up with a lot of exaggerated, petty criticisms and said it was badly managed, and the result was that it was transferred to Manchester; much of the collection dumped; and is now managed by a nice, safe person to avoid middle-England being scared by Labour.

This could all be viewed as an individual's resentment at not being given a post she (perhaps, mistakenly) felt ought to have been hers, but for the support she received. This comprised an organised campaign of public meetings and letters to the Press from the 'Supporters of Elspeth King' as well as from individuals, many of whom were members of the Scottish cultural and academic sphere, and the debate received coverage on television and radio in Scotland demonstrating that the issue was perceived as one which should be in the public domain. This is notable in the context of the 'left-nationalist tone' of the Scottish media, referred to in theme 5. A similar 'tone' was broadcast through periodicals such as _Chapman_ and _Cencrastus_ which combine writing about Scottish political and social issues with writing on Scottish art and culture, and also in polemical works produced in the early 1990's by writers such as James Kelman and poet Tom Leonard (Kelman's _Some Recent Attacks_ and Leonard's _Reports From the Present_). The anthology, _Workers' City_ directly criticised and often attacked the replacement of industry with culture and consumerism, or 'welders with waiters', criticised, for example, the construction of 'YUPPIE' housing while council housing remained under-funded, and anticipated

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24 Laing, Allan. 'Labour's Palace revolution' in _The Herald_ June 6 1990.

25 Supporters of the campaign included writers (for example, Janice Galloway, Alasdair Gray, James Kelman, Tom Leonard, Liz Lochhead, Bernard MacLaverty, Edwin Morgan, and Alan Spence) as well as Billy Connolly, Hamish Henderson, Joy Hendry, Philip Hobshaun, Pat Kane and Spike Milligan. See 'Elspeth King Supporters', letter to _Glasgow Herald_ and 'King's loyal supporters rally to curator's cause' in _Glasgow Herald_ June 8 1990.


the type of art the future City of Culture would be likely to encourage:

...the kind of art that is no real threat to the social reality of the present, the kind of art that can work no change in the here-and-now because its time has passed and its place is not the here-and-now.\(^28\)

The charge - 'its time has passed' - has been levelled at the work of some artists from the 1980's and 1990's too. Some of painter Peter Howson's work from the late 1980's has been described as linked to the 'cult of The Big Man' (a reference to William Macllvanney's novel of the same name) and to stereotype representations of Scottish proletarian machismo,\(^29\) but it also referred to the struggle and continued existence of the 'underclass' which was apparently expanding, for example, his urban version of the 'Noble Savage', *The Heroic Dosser* (1987).\(^30\) Ken Currie's painting in the 1980's - his murals for the People's Palace were mentioned earlier - might also be represented as 'nostalgia' for a passed time and, therefore, 'unintentionally complicit with bourgeois values',\(^31\) but following a tradition of left-wing realism influenced by artists such as Mexican muralist Diego Riviera, he has argued that by presenting radical visions or 'utopias', art has the power to move people to 'improve their lot', and that his paintings and their messages were to be understood by all sections of the community, not simply those 'versed in the language of contemporary art'.\(^32\) This was seen as valid to those on the Left (see earlier) who believed that 'popular socialist memory'\(^33\) was under threat.

The political tension of the 1990's is reflected in the polemical work and public personae (defined in Chapters 1 and 3) of several Scottish writers. Novelists James Kelman, Alasdair Gray,\(^34\) and William Mcllvanney\(^35\) proclaimed their politics - the first a Left-wing Republican (see later paragraph), the latter two left-wing nationalists - but few examples from Scottish

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\(^{34}\) For example, Gray, Alasdair. 'Parliaments and power games: The 'Scotsman Election Essay' in *The Scotsman*, 6th May 1999.

\(^{35}\) For example, Mcllvanney, William. 'Scotland at the crossroads' in *The Herald*, Thursday May 6th 1999.
artists with right-of-centre views appeared. Author, Alan Massie, represents an exception to this; Massie proclaimed his pro-Union anti-Devolutionist stance with essays and articles in the Press, and, arguably, sculptor Sandy Stoddart, claimed to be unpopular amongst other Scottish artists partly because of his being a classicist (in terms of art and philosophy), which had prompted him to produce a bust of Pat Lally portraying 'the controversial Glasgow lord provost, as a classical hero'. Gray co-wrote a series of essays with Angus Calder for The Scotsman in February 1999, entitled 'Home rule handbook', and in addition to a weekly column for The Glasgow Herald McIlvanney has spoken at several events including the Annual National Conference of the Scottish National Party in 1987 where he warned of the threat Margaret Thatcher posed to Scottish identity. (Kelman is referred to in Chapter 6 The Discourse of Scotland as Colony, and later). Antipathy towards the Labour party, introduced earlier (see the King/Spalding controversy) was also expressed by some of these artists. For example on election day in 1999 Alasdair Gray urged Scottish voters to:

...vote for any party at all, except the Labour Party. All the others now have ideas or ideals which can do good. The Labour Party's only aim is to keep power in Westminster. Let them keep it, but not in Scotland.

McIlvanney's rhetorical questions, 'How far can Scottish Labour...demonstrate its distinctiveness from New Labour in London?' exemplifies a belief in the 1990's that New Labour was at odds with the majority of Scots, or 'The Scottish left, which is most of Scotland'. This issue is returned to again later.

In the context of the debate over whether 'art' was always, or 'should' be political, firstly David Greig suggested that writers 'particularly in the Theatre' were 'still profoundly concerned about identity, but in a really different way' by the late 1990's. He related the following to support his

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36 Massie, Allan and Stamp, Gavin. 'Scotland decides today': Yes, says Englishman, Gavin Stamp; No, says Scotsman Allan Massie. The Daily Telegraph 11 September 1997.


claim that that in his experience artists were '...considerably less concerned with this than the audience' by that time and that audiences were often importing the politics of Scottish identity and Scotland's political climate at the time, into their work. Greig:

It's very much about not wanting to be seen as a Scottish writer, but...as a writer who lives in Scotland. I'm known in the theatre because most of my work is concerned with these types of questions of identity and nationality, but part of the reason that I'm known is that I don't just come in and say 'I'm Scottish'. And other writers e.g. the Stephen Greenhorn's play Passing Places was again profoundly concerned with Scottish identity, but approached it from the angle of 'should we be concerned about this, is it important?' David Harrower's play Knives in Hens...was written in English, but the form of English used was very odd...It wasn't Scots, but it was performed by Scottish actors and there was [an] after-show discussion, and as per usual...it became 'Is this a Scottish play, is this a Scottish play?'. They kept on about how this was a play in Scots. It wasn't...people were assuming that, because the actors were Scottish, but that text could be done in a West Country accent, in Irish, Norfolk...his approach had been to write about community and about particular issues. Audiences wanted it to be about them and wanted to drag it towards them, and it wasn't unwilling, but...they were missing other things because they were so concerned with, 'is this a Scottish play?'

A few of the artists interviewed also resisted the idea that art - in the following two examples, their own work - had any political element to it. Edwin Morgan appeared to do so when asked the question directly, but on being asked whether the surfeit of adaptations into Scots of classic comedies (Moliere, several times\(^{41}\)) from the 1980's was indicative of Scots not having been able to take themselves 'seriously' when staging classics (something done regularly on the English stage), or low status (regarding whether a sense of Scottish cultural inferiority has operated), his reply suggested that he was involved in trying to make a political point with some of his projects:

...to begin with maybe that was true. Obviously, if you are staging a play that's mainly comedy, you'll get the audiences, it'll have entertainment value and it'll get across...but you haven't tested yourself fully...That I think, has also changed...now when people are translating foreign plays, they want to accept the whole challenge. Like what I did when I was doing Racine's Phaedra. It's a tragedy, high tragedy and I thought, 'If I can do that, which is quite different from the other comic play [Cyrano\(^{42}\)], then that...' ...it must prove something: that it is possible to use Scots in a way that one would use any other language, it can be describing

\(^{40}\) McIlvanney, William. 'Scotland at the crossroads' in The Herald, Thursday May 6 1999.

\(^{41}\) For example Lochhead, Liz. Tartuffe: a translation into Scots from the original by Moliere (Edinburgh: Polygon Glasgow: Third Eye Centre, 1985).

deep emotions, it *can* be describing tragic situations and there's no reason why it
*shouldn't* if people in the Middle Ages could....
(At the same time, Morgan also referred to a Scottish tradition, from medieval poets (for
example Henryson and Dunbar) of tackling serious subjects through comedy.)

