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And the good thing is that as we arrive at a position where Scottishness, and especially Scottish identity, is neither perceived nor defined in any narrow way, we are no longer looking towards a series of ideas or symbols, far less searching for a hero, this kind of work is entirely suited to the spirit of the times, offering a sense of optimism and hope through experimentation and imaginative freedom that shows no sign of diminishing.
(MacDougall 2001, 270)

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1. Introduction

This paper takes a close look at selected aspects of Scottish national identity and how it has been constructed in *Irn Bru* advertisements. It is often associated with romanticised notions of secluded Highland scenery and kilt wearing bagpipe players. The importance of such traditional aspects for a contemporary Scottish identity will be discussed in this thesis. Scotland forms part of the UK's Celtic Fringe and has thus developed a distinctive identity with its own symbols and myths. Although Scotland is an integral part of the United Kingdom, voices in favour of independence and strengthening a distinctive Scottish identity have often accompanied the country's history. Scotland status therefore provides an excellent research area for national identity. The research to date has tended to focus on the theoretical concept rather than on the performativity of national identity. It is worth spelling out that national identity is an active and dynamic process that can also be performed and actively constructed by the people living in a particular nation. Furthermore the performance and other aspects of national identity seem to be closely linked to popular culture and everyday life. This occurrence will be investigated in greater detail in the following pages.

This thesis consists of four parts: three theoretical ones to establish relevant terms and background information and an applied part to analyse selected advertisements. The analysis presents a case study of the Scottish soft drink *Irn Bru*, which is frequently associated with Scottish national identity. It can be regarded as a test case for the construction of Scottish national identity.

The first part commences by giving a brief historic overview of selected dates. The contemporary political situation and Scotland's status within the UK form the content of the following chapter. These parts are meant to provide the reader with background information and to contextualise the topic of Scottish national identity. Chapter three gives an overview on the current research status of national identity. It shows what has been done so far in the field and

introduces some key figures like Anthony Smith and Benedict Anderson. This thesis will later apply Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" to contemporary aspects of Scottishness. Moreover this paper outlines key features of Scottish national identity and discusses a selected number (e.g. history, language, landscape, etc.) of it. The aim is to show that shared symbols, customs, history and myths can foster a sense of belonging and national identity. The meaning of symbols like the Scottish Highlands or tartanry will be discussed towards the end of the chapter. The subsequent part briefly introduces the concept of regional identities and their occurrence in Scotland. The last subchapter discusses where and how national identity can be performed and thus actively constructed. Furthermore, this part elucidates that the performative aspect is crucial to any national identity as it highlights its dynamic and active character.

Chapter four assesses the relationship between national identity and popular culture. After a short introduction the focus is put on advertisements and the brand history of *Irn Bru*. This should be treated as an essential preliminary for the following analysis. The applied part draws on selected *Irn Bru* advertisements and aims to show the strong interaction between the brand and Scottish national identity. During the research it became apparent that it would be better to limit the amount of advertisements to four in order to look at each one more thoroughly. The analysis does not use a single theoretical concept, but rather observation, close analysis and different academic approaches. Outcomes of research areas like pragmatics, paralinguistics and relevance theory will be useful for the analysis. This study tries to find out how Scottishness is represented in selected advertisements. The analysis of *Irn Bru* advertisements seeks to find out how the company constructs national identity. As mentioned earlier, the analysis provides a case study of the construction of Scottish national identity. Other examples like the movie *Braveheart* or the *Tartan Army* will also briefly be looked at in this paper.

At the centre of this research project lies the quest to find out how Scottish national identity is actually constructed. The main aim of this paper is therefore to find some of the most important constituent parts of Scottishness. This also leads to the question how Scottishness is linked to Britishness or if it is rather a distinctive national identity constructed against the *Other*. The central question for the analytical part is how national identity can be constructed by the brand *Irn Bru*. Moreover, this thesis raises the question in how far advertisements are capable of influencing the notion of Scottish identity.

2. Historic Outline

In order to grasp the concept of Scottish national identity one needs to take the history of the nation into account. It plays a pivotal role and has shaped modern Scotland. This thesis focuses on some key dates which will be taken up again in the analysis of *Irn Bru* advertisement. One important event was the Union of Crowns. Bruce Coleman, a Senior Lecturer in Modern British History at the University of Exeter writes that in “1603 the crowns of England and Scotland, each an ancient and self-governing nation, were joined in the person of James I and IV” [James VI of Scotland and James I of England] (125). From then on the two kingdoms were united under a single monarch. Almost 100 years later, in 1707 the Act of Union led to a union of the parliaments and the “Parliament of Great Britain” (Moore 64). It allowed Scotland to keep its separate key institutions like the law and religion (ibid). For some people these institutions have also become important for national identity. Furthermore these institutions are unique within the United Kingdom, as Wales and Northern Ireland, for example, do not have their own banknotes. The following subchapters will look into some selected historic dates more thoroughly.

2.1 Key dates

2.1.1 Declaration of Arbroath

The Declaration of Arbroath goes back to 1320 and is the first document that declares Scottish independence from England. Christopher Harvie, a Scottish historian and former member of the Scottish Parliament, regards it as the “most impressive manifesto of nationalism that medieval Europe produced” (8). It is a letter proclaiming Scottish independence from their Southern neighbour which was given to the pope in 1320 (Moore 247). It clearly includes an anti-English attitude. Robert Bruce is depicted as a noble man maintaining Scottish freedom. If he however allied with the English, people would “strive at once to drive him out as our enemy” (Harvie 8). Carl MacDougall, a Scottish writer and television presenter, also highlights the important role of Robert Bruce for the Declaration of Arbroath. He argues that Bruce gained and defended Scottish independence and therefore played a key role (6). Alexander Grant, Senior Lecturer in History

at the University of Lancaster, furthermore argues that the aim of the declaration was the “legitimation of the existence of separate kingdoms on the grounds that they had *always* [original emphasis] existed independently” (69). The declaration also shows that independence has been a crucial Scottish issue for centuries. Having an independent nation and national identity has thus been important throughout Scottish history. Grant furthermore argues that the declaration “has the existence of separate national identities as its basic premise” (69). Some people in contemporary Scotland still wish to have separate national identities. Edwin Moore, a Scottish writer and publisher, points out that the declaration is said “to be one of the important documents in history, an early statement of human rights and a landmark in the history of democracy” (viii). He regards it as “a prototype of contractual kingship in Europe” (247). The content of this document, which was already created many centuries ago, is still important today - probably even more than before. Scottish independence and national consciousness have become key topics for political parties like the SNP. More about this party and its relation to Scottish national identity will be discussed in chapter 2.3.2.

2.1.2 Jacobite rebellions

The Jacobite rebellions were not only major events in Scottish history, but also the beginning of an ongoing Stuart and Highland myth. Moore describes the term *Jacobite* as “applied to anyone working to restore the deposed James (VII of Scotland, II of England [...]) and his dynasty [the Stuarts] to the throne of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland” (61). The Jacobites were therefore fervent supporters of the Stuarts and Pittock even regards the Jacobite ideology as crucial in maintaining “a coherent framework in which to define the identity of Scotland and the Scots in an era of national and cultural flux [18th century]” (1991, 63). The first Jacobite rebellion took place in 1715 and aimed to place James Francis Edward Stuart, James II’s son who lived in France at the time, on the throne (Moore 61). The group of supporters grew stronger and James Francis Edward Stuart arrived in Scotland later that year. As the battle at Sheriffmuir ended indecisively, James’s counsellors decided to travel back to France and thus abandoned any plans of a coronation (Moore 61-61). The

second rebellion in 1745 initially appeared promising. Charles Edward Stuart, the son of James Francis Edward Stuart, marched on London with the support of a number of highland clans and managed to get all the way south to Derby. There, however, they had to retreat and were forced back to Scotland. The end of the second Jacobite rebellion was the final battle at Culloden in 1746 (Moore 61-62). The Jacobites were decisively beaten by English, and even a small number of Scottish troops. The defeat at Culloden has remained in the Scottish psyche and is said to be the origin of the Scottish “romance in defeat myth” (cf. Chapter 4.4.2.3). Jonak remarks that only a minority of the Scottish population actually took part in the Jacobite rebellion. Nevertheless it is often assumed that the whole nation was defending itself against their southern neighbour. She adds that the Jacobite rebellion has been symbolic for the development of Scottish identity until today (80).

2.2 Relationship to England

Looking back hundreds of millions of years, one will discover that the area known as Scotland today was actually not part of what is now known as “Britain” (Moore 1). The United Kingdom is a multi-national state with a variety of different cultures. The sometimes difficult relationship between Scotland and England is rooted in history. Although Scotland and England are part of the same country, Welsh University professor Lynn Williams points out that there is a “strong history of political separateness” (11). There are many sharp comments on both sides of the border attacking the other nation. In 2007 Kelvin McKenzie, who used to be the editor of the populist *The Sun* Newspaper, even described Scotland as a “sick and skint nation” and furthermore added: “the sooner we take them off the payroll the better”.¹ Such incidences are extreme and generally rather rare. Michael Gardiner, Assistant Professor of British Cultural Studies at Chiba University (Japan), also remarks that “[there] is a hint of colloquial anti-Englishness in Scottish culture, but incidents of violence are vastly overstated by the mass media, and the two nations have close and friendly relations” (11). He furthermore remarks that no other nation, not even

¹ in *The Sun* newspaper 14 June 2007 qtd. In Perryman 34

France or Ireland, is culturally closer to Scotland than England (ibid). Gardiner believes that most Scots actually realize and acknowledge this cultural proximity in modern times (118). David McCrone, a Scottish sociologist, remarks that “Scotland has far more similarities with than differences from its southern neighbour. Nevertheless, in its cultural expressions, and most obviously in its patterns of political behaviour, Scotland has become more not less distinctive in the late twentieth century” (1992, 198). This trend has also continued into the 21st century. Kevin Williamson, a Scottish author, essayist, poet and member of the *Scottish Independence Convention*, argues that “it has been Scotland’s often fraught relationship with its larger neighbour which has helped sustain and shape [a] sense of national identity” (53). Although England was often seen as the enemy, it has nevertheless influenced contemporary Scotland. The Scottish poet and historian Angus Calder argues that “[w]e define ourselves by what we are not. We are not English” (39). This is an important argument as many people define themselves by what they are not. This is not only the case in Scotland, but also in other countries of the world. Austrians abroad for example often define themselves as not German, as there are people who tend to mix up these two nationalities or assume Austria to be a part of Germany. A more thorough analysis of identity construction will be discussed in chapter 3.

Scotland and England share a turbulent history. John Oakland, a former Senior Lecturer in English and author of *British Civilisation*, argues that Scotland and England (as well as the other two parts of the UK) “underwent very varied internal experiences, abrupt political changes and periodic violence as well as external conflicts with each other in their historical growth to nationhood” (3). While populist newspapers often tend to overemphasize a negative relationship, one needs to keep in mind that anti-English or anti-Scottish racism is rather the exception and not the norm. Given the history of England and Scotland it is no wonder that discrepancies still exist today. It was however not only a history of violence, hatred and war, but also of solidarity and peace. During the Second World War the spirit of a United Kingdom was for example also felt in Scotland. The special position of Scotland within the UK will be dealt with in the following chapter.

2.3 Scotland as nation within the UK

Scotland is one out of four nations within the UK. While all inhabitants share the same citizenship and their histories and cultures are partly intertwined, Scotland is nevertheless said to be a unique nation. Angus Calder asks whether Scotland as a nation has actually “any real existence” and continues that there is “no Scottish ‘nation state’” (ix). Anthony Smith, a key figure in the academic field of nationalism and ethnicity, defines a nation as “a cultural and political bond, uniting in a single political community all who share an historic culture and homeland” (14-15). In this sense Scotland, with its devolved parliament, can be regarded as a nation. The overarching nation state is the United Kingdom. The *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* defines a nation state as “an independent country, especially when thought of as consisting of a single large group of people all sharing the same language, traditions and history”.² Matt Rosenberg, an award-winning professional geographer also argues that a nation “is a tightly-knit group of people which share a common culture” while a nation state “is a nation which has the same borders as a State” (Geography.about.com). A nation state is therefore an independent political entity - a definition that cannot be applied to Scotland. The Norwegian social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen defines nations as “communities where the citizens are expected to be integrated in respect to culture and self-identity in an abstract, anonymous manner” (104). This is not only true for Scotland, but also for the United Kingdom. David Black claims that the “paradox of Scotland is that she is a country but her people are not quite a nation” (32). This statement lends itself to critique as apparently many Scots would argue against it. As the United Kingdom consists of four distinctive nations, tensions have always been inevitable. Black furthermore argues that “the ideology of the nation-state remains hegemonic and the relationship between states is seen as one of potential conflict” (169). Lynn Williams points out that nations “almost invariably claim the right to govern themselves” as they “become conscious of their national identity” (7). In Scotland this wish to self-govern became reality with the opening of the Scottish parliament in 1999. Lynn later mentions that “[w]ithout

² Cf. *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*. 3rd ed. CD-Rom. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008

exception, the smaller nations of [...] the United Kingdom have watched their native culture either retreat or suffer dilution as the official culture of the State has infiltrated their territory and penetrated their class system” (12). Nevertheless Scotland has managed to sustain parts of its native culture, tradition and institutions. This semi-autonomy in certain areas is an important feature of Scotland’s unique status within the UK. After the union in 1707, “Scotland retained some its national institutions” like the “legal, religious and educational system” (Ward 149). These institutions are said to lead to a “stronger form of cultural nationalism” (Weedon 25). They are without doubt key factors for a sense of Scottish autonomy and can therefore foster national identity. Scottish Literature scholar Murray Pittock also remarks that “[c]hurch, law and education all had some power; in certain circumstances, they could provide rallying points for national identity” (1991, 100). McCrone argues that it “is indubitably clear that Scotland survived the Union of 1707 as a separate ‘civil society’ and as a nation, and that, if anything, its sense of difference and identity has grown rather than diminished” (1992, 3). He furthermore remarks that the institutions listed above can be seen as civil autonomy and that they have enabled Scotland to exercise proper control over its own affairs (1992, 3). Richard Thomson, a columnist for the monthly Scottish Nationalist newspaper *Scots Independent* and former head of campaign for the SNP, argues that “[a]lthough it remains part of the UK, Scotland already has many of the trappings of statehood” like “a separate legal system” a “recognised border for several centuries”, a “separate education system” and its “own newspaper” amongst others (119). According to Douglas, these institutions also gave way to a “strongly developed sense of national identity” (2). One of these institutions is the Scottish bank system, which allows Scotland to print its own bank notes. Gardiner remarks that Walter Scott “fought for Scottish banks’ right to keep producing distinctive notes” (147). Carol Burgoyne and David Routh argue that the money “we use in everyday transaction derives its power from that of the national currency, which is in turn partly a function of the power of the state and a symbol of national sovereignty” (115). Although the currency is British Pounds in Scotland, the printing of Scottish banknotes with distinctive symbols can foster a stronger sense of Scottishness. Burgoyne and Routh also argue that “people are attached to their own currency as a symbol of national identity”

(118). Scottish banknotes with a variety of national symbols referring to famous people or places (e.g. Robert Burns, Robert the Bruce, Kessock Bridge, Forth Bridge) therefore help to foster a sense of national identity.

During Thatcherism (late 1970s and 1980s) these institutions were however criticised and attacked. McCrone argues that “the attack on state institutions – the nationalised industries, the education system, local government, the public sector generally, even the church, institutions which carried much of Scotland’s identity – was easily perceived as an attack on ‘Scotland’ itself” (1992, 172). These circumstances fuelled an ongoing tension between England and Scotland. Furthermore it also influenced the rise of the SNP and the desire to become a more independent nation.

The Union of Crowns and therefore the end of Scottish independence changed the nation. Eleanor Bell, a Scottish scholar with a research focus on modern Scottish literature, theories of the nation and cultural studies, argues that “since the Union Scotland had become increasingly sentimentalised by forms of romantic nationalism, which then promoted overtly fabricated conceptions of national identity” (20). The controversial English historian Hugh Trevor-Roper furthermore remarks: “When a society renounces politics, it can find other ways of expressing its identity. After the Union of 1707, and more especially after the defeat of the last Jacobite rebellion in 1746, the Scots looked for such other ways” (75). Romantic nationalism and nostalgia can be regarded as such ways to fill the void. Although Scotland was not an independent country anymore, its people kept their national identity in their minds. Fiona Douglas, a Lecturer in English Language at the University of Leeds, also points out that

although Scotland had none of the traditional attributes which might usually be considered to make it a nation state, such as political autonomy, self-determination, consistent use of its own language and so on, attitude surveys [...] clearly show that many of its inhabitants still considered it to be a nation of sorts, if not in actuality, at least as far as their mental attitude towards it was concerned. (20)

Some scholars, such as Tom Nairn argue that Britain is moving towards a separation of the country. Mark Perryman, a columnist of *The Guardian* and editor of several books dealing with contemporary British society, for example argues that by 2019 – “twenty years after the first devolution elections of 1999 – Britain will have moved decisively towards Tom Nairn’s ‘Break Up’” (10). Nairn himself believes that “Scotland remains the biggest factor in any political breakdown of the United Kingdom” (2004, 25). Writing in 2009, Perryman regards the increasing “differences in the political cultures of Westminster and those of the devolved nations” as key issues for a potential Break Up (10). According to Paul Ward, senior lecturer in Modern British History at the University of Huddersfield, the “multi-national nature of the United Kingdom is seen as being the heart of the break-up of Britain” (142). Perryman argues that “Nairn recognizes that any break-up will be subject to the uneven development of nationalist politics in each of” the four nations, but “much of his focus inevitably settles on Scotland” (18). Perryman does not regard England as the leading force in the Break Up, but the other three nations of the UK. He argues that the “Union Jack is being triangulated by the pulling power of Scottish and Welsh nationalism, and a slow but sure drifting away of Northern Ireland too” (15). Furthermore he makes another important claim:

It is important to understand that however central England might become in this eventual fracture, the separation is being driven not from what has traditionally considered itself the centre, but from nations that had been relegated to the margins. (Perryman 32)

According to Perryman, a “civic nationalist politics now exists in Scotland and Wales that is prepared to push the devolution settlement to its limits, its breaking point” (13). The question whether this breaking point will ever be reached remains open as the Break Up is of course only a hypothesis and its realization highly questionable. The trend towards independence and the drifting apart of the UK is also felt within the political parties. In 1992, McCrone has already remarked that “[a]lternative versions of political Scottishness, associated with the SNP and nationalist elements in the Labour Party, emphasise the gulf between Scottish and British national consciousness, rather than their continuity” (1992, 158). A more thorough overview of the political situation and especially the SNP will be given in chapter 2.3.2.

A reason for a potential break up might also be the heterogeneous character of the United Kingdom. Writing in 2004, the English journalist Jeremy Clarkson argues that “we live in a United Kingdom that’s no longer united” (90). Paul Ward furthermore points out that being “British is no longer seen as innate, attic and permanent” but rather “under threat” (1). He mentions that many

commentators believe that the states that contain more than one nation are fundamentally unstable and that the United Kingdom [...] began its inevitable process of dissolution as soon as it was created by the Act of Union of 1800, if not before with the union of England and Scotland in 1707. (2)

Thomson argues that “never since 1707 have unionists been under so much pressure to explain what advantages are brought to Scotland through remaining in the UK” (131). This ongoing debate about advantages and disadvantages of a union is a frequent topic in national newspapers. Regions within the United Kingdom strive for more independence and autonomy. According to Paul Ward the “[e]xpressions of Welsh and Scottish distinctiveness are seen as being demands for separation” (3). Semi-autonomy and the wish for more independence should however not be confused with a final separation. In 2007 Rachel Briggs, a Senior Honorary Research Associate at UCL and Associate Editor with *Renewal*, pointed out:

For a Scottish Prime Minister [Gordon Brown] in a fragmented United Kingdom, the temptation will always be to reach for that which unites rather than divides. But top-down, stage-managed national identities are not only unworkable, they are likely to increase the sense of personal and collective uncertainty as people are suspicious of what they seek to hide. (qtd. in Perryman 37)

A fragmented nation does however not automatically entail a final break up. The Break Up of Britain is a highly controversial topic with fervent supporters on both sides.

The loss of empire in the 20th century left a great void and initiated the drifting apart of the four nations. The historian Coleman argues that the

growth of nationalist [...] opinion in [...] Scotland [...] [has] blurred and brought into question the old identities and loyalties which had already been

weakened by the decline of the monarchy's Protestant appeal since the Great War and by the loss of the empire in mid-century. (141)

Britain furthermore became a "cut-down version of what it once was and with its extent and identity in question" (ibid). Coleman remarks that

[t]he nationhood which the Crown symbolises and seeks to represent is itself uncertain. National identity and assurance have been brought into question by the loss of empire, by the impact both political and constitutional of 'Europe', by the American acculturation of British society, and, not least, by the rise of anti-British or anti-English dissidence within three of the four components of the United Kingdom itself. (142)

Coleman continues that the European Community, and later the EU membership has "encouraged independence or devolutionist movements in Scotland ('independence within Europe')"

 (140). The last decades have indubitably brought great changes for the United Kingdom. One of the major alterations was devolution, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

2.3.1 Devolution

Devolution has been a major topic in Scotland for the last decades. The term describes the transfer of limited powers from Westminster to other parts of the United Kingdom (Oakland 84). Oakland characterises it as "providing a tier of decentralized government. It allows these countries [Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland] [...] to decide more of their own affairs, in devolved matters such as education, health, transport, environment, home affairs and local government" (84). It can be regarded as an important factor of Scottish self-governing and also independence. The first steps towards devolution were made in 1978, when the UK Scotland Act provided the first draft of a devolved legislative assembly (Moore 67). It included a national poll which resulted in a good, but insufficient turnout (ibid 68). Gardiner remarks that the first referendum only failed because a Labour MP (George Cunningham) suggested changing the rules at the last moment. Suddenly a higher number of votes was needed than before (18). Almost twenty years later, in 1997, the poll was carried out again and proved to be successful this time. Almost three quarters of the population were in favour of devolution (Moore 68). Furthermore devolution has also

brought Scotland its own Parliament in Edinburgh two years later. This parliament is said to put “more emphasis on openness, accessibility and addressing social concerns” compared to the one in Westminster (K. Williamson 53). It has also “reinstalled the idea of free university education” (Calder ix) – but only for Scottish students. The parliament is supported by the majority of Scottish people. Thomson points out, that the “overwhelming ‘yes’ votes in favour of both a parliament (74,3 per cent) and tax-varying powers (63,5 per cent) meant that Scotland at last became a nation with a parliament of her own again” (Thomson 126). Members of the Scottish parliament can make laws “on matters such as education, health and housing, which are defined as ‘devolved matters’” (Moore 72). Although the parliament grants Scotland autonomy in selected areas, it has “no [longer]³ tax-raising powers, and so it is still economically bound to the rest of the UK” (Douglas 2). Moore also states that the UK government in Westminster still decides on so-called “reserved matters” (e.g. foreign affairs, defence, social security, etc) (73). Nevertheless Douglas still regards Scotland as a “country with some measure of socio-political autonomy” and remarks that its “nationhood has been, at least partially, restored” (2). Furthermore she argues that “[s]ince devolution, Scotland may no longer be a stateless nation, but neither is it an independent one” (143). Douglas elaborates her argument and remarks that with “the Union of Parliament in 1707, Scotland relinquished political control to Westminster for a period of nearly 300 years” (2). Adrienne Noel Bender, who wrote her dissertation on Scottish identities and the representations of national landscapes, argues that “[d]espite the opening of the new Parliament on July 1, 1999, Scotland still remains a fundamental and important part of Great Britain, subject to the laws of a British Parliament” (336). Tom Nairn remarks that one purpose of devolution was “restoration and the safe renewal of British multinational identity” (2004, 22). This multinational identity is an important aspect of contemporary Britain and the Scottish Parliament has certainly improved the Scottish situation within the United Kingdom. The aim to improve

³ After the referendum it was able to vary income taxes Cf.: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/8144071/Alex-Salmond-strips-Scottish-Parliament-of-tax-powers.html>

life for the Scottish people is also on the agenda of the SNP – a key political force in contemporary Scotland and content of the next chapter.

2.3.2 The role of the Scottish National Party

The Scottish National Party (SNP) played a pivotal role in the last 15 years and has progressively expanded its voting bloc. Its influence on the notion of Scottish national identity cannot be denied. Furthermore it has frequently used Scottish symbols for its campaigns. The SNP originally grew out of the National Scottish Party (NPS), which was inaugurated at Stirling in 1928 (Pittock 1991, 145-46). In the early 1970s the SNP “began to place itself in the mainstream of Scottish society, positioning itself to challenge the Labour Party [...] as the leading party in Scotland” (Thomson 121). Due to the oil issue⁴ they gained many supporters during the decade and even became the “second party in Scotland at the October 1974 general election” (Pittock 1991, 158). Gardiner remarks that the British government exploited the Scottish North Sea oil and thus annoyed the population in the north (54). Oil means money and according to MacDougall it “touches everything. Everyone, it seems, knows someone who works in oil. It is bigger than the fishing trade” (223). No wonder the oil issue had such an impact on people. It took however a couple of decades for the SNP before their goal of getting the majority of votes was achieved. Perryman argues that the SNP, “who were at-first reluctant partner in Labour’s programme for devolution” are now “seeking to push the institutions and powers to the limit in finding pathways towards independence” (11). The first major success in the 21st century was the election result in 2007. Perryman remarks that after “the 2007 Scottish Parliament Elections, the SNP formed a minority government” (23).

Allan Little, a correspondent of the BBC, wrote an article about the changes within the SNP in 2007. He describes the old version of the party to be “backward looking, heritage-based [and] fixated on an unpleasantly ethnic sense of what Scotland was”. Furthermore he regards the SNP as “hostile to

⁴ Cf. SNP’s election campaign 1974 and slogan “It’s Scotland’s oil”

the European Community as it was to the British Union”.⁵ Alan Little however acknowledges the transformation of the party under Alex Salmond, under whom the SNP has become “a modern, European social-democratic party, purged [...] of the anti-English sentiment that so many Scots detested and feared” (ibid). Alex Salmond is also said to be one out of three politicians who actively supported and “did most to bring about devolution” (Moore 69).

One has to take into account that the SNP cannot be compared to other nationalist parties within Europe, as it is “now situated closer to the left-of-centre than to the extremities of a nationalist right” (Perryman 24). Furthermore it is important to point out, that there “are no parties of any significance offering an extreme right-wing version of [...] Scottish nationalism” in Scotland (Perryman 29). The leftward shift and the focus on social issues has gained them support from previous labour voters. Perryman remarks that of course “many on the left in Scotland [...] will continue to organise in and around the Labour Party, but many don’t, and find a home instead in the SNP” (25). A supporting argument for this claim can also be found in Thomson’s article (written in 2009). He remarks that the SNP also “made efforts to embrace ‘New Scots for Independence’ – especially those from an English background, and those from an Asian background, particularly those from sizable Pakistani communities in Scotland’s cities” (124). This also shows that the “Scotland the SNP sought wasn’t to be run in the interest of ‘true’ Scots, whatever they might be, but in the interest of all those who had chosen to make their lives there” (Thomson 125).

Lesley Riddoch, a Scottish broadcaster, journalist and commentator, points out that the “SNP is fairly unique amongst nationalist parties in wanting independence partly to conduct a more open immigration policy” (186). Furthermore she notes that “[d]epopulation is deemed a bigger threat in Scotland than being overwhelmed by other cultures” (187). This clearly sets the SNP apart from other nationalist parties in Europe. The SNP is just one out of four Scottish parties that support independence for the Scottish nation.

⁵ „Scotland: Time to Say Goodbye?“ in the *New Statesman*, 26 March 2007. qtd. in Perryman 23.

Interestingly, as Kevin Williamson points out, all of them (SNP, Scottish Greens, Scottish Socialist Party and Solidarity) are "to the left of centre, anti-war, anti-imperialist, and are for the dismantling of the nuclear state" (54).

The current success of the party is likely to be influenced by Alex Salmond. Kevin Williamson remarks that after losing 25 percent of their seats in the Scottish government in 2003, the SNP "reinstated the popular and able Alex Salmond as party leader, and then spent the next four years fighting on a populist left-of-centre social programme, with Scottish independence and Scottish identity at its very heart" (64). Furthermore he notes that the party has "always embraced a positive sense of Scottish identity", promoted Scottish culture and encouraged "Scots to learn about [their] own complex history" (65). Kevin Williamson therefore concludes that "[a]ll of this sets them apart from the others on the Scottish left, yet the party's sense of Scottish identity is neither xenophobic nor exclusive, and this is what matters" (65). This attitude has proven to be supported by many Scottish people and led to a constant growth of votes.