Continuing on the subject of the relationship between the artists, and between 'art' and politics,
composer James Macmillan had involved himself in a controversial (political) debate on Scottish
identity (his lecture claiming that Scotland was an inherently sectarian, or anti-Catholic country,
detailed later), but claimed that 'serious art' (a phrase he used to differentiate literature and so on,
or 'high art' from popular) should not be political. He attempted to support this by claiming that
as music was 'an abstract form' it could exist 'almost in spite of economic conditions and
political turmoil round about it' and stating that composers throughout history had 'had the
ability (although some might say it's not a good ability) to ignore the world round about them'.
When asked whether he thought they should, he did not and thought composers differed from
other artists in that they, he believed, were capable of distancing themselves (in their work) from
'what's going on round about them' where others could not. He also contradicts himself by saying
that music could not 'help but reflect the world'. Macmillan:

...Painters, writers, playwrights, film-makers...their work would not exist without
the inspiration of the world round about them and...I've looked with some envy at
that and...tried to find out for myself how the extra-musical dimension - whether
it's the political, or the religious/the theological/the spiritual, the historical - might
engage with this very abstract form...I'm not quite convinced how the relationship
is really, but I think music is of such potency that...it can't *help* but reflect the world
round about it and I think it is a valid interest for a composer to be interested in the
world round about them. But you know music has been written sometimes in
isolation...regardless of what's going on round about them. Wars, revolutions are
going on, but yet the composer's still working...Bach...must have seen some
horrendous things going on...Is that there in his music? Some might say 'Yes', some
might say 'No'. It is easier for composers to lead...not a sheltered life, but an
encapsulated life: a life in a cocoon - and still operate as an artist.

On being probed further on this, because I felt that he was trying to avoid saying something on
the lines that music was superior in some way to other art forms, Macmillan said:

Yeah, you're sort of edging around one of the issues that there is. [I have to] get
this right: I think there's a sense within the musical community that...em...because
music is a complex thing, it requires a full engagement and listening, a kind of
active listening which requires/asks a lot of a listener. Some of them are ready to
give that immediately and to have all antenna bristling whatever they're listening
to. Others have to work at it, others are not interested in it. And because it's
fundamentally a non-verbal art form there is that extra hurdle of work to do and it's always been the case - not just today, but in the past as well. With words, with theatre, with visuals you can be led easier to a more immediate understanding of what's going on and you can address, purely and simply, political and sociological issues with word and image. In music you can and you can't. It's much more complex, it's much more difficult...but I know it's much, much more difficult with music because...it has this ability to exist in a vacuum, a political vacuum. Now whether it's used for a political end or not, whether it then in turn becomes the preserve of an elite - I think it's an unrelated issue. It's my greatest concern and sadness that it can...is seen as the preserve of an elite whether it's seen as a class elite, social elite, or an intellectual elite - because I believe that everyone has the right of access to this and the power. If it was only provoked and instilled to get those antennae bristling. I think I have an ideal listener in mind who is a classless listener. I think that class has 'stunted the criticism' of music...I look at myself: a working-class boy from the west of Scotland, who through accident or whatever, had that antenna bristling and I didn't care about the class dimension. That is what's needed to be exploited in the promotion of arts in Scotland, or anywhere, but in music's abstraction it should be classless.

It is assumed here when Macmillan claims that class has 'stunted the criticism' of music, he is referring to the debates over whether classical music is elitist or not, rather than 'criticism' of work within the field itself.

8.2 'Self-deception' of Scottish artists

In theme 5, Gellner's claim that nationalisms have traditionally embraced 'putative' folk culture 'to express real or imagined roots', was considered in light of the representation of Scottish identity as working-class. On the premise that those expressing 'peasant' roots were in fact 'products of the standardised high culture' he diagnosed this as a 'sociological self-deception'. A belief expressed in the 1990's was that Scottish artists were or came, predominantly, from the working-class, as an excerpt from Stuart Cosgrove's interview demonstrates:

...a very significant cultural difference...between Scottish cultural practitioners and maybe some of their...equivalents in London and the south-east of England, is that the vast majority of Scottish artists or practitioners are just one or two generations away from the working-class, if they're not actually of the working-class, and I think that is profoundly different. I mean if you actually go into - without stereotyping the London literary scene as being Oxbridge and all the rest of it - it's

true...that Martin Amis and writers from that kind of school of writing are hugely removed from that kind of experience.

This is explored here as it is seen as something which was available to influence beliefs in the wider population about Scottish identity; as noted in theme 5, even middle-class Scots had a tendency to identify themselves as working-class through the 1980's and 1990's. Leaving aside those Scottish artists who do not come from working-class roots, to be accurate in the context of Scotland, Gellner's 'self-deception' depends on those who do come from working-class backgrounds - somehow - being uninfluenced by that culture. In other words, in order to be accurate in terms of beliefs about Scottish artists, it would also have to be believed that on entering the cultural sphere, people from working-class backgrounds lost or cut themselves adrift from their memories, families and working-class friends. This reflects the advice John McGrath said was given to a young actor at drama school:

I'll tell you a story: I auditioned an actor...just out of drama school...a very nice guy from Clydebank, and he said to me, 'It was seeing 7:84 in Clydebank Town Hall that made me want to be an actor - I thought, 'Oh, I can do that. They're not all posh people, they're like me'. So I said, 'That's great, fine' and he said, 'No. It landed me in all kinds of trouble'. So I said, 'And why's that?' and he said 'Well, at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama, the voice teacher who was teaching RP' (Received pronunciation: all Scottish actors have to learn RP, so that's English, that's south-east of England English they all have to learn) '...and I wasn't getting on very well with RP so she said to me, 'Excuse me. Do you still live at home?' and I said 'Well yes I do - I can't afford to do things like come in from Clydebank everyday' and she said 'Mmm. Well, I don't suppose we can do much about that. Do you still see your old friends?' and I said 'Yes, I do.' and she said 'Well...I think it might be a good idea if you didn't!'

Alternatively, it was suggested in theme 5 that artists might be articulating the 'cultural psychological state of mind' of society (rather than 'being from the working-class'. Duncan Macmillan:

...if you look at the post 60's artists and writers, whether or not they are working-class in origin, they certainly identified themselves with, to a significant extent, working-class.

Language was discussed in Chapter 6 where it was noted that it has been an important to nationalist movements (including post-colonial ones), used to legitimate their right to autonomy after periods when their culture has been suppressed or dominated by another. It is an emotive
issue for many, and several Scottish interviewees referred to it, often giving examples of their own personal experiences.

Billy Kay's Scots - The Mither Tongue (referred to as re-validating Scottish culture in Chapter 2 theme 2) might be categorised as exemplifying 'traditional' nationalist or post-colonial returns to 'authenticity' in that it celebrated 'Scots', but the project did not suggest a return to 'the one, true' Scots language, celebrating, rather, its diversity. This has been represented in the work of several poets (and playwrights) in areas which (as performed) tend to be particularly interested by language, words and their sounds. Lochhead and Morgan each (both poets also write and translate for the stage) have mixed different Scottish dialects and dictions as MacDiarmid and Burns did earlier, and combined urban and rural, and Scots vocabulary from different periods. This has been used in adaptations into Scots of comedies such as Moliere's Tartuffe (Lochhead) and Morgan's Cyrano de Bergerac (for Communicado theatre company), and of classic tragedies such as Lochhead's Medea and Morgan's Phaedra (referred to earlier). In addition to the creative challenges they present, the last two, particularly, make the same political point predecessors such as MacDiarmid did, in refusing the hegemony (in Scotland as much as in England) of English as the only valid language for serious literature and drama, albeit a hegemony the basis of which is often ignorance, exemplified by a comment made by an English-woman on Morgan's Cyrano: 'In Scots? Why can't they just do it in the original?', meaning, not French, but English.44

Referred to as a vernacular 'revivals' in the past, Scottish writing from the 1970's is marked by a championing of urban working-class dictions, whereas rural dialects had dominated earlier phases from MacDiarmid to Grassic Gibbon (see Chapter 5 on rural versus urban). Hearn claims that the use of Scots is one of the major elements connecting Scottish writers to politics and to cultural-nationalism and although, as said in chapter 6, Kelman,45 for example, would presumably prefer to identify himself as a Left wing Republican46 and might reject the notion that he has been involved in a nationalist movement, he has related his use of language and therefore his work to post-colonial literature. In Gordon Williams's From Scenes Like This one

46 Kelman was one of two main speakers at a meeting on Republicanism at the sixth Independent Radical Book Fair held at the Assembly Rooms in Edinburgh in 2002. McNeil, Robert. 'When did we forget about the Republic?' in The Scotsman 23 May 2002.
of the characters wonders that he can change from 'common' language at work to more 'respectable' at home not sure whether he exaggerated the former or the latter 'artificially', implying that language is a way of proving your membership, and it has been suggested as ironic (by writer, Christopher Whyte) that the best known advocates of the use of 'Scots' in Scottish writing and theatre from the 1960's - Liz Lochhead and Edwin Morgan - do not actually speak it themselves, 'therefore there is a decision to write in what isn't your natural way of speaking'. The basis of Whyte's comment was 'class', but when the issue was discussed with Edwin Morgan, his reply leaned more towards what could be described as cultural nationalism:

...its maybe a question of, 'No, we don't speak that way, but can; we could'. It wouldn't take very long, or the words I use in my translation - I know all these words, I don't have to go to that Dictionary for them, I know them all. And I could use them - I do occasionally use them. It would just need a bit of a change of the political situation for that to happen. The language could still come back...if Scotland became independent and people began to think again...What should people speak in Scotland? Should it be gradually be coming more different from English step-by-step? Newspapers, broadcasting could all do something about that.

The interviewees did not unanimously describe themselves as working-class, or claim to have come from working-class backgrounds. On this, John McGrath said:

...you can't really lead a working-class life and be a fully professional painter, fully professional writer. You can't do it. You have to join the professional classes and you have to be aware that that's what you're doing...

Ali Smith says she was '...completely and culturally aware of being working-class' when growing up, but:

...at the same time we were middle-class...We were moving up...everybody I was at school with, everybody's family was sliding up...I still think of myself as working-class, but I know that I'm middle-class: I came through a middle-class education, I've come out a middle-class kind of...conclusion, or something. The end to it has been the making of [...]middle-class?] and that has to have an effect on how we think of and speak about ourselves.

Gellner's 'self-deception' can be questioned further here by comparing MacIvanney's and Kelman's creative work and what could be interpreted from these about the relationship of each

(as artists) with the social class they have tended to represent in their novels, and perhaps, therefore, about the political views they have proclaimed publicly. In *The Kiln*, McIlvanney addresses the dilemmas experienced by some working-class people who recognise that they may not only be embarking on a trajectory out of working-class conditions (work, wages, and housing) when they take up tertiary education, but on one which could potentially distance them from their friends and family. Damer (writing on *The Kiln*) describes this as the 'sheer emotional cost' of social mobility for some. Is it Kelman's intention that 'the working, and non-working, class he champions in his polemical work, should be able to understand (or read) his novels (the aim of Currie's painting was to provide inspiration and encourage the working-class that they could change their situation). Damer claims that 'literary fashion' (which he says is 'manipulated or, dare I say it, socially constructed') is eschewed by McIlvanney and the fact that it is 'popular', is at the root of 'critical distaste' for McIlvanney's work, a problem sculptor George Wyllie felt his work overcame, being genuinely universal in the sense that it communicated with many people and at different levels. That the different 'language' ('visual' rather than the written word) used by artists such as Wyllie, allowed for this crossover more easily than writing, would be disputed by painters such as Currie.

Kelman's work has received more critical acclaim, or has been responded to as 'art' more than McIlvanney's ('an infinitely more fashionable writer') as is indicated by the interest shown in him by the literary Press or in arts supplements, and the frequency with which he has been referred to in academic discussions on Scottish literature. He can be more 'difficult' to read, due to the types of experience he chooses to represent and also to his use of punctuation and language (Edwin Morgan: 'He doesn't write Scots you know...It's a language of his own...it's a very "artful" language in some ways') which has been criticised, in his opinion, because it sits uneasily outside of 'the carefully corralled English canon', but of his most recent novel to date, *Translated Accounts*, it was suggested that he may have alienated 'most readers whose page-

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turning is motivated by a desire for entertainment or enlightenment, rather than the requirements of a degree course'.

This takes the discussion back to class and education rather than literary conservatism. In his polemical work Kelman draws attention to 'the problem of 'specialism' and 'the cult of the expert' asking, 'Can a work of literature only be judged by those...trained in making literary judgements',' but not whether this is perpetuated by literature which can only be read by 'the expert'.

The last hypothetical question asked at the start of this section suggested the possibility that the belief that Scottish artists were predominantly of or from the working-class might be a result of their articulating the 'cultural psychological state of mind' of Scottish society, or as Stuart Cosgrove's comment suggests, of those close to them:

...jumping from literature to art, I think when you're talking about people like Ken Currie, Ken Currie is actually dealing with things that he recognises from his own family, from his own life, you know, the world that he sees around him in the east end of Glasgow. So in a way, there might be a slight globalising, there might be a slight kind of romanticism of it, but the truth of the matter is, that it is there. I don't think it's as nostalgic as people like to imagine it is, because the truth of the matter is that if you take a 50 yard walk out of Ken's studio in the Barras you will find a lot of people there who are definitely very ignoble dossers and you will find a lot of people there who are definitely the victims of industrialisation and you will find a lot of people there who are serial alcoholics...that's there.

8.2.1 The Media and Scottish politics in the 1980's and 1990's

While Murray Grigor's pessimism about the representation of Scottish identity at the hands of BBC Scotland in the 1980's caused him to alert Scots that their culture was 'in crisis', the end of the decade, Radio Scotland was acting with an 'independence' described by Hearn as culturally 'nationalist and socialist' (see theme 5). David Greig:

It was probably James Boyle because I think he was controller of BBC Scotland. I listen to Radio Scotland a lot, and I find that I like it partly because I like them setting themselves up as a national station, because when you set yourself up as

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58 'The BBC jettisons symphony orchestras and abandons Scottish education, yet saves The Tartan Terror Show'. Grigor, Murray. 'Some countries live in their past, but Scotland lives in it's invented past.', The Glasgow Herald 31 December 1980.
60 Boyle was actually Head of Radio Scotland, not 'controller' of BBC Scotland.
that, you're then able to forget that in a way and to start talking about international issues and talking about other people. I'd like us to get to that stage in the theatre...I would have thought that Trainspotting is an interesting example: it's absolutely set in Edinburgh, even using Edinburgh language, but its concern is so much not about that, that it's managed to transcend it.

If, as Schlesinger claims (theme 5) the media has a role in the 'cultural defence' of the nation-state, Scottish Devolution can be seen as having been Britain's potential threat 'or 'subversion' from within' of the 1990's. A history of friction over the use of 'English' for 'British' in the British media has often been perceived by Scots as an English/Scottish problem, although it represents a tension which exists similarly between the centre (London) and English regions (being described as a 'region', the implication perceived as 'of England', or even Britain, has irritated some Scots). Beliefs that there has been a central bias have been fed by the message transmitted through the London based media that interesting, significant and current events took place mainly in London and the south-east of England. This was reinforced at a particularly sensitive time in Scotland (1998), and when the BBC's board of governors in London disregarded the Broadcasting Council for Scotland's recommendations for an 'integrated international, UK and Scottish news (the Scottish integrated six)' after Devolution, the decision was interpreted as politically motivated and influenced by Cabinet Ministers who 'felt that such a move would foster nationalist sentiment'. Alternatively, and related to discussions earlier in the study on cultural inferiorism, insiders at the BBC in London reported that the mood there was that the Scots were 'just not up to it'.

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62 The problem is one which has a history beyond radio and television broadcasting, see chapter 2 and Finlay, Richard J. A Partnership for Good?: Scottish Politics and the Union Since 1880 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1997) and Macdonald, Murdo. Finding Scottish Art. Unpublished paper.
63 Professor Lindsay Paterson's press statement on resigning from the Broadcasting Council for Scotland, November 1998.
65 Fracassini, Camillo. BBC says Scottish News staff "not up to the job", The Scotsman, 29 August 1998. See also Smith, Nigel 'Broadcasting a Scottish Parliament' in Scottish Affairs No.19, Spring 1997, pp29-41.)
Opportunities for writers, film-makers and so on through the BBC increased into the 1990's, but not through any devolution of its internal structures.\textsuperscript{66} Individuals who had learned the ropes and had a track record at the BBC in London started returning to Scotland in the late 1980's and 1990's. Interviewee, Colin Cameron:

...I returned to Scotland after having been away for 15 years, towards the end of '91, so I arrived in that kind of crest of huge enthusiasm for change, or I returned in that crest of huge enthusiasm for change which got stuffed in April 92 [the Tories were returned to power in the General election], and just that memory of that kind of 'Oahh...what happened there?' is very bright in every body's minds...Maybe it's simply that Thatcher drove us all back!

Cameron also suggested that a factor which helped bring about changes in attitude was that people not from the centre, or from the social background traditionally associated with the upper reaches of the British Broadcasting Corporation in London (for example, John Birt at the BBC, Jeremy Isaacs, and more recently Stuart Cosgrove, at Channel 4) attained positions of power and influence in the broadcasting industry (Cameron: 'I think, one of the reasons why the Scots have always been successful in London: because the English middle-classes can't recognise whether you're middle-class, working-class or upper-class - as a Scot you're just a Scot and that's it\textsuperscript{67}).