Although the SNP is widely supported in Scotland, it is also frequently criticized. Thomson for example points out that the "party is accused of trying to exploit and claim ownership of Scottishness", of wrapping "itself in the saltire, and of exploiting patriotism" (128). Paul Ward remarks that "[p]atriotism and ideas of national identity have long been the playthings of politicians" (93). Symbols are often loaded with meaning and positive associations. It is therefore no wonder that politicians use them for their own goals. Thomson furthermore argues that "if a political party wishes to resonate and build affinity with voters in Scotland, being able to present a Scottish identity is going to be a key element" (129). This key element is also used by the marketing department of *Inn Bru* as the analysis of their advertisements will show in chapter four. Chris Weedon, Head of the Centre for Critical and Cultural Theory at Cardiff University, remarks that the success of nationalist parties in Scotland is "rooted in a positive revaluing of notions of [...] Scottishness in opposition to a long history of derogatory representations of [...] Scots emanating from England. It involved a rejection of

Englishness and all things identified as English” (26). This however is rather the case with the old SNP as the new one tries to embrace Scottish people with an English background.

It is also important to point out that SNP’s success in the 2007 elections was partly based on the support of Scottish newspapers. Lesley Riddoch claims that the “SNP might not have succeeded in 2007 without the spectacular u-turn of the newspaper industry, a key part of popular culture” (190). Alex Salmond was not only supported by *The Scotsman* (which had been previously managed by a unionist) and the *Sunday Herald*, but also by the *Times* and *Express* (Riddoch 190). The importance of the Scottish newspaper in relation to national identity will also be briefly discussed in chapter 4.2.

Notwithstanding Bender’s assertion that “[m]any politicians have minimized the ability and necessity of Scotland to find and maintain its own national identity” (4), this chapter has clearly shown the opposite. Having a distinct Scottish national identity has become important for political and other contexts as well. Although the rise of the SNP was probably influenced by the growth of Scottish national consciousness, one should not confuse it with nationalism. According to Gardiner, the “SNP is not the only expression of nationalism, far less of national consciousness” (5). National consciousness is just one part of national identity – a broad and multifaceted topic that will be discussed in the following chapter.

3. National identity

3.1 Setting the scene

In order to discuss the topic of Scottish identity more thoroughly in the course of this chapter, it is important to familiarize oneself with some general aspects of national identity. Various aspects and views of different people have therefore been taken into account. Douglas remarks that identity is “both a complex and fascinating phenomenon” (11). This phenomenon will be discussed in the following chapter.

Generally speaking, Smith points out that people are composed of multiple identities who relate to family, territory, class, religion, gender and ethnicity (4). Edensor remarks that in “modern times, the nation has been a focus for identification and a sense of belonging” (24). Especially in times of globalisation a sense of national identity might give people a sense of security. Lynn Williams argues that “there is no generally accepted view of what constitutes nationality or national identity” (7). Furthermore he adds that there are some “objective indicators like language, race, religion or territory as essential criteria”, but also “subjective factors such as the perception” of people which need to be taken into account (ibid). Burgoyne and Routh argue that “[i]ndividual nations are not ‘natural’ or ‘given’ categories, but exist as social constructions. [...] [W]hat constitutes the ‘nation’ may be recognised and represented in different ways by different segments of the population” (110). This is equally true for national identity.

McCrone raises the question why there is “an obsessive search to find a national identity” (1992, 190). He subsequently provides an answer and claims that “it derives from an older, essentially nationalist assumption that all societies worthy of the name should have a distinctive culture” (ibid). It is however important to point out that a single nation does not consist of a single culture,

but rather a variety of different cultures. When it comes to identity Hugh McIlvanney makes an excellent observation:

Identity, personal or national, isn't merely something you have like a passport. It is also something you rediscover daily, like a strange country. Its core isn't something like a mountain. It is something molten, like magma.⁶

This also indicates that any definition of identity needs to take its flexible and changing nature into account. In this sense, there is no stable core identity as there are many factors that can mould an identity. Douglas points out that "if identity is dynamic, then it can be altered and reformulated and, indeed, many sociolinguists have argued that identities, whether they be national or some other identities, are constantly being reformulated" (13). As people, their attitudes, cities, and politics amongst many other things change, it is no wonder that identity, whether national or other, changes as well. Eriksen also points out that identities

may change as society changes, and they are certainly not as 'inner', as private and immutable, as common sense may sometimes insist. Systems of social classification and principles of inclusion and exclusion always create order, but the kind of order created is related to aspects of the wider social system. (62)

According to Edensor "identity is a process, not an essence" (24). He points out that "identity is always in a process of becoming and by virtue of location in social, material, temporal and spatial contexts" (29). He argues that the "dynamic process of identity formation, or identification, occurs in mundane life as well as in more spectacular collective gatherings" (24). National identity, Edensor remarks, "does not equate with homogeneity; nor is it inherently defensive, conservative or tradition bound" (29). This shows that national identity is a fluid concept. It is furthermore important to ask oneself, like Cameron did, if the "acquisition of national identity [is] a spontaneous process or [if] it can be manipulated" (1). It may not be a spontaneous process, but one that can be changed over time and influenced by a variety of features. Stuart Hall argues that identities make use of "the resource of history, language, and

⁶ *The Herald* 13 March 1999. Qtd. in K. Williamson 53.

culture” (1996, 4). Cameron points out that the “factors constituting national identity do not have fixed parameters but evolve in the same way as any society evolves but not always at the same speed” (6). When society however changes, the constituents of national identity might change as well. McCrone also highlights the importance of national identity and points out that in “the modern state, national identification becomes a *sine qua non* [original emphasis] of citizenship” (1992, 160). This means that national identity is a vital aspect of people’s lives and gives them a sense of belonging. Weedon argues that “[i]n Western societies both individual and collective forms of identity are closely tied to ideas of national, local and family history and tradition. These [...] create a sense of where one comes from and where one belongs” (24).

National identity is frequently associated with a glorious past and traditional values. Edensor, however, argues that national identity is not so much influenced by tradition and history, but it is rather “grounded in the everyday, in the mundane details of social interaction, habits, routines and practical knowledge” (17). He remarks that the “national is constituted and reproduced, contested and reaffirmed in everyday life” (20). For Edensor, the mundane aspects of life therefore become a key feature of identity construction. McCrone draws on Ferguson and argues that “[p]eople [...] are in essence social creatures who derive happiness, ease and a sense of identity as well as security and sustenance from society” (1992, 4). The feeling of a shared national identity, and in this sense an imagined community, can have positive effects on people’s lives (cf. Chapter 3.2.1 on Benedict Anderson).

Paul Ward makes an important statement when he argues that identities “are often formed in relation to the ‘other’” (85). Gillian Rose explains this process as “defining where you belong through a contrast with other places, or who you are through a contrast with other people” (116). Magdalena Graf, who wrote her thesis on Scottish identity, nation and national consciousness, goes along these lines and argues that “[c]ultural identity often locates itself in the binary opposition ‘us/them’ as, for instance, is the case between England and Scotland. The ‘self’ is often defined in relation to the other” (5). This is of crucial

importance for the following analysis of Scottish identity. Another scholar sharing this point of view is Eriksen. He argues that boundaries “are generally two-way; that is to say, both groups in a relationship demarcate their identity and distinctiveness vis-à-vis the other” (41). He is also of the opinion that “[e]very social community or identity is exclusive in the sense that not everybody can take part. Groups and collectivities are always constituted in relation to *others* [original emphasis]” (62). Eriksen highlights that “identity is elastic and negotiable, but not infinitely flexible.” Furthermore, it is “a universal fact that not everybody can take part in a given community. All categorisations of group membership must have boundaries; they depend on others in order to make sense” (174). Keith Cameron makes the following important statement:

What allows people to assert that something belongs uniquely to them and could be termed a national characteristic may be merely based on familiarity and what they believe because of thought or cultural association to be the product of their nation, irrespective of those ‘foreign’ influences which have helped mould its shape and existence. (4)

Edensor points out that the “key element of the process of identification – especially in the case of national identity – [...] is the drawing of boundaries between self and ‘other’” (24). Although Scottish culture shares similarities with English culture (e.g. food, charity, etc.), it is nevertheless important for many Scots to have their own distinctive Scottish identity. While there is without doubt a distinctive Scottish identity, there are also many overlaps with what people associate with Britishness or a British identity. This will also become relevant in the chapter about *Irn Bru* advertising and their construction of Scottishness.

Another crucial fact to point out is that national identity is just one out of many identities people have. Stuart Hall argues that “all of us are composed of multiple social identities” (1991, 57). Ward remarks that there are “tensions in all multiple identities, but that does not make multiple identities fundamentally incompatible” (170). National identity can therefore easily co-exist with, for example, a sports or gender identity. Douglas adds that “just as we can fulfil a variety of roles within society, so we can also have multiple group identities, such as familial identities, gender identities, social class identities, occupational identities, national identities and regional identities, that we hold simultaneously”

(12). Weedon highlights the fact that “exclusive forms of identity can lead to discriminatory behaviour” (2). The co-existence of multiple identities can be regarded as an ordinary aspect of our post-modern society. Cameron furthermore raises a fundamental question and asks whether national identity is “something of which we ourselves are aware” or whether it is “an identity which others bestow upon us” (1). He argues that the “process of identification is often one which we are not consciously aware until it is challenged” (1). So only if our identity is under threat, we become conscious of it and probably defend it. Globalisation might be seen as a threat to national identities. It is therefore no wonder that people have become more conscious of their nationality during the last decades.

Paul Ward mentions that “national identities have been recognised as constructed and reconstructed” and that this “idea of the ‘making of national identities’ has opened them up to academic study” (1). His focus is on the United Kingdom and he writes that “to expect Britishness to remain fixed and pure would be to deny the constructed and reconstructed nature of national identities” (172). The same can be said about any national identity and it is therefore in no way limited to Great Britain. Eriksen argues that “ethnic or national identities are constructions; they are not ‘natural’”. Moreover, the link between a particular identity and the ‘culture’ it seeks to reify is not a one-to-one relationship” (99). Bell remarks that “national identity is often a site of conflict between the pedagogical and the performative, between authority and lived reality” (30). The performative aspect is a very important one as it shows that national identity is not an essence, but rather something dynamic than can be performed in everyday life or at larger scale events. Paul Ward also describes national identity “as a changing force rather than something static and fixed” (109).

National identity has become a crucial cultural phenomenon during the last decades. Thomas Hylland Eriksen argues that an “important reason for the current academic interest in ethnicity and nationalism is the fact that such phenomena have become so visible in many societies that it has become

impossible to ignore them” (2). The same can be said about the national identity. Eriksen writes about the dual perception of a pan-European identity. On the one hand he argues that many “Europeans fear that the loss of their national or ethnic identity will result from a cultural standardisation following tight European integration” (3). Burgoyne and Routh also raise the question whether a European identity will be possible or if it rather poses a threat to national identity (107). On the other hand, people “who take a more positive view of such processes, welcome the possibilities for a pan-European identity to replace the ethnic and national ones in a number of contexts” (Eriksen 3). Eriksen, however, also argues that “a European identity is not necessarily incompatible with national or ethnic identities” (76). Burgoyne and Routh remark that it might be possible for some people “to accommodate their national identity within an enlarged, European identity” (110). On a smaller scale, these contrary opinions are also visible when it comes to British identity within the UK. While some Scots embrace the sense of a uniting British identity, many like to highlight their distinctive Scottishness. So the place people identify with is often first and foremost Scotland, followed by Great Britain and Europe. Burgoyne and Routh also argue that “although the European Union has been in existence for many years, a European identity remains a somewhat tenuous concept, with relatively few citizens across the European Union seeing themselves in these terms” (114).

Having outlined some general factors of national identity it is now time to look at the studies of two influential scholars more thoroughly. The focus of the next two chapters is therefore put on Benedict Anderson and Anthony Smith.

3.2 Theories of national identity

The challenge to analyse national identity is its unstable character. It is not easy to describe as it is constantly changing. Homi Bhabha also mentions that a nation is constantly “caught, uncertainly, in the act of composing itself” (3). The previous chapter has already outlined key aspects of national identity and a

variety of different views on the concept. The following chapter introduces the work of two influential scholars in the field and their most important arguments.

3.2.1 Benedict Anderson

Benedict Anderson's book *Imagined Communities – Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (first published in 1983) can be regarded as a milestone in the field of political and cultural theory. The book has become a standard textbook at universities around the globe and was even translated into twenty-nine languages (Anderson 207). In an afterword to his third edition Anderson remarks that the first edition was “the only comparative study of nationalism's history intended to combat Eurocentrism, and making use of non-European language sources” (227). His work has influenced a broad range of scholars and students alike and some key aspects will be discussed in this chapter.

Although the book focuses on nationalism, Anderson also writes about national identity and the work is thus relevant for this paper. Eriksen argues that Anderson is “concerned to understand the force and persistence of national identity and sentiment” (98). Anderson starts his discussion in acknowledging that it is difficult to clearly define and analyse concepts like nation, nationality and nationalism (3). His most important statement, and probably his most frequently quoted one is the following:

I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* [original emphasis] because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. [...] In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. (6)

He also defines the nation as imagined, as limited, sovereign and as a community. Anderson argues that it is “imagined as *limited* [original emphasis] because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No

nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind" (7). Most importantly he regards the nation

imagined as a *community* [original emphasis], because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (7)

Especially the last part of this quotation has sparked an ongoing discussion among academics. Anderson argues that "[d]ying for one's country, which usually one does not choose, assumes a moral grandeur which dying for the Labour Party, [...] or perhaps even Amnesty International can not rival, for these are all bodies one can join or leave at easy will" (144). Although one can easily leave a nation when flying to another country, the mental abandonment cannot be done so easily.

His most obvious example for such an imagined community is mass ceremony. He argues that "each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousand (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion" (35). These people might not know each other, but a sense of community indubitably exists. Anderson furthermore regards this "community in anonymity" as the "hallmark of modern nations" (36). An example for such an imagined community in Scotland will be given in the chapter about the *Inn Bru Can Clan*.

Douglas highlights that for Anderson "languages help to create a sense of national identity" (16). Anderson himself argues that "[a]bove all, the very idea of 'nation' is now nestled firmly in virtually all print-languages; and nation-ness is virtually inseparable from political consciousness" (135). According to Anderson the print-languages were therefore an essential pathway for the development of national identity. Edensor acknowledges the importance of print language, but criticises the absence of the "multiple ways in which the nation is imagined in,

for instance, music hall and theatre, popular music, festivities”, etc. in Anderson’s study (7).

It is also important to highlight that the concept of *imagined communities* is not limited to a specific nation, continent or other geographical area. Anderson argues that it has in fact “spread out to every conceivable contemporary society” (157). Harvard University professor and key figure in post-colonial studies Homi Bhaba also argues that nations “only fully realise their horizons in the mind’s eye” (1990, 1). This mental image holds *assumed* similarities but nevertheless remains immensely powerful. Examples of such assumed similarities and Anderson’s concept of imagined communities will be given in the analytical part of this thesis.

3.2.2 Anthony Smith

Anthony Smith is an English scholar known for his work on nationalism and also national identity. He argues that “we cannot understand nations and nationalism simply as an ideology or form of politics but must treat them as cultural phenomena as well” (vii). This is even more important for national identity. For Smith national identity is an “abstract and multidimensional construct” that influences a wide range of spheres of life (144). He points out that what he means by “national identity comprises both a cultural and political identity and is located in a political community as well as a cultural one” (99). Furthermore Smith suggests that the definition should be extended to “include a specific language, sentiments and symbols” (vii). The latter is a crucial aspect of national identity and some Scottish symbols will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Smith argues that “national’ identity involves some sense of political community”, which “in turn implies at least some common institutions” (9). In Scotland such institutions are for example the devolved parliament, education, the bank system or religion. Smith also tries to trace back the origin of nations and nationalism. According to him, a nation in earlier times was “first and

foremost a community of common descent” (11). Nowadays this model is of course dated as it does not take immigrants, who often form an import part of a nation, into account. It furthermore also neglects the occurrence of hybrid cultures. This “ethnic model” which focuses on common ancestry was especially dominant in East European and Middle Eastern countries (Smith 12). Later in his study Smith regards “the relationship of modern nations to any ethnic core” as “problematic and uncertain” (41).

Smith defines nations as “territorially bounded units of population” that “must have their own homelands” and members who share “a common mass culture and common historical myths” (14). He furthermore lists the following five features as essential for national identity:

1. an historic territory, or homeland
2. common myths and historic memories
3. a common, mass public culture
4. common legal rights and duties for all members
5. a common economy with territorial mobility for all members (14)

He further develops his definition of national identity and argues that it is not only “fundamentally multi-dimensional”, but also that “it can never be reduced to a single element” or “swiftly induced in a population by artificial means” (14). National identity often has strong roots in a country’s history and traditions. It is therefore logical that it cannot be easily induced into people’s minds. Smith continues to describe national identity as a complex construct comprising “a number of interrelated components” and moreover as a “persistent force in modern life” (15). He also gives a list of the components and mentions “historic territory, common myths and historical memories” as well as a public culture as crucial for national identity (43). Some of these will be discussed in relation to Scottish national identity. In the cultural sphere, Smith argues, “national identity is revealed in a whole range of assumptions and myths, values and memories, as well as in language, law institutions and ceremonies” (143-144). The cultural aspect is a significant one. Smith points out that

[b]y means of parades, remembrance ceremonies, anniversary celebrations, monuments to the fallen, oaths, coinage, flags, eulogies of heroes and memorials of historic events, they remind fellow-citizens of

their cultural bonds and political kinship through reaffirmation of identity and unity. In many ways this ceremonial and symbolic aspect is the most decisive to the success and durability of national identity – it is the area in which individual identity is most closely bound up with collective identity. (162)

This ceremonial aspect also involves the performance of national identity – an integral part of the concept, which will be dealt with in a later chapter. Smith also writes about the functions of national identity. As a primary function he names the provision of a “strong ‘community of history and destiny’ to save people from personal oblivion and restore collective faith” (161). He furthermore divides the functions of national identity into “‘external’ and ‘internal’ objective consequences” (Smith 16). While external functions are “territorial, economic and political”, internal functions are more intimate and important for “individuals in communities” (16). Moreover the internal functions are crucial for the “socialization of the members as ‘nationals’ and ‘citizens’” (ibid). Smith argues that “[b]y the use of symbols – flags, coinage, totems, uniforms, monuments and ceremonies – members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship and feel strengthened and exalted by their sense of common identity and belonging” (16-17). National identity however, has other functions as well. According to Smith the most important one is to “provide a satisfactory answer to the problem of personal oblivion. Identification with the ‘nation’ in a secular era is the surest way to surmount the finality of death and ensure a measure of personal immortality” (160-161). Many symbols of national identity are timeless and thus immortal. The legends of the golden age of a nation, iconic landscapes, which have existed for thousands of years or the tales of national heroes are just a few examples. Smith argues that national identity is crucial for people as it has the ability to offer “a glorious future similar to its heroic past” (161).

Smith believes that national identity is an important part of our modern society and regards it as “the main form of collective identification” (170). He argues that “[o]f all the collective identities [...] human beings share today, national identity is perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive” (143). Furthermore he claims that it “underpins the recurrent drive for popular sovereignty and

democracy” (ibid). The world is divided into national territories, a process which often underwent conflict and violence. Now that most of the borders are more or less fixed and bound to a certain nation, national identity has become more important. As a reason for the crucial role of national identity in the modern world Smith names its ubiquity (143). More than twenty years ago, Smith suggested that national identity is likely to remain a strong and proliferating force in the future. Time has shown that he was right. In our contemporary society it is therefore more than ever important to understand the concept of national identity and thus “to increase our understanding of so global a condition and so explosive a force” (Smith x).

This chapter has shown that national identity is a multi-faceted concept with a variety of definitions. Cameron remarks that the concept itself, as well as its components and the forces behind it, should be the focus of future research (6). The next chapter introduces Scottish national identity and outlines some of its characteristic features.

3.3 Scottish National Identity

In last twenty-five years various scholars have already focused on the concept of Scottish national identity and Scottish culture. The most influential studies are probably the ones by Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull (1989), David McCrone et al. (1995), William Ferguson (1998), David Broun et al. (1998), David McCrone (2001), Murray Pittock (2001), Carl MacDougall (2001), Angus Calder (2002) and Fiona Douglas (2009). Many authors have emphasised different aspects as key factors. While McCrone for example stresses the importance of place (1992, 17), Douglas focuses on language and Ferguson regards history of vital importance. This chapter deals with all of the three aspects. In order to provide a clearly arranged discussion of a broad topic like Scottish national identity, the following chapters will be thematically divided. The subsequent subchapters will therefore first concentrate on general aspects and later on some selected key aspects of Scottish identity.

3.3.1 General aspects

The question what Scottish national identity consists of is difficult to answer. It is clearly multifaceted and means different things to different people. Calder remarks that within the Scottish population's shared sense of Scottishness a "plethora of cultural identities" is expressed (x). Nicoll argues that "Scotland contains and is the site of a number of fluid, divergent and competing conceptions of identity" (226). Calder also points out:

Scots share no[t] one distinctive language with fellow Scots. We don't have a common myth of origin, unless it's expressed in the every-schoolboy-knows joke that the eponymous Scots originally came from Ireland. Picts, Strathclyde Britons and, yes, Angles, eventually came under the King, not 'of Scotland' but 'of Scots'. Sane Scots know that we were always mongrels. (38)

This also corresponds to general definitions of national identity that characterise the concept as a flexible and multi-faceted phenomenon. Later in his work Calder highlights the diversity of Scottish culture "within a relatively small area and any suggestion that it has ever been, or should be, 'racially' homogenous can only be dismissed with contempt" (98). As mentioned earlier, it would be essentialist to believe that Scotland only consists of a single culture. As there is not one Scottish culture, there cannot be a single Scottish national identity. In order to describe a general tendency of Scottishness, it might be helpful to draw on strategic essentialism to highlight some important aspect. Fiona M. Douglas also remarks that not all "Scots necessarily share exactly the same ideas as to what Scotland is all about, and what makes them Scottish; but there will be a pool of generalised concepts about Scotland and Scottishness, from which the individual can construct his or her own Scotland" (20). Douglas' most important point is probably the statement about Scottishness not being a "monolithic unalterable identity, but rather [...] a dynamic process whereby individuals can 'stake a claim' to those facets of Scottishness that appeal to them, and they are therefore directly involved in the construction and maintenance of that identity" (20). She also stresses the importance of group membership when it comes to Scottish national identity. Douglas advances her argument when she writes that "the sense of being part of a distinctive and exclusive group" is "an important ingredient of Scottishness" (11). According to her, the last years have shown a

“resurgence of interest in Scottish identity” (1). She draws on Benedict Anderson and argues that “Scotland is also a mental construct” that is “made distinctly Scottish partly by the attitudes and values held by those who live there, and their sense of Scottish identity” (20). Another Scottish scholar who draws on Benedict Anderson is David McCrone. He argues that Scotland is “an imagined community with considerable institutional autonomy, and, at least as yet, no sovereign parliament” (2001, 6).

Bell highlights the dynamic and active character of national identity and argues that “Scotland cannot be viewed as insular or singular, even if depicted as such, because larger systems are now re-structuring such forms of ‘identity-thinking’” (41). She also draws on Crawford and Craig and points out the importance of viewing Scotland “comparatively, as existing *between* [original emphasize] cultures rather than as an isolated unit” (47). The influence of Britishness or Englishness on Scottish culture cannot be ignored. Furthermore traces of American popular culture have also become interwoven into modern Scottish life. To view Scottish culture as an isolated unit would be ignorant and essentialist. McCrone argues that there are “competing versions of Scotland, using distinctions which have a mythological base: Scotland of the past and the present; Scotland of the Highlands or the Lowlands; small-town east-coast Scotland versus Scotland of the west-coast conurbation” (1992, 31). Just as there are different versions and connotations of Scotland, there are also different versions and connotations of Scottish national identity. It is difficult to extract a single version or meaning for such a multifaceted country. McCrone remarks that “‘Scotland’ is above all a *set* [emphasis added] of meanings” (1992, 32). Later on in his study he makes an excellent observation and writes that “the search for a single carrier of national identity is doomed to ignore the pluralism and complexity of identities” (1992, 191). As time changes, the components of national identity might change as well. The Scottish scholar Tom Devine points out:

There’s been a fantastic increase in our sense of Scottishness and I think that means we’re a much more confident people. We are seeing now that our history, writing, architecture, painting, pop music have given us a more vigorous culture than we’ve had for generations. (*The Scotsman*. qtd. in Will Springer)

This positive and confident attitude has strengthened the Scottish nation. Bender also argues that the

invention of a “Scottish” identity legitimized a new form of Scottish nationalism and encouraged the creation of political organizations such as the Scottish Home Rule Association and the Scottish Liberal Party [...], as well as ‘cultural’ centers such as the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Scottish History Society, and Scottish Text Society. (130)

This revival of Scottishness has lasted for a couple of decades and was not only influenced by politics (devolution), but also by popular culture (Trainspotting, Braveheart, music and literature in the vernacular and Gaelic, etc.) Writing in 1992, McCrone argues that the “last twenty years have seen a cultural renaissance in Scotland, in those aspects which confirm its separate identity” (1992, 12). This renaissance has clearly expanded into the 21st century and is still apparent today. Douglas writes that “to some extent we can choose what a Scottish identity looks like, but that choice will be formulated and to some extent constrained by the ways in which Scottish identity has been constructed in the past and also by the ways in which others perceive it” (15). One should also not forget the impact of the political situation. A general overview has already been outlined in the first part of this study. The political influence on a contemporary Scottish identity cannot be denied. Douglas for example points out that “Scottish identity is alive and flourishing and there is a new-found national confidence fuelled, no doubt, by the significant changes in Scotland’s political landscape with the re-establishment of the Scottish parliament after a gap of nearly three centuries” (1). Devolution and the new parliament in Edinburgh have without doubt strengthened a sense of national identity for many Scottish people.

Gregor Gall, a professor at the University of Hertfordshire and expert in trade unions and industrial relations, argues that “Scottish national identity is characterised by, and has come to represent, progressive social values over issues like wealth distribution, public service and social welfare” (161). For him, other versions “of Scottish-ness, such as the Sir Walter Scott or ‘tartan and shortbread view’” are only “conservative construction[s]” of a rural idyll of the past imbued with social deference [...] without much popular purchase” (161).

This also corresponds to his view that the majority of people in Scotland are actually part of the working class (162). Lesley Riddoch believes that “[y]ounger Scots often find the couthy, shortbread-tin Scotland an embarrassment” and refers to the fictional character Renton in Irvine Welsh’s *Trainspotting* for support for her claim (186). Gardiner remarks that Scottishness has strong links to youth, class and social responsibility. He argues that “the young are the most enthusiastic about the new Scottish identity brought by the Parliament, and are increasingly turning their backs on British culture” (141). This also corresponds to a new interest in Gaelic language at the *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig*, a Gaelic university on the island of Skye.

Bender discusses in what ways Scottishness is a state of mind. She argues that

[i]f the geographical border separating Scotland from England on the map has imprinted itself onto the Scottish consciousness and emphasized to Scots that they are indeed a separate people, then the national imagination, as it has looked back at Scotland’s past and found itself captivated by legends, has mapped a unique history and culture back onto the land. (5)

Scotland can therefore, in Benedict Anderson’s terms, be regarded as an imagined community. Scottish people will never meet all their fellow Scots thus the sense of community is limited to the mind. Scottish producer Eddie Dick on the other hand remarks that

[c]learly, the imagined Scotland is not *imaginary* [original emphasis]; what we collectively remember or forget, the geographical space we occupy, the institutions which support and control us – these and many other things operate powerfully on our daily lives to make us what we think we are. The imagining is not an illusion; being Scottish might be a pain or a pleasure but it is *real* [original emphasis]. (9)

For Dick, the notion of Scottishness is not an imagined community as it is visible in everyday experiences. A shared Scottish national identity also “allows individuals to identify with something outside, and greater than, personal experience. It binds individuals into a broader interdependence with others in the nation-building project”.⁷ Having something other than personal experience

⁷ Parekh report 2000, 16. qtd. in Weedon 30.

to identify with is a crucial aspect for many people and thus important for national identity.