This, he suggested, led to more money being invested in Scottish projects than previously.\textsuperscript{68} The growth of the independent sector (film) and birth of Channel 4 increased opportunities for Scottish film-makers and writers, allowing more scope in the representation of Scottish identity and for challenging and subverting stereotypes.\textsuperscript{69} As introduced above though, the degree of 'independence' BBC Scotland were allowed was tested in the late 1990's with the news controversy.

\textsuperscript{66} Professor Lindsay Paterson in \textit{The Herald}, 23 November 1998.
\textsuperscript{67} Colin Cameron, Head of Production, BBC Scotland. Interviewed 23 April 1998.
\textsuperscript{68} '...figures show how London-centric BBC spending actually is. Typically, 85 per cent of BBC income is spent on its UK networks ... broadcast to the whole of Britain. Only 3 per cent of this budget is invested for programmes from Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, where 17 per cent of the audience lives'. Smith, Nigel R. (former Chairman of the Broadcasting Council for Scotland) in \textit{The Scotsman} 5 December 1998.
\textsuperscript{69} See Gormley, Charlie. The Impact of Channel 4' pp185 - 192 and Macdonald, Gus 'Fiction Friction' pp193-206 in Dick, Eddie (ed.). \textit{From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book} (Scottish Film Council and British Film Institute, 1990).
8.3 New confidence?

The Scotch Myths discourse criticising the stereotyping of Scottish identity using traditional symbols (theme 2 Chapter 2) was taken onto the street by Edinburgh Fringe performance group The Merry Mac Fun Co, one of whose members, interviewee Duncan McLean\(^70\) claims it was not until later that he found out about Grigor and Scotch Reels. In this vein Gerry Mulgrew's Communicado production, Jock Tamson's Bairns, with writing by Liz Lochhead and painting by Keith McIntyre were also attempting 'to deconstruct tartanry, the Burns cult, and Scottishness machismo all at once' (Calder claims that McIntyre's posters for Jock Tamson's Bairns 'could be read as an oblique comment on the populist depictions of heroic dossers by Peter Howson and the epic manner in which Ken Currie...has elegised...the Clydeside working-class tradition'. See earlier references to Currie and Howson).\(^71\) By the second half of the 1990's when interviews for this project were taking place several interviewees felt this 'reaffirmation' of identity (a traditional element of cultural nationalism) had had its use, but was now redundant (and 'embarrassing',\(^72\)). McLean said:

...you can only go for so long, slagging off the Sunday Post etc. There's no point once you've done it, so why go on? If you're interested in the culture and society you're from, the best thing you can do is go out and produce good stuff with integrity. That's not discounting national identity, or being Scottish. There's [still] an awareness of being Scottish... After the Merry Macs and after the writers of the 1980's (Lochhead - Dreaming Frankenstein; Alasdair Gray - Lanark; Agnes Owens; Kelman...) standing up and saying you're Scots was less important - so they [we] didn't need to do that, so they all started writing about reality.

However, from what David Clarke (a non-Scot) noted in relating a conversation he had when showing someone from the museums and galleries commission around the new Museum of Scotland, the Scots had gone through a stage when they seemed to feel a need to be taken 'seriously':

...this guy said 'You know there's not a lot of stuff there, but it's very worthy'. And I said, 'You know it seems to me, at this moment in time, Scots don't want their past presented as a joke. They want it presented seriously.'...we understood the mood...that sense of...This is the moment when seriousness is required; that gravitas is important'. And I think the kind of comments that we've got from people suggest that's absolutely right. They [Scots] do want gravitas, they want - you know,


most of them have never done Scottish history at school and they're going and they're gob-smacked about Scotland. I mean it's about a nation, you know they're pleased, they don't feel diminished by it, they come out and they're up-beat and a little bit stronger than before they went in. And I think that's great.

Ali Smith:

Now, the cultural [Edinburgh Book] festival is here, and all we hear around us all the time is people going 'We are Scots. We are Scots' in this kind of mousy way...now we've got our Parliament, we've got the space for the first time, now it just sounds stupid to go: 'We are Scots' because we don't have to say it any more. We now have the chance to do something with it.

David Greig felt that, in general, the Scots were almost beyond the 'reaffirmation' stage, comparing Scotland to Ireland and Norway:73

...they don't feel the need to shout about it in Ireland anymore because they've already established themselves. Joyce Macmillan was talking to me after Caledonia Dreaming and she'd just got back from Norway, and she said a play like Caledonian Dreaming wouldn't happen in Norway because they don't need it. They're not concerned about it.

Greig felt that a number of changes had influenced this new confidence in Scotland:

There was [sic] also a lot of practical things like the Arts Council also became devolved around that time [early 1990's] so that we then had the Scottish Arts Council which helped, the BBC having a branch in Queen Margaret Drive (which did happen earlier74) meant that actors could make a living and still be based here, which meant that the quality of actor you got for a play at the Traverse improved...the quality of writing improved. For every Chris Hannan, there was someone like me who was going, 'I could be Chris Hannan' so it's worth my while being a playwright. It builds it up. It's still not like Ireland where a young writer would probably think of theatre first because Irish drama's so world renowned.

While many considered, similarly, that artists were already beyond this stage, the following examples demonstrate a continued involvement in politics. Duncan McLean's assertion that Scottish art is as valid (good, or bad) as any other, can be related to the idea (see theme 1

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74 The Scottish Arts Council was established in 1967 but (as from 1940) remained, technically, a Scottish branch of the (British) Arts Council. Information provided by the Scottish Arts Council Helpdesk on 6 January 2003. Radio Scotland was set up on 6 March 1923 and BBC Scotland (television) in March 1952. Information from BBC Scotland archives/information, Queen Margaret Drive Glasgow on 10 March 2003.
Chapter 3 and Chapter 4) that previously it had been measured against English culture as a standard:

...the strength of Scottish culture [is] now at a similar place as when [James] Joyce was writing... many writers working in Scotland would agree that this is a tradition we have in common with Joyce: that is, writing which is minutely and obsessively about a place, but without a tinge of nationalism. It starts minutely with the details of the local (and personal) or regional, then your national culture spreads out from there. Art should be drawn out of that. That's the strength of Scottish culture [at the moment].

When Greig states that writers should write about what they want, and aim 'for producing good, international level theatre (not talking about individuals, but of theatre culture as a whole)', this too is related to the political situation: 'Leave the politicians behind, and the culture will produce the climate of confidence'. One of the questions the present study is concerned with is the relationship between cultural and political confidence, and Greig is suggesting here that cultural confidence - the confidence of not thinking about Scottish identity - comes before political confidence, an opinion shared by Duncan Macmillan:

I've often said that culture comes before politics, and the huge cultural investment, well over the last century, but certainly since MacDiarmid and his friends, reasserting identity - has eventually produced a political result. Which means we've got a new set of problems... And the relationship between the cultural energy which created the political situation, and the political situation as it evolves, is now going to be problematic, isn't it? I mean [whether] the kind of values, the kind of concerns which have driven the artists and the writers, are going to be carried on by politicians. Whether we actually produce a civilised politics or whether it's just going to be more of the old politics.

Echoing this, Ali Smith also related one of her fears 'for the brilliant thing which has just happened...this pivotal moment...' (Devolution):

...I went to see Edwin Morgan do his [Edinburgh Book Festival] lecture... he talked about the relationship between what it might mean to go to a place or to come from a place into Scotland and to do... work and to change it, and the way that a land... will spread its influence, and influence will come back and infiltrate their work. And he had lots of questions afterwards about 'How Scottish are we?' which... I'm always a bit uneasy about. Now, now we should be saying Right, OK. Now we're going to work on the real things, we're going to work on Democracy, we're going to work on

75 McLean says he tried to do that for the East of Scotland voice 'the way it's been done for the Glasgow voice', and for the rural (in Blackden; details in Bibliography). 'Alan Warner does it for the West Highlands etc. etc.'

how to make things better for people who live here', rather than going 'We're so pleased with ourselves because we are Scottish'.

This introduces an important element present in the way Scots seemed to want to present themselves in the 1990's; as 'morally' superior (presumably to 'the English', as discussed in Chapter 6, 'the Good Guys'). It also points to an associated potential danger - complacency. The Smith excerpt makes reference to a hope many Scots had of Devolution, having come to believe through the Thatcher period that the British electoral system was not democratic 'enough' (see Chapter 7) for the Scots who saw themselves as inclined towards what was "fair."77 Ali Smith, whose comments refer back to David Clarke's observations about the Scots' desire to be taken 'seriously':

...the thing we were working against was not being equal: was not having equal politics, equal cultural space, equal...the thing which reduced us to Brigadoon and to Lassie and Greyfriars Bobby...

On the opening of the new Museum of Scotland - on St. Andrew's Day, 1998 - Duncan Macmillan's review of the building conveys the sense that he perceived its design (by an Anglo-Scottish London company) to have responded imaginatively to 'the spirit of Scotland': 'sociable', with 'humanity' and 'responding' to you 'as an equal'; 'thoroughly, brilliantly, nice...",78 but curator and director of the project, David Clarke disagreed:

It's not democratic at all! I mean it's built by an elitist...I'm not necessarily passing a judgement, but the idea that Gordon Benson and Allan Forsyth [the architects]...I have no doubt that they subscribe entirely to the principles of democracy, but there is a strong element of 'We know best'. And I don't think that you can be a major architect without having that. And that can't be described as democratic. The other thing about the building is that...it is a museum as fortress! It's a museum as treasure-chest, or if you want to be more prosaic - a safe deposit box. But it ain't museum as super-market which is the democratic ideal...it says...You can come in' but it doesn't say 'Come on in, brothers!'...much of the most important architecture is, in Scotland...either shutting-out the elements because of the climate, or...physically shutting-out people...

I don't think the displays are democratic. I think they're more democratic than they would have been ten years ago in the sense that...we certainly set out with an explicit commitment...for instance...80% of that text had to be intelligible without

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77 ‘...if there was to be a Scottish motto...you'd have a very simple..."Hey wait a minute - that's no' fair"'. From a speech given by writer, William McIlvanney at an SNP rally on 19 March 1994. See excerpt reproduced in Hearn, Jonathan. Claiming Scotland: National Identity and Liberal Culture (Polygon at Edinburgh: Edinburgh, 2000) p1.

78 Macmillan, Duncan. 'Welcome Home' in a souvenir supplement on the museum of Scotland produced by The Scotsman, 30th November 1998.
the use of dictionaries or reference books to 80% of our visitors. I don't know if we've actually achieved that but I think it's close...the commitment to access is there and in that sense it's a more democratic museum than would have been constructed say years ago, but whether the building itself...I think Duncan Macmillan's talking hogwash. I don't see any evidence. I don't understand how one can argue that that is a building that says democracy. It doesn't say democracy......(?) It doesn't say totalitarianism either, I just don't see it in political terms.

The last point in Clarke's statement is perhaps important, that Macmillan and others wanted to read certain messages and meanings into various events, artefacts and so on, and his opinion also notes one of the dangers of clinging to 'ideas' about one's identity. Though criticised (by people from Scottish Labour MPs to SNP leader, Alex Salmond), English MP Tony Banks, for example, may not have been too wide of the mark with his claim that 'the Tartan Army', the Scottish team's supporters during the 1998 World Cup only behaved 'to show up the English'.79

Warnings about complacency also came from within. In terms of interviewees for the project, Ali Smith was 'scared of Nationalisms', mentioning the word 'Fascism':

[Scotland is] a country that could very easily regress to Presbyterianism. If you look what happened to the Czech Republic, you look at the aesthetic things. I mean just think of that, just culturally think about it, because it's been so brilliant...living through the last...almost 40 years when everything has been changing, the idiom of Scotland has been allowed to come to the surface as it were. Our culture has spread internationally and is acceptable and loved and is brilliant. I'm scared, I'm scared, I'm scared that we will regress, that were will be in-fighting, that we'll become inward looking, that...everything becomes very, very, very religion focussed again. You've nothing else to fight against so you fight against the old. The old battles have gone and religion...I just...I shouldn't be so inarticulate about it because it makes me scared that it will be regressive and that we will retreat and I'm hoping we won't: that...there will be no dominant culture.

Smith was interviewed one week after composer James Macmillan, who had attracted huge media interest over his claim the previous week that anti-Catholicism was rife in Scottish society. Macmillan linked the myth that the Scots were more democratic than the English with other representations of Scottish identity at the time:

To be more socialistic than the English, and the implication of all that is; less racist than the English; cuddlier than the English...there's a whole strain there that I'm slightly wary about, and the new Scottish establishment (cos I think there is a new Scottish establishment emerging from the embers of much left-wing opposition it has

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79 Banks stated 'Scottish fans are so determined to show up the English they are going out of their way to be unbelievably polite. What they are doing is quite deliberate'. Wallace, Martin. 'You haven't got a clue Minister' in The Scottish Sun 22 June 1998.
to be said) tend to, I think, entertain these ideas. You can see it in some of the statements from politicians and writers even, and I think there's a complacency in that...And, you know, I've heard people from the Campaign for Racial Equality saying 'You know, it's worse here! It's not better than England, it's worse here. People are more racist, people are more sexist'.

Gellner claims that when men 'have the same concepts' it no longer matters whether they use different words to express them.80 Language was discussed earlier in this section, but through the 1980's and 1990's different concepts - of words such as individualism and egalitarianism - were the problem. As also referred to earlier, Scots tended to identify themselves as working-class and support for what were represented as left-wing 'values' had also been expressed, particularly as this study demonstrates, by Scottish writers. To legitimate this difference in the 1990's, the legitimisation that 'history' could provide was required. In theme 2 (and Chapter 5) the use of 'Red Clydeside' and the history of Scottish Socialism was reviewed, and sculptor George Wyllie's suggested explanation for the Scots' apparent sense of mutual responsibility towards others owes something to ideas of working-class 'work' very much tied up with images from the Clyde's heyday:

I think that comes from the 'hauder-on' aspect of the shipyard. You're maybe the strong man. You've got to do the whole [?], but you maybe have to have somebody to hand you something. And it's not like a French restaurant or something (you could actually go and get the stuff yourself) it's essential to do the job and if you want to have a good working relationship you've got to be ... so that kinda shipyard culture.

However, to 'prove' a cultural disposition towards such beliefs, legitimisation had to come from much farther back in the past. Interpretations of Scottish pre-Reformation religion and philosophy,81 literature, and art were produced (see below) which found evidence of egalitarianism, anti-elitism,82 or the roots of a Scottish tradition of social concern, claimed to

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81 From discussion with Alexander Broadie at School of Scottish Cultural Studies, Glasgow University. See Broadie, Alexander. The Tradition of Scottish Philosophy (Edinburgh: Polygon Determinations Series, 1990).
82 A 'tradition' is claimed to exist in Scottish art (and is referred to in various analyses of Scotland) which supports this discourse (for example in the poetry of Ferguson and Burns, see Crawford, Robert Devolving English Literature, Revised edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) pp88 - 95 and 101 - 102).
have been influenced by Calvinism's 'preoccupation with duty', but which may equally have been influenced by the general climate of the late twentieth century (See Chapter 7 on globalisation and the Thatcher era). This does not negate the existence of a socio-political critique in Scottish art - from Burns and Fergusson satirising the sham respectability and hypocrisy of Scottish Presbyterians, to George Douglas Brown exposing the false couthiness of Kailyard and the greed motivating some who hid behind the Calvinist 'virtue' of industriousness.

8.3.1 Ideas of 'the popular' and Scottish art

Again, linked to the representation of Scottish as working-class, a belief that there is a tradition of 'the popular' in Scottish art - that Scottish art's link with earlier 'popular' forms was not broken to the same extent as in England (see theme and chapter 4 on 'cultivated' taste and the invention of 'High art') - existed in the 1990's. Angus Calder claimed there was a 'crossover' between popular forms of entertainment and the arts, agreeing with Hamish Henderson and John McGrath whom he believed 'rightly emphasised...that artists in various media are closer to popular life in Scotland than is common south of the Border'. Morgan:

There is a genuine popular subterranean culture going on all the time - whatever the BBC say - and that's important too...And writers of course here, try at times to tap into this to use this, or if they're in that culture they try to emerge out of it with all sorts of problems, obviously. But that's something that even MacDiarmid, I think didn't quite recognise. It's interesting...on the BBC today: a talk about the Pavilion theatre in Glasgow which is doing well. It is the only theatre that doesn't go bankrupt. It doesn't have any arts council subsidies, and...how? Why? Why is that? Because it's popular. Genuinely popular - not in inverted commas, it's genuine! People flock to go to its performances. Why is that? There's something there that has no links with the higher literary echelons at all and they've got good comedians, they've got all sorts of star turns, they've got...it's old music-hall tradition that was very strong in the nineteenth century, it's still living in Glasgow! ...And pantomime too is very strong still in Scotland, much stronger than in England. There must be something there - I don't know, it must just suit the Scottish temperament in some kind of way.

There might appear to be a dichotomy here between the Scottish cultural community's embracing the idea of 'the popular' (in Scottish art) on the one hand, and criticising the

83 The idea that it may have been a major factor in shaping the laudable Scottish concern for politics and public service is from Haldane, John. 'Growing Up' in Devine, T.M. (ed.) Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000) pages 89 and 95.