Some aspects of Scottish national identity have also been labelled as embarrassing by people within the country. According to MacDougall “[t]he desire to appear sophisticated has distorted our entire culture, altering our native, traditional arts, especially music and song” (11). Edensor also acknowledges that there is a “wider assertion that Scottish popular culture is damned by embarrassing stereotypes” (147). He writes that it “is argued that to achieve a ‘mature’ or ‘modern’ national identity, [...] [the] dismal trappings of Scottishness – kitsch tartan souvenirs, hard men, romantic scenery and whimsical locals – need to be replaced by more ‘contemporary’ representations” (147). He however also acknowledges that the “historical weight of romantic stereotypes around Kailyard, Highland tartanalia, [and] militarism [...] might appear to form a formidable obstacle to attempts to rebuild and reconstitute a ‘progressive’ Scottishness” (168). Modern Scottishness can be described as a mixture of tradition and contemporary aspects as both form integral components of Scottish identity. Traditional and stereotypical aspects are not automatically obstacles for a modern Scottish identity. The capital Edinburgh reveals for example that tradition and modernity can coexist peacefully. On the one hand there is the *Military Tattoo* – a traditional performance including bagpipes, Highland dancing and kilts. On the other hand, there is the *Edinburgh Fringe Festival* which features young artists, indie musicians, alternative dancing, food tastings and a wide range of different performances. Although the events probably target different audiences, some spectators might enjoy both.

Having outlined some general aspects of Scottish identity, it is now time to look at some specific components. The first is history, followed by myth and place.

3.3.2 History

History plays an important role in the construction of Scottish national identity. Edensor points out that the “literature on nationalism and national identity has

been dominated by a focus on the historical origins of the nations” (1). Weedon furthermore remarks that it plays a pivotal role in constructing individual and group identity (28). Kevin Williamson believes that “a popular sense of Scottish identity has existed since the end of the thirteen century”. He adds that “[f]ew nations can make such a bold and ancient claim” (53). Kevin Williamson believes that this distinctive sense of national identity was also influenced by “the Wars of Independence fought against English occupation” (ibid). Eriksen argues that identities, “which embody a perceived continuity with the past, may [...] function in a psychologically reassuring way for the individual in times of upheaval” as they

seem to tell people that [...] there is an unchanging, stable core of ethnic belongingness which assures the individual of a continuity with the past, which can be an important source of self-respect and personal authenticity in the modern world, which is often perceived as a world of flux and make-believe. (68)

Beveridge and Turnbull argue that “if a national culture is to remain alive, its history too must live in some distinctive way and must be perceived as integral to the lives of those who share in it. This helps to define their sense of collective identity” (16). In Scotland history is often romanticised and presented as a glorious past. The Parekh report also states that a “sense of national identity is based on generalisations and involves a selective and simplified account of a complex history”.⁸ A simplified and sometimes even falsified version of Scottish history is for example found in movies like *Braveheart*, *Rob Roy* and *Mary, Queen of Scots*. One should however not forget that “history is open to a variety of interpretations, which may be contested” (Eriksen 75).

Bender remarks that Scotland was forced to look forward after the establishing of the new Parliament. She however argues that “it is nearly impossible to look forward without first looking backward to a historical past, to examine how a national identity has been created and what different ideologies may be present in such a creation” (9). Looking proudly back to a glorious past or in anger to

⁸ Parekh 2000: 16. Qtd. in Weedon, 30.

lost battles and defeat seems to be an important aspect of many nations. Weedon argues that “[h]istory, both in its academic and popular forms, plays a key role in the construction what Benedict Anderson (1991) has termed the ‘imagined community’ that constitutes a nation” (24). In Scotland popular forms of history have however often been falsified or romanticised. Bender believes that the “attention to Scotland’s history [...] seems excessively commercialized, the product of a new tourism in the Scottish Highlands and Islands” (126). McCrone argues that “the search for a ‘truly’ [quotation marks added] Scottish culture is inevitably retrospective and romantic, a celebration of the past, and helps to explain Scottish history’s obsession with what has ended” (1992, 192). Bell remarks that “[f]or some Scottish critics [...], Scottish identity is the product of historical linearity, where contemporary identity is largely dependent upon events of the national past, so that it is consequently possible for Scots to feel an intrinsic connection with their ancestors and historical predecessors” (52). This is of course debatable, but it also highlights the importance of history for a contemporary Scottish identity.

3.3.3 Myth

In relation to history, myths and folk legends also seem to play a vital part in the construction of national identity. While history consists of a record of real events in the past, myth often includes stories that cannot be proven historically. Trevor-Roper remarks that “[a]t different times, and in various places, myth has played an important part in history” (xix). Moreover he argues that myth is especially relevant for Scotland as “the whole history of Scotland has been coloured by myth” (ibid). How can one then connect myth to national identity? Douglas for example points out that “[t]hough some of the myths and legends are somewhat fanciful, that does not appear to prevent them from being used as foci for identity” (18). McCrone on the other hand remarks that “many argue that Scotland is particularly prone to myths and legends about itself, because it lacks the formal political institutions of state autonomy” (1992, 17). He raises the question whether Scotland is “simply something invented by the heritage industry and the Scottish Tourist Board” (1992, 18). McCrone mentions the vast amount of literature on the heritage industry and labels it as an indicator for the

importance of the national past in the present (1992, 31). He makes an important statement when he adds that “Scotland has what we might call a rich myth-history which is often at odds with ‘history’ proper” (McCrone 1992, 19). Andrew MacPherson remarks that there are two crucial aspects to folk stories. Firstly “to celebrate identity and values” and secondly “to describe and explain the world in which these are experienced or sought” (218). Cameron states that the cinema is also involved in creating and exploiting national myths (4). One of the most obvious examples in Scotland is indubitably *Braveheart*. The effects will be briefly discussed in chapter 4.1. Cameron furthermore elaborates his argument and adds: “Myth is inextricably linked with the concept of national identity. Many of the symbols which people seize upon to denote their national allegiance are shared with the people of other nations who do not attribute to them the same significance. Their value is in the mind more than in reality” (4).

McCrone draws on Raymond Williams and states that if “myths are drawn from the past, they are akin to traditions, and like traditions have an active, contemporary significance” (1992, 90). Myths can therefore become recontextualized in our modern society. Smith argues that “[m]yths of national identity typically refer to territory or ancestry (or both)” (viii). Many Scottish myths have their origins in the Highlands (= territory) and also focus on national heroes (= ancestry). McCrone adds that “[e]ssentially, the Scottish myth is not dependent on ‘facts’, because it represents a set of social, self-evident values, a social ethos, a celebration of sacred beliefs about what it is to be Scottish” (1992, 120). He believes that there is a connection between a lack of autonomy and clinging to the essence of mystified imagery of Scotland. So the more it “lacks control, in economic, social and political terms”, the more important the myth becomes (1992, 20). Douglas also believes that myths need an authentic basis. She remarks that “the idea of a historic basis [...] for the nation seems to be integral to Scottish identity, even when ‘history’ is transformed into ‘heritage’” (18). Maley and Neely have an even more critical approach and argue that “Scotland’s past is remembered through souvenirs, not sovereigns” (105). This also highlights Scotland’s often romanticised version of history.

Although myths form an integral part of national identity, there are other, more important aspects to take into account. Edensor makes a key statement when he argues that

the overwhelming focus on myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, religious beliefs, customs and language postulates a reductive view of culture. The huge emphasis placed on the ways in which language, traditions, emblems, festivals and sacred places epitomise continuity offers an overtly historical approach which may well capture the process undergone in some cases, but cannot account for the extremely dynamic and ambiguous contemporary construction of national identity. (9)

Other aspects, like place and popular culture are therefore also included in this paper. Edensor argues that “myth is reinterpreted and recycled, reaffirming old and new meanings about national identity and history” (142). Like national identity, myths should not be treated as static and fixed concepts, but rather as dynamic and open to change.

Calder even argues that Scottish identity is itself a myth. He elaborates on this statement and writes that “[i]t is given substance only in the corporealities of persons who imagine that they have it. There is nothing outside consciousness which is ‘identity’, though Scots may invest their individual identities in Scottish landscape or Scottish football, Scottish poetry and music or Scottish beef cattle” (24). Scottish identity is insofar a myth, as there is not a single national identity all Scots share. Scottish landscape and popular culture are, among other things, capable to foster senses of national identity and people can actively engage in taking on specific identities.

This chapter has shown the importance of myth to Scottish national identity. One of the most prevailing myths in Scotland is most likely the Stuart myth which will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

3.3.3.1 *The Stuart Myth*

The Scottish scholar Murray Pittock believes that the Stuart Myth is a crucial part of Scottish identity and a “prime means” of its definition (1991, 1). The

Stuarts were a Scottish dynasty and were important to the country's development over centuries. Pittock remarks that they were known for their "high ability and noted charm" and that they "seemed unworldly, even through the eyes of many of their contemporaries: mythic figures living in history" (1991, 2). Furthermore he adds that they were mythologized by people after their reign and they believed "it was their manifest destiny to be kings of all Britain" (ibid). Pittock makes an important observation when he connects the loss of Scottish independence with the loss of the Stuarts. He regards it as an "occasion for lasting constitutional change, and the submergence or loss of national identities" (1991, 5). In this sense, the whole Stuart myth is linked, and sometimes even equalled with "a glorious past" (Pittock 1991, 6). As the subchapter on history has shown, the past is an important aspect of Scottish national identity.

The Stuart myth was fostered by a romanticised depiction of their Jacobite supporters. Pittock argues that the "English propaganda image of the Highlander as child-eating savage and lawless bandit was turned on its head by the Jacobite vision of the Highlander as patriot, who alone clung to the heroic standards of the Scotland of Bruce and Wallace" (1991, 63). He later also regards this positive and patriotic depiction of the Highlander as "symptomatic of true Scottishness" (Pittock 1991, 155). In the 20th century "Jacobitism continued to be a talismanic subject in literature, history, and popular culture" (Pittock 1991, 150). Pittock adds that the ongoing use of "Jacobite symbols in commercial contexts showed not only its power in the marketplace, but also the degree to which it had been conflated with the Scottish identity" (ibid).

Writing in 1991, Pittock argues that "[p]opular culture still remains very interested in Jacobitism" (1991, 161). Nowadays the allure of the Stuarts probably goes hand in hand with the boom of the heritage industry, as well as a rediscovered interest in history and symbols of Scottishness. In 2010 the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh featured an exhibition of the Jacobite rebellions. It was free of charge and outlined the important role of the Jacobites for Scottish history. Many visitor centres and souvenir shops in Scotland

furthermore feature books on the Stuarts and the Jacobite rebellions. One cannot neglect the impact the Stuart dynasty has had on Scotland.

3.3.4 Place

The preceding part of this thesis has dealt with the connection between history and national identity and myth and national identity. Now it is time to discuss how national territories can influence a sense of national identity. Edensor points out that “identity is believed to be primarily anchored in national space” (1). This is also emphasised in a modern world of globalisation where “commonly shared things anchor people to place” (Edensor 116). Graf furthermore argues that “[q]uite often, a certain location represents cultural features and determines not only where people are from but also who they are” (14). As has been mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, McCrone stresses the importance of place. He writes that “[c]entral to identity is the sense of place: *where* [original emphasis] is Scotland?” (1992, 17). Just as Englishness is frequently associated with gently rolling hills and an idealized rural image, so the “real” Scotland is said to be “essentially rural” as well (McCrone 1992, 17). In his analysis of the Scottish nation David McCrone raises the question of what Scotland actually is. He first tries to answer it on a very basic level. He states that the country “refers to a geographical place, a territory on a map, a collection of rocks, earth and water, defined by its topography, its climate and natural resources” (1992, 16). Although he elaborates on the physicality of the country, he later remarks that “Scotland is not simply a collection of rocks, earth and water, but a transcendent idea which runs through history, reinterpreting that history to fit the concerns of each present” (1992, 28). Rock, earth and water form particular landscapes, which then become iconic and images of the country. McCrone adds that it “is, as it were, a landscape of the mind, which carries potent resonances for cultural and political action” (1992, 16). These landscapes and images are then captured in literature or movies and marketed by the tourist and heritage industry. According to Cameron’s research “geography and identity are inextricably tied up with each other” (1). Oakland also points out that “Britain’s varied physical characteristics are a source of identification for many people, such as the [...] Highlands of Scotland” (26). The Highlands are Scotland’s most famous

landscape and important for the construction of national identity. Edensor argues that specific landscapes and sites have a “heightened status as markers of national identity” (67). He regards such iconic sites as “highly selective, synecdochal [sic] features which are held to embody specific kinds of characteristics” (45). Edensor furthermore describes such sites to have either a connection to important historical events (celebrating a ‘golden age’) or to symbolize progress and therefore celebrating modern achievements (45). In addition, sites can also show official power. A combination of progress and power display can be found in the Scottish parliament building in Edinburgh, which also functions as an iconic site. Edensor argues that such national spaces need to be “domesticated, replicated in local contexts and to be understood as part of the everyday life” in order to “retain its power” (65). This functions easily if one uses such spaces and places in advertisements – an important aspect of popular culture. More about this will be said in chapter 4.

When one talks about the importance of place for national identity, it not only includes territory in a literal sense, but also the images it holds. Smith argues that it “is the attachments and associations, rather than residence in or possession of the land that matters for ethnic identification. It is where we belong. It is also often a sacred land, the land of our forefathers, our lawgivers, our kings and sages, poets and priests, which makes this our homeland” (23). Michael Billig goes even further and argues that

[i]n this world, no longer is the national territory *the* place from which identities, attachments and patterns of life spring [...]. In place of the bordered, national state, a multiplicity of *terrae* are emerging. [...] Thus, a new sensibility – a new psychology – emerges in global times. (134)

Although globalisation is an important phenomenon in modern society, the homeland and national territory nevertheless remains a key aspect of national identity.

3.3.5 Language

Language is without doubt one of the key essences of national identity. Douglas for example argues that what

marks the majority of Scots is not the (usually non-existent) tartan garb, the wee dram or can of Irn Bru lurking in the sporran, the wriggling haggis under the arm, or even the thrown and dour persona. Rather, what most significantly mark the Scot, in the spoken mode, are the identifiably Scottish accent and the use of Scottish vocabulary and idiom". (21)

She not only describes language as "a powerful factor in Scottish identity" (24) but also regards accent as "probably the most readily recognisable marker of Scottish identity" (22). Language is an important part of national identity and will therefore be dealt with in this chapter.

There are currently three main languages in Scotland, namely Scottish English, Scots and Gaelic. Jane Stuart-Smith, a Scottish linguist and Reader at the University of Glasgow, points out that "Scotland was predominantly Celtic-speaking" before "the Anglian invasions during the seventh century AD" (48). Nowadays Gaelic has the fewest speakers with approximately 70000 native speakers (mostly in the Highland area) (Gardiner 129). Douglas notes that the "linguistic situation is complex" in Scotland (4). Furthermore she remarks that "[p]resent-day *Scottish-English* [original emphasis] is perhaps best thought of as containing a whole spectrum of linguistic varieties which may be regionally and/or socially defined" (33). Its key features are said to be pronunciation, but also vocabulary and idiom (ibid 34). It is important to point out that the term "Scots does not describe a homogeneous linguistic situation, and it can be used to cover a whole range of linguistic varieties" (Douglas 33). Stuart-Smith acknowledges that is difficult to define the term "Scottish English" (48). According to her, it is a "bipolar linguistic continuum, with broad Scots at one end and Scottish Standard English at the other" (48). Many people in Scotland do not fit into a single category of purely Scottish English or Scots speakers. Calder points out that it "is crucial that we establish in everyone's thick head the fact that there is no such thing as a 'pure' Scot, genetically or linguistically" (xiv).

James M. Scobbie, professor of speech science at Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh, et al. make an important observation:

In general, the closely-related varieties of Scottish English can be thought of as being parallel with — but independent from — the other Englishes of the UK, but with their own national focus, however vague that is. The size, proximity and influence of England, as well as population movements mean, however, that historically and synchronically, the Scottish English continuum is attracted towards its English neighbour. (3)

Manfred Görlach, who held a Chair of English Linguistics and Medieval Studies at the University of Cologne, points out that “what makes Scotland possibly a unique field for sociolinguistic investigation is that different kinds of prestige relate to different linguistic norms as expressing local or national identity in a more complex way than in most regions in, say, England” (50). More about the connotations of Scottish varieties will be discussed in a later paragraph.

Language is an everyday aspect and thus of crucial importance. Douglas notes that “Scottish language is not restricted to the tartan realms of Burns Supper and poetry readings; rather it forms a contemporary and significant part of most Scots’ Scottish identity and daily experience” (1). Looking back in history, Scots has often had difficulties. During the Anglicisation Scots was given a pejorative connotation and regarded inferior to Standard English. From then on Standard English was seen as the prestigious language and “the strong links between the Scots language, Scottish culture and national identity were weakened” (Weißberger 62). Douglas points out that “Scots has some status problems. Its low status and its lack of an agreed standard variety inhibit the registers for which it is considered suitable. Indeed, it can be argued that choosing to write in Scots rather than English automatically lowers the register of a text” (63). Douglas furthermore remarks that “[j]ust” as a cartoon of a Scotsman in a kilt can trigger a whole set of associations, so too can certain items of Scots lexis. The stereotypes themselves can act as ‘shorthand’ for Scottishness” (120). An inferior treatment of language can however also lead to protest and to an even stronger sense of one’s own national identity. Kevin Williamson believes that the political situation of the 1990s gave way to a deeper connection between

national identity and language. He regards the right-wing government in Westminster of the time as an imposition with “alien values” that was forced on “Scotland against the will of the Scottish people” (55). During this decade he discovered the “combative empowering role that the Scots language played”:

The various Scots languages took centre stage in what was in effect a clash of cultures, classes, national identities and ideas. Working class writers such as James Kelman and Irvine Welsh wrote in their native tongues, and in doing so provoked the fury of upper-class critics immersed in their London-centric prejudice. We were at war, culturally speaking, as we have been for many centuries now, and Kelman and Welsh were fighting in the front line. (55)

James Kelman is a figurehead of the Scottish vernacular and strongly expressed his attitude at his Booker Prize acceptance speech: “My culture and my language have a right to exist” (qtd. in Kastan 191). In an interview Kelman also remarks: “Language is the culture – if you lose your language you’ve lost your culture, so if you’ve lost the way your family talk, the way your friends talk, then you’ve lost your culture, and you’re divorced from it”.⁹ Besides Kelman and Welsh, Tom Leonard also writes literature in the vernacular. He uses language to reveal power discrepancies between Standard English and the Scottish vernacular. Görlach makes a crucial statement:

The special sociolinguistic characteristic of Scots is the fact that intended norms of correctness and appropriateness [sic] are not always well-defined and that at least some uses of the vernacular cannot be equated with features like ‘uneducated’ or ‘lower class’, but may represent deliberate middle-class choices; this is particularly true of written uses, which may be expressions of nationalism and markers of cultural identity, not usually found in monolingual societies. (50)

This clearly corresponds to Kelman’s, Welsh’s and Leonard’s notion of language. Such kind of literary work can foster a positive attitude towards the Scottish vernacular and Scottish English and therefore also strengthen people’s sense of Scottish identity. Kevin Williamson even regards language to be the key to “understanding our unique sense of Scottish identity” (59). Furthermore he supports Scottish poets and writers for keeping the “language, culture and a sense of identity alive” (ibid). Kevin Williamson points out that “it cannot be

⁹ Edinburgh Review 101. Interviewed by Duncan Maclean 1999 qtd. In Perryman 58

stressed enough how much the modern sense of a Scots identity has been sustained and preserved by poets and writers – and that the Scots language (in all its forms) has been at the heart of this” (61). Görlach argues that Scots “[f]irst and foremost [...] matters to the Scots” (1). He continues his arguments and points out that “[a]lthough the existence of a well-defined linguistic variety, clearly distinct from the most related languages, is not a necessary precondition for national identity, it often emphasises the cultural and political distinctiveness of a group of speakers” (1). Scots is therefore still important for many people in Scotland today. Görlach adds that it “certainly fulfils identificational functions” for its speakers (1). Furthermore Stuart-Smith remarks that “Scots is now [official recognition was given in 1993] counted as a ‘language’ by the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages” (50).

Another interesting aspect of language is the cultural revival of minority languages. Lynn Williams argues that as “soon as they [minority cultures like Scotland in the UK] achieve some level of control over their political destiny, such groups often seek to regenerate their ailing culture by extending knowledge and use of the local language” (13). He furthermore writes that “the role of language in shaping national identity is of crucial importance” (15). McCrone also acknowledges that a growing confidence about Scottish culture and society lead to a language revival (1992, 15). This revival is then celebrated in events like the Doric festival. Stuart-Smith describes Doric as a variety of Northern Scots, particularly spoken in the North East (e.g. Aberdeenshire) (48). The Doric festival takes place every year in autumn and focuses on the Doric language, music and tradition. The choice of language has also become important for many Scottish bands. While some bands like *Arab Strap* or *The Proclaimers* decided to sing in Scots, others have revived the Gaelic language. Scottish Gaelic punk music uses this minority language and thus wants to highlight the cultural importance of the Gaelic language. Bands like *Runrig* started with it in the late 1970ies and were later followed by modern artists like *Oi Polloi* or the Indie band *Na Gathan*. Not all members of Scottish Gaelic bands were brought up with Gaelic. The band *Mill a h-Uile Rud* for example has its origin in the United States, but nevertheless uses Scottish Gaelic. According to Kevin Williamson the band even refuses to give interviews in any other

language than Gaelic (62). Williamson also points out that many bands encourage their fans to learn the language – which is frequently done at a Gaelic college in the Northwest of Scotland (ibid). The Isle of Skye hosts *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig*, a college where all courses are taught in Gaelic. It is one of the thirteen campuses that belongs to the *University of the Highlands and Islands*. The new interest in Gaelic brought many new students to *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* and also revealed that Gaelic is not in decline, but rather in bloom. The Gaelic university, music and festivals help people to strengthen their national identity and thus to experience the value of their own language.

3.3.6 Britishness versus Scottishness

The UK consists of four individual parts: Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland. According to Gardiner “[a]ll Britons have a double allegiance, or a ‘dual nationality’, if we see the UK as a nation” (13). It appears, however, that in all four parts of the United Kingdom Britishness is often inferior to Scottishness, Englishness, Welshness and Northern-Irishness. This means that people in Scotland rather see themselves as Scottish, not British (cf. British Social Attitudes Report 2008 in Thomson 128). Gardiner makes an interesting claim when he argues that British culture is in fact over, “leaving only administrative contexts” (2). He furthermore believes that the “national bonding of Britain is over” as there is no empire that holds it together (3). David Ross argues that Britishness is rather an “outer layer of identity, felt in the mind rather than in the heart” (xii). He points out that the last occurrence of a strong sense of British identity was probably during the Second World War. However even during this time, regional and local identities have often been more important to people (ibid). Oakland argues that Britishness was often connected to imperialism and the country’s colonial power. “But national identities in the four nations of the union persisted and became stronger as Britain’s international standing declined and competing forces arose in the twentieth century” (5). The biggest change in Scotland was probably devolution at the end of the 20th century. Oakland remarks that “[s]uch changes also encouraged fierce debates about the nature of Britishness, individual national identities in the component countries and the future constitutional structure of UK, which are still being

addressed in contemporary Britain” (5). Oakland furthermore argues that the “‘British way of life’ and British identities are determined by how people function within and react, whether positively, negatively or apathetically, to social structures” (9). The attitude towards the United Kingdom in Scotland therefore also plays a pivotal role for the construction of Britishness or Scottishness. Gardiner calls the time after the loss of the empire “Post-Britishness” and argues that it “has left a vacuum in which new national cultures must be negotiated” (4). Calder remarks that

since the dismantling of empire, effectually completed in the 1960s, [...] more and more Scots have detached their ‘Scottishness’ from their ‘Britishness’. However confused common notions about ‘Scottish identity’ may be, we tend more and more to ‘know’ that we [Scottish people] are different and to take pride in that. (169)

As the chapter on national identity has shown, being different and therefore a clear “us” versus “them” divide is an important feature to construct one’s national identity. Cameron argues that “Austrians are fearful of being dominated by the Germans and consider that they constitute a threat to their own national identity” (3). The same can be said about the Scottish and the English. Scottish people therefore need their own identity in order to differentiate themselves from the English. Calder furthermore argues that the “key to Scotland’s story in the last third of the twentieth century was a swelling sense of difference from England” (xi). Lynn Williams adds that the “survival of a [...] Scottish culture provides unequivocal evidence of a residual desire, alive today in some part of the British Isles, to resist the spread of an English cultural identity” (10). David Walker writes in a newspaper article that “[t]o be Scots has meant, crucially once England’s political and economic power was established, defining yourself one way or another as not English. Being not-English has involved varieties of whingeing, the construction of an ersatz Highland identity [...] and beating the English at their own games”.¹⁰ This also corresponds to an earlier observation that identities are often constructed in relation to the other. The term “ersatz Highland identity” was probably also used to emphasise the difference to England. MacDougall argues that the “Highlanders’ language, culture and

¹⁰ The Independent 8 September 1997 qtd. in MacDougall 17-18.

society traditionally separated them from the rest of Scotland” (248). Identifying with this region can also help to set clear boundaries to the rest of the UK, and especially England.

According to Ward the “collective national identity of the British people is weakening fast” (171). Weight furthermore regards that the importance of Scottishness is standing at the expense of Britishness (696). Gardiner argues that today “most Scots do not feel British, but see their own Britishness as an historical accident” (21). McCrone remarks that “[d]espite the overwhelming powers of the southern-dominated British state, the Scots have retained a sufficiently distinct civil society, articulated in assertion of national identity. Being ‘Scottish’ seemed to be more important than being ‘British’” (1992, 23). One also needs to acknowledge that there is no legal differentiation between Scottishness and Britishness as Scottish and English people share the same citizenship (British). Gardiner therefore argues that a “person can never officially ‘become Scottish or English’” and furthermore that one’s Scottishness or Englishness should be treated as a *cultural* [original emphasis] phenomenon (137). As mentioned before, there have however also been more or less strong ties between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain. James Thomson, a Scot, for example, wrote the lyrics of the unofficial national anthem ‘Rule Britannia’ (Calder 167). While a unique Scottish identity seems to be important for many Scots today, one should not forget that there are also a number of overlaps between iconic features of Scottishness and Britishness (e.g. food, charity, tea, weather talk, etc.)

One important aspect to point out is the fact that “the aggregation of states within the United Kingdom did not mean the amalgamation of identities to create a single British identity exclusive of all other identities of place” (Ward 151). Burgoyne and Routh argue that “England has [historically] enjoyed a clearer identity as a nation within the territorial state of the United Kingdom when compared with Scotland” (110). Furthermore Ward writes that “[u]nionism tolerated and celebrated different identities as long as they remained subsidiary to British national identity” (Ward 151). In Scotland, it is often the other way

round: Britishness is inferior to Scottishness as more people consider themselves to be Scottish or mainly Scottish instead of British (Thompson 128). Perhaps Scottishness has also become so important for many people due to the fact that Britishness often equals Englishness. Murray Pittock points out that the “British language is the English language. [...] British television is English television. The British press is the English press. The British crown is the English crown, and the Queen of Britain is the Queen of England” (1999, 11). Elisabeth Jonak argues that Scottish people distinguish sharply between “Scottish” and “British”, while the boundaries between “English” and “British” are rather blurred (85). Ward however remarks that “Britishness has been a simultaneous identity for many, indeed most, people in Wales and Scotland since 1870” (142). Douglas refers to studies that “have consistently shown that whilst there is for many Scots a sense of British identity, there is also generally a strong, perhaps even stronger, sense of Scottish identity” (143). McCrone argues that “[i]f Scots were ‘Scottish’ for certain purposes and ‘British’ for other purposes as John Mackintosh pointed out, they were simply recognising the complex pluralities of modern life” (1992, 194). Burgoyne and Routh remark that “people may be able to ‘customise’ their social identities in many ways and at a variety of different levels” (111). This can of course also happen with national or regional identities.

State, private or social institutions often form an important aspect of national identity. Weedon argues that “‘Britishness’ can be usefully theorized in Foucauldian terms as the product of a specific discursive field in which a number of key institutions play crucial roles. These include, for example, education, the museum and heritage sector, the monarchy, the press and media” (23). Coleman argues that the army, the navy and the colonial empire “have been the most successful embodiments of the United Kingdom identity” (129). All three aspects are nevertheless more connected to, or more important for *Englishness* than Scottishness. The Scottish achievements for the empire have however, Jonak argues, contributed to a sense of nation pride (86). After the loss of empire, the previous achievements seem to play only a minor role.

The paragraphs above have shown that the importance of a British identity has decreased in the last decades. Edensor argues that a “coherent British national identity [...] is no longer possible because national identities are fragmenting” (171). Fragmentation is not so much found in regional and Scottish identities, but rather, as Edensor pointed out, in a coherent British identity and in the United Kingdom itself. While Britishness might be seen as under threat, Scottishness is in full bloom. McCrone makes an important point when he argues that “throughout history Scotland’s survival and identity have been the product of compromise and negotiation. In this respect, its ‘identity’ is not under threat of extinction” (1992, 220). Lynn Williams remarks that the “doctrine that nation and state must coincide has led multicultural states to engage in the construction of a single nation by devising new symbols of collective identity like the flag” (8). Furthermore he argues that minority cultures want to defend their national identity “by seeking political control over their own affairs. In other words some groups wield the political power they have in order to construct a national identity” (ibid). Devolution and the contemporary politics in Scotland are therefore quintessential parts for the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity.

The claim that Scottishness is more important than Britishness for Scottish people was also proven in a national survey. Thomson points out: “According to the British Social Attitudes Report 2008, only 3 per cent of people in Scotland consider themselves to be ‘only’ or ‘mainly’ British, in contrast to the 73 per cent who consider themselves to be ‘only’ or ‘mainly’ Scottish” (129). These results are not astonishing if one takes Paul Wards interpretation into account. He argues that some people “have seen Britishness as some form of economic or cultural imperialism imposed on Scotland, Wales and Ireland/ Northern Ireland by English ruling elites” (3). Furthermore Ward regards such polls as problematic as they are used to “establish that Britishness is in terminal decline” (172). He acknowledges that Britishness is undergoing change and a phase of instability and therefore suggests that such polls could be used to “consider the readjustment of Britishness to a changed situation” (Ward 172). Although weakened over the last decades, Britishness still exists today and functions as an identity marker for some people. Colley believes that Britishness can co-exist

with Scottishness as “[i]dentities are not like hats. Human beings can and do put on several at a time” (6). McCrone also highlights the importance of a “‘pick’n mix’ identity, in which we wear our identities lightly, and change them according to circumstances” (1992, 195). Paul Ward goes along this argument as he mentions that in “many nations, identities are frequently multiple and relatively unproblematic” (4).

According to Ward Britishness “has been a highly adaptive identity in the past” which is neither static nor fixed, “but has fluctuated in meaning as different Britons have made claims upon it” (172). He continues his argument when he writes about “‘new’ Britons” who “shape a national identity that sits comfortably with other identities, of place or memory (even myth) of place, of ethnicity and so on” (172). This also corresponds to modern identity theory, which highlights the multiplicity of identities that can co-exist at the same time. Ward furthermore writes that

Britishness is no longer the unquestioned primary identity of the majority of the British people, as it probably was between the late nineteenth century and the 1970s, but it remains an important part of the population of the United Kingdom’s identities of place at the beginning of the twenty-first century. (173)

Bender believes that the “simultaneous desire and hesitancy to be both Scottish and British, to have a separate Scottish identity yet also remain an inherent and vital part of Great Britain” are important aspects that will “continue to shape the modern Scottish consciousness” (4). With the membership of the European Union this balancing act was also given a third dimension, namely a European identity.

3.3.7 Inferiorisation

The Scottish writers Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull draw on Fanon’s postcolonial concept of inferiorisation and regard it as a vital aspect of Scottish culture. In their essays they question “images and discourses that profoundly affect the ways in which Scots apprehend themselves in their world” (1). They furthermore regard Scottish culture as marginalised and inferior to the English

culture – the culture of the ‘coloniser’ (ibid). They draw on Fanon’s notion that the native doubts “the worth and significance of inherited ways of life” and embraces “the styles and values of the coloniser”. Political control is then secured through “the undermining of the native’s self-belief and the disintegration of local identity” (Beveridge and Turnbull 5). Moreover they argue that some people have a “‘black hole’ view of Scottish culture – the notion that, after the Enlightenment, Scotland ceased to produce important thinkers” (3). They believe that Scotland was often regarded as an “illiberal society” and Scottish people characterised as “natively brutish and vicious” (6). Some people even claimed that Scotland was not a nation (7). This then lead to what Beveridge and Turnbull call the “Scottish inferiority complex” (7). They made a list of binary oppositions which is said to distinguish the Scottish (“dark”, “backward”, “fanatical”) from the English (“enlightened”, “advanced”, “reasonable”) (7). This was obviously influenced by postcolonial studies, where a clear “us versus them” divide was established between the coloniser and the colonised. Edensor also points out that “[a]” sense of home can be threatened by the presence of otherness and in this sense is linked to national constructions of ‘us’ and ‘them’” (61).

Tom Nairn shares some points of view with Beveridge and Turnbull and argues that Scottish people are experts in “self-colonisation” as they “lived with it for three hundred years after the Treaty of Union in 1707” (2004, 29). He furthermore uses rather negative adjectives like “cramped, stagnant, backward-looking” and “parochial” to describe modern Scottishness (1977, 131). His attitude is highly critical. McCrone argues that the “dominant analysis of Scottish culture remains a negative one, based on the thesis that Scotland’s culture is ‘deformed’ and debased by sub-cultural formations such as tartanry and Kailyardism” (1992, 12-13). He also claims that the Scottish past is “deemed to be dominated by negative motifs; it is deformed and distorted” (1992, 174). As an example for such negative motifs, he lists tartanry and Kailyard¹¹ as representatives of “the dominant discourse of Scottish culture” (ibid).

¹¹ Kailyard can be described as a literary style focusing on an idealised rural landscape and often including stock characters.

Nevertheless McCrone acknowledges that “[t]artanry and Kailyard maintain cultural hegemony over Scotland’s sense of itself” (1992, 186). Although both are despised by some people in Scotland, there are also people who appreciate such traditional aspects of Scottish culture.

The Scottish inferiority complex is sometimes also used to describe a Scottish stereotype. Bell draws on Bold who argues that the average Scot is “[c]onditioned to regard himself as a loser and generally contrives to act like one. He is horribly unsure of himself, morbidly afraid of defeat” (11). This stereotype can of course not be taken as a fact. Bell furthermore draws on Gray who suggests that “such stereotypes only perpetuate Scotland’s sense of political inferiority and cannot therefore be beneficial” (11). They nevertheless exist and sometimes it can be difficult to shatter stereotypes rooted in history.

Although Beveridge and Turnbull’s work indubitably shows some important aspects, their rather bleak view of Scottish culture is probably not shared by the majority of Scots today. Calder for example points out that it “is certain that very few Scots in the first decade of the twentieth century would have thought of themselves as ‘colonised’ by the English” (25). He furthermore remarks that only ignorant people could believe that Scotland was colonised and victimized by the English (177). Calder argues that

the idea that Scotland is an ancient nation ‘colonised’ by England, that the English tried to deprive us [Scottish people] of ‘our language’ (Scots, or Gaelic), to brainwash us [...], that we therefore have a natural affinity with the oppressed and wretched of the earth, our fellow victims – this sturdy phantom has potentially very dangerous implications, the chief of which is anti-English racism. (194)

Interestingly, Douglas also argues that “a sense of being the underdog and a minority stateless nation is so central to the Scottish psyche that enhanced political autonomy could damage as well as sustain and build up notions of Scottishness” (145). In Scotland devolution has certainly strengthened the sense of Scottish national identity, but the idea of being the underdog nevertheless still exists.

According to Bender

Scottish writers and historians often point to the Battle of Culloden in 1746 as the moment in which Scotland fails at its final attempt to become an autonomous nation, separate culturally and politically from England. It is this moment in which an English oppressor dominates its national 'other'; it is also the moment through which Scotland colonizes itself and its own internal 'other' as it defines a Scottish identity through a tragic loss. (284)

The tragic loss at Culloden is also said to be the origin of the Scottish 'romance in defeat' myth, which is still visible in contemporary Scotland (cf. chapter 4.4.2.3.). MacDougall even argues that Scottish people have always had a quest to make themselves acceptable, "to appear as urbane and redefined as our neighbours [the English]" and regards this as a "perpetual feature of Scottish life since the Union of 1707" (10). Nowadays it seems however, that a new confidence in being Scottish has emerged and it is more important than dated myths.

In relation to the Scottish inferiority complex, Scottish culture is sometimes characterised as torn. McCrone draws on Nairn, who "characterises Scottish culture as being split, divided, deformed" (1992, 175). Nairn refers to this split as the "Caledonian Antisyzygy" – a term frequently used to describe this bipolar position (150). MacDougall regards this dichotomy at the "heart of Scottish identity" (11). He later argues that this split "is said to manifest in every form of Scottish life, even in the country itself: Glasgow and Edinburgh, Highlands and Lowlands, Gaelic and English, and so on" (22). McCrone goes along the same lines and remarks that "this personality split between the Scottish heart and the British head [...] is perhaps the most common characterisation of Scotland" (1992, 176). He furthermore regards Scottish culture as "schizophrenic; its low culture is a bastard product, partly indigenous and partly maintained by British imperialist mechanism" (1992, 184). The image of the Scottish heart and the British head also reveals that Scotland and Britain are integrally linked and one cannot exist without the other. If one takes a closer look at Scottish national identity, one can also find aspects of Britishness. Although Scottishness is clearly constructed as a distinct identity, one cannot neglect the British

influence. A proof for this claim will also be given in the analytical part of this thesis.

This chapter has revealed that Scottish national identity is a multifaceted phenomenon and influenced by a wide range of aspects. The last subchapter in this section examines the role of symbols and presents two of the most famous ones in Scotland.

3.3.8 Images and symbols of Scottishness

An important part of national identity consists of symbols and what they stand for. This chapter gives a short introduction on national symbols and focuses on selected ones in more detail. Scotland provides a vast amount of different symbols ranging from famous people to places and more mundane aspects like food and architecture. McCrone argues that Scotland indubitably “resonates with a powerful set of images, based on romance, sadness, defeat, hardship, conflict and struggle; there is certainly no shortage of raw materials” (1992, 18). These images have also been adopted in various *Inn Bru* commercials and will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter 4. Images and symbols are generally used to create a feeling of national belonging. Weedon argues that “[n]ational anthems, flags, costumes and holidays, state rituals, national sports teams, pageantry, museums, heritage centres, buildings and monuments all help to create and sustain narratives about who we are and where we have come from” (24). Edensor argues that “images continue to act as a shared resource to underpin national belonging” (139) and can furthermore “trigger a sense of national belonging without any further explanation” (140). They therefore form a crucial part of any national culture and national identity.

National symbols often include stereotypes and clichés and their authenticity is not always easy to prove. In some cases, people however do not seem to care about a realistic depiction. Lynn Williams points out the following:

Although there are many colourful symbols of Scottish identity like the kilt, the bagpipe and whisky, whose association with Scotland is

recognised all over the globe, it has to be said that these are ultimately rather superficial manifestations of cultural separateness and hardly compare with, say, language, which, few would deny, constitutes the bedrock of collective cultural identity. (10-11)

Douglas, a Scottish scholar, also remarks that it “does not ultimately matter whether or not these things to which we cling as making us Scottish are particularly ‘authentic’” (18). MacDougall even argues that symbols can become more important than the actual thing they stand for: “tartan, bagpipes, dogs, kilts, thistles, heather and cattle have come to represent the people and the place, to the extent that we often identify with the symbols rather than the place, feel sentimental about the heather and the tartan rather than the place they represent” (13). Douglas writes that stereotypes, “just like identities, are not necessarily foisted upon people, and then left unchallenged or unaltered. People can choose to engage with the stereotypes, perhaps challenging them, or modifying them for their own purposes” (26). This also corresponds to the dynamic and fluid character of national identity. As people are actively engaged in choosing symbols they identify with, and thus constructing their own sense of national identity, the concept of national identity needs to be flexible and open to change. Just like national identity is neither static nor fixed, so is the meaning of national symbols. Edensor argues that “[i]ndividuals are required constantly to reproduce established symbols in accordance with changing circumstances. This is a dynamic process whereby the identification with such symbols needs to be continually worked upon to safeguard meaning” (6). MacDougall furthermore argues that “[s]ymbols have a high redundancy level, and therefore these symbols have to be repeated, their image stated and restated, their message reinforced for their impact to be made, let alone understood” (13). Only if the symbols are displayed, used and (re-) contextualised their importance for national identity can be maintained. Edensor argues that symbols “are used to establish national(ist) boundaries but are liable to be claimed and employed by other groups. Herein lies the power of such cultural symbols – ideas about their import may be shared, but they can be claimed by a multitude of different identities for various purposes” (26). So the Saltire can for example be used by football fans, the SNP, the heritage industry and by nationalist groups. Although the same object is used, it might convey different

meanings for different people. As people can give meaning to symbols, they can also change the meaning or use entirely different symbols. Edensor remarks that “[o]ld symbols fade into disuse, are reinvigorated, are appropriated by different causes and reinterpreted, and new symbols are invented, claimed and circulated” (170). This involves an active participation which might entirely change the meaning of a symbol and it is thus often difficult to pin down a single meaning for a particular symbol. Symbols can also easily turn into stereotypes. Douglas draws on Corbett (1997,188-9) and argues that “as individuals, we are actively involved in the construction and maintenance of these stereotypes; we can choose to ‘celebrate’ these shared cultural representations, or alternatively we can choose to question, subvert, or deny them, but that ultimately we use them as form of ‘shared culture’” (26).

Interestingly, many Scottish symbols are rooted in history. Bender tries to find an explanation for it: “Because Scotland – a nation enclosed within another, more powerful nation – lacks a national ‘self’, it creates traditions seemingly ancient and rooted in its historic past to create that self (130). Many images of Scottishness seem to derive from the period of Romanticism or have at least been revived during this period. MacDougall argues that during this period (late eighteenth and early nineteenth century) industrialisation and urbanisation were on the rise in Scotland. According to him, these circumstances fostered a reinvention of the Scottish people (8). This era included a longing for a glorious past and romanticised notions of national identity. It is therefore no wonder that certain images, like a dreamscape and mystified area such as the Highlands have become of high interest during this period. Among the images for Scottishness are for example also the kilt, tartan and the bagpipe. Interestingly all of them show strong ties to a specific geographical area, namely the Highlands. They have become representative of the whole country, are therefore synecdoches, and are frequently adopted for tourist campaigns.

If a country has a number of popular and manifested symbols it can be marketed as a brand. This might involve the exploitation of national symbols by the tourist industry. Maley and Neely label Scotland as a brand and argue that

“it is marketed through heroism, landscape, and myth. A sense of being trapped in time, of history as heritage, and geography as tourism, persists” (101). The heritage industry is particularly prevailing in Scotland and many tourists appreciate a romanticised and mystified notion of Scottishness and Scottish history. Symbols and landscapes are therefore adapted and presented as ‘real’ history or the ‘real’ Scotland. Edensor furthermore argues that

[a]lthough things are used in particular spaces of identity they cannot be claimed as pure and authentic articles belonging to particular nations, for they originate, are traded, sources, manufactured, represented and circulated in various locales, and increasingly exist in particular local nodes in complex global networks. (115)

While the Highlands are indubitably a unique Scottish image, other national images, such as the kilt cannot be uniquely pinned down to Scotland. More about the controversy about the kilt can be found in chapter 3.3.3.2.

National symbols can also become a sensitive topic as they are often linked to nationalism. Smith argues that “in many ways national symbols, customs and ceremonies are the most potent and durable aspects of nationalism. They embody its basic concepts, making them visible and distinct for every member” and “evoke instant emotional response from all strata of the community” (77). This is equally true for national identity. Not all symbols of a nation are politically loaded and there is an important division between national consciousness and nationalism. Smith furthermore remarks that national symbols relate to “three main referents: territory, history and community” (78). Two particular symbols, namely the Highlands which refer to territory and the kilt which refers to history, will be discussed in the following subchapter.

3.3.8.1 *The Highlands*

Besides Whisky and Tartan, the Highlands are probably Scotland’s most popular symbol in the world. Moore describes them as the area “of northern Scotland that lies to the north-west of the Highland Boundary Fault, from Dumbarton in the west to Stonehaven in the east” (19). Most parts are rather secluded which adds to the myth about the Highlands. Douglas remarks that

“[a]lthough more than half the geographic area is comprised of the Highlands, less than 10 per cent of the population actually live there” (2). This can be seen in contrast to the Central Lowlands, which comprise 20 per cent of the country but 75 per cent of its population (Oakland 29). Although the Highlands include some scattered townships, they are nevertheless “one of the most sparsely populated areas in Europe” (Moore 19). This was not always the case. Back in 1750, Pittock points out, “more than a third of Scotland’s population lived north of Highland line” (1991, 107). This drastic change of population is mostly due to the Highland Clearances, which took place in the 18th and 19th centuries. MacDougall furthermore argues that

[e]ven now there is something remote about the Highlands of Scotland. [...] They are defined by their position on the edge of our geography, locked in an obscurity that places them at the knuckle end of Europe. The image shimmers in our imagination: snow-capped peaks where wild animals roam, rolling mists and ruined castles, lochs where monsters have been since the days of Columba. [...] It is a place separated by language, custom, and a past which underlies its remoteness. (245)

Looking back in history, the Highlands were often depicted as a wild and savage place. Their remodelling into today’s epitome of Scottishness probably goes back to romanticism. Bjørn argues that “[i]t would take Sir Walter Scott and Queen Victoria in the nineteenth century and music hall balladeers and the tourist industry in the twentieth [century] to recapture the Highlands as the essence of Scottish identity” (134). MacDougall remarks that the Highlands were the perfect landscape for European Romanticism. He continues that it was “a place of fantasy for Goethe, Napoleon, [...] Keats and the Wordsworths, a place that was rendered remote to its very inhabitants, a landscape upon which anything could be written” (245). Ward also remarks that “[r]epresentations of the Highlands became part of the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century”. Furthermore “[r]ural Scotland [...] became a place of the imagination for the pleasure of the leisured elite” (Ward 155). Ward argues that “symbols of the Highlands became bowdlerised but accepted as representative of Scottishness” (155). Nowadays the symbol of the Highlands has become the epitome of Scottishness and one of the main reasons tourists come to Scotland every year. The Highlands are therefore an important aspect for the tourist industry. There are many advertising campaigns featuring the picturesque

scenery of this symbolic landscape. Edensor remarks that it is vital for a nation to advertise its “distinctive charms” in order to compete in a global market (85). The landscape of the Highlands is, beside other attractions, symbolic sites and events, indubitably one of the most crucial aspects and selling points of the Scottish tourist board. According to Edensor the “selling of Scotland abroad tends to rely on stereotyped images such as kilted warriors, Highland scenery and romantic castles” (157). He furthermore points out that Scotland is a “romantic dreamscape tailored by and for metropolitan desires” (157).

As mentioned before, Scotland is often associated with a picturesque Highland scenery. This image however also fosters romantic and often idealized conceptions of the country. MacDougall argues that “the Highland landscape has come to represent Scotland. It has become an important part of a symbolic structure which in itself is so powerful and pernicious that the very suggestion of it conjures up the people and the place” (132). Bender even argues that Scotland is obsessed with national landscapes (15). She believes that “Scottish identity became synonymous with a ‘Highland’ identity” (127). Edensor remarks that the “national landscape ideologies are imagined as enduring spaces, spaces forged over millennia through the sacrifice of blood and toil” and they are therefore “an essential part of national identity from time immemorial” (66). All of these statements highlight the importance of national landscapes and especially the Highlands in Scotland.

The symbolic value of landscapes is of great importance and enables places to turn into synecdoches. Edensor argues that “[i]t is difficult to mention a nation without conjuring up a particular rural landscape” and that “specific landscapes are selective shorthand for these nations, synecdoches [sic] through which they are recognised globally. But they are also loaded with symbolic values and stand for national virtues” (39-40). In Scotland an example for such landscapes is indubitably the area of the Highlands. Edensor characterises such places as “charged with affective and symbolic meaning” and argues that they “are continually recirculated through popular culture. They form the basis of tourist campaigns to foreign visitors, and frequently come under environmental

pressure from large numbers of pilgrims who wish to experience their symbolic power” (40). This is of course cleverly used by the tourist industry which sells Highland memorabilia (e.g. paintings, Photoshop enhanced pictures, etc.) throughout the country.

If one looks back in history, the popular symbol of the Highlands poses a paradox. McCrone points out that the

symbols, myths and tartans of the Highlands of Scotland were appropriated by lowland Scots in a bid to cling on to some distinct culture. The irony was that the part of Scotland which had been reviled as barbarian, backward and savage found itself extolled as the ‘real’ Scotland – land of tartan, kilts, heather. (1992, 17)

He regards this to be the reason why Scotland, as a country, can be described as a “landscape of the mind, a place of the imagination” (1992, 17). McCrone argues that the “Highlands provided many of the images and meanings for Scotland as a whole” (1992, 50). Jackson notes that filmmakers have an affection for the rural Scottish landscape and “the space it allows them to project their particular fantasies and, imaginatively, its ability to allow them to visualise the past” (113). This clearly indicates the powerful set of associations evoked by the Highlands. MacDougall furthermore argues that a “landscape devoid of people has become one of many symbols for the country, while the history, language and culture of that region have come to symbolise the nation as a whole” (247). Although the Highlands were mostly Gaelic-speaking and clan-based two centuries ago (Moore 20), many things have obviously changed. In 2004 the number of the Polish speaking community in Inverness was twice as high as the number of the Gaelic speakers (Moore 23). Modernity and demographic change has found its way into the Highland. Nevertheless the landscape will most certainly remain loaded with tradition, myth and romanticised notions. Another Scottish symbol which can be characterised in a similar way is tartanry, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

3.3.8.2 *Tartanry*

Tartanry is a term to describe a particular group of Scottish symbols including the kilt, tartan and the bagpipe. It often evokes romantic associations of noble Highlanders wearing tartan kilts and therefore epitomizes stereotypical Scottishness. Trevor-Roper argues that the “myth of the ancient Highland dress supplied a distinctive feature by which Scots, and supposed Scots, could identify each other and be identified, at home and across the globe: in other words, it served as a communal integrator” (xxi).

While the Highlands are a uniquely Scottish symbol, the Highland dress, or at least its history cannot be uniquely tied to Scotland. According to Trevor-Roper it did not even exist before the sixteenth century (194). The origin of the famous tartan cloth and its name are also highly controversial. Trevor-Roper suggests that the word has a French origin and was first used in Scotland in the 1530s (195). The Sobieski Stuarts on the other hand believed that the highland dress “was the most ancient dress in Europe” (Trevor-Roper 228). What seems to be proven however, is the fact that the “philibeg, or short kilt [as it is still known today] [...], was a modern innovation, unmentioned [...] und undocumented [...] before 1724” (Trevor-Roper 228).

Ward points out that Hugh Trevor-Roper “has made it known that an English Quaker industrialist invented the kilt in the mid-eighteenth century and that the notion that different clans have distinct tartans can be ascribed to a combination of conmen and commercialism” (155). Trevor-Roper himself is convinced that the English Quaker Thomas Rawlinson invented the kilt in Lancashire (198). The historian therefore regards it as a “purely modern costume” which was bestowed on the Scottish highlanders by an English industrialist “not in order to preserve their traditional way of life, but to ease its transformation: to bring them off the heath and into the factory” (200). Furthermore Trevor-Roper argues that the “indigenous inhabitants of Scotland were trousered, not kilted” (208).

McCrone points out that tartanry is not a popular subject among scholars. He argues that “[t]artanry is never treated as seriously as the Kailyard by Scottish intellectuals; perhaps it is too unspeakable to be worthy of their analysis” (1992, 180). McCrone later remarks that “[t]he kilt and tartan were appropriated by the British army in its colonial wars – quite literally stealing the enemy’s clothes” (1992, 182). According to Trevor-Roper “the apparatus of Celtic tribalism has been assumed, and formalised, by those whose ancestors regarded the Highland dress as the badge of barbarism, and shuddered at the squeal of the bagpipe” (191). After the first Jacobite rebellion was suppressed in 1715, people demanded the ban of the Highland dress (Trevor-Roper 197). According to Trevor-Roper everything connected to the Highlands – dress, customs, etc. – was despised by other Scots before 1745 (192). This year is of crucial importance to Scotland as Prince Charles Stuart, head of the Jacobite rebellion, “led a victorious army into the heart of England” (Trevor-Roper 193) (cf. chapter 2.1.2). The English were threatened and attacked the Scottish troops the following year at Culloden, leading to a devastating defeat for Bonnie Prince Charlie and his army. By 1745, the year of the second Jacobite rebellion, the Highland dress was officially forbidden by the Act of Parliament (Trevor-Roper 198). Wearing the Highland dress could lead to imprisonment, a second offence even to exile (Trevor-Roper 202). This “draconian law” was effective for thirty-five years (ibid). On the one hand the Highland dress in the traditional sense died out during this time. On the other hand, the middle and upper classes “who had previously despised that ‘servile’ costume, now picked [it] up with enthusiasm” and it became fashionable after the ban was lifted (Trevor-Roper 203). The lifting of the ban took place in 1782 as it “has already been confidently incorporated into Britishness” and thus losing its status as a symbol of independence (Gardiner 43). Of course the era of Romanticism and the longing for a glorious past fostered this new appreciation of the Highland dress, which symbolized the contemporary ideals. Trevor-Roper however remarks that the modern tartan was rather a “mere fancy dress” than the “expression of a living Highland society” (228). Jonak points out that Tartan is a symbol of the fight of the Highlanders. She furthermore argues that they did not only fight for their freedom, but also for their own identity and traditions (115). According to Calder tartan “was hardly innocuous when it was the garb of the most ruthless

troops at the disposal of the British empire”, but it “may now seem to be no more than a harmless ‘lifestyle choice’” (164). Nowadays tartan has no political meaning at all and it is distributed and appropriated in every souvenir shop from Hadrian’s Wall to John o’Groats. This is clearly an instance of bricolage. Bricolage, in this sense, means taking something out of its original context, recontextualizing it and therefore changing its meaning (Hebdige 104). The kilt became emptied of its political meaning and appropriated for mainstream society. Bricolage is furthermore often a crucial aspect to subcultural style.¹² Edensor argues that “national identity is [...] likely to be identified in film and television products and styles, in popular music, and in fashion” (141). Tartan fashion is everywhere in Scotland and bought not only by tourists, but also by locals. McCrone et al. remark that tartan “stands for the trivial, the commercial, the deformation of a nation which has lost its way politically” (1995, 56). Gardiner points out that the expansion of the empire fostered the adaptation of signs of Scottish identity (such as tartanry) to a British form (39). Although the original meaning of tartan was changed and the dress appropriated by the former enemy, it is nevertheless likely to remain an identity marker for Scottish people.

Douglas acknowledges that tartan is not deeply rooted in Scottish history. She points out that the “use of tartan as a cultural icon of Scottishness is an interesting one”, as many of the tartans have “little historical basis”, and the kilt can be regarded as a “modern interpretation of the philabeg (large tartan plaid cloth)” (18). According to her “Tartanry, although an extremely successful marketing ploy, has often been heavily criticised, part of the criticism being that Scots are content to accept and put forward debased images of themselves for external consumption” (25-26). Graf argues that “[i]n contrast to non-Scots, Scots, themselves, however, only partly identify with these traditional symbols and their sense of Scottishness often comes to conflict with that encouraged by the tourist industry and that shared by non-Scots” (4). Nevertheless it is also important to outline that not all people in Scotland are critical of tartanry. According to Douglas “[m]any people still choose to get married in kilts, and to

¹² cf. Dick Hebdige – *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, 1995.

have a piper play them down the aisle, with a ceilidh afterwards at the reception” (26). Furthermore kilts can also be frequently spotted at university graduations or football games (especially worn by the “Tartan Army”). MacDougall argues that “[k]ilts have become almost *de rigueur* [original emphasis] at national sporting events, and it is common to see them worn at a number of social occasions” (262). Edensor examines a national survey about positive aspects of the United Kingdom, which was carried out at Marks and Spencer stores throughout Britain. Apparently tartan is also capable of representing positive aspects about Britain for many people in the UK (Edensor 175). Springer, a Scottish journalist, also argues that “[w]e, like no other group of people in Britain, take great pride in showing off our Scottishness. Many welcome the opportunity to wear the family tartan to special events” (Will Springer in *The Scotsman*).

McCrone et al. discuss romanticised notions and stereotypical symbols of Scottishness. They make an important observation:

In asking who we are, the totems and icons of heritage are powerful signifiers of our identity. We may find tartanry, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Mary Queen of the Scots, Bannockburn and Burns false descriptors of who we are, but they provide a source of ready-made distinguishing characteristics from England, our bigger, southern neighbour. (1995, 7)

Significant victories over battles against the English have a lasting effect on the Scottish psyche. The most important one in Scottish history is probably Bannockburn, where the English outnumbered the Scots in 1314 but were nevertheless decisively defeated (Moore 103). Although the symbols mentioned in the quote are often seen as stereotypical, they can nevertheless function as identity markers. Smout also remarks that “for most people, by the mid-twentieth century, being Scottish was mainly a matter of identifying with tartan and bagpipes” (278). The kilt and tartanry can therefore be regarded as a part of contemporary Scottish culture.