'shorthandism' (see above) approach to museum and exhibition interpretation. King referred to the 'lowest common denominator', bringing the labels 'disneyfication' and 'heritage industry' to mind. The rise of the 'fun-park' approach over the museum was contemporary with postmodernism, which, in the context of design amounted to a new eclecticism, but more importantly, the emphasis being on surface rather than substance – superficial design without reason or integrity. Even King suggests that heritage industry was not all bad, but that its 'negative effects' received more attention:

Although there has been a considerable body of literature produced on the manufacture, status, consumption and significance of the heritage industry in Scotland, even the sharpest of sociologists and social commentators who have looked at the subject have not had the critical faculty to distinguish the good from the bad or even, on the most basic level, the municipally funded museum from the commercial venture. The People's Story museum may be in the same street as the Scotch Whisky Heritage Centre in Edinburgh, but as far as their philosophies are concerned, they are on different planets. Yet blanket condemnations are made which throw out the excellent with the bad...  

There is indeed, as Ms. King says, a body of literature on the heritage industry, but within it, work produced by people who have specialised in the study of (exhibition) interpretation does in fact differentiate between 'the bad and the good'. In the quote above King compares a purely commercial tourist attraction (the Scotch Whisky Heritage Centre) which concentrates on recycling what tourists expect to see with regard to the 'history' of whisky - traditional representations of Scotland - with a council funded museum on the subject of Edinburgh's working-class and the industries they were employed in, that is, an Edinburgh version of The People's Palace.

Continuing with the idea of 'the popular', George Wyllie claims to be following his contemporary, Joseph Beuys, in that his work is '...very much directed to the punter - Norman Buchan' dubbed me "the punter's sculptor". His work can be read at different levels. For

86 King, Elspeth. 'Some Reflections on the art and material culture of Scotland'. Unpublished paper read by Ms. King, recorded and broadcast for an edition of the BBC Radio Scotland series A Sober Look at the Thistle on 7 April 1997.
88 The late Norman Buchan, MP; a Socialist heavily involved in the Scottish Folk Revival and The Peoples' Festivals Ceilidhs of the early 1950's (with Hamish Henderson and Ewan MacColl). Finlay,
example both the Straw Locomotive and Paper Boat could be seen, at a superficial level, as simply spectacle or 'fun' (which Wyllie is happy with: '...the audience appreciation could be subliminal, you know?...it's good that gives that degree of ambiguity...cos if it's explicit it's almost boring in a way, but ambiguity's actually OK'). But he can be viewed as very un-postmodernist in the sense that his work tends to be provocative, or critical, often making a political point:

...the working-class are not the worst enemy, you know [when it comes to preconceptions about 'art']...the Big Safety Pin – it's a good example that...I was commenting on a Glasgow's cultural...sort of probing its own culture and maybe its knickers'll fall down, so we'll make a safety pin just in case. And a lot of ordinary guys understood that joke. Great! It was a fine sculpture...

In the Garden Festival...I did...a tree made out of steel for Motherwell – that was The Last Steel Plant in Scotland (that was a wee joke)...I did a very good one for ... The Balance Between the Air and the Stone (that was a good one, very much appreciated, especially English [ ] liked that - it was very refined, you know; then the Tilting Funnels, about lost industry (that's more like me) complaining about all these [things]. And I like that regenerative aspect. In that respect I'm very Scottish: I don't like to put my energy into something and not get...not meaningful. I like to get something out of doing it. I like a) a decent piece of work, b) a decent piece of work to say something, to be a marker, even if it's just a marker for a pub, to say 'This is a jolly pub', or if it's a marker for an industry like the Straw Locomotive and say 'Why do we not have it anymore?'

8.4 Summary

Art and the cultural sphere had taken on the role of devil's advocate in terms of challenging ideas about Scottishness before the late 1990's. It seemed to offer, according to Angus Calder, 'especially good opportunities...for the development of cultural forms which are both "popular" in every sense and "political" in the sense that they provide leadership in the discussion of difficult issues',89 a perspective shared by most of the people interviewed for this study. The next section reviews the contents of Chapters 4 to 8 with a view to bringing together what can be said about the questions explored in the project.

p3xv and 319.
Before going on to review the themes around which the research was structured and what was done in individual chapters, the original aims and overall result of the project are stated below.

The focus of the thesis being the relationship between cultural representations of Scottish identity and political autonomy from the 1980's, it set out to explore beliefs about Scottish culture and identity among influential people involved in Scottish cultural life (definitions of terms such as 'influential' were given in Chapter 1). By carrying out in-depth interviews with nineteen key figures from the Scottish cultural sphere in the late 1990's - people who can be argued to be particularly perceptive in terms of the subject of cultural representation - this aim has been fulfilled. A broad range of beliefs about Scottish identity and history have been recorded. These were also interpreted in relation to the economic, social and ideological changes taking place during the last decades of the twentieth century in Britain (and to an extent, globally), and set in perspective against politically motivated critiques in academia and in Scottish art over the period which were concerned with rejecting regressive or conservative representations of Scottish identity.

These interviews took place at a crucial point in Scottish and British history: the years immediately preceding and after Scottish Devolution. In addition, the subject explored has never been discussed in this way with such a group of people (key authors, designers, playwrights, curators, poets, broadcasters and artists, some of whom have since passed away) before. In other words, this project is unique in several ways - it cannot be repeated, and it has resulted in the generation of new and exceptionally rich texts from key individuals involved in Scottish cultural life. It therefore constitutes an important historical archive of what and how such people understood and interpreted Scottish history, culture, identity and its representation, and the relationship between this and Scotland's constitutional and political situation at the time.

The first three 'empirical chapters' of the thesis (chapters 4 - 6) focussed on ways in which any sense of cultural inferiority Scots may have suffered from (consciously or not) may have been influenced by the representation of their national identity. Chapter 4 concentrated on ways in
which history (including ideas about 'land' or terrain) was used by individuals in the Scottish cultural sphere in the 1980's and 1990's - decades when Scots were rejecting Britishness and the (Conservative) government in office - to legitimate beliefs about cultural 'differences' between the Scots and English; about a 'power imbalance' between the two nations and, ultimately, the belief that these had resulted in 'cultural denigration' of the Scots. It showed that several Scottish artists believed the Scots had 'historically' had to defend themselves against England expansionism (the Wars of Independence and the Treaty of Union in 1707 were frequently referred to) and against cultural imperialism (the late eighteenth century's influence on perceptions of language and 'culture' were considered important here). It found, also, that several individuals considered the situation an 'unfortunate' consequence of being the small neighbour of a powerful culture. A number of stereotype interpretations of Scottish identity were discussed with interviewees (Calvinism, the 'split' in the Scottish psyche, and 'parochialism', for example), and it was noted that such elements tended to be presented as 'positives' or advantages, where earlier analysts may have presented them as failures in Scottish culture (see chapter 2). This chapter saw the introduction of a number of beliefs which were reconsidered from various perspectives later in the thesis, for example: that Britishness has been culturally English (largely perhaps because of language); that English cultural dominance (and hence, Scottish cultural inferiority) were influenced by metropolitanism and elitism; that British identity was and to an extent continued to be an identity of the middle and upper classes; and that the Scots were traditionally 'more' democratic. The chapter also suggested that many of the interviewees (with the exception, perhaps, of James Macmillan) felt that the arts had a role to play in redressing 'misrepresentations' of Scottish identity and had been an integral part in the new Scottish 'confidence' discussed in Chapter 1.

The suggestion that British identity had been aspired to or 'bought into' by the Scottish ruling and middle-classes introduced an underlying hypothesis of the study: that there might be a relationship between a representation of Scottish identity which had become dominant by the late twentieth century - Scottish as working-class - and any sense of Scottish inferiority. **Chapter 5** explored beliefs about that representation's influences and development, and whether it was seen as a more accurate reflection of Scottish society or a convenient construct for anti-Thatcher Scots (see later). It found that several interviewees were familiar with the Scotch Myths discourse as expressed in academia though some (Duncan McLean) claimed not to have
been aware of this when involved in work criticising Scottish 'kitsch' culture. In general, while interviewees were aware that this representation reflected only Lowland or urban industrial Scotland rather than the history and experience of all Scots (for example, 'Highland' and rural Scottish identity), most believed that it represented the history and culture of the majority and that as an intensely industrialised country through the nineteenth century, this had inevitably influenced even the perspectives and values of middle-class Scots - for example, those in what has conventionally been considered a middle-class sphere: the arts. The belief, that if not from a working-class background, most Scottish artists in the latter half of the twentieth century had never been 'far' from that experience, was supported by all interviewees. Beliefs about the extent to which the Scottish working-class have been politicised were reflected in several references to 'Red' Clydeside, and the suggestion that both Scottish middle class artists and the Scottish middle-class had been disenfranchised by the dominance of this representation was considered a vague possibility by some, but generally met with the response, in effect, 'so what', viewed as an irrelevance in the light of a perceived centuries old imbalance in favour of ruling groups.