Beveridge and Turnbull have a rather negative view of tartan. They regard tartanry as symbols that are not able to criticise society. “They function, instead,

to mystify; they prevent Scots from seeing themselves, their history and social reality with any clarity, and provide comfort and escape and false reason for pride and satisfaction” (13). Beveridge and Turnbull however also point out that the people’s response to tartanry “is not uncritical assimilation, but a complex negotiation dependent on the beliefs and values” (14). The ongoing boom of tartanry could also be treated as either an attempt to reclaim the dress or to indulge in the notion of a romanticised past. Today, Trevor-Roper argues, “the kilt and the tartan are regarded as the traditional dress of historic Scotland: Lowland Scots imagine themselves as members of ‘clans’, and visitors from England are welcomed by the noise of bagpipes” (192). Tartan has become an emblem of Scotland and the kilt is probably one of the most popular souvenirs.

This chapter has shown selected aspects of Scottish identity, but the presented list is in no ways complete. A thorough study of further aspects (e.g. architecture, landmarks, literature, music, social life, etc.) would however go beyond the scope of this paper. It is now time to look at regional identities which can be characterised as a subdivision of national identity.

3.4 Regional identities

A general Scottish national identity can be further subdivided into more local or regional identities. Landscape, local trade and customs, among others, seem to be the basis for this identity. The greatest divide in Scotland is probably between people from the city and people from a more rural area as well as the notorious Lowland and Highland divide. Bender argues that the “sharp division between the Lowlands and Highlands” not only forms “an important geographical boundary separating two different kinds of terrain, but also” represents “an important ideological shift between two groups of people and two opposing cultures” (13). This regional divide is not only apparent in Scotland, but also in other nations.

It is important to highlight that regional or local identities can coexist with numerous other identities and also alongside a national identity. The historian Paul Wards mentions that “regional and other local identities were seen as part of a wider national identity. It seems that, in many cases, local and regional identities provided the building blocks for national identity” (68). Regional identities therefore provide a jigsaw piece to construct and create national identity. Paul Wards makes an important claim when he states that “[i]n the United Kingdom, as elsewhere, identities of place have frequently been multiple, combining allegiance to street, neighbourhood, locality, town, country, region, nation(s) and even a global empire” (4). MacDougall points out that “Scottish identity has always had a very clear, well-established local dimension” (212). Douglas argues that in “addition to having a Scottish national consciousness, most people will also have a distinctive ‘local’ identity” (21). This local or regional identity is shaped and influenced by the town or city people live in. The difference between urban and rural environment can be rather substantial thus creating a different form of regional identity and experienced Scottishness. Douglas remarks that someone “living in Inverness may well have a quite different experience of being Scottish, based on their experience of life in the Highlands, perhaps a more rural Scottishness” (21).

Regional identity shares a number of similarities with national identity. Both of them should not be seen as an essence, but rather as dynamic concepts. Paul Ward mentions that regions “and regional identities are unstable and fluid” (67). Edward Royle, an English historian, also regards region as “not a fixed concept, but a feeling, a sentimental attachment to territory shared by like-minded people” (5). This also corresponds to Benedict Anderson’s concept of imagined communities. According to Ward “national identities are more territorially fixed, and regional identities are more vague and less rigid” in the United Kingdom (67). McCrone argues that “[i]f Scotland is a ‘society’ insofar as it provides a set of meaningful frameworks through which to judge social experiences, we need not deny that there are other levels of association – being a Gael, a Shetlander, a Glaswegian, for example (1992, 26). These levels of associations are a crucial factor for regional identities. Moreover Ward mentions that “regional identities are often seen as being constructed in contrast to the centre” (67).

While this is undoubtedly true for a general Scottish identity in contrast to London or England, regional identities can also emerge *in* and around a centre like Glasgow or Edinburgh and the Lothian area. Paul Ward mentions that by “the beginning of the twentieth century, four out of five Britons lived in towns” (54). This already indicates that regional identities in Scotland are often linked to urban spaces.

When it comes to Britishness, it is often associated it with images of rural Southern England. Paul Ward however argues that the “focus on England is perhaps the most significant problem in a United Kingdom where most rural spaces actually lie in Scotland, Wales and Ireland” (54). Paul Ward furthermore mentions the connection between urban life and “national ill health”:

Since the uncontrolled urban growth of the nineteenth century, towns and cities have been associated with crime, poverty, anonymity, unsanitary conditions and immigration, all issues blamed for corrupting a wholesome sense of national identity. The other side of this negative view of towns and cities has been a celebration of the countryside. (55)

Ward continues his argument and mentions that “there is a huge swathe of English (and British) culture devoted to celebrating the countryside as the true depository of national character and identity” (56). According to him “it has been possible for non-English Britons to celebrate similar versions of national identity by referring to both the English and the non-English countryside” (56). While many Scots probably do not regard the gently rolling hills of Southern England of emblems of their national identity, they certainly draw a connection between Scottish landscapes like the Highlands and Scottishness. Ward also writes about the “apparent British obsession with the countryside” and adds that “the meanings attached to the countryside by different groups were varied and contested” (58). Ward later mentions that in a “British context [...] it is fair to say that the urban as well as the rural has been celebrated as contributing to national identity”. He therefore concludes that national identity has “been constructed from a combination of both rural and urban Britain” (66). The same can be said about Scottish national identity. Depending on the area people were brought up, live or wish to identify with, particular regions, places and cities function as identity markers.

Many Scottish city dwellers enjoy living in urbanised regions and choose urban spaces as identity markers. Cities provide many positive aspects and often a variety of cultural attractions as well as job and leisure opportunities. According to Ward “architectural historians” regarded “post-war tower blocks” as “municipal pride” in Glasgow (65). Glasgow is also an example how landscape influences regional identity. Moore argues that “Glasgow made the Clyde, and the Clyde made Glasgow” (10). This not only manifests itself in the planning of the city, but also in the mentality. Besides Glasgow, a strong urban regional identity can also be found in Edinburgh and Aberdeen. “Of all the places where local identity was secure”, MacDougall argues, “many felt Aberdeen, with its distinctive speech and locally based industries, dependent on the land and sea, was the most singular in Scotland” (222). In more secluded parts of Scotland, like the Highlands and islands, one can also discern a more rural regional identity.

Regional identities form an integral part of modern Scottish life. Ward sums up his point about regional identities:

Regional identities are [...] like national identities. They are problematic and varied. They entail the divisions that seem to fragment identities of place, but their fluidity has enabled them to survive the process of modernisation and the development of communication. Ultimately, they complement the nation, allowing Britishness to emerge from an apparent diversity of regional identities in which often the same (national) values are validated. (72)

The fluid character of regional identities shows that in order to exist, they need to be flexible. Regional identities are thus actively constructed *by*, and not imposed *on* people. Regional identities seem to form an integral part for many Scots and are thus far from becoming extinct. According to MacDougall

Scotland’s extremities have never had a problem of identity: the Highlands largely because of language, and the Borders because of their past. The problem of identity is national rather than local, a problem of imagination rather than substance. Few Scots doubt their nationality. The problem lies in the manifestation of that nationality. (82)

This chapter has examined another important aspect of Scottishness, namely regional identities. The focus was put on previous studies and a theoretical background. The next chapter highlights the dynamic and active aspect of national identity and shows that it can also be performed.

3.5 Performance of national identity

Although the performance of national identity might not be a frequent research topic, it is nevertheless a crucial aspect. Edensor argues that “[p]erformance is a useful metaphor since it allows us to look at the ways in which identities are enacted and reproduced, informing and (re)constructing a sense of collectivity. The notion of performance also foregrounds identity as dynamic; as always in the process of production” (69). He furthermore regards performance, like identity, as an “interactive and contingent process” (99). While there are also instances of performed national identity in the everyday life, Edensor regards the most recognisable way of it in “national(ist) ceremonies with which we are familiar, the grand, often stately occasions when the nation and its symbolic attributes are elevated in public display” (72). Cameron remarks that “[n]ational identity has a wide variety of facets and it is interesting to observe how some countries become associated with certain activities – [...] flamenco dancing in Spain, beer drinking in Britain, cycle races in France” (3). In Scotland such stereotypical activities are for example Whisky drinking, playing the bagpipe, Ceilidh dancing or tossing the caber. On a wider scale, such activities are also found at bigger national events. An example of this in Scotland is the *Edinburgh Tattoo*, which takes place every year during the summer months. It is a performance of traditional Scottish music (bagpipes), mini dramas and Highland dances (Ceilidh). Dance, Edensor argues, “is a form of popular embodied performance, where particular styles are believed to embody national characteristics” (81). The festival is not only a tourist hotspot, but also visited by locals. Edensor argues that the “transmission of national identity and ideology is typically achieved through these grandiloquent pageants which through their solemn and precise formations of movement are laden with high production values” (74). He furthermore gives another Scottish example, namely the

invented ceremony of the Knights Templar at Bannockburn near Stirling (75). According to Edensor such “grand rituals have promoted the selling of nostalgia” (77). This selling not only takes place in the actual ticket sale, but also in the selling of souvenirs and memorabilia. This can be proven if one looks at the sales booths around the castle during the time of the *Edinburgh Tattoo*. One can not only purchase tartan pens and tartan umbrellas, but also CDs or DVDs of last year’s show. One however needs to be careful when visiting such events. Edensor points out that there are “frequently tensions between the effects of staged national identity for outsiders - for tourists, business travellers or audiences consuming a media product far away – and the reception and performance of the same festive elements amongst participants and national consumers” (880). Another example of the performance of Scottish national identity is the *Irn Bru Can Clan*, which will be discussed in chapter 4.4.5.

It is also important to outline that “many of the large-scale commemorations that celebrate national identity are increasingly being performed on a global stage” (Edensor 76). Support for this argument is provided by the Burns celebrations in January every year. Calder argues that the Burns Supper “in Sydney, San Francisco, Buenos Aires, Calcutta and elsewhere was a strenuous attempt to assert a universally-standard Scottishness in a variety of more or less alien environments” (95). MacDougall remarks that the celebration of Burns birthday is equal to the celebration of a national holiday – an instance quite unique in the world (110). This is probably due to the fact that “his work has been used as a source of national identity and pride” (MacDougall 111). Other examples are the Tartan Army at sports events (cf. chapter 3.5.1) and various bagpipe or Ceilidh performances. Furthermore Edensor argues that “the most powerful form of popular national performance is that found in sport, progressively more a global spectacle” (78). He points out that “[t]hese everyday and spectacular contexts provide one of the most popular ways in which national identity is grounded” (78). Taking part in such events might also foster a feeling of community as large groups of spectators visit performances at the same time.

Edensor concludes in writing that the “totality of these performances of national identity still sustains a common sense understanding that the nation is important and central to belonging, and provides a practical orientation to the nation as the contextualising field which bounds these actions” (102). Douglas remarks that we “‘perform’ identities to claim membership of particular social groups” (14). In taking part in particular events and performances (either as spectators or performers), one also actively chooses to engage in his or her own national identity. One group which frequently performs its national identity is the Tartan Army, which will be looked at in the subsequent chapter.

3.5.1 Tartan Army

The Tartan Army can be described as a group of Scottish football fans who use Scottish symbols and clothes like the kilt when supporting their national team at sporting events. Paul Ward thinks that “supporters of Scotland visualised themselves as an invading army” (80). Although the Tartan Army might appear to be a rather recent phenomenon, its origin goes back to the first half of the previous century. “By the 1930s tens of thousands of Scottish supporters, the vast majority working class, descended on London with their own symbols of national identity, tartan, bagpipes and banners of Wallace and Bruce” (Ward 78). William Wallace and Robert the Bruce are both national heroes and have become icons of Scottish national identity. Ward argues that “the pleasure aspect of a weekend away might override those of national identity, but the alcohol-induced pleasure became part of the legend of Scottishness” (79). Douglas also remarks that “[n]ational identity often seems to surface at national football” (19). This is clearly the case for the Tartan Army.

Football is grounded in the everyday, but important games are often played in front of bigger audiences. Eriksen argues that “the nation is not just reproduced through state social engineering and major upheavals such as war, but also through everyday practices. For one thing, sport is a ubiquitous [sic] presence in most contemporary societies, and it often has a nationalist focus” (101). Eriksen adds that “[s]pectator sports are in most countries male dominated, and bring out a rich symbolism which has so far not been properly analysed in

relationship to nationalism, violence and sexuality” (172). The Tartan Army is also male dominated and frequently engages in the use of Scottish symbolism. According to Paul Ward “[s]pectator sports have had a central place in popular culture since the late nineteenth century. They have reinforced overarching national identities, but have also encouraged division through support for the individual nations of the United Kingdom” (73). This becomes especially apparent when Scotland plays England. Ward mentions that “watching (and playing) sports involved identifying with a range of identities associated with place, whether of the street, town, county, region or nation” (74). Moreover he claims that the situation in the UK is a slightly difficult one as the “relationship between sport and nation has been complicated in Britain by the multi-national nature of the United Kingdom” (76). Ward argues that sport has been of importance for identity construction for the Scottish people, particularly in “defining their differences from England” (77).

Football is often associated with cities. According to Ward “the major sporting identity in Scotland emerged [...] in towns and cities rather than in the countryside. Urban Scotland took up football with a passion” (78). An example for this is Glasgow, which has two major league teams. Ward claims that “[m]ass spectator sports in an urban context generated strong town identities” (81), which also gave way to great rivalries between the different teams. When it comes to Scotland, the greatest rivalry interestingly exists between two teams of the same city: Glasgow Celtics and Glasgow Rangers. Paul Ward also mentions that this “emerged in the association of some teams with Catholicism and others with Protestantism” (81). Members of the Tartan Army however manage to lay their internal differences (Celtics and Rangers Fans) aside to support their country at international sporting events. This is also indicated in a scene of *Irn Bru's If* advertisement (cf. Chapter 4.4.2.2).

The Tartan Army might appear as a horde of savages or a group of football enthusiasts – depending on one’s point of view. Bell and Miller argue that the “image of Scottishness as raw physicality has an effect on more than just Scottish popular and folk culture” (14). Kevin Williamson describes the Tartan

Army as the “unofficial sporting ambassadors for Scotland [...] whose presence was welcomed in whatever city or country they travelled to” (57). Riddoch furthermore regards the Tartan Army to be “the world’s best-behaved football supporters” (183). This indicates that the image of the Tartan army is often rather positive. Members might actively strengthen and perform their national identity at sporting events. Further links between national identity and aspects of popular culture will be discussed in the following chapter.

4. Popular culture and national identity

The previous section has thoroughly discussed the subject of national identity and its influences. Although extensive research has been carried out, scholars have often not treated the high potential and influence of popular culture in much detail. Edensor for example points out that many studies on national identity have neglected the influence of popular culture (2). He highlights the importance of taking popular culture into account and argues that “[t]raditional’ cultural forms and practices of the nation are supplemented, and increasingly replaced in their affective power, by meanings, images and activities drawn from popular culture” (12). Furthermore he remarks that the power of traditional aspects is “now largely sustained by their (re)distribution through popular culture, where they mingle with innumerable other iconic cultural elements which signify the nation in multiple and contested ways” (12). He continues his argument by noting that traces of national identity can be found in various forms of popular culture like movies, pop music, advertisements and many more (Edensor 13). The influence on advertisements will be discussed in the last part of this thesis. Throughout his work, Edensor highlights the dynamic character of national identity and popular culture. He argues that the term ‘popular’ shows “how the cultural ingredients of national identity are increasingly mediated, polysemic, contested and subject to change” (17). He adds that

[c]ulture is not fixed but negotiated, the subject of dialogue and creativity, influenced by the contexts in which it is produced and used. A sense of national identity then is not a once and for all thing, but is dynamic and dialogic, found in the constellations of a huge cultural matrix of images, ideas, spaces, things, discourses and practices. (17)

Lesley Riddoch also mentions that there is “no question that TV, film, music, books and football have modernised the appeal of being Scottish in Britain” (183). Popular culture is therefore capable of influencing notions of national identity and how people feel about their own country. Beveridge and Turnbull argue that for some people “Scottish popular culture can be exhaustingly described in terms of drink, football, tartanry and religion” (12). Furthermore they add that the “[i]nterest in Scottish popular culture has focused in the past

few years on tartanry and its role in national consciousness” (12). Beveridge and Turnbull obviously have a rather negative view of Scottish popular culture – something they have in common with Tom Nairn. The latter is very critical of romanticised notions of Scottishness and especially of tartanry. He describes it as “mindless” and “revolving in timeless circles” (2003, 151). Beveridge and Turnbull as well as Nairn however fail to understand that Scottish popular culture consists of much more than tartanry, football and drink. Scotland offers a vibrant and modern popular culture with a variety of national movies, music, theatres, art exhibitions, advertisements, literatures and much more.

Another interesting topic is the connection of popular culture and politics. In Scotland the SNP has frequently drawn on images of popular culture. According to Smith nationalism is also the leading force in creating national identity (71). Ward argues that the “resurgence of political nationalism has been accompanied by a cultural renaissance in Scotland [...] that has found its way into popular culture” (156). He points out, however, that the Scottish renaissance “has not always straightforwardly embraced a sense of national identity”. As an example for a negative attitude towards Scottishness he mentions Renton, a character from Irvine Welsh’s *Trainspotting* (156). A more positive attitude of Scottishness is conveyed in the movie *Braveheart*, which will be briefly discussed in the next chapter.

4.1 The Braveheart effect

As many academics from different fields have already focused on the movie *Braveheart* this section will be rather short. The cultural importance of the movie and its influence cannot be neglected and are still visible in contemporary Scotland and elsewhere. Kevin Williamson remarks that “[b]efore *Braveheart* Scottish history had been marginalised and devalued in our educational system to the point of near invisibility. Such is the nature of colonisation” (58). The movie established William Wallace as a “Scottish folk hero [...] and a potent symbol of freedom and Scottish independence (58). Jackson also mentions that the SNP drew on the movie for their 1997 election campaign and “again in 1999

in the run-up to the Scottish Parliament elections” (111). Edensor remarks that the SNP “was quick to exploit the metaphorical possibilities it [the movie] offered” (150). Calder mentions that the party used the movie for “propaganda purposes” (34). Jackson moreover describes the Braveheart effect as an “increased interest in Scotland and an accompanying increase in sympathy for Scottish nationalism and the independence agenda” (111). An anti-English attitude and more dominantly a support for Scottish independence was on the rise in Scotland and later also visible in the election polls.

The movie can be regarded as “an iconic representation of Scottishness” that “capitalises on popular myth” (Edensor 144). Edensor argues that the emergence of Braveheart (1995) was at a “crucial time for the reconstitution of Scottish identity, in a period which has seen the establishment of a Scottish parliament” (145). The Scottish parliament was opened four years after the movie was released, but Braveheart was nevertheless likely to have motivated people taking part in the devolution referendum and voting for a devolved parliament. Edensor describes the Braveheart effect as “contributing to this renewed national awareness” (145). It was highly popular in Scotland and drew “28 per cent of the national audience (its usual share of the British market averaging 8 per cent)” to the cinema (Edensor 146). This indicates that there was a strong interest in (a Hollywood depiction of) Scottish history.

There was also extensive criticism against the movie. Richards, for example, regards Braveheart as “a contrived one-dimensional and schematic distortion of the known facts of life of the thirteenth century Scots patriot William Wallace” (185). Edensor argues that “[w]idespread concern was directed towards the growing nexus between the heritage industry and the media” (153). He furthermore notes that the movie has “reinforced archaic, negative versions of Scottishness” (168). Although the opinions about the movie are highly controversial in and outside Scotland, one cannot neglect its considerable impact on notions of national identity, popular culture and also politics.

4.2 Scottish Newspapers

Although the topic of newspaper might seem as an apparent digression from the main topic, it will be useful for the analysis of *Irn Bru* advertisements. Fiona M. Douglas has written an in-depth study about the connection of Scottish newspaper and national identity (2009). She argues that Scottish newspapers have the power to foster national identity as they “have a powerful and ‘exclusive’ relationship with their readers based largely on a sense of shared Scottish community and national consciousness” (52). A detailed analysis of her work and a more thorough study of Scottish newspapers would go well beyond the scope of this paper. Although Scottish newspapers and Scottish advertisements might not share many similarities, some parallels can be found and will be discussed later on in this chapter. As mentioned before, many of Douglas’ findings will be helpful to analyse the *Irn Bru* advertisements in the next section.

Newspapers are an important part of popular culture as many people read them on a daily basis. McCrone for example argues that “[a]long with the law, the Church, education and banking, the media can be ranked as a key civil institution in Scotland which reinforces national identity” (2001, 44-5). Benedict Anderson also acknowledges the importance of the newspaper for national identity and remarks that it provides “the technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the *kind* [original emphasis] of imagined community that is the nation” (25). He adds that a “source of imagined linkage lies in the relationship between the newspaper, as a form of book, and the market” (33). Douglas points out that it “appears the UK newspaper titles are increasingly realising that, in order to appeal to a Scottish readership, they have to market themselves as Scottish” (153). This is also important for *Irn Bru*, as the analysis in chapter 4.5 will show. First, however, it is important to introduce the field of advertising in order to gain helpful background knowledge for the analysis.

4.3 Advertising

This chapter wants to introduce some key elements of advertising. The focus is put on those aspects which are relevant for the applied part in the last chapters of the thesis. Advertisements have become an integral part of modern life. They seem to be everywhere and hard to escape from. Cook points out that advertisements have “a clearer purpose than literature – to sell” (155). They can therefore be described as a distinctive genre which has one main function: “to persuade people to buy a particular product” (Cook 10). Other sub-functions may be to “amuse, inform, misinform, worry or warn” and they are often “in the service of the main function which is usually to sell” (ibid). Judith Williamson points out that there is another function, namely the creation of “structures of meaning” (12). She argues that even the main function, to sell products, “involves a meaning process. Advertisements must take into account not only the inherent qualities and attributes of the products they are trying to sell, but also the way in which they can make those properties *mean something to us* [original emphasis] (12).” This meaning is of crucial importance as it might enable people to buy a particular product. Judith Williamson furthermore remarks that a viewer of an advertisement “is not a simple receiver but a creator of meaning” (41). She points out that “[i]mages, ideas or feelings [...] become attached to certain products, by being transferred from signs out of other systems (things or people with ‘images’) *to* [original emphasis] the product, rather than originating in them” (30). Advertisements therefore offer a way to connect objects with distinctive moods and feelings and thus enable viewers to relate to them. Judith Williamson adds that “a product and an image/ emotion become linked in our minds, while the process of this linking is unconscious” (30). Achieving this unconscious process of linking a product with a positive mood or emotion can be regarded as one of the main goals of advertisers. This link can then influence people not only to have a positive attitude towards a brand, but also to ultimately buy a specific product. Judith Williamson furthermore adds that advertisements “are one of the most important cultural factors moulding and reflecting our life today” (11). People in our contemporary society often identify with consumer goods, no matter if they are cars, perfumes or fizzy drinks. Every product has the potential to function as an identity marker.

Clever marketing and advertising can create a certain image for a product. Judith Williamson remarks that

[w]e feel a need to belong, to have a social 'place'; it can be hard to find. Instead we may be given an imaginary one. All of us have a genuine need for a social being, a common culture. The mass media provide this to some extent and can (potentially) fulfil a positive function in our lives. (13)

Advertisers are very aware of people's needs and desires. Furthermore they are also experts in creating and evoking desires that probably have not been there before (e.g. a particular perfume to feel feminine and attractive, a particular and often overpriced car to feel masculine and superior, etc.).

Whether people like it or not, advertisements have a major impact on many people's lives. Being exposed to them on a daily basis (TV, internet, subway, radio, newspaper, etc.) certainly leaves its traces. Often with a positive side effect, as Cook argues:

Ads use fictions, word play, compressed story-telling, stylized action, photography, cartoons, puns and rhythms in ways which are often memorable, enjoyable and amusing. [...] The words and details of ads often come to people's minds more readily than those of novels and poems and plays, and they are often recalled with more laughter and enthusiasm. (3)

This also corresponds to an earlier observation, which showed that popular culture influences people's life. Cook points out that the "words of advertisement are not viewed in isolation, however, but in complex interaction with music and pictures, other texts around them, and the people who make and experience them" (i). He therefore draws on discourse analysis as it provides a holistic way to make sense of language and context in advertisements (4). This approach seems to be rather fruitful. One key element of advertising is also paralinguistics – "a term which also embraces other meaningful behaviour which accompanies language but does not carry it, such as gesturing, facial expression, body posture, eye contact, or the way writing is bound or displayed" (Cook 64). Paralinguistics will also provide a helpful theoretical framework for the analysis of advertisements in chapter 4.5.

In another major study Tanaka reviews semiotic approaches to the analysis of advertisements. She argues that Barth's "denotation-connotation distinction is not clear-cut, at either the linguistic or the iconic level, because perceptual information is not independent of cultural knowledge" (2). Cultural knowledge is however vital in order to be able to decode and make sense of advertisements. Graf furthermore remarks that "[i]t is a common view among cultural analysts that images are not directly presented to us, but have to be critically analysed in order to make meaning" (3). This may seem self-evident, but it is still important to keep in mind. Tanaka points out that "understanding advertisements is not merely a matter of decoding, and that the interpretation of advertisements is best approached from a pragmatic point of view" (12). Pragmatics can be described as the study of "'speaker meaning' and how more is communicated than is said" (Yule 248). Receivers of advertisements therefore have to draw on their knowledge of presupposition, inference, context and deixis, among others, to make sense of what they see. This approach will also be taken into account for the close analysis of *Irn Bru* advertisements.

Cook writes about the narrow angle of analysis within the field. He argues that "[r]esearch within the advertising business often concentrates solely upon receivers of ads, endlessly debating how best to divide them" (5). This shows a very limited approach as ads often lend themselves to more thorough and multi-layered analysis. One of the reasons for this is the fact that an "ad is an interaction of elements" and furthermore it is not "a tangible or stable entity; it is the dynamic synthesis of many components, and comes into being through them" (Cook 5-6). This dynamic character has to be taken into account when analysing advertisements. Among the important elements are pictures and music. According to Cook, there are many advertisements in which these two "are the essence of communication: creating mood, imparting information, persuading and making claims so strongly that, if language features at all [...] [,] it is often only in a peripheral or auxiliary way" (42). A picture can often say more than words as it is capable of immediately evoking emotions and a certain mood. Advertising is all about creating a certain mood and evoking positive images and emotions. Judith Williamson furthermore argues that "[i]t is the images we see in ads which give them significance, which transfer their

significance to the product” (175). The analysis of featured pictures and settings in an advertisement is therefore of crucial importance.

Although pictures indubitably play an important role, the text itself should not be neglected. Much emphasis is put on choosing the perfect words for an advertisement. Cook points out that “[t]he words in contemporary ads are always carefully scripted and subjected to so much scrutiny and rewriting that in this respect they stand comparison with the drafting of laws or poetry” (80). Tanaka argues that the “thoughts which are communicated by advertisements seem to be as richly structured as the sentences used to communicate them” (4). Although language itself is not as easily capable of creating a certain mood as pictures, it is nevertheless an important feature of advertisements. Cook argues that the discourse of advertising “is largely emotive, conative and phatic, using language to establish identity and differentiate that identity from others” (150). The establishment of a distinctive brand identity is often done via language. It can furthermore be seen as a transmitter, giving either a rather straight-forward or a more coded message. Sometimes wordplays, puns or poems are used as well. More about these genres in advertisements will be discussed in relation to *Irre Bru* in the analytical part of this thesis.

To conclude this chapter one should keep in mind that advertising is a versatile genre and an integral part of today’s popular culture. Cook argues that “advertising is not a remote and specialized discourse, but a prominent genre in contemporary society, of which people have vast and daily experience”. Therefore “reactions to it are correspondingly complex, experienced and sophisticated” (Cook 203). Some of the reactions to *Irre Bru* advertisements will be taken into account in the next chapter. Advertising is clearly different than other literary genres. Cook moreover argues that “[b]ecause of its relative novelty, and its ambiguity and instability as a genre, advertising causes problems, and has often been read by conventions imported from other situations and genres” (202). While this is true, it can sometimes be useful to draw on existing theory from other genres when analysing advertisements. Nevertheless one should always keep in mind that advertisements are a

distinctive and creative genre, which deserve a unique approach for an analysis.

The next chapter briefly introduces the brand *Irn Bru* in order to gain vital background knowledge for the following analysis of their advertisements.

4.4 Irn Bru

Irn Bru is a Scottish soft drink produced by the company A.G. Barr p.l.c.. The company has a long history as it was already founded in 1875 (Barr and Jephcott 2). In 1898 a new factory complex was built in Parkhead, Glasgow, which is still the site of today's head office (Barr and Jephcott 6, 88). The brand is therefore linked to Glasgow and the drink was also said to be frequently consumed by the city's working class population shortly after its invention. *Irn Bru* is just one of Barr's soft drinks but it has probably become its most popular brand over the years. It was invented in 1901 and given the name *Iron Brew* (Barr and Jephcott 9). In 1946 the company was forced to change the brand's name (*Iron Brew*) due to new food labelling regulations. The new spelling (*Irn Bru*) was simply the "phonetic equivalent" of the old one in a Scottish accent (Barr and Jephcott 29). *Irn Bru* can be regarded as an iconic brand. Libby Brooks from *The Guardian* even writes that *Irn Bru*'s "place in the national psyche is inestimable" (online article). Jonathan Trew regards *Irn Bru* as an "iconic Scottish drink", that can be seen as "whisky's only real rival" due "to some very adroit marketing" (*The Scotsman*). The Scottish Tourist board furthermore describes *Irn Bru* as having

a leading place in Scotland where it is a part of everyday life. It is seen by many as part of the culture of the Scottish nation - and is known as 'Scotland's Other National Drink'. In 2011 over 200m litres of IRN-BRU were sold - the equivalent of 10 cans for every person in the UK. (*Visit Scotland* homepage)

In this sense *Irn Bru* is an important part of what Benedict Anderson describes as an imagined community. Scottish people assume that fellow Scots also appreciate the drink and are aware of its cultural importance. In buying *Irn Bru* and therefore actively supporting the revenue of the company, the success of

the brand is built. An end to this success is not in sight. In early 2012 the BBC reported a considerable increase in turnover (6,6%) and revenue (16,4%) for 2011 (BBC online article). The drink has furthermore also entered the realm of politics as Alex Salmond, head of the SNP, was said to help protect *Irn Bru* “from the potential depredations of the European Union” (Brian Taylor, BBC online). All this shows that the brand has become interwoven with, and an important part of Scottish everyday life.

The formula of the drink has remained a secret for more than a hundred years. Only Robin Barr, a heir of the Barr dynasty, and his daughter are said to know the ingredients. Furthermore the written version of the secret formula is “kept in a bank vault for safe keeping” (Barr and Jephcott 67). Nowadays the drink is imported into many countries around the globe and Barr has even granted a Russian company the licence to produce and sell *Irn Bru* (Barr and Jephcott 70). One of the key features of the brand’s success is indubitably its clever marketing which will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.4.1 Irn Bru and advertising

Over the years *Irn Bru* has drawn repeatedly on symbols of Scottishness in their marketing campaigns. The early advertising history of the brand reveals that symbols related to Scottishness were less frequently exploited than nowadays. At the beginning of the 19th century the brand was related to sports and hard work and the drink was characterised as “invigorating”, “strengthening” and “sustaining” in advertisements (Barr and Jephcott 13). The first bottle in 1901 featured a picture of “Adam Brown, a famous highland athlete” on the packaging (Barr and Jephcott 9). It seems like images related to Scotland have accompanied the brand’s look and advertising right from the start. Interestingly, already in 1922, the highland athlete was replaced by a picture of a Cambridge rower (Barr and Jephcott 18). This was probably done to attract a broader audience to the product. Nevertheless, *Irn Bru* has been established as a distinctive Scottish brand for many years. In 1969 a new label design showed a tartan pattern in the back and described the product as “the genuine Scottish Iron-Brew” (Barr and Jephcott 39). This particular label was however only used

for the English market (ibid). During the 70's, 80's and 90's of the last decade *Irn Bru* established itself as the bestselling soft drink brand in Scotland and today it is "the No.1 independent soft drinks business in the UK" (Barr and Jephcott 2). Libby Brooks remarks that *Irn Bru* "has consistently outsold Coke in Scotland" and it is the "third best-selling soft drink in the UK" (*The Guardian* online article). Moore names a "tradition of clever advertising" as the reason for the company's success in Scotland (150). Barr was active in the process of constructing national identity in connection to their brand – a marketing strategy that has proven to be very successful in Scotland.

In 1972 the *Irn Bru* can was introduced and featured the slogan "Scotland's national soft drink" thus emphasising the connection to the country it was produced in (Barr and Jephcott 41). During the 1970s *Irn Bru* advertising featured the lines "Your Other National Drink" or "Scotland's Second National Drink", thus giving their product almost equal importance as the notorious Scottish whisky (Barr and Jephcott 42-43). Putting *Irn Bru* in a similar position as Scottish whisky already indicates that the company wants to establish the drink as an iconic Scottish product.

The analysis of *Irn Bru* advertisements in the next chapter also draws on Fiona Douglas and her work on the connection between newspapers and national identity. Her study focuses on print media and this thesis will reveal that parallels between the agenda of Scottish newspapers and the Scottish company *Irn Bru* can be found. She argues for example that for "the Scottish press, being able to tap into a Scottish identity is crucial. Scottishness sells. Scottish newspapers must appeal to a Scottish audience in order to survive" (54). This is equally true for *Irn Bru*. On an international scale, the highly successful company *Coca Cola* is the leading producer of soft drinks in many countries and also the archenemy of *Irn Bru* in Scotland. *Coca Cola* is among a range of products that have "global hegemony" and function as examples of "Capitalism, Imperialism or Americanisation" (Edensor 112). Moore remarks that "[e]ven Scots who never drink the stuff may have a sneaking regard for *Irn-Bru*, as it is one of the few 'native' drinks anywhere to have kept (for a while) market

dominance over Coca-Cola” (151). *Irn Bru* is a local and Scottish-produced drink and therefore evokes positive associations. Tom Nairn points out that “Scottish nationalism may become yet more attractive as a means of resisting US hegemony” (2004, 17). Although it would be too far-fetched to regard buying *Irn Bru* as an act of Scottish nationalism, a tendency in this direction is indubitable. *Irn Bru* is an iconic Scottish drink and a symbol of the country, while *Coca Cola* stands for America, cultural hegemony and imperialism. It is therefore not surprising that *Irn Bru* has frequently outsold *Coca Cola*. Douglas points out that the “key thing they [Scottish newspapers] share with their readers is their Scottishness [...], and thus this is often exploited to create a feeling of newspaper-reader solidarity” (54). This aspect is also important for *Irn Bru*. While *Coca Cola* is an international company with their domicile in the United States, *Irn Bru/ Barr* have remained a Scottish company. This fact is frequently highlighted in their advertisements and *Irn Bru* cans and bottles used to have the inscription “made in Scotland from Girders” (Barr and Jephcott 42). *Irn Bru*’s strategy to being an original Scottish owned brand allows them to have a major advantage over *Coca Cola*. Douglas points out that having “an identifiably Scottish identity is so important for newspapers competing in the Scottish market that many of them self-brand as such” (55). In Scotland there are two types of newspapers: Scottish ones like *The Herald* or *The Scotsman* and Scottish editions of UK newspapers. Especially the tabloids of the latter group clearly indicate their “Scottishness”. The *Daily Mail* for example becomes the *Daily Scottish Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* the *Scottish Daily Mirror*. Declaring itself as Scottish is also what *Irn Bru* does. Like “Scottish newspapers [...] need to convince their ideal readership that they are part of a shared Scottish culture and experience” (Douglas 57), *Irn Bru* needs to do the same with their target group. Furthermore *Irn Bru* wants its consumers to align and to identify with the brand. They also want to create a shared sense of Scottish identity and show the Scottish people that they are one of them and thus part of their in-group.

Judith Williamson points out that “it is the first function of an advertisement to create [original emphasis] a differentiation between one particular product and others in the same category. It does this by providing the product with an ‘image’” (24). *Irn Bru* likes to use symbols of Scottishness and therefore

becomes one in itself. The company furthermore employs a particular kind of humour, sometimes on the edge and other times even criticised. Controversy however is something people think, argue and talk about. All of the factors above enable *Irn Bru* to develop a brand image that sticks out among other product images and thus leads to its success.

As a previous chapter has shown, there is an important connection between national identity, everyday life and performance. Edensor argues that there are “quotidian, habitual performances which consolidate a sense of national identity” (92), one of them being “embodied habits” (94). They “constitute shared worlds of meanings and actions”. Furthermore he remarks that “[i]ntegral to the unconscious ways in which identity is performed, these culturally located unreflexive enactions help to constitute a sense of belonging” (94). This can be regarded as what *Irn Bru* wants to achieve in their advertisements. They want the consumers to make a connection between drinking *Irn Bru* and national identity. It is as if drinking *Irn Bru* abroad gave them a sense of home, a little piece of Scotland bottled in a can. An internet user even posted in a *YouTube* comment that *Irn Bru* “tastes like Scotland” (user “mistermole007”).

Buying a particular product can influence the construction of one’s own personal or national identity. Judith Williamson argues that we also “differentiate ourselves from other people by what we buy. [...] In this process we become *identified* [original emphasis] with the product that differentiates us” (46). This seems to be particularly true for *Irn Bru*. Drinking *Irn Bru* can therefore emphasize one’s Scottish identity and the action can even function as an identity marker. Cook mentions that “[a]ttitudes to advertising can be indicative of our personality or social and ideological position” (1). If someone for example likes a particular advertisement, they can often relate to it on an emotional level. The public response to *Irn Bru’s If* advertisement was for example overwhelmingly positive. On the internet platform *YouTube*, commentators described it as “one of the best adverts”, they declared that they loved the advert and are “proud to be Scottish”. Interestingly, even non-Scots declared themselves being a “Scot at heart” (user “bwergin2”) or as becoming Scottish

after drinking *Irn Bru* (user “menacinghat”). This clearly supports the theory that identity should not be seen as a stable concept and essence, but rather as dynamic and something that can be performed. As quoted earlier, Edensor argues that “[p]erformance is a useful metaphor since it allows us to look at the ways in which identities are enacted and reproduced, informing and (re)constructing a sense of collectivity. The notion of performance also foregrounds identity as dynamic; as always in the process of production” (69). The reactions on *YouTube* show that the advertisement clearly achieved its goal to get people emotionally involved and to create a positive image for the brand. Paul Sonne from the *Wall Street Journal* also remarks that “[o]ver the years, Irn-Bru has also weathered controversy over its advertising, which has long played to the drink’s maverick, Scottish image. Most Scots seem to revel in Irn-Bru’s promotions, especially the drink’s onetime tagline, ‘Made in Scotland from girders’” (online article). This furthermore supports the argument that many people in Scotland have a positive attitude towards the brand.

The success of *Irn Bru* probably also lies in its everyday use. As a fizzy drink one can buy it in supermarkets, chip shops, petrol stations, restaurants and in many other places around Scotland. Buying and drinking *Irn Bru* is something particular people frequently do. Edensor regards repetition to be crucial for national identity as “without recurrent experiences and unreflexive habits there would be no consistency given to experience, no temporal framework within which to make sense of the world” (96). He also writes that the “everyday appears to be a realm of repetition” (100). This repetition is crucial for maintaining the brand in the minds of the consumers. Edensor points out that “things provide material proof of shared ways of living and common habits” and furthermore they “relate to the expression and experience of national identity” (103). Objects are part of our everyday life. Of course not all of them are capable of fostering a sense of national identity. Some, like the classic *Irn Bru* can, indubitably have the potential to do so. Edensor furthermore makes an important statement when he writes that “[c]ertain commodities are altogether more symbolic of national identity, and buying or using them might constitute a patriotic duty” (111). Buying and drinking *Irn Bru* might in fact be an act of patriotism for some people and fosters a feeling of Scottishness.

Tanaka points out that the current social situation of a country needs to be taken into account in an analysis of advertisements. She argues that “[a]dvertising, for all its crass and mercenary qualities, attracts highly qualified people, and advertisers need to keep constantly in touch with rapidly changing social realities” (133). Scotland as a nation has seen many vital changes over the last 15 years. Devolution, the rise of the SNP and the new Scottish Parliament in Holyrood are amongst the most important ones. They have indubitably influenced the attitude of Scottish people and furthermore fostered a new confidence in being Scottish. This positive awareness of Scottish national identity was then in return cleverly used by *Irn Bru* advertisements. Cook points out that “[a]ds glorify widely accepted values. A positive evaluation of them may reflect the degree of the observer’s belief in the status quo” (204). The repeated use of Scottish symbols and landscapes in *Irn Bru*’s advertising after the millennium was not a coincidence, but rather a mirror of society. In 1999 the Scottish Parliament was opened, which was seen as a step towards independence for many people. In 2009 the whole country celebrated extensively the Homecoming in honour of the national poet’s (Robert Burns’) anniversary. Furthermore the election in 2011 led to a historic victory for the SNP and the first majority government of the devolved parliament. This clearly shows that being Scottish, celebrating one’s identity and having a distinctive and separate identity from the English have become of crucial importance over the last decade. *Irn Bru* quickly understood what was happening in the country and cleverly used this revival of Scottishness for their own advertising. The brand became marketed as a symbol of Scottish identity, an everyday object connected to the mentality and culture of Scottish people. The advertisements have often been very popular and have also won several prizes over the years. Robin Barr, former chairman of Barr and Mark Jephcott, Group Brands Manager of the company, argue that their advertisements often have a “unique tone of voice and an ‘accessibly clever’ humour which has come to be synonymous with the brand” (58). Furthermore they remark that the brand has a “cheeky” and “maverick” personality (Barr and Jephcott 81). The Scottish Tourist Board also remarks that “[t]hroughout the years IRN-BRU’s maverick advertising has continued to entertain fans at home and abroad” (*Scottish Tourist Board* online article). This might be due to the fact that people can identify with aspects of the

advertisements (landscape, humour, etc.). Furthermore the style and tongue-in-cheek approach of the advertisements also adds to their popularity.

Judith Williamson writes about the link between a product and the image it creates as well as its influence on one's life. She argues that often products tend to be linked with a certain way of life (35). In this case, an *Inn Bru* way of life. She furthermore makes an important statement when she writes that advertisements can have a "sort of Pavlov dog syndrome at work whereby after seeing certain products linked to certain feelings for a long time, by association the products *alone* [original emphasis] come to create, to 'be' the feeling" (37). In this case *Inn Bru* stands for Scottishness and is immediately linked to it. This is also supported by the outcome of a BBC 1 survey which then inspired a song. In summer 2011 the radio station asked their listeners to send in what it means to be Scottish for them. Among the answers was *Inn Bru* (Greg James, BBC1).

An important aspect is also the medium advertisements use. Edensor for example argues that "mass media has proved to be the most important way of disseminating representations of the nation" (141). As the *Inn Bru* advertisements were circulated through various forms of mass media (print and television) they have also contributed to disseminating certain branded images of the nation. Furthermore they have been highly successful in doing so.

The focus of this paper is put on *Inn Bru* product ads, which often use a soft-sell approach. According to Cook "[s]oft selling relies more on mood than on exhortation, and on the implication that life will be better with the product" (15). One of the features of a soft-sell approach is often covert communication (Tanaka 43). Tanaka remarks that it is used in some advertisements as "there is a constant tendency for the advertiser to try to make the addressee forget that he is trying to sell her something" (43). If one looks at the *Inn Bru* homepage, the language and form of address clearly reveals that the brand's image is that of a witty fellow Scottish friend of the consumer, not of a successful big company. The same atmosphere is created in their print and TV advertisements. Douglas

notes that there are “various ways in which this alignment with the readership and building of a sense of shared community consciousness can be achieved” (54). They try to establish a common ground between them, the company and their consumers. Douglas argues that newspapers have two ways to achieve this goal. Firstly “by features in the language that explicitly situate the readership” (e.g. deictic elements and ‘flags’) and “secondly by the use of identifiably Scottish language” (58). Both can be regarded as equally important for *Irn Bru* advertisements. Douglas remarks that the “use of Scots lexis [...] helps to create a sense of solidarity, as the reader often needs ingroup knowledge of the Scots lexis or other types of shared knowledge to ‘get’ the joke” (76). Furthermore Douglas writes that this “assumption of shared knowledge is highly salient in the construction/ maintenance of a common Scottish identity” (108). The use of language plays a crucial role in the *Irn Bru* advertisements. The use of deixis, and especially the use of inclusive pronouns like *we* and *our* are of vital importance for advertisements to create a sense of community. Edensor points out that this leads to the fact that we - as readers or viewers - feel a sense of belonging to the nation and therefore part of it (11). Douglas adds that “[n]ewspapers will use language with which their readers are familiar and comfortable, and to which they can relate” (61). This also seems to be important for *Irn Bru*. As the following analysis will show, the company uses Scottish expressions and accent to achieve this goal.

In another chapter Douglas highlights other functions of language and the use of stereotypes. According to her, “language could function as a cultural totem or signifier. For totems to be effective, they must be visible and recognisable as such. Thus they depend on the familiar: shared knowledge and cultural mores, the formulaic and the stereotypical” (97). *Irn Bru* frequently uses aspects of Scottish English. Among the most obvious is the accent in TV advertisements, but also typical Scottish expressions and phrases are included. Furthermore Douglas adds that “[f]ormulaic language and Scottish stereotypes offer familiar and reliable ways of invoking a sense of Scottishness” (97). Aspects like the kilt or the Highlands might be regarded as a Scottish stereotype. Nevertheless their appearance in *Irn Bru* commercials has been a successful one.

The analysis below concerns itself, amongst others, with two television advertisements. Edensor draws on Barker¹³ and argues that “‘imagining ‘us’ as ‘one’ is part of the process of nation building and there is no medium which has been able to speak to as many people in pursuit of that goal as television” (7). Gardiner furthermore remarks that television “grew from a particularly Scoto-British context” as most of its technology was developed by a Scot (178). *Inn Bru* advertisements have been highly successful in asserting a kind of collective Scottish group identity. The medium of television has indubitably supported their goal.

Having outlined a crucial background for the analysis of *Inn Bru* advertisements, the next chapter takes a closer look at a few of them. The number of advertisements was reduced to four, to focus on each one in more detail and in order to avoid a superficial analysis. The selected cultural texts include two television commercials and one spoof poster/print advertisements. Furthermore a people-participating marketing event, cleverly camouflaged as a *Guinness* book of world record attempt will also be discussed. Most of the examples below were all targeted at a Scottish audience.

4.4.2 Inn Bru If –TV advertisement

The *If* advertisement was first aired in July 2008 (welovead.com) and clearly a big success. It connects the brand with well-known images of Scotland. The credits go to the Leith Agency, who had previously done other commercials for the company. It was target at a Scottish audience (coloribus.com) and shown on television and in cinemas (welovead.com).

The text of the advertisement was clearly inspired by Rudyard Kipling's poem “If”. The table on the next page shows a comparison of the two versions.

¹³ Barker, Chris. *Television, Globalisation and Cultural Identities*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995. p. 5-6.

Kipling's original ¹⁴	Irn Bru's version
If you can keep your head when all about you Are losing theirs and blaming it on you, If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you, [...] If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,[...] And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise: If you can dream - and not make dreams your master; [...] If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster And treat those two impostors just the same; If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools, Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken, [...] If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue, ' Or walk with Kings - nor lose the common touch, if neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you, If all men count with you, but none too much; If you can fill the unforgiving minute With sixty seconds' worth of distance run, Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it, And - which is more - you'll be a Man, my son!	If you can bounce in six inch heels all night and still walk home in your bare feet. If you can keep two passions burning bright and see if there's still some romance in defeat, If you can hit a foreign beach without a tan or brave the hurling sleet in just a shirt, If you know you're easily the better man when side by side with suits in just a skirt, When you can party in the summer rain with kamikaze midges in the mud, or grit your teeth and put up with the pain of seeing in the New Year in the scud, If you can wait and wait for 1P change and proudly give the lot to charity, and know for certain it's not strange to call your lunch dinner and your dinner tea, If you can handle folk who call you Jock Then you'll really earned your Irn Bru. You'll thank your mum for keeping you in stock. And what is more, you'll feel phenomenal too!

Kipling's poem was interestingly also included in the "National Identity Zone", later renamed "Self-Portrait" at an exhibition at the Millennium Dome in London in 2000 (Edensor 173). So already the original was connected to national identity, albeit more to a British imperialist than a Scottish one. Rudyard Kipling was a figurehead of British imperialism – an instance that clearly influenced his literary work. The choice of original text is therefore ironic as some Scots still feel that they have been colonised by the English. The choice can furthermore be regarded as an ironic attack on Kipling's notion of imperialism and on England. The feature of making reference to an already existing text can be described as intertextuality. Using intertextuality is not a new feature of *Irn Bru* advertisements. Already in 1930 the company drew on Rudyard Kipling's book "Sabu the Elephant Boy" and created the cartoon characters "Ba-Bru and Sandy" for their advertisements. They were fairly popular and also featured in newspapers for more than 40 years (Barr and Jephcott 20).

¹⁴ Cf. The Kipling Society: http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems_if.htm

The voice in the advert is Martin Compston, a Scottish actor (The Inspiration Room). The spoken language in the advertisement is a west of Scotland accent. Compston's accent shares some similarities with Glaswegian (e.g. word stress), but it is slower and more clearly enunciated. This was probably deliberately done for a wider audience range and would account for the clear enunciation. The accent can furthermore be described as rather thin Scottish English with the sporadic use of Scots lexis. It is rendered in a clearly enunciated Scottish accent. Douglas argues that "[t]exts towards the thin end of the *Scottish-English* continuum are probably much more effective for the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity than are more dense Scots texts" (82). In advertisements, Cook argues,

[t]here is likely to be far more agreement about the more permanent characteristics of the speaker conveyed by the voice. These include age, class, sex and individual identity, all of which are carefully selected in ads, and are strong clues to the ideology which advertisers attribute to their target audience. The voices of celebrities [...] bestow upon a product all the values signified by that individual: the strength of the athlete, the glamour of the star. (95)

Martin Compston cannot be compared to an internationally famous Hollywood star, but is nevertheless well-known in Scotland. Born in 1984, his voice is perfectly suited to appeal to a teenage and young adult audience (cf. IMDb). Cook also points out that "[a]ds, the most public of discourses, adopt the strategies of the most private. The voice of an ad must simultaneously be one of friendship, authority and respect" (183). In the *Irn Bru* advertisement the focus is clearly on friendship in order to establish a friendly and casual link between the brand and its potential consumers.

Another important aspect of this advertisement is how pronouns are placed and what they mean. Cook argues that "[o]ne of the most distinctive features of advertising is its use of pronouns" (157). In the case of *Irn Bru's If* advertisement the second person pronoun (*you*) is frequently used. It is exophoric, which means that it refers to "someone manifest to the participants from the situation" (Cook 157). This is most likely the addressee him- or herself, as it is in this case. Cook furthermore points out that "[i]n face-to-face

communication, 'you' assumes knowledge of the individual addressee" (157). In television advertisement it creates a feeling of intimacy between the voice in the ad and the people watching it. Judith Williamson makes an important observation when she writes that "[i]n constituting you as part of a group, advertisements must nevertheless address you as an individual" (50). Cook remarks that the "'you' of ads has a kind of double exophora involving reference to someone in the picture (salient because pictures dominate words) and to the receiver's own self (salient because everyone is interested in themselves)" (159). Furthermore this also creates a blending between "the sphere of friendship and intimacy on the one hand, and the sphere of marketing and purchase on the other" (164). Other features which help to establish intimacy and informality in advertisements are for example "ellipsis and assumptions of shared knowledge" (Cook 180). Shared assumptions are quintessential for this advertisement. The occurrences will be discussed in the chapters about the individual scenes.

Cook writes about the frequent lack of the identity of the voice in advertisements. He makes an important point when he argues that

[t]he identity of the 'I' or 'we' who speaks the 'you' is unclear. [...] And we (the addressees) are distracted from this absence of identity by the compelling and attractive characters to whom the 'you' is also addressed, and into whom, if the ad is successful, *we project a part of ourselves* [emphasis added]. (181)

This projection is a crucial part of the *If* advertisement. Judith Williamson remarks that the viewer of an ad often moves into its space when watching and therefore "'become[s]' the spectator" and feels that the 'you' was in fact really addressed to him or her (51). She furthermore argues that the "'you' in ads is always transmitted in the plural, but we receive it as singular. Although the aim is to connect a mass of people with a product, to identify them with it as a group, this can only be achieved by connecting them with the product as individuals, one by one" (51). Drawing on Kipling's poem and therefore frequently using "you" is consequently an excellent choice to attract a sustainable attention of viewers.

Douglas writes that “Scottish readerships want newspapers that relate to them” (52). The same can be said about Scottish consumers and advertisements. While *Inn Bru* has a long history of using distinctive Scottish aspects in their marketing campaigns, the “If” advertisement exploits by far the most until now. The “If” campaign establishes a dialogue between the company and its consumers and thus fosters their involvement. According to Douglas a newspaper reader is “involved in the negotiation of significance and meaning” (60) – the same happens to potential consumers watching the *Inn Bru* advertisement. Douglas argues that “Scottish stereotypes and icons or ‘totems’, although well-known and mostly clichéd,” are “still highly salient for Scottish identity” (107). Scottish stereotypes like men wearing kilts or people having ginger hair and pale skin are exploited in the advertisement. Edensor argues that “[t]hrough visual, literary and dramatic processes of representation, popular symbols and myths of the nation are reworked into contemporary concerns” (168). So the man in kilt is for example no longer the noble savage, but wears a neatly ironed shirt in combination to the traditional Highland dress.

The advertisement portrays a variety of people, most of them rather young, happy, white, good-looking and apparently heterosexual (boy and girl kissing, boy tries to impress girl, etc.). This goes into the hegemonic discourse of advertising. Some however are also older and their look can be described as rather ordinary. This choice was likely made to give ordinary people a space to project themselves into. They can therefore more easily relate to the people in the advertisement and feel a connection to them. This identification might help to sell *Inn Bru* to the potential consumers. It is however important to mention that they focus (in the majority) on stereotypical aspects of Scottish identity. Furthermore they assume or expect their receivers to share their view, but neglect specific groups (e.g. non-white Scots) in their advertisements. The advertisement therefore only represents a specific group of Scots and leaves out the other.

Judith Williamson argues that there are certain advertisements, which “generate a connection between a product and a second ‘product’, love, happiness etc.

which it will buy” (38). In this case the ad also sells happiness, but, more importantly, national pride and national consciousness. Judith Williamson furthermore remarks that “[f]eelings become bound up with products” (47). In this way Scottishness and also national belonging is indubitably bound up with *Irn Bru*. Cook also ponders about the idea that advertisements have other functions as well. According to him, “[i]t is worth considering that ads, despite the belief of manufacturers and advertisers that they exist solely to promote goods, may do many other things as well, and that these other activities are extremely revealing about the needs of contemporary society” (233). If Scottish independence and a strong Scottish identity were not an issue, some *Irn Bru* advertisements would certainly never have been produced. Popular culture, and especially advertisements, can therefore sometimes be treated as reflections of contemporary society.

The *If* advertisement comprises eleven separate locations, which will be discussed individually. The commercial can be watched on *YouTube* or on the official *Irn Bru* homepage. The message is conveyed via a mixture of pictures and spoken language. The following eleven sub-chapters provide a close analysis of the scenes and symbols. The pictures are screenshots of the advertisement (cf. references of primary sources). The text of the voice-over is given in italics underneath the picture.

4.4.2.1 Barrowland Ballroom



Barrowland Ballroom

“If you can bounce in six inch heels all night and still walk home in your bare feet”

This scene shows two girls jumping in a club (*Barrowland Ballroom* in Glasgow) and then walking home in their bare feet. One of them is Shanta Roberts, a former MTV news presenter and, according to the *Daily Mail*, one of the best-looking Scots (*Irn Bru* HP, About the ad). The chosen location, the Barrowland Ballroom or simply Barrowland, has achieved cult status as a concert venue in Europe over the last decades. It is one of the UK's most famous clubs and embedded in a working-class neighbourhood in the eastern part of Glasgow near the Barras market. The venue was built in 1934 and has been in the McIvor family until today (*Dear Scotland* homepage). Although its capacity is less than 2000 people, the venue has featured many international superstars like David Bowie, Massive Attack or the Foo Fighters (*Barrowland* homepage). Amy McDonald, a Scottish singer who has also become internationally famous over the last years, has even written a song about the venue (*Barrowland Ballroom*). Using the Barrowland as a setting for the *Irn Bru*'s advertisement clearly stresses the venue's cultural importance. Furthermore it also shows that the company is targeting a teenage and young adult audience. The content of the voice-over also implies that Scots are tough people who have the strength to keep going. The phenomenon of wearing six inch heels and then walking home in one's bare feet is however not limited to Scotland. It quite likely happens in many countries around the globe. To conclude, this scene highlights the importance of cultural venues like the *Barrowland Ballroom*, which can be regarded as modern and contemporary aspects of Scottishness.