Beliefs about class and the relationship between it and the discourse 'Scotland as colony' were examined in Chapter 6, having noted claims in Chapter 2 that the appearance of the 'colony idea' in the 1970's was influenced by post-colonial nationalisms (from the 1960's) and by Hechter's analysis of England's exploitation of the UK peripheries through an institutionalised national division of labour. Hechter claimed that this situation had been maintained by representing the peripheries as 'low prestige' cultures1 and the chapter concurred with Hearn's finding that the accuracy of 'colony' was an irrelevance in terms of why individuals felt it had some resonance in the Scottish context. This chapter suggested that writers may have been influenced by postcolonial writing and the growth of post-colonial studies, particularly in view of the latter's focus on the relationship between politics and culture. This chapter suggested that perceived similarities between beliefs about the Scottish experience and that of colonised peoples could be made sense of by emphasising 'culture' and 'class'. Chapter 5 drew links between these and the concept of Scottish inferiority and, as examined in Chapters 2 and 6, classic postcolonial analyses such as Fanon's - cultural inferiorism and the 'evolue' concept - did the same. As introduced in chapter 4 though, while several interviewees believed the Scots had

been culturally dominated through the relationship with England, several ascribed this to Metropolitanism\(^2\) not 'cultural colonialism' (Morgan, for example, who also believed that this changed with the 1980's 'renaissance').

Chapter 7 focussed on a period of increased tension in the relationship between Scotland and the Metropolis: the period of Conservative governance from 1979 when Margaret Thatcher came to power. Specifically the chapter concentrated on representations of Scottish and English identity and how these were re-presented and perceived during the period. Chapter 5 suggested that material which would feed the association of 'working-class' and 'left-wing' with 'Scottish identity' by the 1980's had been developing since at least the interwar period and Red Clydeside (again, in terms of representations and 'beliefs' the 'historical' facts were not under investigation here, or indeed, seen as relevant), and that traditional representations of Scottish identity (tartanry) were being rejected from the late 1970's. In this chapter the way in which the Tories (under Major as well as Thatcher) represented 'British' identity was seen as important, as was the way in which Scots began to represent themselves and the Conservatives as culturally (and, to an extent, morally) different from each other. As well as Scottish identity being represented as working-class and Socialist, as above, the chapter also explored the way the Scots were presenting themselves; as more egalitarian and socially concerned (see also 'more democratic', first introduced in Chapter 4). The belief in a class/nation differential between the two nations developed through the Thatcher period as a combination of Mrs. Thatcher's 'style' as well as her policies could be perceived more and more in Scotland as 'alien' to Scottish society and 'values'.

Chapter 8 also explored the 1980's and 1990's, but focussed this time on responses in the Scottish cultural sphere to de-industrialisation and what many perceived as a 'democratic deficit' under the constitutional status quo. This chapter looked at ways in which several Scottish artists involved themselves in political debates of the time through their creative work, protest groups, and 'cultural controversies' in the 1990's, concerned that a new social and ideological climate was emerging which required that working-class identity should be subdued or, as some believed, de-politicised. Extracts used in this chapter demonstrate that, as introduced in Chapter 4, several individuals felt that they had something to say on what was happening in their society and in the wider world (see Wyllie), and furthermore that as artists - or as people involved in

\(^2\) the belief that the right to define culture was often seen as lying with the Metropolis. Chapter 6.
what could be described as the communicative arts - they are in a position to raise awareness or draw attention to political debates. The purpose of this chapter was to examine ways in which the Scottish cultural sphere can be said to have been an influence on the vote for a Scottish Parliament through their adherence to representations of 'Scottish' identity as culturally 'different' (as introduced in earlier chapters: more democratic, more egalitarian, less elitist, even 'nicer'), legitimating support for putting some distance between Scotland and Westminster through Devolution.

Several points referred to in the study might be considered relevant for discussion in a 'conclusion' - for example, whether as Hearn found in his study of people involved in the nationalist movement in the 1990's, those using 'colonial rhetoric' came from the younger age group - but, as detailed in Chapters 1 and 3, this project does not comprise surveys and was never concerned with attempting to generalise about 'beliefs in Scotland', or even 'beliefs in the Scottish cultural sphere' (as it happens, no pattern relating to age or gender can be drawn from my interviewees' responses to the 'colony idea'). It would be more 'accurate' to say that the study provides an insight into the broad cultural climate in Scotland during a window (the 1980's to 1990's) which was changing or developing further as the project was under way, and that it would be interesting to observe how broader 'conclusions' continue to develop.

One major conclusion confirmed, rather than discovered, was that whether they identified themselves as from working-class 'roots' or not, Scottish artists and broadcasters - certainly those in the sample group - believed that an accurate representation of Scottish identity and of Scottish culture (including art) would be one which represented it as more 'of the people'; that even what might be described as 'high' art forms (theatre and literature perhaps) demonstrated either directly or indirectly, through subject, language, or form, that most Scottish artists do not see themselves as ivory-towering above the broader population. In terms of 'confidence' or the alleged Scottish inferiority complex (to which an entire book has recently been devoted3), as with the question of Scottish identity it is again difficult to separate out class and nation (a point returned to later). For example, while the study shows that language was seen as key in terms of national or a nation's confidence, those interviewees who described themselves as middle-class tended to see prejudice against Scots as 'centrist' or national, but at the same time believed that

3 Craig, Carol. The Scots' Crisis of Confidence (Edinburgh: Big Thinking, 2003).
its original abandonment by the Scots middle-classes in favour of English (particularly courtesy of eighteenth century perspectives of 'cultivated' as superior) had effected its permutation into a 'demotic', or speech of the uncultivated lower classes: back to class.

Having reviewed the individual chapters, further observations can be made by considering the themes, around which the research was structured, in relation to each other. The 'Discourse of Scotland as Colony', for example, was addressed separately in the thesis as it seemed a fairly extreme (and arguably, controversial) belief. In tandem with the 'Representation of Scottish Identity as working-class' though (also dealt with separately in the thesis by virtue of its dominance), it can be seen as contributing further to understanding and demonstrating the extent to which 'history' could be (and was) used to legitimate 'difference' between Scotland and England (see Chapter 4) in the 1980's and 1990's. That discourse emphasised the belief that Scotland and 'Scots' had been unfairly treated 'by England', one which can be seen as characterising the period. Reflecting public debate on Scotland's situation under the political (or rather, constitutional) status quo, many Scottish artists and other individuals involved in Scottish cultural life can therefore be described as having being part of a movement of opposition.

As suggested above, what was happening in the cultural sphere reflected a wider 'Scottish' antipathy, or public antipathy in Scotland towards the emergence of new 'right-wingness'. As discussed in Chapter 7, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Thatcherism provided a focus for opposition to this in its more obvious form (that of centralising Conservative Governments). However, the involvement of people in the cultural sphere can be seen as tackling the way this emerging ideology continued insinuating itself less overtly - and importantly, many believed, via New Labour - through culture; through the insinuation of a culture of individualism (as opposed to 'society' or social responsibility); and, more literally for example, through the de-politicisation of working-class history and identity.

People involved in the arts and broadcasting in Scotland can therefore be seen as part of a movement to counter this right-wing hegemony, hence the importance of representations of 'the Scots' as working-class (or rooted in working-classness), even if in sociological terms many of the individuals involved were middle-class. Hence also, the significance of beliefs that the Scots

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4 Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (London: Fontana, 1988) pp87 - 93.
had traditionally been not only socially concerned, but social-ist, a representation which carried implications of solidarity or communitarianism, as well as images of political radicalism. A combination of raising questions in their work (as Wyllie did with sculpture), polemics and public protest (for example, the supporters of Elspeth King), were attempts to draw attention to and hence, ideally, to halt the insinuation of this hegemony and a possible slide into unthinking acceptance of its truths. From a less immediately political perspective, people from the cultural sphere can also be said to have been involved in constructing a new national culture, or 'imagining' - in the Benedict Anderson sense⁵ - the nation and Scottish identity anew (see later reference to Gellner).