4.4.2.2 *Celtics vs. Rangers*



Celtics vs. Rangers

“if you can keep two passions burning bright”

This scene immediately raises the question what the two passions refer to. The possible answers are manifold. It could be football and *Irish Bru* or football and Scotland, as well as Celtic and Rangers or football and love. On the surface level, this scene takes up the fact that football is an important part of Scottish culture. Douglas points out that “sports is a well-known and powerful focus of national identity” and that the “significance of sport in fostering a sense of national and/ or local identity should not be underestimated” (57). Moore regards football a “real Scottish sport” that is appreciated and played all over Scotland (139). Robbins remarks that “football offered a Scottish identity” (163). Furthermore Gardiner regards football as Scotland’s “great passion” (1). He adds that “[a]lmost everyone knows at least something about football; many ordinary people are passionate about the sport” (110). What is, however, more important is the fact that the two protagonists in the advertisement wear football jerseys of specific and legendary rival teams. Those two teams are the Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers. The “two passions” in the advertisement could therefore also be the two football teams, namely Celtic and Rangers. Gardiner remarks that the “supporters (and sometimes the players, board, and management) of Scotland’s two biggest football teams, Ranger and Celtic, roughly corresponds to Glasgow’s sectarian division. Celtic was set up as a support for Irish Catholic immigrants” (119). They have a long history of rivalry, sometimes ending in violent fights after the game. Calder argues that hostilities of certain sport clubs can be laid aside especially in international sporting

events (xi). He also remarks that “[s]omehow Rangers and Celtic devotees [...] transcended traditions of internecine hatred and contempt to join [...] a ‘Tartan Army’ which turned up in European towns and cities determined to fraternise with all comers, local residents and opposition alike” (Calder xi). As a previous chapter on the Tartan Army has shown, dressing up in a certain way and watching football games together can be regarded as a performance of national identity and thus strengthen one’s sense of it. Calder believes that the Tartan Army was an important factor to differentiate the Scottish from the English (ibid). This shows that a united Scottish front which differs from England is more important than local rivalries. The *Irn Bru* advertisement also shows a similar romanticised image. It indicates that being Scottish means laying aside differences and focusing on what is really important, which is social relationships and love in this scene (and implying to enjoy *Irn Bru* together).

4.4.2.3 *Romance in defeat*



Romance in defeat

“and see if there’s still some romance in defeat,”

This scene shows a disappointed man who has a saltire painted on his face. He sits in an empty football stadium and a girl is consoling him. The location is the *Estadio La Rosaleda* in Malaga, where Scotland was beaten by Russia in 1982 (*Irn Bru* HP, About the ad). The loss against Russia is just one example here and could be easily substituted with another one. This scene picks up the image of “romance in defeat”, an image firmly anchored in Scottish history. Donald argues that Scottish people “seem to take perverse pride in defeat as in victory – Flodden, Culloden [...] are as widely remembered as Bannockburn and Jim

Baxter sitting on the ball at Wembley in 1967” (76). While Flodden and Culloden ended in a decisive defeat for Scotland, Bannockburn and Wembley were glorious victories over England. Moore also observes that “Scots love their bloody battles. The next best thing to gloating over a defeat of the English (e.g. Bannockburn) is sobbing over a defeat by the English (e.g. Flodden). Freudians call this sado-masochism, Scots call it patriotism” (100). The image of “romance in defeat” is therefore clearly linked to Scottishness.

The origins of the sentiment could be traced back to *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, a heroic and romanticised figure in Scottish history. His life is often depicted shrouded in legends which resulted in a cult and it has made him a figure of popular culture for many centuries. He is perhaps best known for his defeat at Culloden. This historic battle was also mentioned in the chapter on the Jacobite rebellion as it marked the tragic end of the rebellion in 1746. “Culloden and the period thereafter”, Pittock argues, “was the end of an era, though this was not fully realized at the time” (61). This era of noble Highland savages was later revived as people longed for a romanticised past. According to Pittock “[t]he victory lay in defeat: because the Stuarts were not restored, they could the better act as metaphors for the lack of Scottish statehood” (1991, 162). This was the building ground for an image that lasted for many centuries and obviously is still important. Pittock furthermore remarks that the “defeat of Culloden in 1746 was gradually to become a metaphor of national loss, a tragic culmination to the struggle for liberty with England. It was not so in fact; but was and is within the parameters of the myth” (1991, 164). Pittock even regards Culloden as a “political fairytale” (ibid). MacDougall argues that the “overwhelming feeling at Culloden is not of the man, but of the prince, a leader in waiting, a hero. It is the Bonnie Prince Charlie of legend, our king across the water, rather than the pathetic and broken reality” (231). Prince Charles Stuart and the romanticised notion of victory in defeat were revived during the period of Scottish romanticism. MacDougall remarks that this period “dressed up and adopted a lost cause. It exaggerated defeat and forced us [the Scottish people] to take pride in a picture of ourselves which was essentially born in compensation for a loss of nationhood and identity” (133). No matter how many years have passed since then, the *Irish Bru* commercial still included this image

in 2008. Furthermore the *BBC 1* listener-inspired song about what Scottishness means also includes this image. It says “Scottish is cheering three nil up and even louder three nil down” (Greg James, BBC1). The image of romance in defeat therefore still exists in contemporary Scottish society and thus was included in the *Inn Bru* ad.

4.4.2.4 *Foreign beach*



Foreign Beach 1



Foreign Beach 2

“If you can hit a foreign beach without a tan”

This plays on the notion that the stereotypical Scot has pale skin and is therefore easily spotted on foreign beaches. It is an ironic and self-deprecating scene. In the background a silhouette of a tanned, muscular and Southern-European-looking man is displayed. While this representation of masculinity might appeal to a broader female audience, the pale Scottish teenager is the successful one here in heteronormative terms. His looks and his comic display of dislike of the tanned man enable him to attract the girls, who are also portrayed as stereotypical Scottish with pale skin and ginger hair. It also ironically conveys a message like “we (the Scottish people) might be a bit different, but that is okay”. This reveals a clever marketing strategy to make the product more appealing to a broader audience as people, and probably especially teenage and adolescent boys, can identify with the protagonist in this scene.

4.4.2.5 *Sleet*



sleet

“brave the howling sleet in just a shirt”

This scene was shot at a club called *The Salon* off Byres Road in Glasgow (*Irn Bru* HP, *About the ad*). It shows people running out of a club in the rain. No display of Scottishness would be complete without a take on the weather. Rain belongs to Scotland like Tartan or Whisky. Scottish people have gotten used to the weather. Furthermore there are also a variety of jokes, proverbs and sayings about the Scottish weather. The Scottish Tourist Board for example writes:

As the old Scottish saying goes, "there's no such thing as bad weather, only the wrong clothes!" So even though Scotland isn't blessed with year-round sunshine and tropical temperatures, that doesn't mean to say that our weather gets in the way of having a great break - quite the reverse in fact. (*Scottish Tourist Board website, weather*)

The advertisement also plays with this notion as according to it, not even sleet can get in the way of having a good night out. A *BBC 1* song about what Scottishness means also takes up this aspect. People could send in their ideas what it means to be Scottish and it shows that for the *BBC 1* listeners “Scottish is being blind to the cold, the wind and the rain” (Greg James, *BBC1*). It is therefore appropriate that *Irn Bru* dedicated one scene to the weather in order to foster associations between Scottishness and their brand. This part of Scottish identity, however, also displays overlaps with Britishness. British notions of weather and weather talk are not so different from Scottish ones. This

indicates, as mentioned earlier, that Britishness influences Scottishness and both share a number of key elements.

4.4.2.6 Kilt



Kilt

“If you know you’re easily the better man when side by side with suits in just a skirt”

The setting of this scene is an airport. The male protagonist wears a kilt and is sipping on an *Irn Bru*. The kilt, besides whisky, bagpipes and the Highlands, is probably the most famous symbol of Scotland. Edensor argues that the most closely associated aspect of national identity is clothing. He regards it as “highly symbolic” and “an important marker of national identity” (108). “Traditional’ clothing”, he elaborates, “is also nationally emblematic and fosters a sense of historical identity” (109). The traditional highland dress has been adapted in this scene as it is combined with a modern black shirt. Nevertheless it also includes the traditional sporran.¹⁵ This indicates that modern notions of Scottishness are often built from a mixture of traditional and contemporary elements. This scene is fairly patriotic as it implies that being Scottish and wearing a kilt makes one superior to other people. Tartan and the kilt can be described as a quintessence of Scottishness, albeit often portrayed as a stereotypical one. Douglas, who

¹⁵ The sporran is a little pouch that is traditionally worn above the kilt.

focused on the connection between national identity and newspapers, raises an important question:

Given the widespread criticism of Scottish stereotypes, are the Scottish newspapers constructing a 'realistic' Scotland and an 'authentic' Scottish identity? The answer depends largely on what one considers 'real' Scottishness and the 'real' Scotland to be about. (125)

The use of clichés and stereotypes is probably not a marker of authenticity. Like newspapers, advertisements do not seem to aim at representing a particularly authentic version of Scottishness. Nevertheless Douglas argues that

it does not really matter whether or not it is the 'real' Scotland that is being evoked, or a true representation of Scottishness that is being constructed. What does matter is that the sense of solidarity is created and that the readers are made to feel part of a wider shared Scottish community. (125)

This is equally true for the *Irn Bru* advertisement and its viewers. No matter if Scottish people regard the kilt as a national costume or a fancy dress for tourists – it is an important symbol of Scotland and is thus capable of creating a sense of solidarity. Furthermore it creates an in-group, a familiar setting which almost makes the brand appear like a good friend. This scene alone indicates why the whole advertisement was so successful in Scotland.

4.4.2.7 *Midges*



Midges

"If you can party in the summer rain with kamikaze midgets in the mud"

This scene takes up three aspects of Scottishness, namely *T in the Park*, partying in the summer rain and midges. The setting shows an outdoor festival area and a couple of young people, tents and midges. It most likely refers to *T in the Park*, Scotland's most famous summer festival. It hosts a combination of mainstream and alternative musicians and is widely popular. The major difference to other festivals in the UK is probably its Ceilidh tent, which features traditional Scottish music and dancing (*T in the Park* homepage). The *T* of *T in the Park* refers to Tennent's, a Scottish brewery which sponsors the festival. It attracts an enormous crowd every year in July and it is a symbol of Scotland's contemporary and vibrant popular culture.

The image of partying in the summer rain includes another take on the Scottish weather. It shows that no matter how bad the weather is, there is always something positive to discern. Furthermore the *BBC 1* song about what makes up Scottishness includes the action described in this scene. The line "Scottish is partying through the rain" clearly indicates that it is an important part of Scottishness (Greg James, BBC1).

The reference to midges is also appropriate here. The *Lonely Planet* travel guide for Scotland tells its readers to "[f]orget Nessie; the Highlands have a real monster in their midst – a voracious bloodsucking female, fully 2mm long and known as *Culicoides impunctatus*, or the Highland midge. A bane of campers and as much a symbol of Scotland as the kilt or the thistle" (31). The midges are a menace during the summer months but often inevitable. Nevertheless this scene implies that no matter if it is raining or if midges are buzzing around – the Scottish are a cheery folk who still continue partying and having a good time. This positive image of Scottish people was most likely welcomed by the Scottish viewers of the advertisement.

4.4.2.8 *Skinny dipping/ Forth Bridge*



Forth Bridge

“Or grit your teeth and put up with the pain of seeing in the New Year in the scud”

This scene shows a naked elderly couple holding hands and walking into the Firth of Forth. The background shows the famous Forth Bridge which connects Edinburgh and the Lothian region with the peninsula Fife. The Forth Bridge is in itself a symbol of Scottishness and also displayed in *Irn Bru*’s Snowman advertisement (which will be discussed in the next chapter). Furthermore the bridge was also featured in various *Irn Bru* poster advertisements. Like the Tower Bridge in London or the Brooklyn Bridge in New York – the Forth Bridge often stands for and represents the city of Edinburgh. It is a symbol of Scotland’s capital and for the nation itself. This paper has already mentioned a national survey about positive aspects of the UK. This survey was carried out in Marks and Spencer stores throughout Britain. The majority of the things are connected to England, but some Scottish-related objects also occur. One of them is the Forth Rail Bridge (Edensor 179), which is featured in this scene of the advertisement. Moore regards the 122 year old building as the “most famous cantilever bridge in the world” which has been described as “the one internationally recognised Scottish landmark” (203). The bridge is an impressive building and was the world’s first major steel bridge (built between 1883 and 1890) (*Forthbridges* Homepage). It is still used for trains today and it is an iconic Scottish building.

The language of the voice-over features some distinctive Scottish elements. It is not only about the obvious pronunciation of the words, but also about the phrase “in the scud” itself. It is a Scottish term and refers to someone being naked (*Urban Dictionary* homepage). Stuart-Smith, a Scottish linguist with a research interest in sociolinguistics and sociophonetics, furthermore points out that “[t]hroughout Scotland, Scots is increasingly becoming limited to certain domains, for example, amongst family and friends” (48). Using a Scots phrase like “in the scud” is therefore an attempt to create a friendly and intimate relationship between the brand and the viewers of the advertisement. Stuart-Smith later remarks that Scots is sometimes used for comedy and satire (49) – the same intended use as in the *Irn Bru* advertisement. Görlach also argues that Scots is frequently used for light-hearted and humorous texts (163). Douglas remarks that “there is a strong association and tradition of Scots and humour” and that “[m]uch of Scotland’s popular culture uses Scottish language for humorous purposes” (76). The use of Scottish vocabulary in advertisements can have a positive effect on viewers in Scotland as it creates a sense of in-group solidarity and intimacy between the advertiser and the receivers. Sperber and Wilson point out that “a speaker not only aims to enlarge the mutual cognitive environment she shares with the hearer; she also assumes a certain degree of mutuality, which is indicated, and sometimes communicated by her style” (217-218). Style, accent and word choice are clearly means to establish *Irn Bru* as a distinctive Scottish product with an image people can relate to.

4.4.2.9 Charity



Charity & donation pot

“If you can wait and wait for 1p change and proudly give the lot to charity”

Charity is an important aspect of British, and also of Scottish life. In every major city (and even in smaller towns like e.g. Fort William) there are numerous charity shops selling goods and thus collecting money for a variety of causes. The most famous ones are probably the *British Heart Foundation*, *Oxfam*, the *Salvation Army* and *Barnardo's*. There are, however, also smaller shops like *Save the Children*, *Marie Curie Cancer Care*, *New Hope*, *PDSA*, *Lifeline* and *Shelter* among others. While most charity shops generally have a British origin (e.g. *Oxfam*, *BHF*, etc.), some were also founded, and are solely selling their goods in Scotland (e.g. *Alzheimer Scotland*, *Chest*, *Heart and Stroke Scotland*, etc.). Charity shops serve dual means. Firstly, they collect money for people or animals in need. Secondly, they want to promote a sustainable lifestyle, which can be achieved with buying second hand items. In Edinburgh an organisation called *Change Works* has even published a city map indicating every one of its 112 (!) charity shops.¹⁶ Besides such charity shops, there are also many charity events (e.g. runs or cycling tours) happening in many parts of the country. Furthermore there is even a whole homepage dedicated to charity jobs in Scotland.¹⁷ Besides charity shops and events one can also find donation pots of various organisations at supermarkets, petrol stations or also at newsagents, like in this scene. Often people put some of their change in there after paying

¹⁶ For more information go to <http://www.changeworks.org.uk>

¹⁷ Cf. Scottish charity jobs: <http://www.charityjob.co.uk/jobs/scotland>

for their goods. The girl in the scene is dressed in the corporate colours of the brand: she wears an orange t-shirt and blue jeans. She proudly puts a 1p coin in a donation pot and walks out of the shop. This also indicates that helping others in need is an important action that even Scottish teenagers already participate in. In the context of the advertisement it furthermore implies that charity and helping others are a crucial part of the Scottish mentality and thus are also upheld by *Irn Bru*. This is not just a hypocritical portrayal of the company, *Irn Bru* is in fact also involved in helping others. In November 2011 they reminded the visitors of their official homepage that they should not “forget to give generously” and included a link to various charity organisations (*Irn Bru* homepage). Furthermore they sponsored the Charity Award at the Great Scot Awards and “collected 5p from every 500ml IRN-BRU bottle sold in Morrisons supermarkets throughout Scotland and donated the money raised to the Great Scot’s Charity Award winner” (*Barr* homepage). This indicates that charity and donating money is not only important to *Irn Bru*, but also a significant aspect of Scottishness. Charity has become a crucial aspect of Scottish life – an instance that is not so different from what people perceive as British life. Charity is therefore an area where Britishness and Scottishness, again, overlap.

4.4.2.10 *Language*



Dinner/ tea

“and know for certain it’s not strange to call your lunch dinner and your dinner tea”

As the chapter on language and national identity has shown, Scottish language is indubitably an identity marker. When it comes to the connection of language and identity, it is probably of help to “think about language not merely as a vehicle for communication but also as a symbol” (Douglas 15). Furthermore McCrone draws on Gellner and regards language as a “cultural identifier” (1992, 28). This scene shows a man sitting in front of a plate of mince, peas and mashed potatoes (“tatties”). In Scotland some people call their lunch dinner and their dinner tea. James M. Scobbie, professor of speech science at Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh, et al. also argue that “[g]enerally speaking Scottish English shares a lexicon with other British English varieties but many (especially older) speakers have extensive additional Scots lexis” (10). People who have visited Scotland will probably know that many pubs offer fish tea in the afternoon and evening. This is not, as the name might suggest, a form of tea, but a meal deal. It consists of a battered fish (often haddock), one or two sides like chips or peas and a cup or pot of black tea (thus the name). The term *tea* for dinner is however not exclusively used by Scottish people as even some people in Northern England use it in the same way. Nevertheless this scene shows that although Scottish people speak English,¹⁸ their variety is somewhat different to Standard English. This also implies that their language is part of their culture and thus particularly important. Donaldson furthermore remarks that the Scots language marks Scottish people as “insiders” and therefore keeps other people out. English however functions as a “bridge” with the outside world (qtd. in Douglas 23). More than two centuries ago, the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte also argued that

[t]hose who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself, long before any human art begins; they understand each other and have the power of continuing to make themselves understood more and more clearly; they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole. (qtd. in Joseph 110)

Although Fichte was clearly inspired by romantic nationalism, the multitude of invisible bonds a certain speech community shares cannot be denied

¹⁸ The Scottish English continuum ranges from Scottish Standard English to broad Scots (cf. Stuart-Smith).

nowadays. Certain expressions like *tea* instead of *dinner* and *scud* in a previous scene clearly establish a connection between the brand *Irn Bru* and its Scottish viewers of the advertisements. The brand uses the language of the Scottish people and thus enables their potential consumers to identify with the brand more easily.

4.4.2.11 *Jock*



English postman

“If you can handle folk to call you Jock then you’ll have really earned your Irn Bru”

This scene shows a postman who hands a package to a young man. The young man is obviously a Scot who currently lives in London. The package is from his mother who sends him a can of *Irn Bru*. The scene plays with the negative connotations of the term *jock*. The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defines *Jock* as an “UK slang term” describing “a man who comes from Scotland. This term is considered offensive by some people”.¹⁹ The postman obviously does not regard *Jock* as an offensive or insulting word. And even if he did, this scene implies that being Scottish means being above that. It implies that Scots have a good sense of humour and are easy to get along with. This character trait should then also be used to characterise *Irn Bru*. Sometimes the viewers might not be sure whether the images constructed in the advertisement are symbols of Scottishness, *Irn Bru* or both. The company most likely wants

¹⁹ Cf. *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*. 3rd ed. CD-Rom. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008

the meaning of symbols to mingle, thus *Irn Bru* would equal Scottishness and vice versa.

4.4.2.12 *Phenomenal*



Feel phenomenal

“...and what is more...you feel phenomenal too”

The word *phenomenal* has been frequently used by *Irn Bru* marketing campaigns and advertisements. It is used to tell the potential consumers that drinking *Irn Bru* makes them happier, enter a kind of magic and extraordinary world and therefore to feel *phenomenal* and special. Judith Williamson argues that a crucial point of advertising is compensating the “inactivity forced on us; hence advertising’s Romanticism, its emphasis on adventure and excitement” (140). She however also points out that the only way for consumers to get actively involved is to *buy* the product – a little effort that at least promises “‘great’ results” (Judith Williamson 140). In order to feel “phenomenal” themselves, viewers of the advertisement need to buy the product to experience the “real” *Irn Bru* lifestyle.

To conclude the analysis of this advertisement, it has hopefully been shown why the *If* campaign was so successful. The commercial also won three advertisement awards in 2009, among them the prestigious *Grand Prix* of the *Roses Advertising Awards* (welovead HP). The images in the commercial are a

combination of traditional symbols of Scottishness (e.g. kilt) and more contemporary interpretations (e.g. Barrowland Ballroom). In drawing on all these symbols of Scottishness, *Irn Bru* becomes a symbol of Scottishness in itself.

4.4.3 Irn Bru Snowman/ Christmas campaign –TV advertisement

Like the *If* advertisement, the snowman was also produced by the Leith agency in Edinburgh. It is a very successful agency with strong ties to their home country and local neighbourhood. Their slogan even says: “Leith is where we are. Leith is who we are. Leith is what we are” (*The Leith Agency* homepage). In 2012 they were awarded the prize for *Creative Agency of the Year* at the *Roses Creative Awards* (*Roses Creative Awards* homepage). Their cooperation with *Irn Bru* has brought them a variety of prestigious awards; among them were the *FAB award* in 2007, the bronze *Kinsale Shark Award* and the *Scottish Advertising Awards Grand Prix 2007* for the *Irn Bru* snowman advertisement (welovead and official *Barr* Homepage). The snowman commercial was designed for a Scottish television and cinema audience and premiered in 2006 (welovead homepage). A year later it was also screened in England (*Barr* homepage).

The snowman advertisement not only takes up notions of Scottishness, but also of the Scottish Christmas season. The advertisement presents itself as a cartoon and reveals famous Scottish places like Loch Ness and the Forth Bridge. There is no dialogue, only gestures and a song in the background function as a narrative voice. This might be an unusual advertisement, but it therefore attracts the attention of the viewers. Cook points out that “there are instances of other genres, such as poems or songs, which *become* [original emphasis] ads by being used in a particular way” (10). He furthermore remarks that “[t]he best ads are successful bandits” (37). Cook adds that the common use of already existing songs and poems should “more appropriately be described as carrion than parasitic” (133). This particular use could be described as an instance of “bricolage, the borrowing and inter-weaving of material from other genres” (Cook 39). Often, this also happens without

acknowledging the original source (Cook 88), as it happens in this case. Making references to, or drawing on existing material is also what intertextuality does. In the *Irn Bru snowman* advertisement it can be described as “inter-generic intertextuality”. According to Cook the later is defined as “containing the voice of a different genre, as when an ad evokes knowledge of a film or story” (194). Cook furthermore points out that “[i]nter-generic possibilities, though they have always been available, are constantly extended and exploited” (196). Here, the advertisement takes a tongue-in-cheek approach on Raymond Briggs’ *Snowman*. As the juxtaposition below shows, the characters in the *Irn Bru* advertisement have been clearly inspired by the ones Raymond Briggs has invented.



The Snowman by Raymond Briggs is a famous British children’s book. There is also a popular movie adaptation that is shown on television every year before Christmas in the UK. It is about a boy who builds a snowman who then magically comes to life. The snowman and the boy embark upon an adventure to the North Pole, they fly across the sky and pass famous British buildings like the Brighton Pavilion or the Brighton pier.²² In the *Irn Bru* advertisement they were replaced with famous Scottish buildings and landscapes. According to Edensor “[p]opular films can provide important resources in promoting attractions and boosting the place-images of localities” (158). Judith Williamson argues that “in ads real things are constituted as symbols” (109). Many places

²⁰ <http://d1j19yv1huxho.cloudfront.net/thumbs/ce3e1.png>

²¹ <http://tweegar.edublogs.org/files/2011/12/the-snowman-opf8sl.jpg>

²² Cf.: Clip of the original movie on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ubeVUnGQOIk>

of the Snowman advertisement are symbolic sites for Scotland and its people. An important aspect of this advertisement is the choice of landscape, or rather the representation of it. Graf points out that “locations do not only provide backgrounds, but also contribute to the meaning of a narrative” (14). Some of the landscapes used (Highlands, Loch Ness) can even be regarded as iconic sites or synecdoches of Scottishness. More about the choice of places will be discussed individually in the following subchapters.

The boundaries in the *Irn Bru* snowman advertisement are fuzzy. Cook dwells on the thought that the “real change in the artistic landscape of the 2000s is not in the attitude of art to advertising, but of some erosion of the boundary between genres” (208). The snowman advertisement might appear like a short film as it does not use an unpleasant hard-sell approach. Instead of directly selling the product, the advertisement rather tries to sell an image, a particular kind of humour and a mood, which are of course all linked to the brand. According to Cook, “[f]eatures considered typical of ads are often pointedly abandoned, thus defeating expectations and arresting attention” (224). The snowman advertisement also plays with expectations and neglects typical features like directly praising the product or an encouragement to buy it. Cook argues that “[i]f an ad departs from expectations, it will attract attention and/or convince” (229). The soft-sell approach of the snowman ad tries to create a certain mood. It uses an unconventional approach to sell the product, but has proven to be successful.

According to Cook the formal structure of music is rather irrelevant in advertisement. “What matters is connotation, a vague and indeterminate world of associations” (51). The choice of song in this advertisement was a very clever one. “[R]hythmic language”, Cook points out, “has a powerful emotional and mnemonic effect” (125). Furthermore the melody is well known as it goes back to the original snowman cartoon. As the original is said to be popular in the UK, the *Irn Bru* advertisement quite likely also triggers positive associations. In product ads, Cook argues, “the aim of the sender is to push this product, often via the worlds of fiction and fantasy, into the real world of the consumer” (180).

Although the *Irn Bru* advertisement uses a fictional cartoon world, it features representations of very real places and more importantly, it wants to sell a very real product.

Cook points out that some advertisements feature a character who speaks in the first person (161). This is the case here. The main character is a little boy, who tells a story (here via the lyrics of a song) about his unusual adventures with a snowman. Cook argues that the “receiver may either identify with the character [...], or treat the character as someone speaking to them” (161).

4.4.3.1 *The Snowman*

MacDougall argues that for the Scottish people “the search for a hero, the man with the big idea who could show us the way forward, someone who could do for us what we seem to be incapable of doing for ourselves” has been “a perpetual feature of Scottish life” (10). MacDougall later remarks that “Scotland has been deeded by a search for heroes. Few figures fit the bill completely, so we elevate minor celebrities to a status they do not deserve or we mythologise the few genuine heroes who do exist” (60). At the beginning of the advertisement the snowman is depicted as a hero-like character. First of all, in reality snowmen cannot speak or move. The advertisement however depicts a fantasy-like personification of an inanimate object. The snowman comes to life and enables the boy to experience extraordinary things. He makes it possible for the boy to fly and to experience spectacular views of some of Scotland’s most famous sites. Only at the end it turns out that the snowman is rather naughty and egoistic. He is more like a false-hero. This advertisement therefore depicts a tongue-in-cheek approach to old myth of the Scottish hero. Furthermore the *Irn Bru* snowman is also constructed in contrast to Raymond Briggs’ original snowman. While the snowman of the English writer is a likeable and friendly character, the Scottish version is depicted as naughty and with an edge.

The following sub-chapters deal with selected scenes from the advertisements. The juxtapositions of the advertisement and the places in reality should be treated as visual aids.

4.4.3.2 *Falkirk Wheel*

Falkirk Wheel	
 advertisement	 reality²³

This scene shows the Falkirk Wheel in central Scotland. It connects the Forth and Clyde canal with the Union canal and it is “the world’s first and only rotating boat lift” (Falkirk Wheel Homepage). It was part of the Millennium Link project and it is an emblem of modern engineering. Furthermore the Falkirk Wheel is shown at the back of the 50 pound note of the Bridge series (*The Committee of Scottish Bankers* homepage). It is an outstanding construction and an iconic building. The Falkirk Wheel might not be as popular as the other places and objects in the advertisements, but it can be said to stand for the town Falkirk itself as it is the town’s landmark. When it comes to Scottish history, the town immediately evokes associations of the Battle of Falkirk. It was fought only one year after the battle of Sterling Bridge, where William Wallace defeated the English (Moore 102). Falkirk and Sterling Bridge were major battles during the first war of independence against the English (Moore 53). In Falkirk Scottish troops were led by the notorious William Wallace but were decisively defeated

²³ <http://thedabbler.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Falkirk-wheel.jpg>

by the English. Falkirk is however more important to *Irn Bru*, as it is the “birthplace” of the brand. Robert Barr set up the original Barr soft drink business in Falkirk in 1875 (Barr and Jephcott 34). Today the wholesale distribution depot of the company is still located in Falkirk (Barr and Jephcott 88). In this sense, the Falkirk Wheel triggers a whole set of associations related to Scotland. It stands for historic battles, modern engineering and progress as well as the cradle of *Irn Bru*. It therefore combines -like Scottish national identity- traditional, modern and popcultural aspects and is therefore an excellent choice for the advertisement.

4.4.3.3 *Forth Bridge, Glenfinnan viaduct and Eilean Donan castle*

Forth Bridge	
 advertisement	 reality²⁴

The advertisement continues to use iconic Scottish places like the Forth Bridge, the Glenfinnan viaduct or Eilean Donan castle. The Forth Bridge is a popular setting for *Irn Bru* advertisements. The bridge was also featured in the *If* advertisement, which has been previously analysed. It is an iconic site and an emblem of not only Edinburgh, but of Scotland itself. Furthermore the Bridge is also displayed at the back of the 20 pound note of the Bridge series (*The Committee of Scottish Bankers homepage*). Penrose and Cumming argue that “Scottish banknotes have always included iconography that constructs the image of the bank and advertises its reliability, often through association with

²⁴ <http://www.forthbridges.org.uk/images/RailbridgeMain.jpg>

national images” (online abstract). National images and thus national currency can also foster a sense of national identity. The repeated use of the Forth Bridge in *Irn Bru* advertisements implies a close association between the product and Scottishness. Another famous Scottish building that is also portrayed on Scottish banknotes is the Glenfinnan viaduct. It is shown at the back of the ten pound note of the Bridge series (*The Committee of Scottish Bankers homepage*).

Glenfinnan viaduct	
 advertisement	 reality²⁵

The Glenfinnan viaduct is a remarkable building in the Scottish Highlands. Moore describes it as “both utterly beautiful and functional, the Glenfinnan Viaduct is a fine example of what the Victorians did for us” (204). It was made of concrete in the late nineteenth century (ibid) and has become famous through tourist brochures and various movies. The most famous example of the latter is probably the Harry Potter series, which featured the viaduct in several of its scenes (Hogwarts Express route). The Glenfinnan viaduct is an extraordinary building within a picturesque Highland scenery. Like the settings of the other scenes, it can easily be described as an iconic place and a symbol of Scottishness. It therefore highlights, once again, the close connection between the brand *Irn Bru* und Scottishness.

²⁵ <http://www.holidaycheck.at/data/urlaubsbilder/images/82/1156062404.jpg>

Later the advertisement draws once again on a famous Scottish building, namely Eilean Donan castle.

Eilean Donan castle	
 advertisement	 advertisement²⁶

As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, Scotland hosts a variety of idealised landscapes (e.g. Highlands) and also iconic sites. As the latter often proves “evidence of a ‘glorious past’” (Edensor 45) the castle is an excellent example of it. Furthermore Edensor argues that such “symbolic sites have a mythical function” (47) which can be closely connected to a fairy tale-like looking castle like Eilean Donan. Interestingly, Edensor states that “idealised spaces resound through [...] advertisements” (53) – something that is clearly the case here.

The castle is situated on the island of Donan and surrounded by Loch Duich. Moore remarks that the original castle was already built in the thirteenth century but destroyed in the eighteenth (193). Although the castle appears to have a long history, most of today’s building goes only back to the early twentieth century, when it was reconstructed (ibid). It is a very picturesque castle and tourist hotspot. Moore remarks that it is “one of the most photographed rural castles in the world” and setting of many movies (194). Scotland is famous for its castles and Eilean Donan is amongst the most well-known ones. The choice of

²⁶http://www.immo-luxus.de/wp-content/gallery/eilean-donan-castel/eileandonan_wp_3_1024.jpg

inclusion in the advertisement was cleverly done in order to link *Irn Bru* to Scottish castles and therefore to a broad range of often positive and nostalgic associations.

4.4.3.4 *Loch Ness & Nessie*

Loch Ness	
 advertisement	 reality²⁷

Loch Ness is probably Scotland's most famous lake, especially due to its mythical connection to the Loch Ness monster. According to the Lonely Planet travel guide the monster *Nessie* is "Scotland's most iconic legend" (35). *Nessie* is said to be a lake monster and although sightings of it have been reported for many decades, professional search operations have been without results. Drumnadrochit, a little village close to Loch Ness features an exhibition on *Nessie*, the dubious sightings and possible explanations. Furthermore tourists in the area will be overwhelmed with *Nessie* souvenirs ranging from tea towels to plush toys and key chains. The Loch itself features the largest amount of water of any Scottish loch and Moore even remarks that "the BT Tower in London could stand up in it with 130 feet to spare, and it contains more water than every English and Welsh lake combined" (4). Loch Ness is the northernmost loch of the Caledonian Canal, a picturesque landscape linking Inverness in the North with Forth Williams in the South. It is furthermore an iconic landscape that

²⁷http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_uABSofVI8nY/SnguZ01_PJI/AAAAAAAAA_A/3TJbT90soeA/s320/LochNess.JPG

represents Scotland in many tourist brochures around the globe. Judith Williamson remarks that “[n]ature is the primary referent of a culture” and the “‘raw’ material of our environment” (103). Nature and landscape can also function as identity markers. J. Williamson furthermore argues that “images of nature are ‘cooked’ in culture so that they may be used as part of a symbolic system” (ibid). This transformation is frequently performed in advertisements. She adds that “[n]ature, having been ‘cooked’, is then returned to ‘the natural’ world to inherit its place in a system the components of which have all been similarly ‘cooked’: a network of romantic symbols” (J. Williamson 122). In the advertisement Loch Ness has, in Williamson’s terms, been ‘cooked’ – transformed into an image, which is equally important to *Inn Bru* and Scottishness. Judith Williamson points out that “the importance of ‘the natural’ increases directly in proportion as society’s distance from *nature* [original emphasis] is increased” (124). So as the majority of Scotland’s population lives in cities nowadays, nature and scenic attractions like Loch Ness gain more importance. Inverness and Loch Ness are sometimes the only places tourists visit within the Highlands. The city and the loch therefore become images and symbols of this area and thus an important aspect of Scottishness. *Inn Bru* uses this, again, for its own advantage and links Loch Ness, and therefore Scottishness to the brand.

4.4.3.5 *Edinburgh: Princes St Gardens Ice Rink*

Apart from famous Scottish landscapes and buildings in more rural areas, the *Inn Bru* advertisement also draws on urban landmarks like the Princes Street Gardens Ice Rink. Edinburgh is famous for its Christmas market and the Princess Street Gardens ice rink in December. During the festive season many tourists and locals alike enjoy this unique ice-skating atmosphere. The ice rink is located in the city centre, next to the famous Princes Street and close to the castle. Edinburgh castle is a famous Scottish landmark and Edinburgh itself one of the most visited cities in the United Kingdom. This scene draws again on an iconic Scottish place.

Princes St Gardens Ice Rink



advertisement



reality²⁸

It tries to evoke positive emotions in the viewers. Edinburgh is however clearly romanticised in the advertisements. The ice rink is rather popular and hardly ever only used by two ice skaters. Furthermore the falling snow adds to the romanticised atmosphere. *Inn Bru* is in this sense, is not only linked to Scottishness, but also to an idealized and romanticised version of Scottishness.

4.4.3.6 Glasgow: Royal Concert Hall and George Square

Glasgow Royal Concert Hall



advertisement



reality²⁹

²⁸ http://farm5.staticflickr.com/4145/5211540581_68b4cb1eea_z.jpg

²⁹ <http://www.rampantscotland.com/glasgow/graphics/concerthall09g.jpg>

Besides places of interest related to Edinburgh (Forth Bridge, ice rink), some features of Glasgow are also included in the advertisement. The Glasgow Royal Concert Hall is, like the Barrowland Ballroom, one of the most popular concert venues in Scotland. While the Barrowland programme focuses on indie, rock and popular music, the Royal Concert Hall also features classical, folk, world and Jazz music amongst others. The venue furthermore functions as the main venue for the *Celtic Connection* – an annual festival in Glasgow and one of the biggest winter festivals in the world (GRCH homepage). The hall is situated on top of Buchanan Street in the heart of the city centre. The building was opened in 1990, when Glasgow was European City of Culture (ibid) and has been a symbol for Glasgow’s multi-faceted cultural life ever since. Although the hall can be described as an important Scottish building, it does not solely stand for Scottishness. As the adjective “royal” in the name of the venue shows, links to Britishness and the Royals can be established. This is another example of the connection between Scottishness and Britishness. It reveals that a part of Scottish identity has British roots and will most likely remain British. The hall can furthermore be described as a synecdoche for Glasgow – the city of *Irn Bru*. The subsequent scene also depicts a Glaswegian landmark: George Square.



³⁰

http://www.goruma.de/export/sites/www.goruma.de/Globale_Inhalte/Bilder/Content/G/glasgow_george_square.jpg_1179297901.jpg

George Square in Glasgow can be characterised as, what Edensor calls, an “iconic site” that seethes “motion and a multiplicity of activities, identities and sights” (48). It is a popular and central square in Glasgow. In December the square is always lavishly decorated and a large Christmas tree is positioned in front of the Glasgow City Chambers (the building also displayed in the pictures above). After travelling all over Scotland in the previous scenes of the advertisements, the last two reveal important places in Glasgow. This shows that *Irn Bru* highlights Glasgow as its home city, the city of production and the city where their success has started. Glasgow and *Irn Bru* have been linked from the beginning of the brand. As cities are important for regional identities and also for national identity, the construction of a link between *Irn Bru*, Glasgow and Scottishness seems to be successful.

This advertisement has shown some of the most famous landscapes and places in Scotland. It drew on the already existing character of the *Snowman*, but changed his attitude and behaviour in order to give him a certain twist and entertain the audience. Like in the *If* advertisement, *Irn Bru* constructs itself as an authentic Scottish brand – interwoven in the nation’s culture the same way as its famous landscapes and buildings.

4.4.4 Irn Bru “Ginger girl” – spoof advertisement



spoof advertisement³¹

In contrast to the other advertisements discussed here, this one is not an original Barr *Irn Bru* advertisement, but a spoof. When confronted with the ad, Mark Jephcott, Group Brands Manager of Irn Bru, said that the “copy has the same irreverent IRN-BRU tone though we wouldn't use that kind of language in our advertising, we would also never launch an IRN-BRU advert which said 'not a source of iron'. A product truth about IRN-BRU is that it does contain iron” (e-mail conversation). Although it is only a fake advertisement, it nevertheless highlights the importance of Scottishness for the brand and constructs national identity.

Unfortunately it was rather difficult to gather background information for this spoof advertisement. Pictures of it have been circulated on the internet for several years, but the original creator cannot be found. It is mostly presented on blogs and in web forums. When asked, one blogger mentions she simply found the picture online while doing an image search for *Irn Bru* (*The Leftover Queen*). One of the reasons might be that it probably dates back a while (bottle design).

³¹ <http://www.leftoverqueen.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/irn-bru.gif>

This could, however, also be a deliberate act to create a vintage touch. Nevertheless without proper sources one is left with speculations.

The protagonist of the picture looks like Kelly Macdonald, a Scottish actress. She played in Irvine Welsh's movie adaptation *Trainspotting*, which served as a stepping stone for her international career. Having a Scottish actress who previously featured in one of the most famous Scottish movie adaptations also sends out a message. As Kelly Macdonald was not known before her appearance in *Trainspotting*, one can assume that the spoof advertisement was produced after the movie release (1996).

Another interesting aspect is the colour correlation of the picture. Judith Williamson argues that the “[u]se of colour is simply a *technique* [original emphasis], used primarily in pictorial advertising, to make correlations between a product and other things” (24). The colours in the advertisement have symbolic meaning and are therefore linked to concepts or objects outside the world of the picture. The skin colour (white), the colour of the T-shirt (blue) and the hair and bandana colour (ginger/ orange) are the corporate colours of *Inn Bru*. The girl's ginger hair can be associated with either the orange colour of the *Inn Bru* drink or the hair colour stereotypically associated with Scottish people. Libby Brooks from the Guardian also remarks that “ginger is a Glaswegian term for fizzy pop, perhaps coined because the bubbles ginger you up” (online article). As *Inn Bru* has strong links to Glasgow this interpretation of ginger can be taken into account. The blue colour of the T-shirt evokes associations of the St. Andrew's cross – Scotland's national flag. The white skin colour, and tiny orange freckles, are often used to portray a stereotypical Scot. There is a tendency that people associate Scottish people with pale skin, ginger hair and also freckles. In this sense all of the three colours not only stand for *Inn Bru*, but also for Scotland. This close connection was of course deliberately manufactured to construct the drink as an authentic Scottish product.

Language is another important part of this advertisement. It can be described as a “short copy” advertisement (Cook 16) as it only uses a few words, in fact only one sentence (*If it’s not Scottish it’s crap*). Douglas points out, that the “analysis of any piece of language can reveal a great deal about underlying ideological stances” (58). Judith Williamson remarks that “[a]ds can use language closer to or further from our own, to produce different effects – we decipher a certain meaning from the *style* [original emphasis] of the language used, the *way* [original emphasis] in which it is written” (85). She adds that colloquial language is sometimes used to establish a connection between the product and everyday life (J. Williamson 85). The language in this advertisement is colloquial as it uses a contraction (*it’s*) and a colloquial expression (*crap*). The spelling “crrrap” furthermore indicates a phonetic rendition in a Scottish accent. If this was a real advertisement, the chosen register would enable the brand to target a young and young adult audience. Cook remarks that advertising, “[e]ven when printed, [...] assumes the style of personal spoken communication” (28). This is also done in the spoof advertisement.

Tanaka argues that the “gap between the linguistically encoded meaning of a sentence and what is actually communicated by uttering the sentence on a given occasion is filled by *inference* [original emphasis], and not by more coding” (15-16). Yule defines the process of inference as the use of “additional information [...] by the listener to create a connection between what is said and what must be meant” (116). Tanaka remarks that “[i]nferential processes are directed towards interpreting the communicator’s intention” (16). In this advertisement the text is rather short and no obvious referent for the pronoun *it* is given. The reader must therefore use inferential processes and his or her cultural knowledge in order to make sense of the sentence. *It* can refer to a variety of things. It can be a drink, a brand, a place or generally everything (in order to be good and acceptable, everything has to be Scottish).

The line from the advertisement evokes associations of the movie *So I married an Axe Murderer* (1993). Edensor argues that “tourist campaigns frequently plunder the images and narratives of popular film” (158). Advertising campaigns

are furthermore likely to do the same thing. In the movie Mike Myers plays Charlie McKenzie, a shopkeeper with Scottish roots who keeps saying “If it’s not Scottish it’s crap” as his motto. As it is a spoof ad, the sentence can be regarded as an ironic take on the movie. Drawing on already existing cultural text is something *Irn Bru* frequently does. Here, this procedure was taken up by the creator of the spoof ad. It can furthermore be describes an example of intertextuality.

Although a spoof ad, it was carefully done and is hard to distinguish from real *Irn Bru* advertisements as it features the same kind of tongue-in-cheek approach to advertising a product. People spending time on creating spoofs is often a positive feedback for a company. It reveals that consumers spend time thinking about the brand and its image. This spoof advertisement in particular reveals an even stronger construction and importance of Scottishness for the brand than any other real advertisement. It furthermore shows that viewers of *Irn Bru* ads might become actively engaged in the construction of the product image. In linking the product to Scottishness and making it an emblem of Scottish culture, the active and dynamic character of national identity is again highlighted.

4.4.5 Irn Bru Can Clan

The *Irn Bru Can Clan* cannot be regarded as an advertisement in a traditional way. It was rather a big event, sponsored by *Irn Bru* with the aim to set a world record by gathering the largest number of people to dance the *Can Can*. The Leith agency, creative heads of the *If* and *Snowman* advertisement, also helped *Irn Bru* to stage their world record attempt (*The Leith Agency* Homepage). It turned out to be successful and took place in September 2009 – the year of Scottish Homecoming. The official Barr homepage also states that “10,000 people attended the ‘IRN-BRU Can Clan’ event” and that it was furthermore “part of the brands support of ‘Home Coming Scotland’” (Barr homepage).

The setting for this spectacular event was Glasgow – the city where *Irn Bru*’s success started more than a century ago. Edensor argues that “[n]ational identity is [...] partly sustained through the circulation of representations of spectacular and mundane cultural elements [...]; the landscapes, *everyday places* [emphasis added] and objects, *famous events* [emphasis added] and mundane rituals” (139). The *Irn Bru Can Clan* was without doubt such a famous event and its venue (Glasgow greens) an everyday place. Edensor furthermore argues that national identity is “domesticated in the local sharing of national rituals” (186). The world record attempt of the *Can Clan* indubitably displayed such a national ritual. Dancing the *Can Can* with thousands of strangers might appear unusual, but enables the participants to experience a sense of shared culture, community and belonging. This also corresponds to Benedict Anderson’s concept of imagined communities. Although the participants will never meet and talk to every single other person at the event, the sense of community, belonging together and the aim to set the world record connects them in their minds. This can of course strengthen a sense of national belonging and national identity. Judith Williamson analyses a Pepsi advertisement and makes some crucial points. Her findings can also be applied to the *Irn Bru Can Clan* campaign: “By buying a Pepsi [or in this case *Irn Bru*] you take place in an exchange, not only of money but of yourself for a Pepsi [/Irn Bru] Person. You have become special, yet one of a clan; however, you do not meet these others, except *in* [original emphasis] the advertisement” (53). This “clan” is therefore very much imagined and establishes a connection to Benedict Anderson’s imagined communities. As mentioned earlier, participants of the *Can Clan* event imagine themselves as a community, although they only meet on the day of the event and will probably never see each other again.

An interesting topic for the analysis of the event was also the choice of substance.³² Cook argues that the “choice of substance affects the nature of the ad and is an integral part of its identity” (28). The substance in this case is the *Irn Bru* tartan cloth and the product itself. Cook remarks that in “advertising, [...] new uses of substance are embraced with eagerness. In their relationship to

³² Substance: „the physical material which carries or relays text, music and pictures“ (Cook 4)

their physical surroundings, ads constantly raid new territory” (223). At the event, tartan cloths in the corporate colours of the Brand (white, blue and orange) were distributed by *Irn Bru* staff. Many people wrapped it around their hips to make it look like a kilt. This indicates that people were perfectly aware of the connection between *Irn Bru* and Scottishness and furthermore emphasised this connection in participating at the event and dressing in traditional clothes. Some people innately wore a kilt and others had a St. Andrew’s cross or ‘I ♥ Scotland’ painted on their faces (cf. pictures of the event on *Flickr*). This shows that being Scottish and performing national identity was an important aspect of the event for many participants. Cook furthermore argues that “[b]y having its own brand-name written on it, every product is both itself and an ad for itself” (30). At the event *Irn Bru* had not only installed banner ads, but also served the soft drink for free. Every *Irn Bru* bottle, in this sense, also functioned as an ad for itself.

The word choice for the name of the event was an excellent one. Cook argues that “[l]ike literature, advertising frequently uses language in ways which depart from convention. [...] At the lexical level, for example, there is frequent word coinage” (142). The name of the event, the *Can Clan* is an example for such a word coinage here. It punningly refers to a dance, the *Can Can* and relates it to Scotland in turning the second word into clan. Furthermore, the word *can* is a homonym. In this context, it can either relate to a dance, the *Can Can*, or a container like the *Irn Bru* can. Tanaka remarks that puns “raise the awkward problem of the ‘presence of ambiguity in language’” (60). Here, the word coinage of *Can Clan* should however not be treated as a problem, but rather as a witty play on language. Tanaka points out that “humour, more specifically punning, is one way in which the advertiser attempts to improve social relations with his audience. If the addressee thinks that the advertiser is witty and amusing, it may go some way to overcoming her distrust of him” (59). She adds that the “conscious recognition of multiple interpretations is essential for an audience to process an utterance as a pun. An audience appreciates the ambiguity of a pun as necessary for its success, and does not see ambiguity as a sign of failure in this kind of communication” (62). Far from being a failure, the ambiguity of a pun can be seen as a creative and often entertaining feature of

advertisements. Furthermore Tanaka points out that “[w]ithout an ‘attention-grabbing’ device such as a pun, an audience might pay no attention to an advertisement” (65). As the process of understanding a pun usually takes some time, the reader needs to focus on it and is therefore more likely to remember it (Tanaka 71).

As the previous paragraph has outlined, *Can Clan* refers to the *Can Can* dance. If one looks at pictures and videos of the *Irn Bru* event, the dance appears to be an authentic Scottish dance and maybe even a sort of Ceilidh. It is in fact a famous French dance that goes back to the 19th century. For the event, however, the dance was made Scottish and used for a particular purpose. The choice of dance is an interesting one. On the surface level it enables the excellent word coinage (*Can Clan*) for the event and it is easy to perform (if one leaves out the high kicking of the legs). On a more profound level, the place of origin and therefore France is important as well. Throughout history France has often been the archenemy of England. As Scotland had a turbulent history with England as well, the idea of fraternizing with someone who shares a mutual enemy and using a particular dance of this country appears rather suitable.

Often puns in advertisements have one meaning that is superior or more important than the other. Tanaka, however, points out that “[s]ome puns do not just communicate one interpretation while activating another, but actually communicate both meanings” (78). In the *Irn Bru* advertisement, both meanings need to be taken into account in order to make sense of what is meant by the term *Can Clan*. One interpretation alone (e.g. *Can Clan* as a kind of dance with reference to the *Can Can*) would be insufficient to grasp the meaning of the event. Tanaka concludes her argument in writing that “the use of the pun ensures that the message is communicate with more ‘strength’ than might otherwise have been possible, a necessity in advertising” (71). The name of the event (*Irn Bru Can Clan*) was therefore likely to be easily remembered and positively associated by its participants. It therefore served the purpose of the marketing agency and the company.

The *Irn Bru Can Clan* was a successful event. It not only set a new world record, but attracted thousands of people to celebrate and perform their national identity. The year 2009 – the year of Robert Burns’ anniversary and Scottish Homecoming - was the perfect time for such an event. It fostered national consciousness and many festivals and events invited Scottish people to celebrate their national identity. *Irn Bru* cleverly chose the perfect time and setting to stage their world record attempt. Throughout the event *Irn Bru* was presented as an integral part of Scottishness and in the end the company enabled Scotland to be featured in the *Guinness Book of World Records* the following year. Celebrating one’s national identity at such a large scale event surrounded by thousands of others is indubitably a way of strengthening one’s national identity. *Irn Bru* seized the opportunity to strengthen the connection between the brand and Scottishness and thus became once more a crucial part of Scottish cultural life and an emblem of Scottishness itself.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has outlined some of the central pillars of Scottish national identity. The analysis of this paper has shown that popular culture, everyday life and advertisements are capable of influencing, capturing and moreover actively constructing national identity. The discussion of the advertisements has revealed the impact of popular culture on the concept of Scottishness.

One significant finding to emerge from this study is that national identity is a multi-faceted concept with rich symbolism. This thesis has provided a comprehensive overview of some of the elements that comprise Scottish national identity. The paper has furthermore given an account of and the reasons for the widespread use of Scottish symbols. As it turns out, Scottish identity is in no way an essence, but rather a flexible concept which is constantly capable of adapting and changing. The present study confirms previous findings and contributes additional evidence that highlights the importance of performance for national identity. Although national identity can be performed in the everyday, it is most apparent at large-scale events like the Burns Supper, international sporting events or the *Inn Bru Can Clan*.

The applied part has shown that *Inn Bru* advertisements frequently make use of easily recognisable Scottish aspects and stereotypes in order to construct Scottish national identity. The evidence from the analysis suggests that traditional and modern aspects are equally important for the construction of Scottish national identity. This paper has also revealed that Benedict Anderson's theory of *imagined communities* can be applied to advertisements or events like the *Inn Bru Can Clan*. The analysis has furthermore proven that the brand is inevitably linked to Scottishness. *Inn Bru* might therefore even function as an identity marker for Scottish people and an important part of Scottish cultural life. The current research was however not specifically designed to evaluate factors related to sale figures and direct audience response. Further research could thoroughly explore the audience reaction to

Irn Bru advertisements – something that has only been briefly touched upon in this work. It would be interesting to assess in how far viewers and consumers feel their national identity strengthened by *Irn Bru* advertisements.

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that Britishness seems to be a part of Scottishness. Although Scottish identity has often been constructed as being *not English*, distinctive and other, the traces of Britishness cannot be denied. The analytical part has proven that general aspects of Britishness (weather talk, charity) also play a crucial role for a contemporary Scottish identity. An implication of these findings is that although many people in Scotland strive for independence, the nation's similarities and interwoven history with the rest of the UK, and especially England, should also be taken into account when discussing a final split.

To conclude, this study has aimed to present the dynamic and diversified character of Scottish national identity. In doing so, it revealed that modern and traditional aspects are both important for Scottishness. Furthermore it also pointed out that no matter how hard Scots try to distinguish themselves from the rest of the UK, there will likely remain many overlaps with Britishness. The future of the United Kingdom and Scotland's role in it will be interesting to observe. Furthermore the topic of national identity will provide a fascinating area for future research. As Smith has said, national identity "is likely to continue to command humanity's allegiances for a long time to come" (176). This thesis has only provided a minor contribution to the research on Scottish national identity, but this interesting topic deserves to be the focus of future studies.

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German Abstract

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Konstruktion und den verschiedenen Aspekten der schottischen Nationalidentität. Der analytische Teil zeigt, wie sich diese nationale Identität in Werbungen der Getränkemarke *Irn Bru* wiederfindet und dort bewusst konstruiert wird. Zu Beginn geht es darum, einen theoretischen Rahmen zu erfassen, um den Leser mit wichtigen Hintergrundinformationen und dem aktuellen Forschungsstand vertraut zu machen. Dabei werden selektierte Ereignisse der schottischen Geschichte vorgestellt. Im weiteren Verlauf wird die aktuelle Lage von Schottland in Großbritannien erläutert. Schottland hat vor allem mit England seit vielen Jahrhunderten eine „Hass-Liebe“ und kämpft immer wieder um seine Unabhängigkeit. Die politische Situation (Devolution, Parlament in Edinburgh) sowie die Rolle der schottischen Nationalpartei (SNP) wird dabei genauer beleuchtet.

Das zweite Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den theoretischen Grundlagen von nationaler Identität. Hier wird vor allem betont, dass es sich dabei nicht um eine starre Essenz, sondern um ein dynamisches und flexibles Konzept handelt. Nach einer generellen Einleitung wird vor allem die Arbeit von zwei Wissenschaftlern, nämlich Anthony Smith und Benedict Anderson hervorgehoben. Vor allem für die Anwendung von Benedict Andersons Konzept von „imagined communities“ lassen sich in späteren Teilen der Arbeit einige Beispiele finden. Im weiteren Verlauf wird die Besonderheit von schottischer Identität und ihre charakteristischen Merkmale vorgestellt. Dabei werden einige der wichtigsten Aspekte (z.B. Geschichte, Sprache, Landschaft) in eigenen Unterkapiteln erläutert. Darüber hinaus wird auch die Bedeutung von schottischen Symbolen, vor allem jene von den sogenannten „ikonischen Landschaften“ wie den Highlands, sowie von Tartan und Kilt genauer unter die Lupe genommen. Das Ende des Kapitels widmet sich regionaler Identität und der Performanz von nationaler Identität.

Des Weiteren beschäftigt sich diese Diplomarbeit mit der Verbindung zwischen Populärkultur und nationaler Identität. Hier wird am Beispiel des Films *Braveheart* kurz aufgezeigt, wie Filme und daher Elemente der Populärkultur nationale Identität beeinflussen und festigen können. Darüber hinaus wird ein Hauptaugenmerk auf die Bedeutung von Werbung gelegt. Um die folgende Analyse zu kontextualisieren, wird die schottische Getränkemarke *Irn Bru* kurz vorgestellt.

Im analytischen Teil der Arbeit werden drei Werbungen der schottischen Getränkemarke *Irn Bru* und eine inoffizielle Werbung erläutert. Dieser Teil orientiert sich nicht strikt an einer bestimmten wissenschaftlichen Theorie, sondern versucht vielmehr durch das Einfließen verschiedener Forscher ein breites Spektrum an Analyseansätzen aufzuzeichnen. Hauptgrundlage dafür sind Theorien aus der Werbeanalyse, wie zum Beispiel von Guy Cook (2001) und Judith Williamson (1991).

Diese Studie soll zeigen, dass schottische Nationalidentität ein umfassendes und dynamisches Konzept ist, welches sowohl von traditionellen Aspekten (Kilt, Dudelsack, Highlands, etc.), als auch von modernen (*Irn Bru* Werbung, Musikfestivals, Konzertbühnen, besondere Ereignisse, etc.) beeinflusst wird. Darüber hinaus wird erläutert, dass die schottische Nationalidentität zwar ein kulturelles Phänomen an sich ist, aber dennoch auch Gemeinsamkeiten mit einer generellen britischen Nationalidentität vorweisen kann.

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