Overall then, this has been a study in ideology which found, that people involved in Scottish cultural life in the 1980's and 1990's - non-Scots as well as Scots - defined Scottish identity against Britain, against the Tories, and for Scotland; crucially for a kind of utopian socialist Scotland. While the beliefs and narratives of the people interviewed for the study are important in themselves it can also be said that the dominant ideology expressed by them in the 1990's reflects something of what was happening outside the Scottish cultural sphere. Some evidence of this can be seen, for example, in the fact that by 2002, the membership of the Scottish Labour Party had dropped by 7,000 (from 1997), at least two Labour MP's arguing that the Party would have to return to socialism and persuade members in Scotland that it was 'not driven by the man who has, but by the man who has not' if this was to stop.⁶ Demonstrating the impact of 'beliefs' and 'myths', even the Conservatives were forced to accept the way Scots were representing themselves - in 2002, leader, Iain Duncan Smith acknowledged that the Party had been perceived as not sharing the Scots' 'concerns and...values' during the Thatcher period and had 'made a mistake by introducing the Poll tax in Scotland before the rest of the UK'.⁷

In terms of the relationship between the arts and politics therefore, it can be argued that ideas and the ideology of Scottishness broadcast via the cultural sphere have more potential to influence beliefs and hence social and political debates concerning Scotland than have

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politicians, journalists and, perhaps, academics, since the ideas of artists, in particular, will live on in their work reaching several and wider audiences. Playwright David Greig:

...for most kids in Scotland the only playwright's name they know is Liz Lochhead, cos they get taught...every kid in Scotland will know Lewis Grassic Gibbon, and Irvine Welsh and actually most people's perception of literature does come from school. Some people make...a particular study of it, but most people, it's what they're given by the media, by who's on the television, what they read in the papers, what they get at school.

A factor some interviewees saw as having influenced any sense of Scottish inferiority was, as examined in chapter 4, the 'loss' of the old Scottish Parliament and the 'new confidence' was seen as linked in some way - chicken and egg - with Devolution. Most saw the growth of Scots' confidence in their culture and identity (from the mid 1980's: see Chapter 1) as having led to the Referendum and subsequently the 'Yes' vote for Devolution. The second 'Yes' vote - for tax-raising powers to be used on spending in health and welfare - appeared to confirm the Scots' representation of themselves as socially concerned (see earlier), but interviewees had other concerns - what would happen should the bubble of 'more democracy' (Devolution) burst. Firstly in terms of the arts, Ali Smith said:

...Scottish Art has been so good, right across the board...because it's had something to fight against, because it's had something to position itself against...

Related to the above, but of Scottish society in general, John McGrath offered (Enoch Powell's 1970's adage): 'power devolved is power retained' while others demonstrated concern that with more distance between themselves and the far right represented by Thatcherism - the original focus of opposition discussed earlier - would the Scots gradually lose their 'historic traditions' of egalitarianism and social concern which Smith believed had been strong enough to force politicians to tailor their messages to the mood of the country:

The Labour Party must be running shit-scared of Scotland...because they're so determined to anodyne everything down...“The People”...“the People’s Parliament”, “the people’s choice”...“the people” has become an empty rhetorical device in itself [in the hands of politicians]. That's the most scary thing about the Government, the next one [Labour]...that's why I'm alarmed and devastated by the

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notion that I might live to see a couple of examples of that hierarchy which pretends that everything’s democratic, but actually is still the same old Tory Conference Perth hierarchy...sneaking in to our everyday cultural life!

Beliefs as to the ‘working-classness’ of Scottish identity (see earlier) - influenced, as said earlier, by representations in the cultural sphere - could be viewed as the 1990’s Scottish counterpart of Gellner’s observations (see Chapter 2) on the ‘reaffirmation’ of national culture and ‘return’ to ‘peasant’ or folk roots by nationalism movements, but this is something which only developments well after Devolution will tell. To date, and in line perhaps with the reservations expressed by interviewees such as John McGrath and Ali Smith earlier, several Scottish artists have moved further to the left since Devolution in what was reported as a ‘an outpouring of support’ for the Scottish Socialist Party from ‘many of Scotland’s literary and artistic figures’ including Iain Banks, William McIlvanney, Alasdair Gray, James Kelman, Tom Leonard, Pat Kane, broadcaster Colin Bell, and historian Angus Calder. Describing them as ’roused’ by what Professor Willy Maley saw as ‘the deadening effect of New Labour and the parliament on Scottish radicalism’, Lindsay Paterson identified this as suggesting ‘the general aura of Scottish culture is anarchistic’ in the sense that these artists felt they should involve themselves in ‘agitating for a better society’. This appears to confirm that many saw Devolution - and possibly independence (some of those mentioned above had ‘switched allegiance’ from the SNP which they had formerly supported as further to the left than Labour) - had been seen as the only way to achieve a more left-wing society (in 1989 Beveridge and Turnbull claimed that this was why Nairn supported nationalism in the 1980’s).

The results of the second Scottish Parliamentary elections held on 6th May 2003 appeared to echo the above, suggesting either that there is (still) an element of radicalism in Scotland (see Maley earlier), or simply that the delivery of ‘more’ democracy - pro-devolutionist Scots had claimed there was a ‘democratic’ deficit under the status quo, or Westminster - offers an indication of how proportional representation’s wider introduction might affect British and, eventually English voting patterns should devolution be extended to that country. The Scottish

Parliamentary elections show a movement away from the dominance of SNP and Labour, and increased support for anti-establishment, radical parties such as the Scottish Greens and - proving further perhaps the relationship between those in the cultural sphere and the wider public (see earlier) - the Scottish Socialist Party.

This suggests a number of questions, the study of which might complement or extend the findings of this project. It might be interesting, for example, to investigate what proportion of SSP voters would, sociologically, fall into the category 'middle-class' while at the same time calling themselves 'working-class'. The make-up of the Scottish population, or of Scots is changing and is bound to continue changing over time influencing both politics, society and Scottish art and culture. At the time of carrying out this study, for example, while various other minorities were represented in it (Irish, Italian, Catholic, and Gay) it was not possible to include any Asian Scots in the sample interviewed. One broadcaster, Glaswegian Sanjeev Kholi, was approached, but did not reply and there were no 'key' Asian Scots in Scottish writing or theatre at the time, a gap acknowledged by individuals in Scottish theatre and by the Scottish Arts Council (which has been running an awards scheme to encourage people from 'ethnic minorities' in Scotland into the arts). Even since the late 1990's there are signs that this is beginning to change and it would be interesting to see whether and how - as Scots from these ethnic backgrounds begin to move into the arts, rather than the 'middle-class' professions (such as medicine, for example) - the political make-up of Scotland and the way Scottish identity is represented might also alter.

Combined with changes in the nature and type of working-class 'work' through de-industrialisation and therefore a decrease in skilled and unskilled manual jobs, developments such as those introduced in the previous paragraph are certainly likely to affect the dominance also of the representation of Scottish identity as 'working-class'.
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APPENDIX A

EXAMPLE OF LETTER TO PROSPECTIVE INTERVIEWEES

Dear ___________.

Do you think you could spare some time to discuss the following? I am a research student looking at representations of Scotland - and if that hasn't put you off already, I'll explain further...........

By representations, I mean visual, written, spoken (even unspoken) images and interpretations from a whole range of fields (including art, design, film, music, writing, theatre, the media, and 'popular thought'), for example Celtic exoticism, the noble savage, the Noble Dosser, dour Calvinists, emotional fanatics, cultural desert, mystical landscape, whinge-ing Jocks, psychopathic Begbies, etc., etc.

I'm interested in how these have influenced Scottish culture, or how much they've actually affected Scots: as individuals, in terms of cultural expression, and politically.

I'm contacting a range of people in the arts, media and academia, for example Stuart Cosgrove, composer James Macmillan, film director Danny Boyle, James Kelman and several others, and have already interviewed playwrights Tom McGrath and David Greig, and filmmaker Murray Grigor, and it would be great to get a contribution from you.

I hope to explore the reasons behind stereotypes of Scottish identity, and the manufacture of images such as those mentioned above, by talking to people like yourself, so if you could possibly manage an hour, half an hour, or a phone-call(?) - I'd be very grateful. I'm on e-mail at l.gunn@napier.ed.ac.uk as well as at the above phone numbers and addresses. Thanks in advance.

Yours sincerely
(signed) Linda
APPENDIX B

DRAFTS OF WRITTEN REFUSALS TO TAKE PART IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT
(as per original handwritten layouts)

1. Letter from James Kelman

March 16, '98

Dear Linda Gunn,

I don't have time to take part in your project and can only suggest my essays plus interviews that are available through usual research channels.

Good luck with the project.

Yours sincerely
(signed) James Kelman

2. Letter from Liz Lochhead

[not dated. March/April 1998]

Linda - of course all these cultural myths grow out of what we perceive - unconsciously as much as consciously - to be our identity. And then they feed & perpetuate images & identity too - Too obvious to state. But that is it.

All I have to say on these subjects - and that is never why I wrote any of these things (i.e. to participate in some form of cultural debate) - all I have to say is inside the writings. And only the overall meanings & myths expressed by the plays as a whole or poems as a whole and not the views, dreams or desires of individual characters or single (often dramatic or persona voiced) poems are my overall working of the thing, at that time...

In other words I don't know so I'd be useless to you.

It seems important to remind academics that writers write to find out not to explain something they already know

Our readings of our own work are no better than yours.

All very best wishes with yr. work!

(signed) Liz